



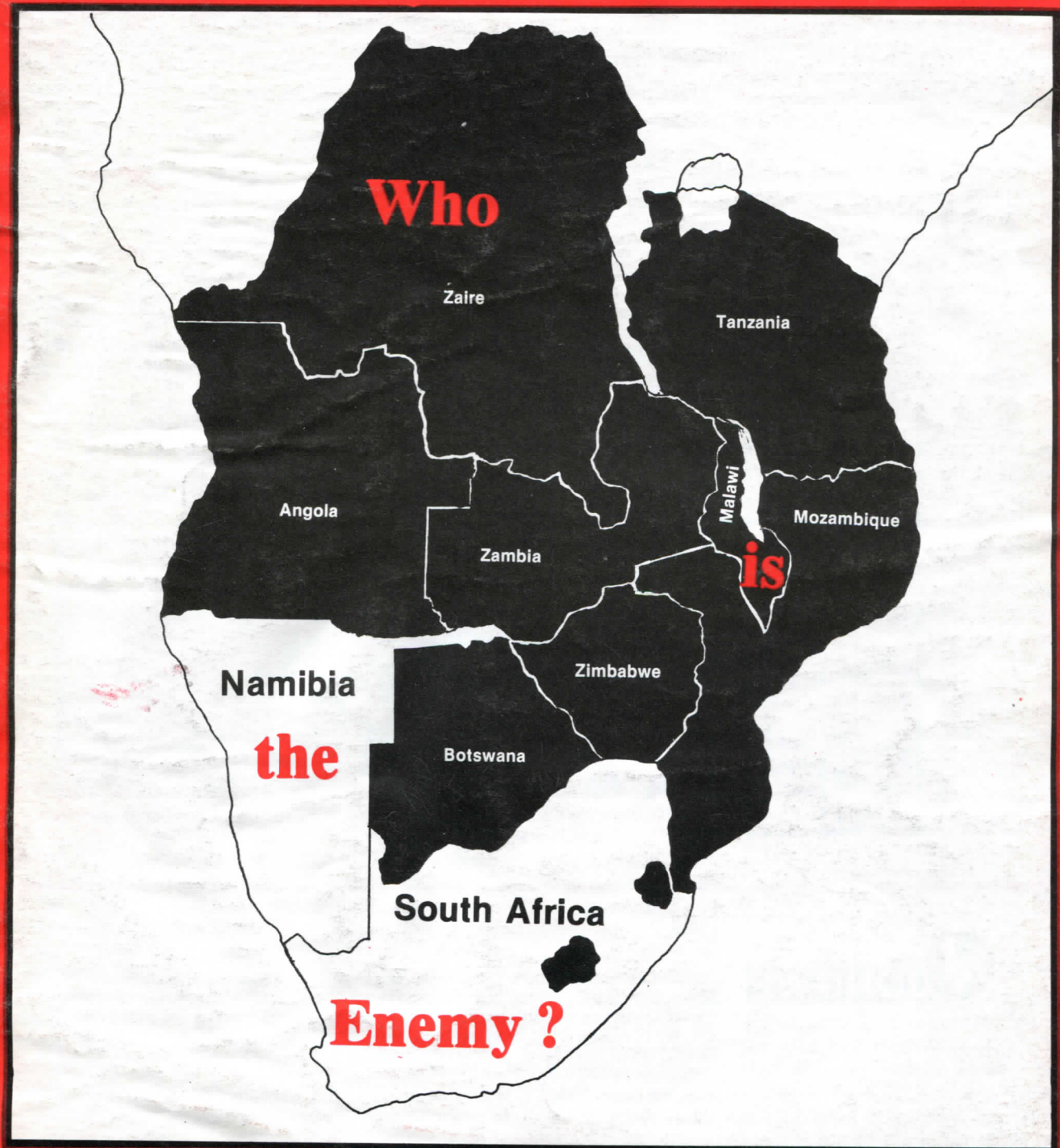
LET US FIGHT AND  
REBUILD ZIMBABWE

# Zimbabwe News

## Official Organ of ZANU(PF)

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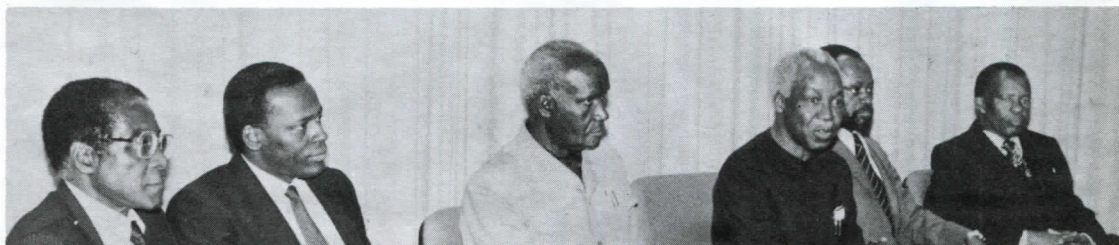
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# Contents

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<b>Editorial</b>	1
<b>Letters to the Editor</b>	2
<b>Forward Ever — Backward Never</b>	3
<b>Poetry</b>	
<i>Gamba Guru Redu</i>	
<i>Raenda Samora</i>	6
<b>Midlands Provincial Report</b>	8
<b>The Chairman's Report</b>	12
<b>Pictorial</b>	18
<b>The Beira Corridor</b>	22
<b>Housing for all by the Year 2000</b>	25
<b>International</b>	28
<b>Puerto Ricans Under Siege</b>	29
<b>The International Monetary Fund and Africa</b>	by Prof. G. Roshchin..... 31
<b>Communication and Development</b>	<i>An Interview with Dr. Sybil James</i> ..... 33
<b>Poem</b>	<i>Drought the Ecological Tragedy of Africa</i> ..... 35
<b>Festive Period: Consumer advice</b>	36
<b>Features and Analysis:</b>	<i>Food for Thought</i> ..... 36
<b>Wide Suspicion Over President Machel's Death</b>	38
<b>Apartheid Must Go</b>	40



Leaders of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, meet for another round of talks for economic independence and the Beira Corridor pg 21



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# EDITORIAL

Who is the enemy in Southern Africa at the present time? We are in the throes of the most vicious, ugly, and probably the biggest conflict (even war) in Africa yet. This is the war in the Republic of South Africa. It is already taking its gruesome toll daily — from the kids of Soweto, the squatters at Crossroads, the peasants in Cunene river basin, the two former Ministers of Lesotho, to the revolutionary leader of Mozambique, Comrade Samora Moises Machel, and the hundreds of patriots who have died in South African jails. As this conflict grows in intensity, we should define clearly who our common enemy is, so that we know how best to fight him. The methods we employ depend on our assessment of the strength and character of the enemy.

Mao Tse-Tung, whose experiences in fighting against imperialism in China provided the inspiration and guide for guerrilla warfare both to Zimbabwe and before that to Mozambique, stated clearly that revolutionary practice demands that we isolate the "principal" enemy of the people, and then build as broad an alliance as possible with all other forces in order to defeat the principal enemy. He explained the theory of contradictions as follows:

"Hence, if in any process there are a number of contradictions, one of them must be the principal contradiction playing the leading and decisive role, while the rest occupy a secondary and subordinate position. Therefore, in studying any complex process in which there are two or more contradictions, we must devote every effort to finding out its principal contradiction. Once this principal contradiction is grasped, all problems can be readily solved. This is the method Marx taught us in his study of capitalist society. Likewise Lenin and Stalin taught us this method when they studied imperialism and the general crisis of capitalism, and when they studied the Soviet economy. There are thousands of scholars and men of action who do not understand it, and the result is that, lost in the fog, they are unable to get to the heart of the problem and naturally cannot find a way to resolve

its contradictions" (Selected Works, Vol 1, page 332).

Mao Tse-Tung went on to describe the many contradictions among the people in his country. But these contradictions, he added, must be handled properly, for if they were not, then there was a danger that the people would begin to fight among themselves rather than concentrating their forces to fight against the *principal enemy*. "Since they are different in nature," Mao Tse-Tung advised, "the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy, and the contradictions among the people must be resolved by different methods".

When the President and First Secretary, Comrade R.G. Mugabe, was answering a question on Malawi in the Zimbabwe Parliament this month he said more or less the same thing as Mao Tse-Tung, but in the concrete conditions of our region. He said that the contradiction with President Kamuzu Banda of Malawi must be resolved through dialogue, and not through violent means.

## The Boers and Apartheid

In Southern Africa today the principal and common enemy of all our people are the Boers who control state power in the Republic of South Africa. It is they who have advised, introduced, and imposed on that country the racist system of Apartheid which has been described by the United Nations as a crime against humanity. In defiance of several United Nations resolutions, this clique of Boers-in-power has proceeded to brutalise and discriminate against the majority of the black population in that country. There is little difference between them and the Nazis who brought massive suffering to all mankind earlier in this century. The Boers have mobilised and armed a large army (the South African Defence Forces), and extensive security forces to be used in sustained attacks on the independent states of the region, and beyond. The same forces are being used to suppress the struggle for freedom among the masses inside South Africa. That is

our principal enemy — and that is the principal contradiction we must grasp.

But the State in South Africa is not serving the interests of the Boer section of white population alone. The Botha Regime is also serving the interests of those who own the means of production in South Africa, namely, the capitalists and their collaborators. This class of people who live in Western European countries and in North America, have invested large amounts of money in South African mining, manufacturing and agriculture and draw large profits from this investment yearly. It is they who make it possible for the Botha regime to maintain and run the institutions of apartheid. These capitalists are exploiting and oppressing the masses of South Africa and assisting in the brutalisation and destabilisation of Southern Africa. Today, some international companies are professing to be divesting their capital from South Africa. Actually, they are engaged in transferring management in the hands of local white South Africans, and coming back through the back door (through licensing and managerial agreements) to continue to maintain their international control over those investments. We have the experience of Zimbabwe where we discovered that despite declarations to the contrary, some of the multinational companies continued to hold control over most of the capital assets in the country. In other words the principal enemy in South Africa is strongly supported by a structured system of exploitation and national oppression.

## The Agents and the Collaborators

The Republic of Malawi and the Republic of Zaire are neither part of the principal contradiction nor are they the principal enemy. We have our differences with them on how to handle the Boers and the Botha regime, but this is a secondary contradiction that must be resolved by dialogue. We should never allow ourselves to be drawn into a major conflict with our brothers and sisters in Malawi and/or Zaire. The real enemy would be delighted to see us

diverting scarce military resources to a fratricidal war, and thereby weakening our concentration on the principal enemy. The efforts by South Africa to use the tragic death of Samora Machel to provoke conflicts between Zimbabwe and Mozambique on the one hand, and Malawi on the other, should be a lesson of the tactics of the enemy. The situation demands that all independent African States in Southern Africa, and all their people, join hands and forces in a common struggle

against the Botha regime and the system of Apartheid and colonial capitalism. Malawi and Zaire are being called upon to join the other states in this common endeavour.

The direct agents of the enemy are the bandit organisations, such as the MNR and UNITA, who are armed and trained by South Africa and financed by the USA. They are being used to destabilise and weaken independent African states and to

destroy their unity. No effort should be spared in destroying, root and branch all the bandit organisations in the region. The bandits are hired murderers and mercenaries who have no national ideology or political purpose. Their disruptive political activities do not assume the status of a subordinate or even a secondary contradiction as discussed above. We call upon all our people in the region to unite against the principal enemy and its agents, the bandits. If the people unite the enemy losses.

## *Letters to the Editor*

Dear Editor,

The question of Unity in Zimbabwe is subject to discussion especially at this crucial time when we are faced with an apartheid regime whose murderous forces are concentrated on our border. The people who live in the border areas of our country or in all the districts should be part of this unity drive to beat off the dissident menace that has retarded our development programmes in some of the regions of our country. Matebeleland South and North are basically the provinces in mind. Comrade Elliot Ndlovu, a resident of Matebeleland South has this to say about his conviction as a Zimbabwean living in Matebeleland South Province.

In order for Zimbabwe, for the country, the thousands of our people sacrificed their lives for, to undertake much needed development, particularly the raising of the quality of life of the peasants and workers who were neglected by the colonial regime and who bore the brunt of the armed struggle, it is important that we create the necessary political conditions. A political atmosphere in which there is a clear political line, clear political objectives and clear methods of achieving these goals. Instead of bickering over personalities and their tribal origin, the Party will concentrate on whether the person works in the interest of the people, whether they truly understand the Party line and its objectives.

Unity will allow Zimbabwe to have a singular loyalty to the one Party,

one leader and one nation. Developing countries such as Zimbabwe do not need many parties. As you yourselves have seen, many parties easily lead to national disunity based on tribal lines and regional interests. Inevitably, parties will want to take advantage of such things as ethnicity to collect as many votes as possible, there is mutual suspicion leading to violence and strife. What is more, it is easy for the enemy to come in your midst and sow seeds of confusion leading to dissidency, and mayhem. You yourselves know what this has led to in Zimbabwe where South Africa is taking advantage of our disunity and sponsoring dissidents. Instead of concentrating all our efforts in supporting our brothers fighting against the evil apartheid system, we are instead concentrating on defending ourselves. Instead of supplying electricity, drinking and irrigation water, roads, schools and clinics to our people, we are committing this money to defending our national integrity.

Development is affected, hampered and we are pulled backwards, delayed by many years from achieving our cherished goals of building socialism and improving the life of our people.

South Africa is able to do this as a result of the existence of many parties in Zimbabwe. South Africa is taking advantage of the tribal and regional difference to keep us divided and at each other's throats.

Political unity will create political

conditions for development. It will establish the necessary security and allow us to concentrate our resources on development rather than the military aspect. What are these development objectives for a place like Gwanda, Beitbridge, Matebeleland South in general? Surely, the first one should be reliable sources of water for the people and their livestock. The potential of a beef agricultural industry in your areas is infinite but it requires an assured supply of water; boreholes, dams, wires and so on a must, for constructing on a planned basis. This will require an outline of a systematic settlement pattern. There must be land for housing, land for grazing and land for crops. Boreholes must be cited on the basis of an overall picture of this settlement pattern. This will require consultation and debate from the VIDCO through to the Provincial Development Committee. Councillors and MP's should assist the people in identifying their needs, and implementing projects that will assist the people in meeting these needs.

Cattle for the beef industry, is the mainstay of the people in this area. If people undertake united efforts in solving these problems and providing the necessary infra-structure, this region could become major supplier not only to the internal market but also for export and in this way contribute to the nation's foreign exchange earnings.

An important means of achieving

socialism is cooperative development. The people in Gwanda and Matabeleland South generally, should come together to form cooperatives. This should also involve training in management and accounting as well as constant education on the difference between collectives and a company. These are the areas in which cooperatives tend to fail. Firstly people are not clear of what it means to "MANAGE" allocating human resources properly, (expand) "TIME" management (expand) proper use of financial resources and when to share profits, when to re-invest, how to bank money and borrow loans etc. How to combat laziness and parasitism which will inevitably creep in because a cooperative spirit has not yet become *habit*, which will if constant ideological education and conditioning is undertaken, criticism — self criticism, as well as democracy and constant meetings are important for cooperative development.

In order to create employment the masses must also consider forming small scale industries in such areas as Gwanda, Beitbridge etc. The

Ministry of Industry and Technology is presently preparing to start projects that will involve assisting small scale industries, coops and small scale industrial businessmen. It is therefore, important that you undertake studies of how you can use local resources such as hides, cement from Collen Bawn, asbestos from Zvishavane in small-scale industry. These are challenges that the Party is placing before you. Zimbabwe is rich in resources, in Matabeleland South, there are minerals, cattle, cement etc. Why should we be poor? Why should we suffer amidst plenty? The answer is simple — we lack the cooperative *spirit* and the skills for organisation for as long as we are not willing to work together. We will be paupers in the wealthy land of our birth.

Finally, let me point out that everyone must not lose vigilance and guard against the machinations of the Boer Regime in South Africa. As the struggle intensifies and as sanctions are imposed against South Africa, the apartheid regime will run wild, and, like a wounded snake strike at anything and everything. There is therefore, need for cooperation bet-

ween the people and the security forces etc.

Our shield is total unity for the bombs of the South African racists, their bullets, their terrorism will not be aimed at a ZANU (PF) member only. Their enemy in Zimbabwe will not be a Zezuru, Ndebele, Kalanga, Venda or any one selected tribe in our country. When the enemy strikes he murders indiscriminately.

Our commitment to peace and democracy will only be defended by *total unity* and by *total unity* of purpose.

Unity is power!

Unity is peace!

Unity is development!

Unity is prosperity!

Genuine unity rejects tribalism, regionalism, racism and the exploitation of man by man!

ALUTA CONTINUA!!!



## Forward Ever — Backward Never

**Samora might be dead but the revolution he led, which has influenced southern Africa, shall live forever**

*The death of Comrade Samora Moises Machel, the President of FRELIMO and the People's Republic of Mozambique was commemorated throughout Zimbabwe and in the Southern African Region as a whole. Comrade Machel was indeed a hero of our struggle and the struggle of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia. In honour of this illustrious son of Africa, the First Secretary and President of ZANU (PF) Comrade R.G. Mugabe addressed a mammoth rally at Rufaro Stadium in Harare on the 26th of October, 1986.*

*Below is the full text of the speech. Comrades and Friends, we assemble in this stadium, not in joy and jubila-*

*tion as we have often done but in profound grief and sorrow, far from the hilarious celebration of an historic event marking a national achievement, but confronted by the mysterious tragic event which robbed the people of Mozambique and, always in revolutionary solidarity with them, the people of Zimbabwe, of a gallant revolutionary who defies comparison — Samora Moises Machel, the late President of FRELIMO and President of the People's Republic of Mozambique.*

*As Party and Government, it is only fitting that we should have set aside a day when we should mourn Samora, not so much in tears and heaving sighs of grief, but with pro-*



**Ichho!!! Charira!!! A luta Continua  
— The Struggle continues**

*cessions, revolutionary songs, and eulogies. Countrywide our people remember this great friend and ally of our national struggle for liberation and consecrate him as much a hero of that struggle as he was of that of his own country. Friends, yes, we may have many, but truly revolutionary friends who made our struggle their own, our goals also their*



**"We will fight to the last man" — The youth express solidarity with the People of Mozambique at Rufaro Stadium**

goals and our sacrifices their own, are very few indeed. Samora ranked high amongst these few and became a friend indeed because he was our friend in need.

