



Zimbabwe News

Official Organ of ZANU(PF)

Department of Information and Publicity, 14 Austin Road, Workington, Harare
Volume 18 No. 2 February 1987, Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper

70C (incl. sales tax)

COOPERATIVES AND DEVELOPMENT



PALESTINE: *FREE THE PEOPLE*

Contents

Editorial	1
A Letter to the Editor	2
Africa Fund Launched	3
Time Running out for Apartheid	4
History Unites Us	6
Chissano's Visit to Zimbabwe	<i>Cemented Friendship Bonds</i> 9
Comrade Nyagumbo Speaks on Party Policies and Programmes	11
Possible Constitutional Changes in Zimbabwe After 18th April 1987	<i>by Comrade G.M. Chinengundu</i> 13
Development of the Working Class in Zimbabwe Since Independence	15
The First Secretary and President's Biography in Relation to the 21st February Movement	18
The Health of Women Workers	<i>by Hoewenson School of Medicine University of Zimbabwe</i> 20
Land Allocation in Communal Areas	<i>by Comrade. G.M. Chinengundu, Deputy Minister of Local Government, Rural and Urban Development</i> 24
Cooperatives: A look at the inside set-up How Resettlements are classified	25
Youth at the Forefront of the Socialist Struggle	<i>Focus on Mashonaland Central Youth</i> 28
Book Review: Cooperatives What about them	<i>by Cain Mathema and Irene Straunton</i> 30
Workers Learn their Rights	31
Sanctions — Western Europe Lagging behind	32
Tanzania's Arusha Declaration	<i>Twenty years and after</i> 33
Palestinians in Lebanon	<i>The struggle continues</i> 35
Which Road to Take	40
Africa and Asia	<i>Conditions for successful Industrialisation</i> 41
Aquino and the Philippine Rebels	<i>by Comrade H.M.R. Farinya</i> 43
Poetry	45



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

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

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

Editorial

Plight of Palestinians in Lebanon: Time for Action

Since the now so-called "camps wars" started in Lebanon a few months ago more than 5 000 Palestinian men, women and innocent children have been killed. This massacre, which is only the latest of the many horrors Palestinians have suffered at the hands of different elements over the past five years, highlights once again the urgent need to establish a secure Palestinian homeland. The scale of the current killings, which are continuing as the cruel sieges barring entry of relief supplies into the camps take their toll, are worse than the appalling atrocities committed by the Israelis and Christian Phalangists in 1982.

The crisis facing Palestinians in Lebanon and other parts of the Middle East arises from the denial by Zionists of the national rights of the Palestinian people. This denial of national rights has given birth to the modern Palestinian resistance movement and the emergence of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) which is rightly asserting that the long-term solution to the conflict in Palestine must rest on the creation of a secular, democratic state in Palestine, affording equal rights and protection from discrimination to all, whether they be Christians, Jews or Muslims.

Certain nations, particularly the United States, have tended to portray the Palestinian people, and the PLO, as the obstacle to peace in Palestine. But the fact is that the PLO stand on the need for the creation of a Palestinian state conforms with international thinking as expressed through the General Assembly of the United Nations, Non-Aligned Movement, and other important bodies.

The PLO's programme seeks to secure the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, which the General Assembly of the United Nations defined in Resolution 3236 adopted in 1974 and Resolution ES-72 adopted in 1980. These referred to the right to self-determination, national independence and sovereignty of the Palestinian people, and the right of the same people to establish their own independent sovereign state. The UN has also endorsed the right of those Palestinians living in exile as refugees to return to their homes and property and for those who

choose not to return to receive compensation.

In addition, the UN has confirmed the status of the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and has affirmed that the PLO must be involved in any conferences or negotiations concerning the future of Palestine.

The Zionist response to the PLO and the United Nations proposals has been predictably hostile. Zionists concede no national rights to the Palestinians, and have shown by their actions and declarations the intention to sabotage any plan which endorses the principles of Palestinian self-determination in an independent sovereign state. The United States has been the key supporter of this Zionist stand to obstruct all efforts to secure a settlement based on the legitimate national rights of Palestinians.

Two aspects of the US-Zionist position are dominant. The first is to block any move towards the creation of an independent Palestinian state. The second has been to devise a series of alternative schemes aimed at excluding the PLO, and thereby denying the Palestinian people an independent and representative voice both in any prelude to the creation of an independent Palestinian state, and in its subsequent administration.

In the late 1970s, just as the prospects for real progress towards a just settlement to the Palestine question seemed possible, through an International Conference convened under joint US and Soviet Chairmanship, the Americans produced the Camp David plan. This not only excluded the PLO from any role concerning the future of the Palestinian territories, but also denied other Palestinians any meaningful role. Israel was given veto powers to obstruct any plan likely to lead to the creation of an independent Palestinian state, and the accords themselves spelled out a scheme of "autonomy" similar to the Bantustan system in apartheid South Africa.

On September 1, 1982, President Reagan launched America's latest bid to undermine any progress towards Palestinian statehood and self-determination. The plan called for Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza Strip to exer-

cise "self-government" in association with the Kingdom of Jordan.

At its February 1983 meeting in Algiers, the Palestinian National Council concluded that the Reagan Plan "in manner and content, does not meet the established national rights of the Palestinian people, since it denies the right of return and self-determination, and setting up of the independent Palestinian state, and also does not recognise the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people."

These US/Zionist manoeuvres should be condemned in the strongest possible terms by all progressive people around the world. To ensure that these evil schemes do not succeed, Arab unity is vital. We therefore call upon all Arab nations to unite and give the Palestinians all the support they need. The current conflicts in the Arab world, in particular the Iraqi-Iran war and the insane Amal assaults on Palestinian refugee

camps in Lebanon, are working to the benefit of one side — Zionist Israel.

There is an urgent need to take concrete steps to stop the seige placed on Palestinian refugee camps by Amal militiamen. In this connection we call upon the Non-Aligned Movement's Committee of Nine to convene without delay to examine ways and take steps to end the appalling massacres of Palestinians now taking place in Lebanon.

We urge the leadership of Amal and Syria to heed the call made recently by the Chairman of NAM, Comrade Robert G. Mugabe, asking "in the name of this common humanity" all those with influence on the situation to stop the tragedy facing Palestinians in Lebanese camps. "In particular, we ask those whose actions have resulted in the non-delivery of food, medical supplies and other essentials to the camps, to refrain from doing so."

A LETTER TO THE EDITOR

When a cow stops milking, it is taken to the slaughter house. It is high time the United States of America act correspondingly with its "Constructive Engagement" Policy for South Africa, its "sacred cow".

This question has arisen again after the publication of a special commission set up to look into American Policy with regard to racist Pretoria.

The commission that was appointed by the Reagan administration declared in a special prepared report that the "Constructive Engagement" policy had suffered failure. If the US can tell the world that the policy had failed dismally, can that same administration purposefully be involved in the proping up of that same regime it had intended to protect from international pressure to bring democracy to South Africa.

When the Reagan administration was pressing Southern African States and the international community to accept piecemeal so called changes by the Botha regime, why did it in fact declare a state of emergency and ar-

rest as many as 25,000 people, with more than 2,000 people including children being killed? The press has been muzzled and journalists are prisoners in the racist republic.

South Africa, the US "cow" under Botha is heading for white only elections, giving the understanding that "the regime has not even moved an inch to bring about what was intended by the US policy of "Constructive Engagement". The Boers have no intention of sharing power with the black population. It has not even moved any step in granting independence to the people of Namibia but has now instituted a puppet regime in that country.

While the US still stands by its "Constructive Engagement" policy, the Botha regime is escalating its subversive activities against the Southern African independent states. Many people now see the truth in what the people of Southern Africa were saying that "sanctions do and can work" while the US is buttressing the racist regime and suppress its African neighbours.

The South African government has failed to force and silence anti-

apartheid fighters inside racist South Africa and Namibia. The emergency and press muzzling has not silenced the people in apartheid ruled South Africa and has not been able to cowdown the frontline states support for the liberation movements fighting against the racist regime. The continued acts of aggression against the frontline states will not deter the revolutionary responsibility of these states to see apartheid destroyed.

