

Zimbabwe News

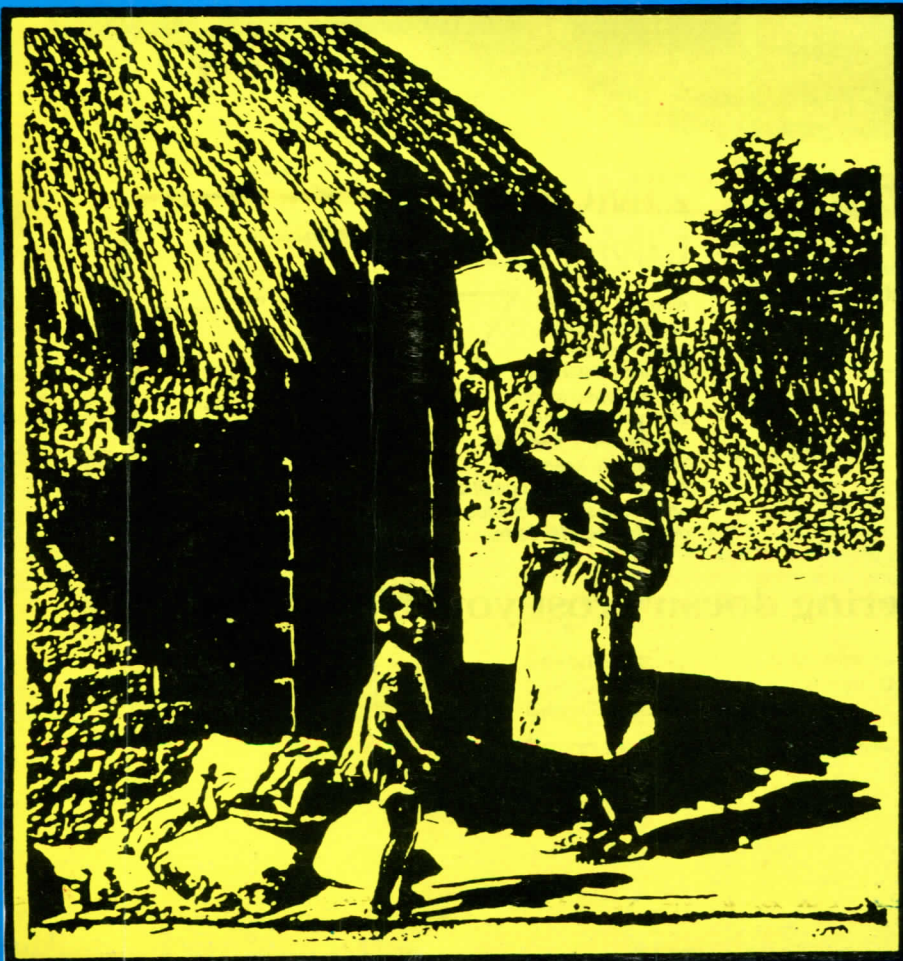
Official Organ of ZANU(PF)

Department of Information and Publicity, 14 Austin Road, Workington, Harare
Volume 18 No. 11, November 1987, Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper

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**THE ZANU (PF) NATIONAL FUND
RAISING CAMPAIGN LAUNCHED**



**THE PEOPLE'S EFFORTS
— EXCELLENCE
THROUGH SELF RELIANCE**

**WIN
\$20**

**IN OUR
QUIZ**



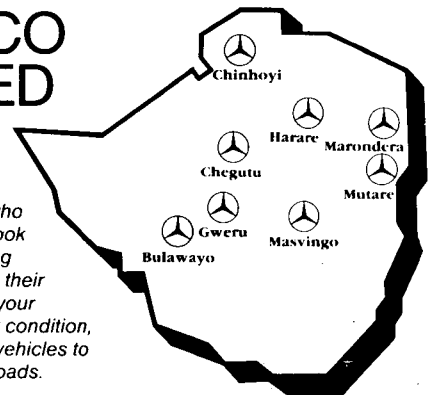
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I would find it very demeaning to have to go outside Zimbabwe to solicit funds for the construction of the ruling Party's national home because it should in the main be the owner of the home who pays for the establishment of that home and not an outsider and since ZANU (PF) is the people, it is my hope that we shall be able to raise the required amount from all our people if only in recognition of the role ZANU (PF) has played in improving their lot (PM) . . . page 4



The October Revolution lives forever . . . page 13



SAMORA MACHEL perceived Southern Africa as a region of its own kind, with its own identity and with a unique racial and ethnic diversity in Africa . . . page 18



Are Multiparties necessary? Do parties make a difference? . . . page 8

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EDITORIAL

Whither Minority Parties

October, 1987 saw significant developments in Zimbabwe's Legislature. The central feature of these changes was the role of ZANU (PF), in not only spearheading the changes, but also in consolidating its control of the legislative arm of the state machinery.

The abolition of the reserved twenty white seats marked the final demise of racial representation, that obnoxious feature of the Lancaster House constitution. That the 20 vacant seats were successfully filled up by members of ZANU (PF) or candidates backed by the Party, further exposes the reality of the Zimbabwean practical movement: that ZANU (PF) is the real representative of the people and that it controls effective political power.

History repeated itself a week later, when, once again, the ZANU (PF) candidates and those sponsored by the Party swept all the Senate seats.

Although minority parties fielded their own candidates, it was a futile exercise in self deception which further exposed their irrelevance in modern day Zimbabwe. The overwhelming ZANU (PF) victory

should provide important lessons to the minority parties who must reflect seriously on "whither they want to go". It must also prompt a close re-examination on the part of the minority supporters who have created false hopes around individuals and parochial and sectional interests.

Now is the time for the minority parties to pose and answer the question whether to continue indulging in self deception and irrelevance or to contribute to meaningful development by joining the majority Party.

Whilst ZANU (PF) has declared its willingness to accommodate genuine members from minority parties, it cannot bend over-backwards to entertain unrealistic demands from forces whose irrelevance has been clearly demonstrated.

It is our sincere hope that the Parliamentary elections provided important lessons for the minority parties and that they will seriously consider the only viable option: joining the peoples choice, ZANU (PF).

LETTERS

The Editor,

Dynamos must answer

It is an established fact that Dynamos Football club is a crowd puller because it is the most popular team in Zimbabwe. This has led the club to be referred to as "The Seven Million". Also undisputable is that the club, of all others in this country has been exposed to international football much more than before.

However, what worries me is why the club declined to play against The Zambian side, Kabwe Warriors on Sunday the 25th for purposes of raising funds for the building of the long-overdue new ZANU (PF) HQ. Knowing that Highlanders of Bulawayo had played on

Saturday and hadn't done well, it was a forgone conclusion that not many fans would attend the international friendly the morrow. Dynamos had no commitment during the whole weekend but opted to let the Bulawayo based club, not so popular in Harare, fatigued and demoralised as they were, to play the Zambians.

Surely most people who share my opinion would want to know on which side of the struggle Dynamos is. To say that they were still smarting from the defeat during the Quarter Finals of the ZIFA cup last Wednesday at the hands of Caps

United would not make much sense. Furthermore, in the light of what happened which contributed to that defeat to infer that Dynamos could not raise a formidable team due to wrangles within the club is hard to believe. Thus Dynamos which has enjoyed more than two decades of popular support in Zimbabwe owes an explanation and perhaps an apology to the public and the authorities that be. An apology because, in my view refusing to play for such an important cause only manifestis the team's unpatriotic, selfish, retrogressive and counter-revolutionary inclinations.

In the light of the afore mentioned, I and others would like to hear a full explanation from a Dynamos representative stating explicitly the cause of this unbecoming behaviour from their camp.

Dear Editor,

I would like to express my humble views in your highly informative magazine. We now have our independence but only after thousands of our countrymen sacrificed their lives in the struggle against gross injustices brought about by colonialism and racism.

Before independence, our country had a three tier economic and social system based on race. The whites were the most privileged, the Asians and Coloureds occupying the second echelon and the blacks were relegated to the lowest rung. This obnoxious system was scrapped by the people's government in 1980, making all citizens of the new Zimbabwe equal. The racists who could not stomach this new equality made their exodus, most of them making a bee line to the racists haven, apartheid South Africa.

The policy of reconciliation paid off handsomely, bringing about a welcome change in peoples' past attitudes. Most whites who opted to live in Zimbabwe had accepted the new reality and have dissociated themselves from the Smith mentality. Some have since joined the ruling party as a gesture of their acceptance of the government's proffered hand of friendship.

After the recent abolition of parliamentary racial representation and the subse-

quent election of non-constituency MPs, whites have been returned to Parliament, thanks to the ZANU (PF) vote. Because of this racial cooperation, those whites who initially ran away are now coming back having found things not all that rosy across the Limpopo. The Asians, who have traditionally been characterised by their political, economic and social aloofness, have emerged from their social shell, making giant strides in their endeavours to cooperate with the government and party.

The African continent's blacks are known for their remarkable capacity for forgiving their past colonial oppressor's degradation of their personality. In Zimbabwe, blacks were quick to respond to the call for national reconciliation although the brutalities of the past regime were still fresh in their minds. There were obviously millions who cherished vengeance but today, there is more racial harmony than has ever existed.

So, with this racial harmony and a sense of loyalty to the state taking root, where do the Coloured people stand?

Seven years after independence, they are still saying "your party", "your government" or "your Prime Minister". They do not want their children to participate in youth activities or to join Youth Brigades. They do not even attend important rallies. It is a fact that, within their social circles most of them cheer and applaud whenever acts of sabotage and destabilisation (bombings, dissident murders, etc) occur in our country. Just where do they owe their loyalty?

If Coloured gentlemen and ladies decide to join ZANU (PF), they call them traitors. Traitors to what cause? Sell-outs to what? Past racist regimes segregated against all non-whites, Coloureds included. The mere fact that they were second-class citizens was in itself, segregation.

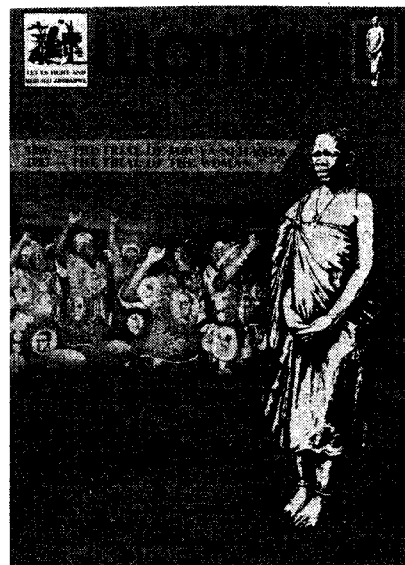
During the war against oppression, most of the Coloureds* never identified themselves with the struggle, let alone ZANU (PF). As far as blacks were concerned, Coloureds were fellow sufferers of oppression. But it seems apart from a few dedicated Coloured nationalists, the rest did not mind the segregation because they were accorded a better status than blacks. After independence and with the call for national reconciliation, surely this negative attitude should have changed?

It is common knowledge that in the 1985 general elections, a substantial number of coloureds voted for Ian Smith's reactionary and racist party, instead of opting for the Independents who had pledged to work with the government. ZANU (PF) is here to stay. It is a party for everyone, black, white, brown or yellow. Hard core racists have abandoned Smith, repented and joined the peoples' party. What can the Coloured population's foolish and impotent vendetta against the peoples' party benefit them?

People of mixed race are all over black Africa. In their countries of residence, they are equal and loyal citizens like everybody else. If most of those from Zimbabwe hate to be under a black government, where can they possibly emigrate to in Africa? Racist South Africa? But then, the Coloureds in South Africa are vigorously fighting and dying alongside blacks to eradicate apartheid and bring about majority rule in that troubled country! There are loyal Coloured folks who genuinely wish to join the ruling party and actively participate in the political, economic and social development of Zimbabwe. They should not be victimised by the misguided and divisive elements in their society.

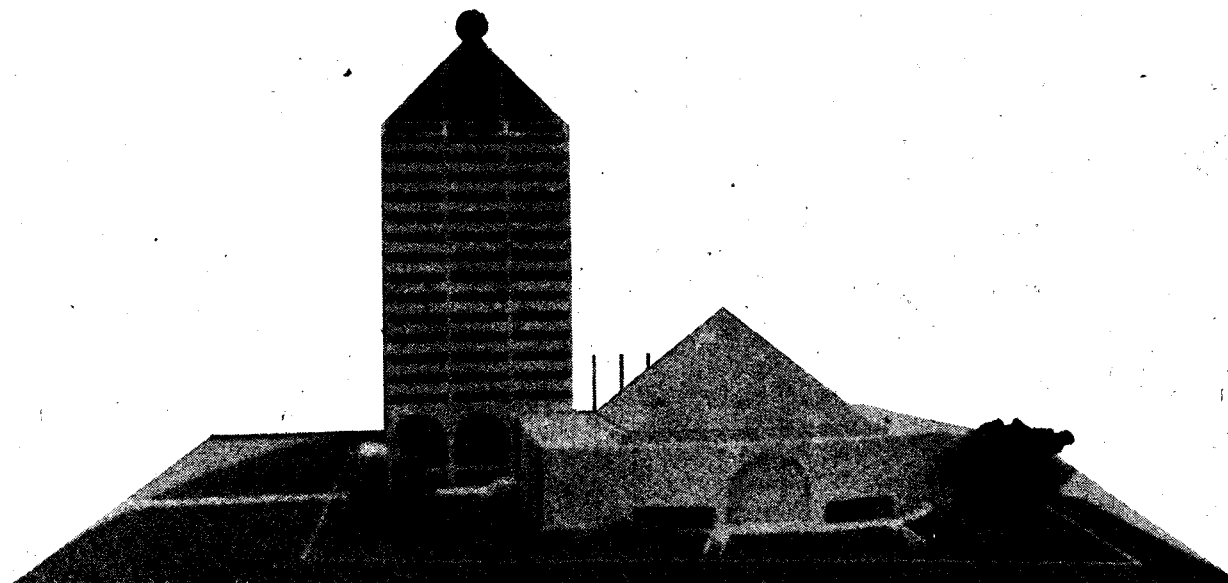
Pickson Hananga

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Building The New Party Headquarters

The Prime Minister and President of ZANU (PF) Launches the New Party Headquarters National Fund Raising Campaign



On behalf of Central Committee of ZANU and on my own behalf I would like to welcome all of you who have gathered to mark this historic event.

Let me start off by thanking the Fund Raising Committee and all of you have assisted to make this occasion possible.

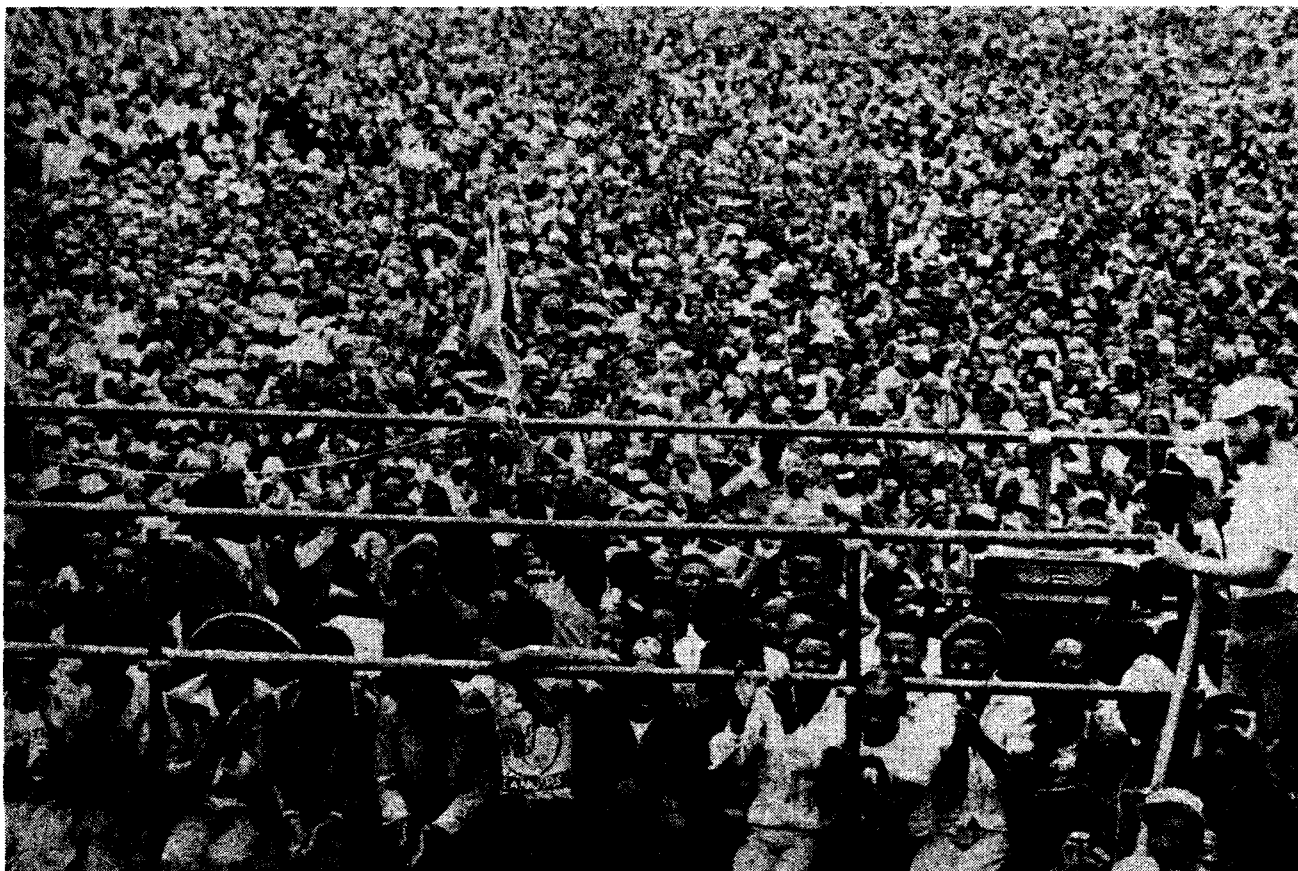
For the benefit of those gathered here, the idea we have come here to promote today was one of the objectives ZANU (PF) intended to bring to fruition on attainment of Independence. Our present Headquarters, at 88 Manica Road, was only meant to be a stop gap measure. However, with the bombing of 88 in 1981 the need to build a proper Headquarters whose security could be properly enforced became paramount and urgent, more so after the Second Congress when Party operations became more diversified, calling for an establishment from which the various party departments could operate effectively. The present premises at 88 Manica Road do not have the capacity to allow for proper administration of party operations because the space is limited and people are having to be served in a very cramped setting.

With these concerns in mind, a Building committee was set up to prepare some designs for Central Committee consideration. They have

come up with a design of a fifteen storey building which offers a wide variety of facilities such as:



Zimbabweans — Workers and peasants, Intellectuals — all revolutionaries — "Build your home"!



The Umbrella is there — The Party needs a new home

- a) Ample Offices,
- b) Committee Rooms, Library,
- c) Recreational Facilities,
- d) Conference Hall,
- e) Restaurant, etc.

The proposed Party Headquarters is to ZANU (PF) its national home, a heritage or investment we are creating not only for ourselves, but for all posterity. Symbolically, the ZANU (PF) home should not be regarded as different from any other homes we have, because this is the one umbrella ZANU (PF) will provide to shelter each one of us in our new political environment of the sovereign independent state of Zimbabwe. We should, therefore, work tirelessly to set up the ideal Headquarters to meet our needs, and not bank on outside donations for an institution of such domestic and political nature.

Collective Spirit to Build Our Home

Accordingly, I would find it very meaningful to have to go outside Zimbabwe to solicit funds for the construction of the ruling Party's national home because it should in the main be the owner of the home who pays for the establishment of that home and not an outsider, and, since

ZANU (PF) is the people, it is my hope that we shall be able to raise the required amount from all our people if only in recognition of the role ZANU (PF) has played in improving their lot.