Yes, when we stood in need of a viable rear base, he offered us his country, his people and his country's resources as a dependable rear base. We trained military and political cadres in his country and deployed them from there to operational areas in Zimbabwe. In the early 1970's we joined forces with FRELIMO's FPLM forces in Mozambique to gain fighting and organisational experience, and as our own freedom struggle unfolded the reverse situation occurred and the FRELIMO Government deployed several of its forces in 1978-79 to fight alongside our own in Zimbabwe. Over and above these facilities, Mozambique mobilised its scanty resources to provide food and shelter to our refugees numbering at one time nearly a quarter million. As if such sacrifices were not enough, Mozambique in 1976 decided to impose sanctions against the rebel regime of Ian Smith, thus rendering its railway and harbour facilities uneconomic and incurring in the process a loss of several billion dollars, all without compensation. If this was not total commitment to our national struggle, then one wonders what commitment means. It was this close alliance and complete dedication to the cause of our freedom and independence which endeared the people of Mozambique

under the leadership of Samora to us. Their hearts became merged with our own and our destinies also became common.

***"In as much as they made our national struggle for liberation their own so shall we make their struggle for the consolidation of their independence our own."***

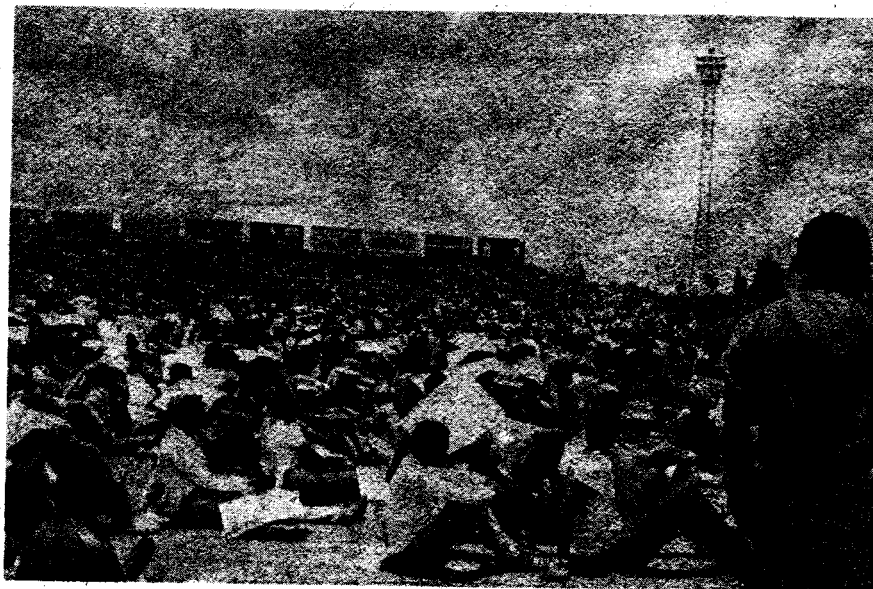
Perhaps you are now able to appreciate why Samora and I became

bosom friends and revolutionary brothers. Perhaps you are now also able to appreciate how the revolution of Mozambique became our revolution and vice versa and how our independence became inseparable intertwined with that of Mozambique.

But this is as it should be, for the reality of our geography, common colonial history, cultural ethnicity, oneness of our destiny and identity of our ideological direction, have combined in impelling us towards the unity of minds, hearts and deeds.

Samora Machel clearly recognised and appreciated these impelling factors and with a leader's zeal and determination urged his people to recognise them. Indeed his vision and revolutionary horizon broadened and extended to South Africa and Namibia whose liberation struggles he also made his own. And it is here that he stirred apartheid's hornets' nest and was eventually stung to death, perishing thus at the hands of apartheid.

Those evil actors in the tragic drama of Samora's death horror will, lacking any touch of morality as they do, their hands perpetually steeped in blood as they commit one murder after another in an unending string of genocides, indeed celebrate their gruesome achievement. Let them be warned that their jubilation will be short-lived for Samora's revolutionary path has not come to an end. He dies after having inspired millions in South Africa who have drawn lessons from the Mozambican mode



**Part of the mammoth crowd which commemorated the death of President Samora Machel at Rufaro Stadium.**

of struggle and the revolution led by Samora. Samora has revolutionary admirers and disciples in both South Africa and Namibia. Samora might be dead, but the revolution he led which has influenced Southern Africa shall live for ever.

The oppressed people of South Africa and Namibia will, far from being deterred by the assassination of Samora, be greatly inspired and invigorated by his courage, vision, selflessness, commitment, and discipline. For, as leader of his people he exhibited no fear but full courage and bravery in championing the struggle that won them freedom and independence. As leader of his people, he developed a greater vision of a united Mozambique despite its ethnic and racial diversity, a concept he developed further as he linked the Mozambican revolution with that of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. As leader of his country he was selfless as he sacrificed his life and committed himself not only to the independence struggle but also to the consolidation of a free and independent Mozambique. Only a man of great principle, integrity and discipline could have reached that high level of performance in his leadership of the people it was his historic duty to lead.

*"The oppressed people of South Africa and Namibia will, far from being deterred by the assassination of Samora, be greatly inspired and invigorated by his courage, vision, selflessness, commitment and discipline."*

We who have remained behind might do well to learn from the heroic acts of Samora. Surely, we cannot fail to be inspired by his people-oriented leadership stance. It was the povo, the povo and always the povo — Povo Mozambican — who were the object of his leadership policies. True the economic constraints, especially as these were exacerbated by the banditry nurtured and sponsored by the apartheid South African regime, delayed the attainment of his Party's



**South Africa and Namibia — Forward ever! Backward never until final victory.**

and Government's social policies. But Samora never tired of making the interests of the people of Mozambique the object of his country's socio-economic programmes. This lesson we must all learn, so that the people's interests remain paramount over those of leaders or selfish individuals.

We hope and trust that the oppressed masses of South Africa and Namibia will recognise that in the death of Samora lies a great lesson. It was on South African soil that Samora's body dropped to its death, thus delivering to us a harsh and ghastly message that that land and soil, desecrated by apartheid, must be the object of the same revolution as he led in Mozambique. The message is also to the rest of Africa to combine its forces, in whatever most effective form, towards the freedom of South Africa and Namibia. Yes, we in free Africa have to have the courage, vision, commitment and discipline of Samora if South Africa and Namibia are to be free.

*"Their hearts became merged with our own and our destinies also became common."*

I would like, on behalf of the people of Zimbabwe to assure the people of Mozambique that in as much as they made our national struggle for liberation their own so shall we make their struggle for the consolidation of their independence our own. Accordingly, I wish to give them our pledge that in no case shall Zimbabwe allow the

MNR to take full control of Mozambique. The defence of Mozambique sovereignty is the defence of Zimbabwean sovereignty, for if the present Mozambican Government's sovereignty is anyway overthrown so shall our own. The Botha regime must get this message of our resolve and be fully warned of our readiness to make extreme sacrifices on this issue, even if it means we shall perish to the last man.

Zimbabwe has all along suffered immense economic and financial detriment because of South Africa's actions through the MNR which have made it impossible for us to utilise to the full Mozambican railway and harbour facilities. South Africa has prevented us from diverting most of our goods from its routes to those of Mozambique so she can continue to earn from us the dues that we pay her in substantial amounts for the use of her railway and harbour facilities. The charges that we pay to South Africa should rightly have been earned by Mozambique. Our commitment, therefore, to the defence of the Beira railway line, the pipeline and the tarred Beira and Tete roads is complete. In enhancement of our position as protector of these facilities we decided to carry the war to the MNR bandit bases in the adjacent provinces of Tete, Sofala and Manica, and this is why we have attacked and seized such bases as Gorongosa. The death of Samora should now serve as a source of greater commitment and resolve so our efforts to eliminate the bandits can intensify.

## ★ POETRY ★

Gamba Guru Redu  
Raenda Samora*By Gloriosa Musi Katerere*

Nhai vari kuUzuru!  
Kunozove riniko isu vatema tichitambura,  
Nhai iwe Musikavanhu, zyawatitorera gamba,  
Gamba remamwe magamba Comrade Samora Moises Machel.

Ko tagopara ipiko, kubva waticheka nerakagomarara  
Kutitorerawo Samora gamba reAfrica,  
Hazvinei Machel chinorova inyama, mweya haurovi,  
Zvinangwa zvako tichazvizadzikisa

Ndati cheu makumi nemakumi emwedzi adarika,  
Chokwadi tanga tiri mumaoko ako Machel,  
Tichinge zvana zvinoyamwa madzimai azvo,  
Nedzako tsiye nyoro, Samora wakatungamirira  
isu vana veZimbabwe kurusununguko,  
Ropa rakadeuka muZimbabwe,  
Ropa rakadeuka muMozambique,  
Nedzakoze tsiye nyoro, Samora wakatungamirira vana veAngola,  
Nhasi Comrade Samora mafira zvido zvevana veAzania,  
Namibia, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana neMozambique.

Aya nabasa ebhunu hama dzangu,  
Bhunu nhasi watirova neshamhu,  
Kuti nhasi gamba revanhu Samora,  
Honu ndiko kuita kwaro bhunu,  
Honu ndiko kuita kwaro bhunu,

Musowe topa rinonhuwa, vana veAfrica vanofa semakonzu,  
Mufatutura — Namibia ropa rinoerera.  
Ose aya ari mapasa egiro,  
Mapasa vatema veMozambique voshaya hope,  
Vadza kudza voshupika mupfungwa pamusam penyu,  
Dai mabhungu nhatigura kunorira,  
Gamba redu akakurwa Samora,

Vana veAfrica uyai tibatane  
Vana yevatema uyai tiite mushandirapamwe —  
mushandirapamwe,  
Mushandirapamwe yezvinowasungata bodo,  
Africa haisi yevasvetsimba kwete,  
Africa haisi yevadzve nyiriri aiwa,  
Tai Africa ndevedu vana yevatema.

Bhunu bereka tsoka udzokere kwawakabva,  
Dzokera kumusha kwako,  
Comrade Samora Machel hama yedu makamtsepi?  
Comrade Steve Biko Shamwari yedu, ari kupiko?  
Comrade Hanyeko varipiko?  
Comrade Thiro arikupi?  
Comrade Abraham Dinkhuputso Thiro  
Ko-Comrade Mandela wavaneisereiko?  
Chokwadi bhunu hauna tsitsi.

Vana veAfrica Zimbabwe takatora nemuro, venhu  
Mozambique yakatorwa nemuromo wepfuti,  
Zambia yakatorwa kare nevatemala,  
Chii chaizvo chingatitadzise kutora Azania.  
Chii chingatitadzise kutora Namibia,

Nokudaro tinochemazwe kumidzimu yedu yose yeAfrica tichiti,  
"nhai vari kumhepo,  
Chigumbuiko chamuinacho mumwoyo,  
Zvaita seiko kuramba makangoti ziro,  
Toita kunge takazvibereka mii muripo,  
Igawagwaidzai rinopindwa naro ramusingadziviriri  
Tadungana nemi midzimu yedu,  
Nokuti tashaya watingapumha uroyi  
Mati titize here Ivhu renyu.  
Ramakatisiyira, Ivhu nderedu nokuti nika yatiri ndeyedu,  
Hatichina kwatichira uku,

Nzira dzose dzagon'a masatipewo makotsi vari pasi,  
Misoro yedu yodyiwa namagora,  
Tobata papi pasina masvosve, patigere dzinongova mhani che,  
Vene vamatenga napasi ndimi,  
Titakanureiwo panhamo dzodai kutifudza kunge ngozi,  
Inga mwana wegonzo anotamba akatarisa mudenga,  
Nokuti anoziva kuti ndiko kune midzimu yake,  
Kana zviripo zvinotadzwa, zvinotadzwa nokusaziva,  
Chitiringaiwo paiyi hondo yatadai kunangana nayo  
Nevatorwa ava."

Samora huya unyaradze vana.

*Comrade Gloriosa Musi Katerere is a member of the Theatre Group,  
"Just for women"*

## ***"Samora's revolutionary path has not come to an end"***

Finally, may I ask the international community to take full cognisance of the present tragic event in our Southern African region so that those countries which in the past have had doubts about sanctions against South Africa can change their minds in favour of effective sanctions against this barbarous apartheid regime. For, the regime has been allowed for too long to feed on the blood of the blacks within and out of South Africa. Apart from the daily heinous murders and assassinations occurring

on the South African soil itself, every one of the countries neighbouring it has in one from or another been turned into a scene of its deliberate blood-thirsty actions. There have been murders by the regime in Namibia, Angola, Mocambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Swaziland and Lesotho. Surely the blood trail has grown too long and time has now come for a halt to be called to it. The down-trodden people of South Africa will certainly soon declare that enough is enough and thus the blood the Botha regime has been feeding on will begin to turn against them. Indeed, the people of South Africa have no choice but to emulate the revolutionary way followed by Frelimo under the leadership of Samora in overthrowing the Portuguese. The

fight must be carried on to the finish. Forward ever, backwards never! May I assure the people of South Africa and Namibia that just as the people of Mocambique made our struggle their own so do we make the South African and Namibian struggles our own. We cannot and never shall allow the death of Samora to deter us in our just stand in support of a just struggle.

May I thank you and the Harare Province for organising today's event in spite of the short notice given you. The people of Mozambique will no doubt be delighted and inspired that Zimbabwe has given them, in this their dark hour, so much support.

# Midlands Provincial Report

*The ZANU (PF) Midlands Province held its annual provincial conference in Gweru on Saturday October 25, 1986. The President and First Secretary of ZANU (PF) Comrade R.G. Mugabe delivered the opening address which is reprinted below in full;*

The Chairman of the Midlands Province, Comrade Richard Hove, Comrade Deputy President and Second Secretary of the Party, Members of the Central Committee, Members of the Midlands Provincial Executive Council, Distinguished Guests from sister Provinces, Representatives of the Midlands Districts, Comrades and Friends,

Before I address you, May I ask you to join me in observing a minute of silence in remembrance of the late President of FRELIMO and of Mozambique Comrade Samora Machel. This gallant hero of Africa, leader and liberator of the Mozambican people, brother and ally of the



**Botha cannot assassinate the Mozambican Revolution: First Secretary and President of ZANU (PF) Cde. R.G. Mugabe**

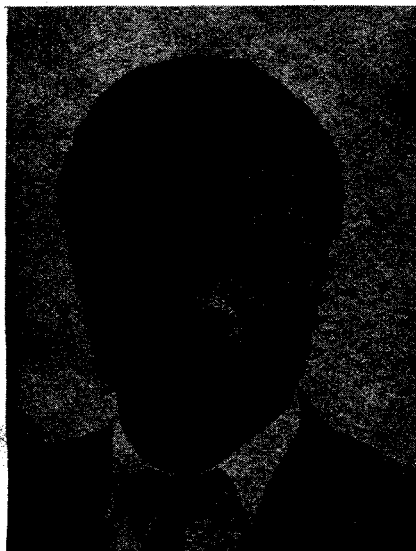
people of Zimbabwe, supporter and defender of all oppressed people of the world died on Sunday, the 19th of October in a plane crash that claimed thirty three other lives. He was a comrade-in-arms not only to his own people, but to all the suffering and oppressed people, a quality in his character which made him more dear to our Party, and to the

people of Zimbabwe especially so because of the support, encouragement and the sacrifice he made towards our own liberation. He had dedicated his life to the continuous struggle for independence, democracy and social justice, not only in the Southern African sub-region, but also everywhere in the world where people suffer from col-

onial oppression, imperialist aggression, socio-economic exploitation and racial bigotry, specifically apartheid and zionism. As we mourn his tragic and untimely death, we know that his spirit and his love are with us and urge us to rededicate ourselves to the principles which he fought for while he lived and to continue this just struggle until final victory. We cannot forget his shrill call and reminder as he so often repeated "A Luta Continua!" And the echo of this slogan, as sung by him shall remain in the corridors of time until the oppressed and the poor emerge victorious . . . (A minute's pause is observed).

#### **Rededication to the Revolutionary Principles of ZANU (PF)**

Yes, comrades, you in this Province have grown too familiar with these moments of sorrow and grief. In the two years since 1984, you have on several occasions, solemn and grief-stricken, stood by the grave-side, mourning and laying to rest some of your valiant sons and daughters such as the late Governor Benson Ndemera, Comrade James Bassoppo Moyo, Colonel Flint Magamá and only recently, Comrade Charles Tazvishaya. Perhaps, the only valuable tribute we could pay to these and other departed heroes is, especially at occasions such as today's Annual



**The Late Cde. Charles Tazvishaya**

Conference, to solemnly re-commit and rededicate ourselves to the noble ideals and principles exemplified in the lives of these dear and valiant fighters for freedom and justice.

It is upon thoughts and hopes such as these that I attach to your Annual Conference great significance.

This is more so because of the valuable opportunity the Conference accords you to take stock of your conduct as a Party and as individuals in the preceeding years, and to recommit yourselves to the principles and methods of work which we espouse as a Party and as individual members of the party.

Your Chairman has given you an informative summary of the major events of the preceeding two years giving major highlights of your achievements and constraints, and I believe you deserve to be congratulated, all in all, for a very successful two years.

Yes, you deserve to be congratulated, for example, for putting in place very sound and effective structures for mobilizing the masses and campaigning for the Party during the 1985 General Election. I did congratulate you at the Victory Celebrations in March this year for having overwhelmed the small political parties and tendencies in this Province, and so won all the twelve Parliamentary seats contested for during the General Election, and I wish to repeat my congratulations: "Makorokoto! Amhlope! Congratulations!" You have made the Midlands practically a One-Party Province and this is as it should be.

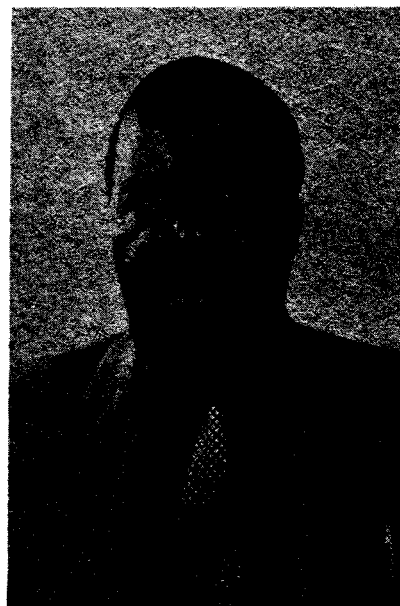
#### **Government Implements Party Line**

I am also pleased to hear that while keeping its leading role in the province, the Party in the Midlands has established healthy mutually supportive relationships and modes of operation with the critical State apparatus, notably the Offices of the Provincial Representatives of given Ministries of Central Government, Local Government authorities and the representatives of the Army, and the Police in the Province. With such unity of purpose between the Party and the Government, the country's development is assured and the nation only stands to benefit.