The apartheid regime's economy is in chronic problems and whether that will force South Africa to change is not only an illusion. Complemented by the call for sanctions, South Africa cannot defend its apartheid policy by exporting aggression and its will to force its neighbours succumb to its so-called military might. With more pressure at home South Africa is now trying to disrupt the economic progress of countries like Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Zambia. Its continued support to both the MNR in Mozambique and UNITA bandit movement in Angola shows that the racist regime is trying to bring these revolutionary countries on their knees.

The current wave of struggle in South Africa is not reversable, it is like wind which knows no mountain. The fighting forces in both Namibia and South Africa are intensifying their struggle for justice.

The Frontline States and the international community have an obligation to support that struggle and if possible take drastic measures to protect the peoples of Southern Africa from South Africa's aggressive policy of destabilisation.

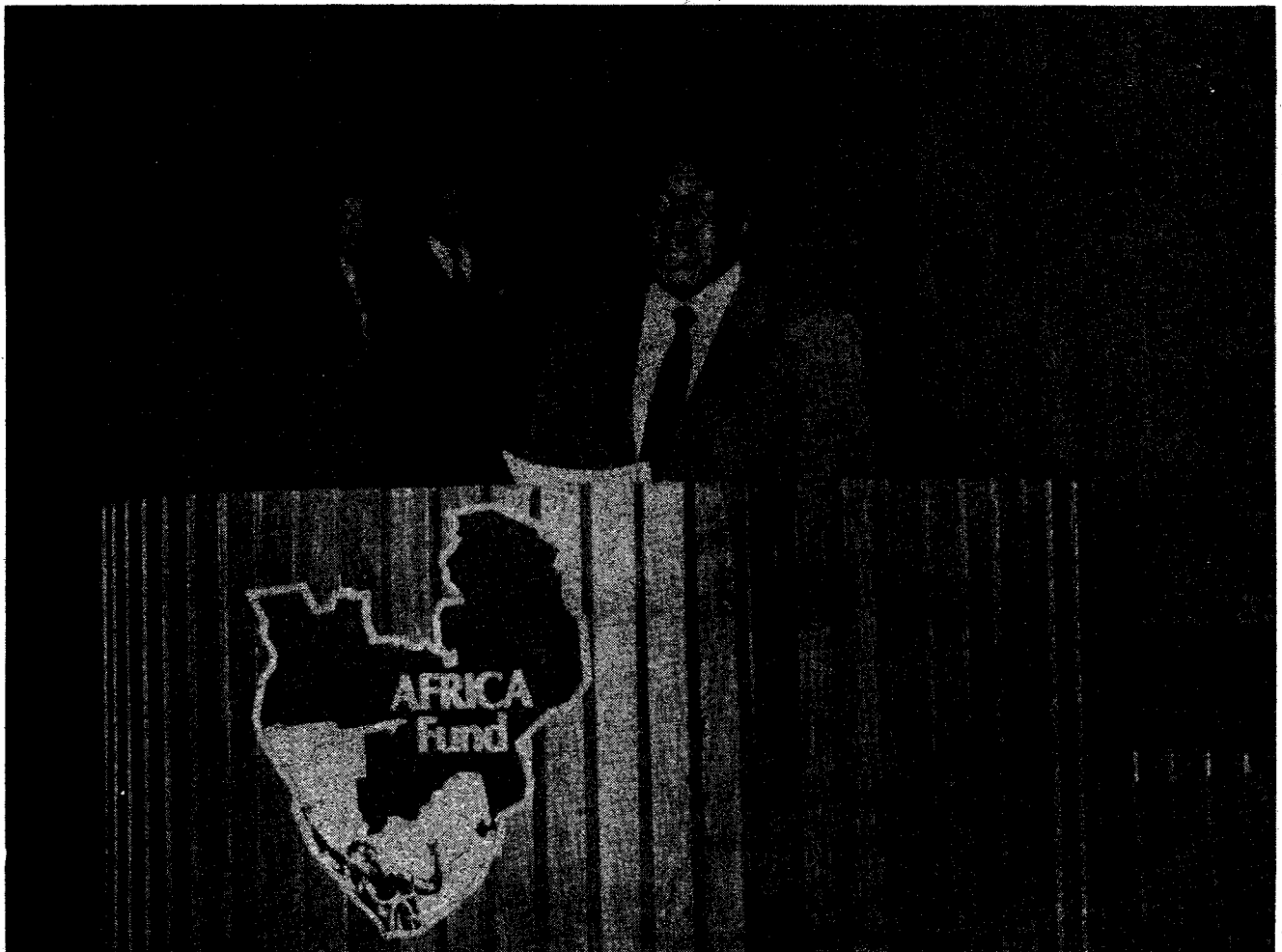
The people of the Frontline States

have a right to defend their independence and develop their countries without South Africa's aggression. The people of Southern Africa have resolved not to be agents of the US in its efforts to protect apartheid for its own imperialist intentions. The recent announcements by the Reagan administration that its forces would stage exercises with the renegade regime in Kinshasa and establish an American base in Zaire is yet another crime against the people of the region.

The question which I may ask is why the USA is now interested in a base in Zaire and Africa? It is the imperialist plot led by the US to distabilize developments in Southern Africa and protect its cow, apartheid regime in Pretoria. The issue in question now is can the American and its racist cow defend the evil "apartheid".

The time has run out for the racist and the United States administration. The people of South Africa and Namibia shall be free.

AFRICA FUND LAUNCHED



Mr. Chairman, yesterday we adopted the three basic documents that pertain to the Non-Aligned Movements' AFRICA Fund. By so doing we formally launched that Fund. The Movement of Non-Aligned countries was expecting this Committee to take positive action in that direction. The world had its eyes turned on New Delhi. The people of Southern Africa had high legitimate expectations: their hopes were vindicated.

Yet, Mr Chairman, is this the time for self-congratulations and mutual felicitations? By formally launching the Fund we have only begun the battle. We have thrown the gauntlet. This is a challenge to ourselves, and to the world at

large. The decision has been taken: the implementation must now be undertaken. India, as usual, has given the lead. India's announcement of the first or opening contribution to the Fund was yesterday received with acclamation. I am convinced that the acclamation was not symbolic of satisfaction. That would amount to misplaced contentment and sheer complacency. I am sure India's lead was acclaimed because it epitomised the militant mood and fighting spirit that pervaded the deliberations of this Committee. I make bold to say that it depicted the combative posture that I discern in the Movement of Non-Aligned countries. Let the perpetrators of the heinous system of apartheid take note of this. Let their collaborators search deep into their souls and come up with righteous answers to soothe their much seared conscience. We enjoin them to associate themselves with this crusade for humanity that we have launched. If they still have economic, political or moral excuses for not imposing sanctions against the racist regime in Pretoria, they should not balk at joining concerned humanity's vehicle for expressing concrete solidarity with the victims of apartheid's acts of aggression and destabilisation.

Mr. Chairman, the **Appeal** which we made yesterday was a clarion call to the entire member-

ship of our Movement to fulfil moral and political obligations arising out of their own well-considered and carefully-weighted decisions. The **Plan of Action for the AFRICA Fund** which we adopted is our blueprint for the positive utilisation of the Fund. It presupposes success in the resource mobilisation scheme that we have agreed to. It is a realistic and sober assessment of the real needs of the domestic and external victims of apartheid. It is a plan of action that starts from a realistic and sober estimation of the potential resources that can be reasonably expected to be mustered. And lastly, the **Rules of Procedure for Management and Operation of the AFRICA Fund** do not constitute a radical departure from what is a reasonable, simple and flexible set of procedural and operational regulations intended to obviate bureaucratic rigidity and to ensure responsiveness and efficacy.