I would like to extend my gratitude to all those who started off the exercise in 1981/82 in which some million dollars were raised. I know you are the same people I have appealed to before on many occasions, sometimes for such causes as the Namibia Solidarity Fund, the South African Solidarity Fund and the Zimbabwe-Mozambique Friendship Association.

It is in the same spirit that I am once again appealing to you with all the hope and confidence you have instilled in me in the past, and I feel extra motivated because the National Party Headquarters belongs to us all, hence it behoves us to work tirelessly to ensure that the goal of fully establishing it is attained.

There are Many Ways to Contribute

The Central Committee has in the meantime done some ground work for in November 1986, it set up a National Fund Raising Committee composed of representatives from the 9

Party Provinces to assist the Department of Finance in raising the required funds.

The Committee has so far drawn up a machinery that urges and allows everyone to participate in this vital exercise to build a viable financial resource for the Party, by way of, for instance, a stop-order system, whereby money pledged can be paid directly to the National Fund Raising Account, while Civil Servants can opt to make their pledges through the Salary Service Bureau, on a monthly basis, if they so wish. Such arrangements have been conceived with the realisation that contributing a large sum at any one time may be too heavy a commitment for many of us, but that small monthly stop orders over a period could easily be borne by individuals without causing undue distress.

In the private sector, Workers Committees could make similar arrangements in their various work settings. I am sure, if in every company the employees made similar arrangements, substantial contributions could come to the Party.

With reference to the business community, I do appreciate that their level of contribution is determined by their business performance and so it

is up to them either to make single payments or, if they so desire, make monthly contributions just like ordinary individuals, or they can sponsor fundraising projects or they can even opt to give their merchandise as subscription in kind to the National Fund Raising Committee. There are, indeed, so many ways in which they

can play their part, and so I leave the choice to them.

The details relating to the actual procedural-modes of contribution will be explained by the Treasury and I trust that sufficient safeguards have been worked out to ensure that all funds will be properly accounted for.

Finally, allow me to acknowledge with deep gratitude the donations from several individuals which have gone towards the expenses of this campaign. It is my hope that many more will follow their example. Let us work to build a strong Party so it can in turn proceed to build a strong Zimbabwe.



Will you be left out of the National Register? — Respond now to Baba Mugabe's call

APARTHEID IS UNACCEPTABLE

The expression "bloody boer" cannot be without significance. The First Secretary and President of ZANU (PF) Cde. Robert Mugabe addressed an International Anti-Apartheid Conference featuring children, repression and the Law in South Africa. He expounded on the conditions under which the children in the racist regime are exposed to and urged participants to devote their efforts to the active destruction of the evil system. We reproduce the full text of the speech.

It is a singular honour for us in Zimbabwe that our Capital City has been chosen as the venue for this unique Conference on Children, Repression and the Law in Apartheid South

Africa. I personally feel specially honoured and privileged that I have been asked to address the Opening Session of the Conference. I wish, Mr. Chairman, to preface my state-



ment with an expression of a sincere wish from the Government and people of Zimbabwe, that all the gathered

delegates here will have a pleasant stay with us. We certainly trust that those who are visiting Zimbabwe for the first time will take time off to acquaint themselves with the generality of our people and some of the natural or physical attractions of our country. We would like to think that the entire country is an open tourist resort and all our people are your hosts. On their behalf, I wish to welcome you all to Zimbabwe and to this Conference.

I hope I can be allowed to extend a special word of welcome to you, Archbishop Huddleston. You are no stranger to Southern Africa, having spent a good part of your life in South Africa and being one of the pioneers and an ally in the anti-apartheid struggle. Your continued fight from Great Britain against the evil apartheid system is greatly encouraging and is appreciated by us in Southern Africa.

The international character of participants at this conference is a very clear manifestation of the universality of the feeling of revulsion and concern generated by the dehumanisation to which the majority of the people of South Africa are daily subjected by the apartheid system in that country. I sincerely hope that the deliberations of this Conference will enhance international awareness of the terrible plight and situation of the weakest and most vulnerable of the South African population, namely, the Black children who are as we know, the most hapless and helpless victims of the evil monster that is apartheid. It is they who are daily malnourished by apartheid. It is they who are daily miseducated by apartheid. It is they who, above all, are daily jailed, maimed and murdered by apartheid.

Pretoria Murders, Tortures, Brutalises and Imprisons Children

Yet, international awareness of the suffering of the children in apartheid South Africa is alone not adequate unless it is followed by a resolve, determination and strength to fight and eradicate the heinous system from our civilised world. The pariah state of South Africa has no legitimate claim to being part of the civilised international community as long as the sanctity and respect for the rule of law has not been restored in that country. Indeed, no society has a right to be regarded and accepted as part of civilised humanity unless and until its legal system and

practice guarantees the rights of all its citizens, regardless of race, sex, political and religious convictions.

The prisons of South Africa are today full of children who, under civilised conditions should be in schools undergoing preparation for their future roles and responsibilities as citizens of their country. Alas, their prescribed lot is that of being murdered, tortured, brutalised and imprisoned.

I commend the organisers of this important Conference for having invited some of the victims of the immoral racist regime to come and give their own testimony. Equally vital will be the accounts of the mothers of the victims, the lawyers who have dealt with the cases of the children, as well as the pastors and welfare officers who are battling to rehabilitate the emotionally and spiritually shattered young people and children in that sad land.

You, and most of us from this region, know that the rule of law does not exist in apartheid South Africa. The law, such as exists there, is only for the advancement and protection of the privileges of the few. The law and all the related state institutions have been designed and geared to protect and promote the interests of the White minority by systematically trampling upon even the most basic rights of the Black masses.

Should any voice of conscience draw attention to the injustice of the system and criticise the so-called law enforcement agents, such criticism is contemptuously ignored. Recently, the Detainees' Parents Support Committee published its informative reports or studies on tortures and detentions in the 1980s. The reactions of the racist Minister of Law and Order was characteristic. He accused the Committee of vilifying the police. The cases of child arrest and assault, and the sordid examples of torture in detention were dismissed as mere fabrications. The sleep deprivation to which young detainees were subjected, the suspension in mid-air, the kicking, beating, electric shocking, the stripping and numerous other horrific perpetrations which the youths and children received from their interrogators, did not revulse the so-called Minister of Law and Order. How could they? Revulsion is a response of a person of conscience and morality. Mr. Vlok and all the members of his apartheid regime are evidently men to whom conscience and morality are mere trifles. Murder cannot, in such circumstances, any longer revulse the

bloody heart of its perpetrator, for each murder committed also destroyed his moral conscience, hardening him more and more to the shedding of blood. The expression "bloody boer" cannot be without significance.

The Need for Apartheid's Destruction is Urgent

This conference, Mr. Chairman, and especially the testimonies of participants from South Africa, should provide a rare opportunity for relating to the outside world the story of the human tragedy taking place in South Africa.

The traumatic and horrifying experiences in the dark and squalid prisons and detention centres are more clearly and vividly narrated by those who went through them. We have some of them in our midst.

Mr. Chairman, as the report of UNJCEF has recently illustrated, the tragedy of the Black children and youths in South Africa extends to their brothers and sisters in the Frontline States. I refer here to the report entitled *Children on the Frontline, the impact of Apartheid, Destabilisation and Warfare on the Children in Southern and South Africa*. This report draws urgent and special world attention to the serious and desperate plight of the children of the entire sub-continent and rightly attributes it to the apartheid regime's internal repression and destabilising activities within the region. Indeed, many of you from outside the region have heard or read about the effects of South Africa's apartheid policies, the regime's economic disruption and political destabilisation and their destructive effects upon the lives and welfare of the Blacks in South Africa and the peoples of the entire region. The statistics are readily available. But may I remind you, that behind those figures or statistics are real children, youths and their parents, with names, human feelings of pain, fear, want and hunger. I trust that this important Conference on children, repression and the law in South Africa will enhance your appreciation of this fact even more and the need to move to action to stop the suffering of the little ones and their parents.

Let me, once again, wish this Conference all success, bearing in mind the interests of the children in apartheid South Africa, the Front Line States and the world over.

THE ONE PARTY STATE

In this paper I shall, but only, try to explain how the one party state is an endeavour to relate modern politics to the political culture and traditions of the formerly colonised indigenous people.

I shall try to show that there was, before conquest, in all colonies, an on-going political culture and tradition among the indigenous population; that the colonial settlers did not themselves adapt to the political culture or any other tradition that they found in the colonies; African Kingdoms were, before conquest, one party states with legislative, judiciary and executive functions; they occupied recognisable territories which were forcibly annexed and placed under foreign rule which did not allow for free political expression and was exercised by one single person in the metropol. This state of affairs was the worst form of a totalitarian one party state imposed by the colonial regimes; and when the "wind of change" blew the colonial regimes proclaimed that independence shall be granted if it is acceptable to the people of the colony as a whole and at the same time demanded that there shall be a multi-party political system which they themselves had never allowed to exist before independence.

It is pertinent to say that there was without exception in every British colony before colonisation, an on-going political culture and tradition; be it in Australia, Canada, New Zealand, India or Africa. Some of this culture was destroyed by brute force of conquest or through "protection" and resulted in the establishment of a colony in which British or other interests were paramount.

The British System was for Settlers

The British political system is based on British culture and traditions. It has worked well for the British who spread it throughout the Commonwealth. It was adapted, in the USA, to fall within an emerging culture of a newly independent state composed of people who came from the UK and Europe. It was not adapted to the culture of people who were taken to the USA, from Africa, as slaves or to the culture of the indigenous Aborigines, Eskimos, Maoris, Indians or Africans who were conquered and collectively referred to as "the Natives". The British political system was therefore introduced to former British colonies to suit the settlers. In Africa, colonial legislative

councils were, in the main, composed of people from the UK who made laws governing themselves and the indigenous majority. White settlers were occasionally appointed to represent indigenous people in the legislative councils. Pre-independence conferences held at Lancaster House provided, for the colony, a written constitution aimed at satisfying the interests of the settlers to ensure their continued stay in the colonies. Little, if any, regard was paid to the interests of the indigenous community. So, most of the time of the newly independent colony was taken in making amendments to the constitution and existing legislation. In the course of doing that new interests and sometimes conflicts emerged.

Democracy originated and flourished in no party Greek States, the majority of whose inhabitants were slaves without the right to vote. It would be wrong to wish that this were so wherever democracy was established. Democracy did not flourish in multi-party Rhodesia, where, for more than half a century, an all white minority had the vote and not the black majority. A worse situation occurs in South Africa today where blacks have no political power to determine their rights and future.

Most ancient polities were monarchies or kingdoms. A move from monarchies occurred in Europe and resulted in republics. The British political system retains the Monarch or its representative. The power to run the State is divided between the executive, legislative and judicial branches of the State.

Our Kingdoms were One Party State

A close look at the functioning of African Kingdoms, before colonisation, reveals that the Monarch did not function in isolation. His counsellors performed legislative, executive and judicial functions. Even in the very centralised Zulu kingdom, where the King wielded absolute power, he operated within defined limits. He always sought the advice of his council which discussed the Kingdom's policies and programmes. The Kingdom was always guided by its unwritten but carefully understood traditions and norms which were the law. There were no formal opposition groups. If any such group developed, it left the Kingdom and wandered away to set up a separate Kingdom. The entire Kingdom had the same religion and pursued common interests. Apart from the King and his family, the Kingdom had one class of people.



Cde. D.N.E. Mutasa, Secretary for External Affairs and Speaker of the House of Assembly

It lived in harmony with itself and nature, and respected the rights and territorial integrity of other Kingdoms. These Kingdoms were, in a sense one-party states.

The colonial era produced boundaries, which sub-divided some Kingdoms. The Kingdoms within the confines of a colonial boundary became one nation. They fell under one British flag and administration. The Kingdoms were made as uniform as possible. Any form of political opposition to the colonial administration was not tolerated. Gradually, the Kingdoms were forced to disappear. Those that remained had no political power or fell under colonial protection. The end result was that the entire colony was run as a one party state by a Colonial Secretary who was ignorant of the culture and traditions of the indigenous people.

The ruling party in Britain dictated to what happened in the colonies, there was no formal opposition in the colonies, to the dictates of the ruling British Party. Those settlers who might have belonged to the opposition party in the UK went along with the wishes of the Colonial Office which, anyway, ruled the colonies in the interest of the settlers.

The indigenous population was, initially, totally left out of the decision-making process. The argument of the settlers and the Colonial Office seemed to be that "native affairs" had to be conducted

through white Native Commissioners. The less those Commissioners knew about native affairs the better. Besides, they were civil servants and could not argue with their political masters. They were, therefore, the link and symbol of the one-party state nature of the colonial rule. The indigenous people were subjects and spectators of the political events that took place. They were never consulted and were always to blame.

National Independence

Then suddenly "the wind of change" blew all over Africa. The colonies had to be independent. Political parties were allowed to be organised but had to suit Whitehall's wishes. And where Whitehall's view did not suit the settlers' wishes, the merging indigenous political leaders were detained for "subversive activities". In Kenya, Malawi and Zambia, the emerging African political leadership spent long periods in detention and were released from detention to become political leaders and Heads of their nations. In Zimbabwe, the detained emerging political leaders re-organised their parties into Liberation Movements and fought against the settler regime to attain national independence.

It is important to stress that right through the political history of British colonies in Africa, the indigenous population never participated in any meaningful political organisation without harassment. However, they participated in united movements to rid themselves of colonial domination. At the end of that domination, Whitehall seemed to desire that there should be political parties including the official opposition. This demand for political opposition groups took no regard of Whitehall's former contention which, though clumsily put and practised, was more in line with African culture and tradition that Kingdoms do not have any formal opposition.

The compulsory end of African Kingdom, during the colonial period, did not mean the end of the Africans' understanding of their own political culture and tradition. With the end of colonial foreign domination the imposed and unopposed kingdoms of the various British Colonial Secretaries disappeared and were replaced by new indigenous "kingdoms". The political culture of the people, which had never significantly changed right through the colonial period, was for the first time brought forward and organised into an on-going political force. The new political leadership organised the people to become members of their political organisations. Obviously, they could not organise the same people into opposition groups. Besides, political power in itself attracts more political support. No one wants to

be an outsider and after all, to be in opposition could be interpreted to mean dislike of the present "kingdom" in preference of the former, and, as in the traditional past, was looked upon with contempt and was punishable.

The Party — A supreme Body

Constructive ideas have always been welcome in African political culture. Those ideas could be in opposition to the main stream of current thought but were always expressed within the community of interests and intended to lead the whole community towards a higher level of understanding. Destructive opposition was not tolerated for obvious reasons. Likewise, in the modern situation that communality of political thought, interests and expression has to be exercised through a common political party. In this way the political tradition and culture is advanced to a higher level. What used to be the unwritten traditional norm of the political kingdom is translated into the constitution of the party and the political organisation of the nation as a whole. That organisation becomes the supreme body which ensures that the legislative, executive and judiciary functions of the state are carried out in accordance with the will and interest of the nation. From that supreme political organisation is derived the various representatives of the nation elected by the people to serve the people's will.

The establishment of one-party states in former British colonies, has aroused interesting debate among various schools of political thought. Most of this debate had revolved around the question of whether the one party system is democratic. Where participants in the debate have accepted that the one party system is democratic, the discussion degenerates into controversial comparisons of the merits and demerits of the one party and the multi party systems.

Today, some political scientists are beginning to accept that the one party system is more democratic than the multi-party system provided certain fundamental essentials of democracy are recognised and adhered to. These include: free and periodic elections, free discussion and communication at all levels, freedom to criticise the government, maintenance of the rule of law and respect for human rights and dignity.

Some advocates of orthodox multi-party democracy are slowly thawing to the view that there is no party system that should be considered the sole guarantor of democracy. History has many examples where both systems have produced democratic governments and other examples where the same system have yield-

ed to dictatorial, totalitarian and fascist regimes.

One Party State — A must

In Zimbabwe we shall establish a one-party state. Below I give, the structure of the ZANU (PF) Party which I believe shall be the One-Party. Its structure and function is similar to that of Chama Cha Mapinduzi, the Malawi Congress Party, the United National Independence Party, Kenya African National Union, etc. The following are the principal organs and structure of ZANU (PF).

- (a) The People's Congress: This is the policy-making organ of the Party. It convenes in ordinary sessions once in every five years and may convene in extraordinary session during the intervening period.
- (b) The Central Committee: is the principal organ for the implementation of the policies and the administration of the affairs of the party. It is answerable to the People's Congress and has a membership of 90, constituted as follows:
 - (i) 42 members elected by the People's Congress upon the nomination of the Central Committee from lists submitted to it by Provincial Executive Councils;
 - (ii) 18 members — 2 from each of the nine regional provinces of the party;
 - (iii) 10 members of the National Executive Council of the Women's League — elected by the National Women's Conference;
 - (iv) 10 members of the National Executive Council of the Youth League — elected by the National Youth Conference; and
 - (v) 10 members appointed by the President of the Party with the approval of the Central Committee and the People's Congress.
- (c) The Politburo: is the administrative and executive organ of the Central Committee. It has a membership of 15. It supervises governmental agencies through the following five Standing Committees of the Central Committee:
 - (i) Economic Committee;
 - (ii) Political and Policy Committee;
 - (iii) Justice and Constitutional Affairs Committee;
 - (iv) Social and Welfare Committee; and
 - (v) Defence and Security Committee.
- (d) The National Executive Council of the Women's League: is the principal organ of the Women's League for the implementation of the policies of the party and the administration of the affairs of the Women's League. It is composed of 22 members of the Women's League.
- (e) The National Executive Council of

(Continued on page 43)

World Habitat Day

Message to the Nation by His Excellency the President of Zimbabwe, Rev. C.S. Banana: Eve of World Habitat Day, 4 October 1987

The first Monday of October 1987 is World Habitat Day, a day which the General Assembly of the United Nations has designated for the International Community to focus on the plight of the homeless everywhere. It gives me great pleasure indeed to address you once again, on this important occasion.

In my message to you on the eve of the first World Habitat Day last year, I drew your attention to thousands of our own people in our cities, towns, growth points, communal and commercial farming settlements and mining areas who have no shelter at all and those who live in deplorable conditions unfit for human habitation. I indicated to you that to overcome this homelessness by the year 2000, we need an annual production of 54 000 housing units in urban areas and 76 000 units in rural areas for all income groups and called upon all sectors of our communities to work together in resolving this problem.