I have learnt with satisfaction that the Midlands Development Corporation and the Midlands Development Fund were created through the initiative of the Party as the main

organs through which the Party, in collaboration with local and central Government authorities, attempts to shape and direct the economy of the Province. I do hope that these institutions will grow in viability and actually establish successful factories, wholesales, mines, farms, cultural houses, creches and transport as is anticipated. I may only suggest, in passing, that your Midlands Development Fund (MDF) should not, in practice, behave as a mini IMF, throttling, instead of facilitating, people-oriented progress and development in the Province.

In pursuing your economic programmes on the basis of these two institutions, it is of paramount importance that you follow the broad prin-



**The Late Cde. Benson Ndemera**

ciples and targets set, initially, by the Second People's Congress and refined late into concrete sectoral programmes and targets by the Provincial Development Councils and the Central Government. Your own programmes should draw from and complement Provincial and Central Government Development Plans.

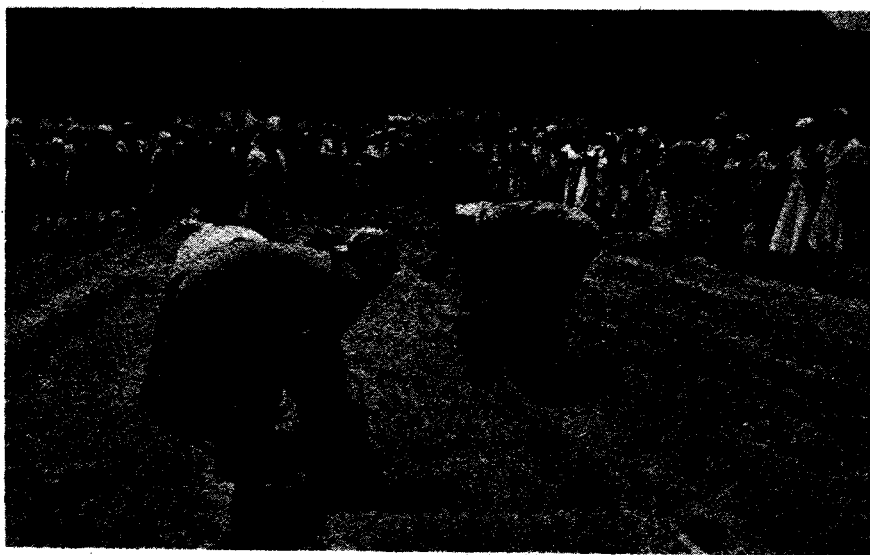
#### **The Cell is the basis of a strong Party Structure**

On the organisational side, the Midlands has yet more plusses in its favour in respect of the number of rallies held, seminars conducted, Party restructuring and recruitment of new members in the past two years. As we have heard from your Annual

Report, the Midlands Province has 170 properly constituted Party Districts. However, while it is still desirable to continue the drive for more Party members and consequently, more Cells, Branches and Districts, the present structural state of the Party throughout the country requires more serious qualitative transformation. Our Party must, in order to meet the faces of internal and external demands and challenges, be organised upon clear and verifiable principles. Claiming that the Midlands Province has 170 Party Districts may be much easier than, say, convening a Branch meeting and calling a register to determine genuine membership. We must avoid the existence of fictitious members in the Party registers who swell Party popularity beyond the bounds of the reality on the ground. Our qualitative transformation in this regard calls for:-

- a) a new type of leadership which knows its followers so closely enough as to be able to judge their genuineness;
- b) a membership of the Party which is paid up on its dues, is loyal to the Party and attends Party meetings on a regular basis;
- c) an up-to-date register of members, indicating whether or not one pays one's dues in time, whether one attends the Party meetings when required to do so, — thus showing clearly whether one is a strong or weak member of the Party.
- d) definite boundaries for Cells, Branches and Districts;
- e) purposeful, well decided, regular and productive meetings as against rushed, too frequent and boring meetings which tend to discourage and turn away new members. As the Chairman said earlier, such meetings must have clearly spelt out agendas, with minutes of proceedings taken, read and adopted.

If our structural transformation reached the desired level of excellence, it should always be easy to send and receive messages up and down the Party hierarchy within the shortest possible time. Such structural excellence will in turn facilitate easier mobilization of the people for action in any national, provincial and district emergency. From your report, Comrade Chairman, it seems you are nearer this goal, but should you, in reality, be further rather than nearer this goal, I urge your Province to go flat out towards the achieve-



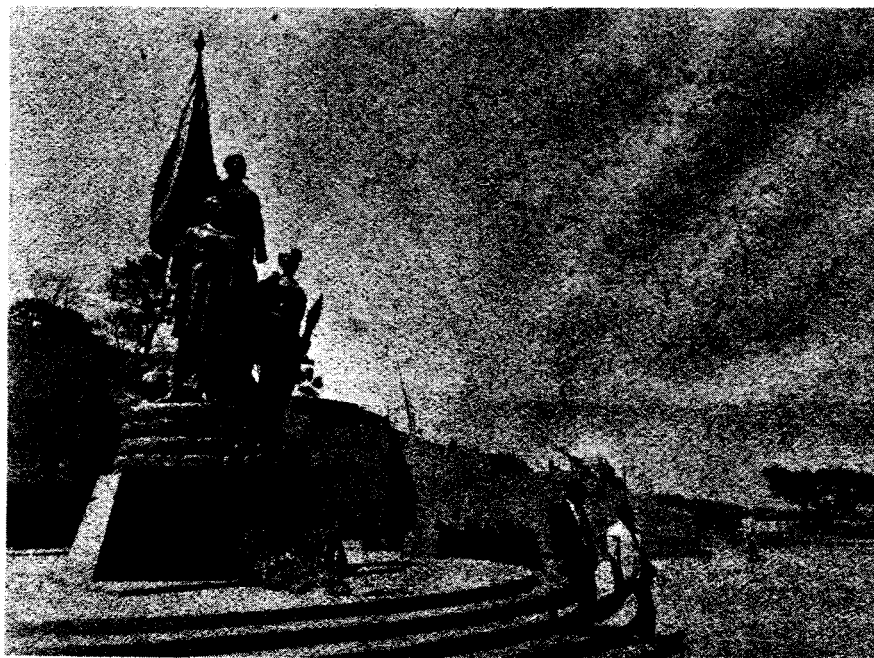
Under the guidance of the Party in the Provinces, community projects are taking root

ment of this desirable structural excellence

#### **ZANU (PF) is a Marxist-Leninist Party**

In addition to this, we should also aim to increase our efforts towards the attainment of a higher political-ideological consciousness and commitment among all our members. By and large, the Midlands has been in the forefront in its programmes of political-ideological education. The Chairman's Report gave us some data in this respect, and I can only urge you to keep up the good work.

At occasions such as this, we need to remind each other that we belong to a Party that has a Line and specific objectives. We are a Marxist-Leninist Party and are committed to this Line. As such, ZANU is committed to safeguarding the political and economic interests and gains of the workers and peasants as against those of the bourgeoisie. Such a commitment may sound easy and simple if viewed simplistically and superficially. In reality, it is a grave responsibility, or, to use a Christian metaphor, a heavy cross. By committing ourselves to an ideology of workers



and peasants, we have chosen to be known and to live as and for workers and peasants. By this, I mean that a true member of ZANU views a fellow comrade from no other perspective than that they are comrades-in-arms who are united in purpose and fight the same struggle. More concretely, a comrade is a comrade, whether one is a man or a woman, black or white, Ndebele, Kalanga, Zezuru, Karanga, Ndau, Tonga, Fingo or Manyika. A Ndebele and a Zezuru defending our pipeline and routes to the sea know themselves by no other identity than that they are soldiers of the people. So, too, a Karanga and a Manyika working on a factory-line know each other by no other identity than that they are workers. So must it be in our daily conduct.

In saying this, I am painfully aware that we have experienced in the course of the year the surfacing of ugly head of regionalism and tribalism at several levels of our Party and we regarded such a development as unfortunate. The Midlands, placed as it is at the heart of Zimbabwe, is naturally an ethnic watershed. We have all the tribes and all the races represented in substantial numbers in this Province, perhaps more than in any other Province. The multi-ethnic and multi-tribal nature of the Midlands is an asset to you which should be used to the nation's best advantage. In the Midlands, different tribes and dialects live and work side by side as comrades, or as fellow country men and women, or as fellow workers or simply as comradely neighbours and this is what the country craves for.

Let me hasten to emphasise that tribalism does not mean "the act of belonging to a tribe", nor does regionalism mean "the act of coming or originating from a given region".

If this were so, we would not hold the individual blameworthy for it because we all *do not* and *cannot* choose what tribe to belong to or region to originate from. In its ugliness, it means the wilful act of creating gangs of people of one's tribe or from one's region for the purpose of furthering selfish or parochial interests. It manifests itself in the form of snide remarks, denial of opportunities and hatred of people belonging to other tribes or regions. Usually, it benefits, first and

foremost, and sometimes only the tribalistic or regionalistic gang leader, while the rest are servants of the leader's selfish aspirations. We condemn tribalism and regionalism unreservedly because they are retrogressive tendencies which divide the nation, cause hatred and suspicion among Party comrades and negate the principles of equality, democracy and social justice.

### Unity is Strength

Our geo-political location, especially our proximity to apartheid South Africa demands of us that we rid our Party and nation of all divisive tendencies, especially regionalism and tribalism and petty loyalties to parochial political parties and instead, organise and unite ourselves behind our Party, ZANU, and so work upon the basis of our sound organisational and ideological principles and methods of work.

Recent events in our region, particularly South Africa's acts of naked aggression and destabilization of Angola, Botswana, Zambia, Mozambique and our country and, of late, the mysterious plane crash in which President Machel perished, have exposed to us the absolute necessity for us to unite and, through the phenomenon and instrumentality of our unity, guard our independence, sovereignty and economic institutions jealously day and night and every hour. We have to attain a level of operational preparedness to defend ourselves at the most sudden provocation or aggression by both our internal and external enemies.

On its part, South Africa will, in its demented defence of the evil and indefensible apartheid, continue its desperate acts of aggression and destabilisation including assassination and coups, against neighbouring independent black States — and our only defence is our unity, vigilance and readiness to fight for our country.

### Let Us Work Hard to Fulfill the Objectives of the 5 Year National Development Plan

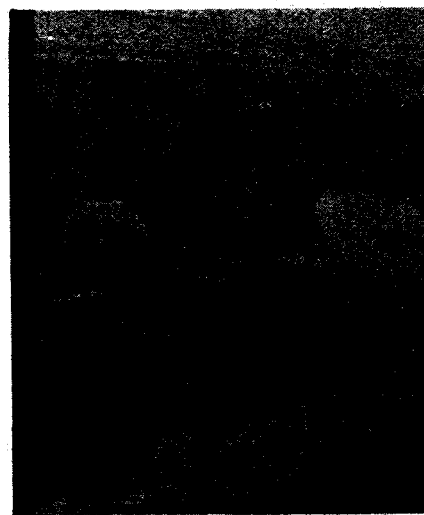
Let me conclude my address by urging you to support both Central and Local Government in our effort to develop our economy and defend our

country. As regards the former, you are called upon to take a keen interest in the implementation of the First Five-Year National Development Plan and the Midlands Provincial Development Plan.

As I said earlier, the First Five-Year National Development Plan is based on the resolutions of the Second People's Congress. As such, it is the brain-child of the Party. Accordingly, the Party machinery must support the State machinery in interpreting and implementing the philosophy, programmes and targets of the Plan. The Party Cells, Branches, Districts and Provinces must support and complement the State structures such as VIDCOs, WAD-COS, District Development Committees and the Provincial Development Councils. Such a symbiosis guarantees — barring hostile exogenous factors such as the drought and aggression — our sure march towards economic emancipation and the enjoyment of fuller political power by the workers and the peasant farmers.

With these words, I once again wish to thank you for inviting me to your Annual Provincial Conference which I now declare open.

Thank you.



# The Chairman's Report

*On October 25 the ZANU (PF) Midlands Province presented its annual report to the Provincial conference which was opened by the First Secretary and President of the Party, Comrade R.G. Mugabe. The report included that of the Chairman, the Secretary and the Treasurer. They concentrated on activities of the Party within the Province, the membership drive and the efforts of the party to establish such organisations as, the Midlands Developmental Corporation (MIDCO), the Midlands Developmental Fund (MIDEF) for the enhancement of the developmental programmes under the guidance of the Party. In the last general elections ZANU (PF) swept all the 12 seats. Here follows a condensed version of the report.*

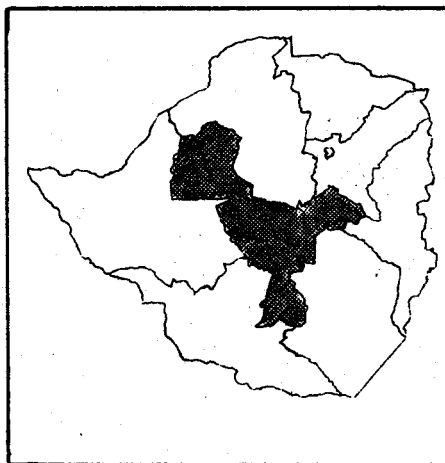
This report covers the period since the 2ND PEOPLE'S CONGRESS in 1984. It highlights the general state of the PARTY, the State and the Economy in the Province. A clear understanding of the Party and its role in Government and in the economy will help devise better strategies and tactics for mass mobilization to strengthen the Party and Government and to mobilize the people for production to increase the wealth of the province and the country. He are some of the major events.

- (a) **Visits by the President and First Secretary of the Party**  
The President and First Secretary made important visits, one in June 1985 to help the province in the General Elections Campaign and the other in March 1986 to Celebrate the Election Victories of the Party Candidates in the Province.

Cde. Mugabe came to the Province several other times during the year. He was in Mberengwa — at Mataga and Masvingo. He visited Shurugwi and opened Tongogara Heroes Acre.

The President and First Secretary led the Province and the Nation in mourning Cde. Benson Ndemera in Gweru and Cde. Col. Flint Magama in Zvishavane. These visits by the President and First Secretary of the Party, whether they were undertaken for victory celebrations, for star rallies, for burying

heroes or for opening a Heroes Acre or a school, were a source of inspiration to us in the leadership of the province and a source of joy and rejuvenation of our membership who had the chance to see and hear the President of the Party. The President and the Central Committee members are busy people, but as Chairman of the Province of the Midlands, I consider the visits as major occasions that help build the Party. My wish is that the President may not come and just address rallies but that he meets in discussion with the leadership of the Province separately so that we can get further guidance for building and leading the Party.



- (b) **Bereavement of Leading Party and Government Cadres in The Province**

(i) The Party in the Midlands



**The Chairman of ZANU (PF) Midlands Province Cde. Richard Hove**

and the Nation mourned the passing away of Vice Chairman and Governor of the Province, Cde. Benson Ndemera. His death has put a heavier burden on me as Chairman of the Party and has left a major gap in the leadership of the Province. Consequently the Midlands Provincial Coordinating Committee has approved the "Ndemera Scholarship Fund" each year for post "O" level education.

(ii) The Party and Parliament lost a veteran of our struggle, Cde. James Bassopo Moyo. He was buried at Driefontein in the District of Chirumhanzi, in our province.

(iii) The Party and Government lost a freedom fighter, a gallant Party Cadre and a leading member of our Defence Forces, Cde. Col. Flint Magama.

(iv) The Party and Government lost a diplomat, a fighter, a scholar, a Party cadre and a leading member of the Civil Service who worked as the Prime Minister's Principal Private Secretary and later as Deputy Secretary in the Ministry of Defence, Cde. Charles Tazvishaya popularly known as Lovemore Mazivisa.

(v) The Party lost leading Party Cadres as a result of dissident activities which will be highlighted by reports from the Secretary for Security.

All the deceased cadres received decent burials and our Party and Government Organs in the

Midlands Province as well as the Party and Government at National level are to be commended being so caring for its membership.

### (c) The General Elections

The General Elections of 1985 left a definite imprint on the Party in the Province. It showed that our major strengths is through proper strategy and methods of Party organisation. It showed that irrespective of language, tribe and region, armed with a good strategy and proper methods of organisation, we as a Party can unite all the people of Zimbabwe.

As a Province, we feel qualified to comment on cementing unity because we border with, except two Party Provinces in the whole country, Harare and Mashonaland Central. No other Province can boast of the diversity of languages of its people who reside in communal areas as opposed to the towns which are natural melting pots. Given this background, the continuing superiority of the Party and the demise of minority parties is a direct result of the correct ideological, tactical and good methods of Party work, under the leadership of the First Secretary and President of the Party, Cde. R.G. Mugabe.

### The State of the Party in the Province since 1984 — Significance of the 2nd People's Congress of 1984

(a) This is our first published report since the Congress of the Party in 1984. The importance of that Congress on the nature, direction and conduct of the Party in the Midlands was and is immense. After the Congress, I was elected your Chairman and replaced Cde. Fredrick Shava who was appointed Deputy Secretary for Administration.

Two members of the Province are entitled to be members of the Central Committee thus facilitating better

communication between that higher organ and our Provincial Executive Council. As your Chairman and member of the Central Committee, I hope I have tried to maintain that balanced outlook of a national as well as a Provincial leader. Of course, during the major part of the period under review, my colleague from the Provincial Executive Council in the Central Committee, Cde. Ziyambi, was under suspension. It is indeed a tribute to the integrity of the provincial council that of the three suspensions submitted to the Central Committee at the time, only that of the Midlands Province was upheld.

The Second People's Congress adopted a New Constitution which we now operate under. The period since the Congress was a period of learning for all of us. A constitution of the Party is a most important legal document guiding the Party. In it are found laws governing the conduct of members, the organs and functions of those organs etc.

We have urged our leadership at all levels to understand the Constitution and we must continue to urge them and teach the entire membership — that "Constitution ndiro gwara re ZANU (PF)."