Mr. Chairman, I wish to address my final remarks, as Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned countries, to the entire membership of the organisation. The **AFRICA Fund** is their own baby. This Committee has discharged a crucial part of its mandate. The time has now come for non-aligned countries to acquit themselves on any possible

imputations of levity or cynicism in taking decisions that affect the destiny of millions of humanity. It behoves us who are assembled here this morning to give the lead to the rest of the Non-Aligned membership, in as much as our Committee's Chairman, India, fulfilled this role yesterday. The momentum so generated must never be allowed to dissipate. It should never be said of us by our contemporaries or by posterity that when the moment came for the acid test of tangible commitment, we dithered or turned apostate.

Mr. Chairman, as the moment has now arrived for me to bid farewell to you and to all my colleagues assembled here this morning, let me take this opportunity firstly as Chairman of NAM, and secondly as head of my delegation to express my utmost appreciation to the people and the government of India, and to you personally brother Rajiv, for the bounty and hospitality that you offered throughout our stay in this great country. I wish also to thank all my colleagues and distinguished delegates for the fraternal and full co-operation and understanding that was extended to me and my delegation.

Long live the Non-Aligned Movement!

The struggle continues!

TIME RUNNING OUT FOR APARTHEID

President Canaan Banana addressed a State Banquet in Honour of President Joaquim Chissano, during the Mozambican President's first official visit to Zimbabwe. Following is the full text of his speech

It is my great honour and pleasure to welcome today a Comrade-in-arms and a true friend of the people of Zimbabwe, the President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, Comrade Joaquim Chissano, his gracious wife and their entire delegation.

On this very joyous occasion, marking your first state visit to our coun-

try, I would like first of all to thank you for accepting my invitation so readily, and for thus taking time from your no doubt very busy schedule. On behalf of the entire fraternal people of our country and, indeed, on my personal behalf, I very warmly welcome you to Zimbabwe.

The Hon. President Comrade C.S. Banana delivering his speech



I am sure, Comrades and friends, Ladies and Gentlemen, you will agree with me that President Chissano is no stranger to this country and to our people. He has been here many times already and the latest being January this year. Indeed, this is how it should be between the leaderships of Mozambique and Zimbabwe. Our two countries and their fraternal peoples are twins, one flesh, one blood and one destiny. The regular exchange of visits, not only between the leaders but also among our people provide constant contact and opportunities for consultations on matters of common concern and interest.

However, all gathered here will, I am sure, agree with me that, Comrade Chissano's current visit to our country must be and is indeed different from earlier ones. Today's visit is a very special one, because it is Comrade Chissano's very first state visit since assuming the leadership of the fraternal and sister-country of Mozambique. We are singularly honoured by your presence in our midst, therefore, Comrade President and Dear Colleague. At the same time, I wish, on behalf of all Zimbabweans to once again wish you and the people of Mozambique great success in your national endeavours as you tackle the tasks of transforming your country. Be assured of our total support and solidarity.

Comrade President: I have already referred to the oneness of the Peoples of Mozambique and Zimbabwe, and to our common interests. It was this same perception of our common destiny that prompted the Government and people of Mozambique, under FRELIMO, to stand firmly with us through thick and thin during our national liberation struggle against the minority racist and colonial oppression. ZANU and FRELIMO freedom fighters fought, bled and died together. That is the courageous story and lesson of Nyadzonya, Chimoio and other sacred places in Mozambique and Zimbabwe. The solidarity of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Mozambique is sacred because it is sealed in the sweat and blood of thousands of the sons and daughters of our two countries.

It is not surprising, therefore, that since the attainment of our own freedom and Independence in 1980, the Government and people of Zim-

babwe have continued to cooperate closely with Mozambique in the various fields of our common endeavour. We continue to work together to improve, widen and deepen even more our cooperation in defence, cultural and economic areas. I am happy to note in this regard, that a joint Commission has been established to provide an effective frame work of our cooperation. Our two Governments and peoples must do everything possible to ensure the success of the Joint Commission, by maintaining the regularity of its meetings and by adopting a serious, purposeful and business-like approach during the deliberations of such meetings.

Comrade President, the Government and people of Zimbabwe follow with great encouragement the Economic Recovery Programme which your Government has adopted to revitalize and revamp your national economy. We congratulate you on this remarkable achievement. The successful implementation of the programme will no doubt depend on the successful mobilization of both internal and external support and resources. We wish you well in this regard as, indeed the successful implementation of the programme will not only lead to great improvement in the living standards of all your people, but will also give impetus to the cooperation between our two countries. Above all, Comrade President, an economically viable and strong Mozambique will be of immense benefit to the Frontline and SADCC spirit, to which we are both committed.

Very unfortunately however, the peoples of Mozambique and Zimbabwe have not been and are not being allowed adequate opportunity to exploit and realize the potential of their common endeavours to the full. Our efforts have been and continue to be frustrated by the policies and activities of the racist Pretoria regime. Having hopelessly and dismally failed in its desperate bid to stop the attainment of our political freedom and Independence, the Boer regime has now decided to fight against the realisation of our economic independence and development. That is what the policy of

regional destabilization, intimidation and blackmail has been designed to achieve. That is what the recruiting, training and sponsorship of criminals and bandits in our countries has been designed to do.

These are, however acts of criminal desperation by a regime that has been roundly condemned and rejected by the entire world, as an enemy of democracy, social justice and human progress. Mozambique and Zimbabwe must continue to stand together against the regime's acts of state terrorism aimed against our peoples, territorial integrity and national sovereignty. Moreover, together we fought, died and ultimately triumphed in our liberation struggles. Together we must continue to be a mighty moral and fighting force against our common enemy.

This message must be conveyed to the racist regime in Pretoria, as well as to its proxies, the RENAMO bandits who are bringing so much suffering, misery, destruction and death to several parts of Mozambique. Zimbabwe and Mozambique will together fight their common enemy until the scourge of banditry is completely exterminated. This is a fight we dare not lose. This is a fight we will win, because our cause is a moral one and it is just.

Victory is Certain

Comrade President, Mozambique and Zimbabwe are not alone in the struggle against apartheid aggression. We have the entire international community on our side, because apartheid has been condemned and rejected as a crime against humanity. With the exception of a few countries in the West, the majority of the countries in the world are now agreed about the urgent need to impose mandatory sanctions against the apartheid regime, as the only remaining method of peacefully dismantling apartheid.

Time is running out too fast for the intransigent apartheid rulers in Pretoria. Apartheid-ruled South Africa is in turmoil, as the oppressed masses of South Africa, men and women and even school children, courageously resist and reject the archaic order under which they live. No amount of brute force and no state of emergency laws, no matter how

draconian they may be, can save the evil regime from self destruction. The struggling masses of South Africa and Namibia are assured of victory. Zimbabwe, Mozambique and all the progressive countries the world over are right in supporting the struggling peoples of South Africa and Namibia. We will intensify this support and our solidarity with ANC, the PAC and SWAPO until victory is achieved.

Comrade President, elsewhere in the world, we note with equal concern the deterioration of peace and stability. We are now concerned about the situation in the Middle East, where the Palestinians are denied their right to establish themselves in their own land, and where the entire refugee communities are facing possible total annihilation at the hands of both Zionist enemies and fellow Arabs. We are saddened by the continuation of the conflict between Iran and Iraq, just as we are

indeed deeply concerned about the dangerous situation in Central America, where Nicaragua's sovereignty is under constant and severe threat from a powerful neighbour.

We are very concerned, Comrade President about the state of world peace and security in the prevailing atmosphere of deteriorating super power relations. We are concerned that despite the world's yearning for peace, development and progress, huge resources are being squandered on a senseless arms race.

Comrade President and my dear Brother, let me conclude by saying how very pleased I am that you and your delegation are visiting us. Your visit provides an opportunity for our Governments to deliberate over these and other matters of mutual concern to our respective peoples. Above all, it is my most sincere wish that the visit should enable you and Madame Chissano to relax and rest among

your own people — the Zimbabwean people. We are indeed very honoured by your visit. Have a very pleasant stay with us.