Comrades and friends, I am pleased to say that since I made this appeal the

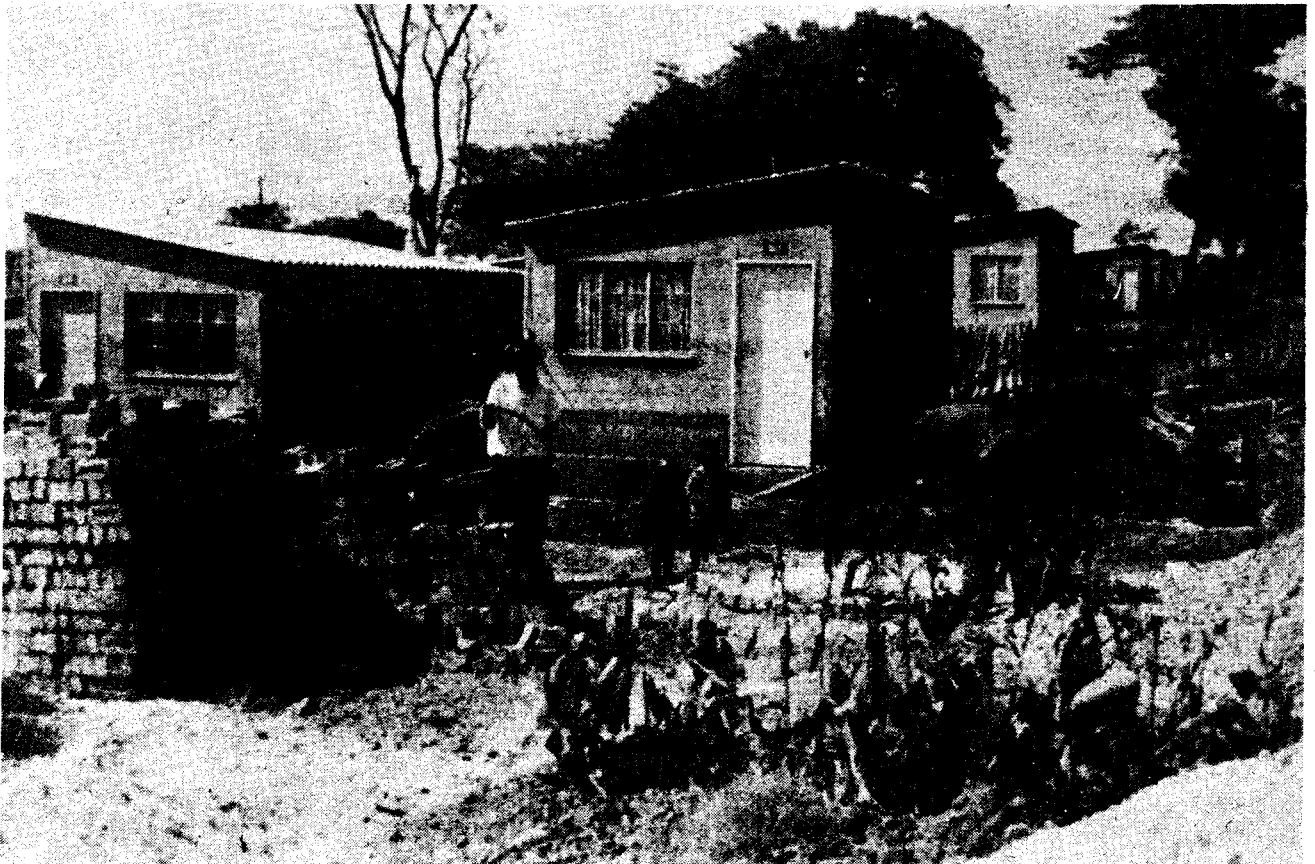
response has been encouraging indeed. This year has witnessed increased activities in housing development by both the public and private sectors. All the Building Societies are now involved in financing low cost housing and more and more employers and non-Governmental Organisations are now participating in various forms of housing schemes for their workers. On the other hand some Local Authorities are successfully implementing housing programmes using their own additional resources. Where the homeless themselves have been allocated services stands, they have increased their participation in constructing and improving their own shelter. These activities have no doubt benefitted a large number of the homeless in our communities.

In the field of research, it is gratifying to note that some manufacturing companies continue to probe into the possibility of low cost housing model schemes within low income people's affordability. The exponential rise in the demand for low cost houses coupled with soaring costs of building materials make



The President Cde. C.S. Banana

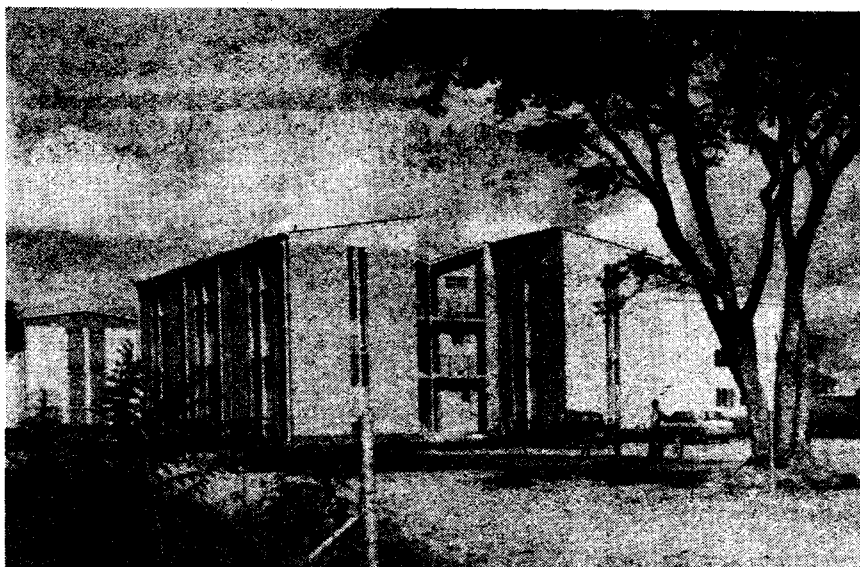
this development a most welcome one, one that deserves untinted support from Government and the public.



The homeless who have been allocated service stands participate in constructing and improving their own shelter

Comrades and friends, the challenge of housing each and every Zimbabwean citizen is a daunting one. Yet decent housing is a basic right of every individual. Homelessness questions and disconfirms one's own humanity and is therefore incompatible with, nay negates our basic quest for human fullness. I happily note that a start has been made in easing the housing predicament. What is needed now is to maintain and wherever possible, add to the momentum of this well-acclaimed beginning.

Given the nobleness of the goal, the scope and breath of the challenge, the need for total mobilization of all available human and material resources as well as coordinating efforts can hardly be over emphasized. This is a national challenge requiring a nation-wide response. I therefore urge all Zimbabweans, housed or homeless; employers and employees, the public and private sectors to rededicate themselves and redouble their



Decent housing is a basic right of every individual



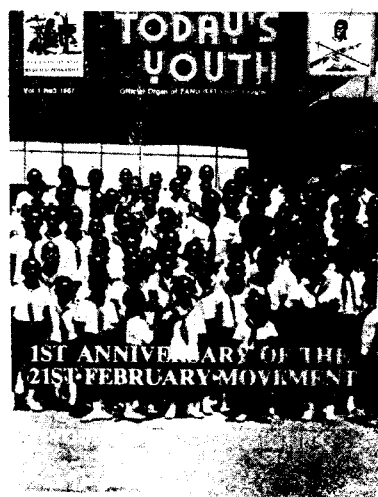
Rural infrastructures are developing through self-help projects

be more widespread, in fact a new method of offsetting the housing backlog whose practicability and viability will become apparent and beyond gainsay to all our workers and their management. On its part, Government will, as in the past, do all it can to utilize the limited resources at its disposal towards the realisation of the national housing plans and goals. It will continue to invite the assistance and participation of the private sector and non-governmental organizations whose involvement in welfare schemes remain highly commendable.

To our rural folk, I would like to say that we have followed with evident admiration your successful efforts in building schools, clinics and other essential rural infrastructure through self-help. Similar efforts should also be channelled towards durable houses in planned villages and resettlement schemes. Let us all work hard to overcome the constraints of rural backwardness that an unkind history has foisted upon us and transform our rural areas into decent and habitable areas.

efforts in this very urgent national task. One fervently hopes that the new trend

heralded by the successful Cotton Printers Housing Cooperation in Bulawayo would



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Disarm for Development

On the occasion of the International Conference for Denuclearization, Peace and Anti-Imperialist Solidarity in the Asian Pacific Region, I bring your best wishes and fraternal greetings from Comrade Robert G. Mugabe, the Chairman of NAM, the First Secretary and President of ZANU (PF) and the Zimbabwean people. I also humbly avail myself of this opportunity to thank the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung and the dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il for providing us with comfortable conditions and the excellent reception we have been accorded on and after our arrival.

I unequivocally endorse the proposal for the adoption of the great leader, Comrade Kim Il Sung's congratulatory message to the participants as a formal document of this International Conference for Denuclearization, Peace and Anti-Imperialist Solidarity in the Asian-Pacific Region.

It is of great significance that the current International Conference is being held in Pyongyang, the capital of the DPR of Korea. For today, the Korean peninsula has become the biggest nuclear arsenal in the Far East and a dangerous hot-bed of nuclear war due to the US occupation of South Korea, the concentrated development of over 1 000 nuclear weapons in South Korea and the annual large-scale US-South Korean joint military manoeuvres.

However, the Government of the DPR of Korea has advanced the proposal for turning the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free, peace zone the epochal proposal for extensive phased reduction of armed forces of the north and the south. These proposals are indeed, peace-loving initiatives which reflect a genuine stand aimed at realizing denuclearization, peace and security in the Korean peninsula, Asian and Pacific Region.

Comrades and friends, the progressive sector of the International community has noted time after time that nuclear disarmament is a *sine*

qua non for comprehensive international peace, security and development.

On the other hand, that position has continued to be challenged by the Capitalist Military-Industrial Complex which thrives on international insecurity and tension.

The American Administration's lack of interest in the United Nations Conference on Disarmament and Development which was held in New York in August, 1987 was therefore not surprising.

However, we are encouraged by the recent meeting between the Soviet Foreign Minister, Comrade SHEVARDNADE and US Secretary of State Mr. SHULTZ. We hope that the two sides will reach an agreement on the elimination of medium range missiles, leading eventually to another agreement on the elimination of long-range missiles.

While the emphasis has been on European disarmament, we are also encouraged by the CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Comrade GORBACHEV's proposals to remove Soviet and American medium-range missiles from the Asian-Pacific region. We therefore urge the Soviet and American sides to pursue disarmament in the Asia and Pacific Region as seriously as they have on European disarmament. In that vein, we support the proposed Soviet-American double-global zero treaty, which would eliminate medium and short-range missiles world-wide.

Comrades and Friends, we have followed with much interest initiatives on the creation of nuclear free zones in the Pacific Region as well as the proposed nuclear free corridor in Central Europe. These proposals among others, complement the Soviet-American disarmament talks. More such initiatives at regional international levels should be encouraged because the question of peace and disarmament is too important to be discussed at the bilateral level between the Soviet and American sides only. For that reason,



The Deputy Secretary for Youth and Member of the House of Assembly, Comrade Charles Ndlovu

we in Zimbabwe take these forces interested in disarmament, with an opportunity to contribute constructively to the debate on disarmament.

My distinguished colleagues, disarmament would be incomplete if it focuses on nuclear disarmament only. In our view, there is need for nuclear disarmament to be coupled with conventional disarmament so that the resources which would have been spent on economic development. *Thus disarmament for development* should be our watchword.

It will be recalled that we in Southern Africa have repeatedly drawn the attention of the international community to the dangers of South Africa's Western-sponsored nuclear capability. While there is talk of the elimination of nuclear arms, South Africa, with the assistance of Israel and various Western countries, continues to develop its nuclear capability. Given the real possibility of the elimination of intermediate nuclear forces from Europe, Asia and the Pacific Region, what are the implications of South Africa's nuclear capability? —as you all know, the South African regime's irrational activities are to the detriment of the regional and international peace and security. In the interests of international peace and security, we appeal to all realistic people in the Western countries to persuade their governments to stop enhancing South Africa's nuclear capability. If *that is not done now*, tomorrow might be too late. South Africa should not be allowed to vitiate all the work that has been done so far in Europe, Asia and the Pacific aimed at disarmament.

The October Revolution lives forever

Address by Comrade N.T. Mawema, Member of the Central Committee and Deputy Secretary for Commissariat and Culture, at the photographic exhibition dedicated to the 70th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution jointly organised by the Soviet Union and Bulgarian Embassy, Harare, Zimbabwe.



The Zimbabwe national liberation struggle was fought in the context of ideological, military, strategic and logistical advantages provided by the conquests and achievements of world socialism. The marching start for world socialism and peoples' progress started in the October Revolution of 1917, October 25. In its character and force, and in the profound nature of its impact on the destinies of nations and states and peoples, no other event is comparable to the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917. Here working people won, for the first time in the history, its struggle against economic, social and national oppression.

On October 25 (November 7, new style), 1917, the second all-Russian congress of Soviets announced that all authority in the country went to the Soviets, and elected the world's first government of workers and peasants, the council of people's commissars. The Council elected Vladimir Lenin its Chairman.

This was followed by decrees on land, confiscation of property belonging to counter-revolutionary saboteurs, nationalisation of banks, abolition of rents payable to private landlords, state control of external trade, equality of men and women in economic and labour matters as well as in contracting and dissolving marriage etc. Of profound significance was the "Declaration of Rights of the Working and Exploited People". For the first time in history the abolition of classes and exploitation of man by man became the state policy. It became a right and duty of all to work and the division of wealth to be based on the quality and quantity of one's work. The slogan: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat!" was enshrined in the first constitution of 1918.

The Revolution in Russia served to motivate the growth of the masses' revolutionary awareness the world over;

it opened up for the peoples of the world the prospect of struggle for their liberation.

But long before getting consolidated, literally from the Soviet Republic's very first days it had to go through the crucible of a murderous war against domestic counter-revolution and a foreign invasion of 14 imperialist states. Fearful that the ideals of equality, justice and doing away of exploitation of man by man might spread all over the world, the ruling circles of the Western states tried to destroy Russian Revolution, and erected a wall of slander and misinformation around it.

For us in Zimbabwe today, the hard and difficult times that faced the great October revolution in its early days has become a living history. We have also had instances of hoarding and withholding from the market many essential commodities which we cannot interpret as anything but economic sabotage caused by the class that has fallen out of power. Hardly two years after independence, South Africa also seriously unleashed its destabilisation strategy against Zimbabwe by sponsoring, training and infiltrating Super Zapu bandits. This, comrades, only serves to indicate that any struggle for power is a class struggle, and the overthrown classes will never leave their dreams of trying to roll back the wheels of history. These are the concrete lessons we draw from the Great October revolution and our national liberation struggle and the struggle for socialism in Zimbabwe. But the Soviet people triumphed even in those early days and from that triumph we draw great inspiration.

After a bloody and protracted four-year civil war the Soviet people crushed the resistance of internal and external counter-revolution and embarked on construction of the basis of socialism in the country, namely: overcoming backwardness and doing away with foreign capital,

industrialisation, the transition from small-scale individual production in the countryside to a large-scale socialist production, cultural revolution, solving the national question and many others.

The experience of the USSR in developing its national economy has demonstrated that socialist industrialisation is the chief means of liquidating economic backwardness. Social ownership of the means of production was the basis of socialist industrialisation in the USSR. The industrialisation of the entire country made possible the technological reconstruction of agriculture and the creation of a material basis for co-operating peasant labour. Only the transition of agriculture to the road of socialist development could improve the well-being of the peasantry and free it from poverty and exploitation. Thus, the collectivisation of agriculture was the objective condition upon which the building of a new society depended in the USSR. The transition to mass collectivisation of peasant households was successfully accomplished from 1929 to 1933.

As a result the largest stratum of exploiters in the rural areas — the Kulaks — was liquidated as a class along with the remnants of precapitalist relations and patriarchal way of life.

The heroic struggle of the Soviet people against fascism during World War II was an important stage in the history of mankind and had a direct effect on the future of all countries of the World, including the countries of Africa. The war unleashed by the Nazis was the severest clash between the freedom-loving peoples of the world and the striking force of imperialism, fascism. The fascists were intent upon destroying the world's first socialist state, annihilating millions of people, and enslaving the peoples of the Soviet Union and many other countries.

In a 1940 publication of the so-called race and political department of the Nazi party, it was maintained that in most of the colonies a lack of order resulting from a "natural inequality of the people" existed and that the people of the colonies could only be ruled by a "predominantly white population . . ." What a fallacy.

After four years of unprecedented fierce fighting which cost the Soviet people 20 million lives and immense destruction of the country's economy and other material loss the Soviet Army in co-operation, with other Allied forces defeated Nazi Germany and militarist Japan.

Socialism had withstood the ordeal of war and became more attractive to the world. The victory over the Nazis ensured the success of national liberation in colonies and people's democratic revolutions in many parts of the world: in Central and Eastern Europe, in the Far East and South-East Asia; it advanced the growing general crisis of capitalism and promoted the establishment of a world socialist system.

The collapse of the colonial system and the establishment of dozens of independent states in the first decades following the Second World War marked the beginning of a qualitatively new stage in the history of the Asian, African and Latin American nations.

World socialism's support for the liberation struggle limited imperialism's influence and made it incapable of retaining colonial orders by the traditional means of the "big stick".

A fundamentally new phase of co-operation between the socialist countries and the sovereign states of Asia and Africa began after the collapse of the imperialist colonial system.

In the 1960s the Soviet Union put forward a number of proposals that were formulated in the Peace Programme on the 24th Congress of the CPSU. The programme included the conclusion of international agreements on the non-use of force; the dismantling of military bases in foreign countries; the implementation of the UN decision on the abolition of the remaining colonial regimes; struggle against racism and apartheid; development and extension of co-operation among states in various fields.

Furthermore, while insisting that all parties should refrain from using force or the threat of force to settle international disputes, the Soviet Union opposed neocolonialism in a decisive and uncompromising manner and invariably supported the peoples who were courageously defending and consolidating their newly-won freedom.

The Soviet peace initiatives at the in-

ternational level have been supported by the majority of the newly free nations and brought about the adoption in the United Nations of such important documents as the Declaration on the Principles of International Law (1970), the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security (1970), and the General Assembly resolution on the "Definition of Aggression" (1974).

A new dramatic impetus to the development of the Soviet society along socialist lines was given by the 27th Congress of the CPSU held in Moscow from February 28 to March 6, 1986. It will go down in history as a congress of strategic decisions. The concept of acceleration, forms the basis of the congressional decisions.

It is planned to create within 15 years an economic potential equal to that which has been achieved in all the preceding years of Soviet rule. This will be accomplished exclusively by raising labour productivity by 130-150 per cent.

The facilities necessary for the chosen course are all available in terms of raw materials and scientific, technological and economic achievements. The Soviets have the fundamental basis needed for operating the economy in strict accordance with their economic plan. The planned economic system under socialism has no social limitations imposed by private property, and thus it is possible to concentrate efforts where they are in great demand and to make impressive strategic breakthroughs and flexible manoeuvres. The advantages of socialism are even more notable as regards the human factor. *Under socialism the syndrome of fear of losing one's job, income or savings does not exist and simply cannot develop.* Visitors to the USSR everywhere see that the system of social relations in the country is being modernised, and reconstructed. The principles of self-government and democracy are being established more firmly, democratic institutions and publicity promoted. Intellectual life is being stimulated, and the system of pay strictly according to work is being improved. Those living on unearned income and spongers are openly fought and exposed. All this improves socialism and activates the human factor, which inevitably leads to an increase in growth of both labour productivity and the economy as a whole.

Along with the current transfer to a highly efficient economy Soviet people have embarked, up on the course of the more full implementation of the principle of social justice, the underlying idea of which is that under socialism the goal of production is to promote the people's welfare.

The CPSU has defined the principal

tasks of its social policy as follows:

- a steady improvement of the living and working conditions of Soviet people;
- the implementation to an ever fuller extent of the principle of social justice in all spheres of social relations;
- a drawing closer together of all classes and social groups and strata, overcoming essential distinctions between mental and physical work, between town and countryside;

The perfection of relations between nations and ethnic groups; the strengthening of the fraternal friendship of the peoples and nationalities of the country.

Thus the whole nation is now living through changes; the party's initiatives in Perestroika, acceleration of the social and economic development and democratization are being upheld throughout the country.

The current social, economic and political process is so profound and revolutionary in its essence that the concepts used to describe it in the Russian language such as glasnost (openness) and perestroika (restructuring) are becoming household words in the vocabulary of reactionaries who are vehemently opposed to socialism. However, genuine revolutionaries view the concepts as expressing the best of socialism at this definite stage of its development and maturity in the USSR.

Today therefore, the progress of our time is rightly identified with socialism. World socialism is a powerful international entity with a highly developed economy, substantial scientific resources, and a reliable military and political potential. It accounts for more than one-third of the world's population; it includes dozens of countries and peoples advancing along a path that reveals in every way the intellectual and moral wealth of man and society. More and more countries of the Third World embark on the path of non-capitalist development.

LENIN once revealed that "The Russian revolution marked the beginning of an epoch of socialist and national liberation revolutions. Exploited classes and oppressed peoples will follow this example and use it as the basis of their further social progress". The course of events during the decades that followed the October revolution has proved the truth of LENIN's predictions in practice. That is why this jubilee is of international significance.