The Second People's Congress adopted a leadership Code governing the conduct of the entire leadership in the area of engaging in business ventures of their own. The Politburo and the Central Committee have been debating how to implement the Code since the Congress. The directives coming from these higher organs of the Party will of course be binding on all of us.

Our Party must influence the direction of the economy of the Midlands. The adoption of Marxism-Leninism by the Party requires the Party to continue to restructure itself along good *organisational*

*principles* and the *Party organs to adopt good methods of Work*. You might ask what these good organisational principles. My answer is simple and that is: "To understand and follow the Party Constitution in creating the Districts, Branches and Cells." The report of the Commissariat has highlighted Party Organs and membership in the Province. Are they created on good organisational principles as laid down in the Constitution?

You might also ask what these good methods of work are by the organs. Again the answers are simple and they are:

- each officer must understand his/her task;
- each officer must carry out his/her duties properly and on time;
- each member must freely speak during meetings;
- the agendas of meetings must be clearly spelt out;
- the minutes must be written, read and adopted;
- the decisions of the majority must be binding to all members;
- members must be conscious of time;
- There must be regular meetings of the District Executive Council and of the Branch and Cell executives, these must be convned in a proper way.

Comrades, the adoption of Marxism-Leninism also means that we must be disciplined to follow the Constitution adopted by the Congress. We must be disciplined to follow directives of the higher organs of the Party and we must democratically debate the issues confronting us in the Party, the Government and the Economy.

The Congress influenced our actions over the last two years and will continue to guide us in future.

### (b) Vacancies Within The Provincial Executive Council

During the period under review, the following vacancies occurred:-

#### (i) Treasurer:-

Following revelation of

embezzlement of Funds by the Treasurer, Cde. Ziyambi, the Provincial Executive Council recommended and was upheld by the Central Committee to suspend and later dismiss Cde. Ziyambi from being Treasurer of the Midlands.

His Deputy Cde. Ben Mataka has been acting in that role since 1985. He will present the Treasurer's report for consideration by the Provincial Congress.

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**(ii) Vice Chairman:**

As reported in my introduction to this report, Cde. Benson Ndemera, our Vice Chairman passed away in February, 1986. His post has not been filled nor is there anybody acting on his behalf. During the period under review, Cde. Ndemera was very active in mobilizing the people in the Province to join the Party. As a Vice Chairman who was resident in the Province, he represented me during my absence and he was present on my behalf to give continuous encouragement to Party organs and to supervise departmental work of the Party. The vacancy created by his death must be filled as a matter of necessity.

**(iii) Secretary:**

Cde. Byron Hove was removed from being Secretary of the Province by the Central Committee which is the highest organ and can constitute itself into a disciplinary committee of the Party as outlined in the Constitution. Cde. Byron Hove also resigned from Parliament as directed by the Central Committee. His removals from both the Provincial Executive Council and from Parliament came after he attacked Cde. H. Ushewokunze, as a person, during a Parliamentary debate on the alleged investigating the il-

legal sale of houses owned by the National Railways of Zimbabwe. While he was removed from the Provincial Executive Council, Cde. Hove remains a full member of the Party and can assume any office after his period of suspension expires in April 1987. His post remains vacant and Cde. Chinyati, the Deputy Secretary is the Acting Secretary. He has presented the report on the Administration of the Party in the Province. His report has also highlighted the leading organs of the Party from the Central Committee to the Cell.

**(iv) Youth Chairman:**

The chairman of the Provincial Youth League Cde. Mukacha was suspended by the Youth Executive. The final outcome of his suspension awaits the decision of the National Youth League Council.

**The State in the Midlands Province:**

Comrades, Government is a critical instrument in fulfilling the Party's objectives. As a Party in the Province, we must clearly understand the state in order not to interfere where it is unnecessary and in order to give proper guidance at all times.

By state of government in the Province, we are talking at first, of the office of the Governor, the offices of Ministries in the Province including army, police, etc. Second, by state and government, we are talking about all the councils of local government found in the Province. By State we are talking about the Ward Development Committees (WADCOs) and Village Development Committees (VIDCOs).

All these organs of the State are vital for carrying out the policies of the Party. This principle was adopted by the People's Congress in 1984 namely:- "The Party shall lead the Government."

As a Party in the Province, we have struggled since the Congress, first, to understand how to carry out this leadership of the Party over Government and secondly, to work with all state organs. Some departments such

as Security, Production and Publicity have to work through and with the relevant organs of Government in order to discharge their functions in the Party.

**(a) Office of the Governor and Coordination with the Party**

The office of the Governor is a critical organ of State power in the Province. In order to create organisational harmony, the Party has created the Midlands Provincial Coordinating Committee where the Governor is a member. After the death of Cde. Benson Ndemera, the President of the Country on the advice of the Prime Minister, appointed Cde. Trainos Makombe as the Provincial Governor. Cde. Makombe is a Party member who has risen to be Mayor of Gweru. In the M.P.C.C., the Party expects Cde. Makombe to give account of the Province in the area of development. The office of the Governor is responsible for producing the Provincial Development Plan. This plan must be in harmony with the policy of the Party and Government. A plan which does not have Party policy lacks support of the masses. In the last two years working with both Cde. Makombe and the late Cde. Ndemera we have not experienced any problems of coordination. As a Party, we must also rely on the office of the Provincial Governor with other Provincial Heads of Ministries or the Councils. This method of work avoids confusion because confusion is an enemy of the people and progress. I encourage the Governor and his office to continue working closely with the Provincial Executive leadership because that is a sure way of ensuring success in our programmes.

**The Councils and Development**

The Midlands Province has some of the biggest urban, rural and district councils in the country. These councils play major roles in development. As a Province of the Party, we have taken a

leading role in ensuring that, first the councillors elected, are of a high calibre. This is vital because councils such as Gweru, Gokwe and others run budgets of millions of dollars — (Gweru \$35 million and Gokwe over \$5 million). These councillors are all sponsored by the Party and must remain accountable to the Party and the people. We must continue to maintain a high calibre of councillors if we are to avoid disaster in running the councils. Secondly, the Party in the Province must ensure good leadership of the councils by advising and supervising election of chairman and mayors. As a Party, we must ensure that we give the councils good leadership and ideology.

Thirdly, the Party, through its councillors must ensure that good cadres are employed to run the affairs of councils. We have had problems in the past with some council officials mismanaging people's money. We strive to ensure that our councils choose cadres based on *merit and no other persuasion*. The Councillors owe it to the Party to ensure that Councils are well run.

We note that Government has announced its intention to amalgamate the rural and the district councils. Our Party sponsored councillors must keep the Party informed of the progress or lack of it on this important exercise that is aimed at eliminating the last vestiges of the land Tenure Act that divides our province into black-run and white-run councils.

During the period under review, we have attended to employee problems in Kwekwe, Zvishavane Town Board and the Mberengwa Rural Council. The problems have been, or will be resolved.

There have been a change of mayorship in Gweru. Cde. E. Tongo resigned after election to Parliament, giving way to Cde. Makombe. Following Cde. Makombe's promotion

as Regional Director of Education in Matebeleland and subsequent appointment as Governor of the Midlands Province, Councillor Ishmail is the new Mayor. There have been changes in Gokwe, first, when Cde. Makanganise became a Member of Parliament, Cde. Machaya who became chairman in 1985 is the new member of Parliament for Gokwe East. Mberengwa has a new Chairman, Cde. Dube following Cde. Mataga's election to be a Member of Parliament. These changes were properly guided by the Party.

#### (c) WADCOs and VIDCOs

The Party cadres are the leading members of these lower structures of the state power. During 1984 elections were held for VIDCOs. The overwhelming majority of the members in most District Council areas are ZANU (PF) members. We must ensure that we consolidate the leadership of the Party at these lower levels.

#### (iv) The State of the Economy in the Province

I have stated earlier that we started concentrating on economic issues during and after the General Elections of 1985. During the elections every candidate was acquainted with a development plan drawn by the council in his area. After the elections, a sub-committee of the M.P.C.C. presented to the M.P.C.C. proposals for the establishment of the Midlands Development Corporation (MIDCO) and the Midlands Development Fund (MIDEF). Below I give a summary of the objectives of both MIDCO and MIDEF. The Provincial Council and the M.P.C.C. are anxious to ensure that we carry out these objectives.

#### A. Midlands Development Corporation (MIDCO)

- (a) Shall be the development Arm of the Party in the Midlands Province.
- (b) The Party, through, MIDCO, shall establish Party

properties throughout the province. These Party properties shall be in the form of:-

- i) productive assets which include — factories, farms commercial wholesale outlets, mines, transport ventures etc.

- ii) non-productive assets which include Party Administrative Centres, cultural houses, cretches etc.

- (c) The Party, through its Co-ordinative machinery at Provincial and Constituency levels, shall harmonise the activities of MIDCO with those of State owned Co-operations and those of Cooperatives operating in the Province.

**B. Midlands Development Fund**  
In Order for Midlands Development Corporation to carry out its activities, summarised above, there is need to establish a permanent fund from which the various projects may be funded. The Midlands Provincial Coordinating Committee has, therefore, established MIDEF.

Funds for MIDEF shall be mobilized from among Party members, commerce, industry and donations from governmental or non-governmental organisations. The MIDEF shall also engage in productive fund raising ventures.

#### C. Reasons for establishing MIDCO and MIDEF

The Midlands Province is endowed with mineral and agricultural resources capable of laying the foundation, not only for rapid and balanced development in the area, but also for the basis for industrialisation in the country. The Provincial Executive Council and the Provincial Co-ordinating Committee, therefore, have a major task to draw up a strategy to ensure that the extraction and processing of all natural, surface and underground resources is carried out for:-

- (a) the maximum contribution of national social and economic development;
- (b) creation of full employment for all able-bodied working-age population in the province and;

- (c) ensuring a steady rise in the standard of living of the population and eliminating the distinction between town and rural areas throughout the province.

The basic strategy to attain these goals in the province is to create and/or encourage the creation of Party and State property in productive enterprises, transport and wholesale trade, etc.

(i) **Maximum Contribution to National Development**

This requires first the total mobilization of the people for development. The people have therefore, to know the functions of Government Departments in the Province for them to be able to take full advantage of technical, material and financial inputs given by the State.

Secondly, it requires the establishment, full encouragement and support of new forms of economic organisations and management namely, co-operatives and collectives, state enterprises and Local Authority enterprises.

(ii) **Creation of Employment**

As a way of solving the school-leavers' problem and unemployment in general, the Party, State and Local Authorities have to seriously engage in material production. The Midlands Provincial Co-ordinating Committee shall encourage the state to acquire more shares, enter into joint ventures and establish productive enterprises in the province. It shall encourage Local Authorities to set up their enterprises in production, transport and distribution and support co-operatives. Every District and Urban Council must set up its own productive enterprises and not rely on beer revenues only.

iii) **Steady Rise in the Standard of Living**

The expansion of education, health and housing facilities shall be based on the expansion of material production through the funds generated from the Party, State and

Local Authorities' productive enterprises.'

Establishment of Party wholesale trading Companies will reduce the transport costs of local retail traders and thereby make essential commodities available to the people at government controlled prices. All these enterprises, Party, State, Local Authorities and individuals have a role to play and complement one another.

The State has already established or is in the process of establishing such enterprises in the form of parastatals and state farms. Local Authorities have also established their local authority Enterprises.

It is also now imperative that the Party starts establishing Party enterprises, hence the establishment of MIDCO and MIDEF as a beginning towards that objective.

**B. Starting point for the Establishment of MIDEF:**

To establish party enterprises in the Midlands Province the Provincial Co-ordinating Committee established the MIDCO and MIDEF, the responsibilities of which have been explained above. In order for the Party to approach potential donor organisations and agencies to raise money for MIDEF, or to borrow from financial institutions the initial funds for the establishment of MIDEF must come out of our own initiative. The Provincial Co-ordinating Committee has established the following minimum contributions by members of the Party for the purpose of launching MIDEF.

(i) 1 bag of maize per family for farmers

(ii) \$20 each for those who can pay in cash

The response was good but due to problems of empty bags, last year we failed to undertake the collection of the maize donations. We are currently sending empties to all Districts and I wish to take this opportunity to appeal to you all to respond positively.

As chairman, I apologize for our failure last year but let

nobody's spirits be dampened. We must try harder this year.

These contributions have to be collected now. The Provincial Co-ordinating Committee decided that these donations shall be channelled through the Party structures. Party Treasurers at cell, branch and district levels are the only people authorised to receive these donations and only official receipts shall be issued to the contributing members.

These funds, arising from the people's efforts shall be used in the following manner:-

(a) 60 per cent shall go towards establishing Party productive enterprises such as factories, farms, commercial wholesale outlets, mines, transport ventures etc.

(b) 30 per cent shall go towards establishment of non-productive projects such as building Party Administrative centres, cretches, cultural houses, welfare centres etc.

(c) 10 per cent shall go towards establishing a permanent reserve fund for the Province.

Proper records, accounting procedures and management shall be adhered to. Committed Party members and Cadres in the Province and all over, shall, we are sure, give generously to this noble Party venture.

**E. The Midlands Provincial Council**

The Governor chairs a Provincial Council composed of representatives of Government Ministries, Urban, Rural and District Councils. There are representatives from the Provincial assembly of Chiefs and the Party. Since this is a planning organ, our three representatives are the Secretaries for Production of the main, women and youth wings of the Party.

On drawing of both the District and Provincial Plans, our Party Provincial Council has directed that the following should be highlighted:-

(i) The planned villages and planned grazing scheme should be undertaken in each district council area. There is need to spread this planning in order to increase production of the communal area and in order to ensure

proper environmental balance.

(ii) We want every council area to encourage paddocking. This will ensure controlled stocking and grazing patterns. In Mberengwa, there are seven completed paddocks, fourteen which are being fenced and eleven where fund raising is in progress. We have asked all districts to visit Mberengwa in order to learn more about the scheme. Manyame district is doing well in the Chiwundura area.

Our Party representatives working with the Governor and the Councils must ensure the fulfilment of these directives.

(iii) The Party must continue to encourage and organise cooperatives alongside the Councils and the relevant Departments of Government.

(iv) The Party must continue to address itself on the question of unemployment and school leavers in particular.

(v) The Party must continue to deal with problems faced by workers at their places of work in support of the relevant Ministry of Government.

(vi) Our Party must encourage all Councils to engage in the productive sectors of the economy in order to diversify their tax bases.

(v) Our Party must encourage child spacing.

In summary, the Midlands is the heart of the industrial centre of the country. It can contribute to the industrialization of the country. The Province has a good mining sector and agriculture is diversified. Our Party in the Province must be in the vanguard for production. During the period under review, we have noted the absence in the Province of such critical organs such as the Agricultural and Rural Development Authority (ARDA). The Party and the office of the Governor must work very hard to ensure that ARDA becomes active in the Province.

During the period under review, we have noted the slower pace of resettlement programmes in the Province compared to others. Again the Party and the Governor must work hard to accelerate resettlement activity of Government in the Province.

#### (V) Heroes' Acre

Our Province is convinced that the proper burial of all our fallen fighters and Party cadres is essential. I have indicated that we mourned the death of our heroes such as Cdes. Magama and Ndemera. We hurriedly constructed a Provincial Heroes' Acre in Gweru. Cde. Magama was buried at a place earmarked as a Heroes' Acre in the District of Zvishavane. In Shurugwi, the President opened "the first" properly constructed Heroes' Acre in a District in the country.

We have directed that all the Administrative Districts should select an area to be properly built as the District Heroes' Acre. The Party and the Councils in the area must select these centres quickly. The Party and Councils should raise funds for building these Heroes' Acres. We will be very happy to invite the President to open another Heroes' Acre after Shurugwi.

All fallen Heroes who died in your areas during the war must be identified and documented and their permanent records kept in the Heroes' museum at your Heroes' Acres. The Party must continue to collect this information. The people have abundant information which only needs to be collected by the Party. History will not forgive us if we neglect the sons and daughters of our country who have died in defence of our country and nationhood.

#### (VI) Conclusion:

I want to express my personal thanks to the President and First Secretary of the Party for gracing this Province with the visits he made. I want to thank the Vice President and Second Secretary for being even so ready to give guidance to our deliberations in the Province over the period under review.

I thank members of the Politburo and Central Committee who have assisted us over the years. I especially thank the Central Committee members from the Province who have been very helpful throughout since my election as chairman.

I want to commend the esprit de corps that exists in the leader-

ship of the Province at all levels. Let us continue in this comradely manner while we face the daunting task of restructuring and strengthening our Party. The task ahead of us is enormous. Our unity of purpose will ensure success.