May I now invite all our distinguished guests to join us in a toast:-

- to the continued good health and long life of our most distinguished guest, President Joaquim Chissano and Madame Chissano;
- to continued excellent and most cordial relations, solidarity and cooperation between the fraternal peoples of Mozambique and Zimbabwe;
- to peace and prosperity in Mozambique;
- to the success of the liberation struggles in South Africa and Namibia.

THANK YOU.



History Unites Us



The President of Mozambique, Comrade Joaquim Alberto Chissano recently paid his first visit to Zimbabwe. He was accompanied by his wife, Marcelina; the Minister of Defence, Comrade Alberto Chipande; Minister of Foreign Affairs, Comrade Pascoal Macumbi; Minister of Finance, Comrade Abdul Magid Osman; and Deputy Secretary of the Central Committee of Frelimo, Comrade José Luis Cabaco.

The Mozambican delegation also included Frelimo central committee members, Comrades Augusto Macamo, Amour Zacarias Kupela and Rafael Benedito Afonso Maguni (Governor of Manica Province) and Comrade Salome Moiane the Secretary General of the Mozambican Women's Organisation.

We publish below the full text of the Mozambican leader's speech delivered at a banquet hosted in his owner by the President of the Republic of Zimbabwe Comrade Canaan Sodindo Banana:



Comrade Chissano's visit further cemented the existing relations between our two countries; He is seen with the President and First Secretary of ZANU (PF) Comrade R.G. Mugabe and the State President, the Honourable Comrade, Canaan Banana

The friendly relations of kinship, and the common culture between Mozambican and Zimbabwean peoples was shown to us by the inhabitants of Harare, representing the whole of the Zimbabwean people, from the moment we arrived in this country of the heroes of resistance, both of past centuries, such as

Munhumutapa, and against colonialism and the illegal Smith regime, such as Chitepo, Tongogara and J.Z. Moyo.

For us, to be in Zimbabwe is to be at home.

We are united by a rich historical experience. The land and the people

of the mighty Zambezi were united, before the period of colonial domination, by the Munhumutapa Empire, and afterwards by the Gaza Empire, to the shores of the Indian Ocean.

It was colonialism which divided us, exploited us and humiliated us.

We rediscovered our unity and our oneness in the process of the liberation of our countries. It was in the political struggle, and later in the armed struggle, that we built upon our kinship and common suffering in the fight for our common objectives.

Arriving again in this heroic land, each glance from a former freedom fighter which we receive, every Zimbabwean citizen's face which greets us, reminds us of the long marches which we have undertaken together, since the days of Dar es Salaam and Nachingwea in Tanzania, since the days in Lusaka and Katete in Zambia, crossing the Zambezi to carry the flame of the freedom struggle into southern Mozambique and into Zimbabwe.

The warm reception which we received clearly reflects the determination and the will of our peoples to march side-by-side towards a future of prosperity, progress and peace.

We have come to the Republic of Zimbabwe to reaffirm the validity of the principles which have guided the relations between our countries.

These relations have grown up and developed in the difficult process of the war for peace, a war which our common enemies have always forced upon us.

We declare, comrade and friend Canaan Banana, our firm and unshakeable determination to consolidate and develop our friendship and solidarity with the Government of Zimbabwe.

The Mozambican people and the militants of the Frelimo Party, will never forget the innumerable ways in which men and women, young people, elders and children, all honoured the memory of our beloved President Samora Moises Machel, who died tragically, before his time, at Mbuzini on the 19th of October 1986.

The consternation, the revulsion and the pain which was felt in Zimbabwe by young people and children,



President Joachim Chissano: No enemy will divide us

men, women and elders, convinced us that President Samora Machel's wish to prosecute the struggle was and remains the demand of all our Zimbabwean brothers and sisters, as it is for the whole Mozambican people. Mbuzini intermingled the pain, mourning and tears of the Mozambican and Zimbabwean peoples.

Mbuzini is a cry of revulsion against a common enemy. The widespread actions of solidarity, the demonstrations of repugnance by the youth and the women's organizations and the trade unions of Zimbabwe, during those ill-fated days, will always remain in the heart of every Mozambican.

We bring you our guarantee that we shall unswervingly carry on with Samora's work.

- Fighting against armed banditry and against underdevelopment;
- Defending the unity and territorial integrity of our country;
- Struggling for unity in the region against colonialism, racism and apartheid.

In the development process, the problems which we face and the solutions which we are looking for are the same.

The People's Republic of Mozambique and the Republic of Zimbabwe have developed and consolidated many exemplary forms of coopera-

tion, based on a common political desire to satisfy the needs of our peoples.

Even more important than our cultural unity and our economic links, the fight in defence of our fundamental interests is the basis and the *raison d'être* of our military, economic, technical-scientific and cultural cooperation.

The apartheid regime has ranged itself against our common efforts.

For Pretoria, the accumulation of profits for South African ports necessarily implies the destruction of the ports and railway systems of Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Angola. The actions of destabilization of the armed bandits, therefore, are concentrated on the three vital points which provide alternatives to the South African ports.

Thus, the struggle which we are facing in Mozambique, in Angola and in the south of Zimbabwe, are the same struggle. They are battles in a war launched against the free peoples of our region.

Apartheid has launched these battles in different forms, trying in vain to divide us.

Only yesterday the illegal regime of Ian Smith mingled our blood in the bush country of Tete, Manica and Gaza, when our country served as a rear base in the liberation struggle of the Zimbabwean people.

Today, when the Republic of Zimbabwe is the firm rear base of the struggle for the defence consolidation of the People's Republic of Mozambique, apartheid mingles the blood of Mozambican and Zimbabwean youth in the bush country of Tete, Manica and Sofala.

History once again calls upon our peoples to form a militant unity, so that together we may oppose, if necessary at the cost of our very lives, the apartheid offensive.

The blood of our heroes in the liberation struggle demands the stubborn defence of the ideals of independence, peace and development, and calls for the elimination of armed banditry, tool of apartheid and imperialism, against the sovereignty of our peoples.

The armed bandits are agents of Pretoria for the destruction of our

countries, the cultural unity of our peoples, and our achievements.

The only answer to these murderers of our people was and always will be an unrelenting struggle until they are completely obliterated, to bring about that tranquility which the Southern African region so badly needs.

Mozambique and Zimbabwe are active members of the Front Line States and of the SADCC.

In the Front Line States, we are seeking a political solution for the abolition of apartheid and the independence of Namibia. Once again we see that Pretoria refuses to accept any political solution. They refuse to abolish apartheid, and they are opposed to Namibian independence.

Thus, Pretoria reveals itself once again as the only source of tension and war in the region.

They oppress and massacre the South African people, who are demanding only equality, freedom, justice and democracy.

By force of arms, the apartheid regime refuses to implement the United Nations' Security Council Resolution 435/78, of which they are an integral part.

Because our cause is just, and because the struggle of the South African and Namibian peoples, under the leadership of the ANC and SWAPO, enjoys international support, we are sure that:

- We shall celebrate the victory of the South African people over apartheid in Pretoria;
- We shall take part in the great celebration for national independence in Windhoek.

We are pleased to note that the international community is increasingly involved in the struggle for the abolition of apartheid.

The awareness is growing that, just as unity of action was the indispensable instrument for the destruction of Nazism, various kinds of pressure and support for the Frontline States are the means necessary to destroy the inhuman system of apartheid in South Africa.

In the Organization of African Unity, in the Non-Aligned Movement, in the United Nations, the People's Republic of Mozambique will continue to contribute towards the elimination of the causes of global tension and war, towards the search for peace, understanding between nations, and for the economic and social progress of humanity.

Many of you here including yourself, Comrade Mugabe, were guests in our country during your liberation struggle. During your stay in our country, the enduring bonds of friendship between many of us were forged at an individual level. These personal bonds have served as a foundation for the close collective friendship between our states and peoples.

Today we are guests in your country. It is a time when the unity between our two countries is more important than ever, when we are struggling against a ruthless enemy determined to divide us and then destroy us one by one.

They will not succeed.