We in Zimbabwe under the leadership of ZANU (PF) have defined our political and social path of development as Scientific Socialism based on Marxism-Leninism. This is no longer a matter of theory as some reactionary elements wish to argue. Real socialism in the USSR today gives us the confidence that the path

of scientific socialism is the only one for Zimbabwe and other African countries. Let us take this opportunity to salute LENIN and the Bolsheviks who first blazed the harsh path of socialist revolution

and socialist construction.

LONG LIVE V.I. LENIN!
LONG LIVE THE OCTOBER
REVOLUTION!

LONG LIVE PERESTOIKA!
LONG LIVE COMRADE MUGABE!
A LUTA CONTINUA!
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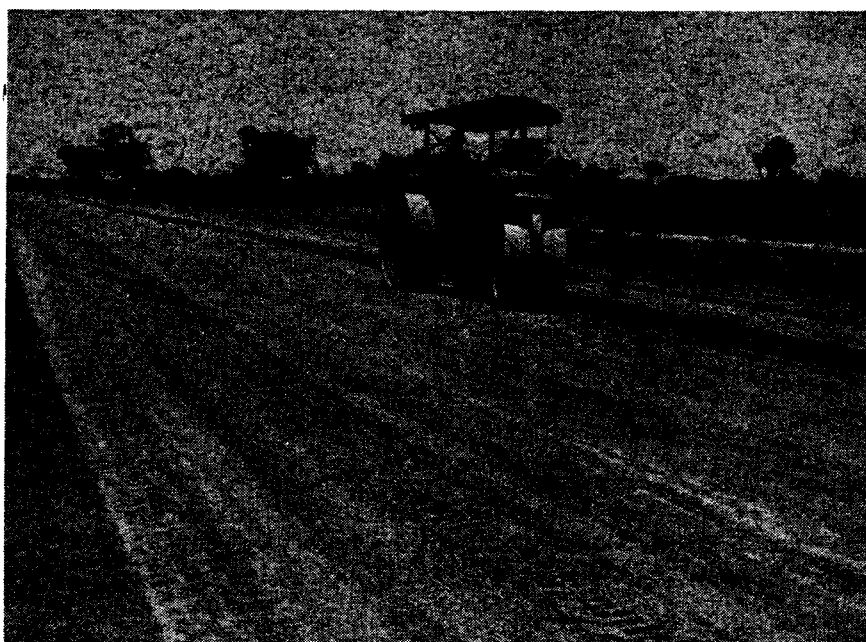
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Involve the people in development — PM

People must be given maximum opportunity to participate on the identification of their own needs, and in the preparation of development plans, programmes and projects aimed at solving their problems and fulfilling their wishes. This was said by the Prime Minister, Comrade Robert Gabriel. Mugabe, when he opened a workshop for provincial Governors on Development Planning in Bulawayo recently.

Recalling the reasons for the formation for our present system of provincial governors under the Provincial Councils and Administration Act of 1985, Comrade Mugabe said that the machinery had been brought about to plan, co-ordinate and implement the process of development in our rural areas.

"Proceeding from the recognition that the great majority of our people not only reside but also make their living in these areas, Government accorded priority attention to rural development. Govern-



Rural development — Government's priority



It is both the quantitative material improvement of the people as well as the qualitative change in their lives that development aims at

ment also, however realised that the mere according of priority status to rural development could not by itself transform the material and social circumstances of these areas. What was required was the establishment of relevant institutions and the transfer of resources to this sector", said the Prime Minister.

Observing that development was a process of change for the better, Comrade Mugabe stressed that its object had to be

the people. "It is both the quantitative material improvement of the people as well as the qualitative change in their lives that development aims at. Material improvement is only meaningful if it is solely aimed at enhancing the quality of life of all our people."

Referring to development plans devised over the past three years, Comrade Mugabe questioned the degree to which VIDCOs and WADCOs had been involv-

ed in the development plans for each province. "As I have already stated, development must be by the people and for the people. Thus, if any of our present provincial and district plans do not reflect this item it is necessary that they be serviced."

Land Use and Housing

If significant improvements are to be achieved in the quality of life of the majority of our people, the Prime Minister said that it was essential that priority is now given to land use and village housing. "The provision of decent and affordable housing and of the necessary social services and amenities to carefully planned and well established village communities is indeed an urgent task before us all."

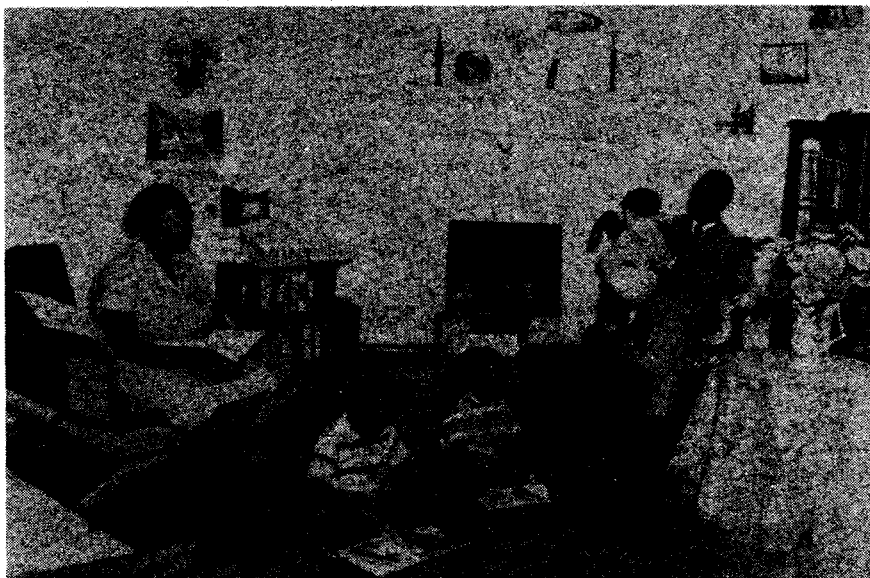
Comrade Mugabe said Government had already, through relevant ministries, started implementing such projects as building roads, schools, clinics and rural hospitals; drilling boreholes, laying pad-docks and promoting a host of similar projects.

Yet, cautioned the Prime Minister, Government by itself could not bear the costs of implementing all the required programmes and projects. "Councils and the villagers themselves must mobilise their own resources."

In this connection, Comrade Mugabe commended the food-for-work programme which "is one excellent vehicle through which bricks can be moulded, infrastructure such as roads, wells, piped-water and sanitation schemes, paddocks, better houses, community halls and recreational facilities can be built.

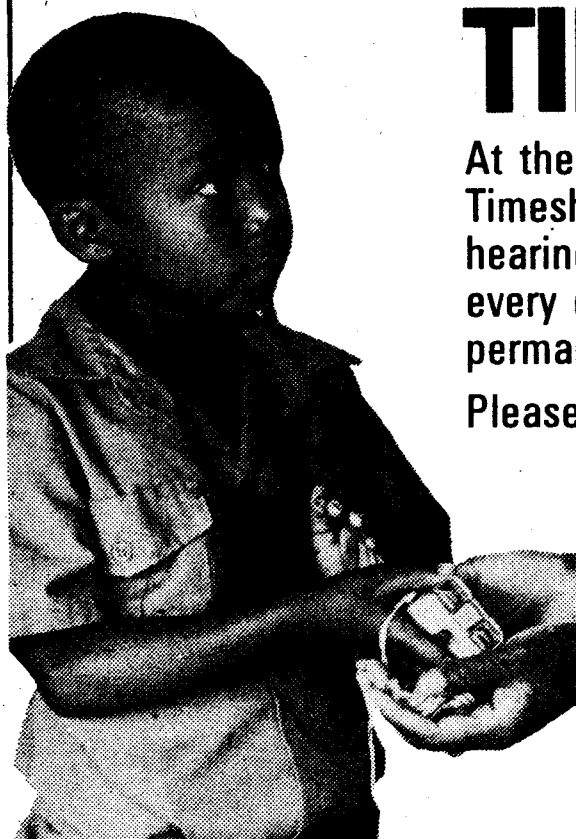
One issue which continues to concern Government a great deal, said Comrade Mugabe, was the problem of squatters in both urban areas and on land allocated for planned settlement purposes. "The results of these unauthorised settlements are all too familiar: indiscriminate destruction of forests, arable and grazing lands and other natural resources and the creation of semi-deserts".

Comrade Mugabe said the Government could not allow the nation's natural resources to be wantonly destroyed. Preparing land-use plans was the responsibility of the Minister of Lands, Agriculture and Rural Resettlement. Responsibility for putting the necessary infrastructure rested with the Minister of Local Government, Rural and Urban Development, as did the task of selecting beneficiaries.



Provision of decent and affordable accommodation — Indeed an urgent task before us all

"It follows then that no individual and no other authority, not even the Provincial Council, has power or responsibility to allocate land in communal, resettlement or urban areas," warned the Prime Minister.



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SAMORA — A Bold and Dauntless Warrior

Address by Comrade Francisco Madeira Mozambique's Ambassador on the Commemoration day of the murder of President Samora Machel by the Pretoria Regime — 19th October.



Indeed — A man of the people

It is one year now since our beloved President and other 33 patriots were tragically killed by apartheid in South Africa.

On that day, a year ago, none of us could believe that what we were hearing could be true. It took us time to come to our senses, it took us time to admit that SAMORA, the friend, the president, the brother, the comrade, the guerilla, had fallen dead. And there he was, brutally murdered by the hands of the enemy in the enemy territory.

On that night, the 19th of October we had lost our beloved leader, the founder of the Mozambican State, the true and most cherished son of Mozambique, President SAMORA MACHEL.

A True Son of Africa

President SAMORA MACHEL has dedicated all his life to fighting for equality, justice, peace and a better future for all of us. His courage, dedication and abnegation, his all embracing and positive approach to

life, his charisma and leadership capacity, his respect for human life and dignity, his love for Mozambique and his people made him a patriot, a nationalist, a revolutionary, a socialist and a true son of Africa.

His memory will remain forever among us and his life and deeds will continue to be the guideline in our actions, in our daily struggle against misery and poverty, exploitation, illiteracy, underdevelopment and in our efforts to build socialism in our country.

SAMORA MACHEL was a branch of a family of bold and dauntless warriors. His grandparents and great-grand-parents have actively participated in the patriotic resistance against colonial invasion. His grandfather was one of commanders of the great Maguiguana army. Because of their uncompromising anti-colonial stand his other grandparents were deported to Angola and later to São Tome and Principe where they died.

It was at a very tender age that SAMORA MACHEL learnt the patriotic traditions that he knew to honour and respect for the rest of his life.

Son of peasants, SAMORA MACHEL became aware of the unhuman, exploitative and repressive nature of the colonial regime. At the age of six he saw brutality being inflicted on his father and mother. He saw members of his family being dragged into labour force in the beans plantations and in the cotton fields.

Life has never been easy for SAMORA MACHEL. As secondary school was forbidden to blacks, SAMORA had to educate himself to accomplish a number of subjects. He had to start working very early to earn a living, for his father, mother and other people of his area had been forcefully removed from the fertile lands of the Limpopo Valley which were given to the Portuguese settlers. The land that belongs to SAMORA's family was taken and their house destroyed. Life in the cities was not easy either, exploitation, repression and discrimination were rampant.

Soon it became clear to SAMORA MACHEL that the invader meant trouble, meant destruction, emasculation

and domination. There had to be resistance. The anti-colonial struggle had to continue.

The rising nationalism of the early fifties, in the continent and abroad have contributed to sharpen further the political perception of SAMORA MACHEL. He and his companions have followed with great attention the struggle in Vietnam, the liberation of Algeria, the independence of Ghana and African Countries. The conflict in Congo, enlisting of the armed struggle in Angola in 1961 were a powerful catalyst for the patriotic movement in Mozambique. SAMORA and his friends adhered whole heartedly and enthusiastically to this movement.

In 1963 he is among the first batch of guerillas that returned from training in Algeria. He actively participated in the enlisting of the armed struggle against colonial occupation on the 25th September 1964, by elaborating attack plans, selecting men and targets and by successfully infiltrating guerillas in strategic points inside the country.

Very soon his military and strategy skills had proven to everybody that he was a great commander and organizer. He was then entrusted with the task of organizing and training all FRELIMO forces.

In 1965 SAMORA opened the Niassa East front and took the war up

mother land. FRELIMO had to have a clear policy and to best meet the aspirations of these liberated Mozambicans and how to administer the liberated zones.

It was a matter of ideological outlook, it was a matter of Government, it was a matter of how to sow the seeds of a future society that we wanted to build after independence. We had the land, we had the people. It was a crucial matter and a crucial problem for FRELIMO. It was true that all members of FRELIMO wanted to drive the colonialists out of the country, on that basis we were able to form the Mozambican Liberation Front. But what was equally true was



Apartheid condemned the world over

Samora — A man of the people

From there on SAMORA MACHEL's life changed completely. His political instincts and his clear awareness of what was needed for the liberation of Mozambique made him flee the country into exile in Tanzania in 1962, where he joined EDUARDO MONDLANE who had then founded FRELIMO. SAMORA MACHEL adhered whole heartedly to the principles and objectives of FRELIMO and he vowed to cherish and foster them until final victory.

to the border with Cabo Delgado.

Political, military and ideological training was given to the young recruits. Armed with these instruments and led by SAMORA the guerilla forces took the war to Cabo Delgado, Tete, Sofala and Manica Provinces.

The appearance of liberated areas in Cabo Delgado and Niassa posed new problems and demanded new solutions from FRELIMO. Hundreds of thousands of Mozambicans had been freed from enemy control, and with them huge extensions of our

that a number of people in the FRELIMO Central Committee had different ideas of how the future Mozambican Society should look like; what relations should exist between the people and their leaders, between the people and their resources of the liberated areas, and among the people themselves. Some members of FRELIMO were convinced that the independence of Mozambique was just a matter of driving the colonialists out of the country and replace them with blacks.

The whole pattern of injustices was not addressed. On the contrary

they started imposing in the liberated areas feudal practices, the discrimination of women, child abuses, oppression of youth and premature marriages, they started dividing people on tribal lines. For people like Kavandame, Mozambique was just Cabo Delgado and they were only concerned with the liberation of that part of the country and after that the war against colonialism was over. In the liberated zones he and some of his colleagues were fast to take over the shops and force people to work for their personal gains. To make these people understand that tribal divisions, the oppression of women and youth were not in line with the most elementary aspirations of our people to freedom, justice and equality became a source of internal struggle. Kavandame, Simango Guengere and others opposed any political education of the masses and soldiers. They wanted to maintain the status quo and replace the Portuguese with themselves against the people. There was a need to act immediately, there was a need to prove to the people that these kinds of practices frustrated the very objectives of the armed struggle we were waging. Once again SAMORA MACHEL emerged as a very seasoned politician and mass mobiliser. It took time until he and other progressive members of FRELIMO had an upper hand over the feudalists.

It took courage, sound moral principles and clarivident political outlook at a man like SAMORA MACHEL to denounce, neutralize and remove once and for all these elements of evil from the organization. Only then could we talk of a FRELIMO that stood for people's power, unity, freedom, democracy and equality of all citizens of Mozambique, independently of the colour of their skin.

He led FRELIMO to Independence

With this victory of the progressive forces, FRELIMO was able under Machel's command to impressively advance the armed struggle in all fronts and launch the seeds for the emergency of a new man for the new Mozambique that was in the making. SAMORA MACHEL had a clear idea of what that new man should be like and what society could accommodate our aspirations. He fought for these ideas, he led us all to independence. He firmly opposed and fought against oppression and

exploitation both inside and outside the country.

SAMORA's vision of the world was an all embracing one. He did not think of Mozambique alone. With his vision he could perceive and embrace the whole of Southern Africa, the entire continent of Africa and the world at large.

Very early SAMORA MACHEL understood that the struggle of the Mozambican people was part and parcel of a much wider struggle, the struggle of all the oppressed peoples of the world. On this basis he had to establish through the struggle bonds of friendship and solidarity with other struggling peoples and movements, particularly with the struggling people of Zimbabwe.

He had kept himself in this school of thought and practice even after the independence of Mozambique when the country became a secure rear base for the struggle of the Zimbabwean people for their own independence.

SAMORA MACHEL perceived Southern Africa as a region of its own kind, with its own identity and with a unique racial and ethnic diversity in Africa. He perceived our region as a reality in constant mutation, in which the complementarity of different struggles, in conjunction with massive material wealth of each one of our countries could allow the region to make vital contribution at world level, particularly in the struggle for establishment of a new international economic order, in the struggle for economic democratization of our planet.

SAMORA MACHEL was at every stage of the struggle a very consequent fighter for the sovereignty of Mozambique.

He fought and rejected all forms including the most subtle forms of foreign domination and manipulation. In the last years of his life, he applied in a creative manner the concept of active non alignment for Mozambique and for the Frontline States the international support and respect that they always deserved. In this context President SAMORA MACHEL was one of the politicians who helped to arrest the erroneous interpretation of the conflicts in our region as being an expression of East-West confrontation, having categorically imposed with the international Community the correct perception of the nature of the conflict in Southern Africa as being a struggle between the peoples of this region on one hand and apartheid on

the other; between peace loving peoples in Southern Africa on one hand and the oppressive South Africa regime on the other. He has thus helped decisively in removing all confusion over this issue and challenged the International Community to take a clear stand on the matter and cease taking refuge on false interpretations of the issue.

He died for a just cause

President SAMORA MACHEL and other comrades died in very mysterious circumstances in South Africa. The South African Government was very fast at trying to remove every evidence that could in one way or another implicate it. The South African Government was quick to ascribe the crash to purely accidental causes and was very late at informing the Mozambican authorities of the event. Mr. BOTHA the South African Foreign Minister had made a false statement to the effect that the plane had crashed in when in fact the tragedy had taken place at Mbuzini near Komatiport in the Transvaal Province. Eye witness reports speak of South African agents busy collecting documents, money and other belongings of the dead people and completely ignoring those who were screaming for help.

In the investigations of the plane crash that ensued there was an agreement that the plane has been taken off its normal route by a beacon different from that of Maputo airport. The South Africans were quick at saying that the beacon was the Matsapa beacon in Swaziland. How did they know? If that was the case how could experienced pilots with more than 22 years of experience have landed at Komatiport in South Africa and not in Matsapa in Swaziland?

At the crash site there were vestiges of fresh presence of people and tents. Eye witness again say that there were South African personnel there and they had been removed moments before the plane crashed on the spot. Why were these people there? Why were they removed so hurriedly? Could they not have been harbouring the false beacon that made the plane change its direction and crash in South Africa?

Why did Mr. Botha rush at staging on all South African sponsored public inquiry and quickly conclude that the plane crashed because of pilot error? Why are the South

Africans not addressing themselves to the correct questions? Why are they in a hurry, what are they afraid of? Apartheid should not be allowed to get away with this heinous crime. South Africa has still a lot of explanation to do. We refuse to accept the conclusions of the so called public inquiry staged in South Africa and call for people to force South Africa to answer thoroughly and clearly the numerous questions that have remained unanswered.

Comrades,

President SAMORA MACHEL met his death when he was returning from a mission decided upon by the Front Line States. That mission was in the service of SADCC major interests. SAMORA disappeared physically at a moment when we all are engaged in battle for the consolidation of our political independence and for our economic liberation. SAMORA died at a moment when we are engaged in informing the world of the terroristic attitudes of South Africa against all the countries of our region. SAMORA MACHEL's physical disappearance is a colorary of South Africa's militaristic and destabilising activities that have already claimed hundreds of thousands of lives of our peoples and billions of dollars worth of property.

In Mozambique, hundreds of farmers and peasants are harassed and killed in their farms and plots. Workers are burnt alive in their factories, health workers and teachers are maimed, killed and buried in the debris of their destroyed hospitals, health centres and schools. Students and children are chased like wild animals, and kidnapped or killed. Crops are destroyed and cereals burnt. About 5 million Mozambicans are affected by famine or famine-related malaise. Hundreds of thousands of Mozambicans are displaced inside Mozambique or running for their lives, find their way in the neighbouring countries where they live in refugee camps or as destitutes in the streets of capital cities of our region.