PAMBERI NE ZANU (PF)  
PAMBERI NA PRESIDENT R.G.  
MUGABE

R.C. HOVE  
CHAIRMAN — MIDLANDS PROVINCE — ZANU (PF)

#### ZANU (PF) Newly Elected Provincial Executive Committee

(Names in Order of Seniority)

Name	Post
1. Cde. Richard Hove	Chairman
2. Cde. Ernest Tongogara	Vice Chairman
3. Cde. Justin Nyoka	Secretary
4. Cde. Josia Chinyati	Treasurer
5. Cde. Ben Mataga	Political Commissar
6. Cde. Enias Mabodza	Security Officer
7. Cde. Tadios Kudzedzereka	Publicity Secretary
8. Cde. David Munyoro	Transport Secretary
9. Cde. C.H. Mangwende	Production Secretary
10. Cde. J. Moyo	Vice Secretary
11. Cde. David Ruzive	Deputy Treasurer
12. Cde. Rhukhanda	Deputy Political Commissar
13. Cde. Dick Makanganise	Deputy Security Officer
14. Cde. Philip Maramba	Deputy Publicity Secretary
15. Cde. David Mushana	Deputy Secretary for Transport
16. Cde. B. Mutandwa	Deputy Secretary for Production
17. Cde. Trainos Makombe	First Committee Member
18. Cde. A.M. Nyashanu	Second Committee Member

(continued on page 20)

# PICTORIAL



**Samora Machel was a man of the people**



**Part of the ZANU (PF) delegation which attended the funeral of the late President Samora Machel, in Maputo**



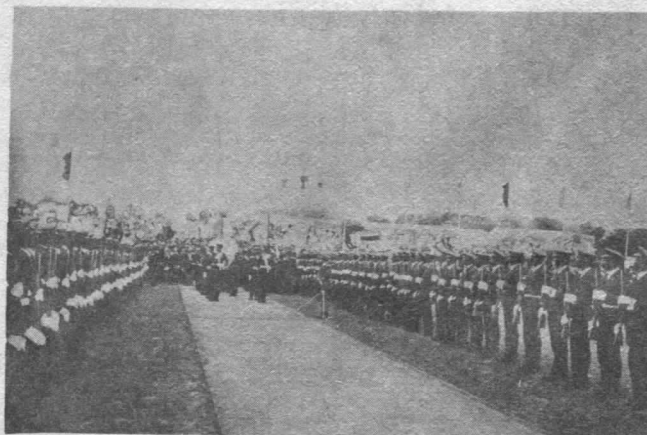
**Zimbabweans lay their wreaths at Heroes' Square in Maputo in honour of Cde. Samora Machel**



**The Prime Minister and First Secretary of ZANU (PF) Cde. Robert Gabriel Mugabe arrives at Heroes' Square, Maputo**



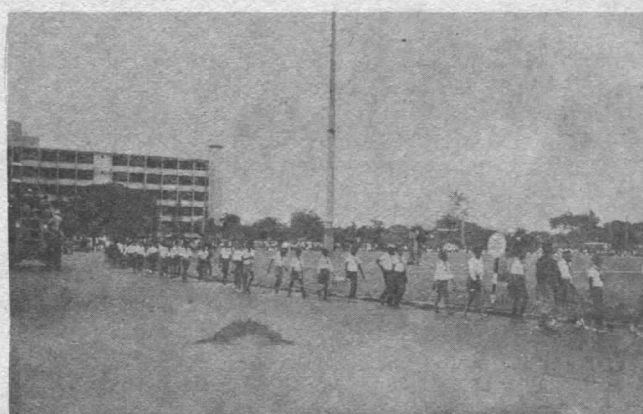
**A moment of contemplation — Cde. R. G. Mugabe and Cde. Marcelino dos Santos**



**Frelimo soldiers carry the body of President Samora Machel to its last place of rest, beside other fallen heroes of the Mozambican Revolution**



The Prime Minister Cde. R.G. Mugabe signs the book of condolences at the Mozambican Embassy in Harare.



Members of the Mozambican Continuadores — (The Young Pioneers) marching towards Heros' Square in Maputo



The Young Pioneers — Cointinuadores line the streets around Hero's Square vowing to carry the Mozambican Revolution through to the end



Samora Machel was loved by all



President Samora Machel addressing the Third Frelimo Congress



# INCOME FOR THE CURRENT YEAR 1986 DISTRICT BY DISTRICT AS FROM SEPT. 1985 TO AUGUST 1986

Name of District	Sept. '85	Oct. '85	Nov. '85	Dec. '85	Jan. '86	Feb. '86	Mar. '86	Apr. '86	May '86	June '86	Jul. '86	Aug. '86	Total
Kwekwe	8 954,50	7 073,95	3 866,81	1 677,60	2 480,53	1 460,25	1 659,20	1 608,75	1 184,50	2 378,30	2 167,66	1 908,50	36 420,55
Gweru	4 404,29	5 566,00	4 089,31	2 958,10	NII	829,50	1 644,65	1 683,95	539,80	1 150,55	1 819,23	813,57	25 499,03
Cheziya	4 567,15	1 777,34	662,00	1 808,75	NII	NII	205,00	89,70	887,55	NII	87,35	1 398,55	11 483,39
Mberengwa	660,00	160,00	125,00	204,50	56,50	237,00	114,75	462,50	455,00	1 454,92	1 772,00	828,00	6 530,17
Shurugwi	27,00	238,00	632,50	22,00	883,15	218,50	952,35	461,10	631,25	123,00	237,65	214,00	4 667,50
Takawira	400,00	1 151,00	450,90	NII	123,30	482,90	NII	409,90	39,10	NII	570,55	647,95	4 275,60
Chikomba	62,00	253,40	454,56	111,00	NII	130,00	140,20	271,25	270,30	NII	581,75	446,35	2 720,81
Zvishavane	165,05	220,50	80,00	100,00	29,40	147,50	135,00	NII	NII	70,00	NII	140,00	1 087,45
Youth League	785,60	803,80	510,00	1 469,50	193,50	51,50	33,00	121,30	43,70	159,25	155,20	43,00	4 369,35
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>20 025,59</b>	<b>17 244,07</b>	<b>10 871,08</b>	<b>8 351,45</b>	<b>3 766,38</b>	<b>3 557,15</b>	<b>4 884,15</b>	<b>5 108,45</b>	<b>4 051,20</b>	<b>5 336,02</b>	<b>7 391,39</b>	<b>6 466,92</b>	<b>97 053,85</b>

# Maputo Declaration



**Leaders of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, (SADCC) from left to right: Prime Minister Robert Mugabe; President Quett Masire; Botswana; President Kenneth Kaunda; Zambia; Cde. Julius Nyerere, Chairman of the ruling Party Tanzania, Chama Cha Mapinduzi; the late Cde. President Samora Machel, Mozambique; and Eduardo dos Santos of Angola; meet for another round of talks for economic independence and the Beira Corridor**

*On October 12th, 1986 the leaders of the Frontline States held a meeting in Maputo to draw up a strategy in the wake of Apartheid South Africa's continued acts of aggression against the independent countries of the region. At the end of their meeting, the leaders of the six Frontline States issued The Maputo Declaration which we publish below:*

We, Jose Eduardo dos Santos, President of the People's Republic of Angola, Quett Masire, President of the Republic of Botswana, Samora Moises Machel, President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, Ali Hassan Mwinyi, President of the United Republic of Tanzania, Kenneth David Kaunda, President of the Republic of Zambia, and Robert Gabriel Mugabe, Prime Minister of the Republic of Zimbabwe, meeting on 12 October, 1986 in Maputo, capital of the People's Republic of Mozambique, seriously concerned at the South African threat to provoke a generalised war in southern Africa, earnestly appeal to the peoples and Governments of the world to take all necessary measures against South Africa to safeguard peace in the region.

The racist Government of South Africa has already embarked on the road of fascism and of war against the peoples of southern Africa.

Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe have been attacked and the Angolan territory is being occupied by South Africa.

The Lusaka Understanding and the Nkomati Accord have been grossly and systematically violated by the Pretoria authorities. South Africa is occupying Angolan territory. Terrorists recruited, trained, organised, directed, financed, supplied and transported by South Africa attack Frontline States and in particular the People's Republic of Mozambique and the People's Republic of Angola. They massacre the people of these countries, they loot, pillage, burn down villages, homes, foodstores,

hospitals, schools, churches, mosques, plantations, factories, buses, trains and trucks. They even kidnap and murder peaceful foreigners.

In its activities, and in express violation of the undertakings it has given, the South African Regime is using the territory of Malawi to attack the People's Republic of Mozambique. It thus drags Malawi into a conflict that is damaging to the interest of its own people, of the peoples of southern Africa, and to peace in the region.

This situation worsened at the end of September. Then the Malawian government, at the same time as it proposed negotiations with the People's Republic of Mozambique, organised, facilitated and set up conditions for bandit gangs to occupy frontier zones in the provinces of Tete, Sofala and Zambezia of Mozambique.

Over the last few days Pretoria has unleashed an incessant campaign of accusations and threats against the People's Republic of Mozambique. South African forces are concentrated along the borders with People's Republic of Mozambique and Zimbabwe and commando units have been infiltrated to carry acts of terrorism in Mozambique.

South Africa blames Mozambique and the other Frontline States for the growing opposition of the South African people to the policy of apartheid.

South Africa takes revenge for the unanimous international condemnation it suffers, by intensifying sanctions against the neighbouring states and expanding the war to them. Contrary for an existing convention, South Africa arbitrarily threatens to expel Mozambican workers from its territory in preparation for further aggression against Mozambique.

We, the heads of state and government of the Frontline States: consider along with all states of the world, that apartheid is a crime against humani-

ty, condemned by all civilised men and women regardless of their political and ideological beliefs, reaffirm our determined and multifaceted support to the People's Republic of Mozambique and the People's Republic of Angola.

We declare that our solidarity with the oppressed peoples of Namibia and South Africa is unwavering, and demand the immediate implementation of UNSCR 435 (1978).

We strongly condemn the support and collaboration that armed bandits in southern Africa enjoy from certain western governments and attempts to promote them as political entities.

We denounce the complicity of the Malawian government with the Pretoria authorities in the terrorist campaign against the People's Republic of Mozambique.

We the Heads of state and government of the Frontline States address ourselves to the heads of state and government of those countries that are members of the United Nations Security Council, and particularly to the permanent members, to the members of the European Economic Community, the Movement of Non-Aligned countries, and of the Organisation of African Unity, and call on them to use all means at their disposal to block Africa's race towards generalised war.

We call upon the international community, and particularly the industrialised countries, to support the People's Republic of Mozambique and the other Frontline States in the strengthening of their defense capacity so that they may confront Pretoria's aggressions. We also appeal for their support for the reconstruction of economies devastated by economic reprisals and military aggression.

We demand that the South African regime put an end to its war against its own people and the people of Namibia. This is the major condition for the restoration of a lasting peace in southern Africa.

We, the heads of state and government of the Frontline States, solemnly reaffirm that we desire to build a southern Africa where the peoples and states of the region, in peace and in all their diversity, coexist, cooperate, and jointly construct a common prosperity. This will be a southern Africa free of apartheid, racism and colonialism, a southern Africa dedicated to cooperation with all states and regions of the world, and with thus contribute towards international peace and security.

*Aluta Continua!*

# The Beira Corridor

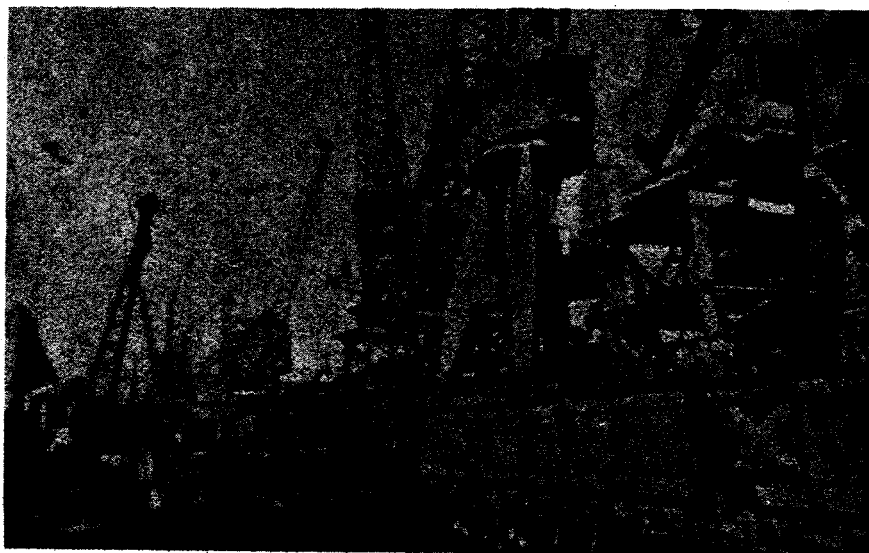
*In August this year, literally before the ink on the Commonwealth mini-summit communique endorsing economic sanctions against South Africa had even dried, racist Pretoria announced retaliatory measures against Zimbabwe and Zambia for their strong pro-sanctions stand at the London indaba.*

South Africa introduced import licences for all imports from Zimbabwe and import levies on all goods passing through to Zambia. Within days, trade traffic was seriously disrupted. Customs agents in South Africa delayed truck traffic from the two countries. Lengthy and frustrating border checks were introduced, slowing down transit time, increasing costs and raising fears about the safety of cargo.

That muscle-flexing by Pretoria was meant to "Teach the front-line states a lesson" for strongly endorsing economic sanctions to force the regime to abandon apartheid.

Front-line states learnt a lesson alright, but the conclusions they drew from the episode were not the ones Pretoria expected. Instead of jamming the lines to Pretoria with apologies and promises of more compliant future behaviour, landlocked countries of this sub-region seized that opportunity to intensify their search for alternative routes to the sea.

This article examines the legacy of dependence on South



The gateway to SADC Economic Interdependence — Beira Harbour — which is being upgraded to handling an increased volume of goods

African routes to the sea by the states of Southern Africa, and looks at efforts now under way to decrease this dependence. In particular the article assesses the "Beira Corridor Project", and why the Mutare-Beira route is so vital to Zimbabwe.

## Legacy of dependence

Dependence on South Africa by states of Southern Africa has been an acknowledged fact for a long time. This dependence has been particularly strong in the area of transport and communications. One look at the map of the area shows how interwoven the regional infrastructure is.

The railway network created during colonial times was firmly linked with the South African system. Right now 50 percent of Southern — Africa's trade goes to or through South Africa. For Malawi and Zimbabwe, the figure is about 90 percent and Pretoria has been aggressive in ensuring its dominance in the transport sector.

Southern Africa's five main railway systems outside South Africa go to the ports of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania, Maputo, Beira and Nacala in Mozambique, and Lobito in Angola.

Three of the five have been sabotaged by South African sponsored bandits, in the case of

Angola by US/South African-backed bandits.

As tension continues to rise in this sub-region, efforts are now under way to expand the TAZARA route which is used primarily by Zambia, and the Mutare-Beira route which will be a vital lifeline for Zimbabwe in the months ahead.

## Beira Corridor

Governments of this sub-region, foreign donors, and Zimbabwe's business community are joining forces to refurbish the Beira Corridor, a 316-kilometre stretch oil pipeline, railway and road from Zimbabwe's border city of Mutare to the Indian Ocean, through Mozambique.

The Beira Corridor Project involves upgrading the existing rail and road routes from the Zimbabwe border to the port of Beira as well as facilities in the port itself. The system will continue to be owned and controlled by the Mozambique authorities and none of the developments now being undertaken will in any way impinge on the sovereignty of Mozambique. The principle elements of the project are being funded by international donors. Management and co-ordination will be provided by the Beira Corridor Authority (BCA), an institution especially created by the Mozambique Government for this purpose.

The Beira Corridor is the shortest trade route for Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi. It lies 600 km from Harare (Durban is 2,065 km from Harare); 649 km from Blantyre (Durban is 3,658); and 1,050 km from Lusaka (Dur-

In October this year a two-day meeting of international donors was held in Brussels. The Conference was organised by the Mozambican Beira Corridor Authority and hosted by the European Economic Community

targeted US\$200 million needed for the next three years of the work, according to a statement issued by Rui Fonseca, Executive Director of BCA. "We are very satisfied", said Fonseca after the Conference.

## Beira Corridor

By using the Beira Corridor, Zimbabwe is expecting to serve at least \$85 million a year. The Beira route is 1,465 km shorter from Harare than the nearest South African Port. Beira constitutes Zimbabwe's natural route to the sea. At present, Zimbabwe is spending 225 million dollars a year by using South African routes.

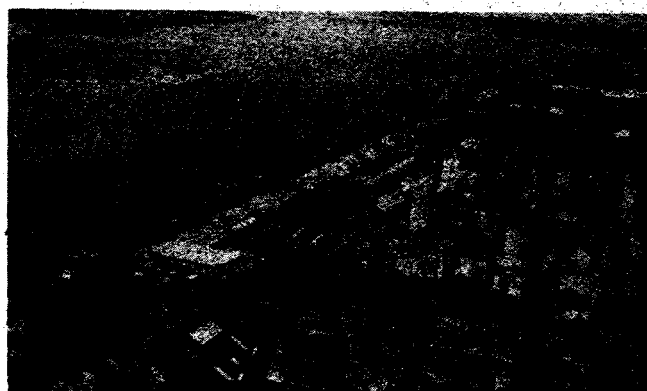
In order to handle increased traffic from the SADCC countries, the Port of Beira is being dredged initially to a depth of nine metres by 1989. The construction is financed by Dutch, Scandinavian and European donor agencies.



ban is 2,571 km).

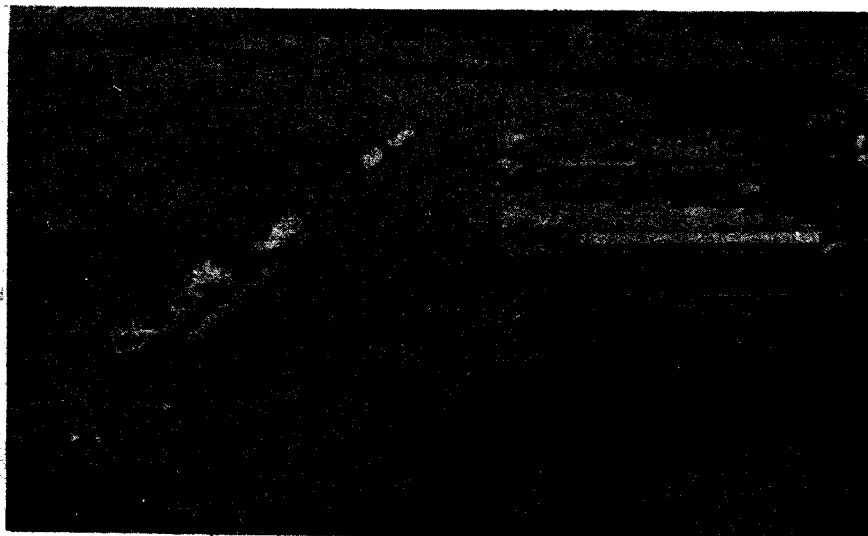
In 1965 Beira handled 4,3 million tonnes of cargo, or more than Zimbabwe's current total foreign trade. For various reasons, however, traffic passing through that outlet declined sharply since that peak year. This year the port will clear 1,5 million tonnes, or about one sixth of the needs of Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe. The 1985 figure was 1,1 million tonnes. Major efforts are now being made to find resources quickly to modernise the Beira Corridor.

Maputo harbour



(EEC). Funds pledged by donors at the conference raised the total so far for the project to US\$180 million, or 90 percent of the

With the US\$180 million secured at the Brussels Conference and at a previous donors' conference in Maputo in April,



Matola harbour

BCA hopes to raise the capacity of Beira Corridor from its present 3,000 tonnes a day to some 8,000 tonnes by mid-1987, according to Fonseca.