I should like to reiterate my personal belief, the belief of the entire

Mozambican people, that together with you, Comrade President Canaan Banana, together with you Comrade Prime Minister Robert Mugabe, together with the Zimbabwean people, together with all the progressive peoples of the world, we shall achieve victory.

I ask you to join me in a toast:

- To the victory of the ideals of peace, and economic and social progress;
- To peace and the development of Southern Africa,
- To fruitful and perennial cooperation between the people's Republic of Mozambique and the Republic of Zimbabwe;
- To friendship and solidarity between the Mozambican people and the Zimbabwean people;
- To the health of Comrade Canaan Banana, President of the Republic of Zimbabwe;
- To the health of Comrade Janet Banana;
- To the health of all present.

A Luta Continua!
Pamberi neChimurenga.



Chissano's Visit to Zimbabwe Cemented Friendship Bonds



Pamberi Nekubatana kweMozambique neZimbabwe

In his address mammoth rally to over 60 thousand Zimbabweans at Rufaro Stadium recently, the President of FRELIMO and the Republic of Mozambique Comrade Joaquim Chissano said "out-side forces are bent on dividing the people of Mozambique and Zimbabwe in our just struggle for peace, sovereignty and development."

The President and First Secretary of ZANU (PF) Comrade R.G. Mugabe assured the people at the same rally that there would never come a time when Zimbabwe and Mozambique would surrender to MNR bandits. He said that the current war in Mozambique is equally Zimbabwe's war.

The message contained in the speeches of both the Prime

Minister of Zimbabwe Comrade R.G. Mugabe and President Chissano was reiterated and deepened during the state visit of President Chissano to Zimbabwe in March, 1987. President Chissano spoke at a state banquet in Harare, and then addressed public rallies in Rufaro Stadium (Harare) and at Masvingo. The State visit was a great success.

"The history of our unity is bonded in sweat and blood since our liberation struggles and no enemy can destroy it. Mozambican and Zimbabwean fighters lost their lives to free the two countries. We did not only fight to free Mozambique but fought against both the Portuguese and Rhodesian settlers. This fight was for peace, justice, in-

dependence and dignity for our countries," said Comrade Chissano.

In 1975 when the Portuguese colonialists were forced to surrender to our gallant forces of FRELIMO, the Smith regime and South Africa formed the MNR (RENAMO) bandits to disrupt the revolution that had already taken root in Mozambique, and to stop the advance of that revolution to free Zimbabwe. Our revolutionary forces united and cemented by blood advanced to Harare and finally, the enemy surrendered, in 1980. The brain child of the settlers moved to South Africa where they still get their commands and equipment.

Zimbabwe like the Republic of Mozambique had this same bandit menace but because of Zim-

babwean unity and steadfastness, this menace is now under control and we continue to fight the enemy side by side in Mozambique. Comrade Chissano said that our enemies will not divide us.

Mozambicans as well as Zimbabweans are committed to the liberation of South Africa and Namibia. The president of FRELIMO paid tribute to the **PRESIDENT AND FIRST SECRETARY** of ZANU (PF) Comrade R.G. Mugabe and the people of Zimbabwe for the unflinching support being given to Mozambique during this time of need. The two revolutionary forces are fighting together in Manica, Sofala and Tete Provinces of Mozambique. Comrade Chissano said that FRELIMO and ZANU (PF) shall stand together in the fight against the racist sponsored bandits of the MNR.

The Beira corridor will surely be open to Zimbabwean goods, we will use Beira, Nacala and Maputo ports as outlets to Zimbabwean imports and exports. The opening of the Beira corridor will free our countries from dependence on the racist ports and destabilisation.

The President of FRELIMO Comrade Joaquim Chissano said, "The struggle against racism is a just struggle and those who stand together with us are our brothers and sisters. The International Community will continue to stand with us in the OAU, the United Nations, liberation movements and all progressive forces throughout the world."

During the early 1950s our liberation movement was formed in Bulawayo and Zimbabwe was then our rear base.

Zimbabwe is Mozambique's Rear-Base

"Today we still share the same unity and solidarity because in our struggle we share the same problems, fought for our countries together and died for our freedom together, and Zimbabwe is Mozambique's rear-base."

"We are therefore truly brothers and sisters and no enemy can destroy our unity by saying Zimbabwe is trying to neo-colonise the Republic of Mozambique. The late Comrade-Eduado Mondlane taught us to say **ALUTA CONTINUA** when he visited our zones before he died. Comrade President Moises Samora Machel followed the footsteps of our revolutionary leader and today we say **ALUTA CONTINUA** in the footsteps of our gallant President Comrade Samora Machel," Comrade Chissano emphasised.

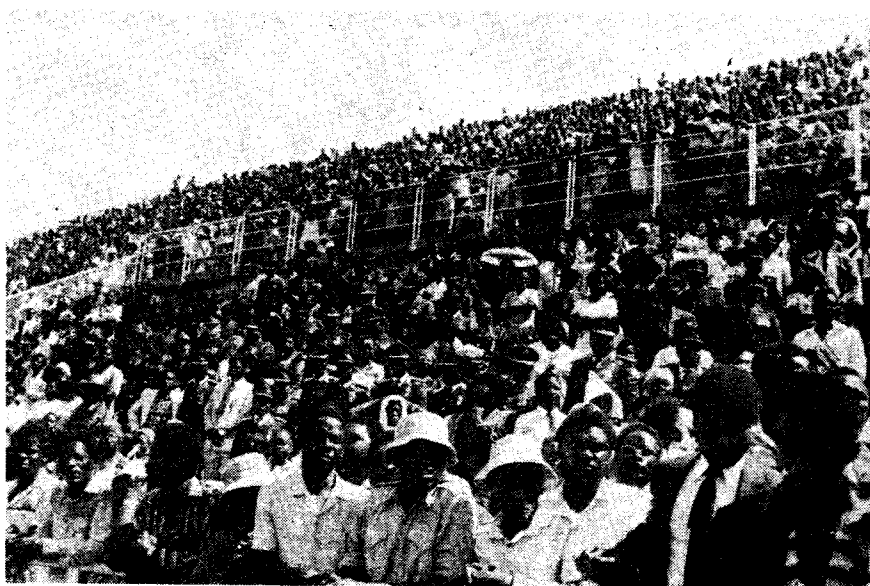
Though Comrade President Samora Machel died in the hands of the Racist Regime in South Africa, the people of Mozambique and Zimbabwe lost a gallant son of the revolution but there is no more time to continue weeping. Comrade Samora's revolutionary spirit leads us to greater heights of our revolution and the defence of our sovereignty. Among us here at Rufaro and in Mozambi-

que are many Samoras dedicated to free our countries and the region of banditry, colonialism and racism. The revolutionary fame of our people is like wind which knows no mountain." It will blow till final victory, Comrade Chissano stressed.

The enemy has illusions of misinformation about solidarity that is bounded in blood and never be artificial. The racist regime in Pretoria is advocating for negotiations between FRELIMO and their brain child RENAMO, we shall not negotiate with murderers, we shall never negotiate with bands of bandits but will fight them to the end, Comrade Chissano assured the gathering. The bandits are criminals and FRELIMO cannot share power with criminals, they are our enemies. It is our determination to crush bandits. The South African racist regime should be well informed that the people of Mozambique, Zimbabwe and South Africa will meet in Pretoria to celebrate the defeat of racism and the installation of a democratic government of the people, Comrade Chissano concluded. We were one yesterday, we are one today and we will remain to be one forever. The people of Zimbabwe and Mozambique are one".

ALUTA CONTINUA

"In the continuing struggle Zimbabweans will stand side by side with Mozambicans in the defence of their common sovereignty" — was the message from the two leaders to this massive gathering



Comrade Nyagumbo Speaks on Party Policies and Programmes

"Zimbabwe cannot be a one Party State because of some provisions contained in the Lancaster House Constitution" Comrade Maurice Nyagumbo, the Acting Secretary for the Commissariat and Culture has said.