In Tete, Zambezia and Sofala 1 372 schools have been destroyed by armed bandits and at a national level more than 2 058 schools no longer exist. Consequently 800 000 students cannot go to school.

From 1980 to 1985 armed banditry has been directly and indirectly responsible for the death of 85 000 children per year. Today one child dies every four minutes in Mozambique.

From each according to his abilities...

The success of any progressive social entity depends on an enthusiastic application of this historic Marxian postulate.

From each according to his abilities...

We, at Matthewman, Banks

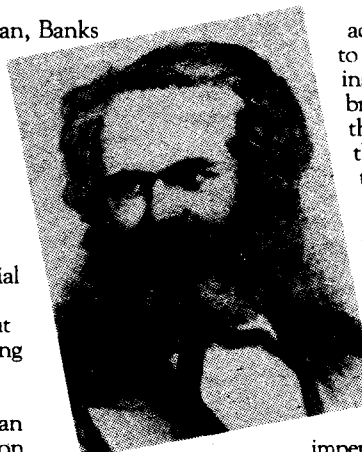
Advertising (MBA), believe this to be particularly germane in the complex field of communications. Because an advertising agency is essentially a pool of specialists — representing a comprehensive syllabus of social disciplines — each depending on the input of the other in achieving a successful end result.

And that result is communication. Be it an educational campaign on the dangers of mis-using electricity, encouraging people to plan a better future by planning their families, or by extolling the benefits of Zimbabwe's rich dairy products.

MBA is a totally-owned Zimbabwean advertising agency with a totally Zimbabwean staff. Sir Athol Evans chairs a directorate which includes Maurice Matthewman and Ray Banks, joint founders and owners of the organisation, together with Lawrence Vambe, Ronnie Lotz, and two staff representatives.

PARASTATALS

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



CREATIVE STRENGTH

If successful advertising is measured by creative awards, (which is arguable!), then MBA certainly produces successful advertising. In the 1987 AAZ presentations, MBA and Direction Advertising between them achieved eleven firsts (8 + 3 — including a Campaign Award for Family Planning), maintaining a continuing success rate over many years.

MBA's creative achievements owe nothing to popularly-conceived instantaneous flashes of brilliance. Rather like the description of genius, they are achieved by ten per-cent inspiration and ninety per-cent perspiration, with all concerned — including the client — working as a closely constituted unit.

Thus personal client involvement with the various creative groups is an imperative which proves invaluable in the creation of successful, cost-effective advertising.

In achieving this end, the agency has instituted a series of checks — though not reins — on the whole creative process. This involves internal reviews of the initial promotional strategy (previously agreed by client), through to the final product — which even then is often subject to further attitudinal testing by the agency's research department.

FULL SERVICE

MBA is a full-service agency, whose specialised departments cover client service; research and marketing; media; press, radio, television and below-the-line production; as well as creative and finished art.

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Zimbabwe and Mozambique have come a long way together. Our relations, which have been rediscovered and strengthened in the process of our common struggle, have found form and expression in what is today the people's Republic of Mozambique and the Republic of Zimbabwe.

In our common struggles we have realized that after all we are just one people with one destiny. This unity has made us strong. Because we are united our enemies have found it impossible to split us and destroy us. But they haven't given up. Apartheid, the enemy of our peoples is today desperately stretching its hand and sending armed bandits to kill people and destroy property in Zimbabwe. It is carrying out raids and planting bombs in public places to foster its policy of aggression, destabilization, intimidation, blackmail, economic sabotage and state terrorism against both our countries.

We must be vigilant and watch out. This is a fresh attempt at confusing us and dividing us. They have been trying. They don't realize that the friendship and solidarity of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Mozambique is sacred. They don't see that

this friendship and solidarity is sealed with blood and sweat of thousands of sons and daughters of our two countries.

Having completely failed to stop us from attaining our political freedom and independence, the South African minority regime has decided to fight against the realization of our economic independence and development. The adoption of the policy of total strategy against our countries is aimed at preserving apartheid and destroying us.

We shall fight to the bitter end

South Africa is militarily, politically, economically and diplomatically conspiring against us. South Africa has been actively engaged in the creation of an environment of crisis and chaos in each one of our countries. It is oppressing the people of South Africa and Namibia. It has refused with arrogance, to abide by an internationally agreed formula for the independence of Namibia the Resolution 435 and has resorted to linkage for which unfortunately it has succeeded in getting the support of cer-

tain circles in the western world.

Together, we have been able to further improve, widen and deepen our economic, social, political and cultural ties. Together we were able to demoralize, frustrate, destroy and neutralize enemy actions in our country. Together we fought, died and ultimately triumphed in our liberation struggles. Together we must continue to be a moral and fighting force against our common enemy. In order to realize their whims, imperialism and racism have killed SAMORA MACHEL. They forgot that the crime of 19th October has created millions of SAMORAs in Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Zambia, Angola, Namibia and South Africa who are still alive and ready to fight.

The struggle will continue until they kill all these SAMORAs, the struggle will continue until they can no longer kill because colonialism, racism and apartheid will have been eradicated. The struggle will continue until the racist regime is dismantled in South Africa and peace, democracy and majority rule prevail in that country.

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Testimony of the National Black United Front

An Address by a leading Member of the Front

The purpose of my appearance this year, as in past years, is to remind this United Nations Committee of its unique role as the only official body to which the International Monetary Fund is accountable for its South Africa loans. In 1982 the IMF gave South Africa a billion-dollar loan which was the largest loan that country has ever received from any source. The loan mightily reinforced apartheid. It enabled South Africa to increase military spending by a billion dollars and to use the guns and bullets to kill thousands of brave citizens in South Africa and Namibia.

It remains this committee's responsibility to urge the IMF's to cease all collaboration with South Africa and to immediately recall the \$758 million credit that the IMF is still extending to South Africa.

This credit is being extended in defiance of both the United Nations and the IMF's own rules and precedents.

The fact that the IMF, year after year, refuses to comply with the pleas of this committee for cooperation on South Africa does not diminish in the least the importance of the oversight function you carry out. On the contrary, it only heightens the importance of this committee as the only official body to which the IMF is answerable on the question of South Africa.

Because of its international structure, the IMF does not report to the legislatures and parliaments of its constituent nations; only the national officials of the countries serving on the IMF's executive board do that. Only this committee can directly question the IMF's administration.

Therefore, it remains as essential as ever that you closely monitor the IMF's relations with South Africa for compliance with the Decolonization Committee's resolutions. In 1983, after appearing before this committee, the IMF representative was able to report to headquarters in Washington that he had undergone strong criticism in this committee for the IMF's failure to respect any of the General Assembly's resolutions on loans to South Africa.

This year, I would request that the decolonization resolution again urge the IMF to cease its collaboration with South Africa. Specifically, the resolution should urge the IMF to recall its outstanding loan of \$758 million. This loan represents the IMF's concrete assistance to South Africa. In 1983 the IMF asked South Africa to repay this loan early. South

Africa agreed, then reneged on its promise.

Now, three years later, South Africa has only repaid 16 per cent of the loan.

Table 1
South Africa: Transactions with the IMF, 1982-86 (Summary)

Disbursements	\$904.9 million
Repayment	\$146.8 million
Balance	\$758.1 million

Source: International Monetary Fund, *International Financial Statistics* (May, 1986) pp. 438-9. 1 SDR = \$1.14.

The following chart reproduced from the IMF's statistical monthly also shows South Africa's account with the IMF.

Table 2
South Africa: Transactions with the IMF, 1982-86

1982	1983	1984	1985	Jan	1986 Feb	Mar	South Africa 199
							Fund
99	27	-	-	18	-	-	SDRs.....1b.s
-	70	72	-	-	-	-	Reserve Position in the Fund.....1c.s
795	745	745	745	745	666	666	Use of Fund Credit.....2e.s
636	636	636	636	636	557	557	incl. Comp. Financing Facility.....2dus
159	109	109	109	109	109	109	Credit Tranche ordinary.....2e.s
636	916	916	916	916	916	916	Quota.....2f.s

Source: International Monetary Fund, *International Financial Statistics* (May 1986), pp. 438-9.

Background

At the November 3, 1982 meeting of the Fund's executive board that awarded South Africa the \$1.1 billion commitment, nine of the twenty-two executive directors indicated doubts or opposition. A main argument was that South Africa did not need the loan.

At the meeting, U.S. executive director Richard Erb said, "If South Africa's external position improved more rapidly than was now anticipated, South Africa should be expected to effect an early repurchase."¹

Repurchase is the IMF's term for repayment.

Saudi Arabia's executive director said at the meeting, "South Africa is taking advantage of the Fund's cheaper resources."² South Africa's loan bore a 6.6 percent annual interest rate with four years grace period and four years to pay.

On November 12, 1982 South Africa drew down \$905 million of the loan.

As South Africa's trade figures improved, it refrained from drawing down further instalments. An IMF staff mission visiting South Africa from February 25 to March 11, 1983 commended this decision but asked South Africa to consider an early repayment. In its reports to the board the mission projected an overall \$1.5 billion

current account surplus for South Africa. The loan had been promised on a \$1.5 billion deficit.³

In June Rep. Julian Dixon (Democrat of California), chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, wrote to the Treasury Department asking that the United States urge an early repayment.

Footnotes.

1. International Monetary Fund, EBM/82/140 - 11/3/82 a.m., November 3, 1982 (mimeo), p. 13
2. Ibid., p.17.
3. IMF, "South Africa: Staff Report for the 1983 Article IV Consultation and Review under the Stand-By Arrangement" (mimeo, May 19, 1983), p. 22.
4. Center for International Policy *Aid Memo*, June 20, 1983; *Washington Post* June 21, 1983.

Dixon never received a reply to his letter.

At the June 20, 1983 executive board meeting South Africa's representative to the IMF, D.T. Brand, said South Africa would repay its loan ahead of schedule because of its improved balance of payments.⁴

If South Africa had not made this commitment itself, a number of IMF's executive directors including the United States's Erb were planning to insist on the early repayment.

Erb welcomed the South African announcement.

In August 1983, South Africa made its first payment on the loan — \$56,9 — 6 percent of the outstanding balance. Not until February 1986 did it pay another \$89,9 million.

The result of South Africa's successful manipulation of the IMF:

- South Africa has had \$758,1 million to use since 1982 which was intended to compensate for a balance of payments deficit that never materialized;
- U.S. taxpayers and the taxpayers of other IMF donor countries have been forced to subsidize South Africa;
- South Africa deflected criticism for borrowing under false pretences by agreeing to repay the funds ahead of schedule — then avoided repaying these funds; and

- because IMF lending is for balance of payments supports, rather than for specific development projects, there is no way to discern how the Botha government chose to spend these fungible resources. We do know, however, that it increased defence spending a billion dollars the same time it got the billion dollars from the IMF — while decreasing most other expenditures.

For these reasons, it is clear that the United States and other donors erred when they supported South Africa's loan request in 1982. As many commentators indicated then, South Africa did not really need or qualify for IMF lending because the predictions of economic downturn on which it based its request were unrealistic.⁵

It is also clear that South Africa feels no need to live up the commitments it makes to the IMF and seems to have no intention of repaying its lending in a reasonable period time without strong pressure from IMF donor countries.

Finally, the United States, as the IMF's biggest single donor, should be taking a leading role in remedying this abuse of IMF support but in fact is doing nothing. It will again be up to the US Congress to take the lead and force the Administration to make South Africa live by the same rules other IMF borrowers must observe. After the US supported South Africa's request in November 1982, legislation was introduced to prohibit the

US from voting for further loans to countries "which practice apartheid."⁶ A compromise version, signed by President Reagan in 1983, opened a small loophole by allowing the US to vote for loans to South Africa if they were shown to benefit the majority of people in South Africa, reduce labour immobility and meet a number of other standards. HR 820, introduced last year by Congressman Parren Mitchell (Democrat of Maryland) would have closed this loophole. In view of South Africa's behaviour towards IMF, it is time for Congress to pass HR 820 without further delay.

This year I appear before the subcommittee *after* the IMF has testified. As a result, you questioned the IMF without benefit of the new information I have given you today on how the IMF is still defying this committee and the General Assembly. Nevertheless, I would still recommend inclusion of this information in the decolonization resolution. And next year, we would appreciate the chance to appear *before* the IMF representative so that the committee will have the latest research at its disposal.

Footnotes:

5. Jim Morrell, "A Billion Dollars for South Africa" (*International Policy Report* June, 1983.)
6. Jim Morrell, "A Victory Over Apartheid" (*International Policy Report*, April, 1984)



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On Schools Examinations

by N.C.G. Mathema



How do our examinations prepare our children for a life after school?

The debate on our educational system and our examinations has been going on since long before independence. The debate has been around such issues as who is being served by our educational system. In our examinations children go through year in and year out, but how do our examinations prepare our children for a life after school?

Our examinations are part and parcel of the whole educational system, which is part and parcel of our economic system, it depends on our political economy. If this is the case, how is our political economy today? Our political economy, which is the ownership of the means of production and distribution of wealth, is that of a neo-colony. A country with political independence but without economic independence. A country that is still dominated and exploited by old racist multinational companies that colonised our country since 1890. In our case, British, South African, US, French and other Western multinationals still are

predominantly drawing raw materials from our country as their imports, characteristic of capitalist countries.

Our wealth is dominated by foreign companies who take out of the country more than they have invested in it and who do not want to see their stranglehold overstretched, except to encourage the government to a 49%, 51% or whatever percentage shareholding to protect themselves from the local labour force. Essentially therefore, the educational system of a neo-colony is meant to defend and strengthen neo-colonialism children are made to spend sleepless nights to pass neo-colonial examinations. Some students say the whole educational system is too theoretical and academic. But this suits the multinationals very well. This is so because it means that we do not produce technical people needed by an independent and industrialised economy. The educational system of neo-colonialism does not allow room for local engineers, chemists, physicists, doctors, biologists, technicians etc. This is done to prevent the locals from industrialising the coun-

try because if they did, our manufactured goods would compete with imported manufactured goods.

This means we will be independent on manpower issues and be able to chart our own way. Industrialisation of our country means that we will be able to employ more of our unemployed people, be able to generate more foreign currency and be able to move away from an economy of peasant farmers to an economy of factories and large-scale farming. This will lead us to a higher standard of living.

All that the multinationals want are a few local personnel managers, economists and accountants who will not even enter the boardrooms. And also workers who can read instructions on farms, mines, the few factories that we have, in banks and building societies and in other service industries.

As long as Zimbabwe is dominated by these companies, the future is bleak for the majority of our people. The majority of our people will continue to run out of salt, bread, cooking oil, mealie meal,

toothpaste, vegetables, clothes etc, whilst the exploiters live in luxury. Zimbabwe will continue to be two countries in one, a country of dire poverty with people feeding from rubbish dumps and a country of people living in palaces and owning fleets of cars and aeroplanes.

Our educational system should not continue to serve the interests of the exploiters. Our educational system must help us fulfill the objectives of the first Five-Year National Development Plan. It must be anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and must be democratic and patriotic.

In other words, it must be part and parcel of the struggle for economic independence, the struggle to industrialise Zimbabwe, the struggle that should create the conditions for moving towards

socialism. Our educational system must not be an isolated exercise. It must be part and parcel of the struggle to localise the ownership of foreign companies, first and foremost by the state of Zimbabwe.

The introduction of technical education in our schools is most welcome. However, let us bear in mind that we are not the owners of the economy. The owners of the economy have their own plans which do not include the employment of these young people with technical training, or if they had, the laws of capitalist production will force thousands of them back again into unemployment because capitalism is anarchic locally and internationally!

Our plans for the educational system must not be isolated. They must be part of national economic and social plans. In

other words, there should be all encompassing.

Our educational system must be planned and co-ordinated from pre-school up to technical colleges, the university and employment. We can if we also take steps to control the multinationals and to take them over eventually, with the state taking the leading role as an owner and actually controlling what happens in each multinational. The localisation of "O" level and "A" level examinations is most welcome too. One hopes that this will help us achieve economic independence, but this can not be achieved as long as our exams and syllabus come from imperialist London and Cambridge.



Education should serve and develop our country for the better — Ideologically and scientifically.



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Bandit Movement's Goal — Chaos

A. Zhigunov

Bands from the Mozambique National Resistance have been terrorising the country for ten years now. The Mozambique journalist Oliveria Costu told me that they normally select civilians as objects of their attacks. Thus, in July MNR cut-throats attacked the village of Homoine and killed about 400 of its inhabitants and threw the corpses into wells. Those who remained alive had their noses, ears and lips cut off because they refused to join the MNR.

Who is Alfonso Dhlakama? When this 33-year-old squab was a child he wanted to become a priest, and even finished a seminary. But greed set him on the path of treachery. Prior to the country's liberation from the colonisers he became a paid agent of the Portuguese secret police; he quickly mastered the role of political provocateur and infiltrated the FRELIMO ranks. Then, after having pilfered the coffers one of the military subunits of the people's army, he fled. Dhlakama's zeal during bandit raids was noted by the enemies of the peoples of Mozambique, and he soon grew to "leader".

The "godfather" of the MNR was none other than the former overlord of the Rhodesian racists, Ian Smith. When it became obvious that the victory of the people of Zimbabwe in the fight for freedom was inevitable, specially selected people began to be trained in Rhodesian camps under the supervision of intelligence officers for carrying out "special assignments" in future. They were recruited from among the "unemployed" members of punitive expeditions of the Portuguese army, deserters and all sorts of traitors and criminals.

In early 1980 the days of racist Rhodesia were over, and South Africa took the MNR under its wing. The point at issue is the military assistance which Pretoria is rendering to the MNR. As a rule, weapons and other military supplies are dropped at night by parachute for the bandits from airplanes and helicopters in prearranged areas of Mozambique.

"The transport system in the region has now become one of the objects of MNR attacks", Tony Holiday, a British journalist well familiar with the situation in the area, told me in Harare. "Using the MNR, the racists are out to force other countries like Zimbabwe and Zambia,



Botha and Savimbi sipping Africa's blood! How long will this continue?

which are landlocked, to carry out their export and import haulage operations through South Africa rather than through Mozambique ports. It is no accident at all that only the railways leading south, i.e. to South African ports, have not been sabotaged . . ."

Reagan Pro Banditry

South Africa is not the only one the bandits are relying on, however. The shadow of Washington looms large behind their racist patrons. The American secret services determined long ago that staking on the MNR accords with America's long-term interests in the South of the African continent. Was it not at their suggestion that Dhlakama sent a personal letter to President Reagan requesting that the MNR be recognised as a "legitimate liberation movement"?

In any event, this petition was immediately supported by a number of American senators, including Robert Dole, one of the contenders for the presidential post. Dhlakama's claims in the letter to the effect that the MNR is fighting against communism imparted "respectability" to him in the eyes of a number of senators, although considering people from the MNR "fighters for peace" is tantamount to justifying gangsterism. Spurred on by the support from the American politicians, Dhlakama hurried via the Western press to spout

about quick victory "in a war against communists" and even declared himself the "President of a free Mozambique"!

Jonas Savimbi, Dhlakama's partner in atrocities, is more cautious, although he has full US official backing. This puppet would like to proclaim himself president only after his cut throats, wearing the black cock on the sleeve, capture Luan-da and topple the present Angolan government. The US press says this is not a pipe dream. However, facts upturn this allegation.

US scientist Gerald Bander, an unbiased observer from South Carolina University, said that he logged thousands of kilometres in Angola and nowhere did he see any UNITA 'authorities.' He saw hungry people coming down from the mountain and leaving forests, including people from the Ovimbundu tribe which supports Savimbi. They are taking the side of the government because they are sick and tired of UNITA slogans.

The US scholar concludes: the Reagan administration should take a sober view of the situation and realise that Savimbi has no future in Angola because people are against him.