"This 2,4 million tonne-a-year capacity is sufficient for the traffic generated by the Beira hinterland today and for the next one and a half years," he said. However, Fonseca pointed out

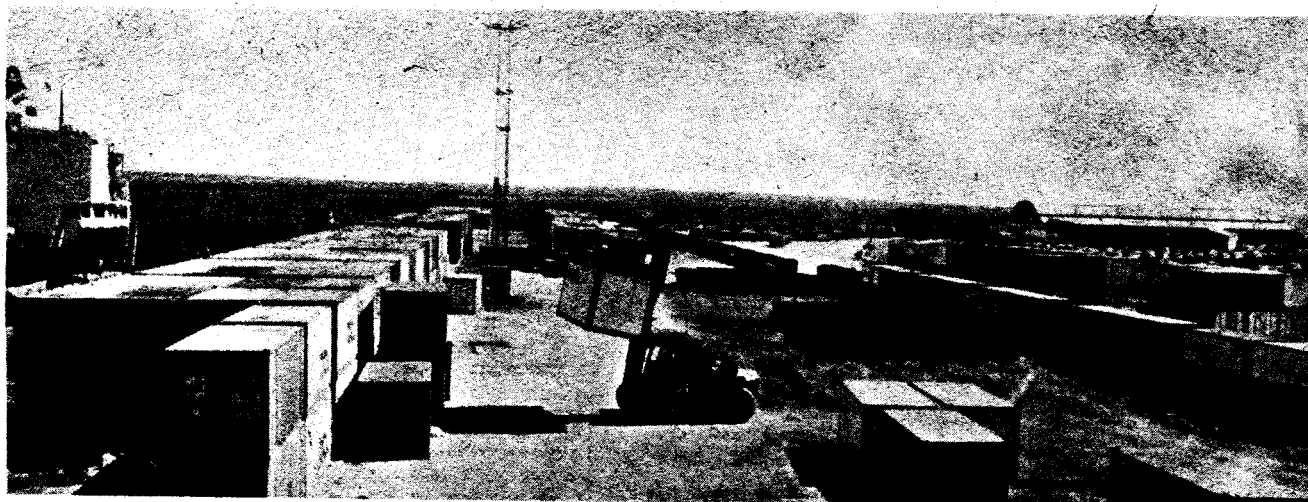
that this did not take into account the possibility that South Africa might close its borders. In that event, he maintained, there were other routes being developed, such as the so-called "TAZARA Corridor" linking Malawi to the port of Dar es Salaam.

In the long term, the 10-year Beira Corridor Project costing a total of US\$660 million dollars in

all would be able to handle almost the entire five million tonne trade estimated for Zimbabwe, Zambia and Zaire in 1995.

For Malawi and Zimbabwe this would mean a saving of some US\$270 million a year in freight charges by taking the much shorter Harare-Beira route instead of the 2,065 km Harare-Durban link.

The importance Zimbabwe attaches to the Beira Corridor has been demonstrated by the level of military commitment which it has made to protect that route from bandit attacks. Recently the Minister of State responsible for security Comrade E. Mnangagwa, spoke of the importance of the Mutare-Beira route in an interview with Inter Press Service news agency. "If we remain tied to South Africa," said Comrade Mnangagwa, "we would remain at their mercy . . . They would strangle us at will."



Nacala harbour

*To our subscribers: You are aware that the year is coming to an end, we hope that it is also not the end of your subscriptions. So hurry and fill in your yearly subscription forms so that you can be assured of your copy of Zimbabwe News in 1987.*

*Remember many policy statements and other information on Zimbabwe's road to socialism is not static, developments will be, plenty, and the thrust towards that goal is the beginning of that important Programme on ZTV and Radio, The Road to Socialism. The First Secretary and President of the Party Cde. R.G. Mugabe will relaunch the Programme. Be advised to be vigilant and not miss the very first programme.*

**Zimbabwe News**

# Housing for all by the Year 2000

**“Pamberi ne ZANU”**

*A young man stood up raising his clenched fist. There was complete silence in the audience. About two hundred people listened attentively.*

“You think that the war ended six years ago, but it didn’t,” he said. “The struggle continues. We continue fighting today in many other fronts. What about housing? Do you think that one can sleep happily in a comfortable house when more than half of our brothers and sisters and more than half our children in the rural areas do not have a decent and safe shelter? We have got the schools and the clinics we wanted, but what about decent houses?”

In 1980 we told the people that ZANU wanted every family to have adequate accommodation, the Second Congress promised a shelter for all by the year 2 000, and last year we repeated the same principle when we fought the election. Are we keeping our promises? There were expressions and signs of approval but there were also doubts. Some women and men from the gathering rose to ask questions:

“We have heard of planned villages. Are we all going to leave our present houses and build new ones in the new places?”

“Do you mean that building materials and tools will be given by the government, do we have to pay for them?”

“Is it true that we only need to pay back in 30 years? “Can those loans be paid at the end of the year after selling crops?”

The shower of questions indicated that housing is becoming an important priority in the consciousness of the masses. Community leaders and government officials tell us that the majority of the people prefer to live in a decent house than to carry on in the old round huts. It also appears that the peasants in the rural areas are ready to mobilise their resources and to produce more in order to use the surplus created in obtaining benefits



According to the 5-Year Development Plan, Zimbabwe will complete 75 000 to 100 000 units in the plan period. There is currently a shortage of 965 000 units. Here the Minister of Public Construction and National Housing, Cde. Simbarashe Mubengegwi officiates at the handing over ceremony of newly complete houses in Gwanda.

for themselves and improve their standards of living. Housing is one of their priorities.

They do not expect that millions of dollars from foreign countries and thousands of experts to give advice will change a situation which is completely theirs. Money and advice were plentiful during one hundred years of colonial rule. Nothing changed. Foreign rule caused countless humiliations which can be again freshly inflicted if we submit to them asking for help, conceding defeat, after having defeated them in the military and political fronts: “Assistance will be accepted but only to the extent that the house that I build I can call it my own.”

## Slow Progress

One wonders why inspite of the readiness of the people to move ahead there is such little progress in dealing with the critical housing situation of this country. Progress in other areas, especially education and health, has been far more prominent. Could it be that the housing situation was specially affected by the neglect of colonial rule? Colonialism saw the rural areas as a massive reservoir of cheap labour. Government, churches and aid agencies were all involved in building schools and clinics which seemed to be their favourite areas of

investment. We never heard of any Church in this country being seriously involved in housing programmes. Education and health were prestigious undertakings and eventually they would pay back. It appears that they were more interested in “development” than in the “community” when the policies of community development were much talked about during the last years of white domination.

It may be noticed that even after independence the investment of public funds in building schools and clinics has exceeded investments in improving the housing situation. We have practically obtained universal education and nearly 3 000 000 students are learning in our schools. The Primary Health Care programme has also been a resounding success in the rural areas. In the Budget of 1986-1987 more than one thousand million dollars (30 per cent of the whole voted appropriation) was allocated to Education and Health, but less than 6 per cent was allocated to Public Construction and only a very small fraction to Housing.

Nevertheless, using facilities provided in the Public Service Investment Programme through the National Housing Fund, attractive schemes have been devised to en-

courage the rural population to build their own houses. Noticeable progress has been registered since independence. The number of houses built since then may be up to 100 000, but this is too little when the target of having a house for each family by the year 2 000 is considered.

The question to be asked here is whether to mobilise the people and to assist them giving a greater scope to self-reliance, or to mobilise capital wherever it is found, as a more reliable source of economic growth.

In order to answer this difficult question it is important to make an assessment of the situation and to consider the means available.

### Over Crowding

Because the rural areas have traditionally absorbed the majority of the population and the cities have been prevented from excessive rural migration, many people do not realise that there is a serious housing problem in this country. "Go to Maputo, Kinshasa and Lagos", people say "see those slums. They have a real problem, not here in Zimbabwe". True, our critical situation does not show itself like to other cities in the form of shanty towns spreading around modern urban centres, but little consolation can one take from this when it is a fact that more than 56 per cent of our population does not have decent shelter, while the difference between excellent mansions in the cities and the miserable lodgings in the rural areas is completely unjustified.

Most of the houses in the communal lands are considered as sub-standard, and constitute a health risk, while services such as electricity and running water can never be provided. In most commercial farms, mines and factories, where workers live, very little has been done to improve the appalling conditions of the past. In the urban centres more than one hundred thousand families are queuing waiting, against any hope, to get into the first available house. Overcrowding and backyard lodging is the result. The readiness of many city dwellers to share and to welcome any stranded relative from the rural areas prevents the spreading of slums, but how long can this be contained?

Leaving to the experts a more accurate analysis and using approximate figures, a very close picture of

reality can be obtained. Let us assume that for an urban population of 2,3 million 460 000 houses would be needed but due to an existing backlog of nearly 100 000 houses we may only count with 360 000 houses, including all the towns and smaller urban centres of the country. In the rural areas to house one million families not more than 330 000 permanent houses can be found, counting that two out of three are not habitable. Some 50 000 houses in small rural centres and growth points and another 10 000 in commercial farms and mines could yield a total figure of 750 000 houses all over Zimbabwe for a population of 8,5 million. What will happen in 15 years time when the population will be expected to reach around 14,0 million?

The effort required for the next 15 years can be graphically pictured by using this simple model. If the present population would be represented by 12 persons it happens that 5 are well housed and 7 are not. This seven either will crawl into the house of their relatives or will use a temporary shelter till their problem is solved. But how can it be solved? Before the year 2 000 our model will consist of 20 Zimbabweans and to lodge them 4 houses will be needed. This means that for every house that we have today 3 new houses have to be built and this represents a total of 2 250 000 new houses, or 140 000 houses every year.

### Self Reliance for Economic Growth

Let us now have a closer look to the two different orientations or general policies which are considered as the only possibilities to solve developmental problems: either you have a people centred approach or a capital centred approach. Progress made since independence can indicate which approach has been mainly followed.

Major cities and small urban centres comprising a population of nearly 2,3 million people have been very busy using building brigades, housing co-operatives and private constructors to bring up to date their backlog of 100 000 units. The World Bank, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the Commonwealth Development Corporation (CDC) and the Beverly

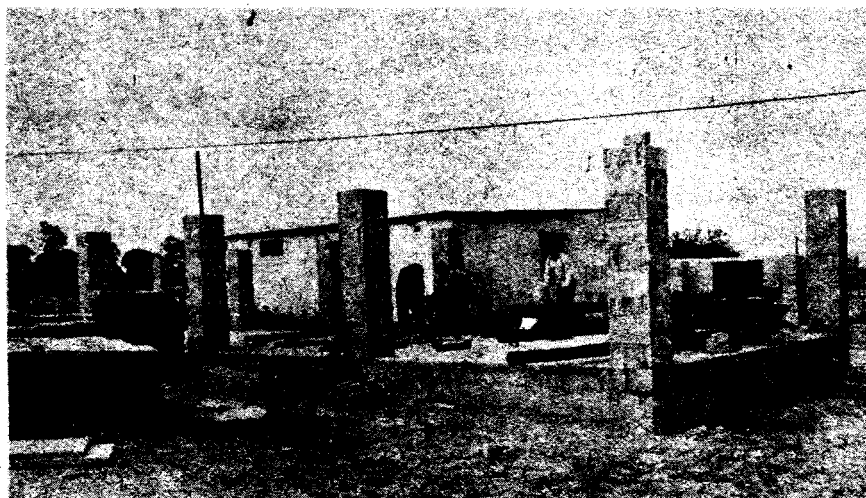
Building Society have been assisting in financing many of these projects. Funds from Arab countries (the Arab Gulf Fund and the Saudi Fund) have also been used to extend existing projects. Some smaller centres like Bikita, Gutu, Gwanda, Chivhu, Esigodini, Mvuma, Chimanimani, Chibi, Beitbridge and Mberengwa have used their own financial arrangements, with help from the Ministry of Public Construction and National Housing and donor agents as the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (UNHCH) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

In the mines, commercial farms and some industries very little progress has taken place. Several Government Ministers and Party Officials have expressed serious concern about poor accommodation for workers and their families. Some parastatals as the DMB (Chipinge), ZISCOSTEEL (Torwood Housing Project) have been distinguished for their efforts in setting up an example. The CZI have been invited to promote housing for the workers of affiliated members. Some proposals put to them in 1984 are being implemented, while 62 percent of the industries have such housing policies as rent to buy, cash loan, housing development projects et cetera.

The rural housing programme have met with some difficulties, nevertheless this seems to be the area in which more progress has taken place. The following projects have been financed by the National Housing Fund administered by the Ministry of Public Construction and National Housing: Sengezi, Umzwezwe, Mupfurudzi, Tokwe, Soti-Mvimvi, Umguza, Chikukwa, Dombodema, Nyagundi, Mpudzi. These are mostly resettlement schemes where the system of planned villages have been implemented, making it easier to bring electricity and piped water in the future.

What does this global effort mean in terms of a national strategy to reach universal housing before the end of the century? Nearly 140 000 houses had to be built every year and for this enormous task the whole nation has to be rallied using an integrated approach and producing extra wealth for house building.

The Transitional Plan had a target



**Building Brigades, Building Co-operatives and other efforts will ensure the building of the much needed decent houses by the year 2000**

of financing the construction of 115 000 units, but only 4 500 were constructed every year. The new Five Year Development Plan has a very limited target of 20 000 houses per year, which does not look so ambitious as the planners believe (p. 33). It seems that no matter how "ambitious" any programme can be it will never succeed if the people are not fully involved.

Economic planners prefer to use quantities and variables that can be measured. They have a great confidence in economic growth. Only when the GDP has increased at a certain rate and reached certain levels they expect that big slashes for social development can be cut off. The economists firmly believe that you have to take care of the GDP before it can take care of you. They also think that the GDP will provide for development due to the well known "trickling down" effect. Well known but very ineffective at least in developing countries. Centuries of colonialism can prove that growth will never yield development by itself as an apple tree will never produce any oranges, simply because one mode of production cannot bear the fruits of another. Development from mere economic growth is a capitalist dogma. Development from the people, by the people and for the people is socialist tested experience. This means that under the provisions of the Five Year Development Plan the target of having the national population well housed will not be met, unless the people themselves are fully incorporated.

For those who still believe that the Plan can succeed by the combination of economic factors, see what the planners have said:

"One significant development related to public expenditure was the rapid expansion of social sectors: the rate of expansion of these services was far in excess of the growth rate of production sectors with consequential fiscal deficits and distortions in the pattern of Government expenditure". (The First Five Year National Development Plan, p.1)

The plan ruefully considers that too much social development has taken place between 1980 and 1985 as the non material sector increasing by 30 per cent, while the productive sector increasing only by 6,2 percent. From now on, our planners say, "reversal of these trends is a prerequisite for stable growth and development during the next five years and beyond". (Ibid. p5) This reversal can be seen at work by sharing large amounts of investments with the industrial sector, for instance, while the housing programme has to tend by itself. It is expected that the GDP will now grow very "fat", and then it will be time to think about housing, forgetting that GDP can only take care of themselves.

#### **Collective Self Reliance**

It is the role of the Party to lead the masses according to the principles of Scientific Socialism that it has adopted. While it is important to plan our economy as all socialist oriented countries do, ZANU should be able

to see the difference between the will of the people to develop according to an economic plan and the particular dispositions established to carry out that plan. In our case it appears that some of our problems will never be solved if development is tied up to the dispositions of the plan, while they can certainly be solved if the people themselves become aware of their power as it has happened in the past.

The people who built the tower of Zimbabwe many years ago without any foreign help should now be able to build 2 million houses before the year 2 000. Human development does not depend on the clear analysis of experts or on the availability of foreign aid. It takes place as needs arise and people take consciousness of their historical destiny. The accumulated wisdom of the past was made available to the people of Zimbabwe when this country was invaded at the end of the last century. They did not ask the invaders what to do. They sought advice from Kaguvi and Nehanda. The same wisdom is still with us today as it became evident during the liberation struggle. No foreign aid was needed to win the war. Our friends joined us in our efforts, and shared with us the costs. Growth takes place from within and economic planners tend to forget that. We only have to see what happens in the country side before the rain season. Green leaves appear in apparently dried bushes, while grasses cover the ground all over. There is an inner force behind growth.

Collective self reliance is one of the manifestation of that force. Whenever people get together participating in a common effort progress will ensure. This time it will be under the form of building brigades, building co-operatives and other similar projects, to ensure that 140 000 houses will be built every year before the end of the century.