In an interview with Zimbabwe News, Comrade Nyagumbo said, "These constitutional provisions compel Zimbabwe to be a multi-Party state until 1990." He explained that the Bill of Rights states that all the 100 members of the House of Assembly should vote in favour of a one party State, which is not possible now because of the 20 reserved seats for whites and other members from minority parties."

Comrade Nyagumbo further explained that the issue on the removal of the 20 reserved seats and the question of Zimbabwe having an Executive President will be resolved after June this year when the restricting provisions fall away. These two related provisions only require a two thirds majority of the House of Assembly votes in favour of the removal of the reserved seats as well as the vote for the establishment of an executive President. This is possible because the Party already commands two thirds majority in the House of Assembly, Comrade Nyagumbo said.

In reply to a question on how many of the resolutions adopted by the second congress of 1984, Comrade Nyagumbo said, "Probably only one of the three major resolutions adopted at Borrowdale has been implemented, the one relating to the advancement of women as reflected in the Matrimonial Causes Act". Since the 2nd Congress women

have now been given equal opportunity and the right to own property, the right to the estate of a husband, and the right to custody of children in a broken marriage."

Answering a question on the advance of the unity talks between ZANU (PF) and ZAPU, Comrade Nyagumbo said, "The talks have reached a very advanced stage but there is still a lot to be discussed and to report back to the respective parties on progress achieved so far." These talks should be viewed by every one as a step in the right direction for the future of this country. These talks are very crucial because they involve ideological issues. There is a need for consultations between the leadership and members on progress achieved. The talks cannot be expected to take a short time realising that this is not an easy task. Members should be aware of the difficulties the two parties face in cementing lasting unity of purpose, Comrade Nyagumbo said. However, the masses will be informed once a final agreement is reached through the right party channels.

Replying to a question on the business and industrial community concern on the outcome of the unity talks, Comrade Nyagumbo said, "There is no need for the business community to stop investments and industrial expansion because these talks have no relation to industry. So we expect these sectors to continue to invest and expand their operations rather than waiting for the outcome of the unity talks."

When asked why mass mobilisation had stopped since the last elections, Comrade Nyagumbo said, "It is the leadership of the Party in the provinces,



The Acting Secretary for the Commissariat, Comrade Maurice Nyagumbo

the districts, branches and cells who are to blame because mass mobilisation is not restricted to election time alone." Mass mobilisation should continue regardless of unity talks or not. Our members should continue to do ideological work among the masses because there are some card carrying party members who are not clear on our Marxist-Leninist ideology, the acting Secretary for the Commissariat and Culture said. The Party mobilisation tasks, policies and programmes should be fulfilled in all our provinces in order to achieve our objectives.

Outlining his ministry's activities in reply to a question on cooperatives, Comrade Nyagumbo said, "Accelerated organisation and expansion of the cooperative movement is continuing unabated." The Party and Government have identified areas of cooperative viability where production of finished products could be established as socially

owned industry." These are areas like Gokwe where cotton production as a cash crop is viable and people in that area can produce seed oil, processed and packed in the same district, the oil can be named after the producing district like "Gokwe Seed Oil", the by-product, animal feed can be used by the farmers for beef

for employment," Comrade Nyagumbo said.

"Some cooperatives are very viable because they produce their inputs and use very little bought from other institutions. He mentioned one such co-operative in Manica Province where co-operators grow wheat, grind it and only buy yeast for baking bread." Their product is competing

Comrade Nyagumbo said. He explained that since the market was identified it must be further developed and maintained. Individual goat producers and cooperators can form marketing co-operatives in order to pull their resources together for proper administration and credit facilities from both agricultural finance institutions as well as the Co-operative Development Bank which



Bread baking has increasingly become a co-operative venture

production." We also have some areas in the Eastern Highlands which are fruit producing areas where tinned fruit or juice could be processed."

Answering a question on when the Party and Government would establish socially owned industry, Comrade Nyagumbo said, "Plans are already on the drawing board for the establishment of such industry. This is being treated as a matter of priority and urgency."

Farmers in those areas can form fruit canning industries which create employment opportunities for people within these provinces and generate income for the co-operators as well as accumulate developmental capital for their provincial development programmes. Sales of finished products will expand economic activities, by our rural population. It will in fact stop the current drift to the cities by school-leavers and youths in search

with bread baked by well established bakeries in Mutare. The community has benefitted because they use their resources," Comrade Nyagumbo emphasised.

The Acting Secretary for the Commissariat and Culture revealed one other area where cooperation could benefit the communities as access to registration, assistance from his ministry and liaison between his and other ministries in rendering assistance and advice to co-operators programmes. He however said that both registered and unregistered co-operatives get assistance and advice.

Comrade Nyagumbo said that his ministry had identified a market for goats in the Middle East. Farmers and cooperators are now being given advice in goat rearing. "The buyers from the Middle East are prepared to transport and ship the goats to their countries at their own expenses,"

has been established.

"We are in the process of holding discussions with other friendly countries with advanced technology and equipment for heavy and light industries. At the moment we are looking at food processing industry and countries like Spain, Germany and Sweden show interest in this field. This should not be looked at as a short term programme because we have to train personnel like engineers, technicians and managerial staff for the proper running of such industries. We hope to be able to train a cadreship of people with a business acumen to run these institutions", Comrade Nyagumbo said.

"Socialist transformation is not a short term programme, it takes time in planning and implementation in order to be established. This is all incorporated into our Five Year National Development plan. We hope to

establish the base and continue to operate side by side with the current industry that is owned by individuals and multinational corporations."

Asked why technocrats were not active in party affairs, Comrade Nyagumbo said "Some of them are

very active in party affairs and contribute a lot in terms of training middle-management personnel and the civil service. They help to teach at institutions of higher learning, workshops and seminars are being held for the civil service, middle management personnel from in-

dustry. These seminars and workshops are taking place every month so that we create a cadreship that is ready to face the challenges of socialist transformation and production," Comrade Nyagumbo, the Acting Secretary for the Commissariat and Culture concluded.

POSSIBLE CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES IN ZIMBABWE AFTER 18TH APRIL 1987

In terms of Section 52 of the Constitution of Zimbabwe, Parliament has the power to amend, add to or repeal any of the Provisions of the said Constitution — which is colloquially known as the Lancaster House Constitution. Apart from what is referred to as entrenched clauses which will be enumerated below, the only major requirement for amending the provisions of this constitution is that at the final vote on the Constitutional Amendment Bill in the Senate it must receive the affirmative votes of at least two-thirds of the total membership of the Senate, and in the House of Assembly it must receive the affirmative votes of not less than seventy members of the House of Assembly. A number of amendments to the constitution have been made using the above mentioned procedure. Most of these were not of a controversial nature although the white opposition party did resist, but the Government managed to secure the required votes.

When it comes to the entrenched clauses in the Constitution,

the matter takes a different dimension. These cannot be amended unless certain procedures are followed and certain events take place. These are divided into two categories as follows:-

- A. Those clauses which can easily be amended only after seven years of the coming into force of the Lancaster House Constitution that is to say after the 18th April 1987; and
- B. Those that can be possible to amend after ten years of the coming into effect of the Lancaster House Constitution — that is to say — after the 18th April 1990. The implications of the above-mentioned categories are now explained in detail.

In respect of the first category for instance it is now possible — after the 18th April 1987 to amend or repeal Chapter V of the Constitution. The Senate can be done away with by simply amending Section 32 and repealing the whole of Part 2 — that is to say sections 33 to 37. In amending section 32 one can simply say "The Parliament of Zimbabwe shall consist of only one house whose members shall be called Members of Parliament etc. In this category falls also the provision of section 38(1)(b) of the



Comrade G.M. Chinengundu, Deputy Minister for Local Government and Urban Development and ZANU (PF) Secretary for Publicity and Information for Mashonaland East Province

Constitution dealing with racial representation. In fact the whole section 38 can be amended to make room for a Unicameral Legislature. Most of the amendments to be made will be consequential.