However, Washington still neglects such appeals. The United States continues as the main director of bandits' subversive activities, supplying them with the latest weapons, including Stinger rockets.

At a news conference in Luanda, former UNITA Captain, Ricardo Belmundo, who sided with government troops, spoke of South Africa's ties with UNITA bandits. I asked him why such massive arms flow to the UNITA gangs. Mostly, for outrages over peaceful civilians, he said. Belmundo saw in Angola civilian graves, containing 80-90 bandits' victims each.

In the US capital, these bandits are given red-carpet treatment. They go to America with visas issued by the US Department of State. The aim of their visits is apparent, i.e. to secure the Reagan administration's support for their anti-government actions in Angola and Mozambique and, in particular, to have increased US military aid. Judging by

everything, the bandits do not spend much time on persuading their masters.

Probably developments do not favour Reagan since to organise wreckless operations against Angola and Mozambique he has to look for political have-beens such as Savimbi and Dhlakama at garbage heaps.

The Book as a Tool of Development

By our Correspondent

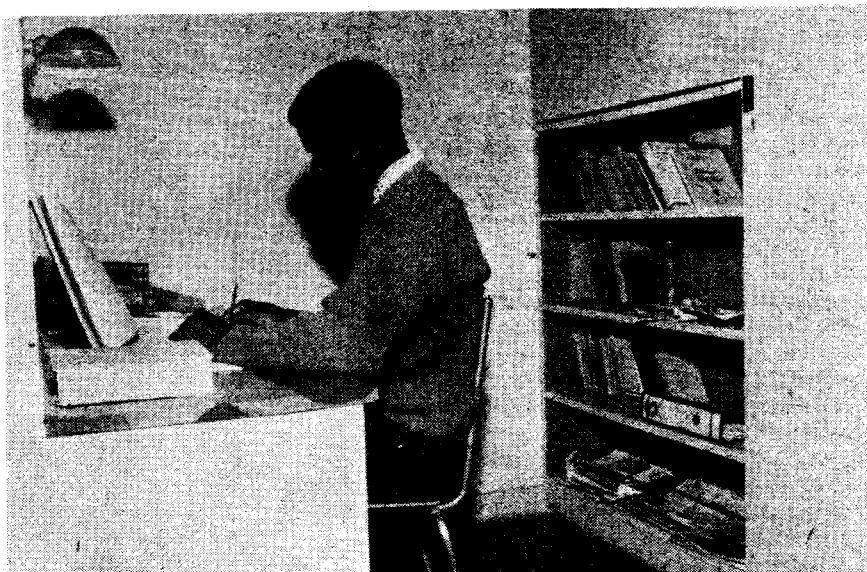
The Government of Zimbabwe is committed to a policy of education for every child. One of the vital components of this policy is the book, an essential tool in the implementation of the policy and the development of an informed, literate and productive nation.

Given the numbers of educated people in the party and government leadership, it should not be necessary to lay stress upon the importance of books and encouraging the reading habit. There are probably as many if not more University degrees on the government bench than there are in any government front bench in the world. The leaders know that their educational attainments — and in part their positions today — are due to their having had access to books.

Yet, today, the policy of the government of Zimbabwe does not reflect that knowledge of the leadership or its stage policy of building an educated, informed, socialist society. On the contrary, present policy threatens us with an increasing book famine, and future generations of leaders could be less educated and worse informed than today's leadership.

At the root of the problem are two issues. These are the duties and taxes levied by Treasury on imported books amounting to 38% of the retail price. The second problem is that far too little money is being allocated for the importation of books and the importation of paper and other printing requirements to produce books locally. Books are a tool of development. The UNESCO convention says duties and taxes should not be imposed on books.

Treasury argues that it derives considerable revenue from the duty and sales tax on books. But if this con-



A tool of development

The Policy of Building an educated, and informed socialist society is being threatened by the increasing book-famine



tention is analysed more closely, it becomes a blatant case of Peter robbing Paul, or, put another way, of Treasury paying out with one hand and taking back with the other.

The book trade estimates that at least 90% of book purchasing in this country is done by government institutions, primary and secondary schools, technical colleges, the University and so on. The books are purchased, including duties and sales tax, from the book trade who then pay these monies to Treasury. But where did the money to pay these duties and taxes come from in the first place? From Treasury!

Unless there is some strange argument for circulating money in this way from Treasury to a government institution to the book trade and back to Treasury, it is hard to see any logic in the policy. And, if book trade estimates that at least 90% of purchasing is by government institutions, it is hard to believe that Treasury derives any consequential sum from these levies.

At present almost all 'A' Level, tertiary, technical and some secondary school book requirements are imported. Given the small numbers of titles required it is not at present viable for local publishers to produce these books in Zimbabwe under licence. Thus, they have to be imported and duty and taxes inflate the prices astronomically.

The publishers, book trade, schools, University, technical institutions, libraries and all other affected institutions feel most strongly that duty and taxes on books should be removed. As the price of books overseas inevitably increases, their purchasing power diminishes and this in turn affects the numbers of books available for pupils and their education.

There is a second point related to this. As a result of foreign exchange shortages, the amount of money available for book imports has been drastically reduced. This has coincided with increases in the prices of books overseas. These two points taken together have drastically reduced the numbers of books that can be imported to well below the minimal national educational requirement.

Taking all of the above, it is most strongly urged that government immediately abolishes duty and taxes on books, particularly as this generates on little revenue for Treasury other than which it pays out in the first place itself.



At present almost all 'A' level, tertiary, technical and some secondary school book requirements are imported

There are those who may argue that the above recommendation should only apply to educational books. We would not agree. In the first place, all books, other than pornography, have an educational value and how, therefore, is one to decide what is educational or not? Would it be on the basis of individual preference or bias? If government ac-

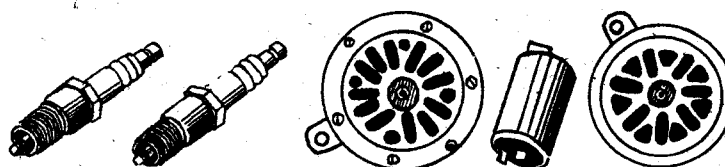
cepts that all books have an educational value, including those read for entertainment, which increase the reading habit, then it should as a matter of principle exempt all titles from duties and taxes. Creating the mechanism to decide between "educational" and "non-educational" would be far too cumbersome time consuming and flawed.



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Decolonise News

"We are interested only in a train that derails, not one that arrives on time." That was how former France Presse Chief Henri Pigeat once formulated the principle by which Western agencies cover events in the developing countries.

Today Henri Pigeat is no longer on the information scene, having resigned last year at the demand of agency personnel. However, the principle declared by him, and not only him, still underlies the practice of "news giants".

As Dr. Hamid mowlana, head of the International Communications programme of American University in Washington summed up the situation, the Western Media depict Africa as a politically immature and credulous continent, whose development depends totally on the great powers. A similar approach is observed in audiovisual Western propaganda as well — The Third World, Dr. Mowlana concludes, is portrayed as an area of endless social chaos. Corruption and impingement of human rights are depicted here as being an inevitable, systematic everyday affair.

Important high level meetings were held fairly recently within the framework of the Non-Aligned Movement and the OAU. COMINAC—2 held in Harare, this past June again drew the world community's attention to information problems in the modern world.

The 23 OAU Summit in Addis Ababa, discussed topical, political and economic questions and endorsed a Declaration on disarmament and development in Africa and a programme of peace efforts on the continent. These meetings were held in a spirit of fruitful cooperation. However, the Western media highlighted the differences and contradictions that were present. Claims were made to the effect that Africa had become a breeding ground for terrorism.

Last autumn, when Paris was swept by a wave of terrorist actions, the Israeli Ambassador to France spoke on the Europe—1 radio station. He went so far as to allege that the decision to take these acts had been taken . . . at the conference of the Non-Aligned countries in Harare. This fabrication is all the more monstrous and absurd since Africa itself is frequently a victim of terrorism and provocations, including in the information sphere.

Decolonise News

There are more than enough examples of this. In the news from Third World countries pride of place is given to reports of catastrophes, natural disasters, crises and epidemics, deviation of facts and outright disinformation are definite stereotypes are being impressed upon readers. This question was the subject of a special study by the Research Centre for scientific and technological problems of information (CESTI) at the University of Dakar (Senegal) for preparing for and holding a Media and Racism Conference in conjunction with UNESCO. The CESTI findings state that the Western media use stereotypes to paint a distorted image of the African peoples and impress upon readers a warped notion of different racial groups and nationalities. The practice where text-books for school children portray Arabs as villains, Blacks as cannibals, Indians as sub/humans etc., is particularly deleterious. The expression "mixed blood", which is used to describe metises, conjures up associations with the Nazi "teaching" on racial purity. It is CESTI's belief that the Western cinema is at fault for the formation of "standard notions" (i.e. racial prejudices) regarding Third World peoples.

The emphasis is purposely being shifted in newspaper items too. Thus, many reports on hunger in India accentuate the fact that people in this country do not eat beef for religious reasons, therefore, they allege that the reason for the hunger lies in superstition and backwardness. The other, historical, economical and cultural, aspects of the problem are erased from the picture or not mentioned at all. This practice of the Western media has also affected coverage of the "Bokassa case". The newsmen were normally interested in sensational details, such as the luxurious interior of the ex-dictator's hunting bungalow, where his big friend Valéry Giscard d'Estaing went on safaris, the story of Bokassa's first and second marriages, how many diamonds he had, etc. The political aspects of the tragic phenomenon of Bokassism, which had been spawned by imperialism and ultimately brought the country to ruin, are usually overlooked. Regrettably, this statement by the eminent African political figure Kwame Nkrumah holds true today, too: "Hearing the loud applause of African viewers at cinemas, when Hollywood supermen commit mass murders against the Indian or Asian population is sufficient to appraise the ef-

fectiveness of the weapon of cultural imperialism. "The West continues its ideological expansion in Africa with this weapon today, too.

Promote Progress of the People

However, the African peoples do not want to reconcile themselves to the role of a meek consumer of alien world views and dubious values. Rejecting stern standards, stereotypes and means of portraying their continent, African journalists are advancing their own concepts and methods, such as "alternative journalism". According to CESTI Director Babacar Sine, in countering Western journalism it gives priority to cultural, political and economic news which promote the growth of the population's national consciousness. It is selective and does not rehash Western press reports. Taking place alongside the formation of new journalistic concepts is that of national regional information systems of African countries which are designed to implement these concepts. An important role in this process is assigned to the PAN-African Information Agency (PANA), whose members are 12 of the continent's states. As Director General Augustus Mpassi Muba has stated, PANA's goal is to rectify the distorted notion of Africa created by the Western transnational agencies and to do everything possible for the Voice of Africa to be heard in the world. PANA, and also the Pool of News Agencies of Non-Aligned countries, whose activity was examined at the June conference in Harare, are already making a weighty contribution to the implementation of the principles of the New World Information Order by spreading truthful positive reports about events in the developing countries, specifically, in Africa. The latter is particularly important since, as Mpassi Muba has pointed out, the imperialist agencies prefer not to notice at all the actual successes scored by the young states.

The purposeful activity of progressives in Africa in the sphere of cultural development provides real conditions for countering cultural imperialism. This gives grounds to hope that train crashes, epidemics and natural cataclysms will not be the determinants in national African journalism. It will have its own criteria for content and quality. The prime one is to promote the progress of the African people.

The Mikhail Gorbachev Era in the USSR

By Our Correspondent

Perestroika and Glasnost as organisational concepts in societal renewal and in continuing the Leninist October Revolution from the commanding heights of a super power.

Mikhail M. Gorbachev assumed the leadership of the CPSU and the Soviet Union as General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Soviet Union's leader, he announced that he planned to initiate major changes in domestic and foreign policy. He immediately started to prepare the Party and the government machineries for the launching of his reforms. It became evident that Gorbachev's leadership of the Soviet Union, would herald a new era in the history of the CPSU and the Soviet Union.

An assessment of his leadership and performance, after two and a half years, reveals that an internal revolution is now in progress. The impact of Perestroika, Glasnost and Democratisation as Organisational concepts, will have an effect similar to that of the 1917 October Revolution on international relations. In my view, Gorbachev has an advantage over V.I. Lenin in carrying out his internal and foreign policy revolution. Lenin was pre-occupied with the need to survive in view of external intervention and internal resistance by the capitalist landlords, peasants and anti-revolutionaries.

Gorbachev is carrying out his revolution from the commanding heights of a State which is a super power, feared by its adversaries, respected by the non-aligned countries. Russians and Soviets are no longer the poor peasants they were in 1917. Lenin's revolution wiped out unemployment, illiteracy, poverty and economic dependency. The state has no external or internal debt. The country's natural resources are immense, its human resources and its potential are enormous. Its scientific base is very sound in industry and superior in military technology and space science.

The current re-organisation is aimed at the qualitative improvement of life styles and general comfort and at making socialism more attractive to the Soviets and to the outside world. Success will most likely enhance the status of the Soviet Union as a world power well into the third millennium. During the last 10 years of Brezhnev's leadership some party cadres and leading economists, recognised that the Soviet economy had become

stagnant, that changes were needed in the party and the economy. But the old leadership has a different perception as well as many bureaucrats.

In attempting to launch the reforms, the Central Committee and the Politburo realised that it could not be done without restructuring the whole society and the party and government. There were psychological barriers to change. The party had to be re-organised, new laws were needed to effect economic reforms.

At the Party Plenary meeting of April 1985, the first one presided over by Gorbachev, the Politburo presented its intended reforms and Gorbachev had four young leaders elected to the Politburo which included, Shevardnadze and Ryzhkov.

Gorbachev mobilised the Party in preparation for the CPSU 27th Congress in February-March 1986. The Congress approved the new party programme and party rules. Having realised that old party members were blocking reforms, Gorbachev introduced secret ballot and more than one candidate at all party and local government elections. The move was approved by Congress and it enabled the party to eliminate "dead wood" democratically. Secret ballot became a major tool in restructuring the party at the Republican, Regional and District levels. "Dead wood" was also removed from all government ministries and organisations. Older people, in their 70's and 80's were retired on pension, making room for young, reform minded party cadres and non-party patriots.

Having re-organised personnel in the party and government, Gorbachev turned to economic restructuring. At the Party Plenary meeting of June 1986, new economic reforms were introduced, the new law, allowing individual labour business and family business was introduced and passed by the Party and Parliament. This law identifies 30 trades in which an individual, a family or a small number of people can run their own small businesses in which they do not hire labour but do the work themselves. This has already started to show results. Individuals now run their own personal private taxis, restaurants, shoe repair shops, chess making etc.

Considerable progress has been made in Agriculture where 7 million families have been allocated small farms, 4 million families have entered into small agricultural collectives on the basis of



Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

psychological compatibility. The trend is growing and the country is close to achieving self sufficiency in the production of basic food requirements.

There is a new law which allows Soviet companies to enter into joint ventures with foreign private or government companies on mutually beneficial basis. Many Western countries have already entered into business with Soviet companies, such as Italy, Finland, the U.K., France and the USA.

Internally, all companies must now operate on the basis of self accounting and profit making, if not they will be closed after a two year period. Soviet companies may also compete among themselves and should earn enough money to pay staff salaries and make profit. Wage levelling has been abolished, a company which makes more money may pay its workers higher salaries. The new policy is "from each according to ability and to each according to work done or performance." Incentive to industrial as well as agricultural workers is now the order. Many individuals or members of collectives may sell their produce in Moscow and other cities on their open market at marked prices.

The Party's Plenary sessions of January 1987 and June 1987 evaluated progress in restructuring and new economic measures. Loopholes were closed and in June 1987, the Party decentralised economic management.

The Economic Ministries were stopped from running economic enterprises on a day to day basis. Plant or industrial managers have more autonomy in managing their enterprises; crippling bureaucracy has been removed because it was excessive and stifling business initiative.

The Central Planning Commission is now only engaged in long term planning. These measures were introduced after close consultation at all levels and workers, under glasnost, told Gorbachev and the Politburo what was wrong with the economy and what they needed so as to improve the entire economy. Like Lenin, Gorbachev travels widely, he listens to the workers and to his economic advisers. He is very close to the common people. Every three months he undertakes extensive tours to various republics where he meets party members and workers as well as ordinary people. He set rules to restructure the party and the government but there are public apathy after many years of excessive bureaucracy.

Gorbachev had many meetings and discussions with leading opinion makers such as journalists, artists, film directors, entertainers and scholars and writers. He encouraged them to take advantage of glasnost in their professions. He told them that they must not be afraid to criticize and to take initiative. In 1986 he met with heads of Social Science Departments of leading universities and asked them why they keep on repeating old theories which were 40 years old "why don't you come up with new theories and and new ideas which correspond to our own new situations?" he asked.

As a result, the Soviet newspapers, film industry, journals, radio broadcasting, TV news have all changed now. They are more interesting, old, once censored books and films have been released. Newspaper editors are free to publish as they see fit without referring to the party or government for clearance.

Method

In his reforms, Gorbachev follows the party procedures, he consults the Politburo, the Central Committee, the Council of Ministers, the Republic hierarchy of the 15 REPUBLICS and the entire party structure. He has had to change the law and party rules in order to effect major changes. Only the Congress and Party Plenary sessions recommend changes which only become law after going through the Supreme Soviet.

He has put together a team of top notch advisors, technocrats, scientists, economists, administrators, policy makers and public relations experts. Most of these are in the Party Secretariat which does the current work of the Party. Heads of Secretariat departments are elected at Party Congress and at Plenary sessions. The Secretariat consists of advanced party cadres and its department heads usually move into the Politburo and its Secretariat are highly competent, operating within the framework of a scientific perspective. It is coherent and confident.

The team has been able to implement Perestroika, Glasnost and democratization and the new economic measures. On foreign policy, the image of the Soviet Union has changed for the better. Soviet

peace and disarmament initiatives have been well timed, well presented and well prepared. The USA and West Europeans have been forced to react and to appear rather reactionary in political outlook.

In conclusion, it may be stated that the Gorbachev era marks a radical change in the history of the CPSU and the Soviet Union. The new reforms have started to show clear results. The processes of Perestroika, glasnost and democratization which are conceptually inter-linked, are changing the Soviet society. It is only the beginning now, they have a long way to go.

The recent agreement, in principle, between the USA and USSR on the elimination of medium and shorter range nuclear missiles from Europe is likely to usher a new stage in East-West relationship for which Gorbachev may be given credit as a realistic actor on the world stage.

Gorbachev was on vacation from 24 August to 24 September 1987. On returning to work he met with a group of public figures from France in the Kremlin on 29 September, then on 30 September he went to the Murmansk region, north of the arctic circle. At those occasions he stated that reforms are beginning to show results. In Murmansk he was quoted as saying that there is a breakthrough and that the country was undergoing a "revolution without firing a single shot". He further stated that the next 18 months are crucial in this revolution.

There is much more to be done but the mechanism for carrying the radical changes seems to be well prepared and ready to see the changes through.



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The Aparthy of the Azanian Musician

Since time immemorial, music has played a very significant role in the social fabric of society. It reflects a people's culture and in the same breath, provides pleasant recreation. However, music can also be made to bring out different emotions in people. For example, religious cult leaders have been known to employ music negatively by whipping up emotions among their initiates to cow them into total submission. To his benefit, modern man has discovered that music is a powerful medium for airing and amplifying injustices perpetrated by man against his fellow human being. Thus, in a society where gross injustice, exploitation, and oppression are rampant, conscientious musicians can use their lyrics to awaken the world community to these evils. Where there is a revolutionary struggle being waged, musicians can compliment the efforts of the patriotic fighting forces. In their songs, they can use moving lyrics designed to arouse the emotions of their compatriots and also to highlight their plight to the international community.