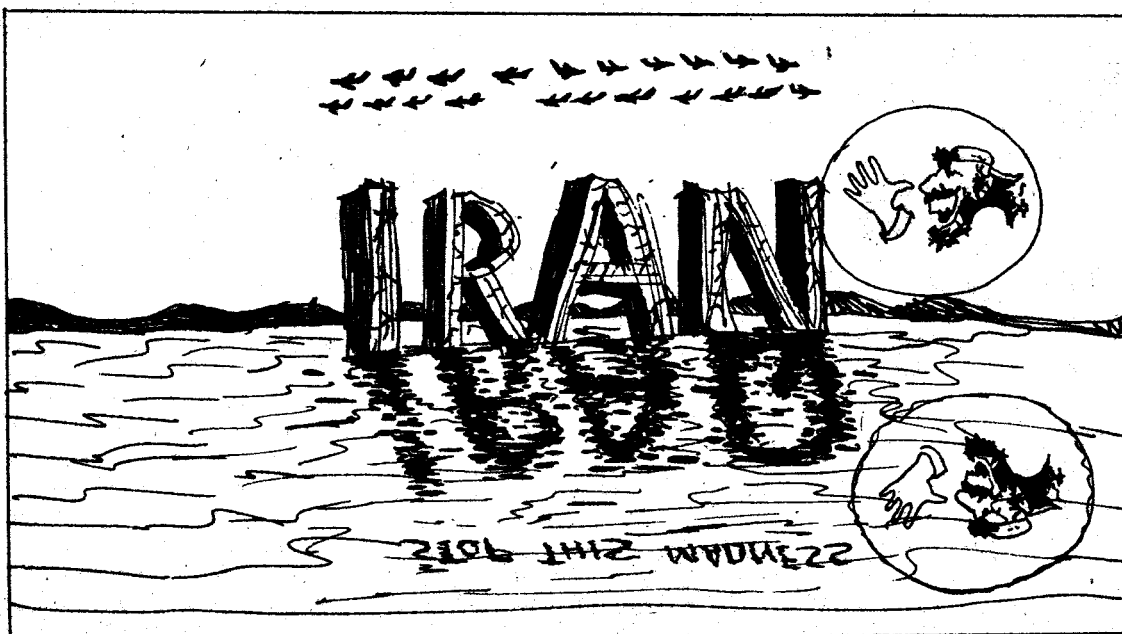
Next year, 1987, the international community will be celebrating the International Year of Shelter for the Homeless (IYSH) and all over the world efforts will be made to overcome the hopeless situation of many millions living in unbearable conditions. This will be an opportunity for ZANU to show to the homeless of this country that the party is fully aware of the need of the people. The party is everywhere. Once unity is ob-

tained the whole nation can be easily rallied to make their common efforts more forcefull till final victory is fully

obtained. Our resources will then be made fully available and there is no doubt that any task, even having a

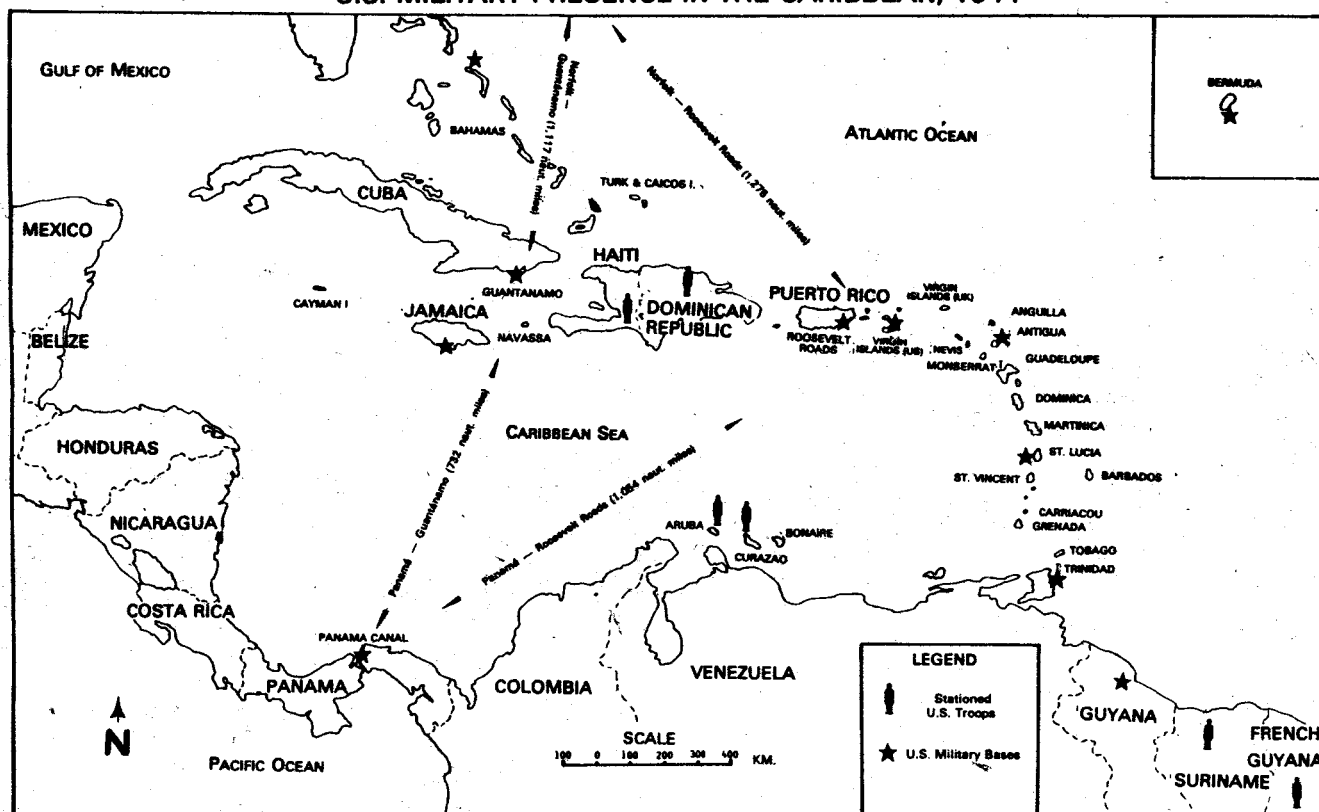
house for each Zimbabwean family by the year 2000, can be accomplished.

## International



# PUERTO Ricans Under Siege

U.S. MILITARY PRESENCE IN THE CARIBBEAN, 1944



*The United States arrests, tortures and generally mistreats the people of Puerto Rico whose territory it presently occupies, militarily, while exploiting the people economically. The small islands of Spanish speaking people is marooned on a capitalist island but fighting the US imperialists.*

Puerto Ricans, through an act passed by the US Congress on March 2, 1917, were declared American citizens.

Today the people of Puerto Rico, who are fighting in defence of their nationality and independence have been used by the US in its imperialist designs in the region. It is both a US military and industrial base.

It is neither a neo-colonial state nor a republic but virtually a part and parcel of the United States Defence system. The extent to which Puerto Ricans have been flagrantly used by the US can be seen in the militarisation of the islands by the US imperialist forces.

The former Spanish colony of 3,2 million inhabitants harbours US sophisticated strategic

military bases in Latin America.

One of the biggest US naval bases in the world, the Caribbean-Roosevelt Roads Naval Station is located there. It covers 37 000 acres. This is on the island of Vieques, of which the Navy occupies two thirds of its territory. The US South Atlantic command which coordinates naval activities with the countries of the Southern Triangle of South America and South Africa is also stationed there.

The Atlantic Fleet Weapons Range where new experiments with new weapons take place, and naval manoeuvres, and target shooting practices are carried out, is another item on the endless activities that constitute US Imperialism in Puerto Rico.

Though Puerto Rico is so abus-

ed it is an integral part of Latin America. Successive US administrations have complemented this by, "buying the conscience of the people". The Under Secretary General of the Socialist Party of Puerto Rico Doris Pizzaro told of how the successive US administrations have done this.

The economy is totally controlled by the US laws. 50 to 60 per cent of Puerto Ricans are unemployed and live on US federal tit-bits. 64 per cent of US investment in Latin America is in Puerto Rico. Puerto Rico is "a transfer centre". She said. US companies make 52 percent profit on every dollar which is sent back to the US.

At a press conference during the 8th Non-Aligned Movement Summit held in Harare Comrade Pizzaro was asked why the Puerto Ricans were not fighting for independence.

There are three parties in Costa

# ***Puerto Rican Revolutionary National Front Strikes Out at US Militarism!***



*Toa Baja—agents from the Explosives Division carry a bomb found in front of the US armed forces recruitment office.*

A new armed clandestine group has claimed credit for the recent bombings of the US post office/selective service registration posts in Guanica, Cidra, Santurce and Toa Baja, Puerto Rico. The **Puerto Rican National Revolutionary Front**, comprised of four tactical guerrilla units named after legendary Taino Chiefs Agueybana the Brave, Guarionex, Urayoan, and the Taino god, Juracán, now brings to six the

number of armed revolutionary organizations who seek independence and socialism for Puerto Rico.

In a letter addressed to the Associated Press, the **Puerto Rican National Revolutionary Front** vowed to fight imperialism through any means necessary and to respond with gunfire to the US' August 30, 1985 invasion and attack against pro-independence activists. They added that they will count on support from

an allied grouping named the **Red Commando**.

The **Puerto Rican National Revolutionary Front** asks Puerto Rican youths to lend their support to the difficult struggle against the FBI and the US armed forces. The communique ended with a quote by the great Puerto Rican independence leader Pedro Albizu Campos . . . *To take away our country, they must first take our lives!* ★

Rica that participate in national elections. The Autonomists, the Pro Statehood and the Independents. These parties are

not revolutionary and are engaged in a struggle for power to continue functioning within the *status quo*. "They do not want to

fight for independence, they are stooges of the American system." It is difficult for the Puerto Ricans to be involved in

an armed struggle as the whole islands are basically American military bases. "The only way that the people of Puerto Rico have managed to express their dissatisfaction with the system is through boycotting the elections and registering a no vote". But the control of the social, economic and political life by the US Congress and US Army and Navy in Puerto Rico has not cowed the people.

"We have not defeated the United States in our territory but the United States has not defeated us". Comrade Pizzaro said. The Socialist Party of Puerto Rico's political programme is directed at the workers and student movements.

"We are a Marxists-Leninist Party, but our program is broad-based. Our present concern is independence."

As such the Puerto Ricans who

have gone to the US for employment escaping the conditions in Puerto Rico imposed by American capital have resorted to demonstrations and distribution of pamphlets in the US as part of a programme to awaken the world to US aggression against the people of Puerto Rico.

Puerto Rico has a lot in common with the rest of Latin America. Though the Americans have tried to create political problems for the Puerto Ricans by mounting attacks into neighbouring independent countries like they did in Granada in 1983, they still share the same culture, the same language and the same revulsion against American imperialism.

"This has kept the struggle for independence sane," said Comrade Pizzaro. US imperialist designs failed to penetrate this cultural blanket. In 1917 the US

Congress tried to change the language through the Jones act to make English the official language so they could complete the conquest of the Puerto Ricans, just like the British had done in Africa and elsewhere, but the people rejected this.

Comrade Pizzaro hoped that the United States would either be forced or willingly implement the United Nations resolution on the independence of Puerto Rico which it has so far refused to do. Obviously Puerto Rico would develop closer relations with the rest of independent Latin America if it becomes independent more as the major share of US investment in Latin America is found in Puerto Rico the United States is therefore reluctant to grant Puerto Rico independence.

"We will continue fighting for independence until victory" Comrade Pizzaro assured.

## The International Monetary Fund and Africa

By Prof. G. Roshchin

*The International Monetary Fund is a capitalist dominated organisation which is used by the western imperialist countries to manipulate and exploit developing countries through the promotion of its policies designed to create dependents on imperialist metropolis. Professor G. Roshchin discusses the subject.*

Most of the world's poorest countries with *per capita* incomes under 300 dollars a year are to be found in Africa, according to the UN Economic Commission for Africa,

It says that between the 1982 and 1985 the rates of growth of the region's Gross Domestic Product fell from 2,5 per cent to zero, while the increment in the population persisted at 3 to 4 per cent a year.

In this period Africa's balance

of payment deficit on current operations amounted to 52 billion dollars. A profound structural crisis in many African countries has been agumented by drastic food shortages and widespread hunger, and this has accentuated Africa's need for urgent international assistance.

### Rules of the Game

This situation tends to open up new opportunities for Western countries to interfere in the

economic and political lives of the African countries.

The instrument effectively being used for this is the International Monetary Fund, whose leading bodies are dominated by the major imperialist countries.

In 1984 votes in the IMF were distributed as follows: the EEC, 25,3 per cent; the United States 19,5 per cent and the Third World 35 per cent.

That is why in order to destabilise its debtors, the IMF is working for them to change their social and economic policies to suit the West.

To make things worse, African countries cannot by-pass the IMF and take commercial loans without strings attached.

Commercial banks demand that prospective borrowers immediately enter into talks with the IMF on a "stabilisation programme" "rescheduling debtors".

The "Paris Club" of Western creditors even demands to see an

IMF-endorsed loan agreement before deciding on debt-rescheduling arrangements.

The IMF issues loans provided a borrower undertakes to meet a package of economic and political conditions. The rules of the game in international monetary relations are set by well organised International finance capital, through the ten leading industrial Western countries.

The IMF is the main means used by the west to manipulate economies of debtor countries to the extent of overriding sovereign African nations.

## Bitter Pill

The IMF demands that borrowers should cut down domestic spending, because the Fund regards the balance of payments deficits as a result of mismanagement.

In reality, however, these deficits are due largely to external factors such as the growing prices of energy products, rampant inflation in the capitalist world, the falling prices of traditional African exports and skyrocketing interest rates in international money markets.

The Fund makes demand for the devaluation of national currencies on the alleged grounds that this makes for cheaper exports and dearer imports which should stimulate exports and discourage imports.

But in reality the absence of capacities prevents a developing country from increasing exports however advantageous this

maybe from a view point of prevailing prices.

Reducing imports by administrative order in accordance with IMF recommendations, slows down the rate of economic growth, undercuts incomes and weakens national finance through curtailed tax receipts.

The growing prices of imports at the same time increases the African countries' foreign debt which at the end of last year stood at 170 billion dollars.

Internally withdrawing subsidies from domestic market-oriented sectors slashing down social spending and freezing wages, in accordance with the demands of the IMF, force living standards down and intensify social conflicts.

For these reasons IMF recommendations are unacceptable to many African countries politically. The IMF's preference for the market economy gives the main economic role to the private and multinational companies which is unacceptable to those developing countries which favour the public sector and planning.

In 1980 Tanzania had a conflict with the IMF and in 1985 Lagos refused to take an IMF loan in exchange for the cancellation of subsidies and a major devaluation of the Naira.

Lagos stated that the devaluation demanded by the IMF was tantamount to national suicide.

By overlooking the dramatic situation in African countries and thus worsening the plight of the masses, IMF "stabilisation pro-

grammes" have on many occasions led to major disturbances, as was the case between 1983 and 1985 in North Africa following the experiments with decontrolling prices and reducing food subsidies.

## New Concept Perpetuates Status Quo

When its activities are criticised by the development countries, the IMF resorts to manoeuvring and makes a show of paying attention to the demands of the developing countries while doing everything to continue interfering in their internal affairs with the help of loans.

Since the early 1980s has started to incorporate non-traditional elements, echoing the concept of a supply economy in its programmes.

The supply economy concept is intended to improve the balance of payments, by building a nation's production capacity and boosting its exports productivity and efficiency.

However the IMF gears the growth of domestic production in emergent countries to the import of capital in the form of its loans and those of the IBRD and other long-term investment financing organisations and commercial banks.

Because external investment financing ties a developing country to the West financially, the IMF concept of supply economy also serves the interests of the imperialists.



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your  
language**

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"Like a teacher in the classroom who expects the students to address themselves to questions of general concern individually but for collective answers, the people should also share their views. This enables the leaders to acquire an insight into national problems so as to confront developmental problems, Dr. James reflected briefly on what independence, liberation and socialism have meant to many old African countries, "It meant, you see that man there, he has what you don't have, go and take it from him."

Because of her audience oriented approach to communication, as opposed to the one of the message orientation, she is convinced that communication should be based not in the medium as such but more on the "processes" of interaction". In many ways it seems as though she is advocating for the return to a system where there is a crier shouting at the market place important messages, that demanded immediate reaction.

In any one village, town, province or city the people have different priorities, hence different problems. It is the assessment of these problems and their analysis that a "continuum" as Dr. Sybil calls it, is established. Since communication is a process, a permanent flow of information between the people and their leaders is built so that effectively the communication process does not break down.

***"In some countries independence meant you see that man there he has what you don't have, go and take it from him".***

The capitalist era has exploited human weaknesses of avarice, jealous and greed, so that people have cut each other's throats in an effort to acquire what they didn't work for.

"Any society has people that have worked hard and earned their wealth from working hard, even together with their own

children. This is different from the corrupt ones who have stolen from the people. Is there nothing to learn from such people? Do these people not have education for the others who are struggling? The real thing is that these people "seem" to have and therefore they should not be antagonised by calling them bourgeois when they are not thieves, Governments should urge the people to work as hard too."

#### **Dr. Sybil James Interview**

This is part of the processes of communication which Dr. James believes in. People are prepared to suffer for their own self respect, and as long as people are aware that the leaders are working for them, they are prepared to suffer." But where does the communications gap come from then, when people are confused about what their role is, in national development?

The extent to which policy makers and the people are on the same wave length, the extent to which they mean the same thing by what they say, says Dr. Sybil James, is partly responsible, for the gap between them and the grassroots also partly caused by non-communicative words. Our people must not be passive accepters, they should be part and parcel of the communication process. This brought the question of communication for liberation and self reliance into focus. Dr. James instead of talking of liberation from colonialists, fascists, imperialists and neo-colonialists reflected on liberation in the free and politically, liberated third world countries. "Many of the leaders in the developing countries have lost what they gained with sweat and blood. By the time most of them left the political scene people were disenchanted with them. But these people were heroes of a particular cause" this is as a result of imperialist machinations, which build dependence into our socio-economic-political systems, at the expense of mass interests.

If people are told to make use of resources that are there instead of them having to be used to products and resources from

the western metropolis, social revolution will be enhanced.

"When I visited the UK I saw all this fantastic engineering, I sat and marvelled at it and in one breath I admired and despised and hated the people at once, for example since Zimbabwe's industrial development, why didn't this money come from my country, if we don't do for ourselves, those people (the imperialists) are doing for themselves, they are working hard from what they exploited here.

***"Our people must not be passive accepters, they should be part and parcel of the communication process."***

The developmental message is not even so much socialism but translating the terms, not so much to be seen to be, but really to be. To translate the message into "task related behaviour."

However, communication for development is not the message to the rural populations to "boil your water before drinking it". This according to Dr. James is a basic development message.

Each society with its various categories of people and its different segments causes a communicator to recognise the fact that these people have different needs. So that in one group say of mothers, analysing their problems and getting the people involved in the solution finding, as such a group of mothers say from large families, will be familiar with particular problems. So the communication system should not be restricted to the technological media, and should not only be the province of the professional communicator, the little pockets of people and leaders at that level should be involved in this process, because these are the people that will identify the nature of the people's needs as well as their problems, therefore the media should target its audience all the time, but not *en masse*."

## African Council on Communication Education

The African Council on communication Education is an organisation formed to cater for the various needs of the African communicator. Training, providing facilities for this, research and organising workshops to enable the successful carrying out of these various tasks. At the 5th Biennial Conference held recently in Harare, over 40 delegations gathered and Frank Kamusi of the Zambian Institute of mass Communications was elected Chairman of the organisation for the next two years.

Journalists from the Department of Information and Publicity, Comrades Clark Nduku, Coster Zinyemba and Blackman Ngoro as well as the Administrator in the Department Comrade Pamela Tungamirai took part in the discussions of the various workshops of the Conference.

While it has always been thought that theatre was no part of communication, the conference decided that popular theatre be developed and be used in the transmission of developmental messages as well as for community problem solving.

Hansel Ndumbe Eyoh of the Department of English, Universite De Yaunde, said "The theatre provides a means of building consciousness and reinforces the growth of identity and confidence." He went on to say that, "The theatre in particular is be-

ing used in community education to conscientise and mobilise marginalised groups of society — those who have been denied access to the more conventional forms of the media."

In many ways this statement underlines the whole effort to provide community halls for television viewing and community or rural newspapers. Such work to try to bridge the gap between the informed and the uninformed is carried out in Zimbabwe.