In respect of the Second Category, however, there are a number of sections and a whole chapter which cannot be amended, added or repealed by mere seventy votes in the case of the House of Assembly or two-thirds in the case of the Senate before the 18th April 1990 — that is to say before ten years of the coming into operation of this constitution — which is referred to as the "appointed day". Reference is made specially to section 52(4) of the Constitution. In simple terminology the Government cannot do away with the Declaration of Rights — that is to say Chapter III of the Constitution before the 18th of April

1990, unless all one-hundred members of the House of Assembly vote in favour of such an amendment, or repeal. The same procedure will have to be followed in respect of the amendment or repeal of section 68 or paragraph 1 of schedule 2 which deal with provisions relating to Public Emergencies, Schedule 2 Paragraph 2, Section 113 dealing with interpretation of terms of the Constitution as stated in subsection (3)(a) or (b)(i) and subsection (4) of section 52 of the Lancaster House Constitution.

After 1990 however any required amendments to the constitution will have to be made simply in terms of section 52 (3) (a) and (b) (ii) of the constitution if those provisions will not have been earlier amended or repealed. All other amendments will then have to be consequential since they will not be dealing with specially entrenched clauses. In brief one can say that come April 18, 1987, Government can start thinking about which sections of the Constitution it must amend which will not result in it not being defeated by the opposition parties in Parliament when it comes to the final voting. It is obvious that it will not be an impossible task for Government to get seventy votes in the House of Assembly and Two-Thirds in the Senate, but one cannot say the same as far as those clauses which require all members of the House of Assembly to vote in favour of amendments or repeal thereto if such amendments were to be introduced before April 18, 1990.

The Party and the Lancaster House Constitution

What does the Party — Zanu (PF) think about the present Constitution? The thinking of the Party can easily be detected from the speeches of its leadership and from what was stated at the Party's Second Congress in 1984.

Commenting on the racial nature of our Constitution in Volume LXV No. 1 of the January 1984 *Parliamentarian*, the Prime Minister, Comrade R.G. Mugabe had this to say about the 20 white seats in the House of Assembly: "Whilst we found such entrenched racialism obnoxious we compromised on this matter so as to end the bitter liberation struggle and to secure our independence". This clearly shows the mood that existed

during the independence negotiations at Lancaster House, London, from September to December 1979.

The party was not happy with this racial representation and is still not happy. Given the chance, this provision can be constitutionally done away with. It is only impossible to secure the required votes in the House of Assembly to do away with racial representation after April 18, 1987. The party is therefore looking forward to this development this year.

On the 23rd September 1986, in the Senate, the Minister of Justice, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs, Dr. E. Zvobgo had this to say among other things: "We are committed as is well known, to the abolition of racial representation, and I can say in this regard that there is only a few months left for racism to be finally buried and buried forever..." Other Senior members of the Party have expressed the same sentiments. The intention from the very beginning as stated in the Party's Constitution has been to create a society where the colour of one's skin did not count. In the *Parliamentarian* referred to above the Honourable Prime Minister, Comrade R.G. Mugabe again emphasised this point in the following words: "... We are a non-racial society and our goal continues to be one where no person is discriminated against on a basis of his colour or region. Indeed it is strange that the British Government should have insisted on a Constitution which rightly outlaws racial discrimination (section 23) but at the time insisted on singling out white seats in the Senate. There can hardly be a more discriminatory provision than that 3 per cent of the population should thus be grossly over-represented". Similar sentiments relating to the abolition of the Upper House — the Senate have been expressed. In the *Hansard* of the 23rd September 1986 referred to already Vol. II Col. 700 Dr. Zvobgo again had this to say: "We are anxious, as is well known, to address the question of whether to continue with a bi-cameral legislature or as the Ruling Party has always argued to now opt for a uni-cameral legislature"

One can see that the Party wants a Uni-cameral legislature — that is — it wants to see the abolition of the Senate. Indeed at the Party's Second Congress in 1984 a resolution was passed under what is called "Thesis Five", calling for the following constitutional changes to be made.

This, though not mentioned in "Thesis Five", can easily be implied

as desirable. The abolition of racial representation in Parliament. Not Part of "Thesis Five":

- (a) Creation of a Executive Presidency.
- (b) Creation of a Uni-Cameral legislature.
- (c) Establishment of a One Party State.

It can be assumed that the Party is looking forward to the period from the 18th April 1987 onwards. It would not have been possible to easily fulfil the Party's aspirations before that date because of the afore-mentioned constitutional constraints. However it is possible to achieve firstly the abolition of racial representation in Parliament and secondly the creation of unicameral Legislature and thirdly to a lesser degree an Executive Presidency but it is almost impossible within the next four years to create a One Party State by constitutional amendments as this will require the amendment to the Declaration of Rights — especially Section 21, Chapter III. The Party may therefore be persuaded to do what is possible and least controversial between 18th April 1987 and 18th April 1990. From 1990 onwards the Party may have to take a fresh look at the provisions of the Declaration of Rights to decide whether it is necessary to amend or repeal some of its provisions. Commenting on the question of a One Party State, the Prime Minister, Comrade R.G. Mugabe had this to say in the *Parliamentarian* already referred to having quoted section 21 (1) of the constitution:

"At the outset, I must make it clear that in view of our commitment to Constitutional Government, we do not intend to tear up this or any other section of the Constitution. We cannot amend this section without the support of all the members of the House of Assembly" before 18 April 1990." It is therefore envisaged that the Party will not press for a One Party State under any circumstances. In fact this does not appear to be the thinking of the Party's top leadership. It is very likely however that a de facto one Party State may come about before that date especially if the Unity Talks with ZAPU are successfully concluded, and the CAZ ceases to exist by the end of this year (1987).

Even if a Uni-Cameral legislature were to come about, it would appear that the Declaration of Rights will be retained in the Constitution and in this regard the Prime Minister has again in the *Parliamentarian* stated that the Senate Legal Committee has

proved a very useful Constitutional Watchdog. This Committee scrutinizes all types of legislation — including delegated legislation — to see if it does not violate any of the provisions of the Declaration of Rights. The Prime Minister stated that in the event of a Unicameral legislature coming into being consideration would be given to having a similar committee having similar powers to perform the functions of the existing Senate Legal Committee. One hopes that it could have even wider powers which could be defined when the time comes.

Conclusion

It must be born in mind that this process of constitutional change cannot be achieved overnight. A thorough study and evaluation of the situation will have to be made before any constitutional changes are effected. Some changes may require a general election to enable them to be fully implemented and others may be of a transitional nature awaiting certain events to take place before implementation in full. It is well known that it will not be easy to hold another general election within a short period

of time because the preparation required for such an event is very lengthy. Some people may interpret this as reluctance on the part of the Party leadership to implement Congress Resolutions. This is not the case. The leadership, as already stated can only do what is possible at a given time. It would be correct to say however, that the Party cadres and the people at large are anxiously waiting to see what the Party and Government have in store for them by way of constitutional changes soon after the 18th April 1987.

Development of the Working Class in Zimbabwe Since Independence

There are potentially 2.3 million workers in Zimbabwe. Of these approximately one million are in regular employment, administration, and in the industrial, agricultural, commercial and mining sectors, about 700,000 are self-employed in the communal areas, and the remaining 600,000 are unemployed. In addition, schools every year turn out about 77,000 students at the Form IV level, not to speak of those who leave school at other levels. Of these, the country can presently absorb no more than 45,000 so that every year some 32,000 young men and women join the ranks of the unemployed.

Two significant sets of issues come to the fore. One relates to the conditions of those who are able to work: have these conditions improved since independence? Are our workers getting better wages than before? Are they better organised to fight for their rights? Are their rights recognised by law? What deficiencies continue to exist in the legal regime under which the workers work and struggle? What organisational deficiencies continue to exist within the labour movement itself?

The second set of issues relates to the conditions of the unemployed, and the most important questions here are: what is

being done to secure jobs for them? What kinds of opportunities exist for them, or better still, what kinds of opportunities can be created for them? Where do these opportunities exist in agriculture, in Government and in the private sector? Finally, what are these people doing or able to do to help themselves and their families. And are there questions related to the living conditions and the social existence of the unemployed: How does this section of our population live? Who absorbs them? Who caters for them? What kinds of social abuse are they open to? What is being done to protect them from social abuse, or alternatively, what is being done to save them from tur-

ning into socially undesirable elements in society?