Zimbabwe's liberation war provides a glowing example of this patriotic co-operation. The Rhodesian March 3 Accord attempted to hoodwink the populace into believing that internal parties would deliver genuine majority rule and stop the war. Although most of the population remained resolutely sympathetic to the Patriotic Front, there were some misguided people, especially urban dwellers, who responded favourably to this flagrant deceit. Local musicians clearly saw through this transparent con-trick and resolved to educate the misled through their music. With surprising cohesion, artists like Thomas Mapfumo, Zexie Manatsa, Oliver Mtukudzi, Tinayi Chikupo and a host of others laced their lyrics with overt political overtones and therefore supplemented the efforts of the fighters in the bush. As a result, the revolutionary spirit swept like wildfire throughout the nation. Being a leading exponent of this patriotic exercise, Mapfumo was detained for some months while his colleagues were daily harassed. Undaunted, Zimbabwean musicians maintained the trend until genuine independence was achieved in 1980.

With this in mind, it is pertinent to



Music — a medium of communication

look at the situation in South Africa. The downtrodden but courageous masses of that country have over the years increasingly demonstrated their preparedness to die in their quest to end the inhuman practice of apartheid. Popular power has erupted in the streets, schools, mines and ghettos which has subsequently created a new situation in that troubled society. At the moment, the Boers are still reeling from the effects of the country's worst and costliest miners' strike. This popular patriotic alliance is supplementing the noble efforts of the liberation movements' objective to spur on the struggle to greater heights. Amidst all this patriotic activity, just where do the Azanian musicians stand? It is dismaying to notice the glaring apathy, shown by these black artists in regard to the situation in their country. Are they insensitive to the everyday brutality around them or are they just plain scared to jump on the patriotic bandwagon? The notorious regime's atrocities have earned it global condemnation, prompting musicians worldwide, including Zimbabweans, to sing about the apartheid evil. Nigerian super star Sonny Okosun contributed with his mammoth hit, "Fire in Soweto". Peter Tosh, Bob Marley, Harry Belafonte and many others have and are still doing their bit to highlight the plight of South Africa's blacks. These are foreign musicians. What are the Azanian musicians themselves doing? What

is their contribution to their own situation? Daily, their music blares in our radios. Judging by the gay lyrics they dish out one would be excused to view their country as a land of bliss and tranquility. Are they politically naive or is it a question of financial greed?

A little while ago, the racist regime sponsored a much publicised music extravaganza billed as "The Music for Peace Show". It was supposed to portray South Africans of all races co-existing in racial harmony. Popular black and white artistes were invited to participate and perform together. It being the sham it really was. It came as a big shock when Steve Kekana, Abigail Kubheka, Babsy came as a big shock when Steve Kekana, Abigail Kubheka, Babsy Mlangeni, Al Eto, Lionel Peterson and other popular black musicians ACTUALLY participated! Everybody knew the show was undertaken to boost the regime's shattered image abroad. What really was the rationale behind these musicians' participation in the regime's attempts to hoodwink the world? Blacks largely boycotted this fiasco and Kekana's posh suburban house was bombed by enraged patriots. He barely escaped with his life to the Boputhatswana bantustan. Do these musicians use the banner of the people's struggle to further their own aims? When popular songbird Miriam Makeba left South Africa's shores to



Music played a major role in the Chimurenga Liberation Struggle

seek greener pastures in the United States, she was all patriotic. She even addressed a United Nations session on apartheid. She has since gained international fame and fortune but sadly, has become apathetic, to the cause. Exiles Calphas Semanya, Letta Mbulu and Hugh Masekela got together with other Azanian exiled musicians to stage their BUWA shows in Harare. They invited Makeba to participate but she declined, ostensibly because of overwhelming work commitments. But it was surprising to see her perform in Harare, barely a month later, with Paul Simon's controversial Gracelands Tour. What had suddenly happened to her commitments? Anyway, Simon made it quite clear that he paid real big money for the Gracelands musicians' services. Was it the lure of BIG money? On this tour was also Saul Tshabalala's Ladysmith Black Mambazo. There is evidence that this group performed for the reactionary Jonas Savimbi's UNITA bandits in northern Namibia. There are also strong indications that this group has ties with puppet chief Buthelezi's INKHATHA movement.

As stated earlier, music can be a powerful medium for protest. Azanian musicians should use this available facility to protest against this establishment, not to collaborate with it for the sake of money. They

Yvonne Chaka-chaka — where do Azanian musicians stand?



should emulate what Johnny Clegg has done. A South African popular musician, Clegg and his band Savuka have produced a sorrowful song, "Asi Mbonanga" (We don't see you anymore), lamenting the unavailability

of the popular black leaders like Nelson Mandela, Steve Biko and others. Very commendable indeed but the irony of it is Johnny Clegg is not a black man but a BLUE EYED/WHITE SOUTH AFRICAN!!!!

Communique of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organisation

The Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organisation held a series of meetings in Tunis between 18-20 August 1987. It discussed a number of important issues related to the life of our Arab Palestinian people and their national cause. It discussed as well, the current developments related to the Palestinian and Arab situation on both Arab and International levels. The Executive Committee paid special and great attention to the conditions of the Palestinian Refugee Camps in Beirut and Southern Lebanon and to the sufferings of these Refugee Camps, especially in Shatila, Burj Al-Barajneh and Rashidiyeh, due to the continuation of siege, destruction, hunger and killing, accompanied by the continuation of the naval blockade and the Israeli air and naval raids against our Refugee Camps and people and against the Lebanese villages in the South of Lebanon. The Executive Committee has, as well, studied the current attempts to uproot our people from their Refugee Camps and to expell them outside Lebanon.

The Executive Committee calls upon the Arab Governments and Leaders to interfere to put an end to this human tragedy which represents shame in the history of our Arab nation. The Executive Committee calls as well, upon the Arab masses, their Parties and National Forces to take action and express their position of Solidarity with these heroic Refugee Camps which declared an open strike in order to raise the siege.

The Executive Committee calls upon the International Organisations, Friends, Human Rights Organisations and Solidarity Organisations in the world, to practice their humanitarian role in decreasing the suffering of the Palestinian people.

On the basis of Syria's fundamental security, political and military responsibilities in West Beirut and the Refugee Camps areas, we call upon her to work on lifting the military siege and food blockade against these Refugee Camps, especially the steadfast Shatila Camp, whose inhabitants are suffering from hunger, thirst, spread of contagious diseases, lack of medicine and prohibiting them from reconstructing their Refugee Camp where 90 percent of its houses were destroyed. Arab history will never forgive those who are sharing with "Israel" the task of annihilating the Palestinian people. They will face a severe judgement by our generations.

The Executive Committee has discussed as well, the conditions in the occupied homeland and the escalation of the operations of oppression and repression against our militant steadfast people and their national institutions. As well as the escalation of dubious attempts made by the Zionist occupation authorities in collaboration with some known Arab Regimes with the aim of defeating the national steadfastness of our heroic masses

and the total popular commitment to the Palestine Liberation Organisation in the occupied territories, as well as carrying out the Autonomy Plan plot.

The Executive Committee while condemning, in particular, the step made by the Zionist occupation authorities in decreasing the patent of the Arab Jerusalem Electricity Company, which aims at its liquidation, and declares its absolute rejection of this decision and expresses its solidarity and stand on the side of the workers and employees of this company, salutes their courageous national position and the courageous stand of our people on the side of their sons, the workers and employees of the company.

The Executive Committee while watching all the developments in the occupied homeland and while working on confronting them with all measures, expresses its great pride in the steadfastness of our heroic people in their Refugee Camps, Towns, Villages, Universities, Institutions and Schools and in the escalation of the forms of their struggle through the magnificent popular uprisings which confirm their adherence to their land and their heroic defence of it. It pledges them to continue the struggle and Jihad for the liberation of the homeland and the establishment of our Independent Palestinian State with Holy Jerusalem as its capital.

The Executive Committee studied the Palestinian-Arab relations and underlined the continuation of work in this field in order to achieve a united Arab position on the basis of the commitment to the constants of the Palestinian struggle represented in the right to return, to self-determination and to establish the National Independent Palestinian State, as well as the adherence to the Palestine Liberation Organisation as the sole legitimate Representative of our people in all fora and fields.



In this regard, the Executive Committee underlined the importance of convening the Arab Summit Conference to realize Arab Solidarity to confront the challenges and the dangers to which the Arab nation is exposed to in more than one region in our great Arab homeland.

The Iran-Iraq war and the threats and dangers to which the Arab land is exposed to in that area, were among the issues of concern of the Executive Committee. In this regard, it reaffirmed its constant position of condemnation of the continuation of this destructive war, of rejecting, of aggression against any Arab land or the occupation of any part thereof, of supporting Security Council Resolution of the necessity for an immediate end to this war, of withdrawing the warring forces to the international borders of both Iran and Iraq and of the sitting around the negotiating table to solve the conflict by peaceful means. It has as well, appreciated the acceptance by Iraq of all the initiatives to end this war.

The Executive Committee, while condemning the Foreign threats to which the countries of the Arab Gulf area are exposed to, especially fraternal Kuwait, expresses its solidarity with these States and its stand on their side.

The Executive Committee noted the consequences of the continuation of tension in the Gulf area, resulting from the continuation of the war, such as the increasing of the American military presence in the area, which opens the door to the return of the Foreign military bases to the Arab land.

The Executive Committee, while condemning the American Military Movements in the Gulf area and the Mediterranean, draws the attention to the dangers that these Movements pose to our nation and the independence of its peoples. It calls for putting an end to these Movements, the withdrawal of the fleets and the quenching of the hot beds of tension which form a pretext to such interferences.

Regarding the painful events which took place during the Hajj season in Mecca Al-Mukkarrama and the desecration of Al-Baitu Al-Haram (The Holy Shrine) during the Hajj season, the Executive Committee while deploring and regretting these events and expressing its sorrow for the loss of innocent victims, calls to spare in the future the Holy Shrine and all the Holy places such desecration, and to keep them out of differences, so that the Holy Shrine and the places of worship remain secure for the believers.

**"Let there be no obscenity,
Nor wickedness,
Nor wrangling,
In the Hajj"**
Sadaka Allahu Al-Ajhim

On the International level, the Executive Committee confirmed the continuation of work to convene the International Conference with full mandatory powers to realize peace in the Middle East, in which the five Permanent Member States in the Security Council participate as well as the parties of the conflict in the Middle East, including the Palestine Liberation Organisation, the sole legitimate Representative of our Palestinian people, and on the basis of the realization of the inalienable national rights of our people, including their right to return, to self-determination and to establish their national independent State.

Regarding the Palestinian-International relations, the Executive Committee expressed its great appreciation for the positions of the friendly Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community and the People's Republic of China, in support of the Palestine Liberation Organisation and the just struggle of the Palestinian people.

The Executive Committee has as well, appreciated the stands of support and solidarity with the Palestinian people and their just cause, adopted by the States of the Non-Aligned Movement, the African States, the Islamic States and the friendly States.

The Executive Committee expressed its military solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Namibia and South Africa for their national liberation. It expressed as well, the support for the African Front-line States against the aggressions of the racist Pretoria Regime, which is allied with American Imperialism and International Zionism.

Steadfast masses of our people in our heroic Refugee Camps,
Steadfast masses of our people in our beloved land,
Our heroes in the different positions of struggle inside and outside our occupied land,
Our prisoners and detained in the prisons and detention centres,
Our people everywhere,

We call upon you to be patient, persistent, steadfast and persevere,
We have an appointment at dawn
We have an appointment with victory
We will meet together in Al-Quds
Assharif
Victory is definite
The dawn will break.

Reagan Insists on War — Central Americans Demand Peace

The Guatemala Peace Accord of August 7, 1987 has brought into greater focus the antagonistic currents converging in the Central American region. One current is the US militaristic policy bent on perpetuating war, destruction and death. The other, originating in Latin America calls for peace through negotiations and is supported by the vast majority of countries of the world, particularly the Non-Aligned Movement whose position was summarized as follows, by the Foreign Minister Witness Mangwende upon arrival in Managua as the head of a special Non-Aligned Delegation: "The Non-Aligned Movement supports the Guatemala Accord signed by the Presidents of Central America ... and reaffirms its solidarity with Nicaragua. We come to join our voices and efforts to the initiatives undertaken to achieve peace in the region."

The US Government however has chosen to ignore the wishes of the Central American Presidents, as well as the appeals from the international community. The House of Representatives recently approved 3,5 million dollars more for the terrorist contras and the Administration has announced it will request an additional 270 million to finance the activities of these bandits, operating from Honduran territory against innocent civilians inside Nicaragua. These actions are clear indication of US determination to sabotage the Peace Accord, which states that all aid to bandits must end and that governments of the region must ensure that their territories not be used to launch aggression against their neighbours.

The US onslaught notwithstanding, the Government of Nicaragua is committed to the search for peace and has undertaken to implement the steps called for in the Accord. Together with the other Central American countries, Nicaragua is



Cde. Francisco Campbell, Nicaraguan Ambassador to Zimbabwe

working constructive and systematically towards peace in the region. The international community can contribute greatly towards this goal by intensifying their de-

mand that the US suspend all forms of aggression against Nicaragua, support the Guatemala Peace Accord and, in so doing, respect the fundamental rights of Central Americans to live in peace.

Steps Taken by the Government of Nicaragua to Comply with the Guatemala Peace Accord

1 Formation of the National Reconciliation Commission.

The Commission is headed by Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo representing the church, Vice-President Sergio Ramírez representing the government, Mr. Mauricio Díaz representing opposition political parties and Mr. Gustavo Parajón, Executive Director of the Evangelical Committee for Development (CEPAD).

The National Reconciliation Commission is charged with verifying implementation of a cease fire, general amnesty, democratization, free elections within the framework of existing Constitutions and respect for civil and political rights of all citizens.

More than 17 Regional Peace Commissions have been established in border areas and 29 organized in Zelaya province on the East Coast of Nicaragua. These Commissions include representatives of political, religious and other sectors and are intended to facilitate the return of counterrevolutionaries under the Amnesty Decree.

2 Decision to allow Bishop Pablo A. Vega and Monsignor Bismark Carballo to return to the country.

Both were barred from the country in June 1986, because of their involvement in support of counterrevolutionary activities.

3 A National dialogue to begin 5 October between the government, legally organized political parties and internal opposition groups.

4 Pardon of 16 Central Americans convicted for involvement in activities against the Nicaraguan state. Included were citizens of Guatemala, Honduras, Panama, Costa Rica and El Salvador.

5 Lifting of all restrictions on the press, which were imposed as part of the State of Emergency declared in

response to aggression against Nicaragua by US supported contra bandits. This measure includes lifting of the ban on "La Prensa" newspaper and "Catholic Radio".

6 Announcement of a unilateral cease fire as follows:

- Suspension for a period of time of all military operations in zones to be determined by the government.
- Troops of the Sandinista Popular Army will be concentrated in specific areas of the designated zones.
- These above steps are intended to create favourable conditions to allow representatives of the National Reconciliation Commission and/or the Peace Commission, to explain to the people and to the counterrevolutionary forces the contents of the Guatemala Accord.
- The presence of representatives of the National Reconciliation Commission and/or Peace Commissions in these territories, will allow the possibility of exploring the willingness of counterrevolutionary leaders to accept the cease fire and if so, agree on procedures for its extension.

Peace Pipe or War Path?

Without waiting for November 7, the target date set by the Guatemalan agreement of the five presidents, the Sandinists have begun its implementation.

Nicaragua was the first to set up a national reconciliation commission made up of the Republic's Vice-President Sergio Ramirez, General Secretary of the People's Social Christian Party Mauricio Diaz, independent public figure Gustavo Parajon and their four deputies. Cardinal Obando-y-Bravo was appointed, by government decree, Chairman of the Commission.

The commission will monitor the implementation of the Guatemala agreement, which provides for a ceasefire, the holding of free elections, the strict observance of guaranteed political and civil liberties, and an amnesty.

At a press conference immediately after the penultimate meeting of the commission, Vice-President Sergio Ramirez announced that the government intended gradually to implement the Guatemala agreement in advance of November 7, the date the commitments made by the Central American states came into force. The



President of Nicaragua Daniel Ortega and Republican Senator Robert Dole, leader of a group of U.S. Congressmen who visited Managua.

government of Nicaragua has invited the leaders of the opposition parties to take part in the national dialogue (started on October 5) to facilitate the process of democratization. The government has lifted the ban on the operation of Radio Catolica as well as on that of the opposi-

tion newspaper La Prensa. The Nicaraguan authorities have taken a decision to halt the military operations of the Sandinist People's Army against the contra groups in some parts of the country.

What was the response on the part of the contras and their patrons? The leaders

TASS photo

of the armed counter-revolution issued a statement in the capital of Honduras that they would agree to a ceasefire provided it was the result of direct negotiations between themselves and the Sandinists. Siding with this demand, President Reagan said that no one would accept a Sandinist unilateral ceasefire.

In return for abiding by the accords stipulated by the Guatemala agreement, the government of Nicaragua is demanding a simultaneous cut-off of US aid to the contras, their withdrawal from Honduras and their agreement to the terms of the amnesty.

This issue has been dominating the Nicaraguan press. There is a law in Nicaragua according to which persons involved in counter-revolutionary activities may, upon surrendering arms, resume normal life without losing political and civil rights. This law does not apply to those taken prisoner during battle or arrested by the security forces for terrorist offences.

The governments of Guatemala and El Salvador have also set up national reconciliation commissions. The Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front and the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador have once again spoken in support of constructive negotiations to stop the bloodshed in that country. But the Duarte regime is creating artificial obstacles in the way of a peaceful settlement, by demanding that the insurgents surrender arms before the negotiations begin. However, the leaders of the National Liberation Front — the Revolutionary democratic front assert that "a Nicaraguan solution" cannot be applied in El Salvador. Nicaragua is confronting US aggression. In their opinion, the situation in El Salvador is different. The conflict here is rooted in social and economic injustice, the system of oppression, and in repressive authorities. The National Liberation Front — the Revolutionary Democratic Front operate exclusively within their own country, relying only on

their own resources, enjoying authority and recognition both at home and abroad.

The government of Costa Rica has also announced plans to set up a national reconciliation commission, even though Costa Rica is free of internal conflict. Honduras is the only country in the region whose government has decided not to establish such a commission.

An important factor for a settlement in Central America is the massive support of the Guatemala agreement by Latin American countries. At their meeting in Caracas the representatives of the Contadora group, the Support group and the Central American countries formed an international commission to monitor the implementation of the Guatemala accords. Its members, the deputy foreign ministers of the Contadora group have held a joint session in Managua with members of the Executive Commission made up of the foreign ministers of the five Central American states whose presidents have signed the Guatemala accords.

"Peace has been signed, but the US war against Nicaragua continues," Nicaragua's President Daniel Ortega said. "The implementation of the agreement between the five presidents constantly comes up against Washington's stubborn resistance. In spite of the fact that the White House 'welcomed' — lip-deep — the results of the meeting in Guatemala, once the meeting was over, the State Department called in the US ambassadors in the Central American countries and, according to a Wall Street Journal report, pointed out that US interests in the region are more important than any agreements.

The United States is obviously impatient to provide the Nicaraguan counter-revolutionaries with maximum military

aid before the current fiscal year expires. Recently, US Secretary of State George Shultz and subsequently President Reagan announced that the White House intended to ask Congress for an allocation of 270 million dollars for the armed Somoza bands.

It is significant that new allocations for the Somozists planned by the US administration are to be phased over a period of 18 months. In other words, if the present administration gets the bill through Congress, the contras will be receiving US aid even after a likely replacement of the White House incumbent.

Meanwhile the House of Representatives voted for the allocation of 3,5 million dollars to the Nicaraguan contras for "humanitarian purposes."

At Augusto C. Sandino international airport, I had an opportunity to ask Nicaragua's President Daniel Ortega a question.

"Comandante Ortega, what do you think about the White House intention to earmark more than 270 million dollars for aid to the contras?"

"The intention of the Reagan administration to ask Congress for more financial support for the Somozists is a blatant provocation and an attempt to sabotage the Guatemala agreement," replied the Nicaraguan leader. "Washington's actions mean that it rejects the sovereign decisions jointly adopted by the governments of the Central American states, and amount to open contempt for their right to self-determination and independence.