Provincial newspapers like the Mrewa News, and the Murombedzi Growth Points Mashonaland West Province where a solar television viewing centre was established are cases in point. Africa has the highest level of underdevelopment, if literacy, mortality rate and income per capita are rulers of national development, hence ACCE's concern with communication education.

In the words of the 4th Biennial Conference held in Lome, Togo, in November 1984, "ACCE sees development as a human and social process aiming at and leading towards self-realisation in the context of social justice, self-reliance and economic growth".

Therefore communication is a tool of development provided the mass media gears themselves to developmental issues and rally the people to the achievement of individual, local and national goals.

*"If we don't do for ourselves the imperialists are doing for themselves, they are working hard from what they exploited here".*

While Dr. James thought that what she says may be too theoretical her approach, other communicators said, is practical.

"I feel satisfied that people and policy makers in the third world are establishing the groundwork for this inter-relationship and political inter-dependence." But communication for development

cannot be successful if culture does not play a major role. Because leaders and the people share the same culture, communication is facilitated, and should therefore flow naturally provided the professional communicators do not interfere unnecessarily with the processes between the people and the policy makers.

## ★ POEM ★

### DROUGHT THE ECOLOGICAL TRAGEDY OF AFRICA

Drought!  
What a universal dread  
A sad story of barren emptiness  
A preview of misery and hunger  
Drought!  
What a heat baked vision  
That blinds warped faces  
With hallucinations of rains and good harvest.

Drought!  
What an arid torture  
With no mercy for the hungry eyes  
Nor consolation drops for sandy throats

Drought!  
What a disconsolation for the legend of Africa  
That smothers the earth with an open spectacle  
Of miserable corpses and carcasses of man and beast.  
Such has been the ecological emptiness of Africa.

## Festive Period Consumer advice

*The consumer Council is an independent body, though it receives a government grant it is not a parastatal body, in that it does not operate under any statute. Its objectives are to inform the consumer of his rights so that he does not fall prey to unscrupulous businessmen and shopkeepers. In this article by Kindness Paradza, the message is for those planning to spend the festive period away from their city homes.*



Festive shopping — be cautious

As usual during this festival period, everything will be exciting and commodities will be advertised as "cheaper" than ever before but on the other hand this is the time when many Zimbabweans are unwillingly exploited.

We advice consumers not to get caught up in the general atmosphere and forget the normal precautions by doing everything in a last minute rush while doing their festive shopping.

To avoid these circumstances, each year, it has always been our tradition to give advice to the general public that it is worth shopping early if they want to be sure of buying the right goods at fair prices.

We advice you to make a list of presents you want to buy and the amount of money you want to spend on them.

To avoid disappointments,

clever people do it this way;

- Never shop in a hurry, visit the shops and convince yourself that the items you want are definitely on special offer.

This is because some shops have a tendency of writing "SALE" in bold letters on their shop windows, a move, aimed at attracting careless consumers.

- Don't buy the name of the shop. In fact look for a cheaper shop. And don't be misled by advertisements which say, "special reductions — or — giant reductions; or christmas sale prices slashed".
- In fact, shop around — it is worth it. Allow yourself sufficient time to compare prices and don't be forced to buy something unbudgeted for.
- Don't assume that discount stores and big chains are

necessarily the cheapest. Check out other shops as well.

- Check carefully before using the credit facilities offered by shops. Convince yourself that they are reasonable.
- Having chosen an item, examine it thoroughly from all angles. If it is a household appliance, read guarantee for furniture, electrical goods, check for cleaning and care. By doing this, you won't overlook damages.

Always remember that it is the thought that counts at festive parcels and not the amount of money you have in your pocket.

The Managing Director and all the staff of the Consumer Council wish you a very enjoyable festive period and a happy new year.

## Features and Analysis:

### Food for Thought

#### *What is to be done?*

By Comrade Chaminuka

*The massive demonstrations throughout Zimbabwe in protest at the murder of Comrade Samora*

*Machel (and 20 other comrades) will have greatly contributed towards the optimism about the inherent revolu-*

*tionary zeal of the Zimbabwean people. Such a response will have shocked and frightened those who had grown to believe that the Zimbabwean masses had been immobilized into lethargy by the excitement of national independence. It was evident that the Zimbabwean masses — including the youths and students — are prepared not only to defend na-*

*tional independence and sovereignty but also to be active participants in the struggle for total liberation in southern Africa.*

Not surprisingly, there has been such discussion, not to mention the controversy, surrounding the nature and conduct of some of these demonstrations, particularly that of the University students in October. It was expected that the authorities would be averse to any show of violence; and, as always, demonstrators should anticipate the consequences of their actions as part of the commitment to the struggle for which they take to the streets.

It is, however, of political significance that these were so various and varied reactions to both the death of Samora Machel and the demonstrations of protest that followed it. These reactions are interesting in that they could be a useful indicator of the political and ideological positions of the various classes and groups in Zimbabwean society. In addition, these are factors that could assist genuine party activists and analysts in the consideration of the major question that faces all those concerned about the Zimbabwe of tomorrow: *What is to be done?*

As I stated in my last contribution to this column, the position of the mass of the people is well known. The peasants and workers will in general support and constitute part of any programme of transformation particularly when the latter is synonymous with an improvement in their lives. This is why the majority of them participated in the struggle for national liberation; and hence their mass protest at the tragic events in Mozambique. As is evidenced in the history of struggle in Zimbabwe, the youths and students are in their political actions but a reflection of the concerns and aspirations of the masses.

As usual, the reaction of the (African) petty bourgeoisie was mixed and ambivalent. Like the majority of the white Zimbabweans, many of the members of the petty bourgeoisie were always unhappy about the socialist stance of the Mozambican Government and therefore prayed and hoped that Zimbabwe would not do likewise.

Indeed only the very mad — like those we read about in the press — would have celebrated the death of Samora Machel. Yet a large section of the petty bourgeoisie now share the hope that the Mozambique after Machel will be more “moderate”; and that the Zimbabwean leadership will have learnt from the entire Mozambique episode that it is better to *take it easy* than to embark on a socialist programme.

Accordingly, the reactionary petty bourgeoisie will have been concerned at the mass protests of last month; shocked into the realization that the masses think otherwise; suddenly reminded that the mass base

whom Comrade Prime Minister (Prime Minister's Question Time, 5 November 1986) described as “those who are not really enemies (of the revolution) but rather opponents of the revolution who want to delay the revolution, who want us to mark time instead of proceeding to socialize”?

I know that ultra-leftism can be irritating and also wasteful of the revolutionary effort in any society. One might, therefore, sympathize — but not accept their assumption that the student's protest was an invention of those lecturers — with *The Herald's* editorial of 3 November, 1986, entitled “Childish Leftism”. But in a society in which the right



**Militant Zimbabwean students denounce the Botha regime and Banda for the death of President Machel and call on the international community to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria regime**

that fed and propelled the struggle for national liberation. What if tomorrow there are mass protests at the growing disparity between the petty bourgeoisie and the mass of the people? What if tomorrow the masses be the very engine of the movement for the socialization process and the erosion of the bourgeois and petty bourgeois privilege? Today, it is the whites who are the targets of mass protests. Tomorrow it could — it will — be the African petty bourgeoisie.

But even those of us who were critical of the violent aspects of the recent demonstrations should be careful that their criticisms do not coincide with those who would have been happier if there had been no demonstrations at all. Are we sure that these critics are not also those

wing reactionaries are so established and rampant, it is, perhaps, refreshing to have the few elements of ultra-leftism. Ultra-rightism will invariably produce ultra-leftism as its antithesis.

Ultra-leftist expression could also be a reflection of revolutionary aspirations now lacking a framework of institutional expression. Rather than declare war on ultra-leftism let the Party and Government — and indeed all progressive forces in our society — seek to examine the bases of this ultra-leftism and provide a framework for genuine debate on the nature and future of our society. To begin with, the Party itself must transcend what Comrade Nyagumbo recently (*The Herald*, 21 July, 1986) described as “only sloganeering and singing party songs”. There is an

urgent need for the establishment in the Party of a political and ideological framework that will respond to the mass political consciousness that is so inherent in Zim-

babwean society; and thereby begin to confront the reactionaries in our society and prepare the ground for the transformative process.

In this regard, our readers might

wish to consider and reflect on the question *what is to be done?* If the Party is to advance from the transitional stage to the socialist programme.

## Wide Suspicion Over President Machel's Death

*South Africa's behaviour since the death of President Machel has fuelled suspicions of Pretoria's implication in the tragic air disaster.*

President Kaunda was the first public figure to have "accused South Africa until she is proved innocent". The Chairman of the South African Communist Party, Comrade Joe Slovo, followed by announcing in Maputo that President Machel "was killed" for his stand against the apartheid regime. A week later, Comrade Oliver Tambo, the ANC President, said in Moscow: "South Africa used sophisticated communications technology" to decoy the presidential plane to a pre-arranged crash site.

After a period of muted misgivings and mournful diplomacy, Zimbabwe, through her Minister of Information, Dr. Nathan Shamuyarira, has bluntly accused South Africa of mounting "a propaganda campaign to divert the attention of the world from the racist regime's assassination of President Samora Machel."

These posthumous accusations antedate the aircrash and are a fact of "cold war" between South Africa on the one hand and Frontline States on the other. South Africa has directly and through its agents, assassinated a number of officials of the South African Liberation Movement. In 1974, the ANC representative in Zambia, Comrade John Dube, was killed by a parcel bomb at the Liberation Centre in Lusaka. A few years ago, Joe Slovo's wife, Ruth First, an eminent academic, writer, revolutionary activist and a member of the ANC-CPSA Alliance, was kill-

ed in Maputo by another parcel bomb.

South African commandos have raided ANC offices in Maputo, Harare, Gaborone, Lusaka, Stockholm, Dar-es-Salaam, London, Maseru and other places. In some of these raids, scores of ANC officials and refugees were killed in cold blood.

"If the hyena is known to prey on old ladies", goes a Shona word of wisdom, "do not bother to search for the missing granny once you detect grey hairs in the hyena's droppings." By dawdling away with the four flight recorders, the "black boxes", the South African hyena has done worse than inviting suspicion on itself. Her act combines with a number of unexplained mysteries surrounding the air tragedy to constitute a behavioural pattern consistent with the pressure of a guilt complex.

In a frenzied rage, General Magnus Malan, the South African Defence Minister, has threatened Zambia and Zimbabwe. "Zimbabwe and Zambia", he fumed, "are playing a dangerous game." Putting up an unconvincing denial that his country "was not involved in the crash", he nevertheless conceded, "the accusations, insinuations and blamings are continuing." A few days after threatening Zimbabwe and Zambia, South Africa turned on Mozambique accusing the grief-stricken country of causing the death of a South African

soldier in a remote location in the Transvaal. Denying the charge, Maputo warned that the South Africans were seeking an excuse for a fresh aggression. In the meantime, South African troops were making further incursions in southern Angola.

The bellicose plans against neighbouring States plus the orchestration of a series of deceitful press statements concerning the air crash reflect the over-reaction of a regime in a hurry to cover up incriminating evidence. Representatives of an innocent government could be expected to show a calmness of thought and a softness of tongue denoting trustworthiness and self-assured confidence.

The first source of suspicion against South Africa over President Machel's death is its notorious record of death-dealing terrorism on African revolutionaries and progressives in general. Added to this, is the aerial mystery in which a plane under the charge of an experienced crew crashed on South African soil only ten minutes before its expected landing in Maputo.

The suspicion is thickened by the evidence of one survivor, and also unofficial South African eyewitnesses, that the South Africans arrived on the crash site early enough to have neglected to render assistance to some casualties who were still alive. Instead, the South Africans were hurriedly rummaging among the plane's wreckage spiriting off documents which were the property of the Mozambican government.

Such an act makes sense only when it is assumed that the South Africans had prepared for the crash and the looting of Mozambican documents was part of the scheme of South African Intelligence Services.

Presidential planes do not crash on foreign territory everyday. In this rare case of the fatal presidential crash, extra concern is expected to attend the investigative process. In this particular Presidential plane crash, the South Africans have behaved scandalously.

The condolent atmosphere that gripped the region after the President's death was shattered by desecrating statements from Pretoria. First, the South Africans attempted to defame the planes's manufacturers by charging that the aircraft was obsolescent and that it had a dysfunctional altimeter. Altering this false charge after it was proved that the plane was a 1980 model, the South Africans libelously charged that the deceased pilot had been drunk.

When their press statements failed to divert the mounting suspicion that they were implicated in President Machel's death, the South Africans appealed to the US for participation in the international investigative process. Having been turned down by the US, the South Africans approached the British who also turned them down for "diplomatic considerations".

South Africa's appeal to the US, and later to Britain, the two leading Western imperialist powers, introduces the element of vultures flocking together in Cold War games. The South Africans should have been satisfied with the participation of the neutral International Civil Aviation Organisation (ICAO). Their uneasy fussiness over the tragic affair is a complete reflection of lack of innocence and also an arrant attempt to solicit the collaborative support of leading imperialist powers.

While these inept efforts at a cover-up confirm the suspicions, the diplomatic appeals to the US and Britain have the effect of including these powers as possible South African accomplices. In particular, the record of the CIA in this field points to a wider field.

By asking the US to stand by her

side at the investigation of the air disaster, Pretoria is using a coded message explaining that she alone could not have accomplished the deed without assistance from Washington. On her part, Washington recognises the danger of publicly appearing on the South African side when it declines for "diplomatic considerations".

The theory that South Africa alone does not yet possess the technical wherewithal for misdirecting a foreign plane to crash on its territory, is confirmed by South Africa's own admission of the fact when she started to request the assistance of the US in the opening and decoding of the "black box". Experts say that the technology required for the decoding of the "black box" is less sophisticated than that of the radio beacon decoy theory.

One Harare based communications expert who refused to be named says: "In the circumstances of President Machel's plane, a radio beacon decoy would have to be used simultaneously with a sophisticated communications air screen forming a sort of air sound barrier between the Maputo Control Centre and the particular plane losing altitude prior to landing."

The "air screen", the expert said, would have to produce a communications "black-out" enough to confuse the pilot to mistake a South African location for Maputo. The screen is said to effectively interfere with electromagnetic waves thereby causing a radio "black-out". This theory suggests that a South African control station deceived the plane into heading towards the South African border at an altitude that permitted collision against the side of a hill. The "air screen" is said to have allowed a decoyed radio beacon to play the role of the Maputo Control Centre. On further reflection, the preparations necessary for such an operation take considerable time. The plot must have had a long gestation period in which the plotters were able to carry out field tests and have a certain amount of guarantee for its successful implementation.

The Angolans have provided another piece in this vexatious jigsaw puzzle. "The South Africans", said an Angolan Minister after President Machel's funeral, "have used radio

beacon" decoys against Angolan aircraft before. Thus, if the use of radio beacon decoys has been a Pretoria's practice, there is ample ground to suspect them of having done the same in the tragedy in which President Machel died.

However, intelligence analysts insist that South is known to prefer "a Mafia-type of assassination to the science — fiction one preferred by the American CIA". The sources cited several incidents to prove CIA obsession with "Assassination through scientific experimentation". "While the South Africans use the parcel bomb, commando raids and gun power", the source said, "the Americans go for laser beams, germ warfare and 'Star Wars' technology." He added, "It is more than likely that the CIA is collaborating with the South Africans in testing some of their sophisticated methods of political assassination."

One Third World diplomat revealed that the bombing of President Gaddafi's house by US planes this year was for testing "the field performance of Libyan newly acquired Soviet — made radar and anti-air battery defence systems and not for the officially trumpeted anti-terrorism cause."

The diplomat, who is from Latin America, also attributed the American CIA with interfering with the navigation systems of planes considered "unfriendly" in the region, "particularly in Central America." If true, such practices can only be carried out with the intention of causing plane crashes.

The suspicion of CIA involvement in war games in Southern Africa is confirmed by a number of published accounts. The findings of the Senate Investigations Sub-Committee headed by Senator Frank Church and published in 1976 revealed the existence within the CIA of a department of "Collateral Cold War Activities". This department is charged with managing assassinations of foreign leaders, organising coups *d'etat*, and promoting Third World leaders who uphold the interests of corporate capitalism.

According to the volume of the Church Committee Report entitled, "Alleged Assassination Plots Involving Foreign Leaders" CIA manuals

include ways of making "attacks on the cadre of the regime, including key leaders". (See pp.42-5) In his Foreword to the Report, Senator Church admitted: "We sent a deadly toxin to the Congo with the purpose of injecting Lumumba with a fatal disease". In another book on the CIA, the Indian political scientist, Satish Kumar, attributes Senator George McGovern with the statement that the CIA tried to assassinate President Fidel Castro on 24 occasions between 1959 and 1975.

Among the many studies carried out on the dirty work of the CIA are, "CIA Diary" by Phillip Agee, and "In Search of Enemies" by John Stockwell. Both men are former CIA agents writing of their experiences.

Revealing the CIA's operations in Angola to bring down the MPLA Government, John Stockwell says CIA spies were given a document to read on their tasks. The document, he says, "was a curious document, deliberately vague and unspecific, to be fleshed out in verbal briefings by the CIA director. It said only that the President found the following operations to be important to the national security of the United States. The country wasn't even specified — only the continent, Africa." (p. 47)

Elsewhere, Stockwell writes: "Kissinger saw the Angolan conflict solely in terms of global politics and was determined the Soviet should not be permitted to make a move in any party of the world without being confronted militarily by the United States." (p. 43)

Anti-communism has become a fanatical religion in US policy-making circles. The US has been on record as having been preoccupied with attempts to alter President Machel's political direction.

In an official document released a year after the signing of the Nkomati Accords the US Secretary of State, George Shultz, prematurely announced with obvious relish: "We have succeeded in turning around Mozambique from heavy dependency on the Soviet camp to looking towards the West." Events within Mozambique since Nkomati have not shown any sign of the abandonment of socialism. If anything, the Nkomati Accord was merely a tactical move to re-arrange strategic priorities for the

defeat of MNR dissidents. This renewed the ire of both the Americans and their South African allies.

Suspicion, therefore, lingers that US could have been involved direct-

ly or indirectly in bringing about the air disaster in which President Machel and 32 of his comrades-in-arms died. Dissidents of the MNR can safely be dismissed as incompetent and irrelevant.

## Apartheid Must Go.



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