"The Nicaraguan government will continue to expose the US conspiracy against the cause of peace in Central America. At the same time, we intend to work hard for the implementation of the Guatemala accords and carry out measures conducive to the achievement of this goal. We hope the countries of the region will do likewise," the President emphasized.

Salvadorian People Fight On

In El Salvador, the struggle being waged by the patriotic armed forces and people against pro-US dictatorship is daily growing.

Last year witnessed many military operations, which resulted in killing or wounding the reactionary government troops numbering as many as 7 100.

On May 6, the units under the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front of El Salvador successfully car-

ried out military actions in San Vicente, Chalatenango and Cabanas departments.

In these actions about 100 enemy officers and soldiers were killed or wounded.

Attacks were launched on the enemy military bases to put an artillery company out of action and destroy or capture numerous weapons and other combat material.

The armed guerillas sought to deal a heavy blow at the reactionary Duarte government by road-blockading campaigns.

Amidst the battles the unity of patriotic armed guerillas is being strengthened and their ranks are closed.

The armed struggle in El Salvador is being joined by the people. ►

Active actions in protest against the anti-social policy of the government are reported to take place in all parts of the country including its capital city.

After the foundation of the Salvadorian Workers' Federation in last February, the working-class movement began to be activated. Last year, 150 strikes broke out, involving workers and office employees of the state institutions and factories.

More and more people take to streets, demanding an end to police violence against the peace-seeking inhabitants, price cuts and human rights.

Protests against the government are voiced even by the top circles of the right-wing National Republic Union. "The Duarte government is impotent and has corrupted, so it should be replaced by a democratic one" — this slogan is often heard among them.

Rejected domestically and internationally, the Duarte clique are making desperate efforts to save their crumbling ruling system.

The government troops are sent almost everyday to "punitive expeditions" against the patriotic armed forces. But they have had to run the gauntlet of the patriotic guerrillas.

In retaliation for this, they have reinforced a panoply of repression against the peaceful inhabitants. The government troops are set in motion to kill the innocent people randomly. More than 60 000 people were killed and 5 000 were reported as missing in the past five years.

No harsh suppressive measures taken by the Duarte clique who are backed by the US imperialists, however, can stop a strong wave of anti-government activism of the Salvadorian people.

Kim Gyong Hui

Consumer Advice

By Kindness Paradza of the Consumer Council

Safeguarding the health and safety of consumers against the proliferation of hazardous products is a matter that has special significance to every consumer movement.

It is more significant because it often involves some manufacturers and individuals who blatantly put profits before people — a situation that has allowed and even encouraged those manufacturers to flood the marketplace with sometimes a host of a lethal, substandard and misleadingly labelled products.

Just a few years ago, the Consumer Council released an international danger list of harmful products which have been banned, withdrawn or restricted in industrialised and developing countries. The list, which was prepared by the International Organisation of Consumer Unions (IOCU), headquartered in the Netherlands, included wide range of drugs, pesticides, food products, cosmetics, electrical appliances, tools, toys and baby care items. This list also showed brands and their manufacturers the hazards involved and the extent of the international restrictions.

The aim of the list was to help developing countries like Zimbabwe in monitoring the dumping of stocks in the Third World of products restricted or outlined as dangerous in their country of origin.

This is because, the developed countries have banned or restricted the use of many unsafe products e.g. pesticides, but they continue to export these compounds to Africa, Latin America, Asia and other developing countries, where they are sprayed on edible crops or fumigated on grains and fruits.

However, when it comes to food, our organisation feels that every nation needs an effective food control service to promote a safe and honestly presented food supply aid to protect consumers against foods which are contaminated, decomposed or adulterated and which are deceptively packed or labelled.

It is behind this background therefore that IOCU established an early warning system known as "Consumer Interpol". The objectives of Consumer Interpol are:

- to facilitate the exchange of information on newly discovered or newly regulated hazards;
- to focus attention on generic safety problems, like lead in the environment or the misuse of antibiotics;
- to help consumer and other public interest groups, especially those in the Third World, combat corporate dumping and;
- to support national and international initiatives to control trade in hazardous products, technologies

and wastes.

In the case of food, the Council feels that comprehensive laws are needed to control such gross adulteration as the watering of milk, the use of vegetable fat in products supposed to consist of pure butter fat and the addition of colour flavours and preservatives to make stale, decayed foods appear fresh or of good quality. In this country, many cases of this nature have gone unreported in the rural areas where it is a common practice to keep cooked, unrefrigerated food for long periods of time.

However, another area of national concern is that of pesticides. Pesticides in general are used to control the tremendous losses caused by rodents, insects and other pests while the food is being cultivated and also during storage. We feel that control of residues on the ready to eat is therefore very important for foods.

For example, the controversial pesticide DDT, was banned in many countries including Zimbabwe. The use of DDT as a pesticide in the agricultural sector was stopped in this country in 1985 because it was seen to be a health hazard. Today DDT is only restricted in the tsetse and malaria control or unless there is an outbreak of pests. And those individuals or companies, (apart from government agencies), found using

DDT will be prosecuted.

However, the Consumer Council believes that whatever measures are or have been adopted, but we feel that those products which are too unsafe to be sold to consumers in one country are also unsafe for consumers in other countries. We also believe that one way of preventing unsafe products to be sold on the market is to stop manufacturing them.

As people always say prevention is better than cure, so we urge the policy makers to establish more strict import and export control programmes for hazardous substances such that there should be no distinction between domestic and foreign consumers that is if a hazardous substances like, drugs, food or other chemicals are banned, disapproved or restricted in any one country, it should not find its way in other countries where there are no tight controls.

In Zimbabwe, the use of dangerous products is a national concern and that national products safety standards should be developed. In this

area we are fortunate because we have the Drug Control Council, the Government Analyst Laboratory as well as the Standards Association of Zimbabwe. These institutions have done a great deal in this country by ensuring that our country is not to be a dumping ground of the unwanted Western products. Every newly manufactured drug, chemical or food entering Zimbabwe or locally manufactured has to be tested before it is sold on the market.

For example, the Standards Association of Zimbabwe has tested and approved many products which are on the market today. Those products tested usually carry the Association's standard mark.

Consumers are therefore advised to look for products which have this mark. Food manufacturing companies should also send their products for testing on regular basis in order to keep high quality standard.

As a consumer organisation, we feel that Third World governments should press the Western countries for:

- access to information about their

products, including test results and side effects, even though this may mean giving away trade secrets.

- labelling on exported goods which is in the local language and carries clear information about the use and dangers of the product.
- the withdrawal of unnecessary dangerous chemicals from Third world markets. On the other hand, we have noticed that the temptation to dump unsafe products in the Third World is high because;
- there are few or no controls over testing or registration of imports;
- there are few or no obligations to print appropriate warnings or advice on the labels;
- there are few or no restrictions of supply, which might ensure responsible control through safe outlets.

Because pesticides, drugs and industrial chemicals are all chemical products, the Council believes that because of their toxicity, they are among the most dangerous products that can be off — loaded onto unsuspecting consumers.

POETRY

"Don't Write Them Off"

Third-world Countries, in Africa we are,
Stretching our continent, a mighty scar,
Embedded deeply, within each one of us,
And which Countries abroad, honestly give a cuss.

We've famine and war, and, thousands die,
But, how many folk stop, to wonder why,
Our babies sit on the dusty ground,
With bloated bellies, and hardly a sound.

With sunken eyes, and protruding bones,
An infant dies, and a mother moans,
Two boys left, perhaps the next day,
For she knows in her heart, they'll go the same way.

Weakened by hunger, she can scarcely walk,
She looks at her children, unable to talk,
For she's no words of comfort, for her two little boys,
Who cry unconsolated, and it's not for broken toys.

But for their bodies, being wracked by starvation,
With the prospect of death, as their only salvation,
There's no meaningful words, for such a fate,
For the three of her children, it's all too late.

The stench of death, permeates the air,
While in the camp, helpless victims stare,
Uncomprehending in their deadly plight,
So, who is wrong, and, who is right.

An aircraft, high in the African sky,
Didn't land at the camp, but went right on by,

"On anti-terrorist ops," the government said,
And at breakfast-time, the slimmers of tomorrow read.

Their daily newspapers, and, immediately concluded,
That they had been, well and truly deluded,
Into parting with their money, and, all for what,
For a waste of time, and, all for naught.

Two little boys, lie side by side,
Dead to this world, their eyes staring wide,
Wizzened little bodies, aged before their time,
And all for what, — the fearful crime, —

Of being born into this world, in the midst of a drought,
They could never have known, what it was all about,
Dehydrated from dysentery, their pitiful cries,
Had echoed through the camp, as they faced their demise.

A mother that was, sits on the ground alone,
Grief etched into her face, like a carved-out stone,
While in the United Nations, they hold a debate,
As they adjourn from lunch, what about the fate.

Of those helpless little children, who are suffering and dying,
Does it matter which, of those governments are lying,
Don't write them off, don't make them pay,
For a foolishness of a government, in which they hadn't a say.

"The Summit of Reyjavik"

It's not just the bombs, but S.D.I.,

And people the world over, are asking why,
The Americans and the Russians, cannot agree,
To eliminate a danger, so plain to see.

They flew into Reyjavik, to discuss the issue,
But lots of words and actions few,
Are what came out of this "historical" meeting,
With time alas, that's all too fleeting.

Each man to his Country, has returned,
But the approval of the masses, neither has earned,
As each on television, outlines his case,
It's obvious that neither side, wants to lose face.

So now, they've entered, the realms of semantics,

In trying to find excuses, for their antics,
But there's no excuse, for a world under threat,
Of total extinction, by politicians inept.

At the task of creating, peace and stability,
And ridding the world, of senseless hostility,
There's no room in these negotiations, for the threat of
blackmail,
Because this is a task, in which neither of you must fail.

So Mikhail and Ronald, get back to the table,
And prove to the world, that you are truly able,
To act as statesmen, and to bring some sanity,
Into these discussions, — you owe it to humanity. —



Answers to Quiz No. 3 Volume 18, No 17

1. Zimbabwe African National Union.
2. Any four of the following:
Comrade Leopold T. Takawira, Comrade Rekal Tangwena, Comrade Jaison Moyo, Comrade Robson Manyika, Comrade Herbert Chitepo, Comrade Josiah Magama Tongogara, Comrade Simon Mazorodze, Comrade Josiah Chinamano, Comrade Masocha Ndlovu and Comrade T.G. Silundika.
3. Comrade D.N.E. Mutasa.
4. Department of Administration.
5. 21 years.
6. Comrade Julius Nyerere.
7. Gweru, May 1964.
8. Comrade Sally Mugabe.
9. 88 people.
10. Any four of the following:
a) Sally Mugabe b) Comrade Teurai Ropa Mujuru
c) Naomi Nhwatiwa d) Comrade Sabina Mugabe
e) Comrade Victoria Chitepo f) Comrade Julia Zvobgo.

WINNERS

1st Prize of \$20,00

Comrade Patricia Ngorima
124 ULC Area 13
Dangamvura
MUTARE.

2nd Prize of \$10,00

Tendai Bangure
Room No 44
MARONDERA.

3rd Prize of \$5,00

James D. Gutsa
Chaminuka District Council
P.O. Madziwa
BINDURA.

QUIZ NO 5

1. What is the name of the ruling Party of Mozambique?
2. Who is the Secretary for National Security and Defence?
3. "It is our wish and will to Manufacture material needed by our Defence Forces." Who said these words?
4. Who is the Mozambican Ambassador to Zimbabwe?
5. Who is the current Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement?
6. Which Department of the Party does Comrade Tsungirai Mutambanengwe head?
7. How long had a recently released prominent member of the ANC been jailed by the Botha Regime. What is his name?
8. Who is the Prime Minister of Tanzania?
9. When was Mbuya Nehanda tried?
10. Name any six Deputy members of the Politburo.



(Continued from page 9)

the Youth League: is the principal organ of the Youth League responsible for the implementation of the policies of the Party and the administration of the affairs of the Youth League. It consists of 11 members of the Youth League.

The main wing, Women's League and Youth League each have 9 regional Provinces made up of all districts in that Province; each district is made up of 10 branches or 5 000 members; each branch is made up of 10 cells (urban) or 10 villages (rural) or 500 members; and each cell or village is made up of 10 households or 50 members.

In the event of the establishment of a one-party state in Zimbabwe there will be country wide participation, in the Party, by all members of the community, at the Cell or Village level right up to the People's Congress. The Party will direct the government because the Party, not the government provides the policy which emanates from the people. It has their support and loyalty which ties them to the state. The Party integrates the nation by a method that maximizes the opportunity of every citizen to participate, on a regular and meaningful basis, in the decision-making process. The notion that the opposition may have its chance next time does not apply because the minority will be so small that it may never have a chance to form a government.

From the above structure and method of organisation it can be seen that the desire is to mobilise the whole nation into a political awareness that had never occurred before. It is nonsense to say that such an organisation is communist. On the contrary, the organisation is African and serves our interests best. It brings forward into the modern era our political culture and tradition. Indeed communist parties organise themselves in this manner, but it would be ridiculous to claim that they are African.

The adversary nature of the two party system, combined with the all or nothing nature of the single party government breeds excessive partisanship and encourages parties to be irresponsible when they are in opposition. It also produces abrupt reversals of policy when one par-

ty replaces the other in government. There is a tendency for the presentation of poor quality concocted while the party is in opposition during which it is in relative ignorance of future circumstances, reactions of the civil service and major interest groups in the world.

Do Parties Make a Difference?

The essence of the conventional defence of the two party system is that at elections voters have the opportunity to choose between different sets of issues and policies and that because of the concentration of power embodied in parliamentary sovereignty and single party government, they may hold the government accountable at the next election. Electoral studies have shown that voting decisions are largely determined by policy considerations, the party's record, competence of leadership and tradition rather than specific issues in the party manifesto. The question has to be asked; do the different party manifestos make any difference as to how the government is going to be run?

Analyses of manifestos show that there are no clear differences between the two British parties on many policies. So the replacement of one party by another in government will not have much difference.

The point about the limits of the multi-party government may be made more emphatically if we turn to the economy. The party's manifesto promises have increasingly dealt with economic matters — inflation, growth, unemployment and prosperity. What is striking is how little there is of a consistent pattern. An analysis by Richard Rose, a political scientist, in "Do Parties make a Difference?" shows how the growth in public expenditure hardly correlates with changes in party control of government since 1945. If we turn to other macro-economic indicators, such as the size of the public sector deficit, rates of inflation, levels of unemployment and minimum lending rate, there has been a secular rise in each, over time, regardless of party programmes or policies. The lack of variation of these indicators according to party policy or influence argues for the

constraints of circumstances rather than the positive influence of party ideology.

Are Multi-Parties Necessary?

An important question therefore arises: are multi-parties necessary? Are they not misleading and a waste of leadership resources? When the leadership of any country works together for the common good, that country, becomes a better place to live in. The leadership of the official opposition in any political system can easily be absorbed into a one party state. This had been the case in Zambia since that country became a one-party state.

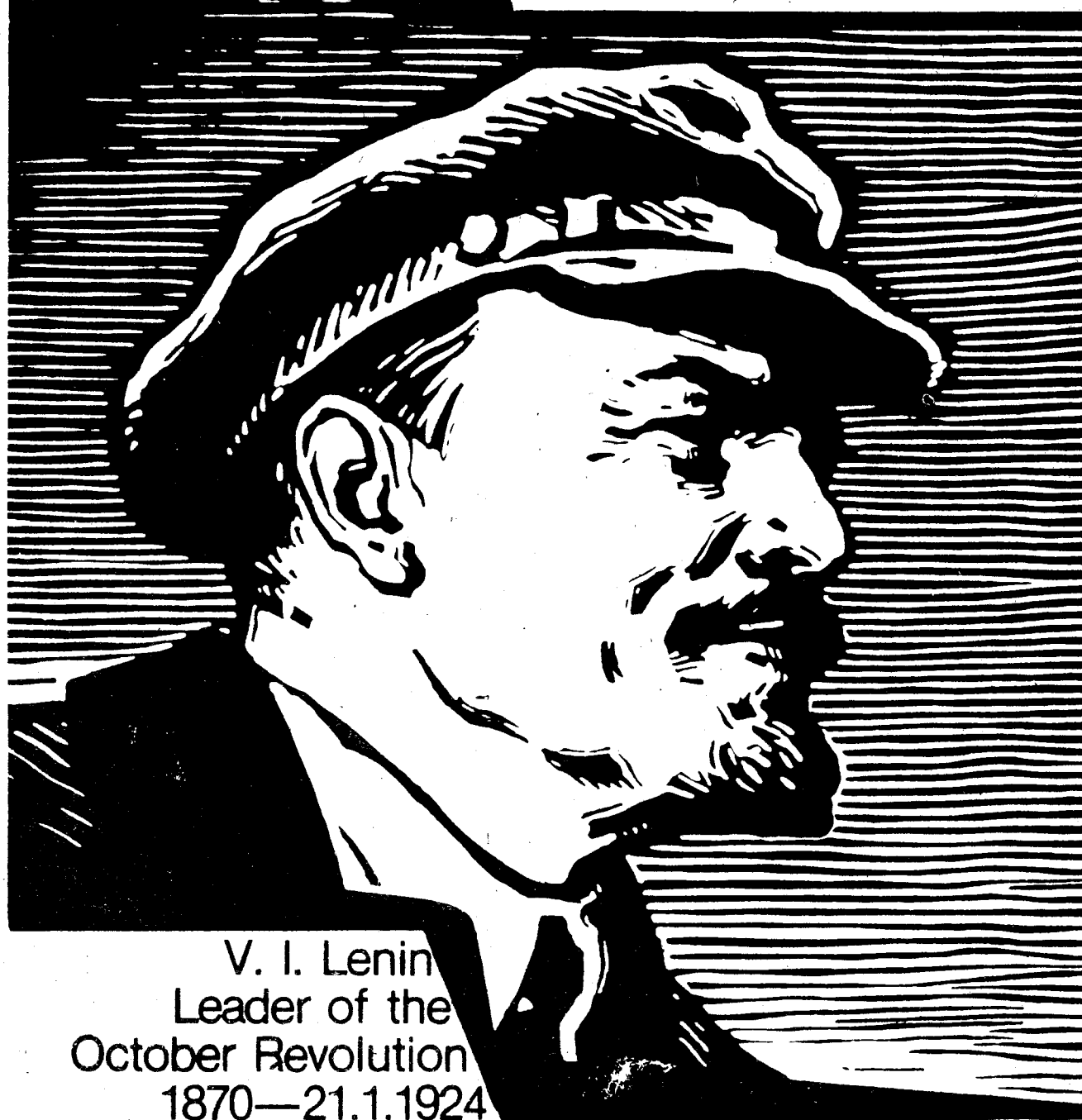
Quite interesting developments have emerged in Zambia, Tanzania and Kenya in the appreciation of the one-party state. In the past, general elections used to be a frightening experience and occasionally led to deaths due to violence during the campaigns. Only one candidate per constituency was put forward by each competing party. Now, and in theory, the party can put forward as many candidates as are willing to stand for election in any one constituency. Since the establishment of a one-party state in Zambia, elections are peaceful. In both Kenya and Zambia former members of other parties took important positions in the one-party. The issue during elections is who is most capable to represent the interests of the people as spelt out in policies formulated during the party congress. Those who are elected to Parliament work within the one party state system to achieve the objectives set out at congress.

Whether or not the British political system should be adapted to a one party state is a consideration for the British which requires their careful study and thought.

It would not be based on the peculiarities of different African one party states or African cultures and traditions. It would not be identical with that in Canada, Australia and New Zealand. By the same token African political systems are a feature which should be understood in their contexts. They provide well for African culture and tradition.



The
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Revolution
The first socialist
revolution in the world



V. I. Lenin
Leader of the
October Revolution
1870—21.1.1924

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