The Development of the Working Class Since Independence

We have come a long way from the old colonial days of *Chibaro*, or forced labour, administered by the so-called Rhodesia Native Labour Bureau. The article written by the Minister of Labour, Manpower Planning and Social Welfare, Comrade Frederick M.M. Shava, exposed fully the evils of the colonial situation; and highlights the major advances made since independence. In the colonial period the Industrial Conciliation Act, first enacted in 1934; did not recognise Africans as "employees!"

The term was restricted to only white workers, whereas the black workers were covered under the notorious Masters and Servants Act. In other words, what the 1934 Act did was to protect the white workers from competition from black workers. In 1959, however, the Act was amended, and the black workers were for the first time brought under the purview of the Act.

We must remember, however, that the black workers' right to be recognised was not given to them out of magnanimity by the colonial government. The workers fought for this right. It took them 25 years of sustained struggle just to get recognised, let alone win other democratic rights open to workers in modern societies. The Railway workers' strike in 1945 and the general strike of

1948 were the culmination of this long struggle, which brought the colonial government finally to their senses. In 1948 the Government was forced to bargain with the workers in the Native Labour Boards.

Workers Rights Now Guaranteed

Between 1949 and 1965 the working classes, through their unions and through the political parties, fought not only their economic battles but also brought to the fore the political struggle for democracy. Not surprisingly by the end of this period there were some union leaders who were already being influenced by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) to betray the workers' interests, and the nationalist cause. Between 1965 and 1979, for ten years, there was brutal repression of the unions and the working class leadership in order to emasculate them and to isolate them from the mainstream political movements that were now waging the armed struggle for political independence. The workers and their children joined the ZANLA forces in their thousands, and fought gallantly for national independence. They realised that workers' rights and national independence were two sides of the same coin. The attainment of independence in April, 1980 was a major victory for the workers, which made it possible to open a new era for them, and to establish democratic rights and practices. Since independence the rights and status of the workers has been enhanced with enactment of the Labour Relations Act, 1985 and their bargaining position on the factory floor improved dramatically by the institutionalisation of the Workers' Committee. The powers and structures of these important institutions are now enshrined in the Labour Relations Act.

At independence, however, the Government found the trade union movement deeply divided. Most of the white-led unions of skilled labour were affiliated to the Trade Union Congress (TUC),

while most of the African-led unions were affiliated to one of the following four national centres: the African Trade Unions Congress (ATUC) the National Trade Unions Congress (NATUC), the Zimbabwe Federation of Labour (ZFL) and the United Trade Unions of Zimbabwe (UTUZ). Thus at independence there were five national centres which divided the workers along the ethnic and political lines.

The Workers Unions and Government

The moment of independence brought to the surface the pent-up grievances of the working classes. They ranged from proper wages to democratic representation in the unions, but because the unions were divided and the leadership bureau cratised and divorced from the rank and file, these grievances of the workers could not be resolved or channelled to the right authorities. The Government found it necessary to intervene. The irregular strikes had to be controlled, and a degree of order restored in the divided labour movement. Under a Steering Committee appointed by the Ministry of Labour, Manpower Planning and Social Welfare, an Inaugural Congress was held on 28 February 1981, to create a national centre out of the existing divided centres. Although there is some criticism of the way this was done, there is no question that the formation of the Zimbabwe Confederation of Trade Unions (ZCTU) was historically a step forward.

One of the criticism levelled at the Government is that it is behaving "paternalistically" towards the unions. One must view this criticism in its proper historical and political context. We have already given a bit of the background to this to how the labour movement was fragmented as a result of machinations of the colonial state, international capital and sheer political opportunism of some of the union leaders. This had to be controlled, for there did not seem any way in which the labour movement was going to be able to resolve these historical and

political contradictions on their own. These contradictions still do exist, and indeed cannot simply be wished away, but at least they are now channelled into a proper organisation through which the workers must democratically resolve their differences and put their house in order.

Since independence the Government has done much, besides the passing of the new Labour Relations Act, to advance the cause of the workers in Zimbabwe. On 28 May 1980, the Minimum Wages Act was passed which has increased the minimum wages of the agricultural workers. These minimum wages are revised periodically. Thus, in July 1985, the agricultural and domestic workers' minimum wages were increased to \$75 per month and those of industrial workers to \$143.75. (The rising consumption of basic foods such as milk, bread, meat and mealie-meal show that many workers now have comparatively higher incomes).

The Government also encouraged workers to set up Workers' Committees in their work-place in order to foster shop floor democracy and to create a channel of communication between the workers and the management. Today most industrial and commercial enterprises have Workers' Committees, and although this system, like any system, is open to periodic abuse, it could be said in general that the Workers' Committees have generally enhanced the position and status of the workers, and become an effective organ for industrial democracy. The Labour Relations Act which provides the new legal regime for the workers provides, in its own words, "greater protection for the weaker party". In view of the historical injustices meted out to the workers, and the fact that the labour unions are still weak and divided, this additional protection to the workers is fully justified. The Act also gives the Minister of Labour, Manpower Planning and Social Welfare wide-ranging

powers to intervene on behalf of the workers.

Within this broad framework, the Act sets out registration requirements for unions and employers' associations, the formation of employment councils and Boards, and a grievance procedure which starts with a Labour Relations Officer and ends with a Labour Relations Tribunal (with High Court powers), and from there appeals to the Supreme Court.

The section outlining the fundamental rights of workers guarantees workers employment and other facilities such as promotion, etc. without discriminations on grounds of race, tribe, place of origin, creed, sex or political opinion. It provides for periods of notice and the entitlement to full benefits for all who are dismissed or who resign, fall ill and die.

For women the Act provides for maternity leave and employment benefits for working mothers, including the right to take off one hour during the work-period to feed a suckling child.

Lockouts are banned, and collective bargaining agreements between the workers and the employers are encouraged, but the Minister retains the right to set minimum wages.

Thus, the new Act may justly be regarded as the "workers charter". It has given the workers legal rights which they did not have before. It has also given them protection against those employers who want to exploit or abuse them. More importantly, it has laid down clearly the machinery for negotiations, and bargaining for higher wages and better conditions of service. The remaining question now is how to translate these well protected rights into concrete realities of dollars and cents and good working conditions. This is where responsible trade unionists have to play a decisive role of leadership, education and negotiation.

The workers' charter includes the right to go on strike when all channels of negotiations have been exhausted and/or blocked.

The right of workers to strike and to withhold their labour-power is the ultimate protection for the weaker party in capitalist institutions such as we have. The Zimbabwean workers must retain the right to decide when to shift the discussion with employers from the conference table to the factory floor; and even when to take it to the streets. The employers use their power of capital to create shortages or even to close down plants so as to force the masses to go onto the streets to oppose the State. The organised trade unions should also be prepared to fight for the rights of their workers at every level — at the conference table, on the factory floor, and even in the streets.

Self-Reliance and Unemployment

With the increase in the provision of education, and the stagnation of economic growth due largely to external factors and droughts, the number of unemployed Zimbabweans has increased markedly. In any case, even if these restraining factors were not present, it is the inherent character of capitalism to throw many workers out of work. In Britain the economic recovery is taking place as unemployment is increasing. Four million workers are now unemployed in Britain.

Unemployed Zimbabweans must look ultimately to themselves for gainful employment. Many of the able-bodied men and women can employ themselves in agricultural activity, small-scale enterprises, petty trade and commerce, and local services. In every local situation, we must use our two hands and our head to produce the wealth that we need to feed our families and to meet their needs.

The days of looking to the European entrepreneur to sign one's "situpa" or labour contract are happily gone. The days of buying and selling goods made in South Africa, or in other foreign countries, are also drawing to a close. We have to produce our own goods and services by expanding our fledgling manufacturing industries in the big cities,

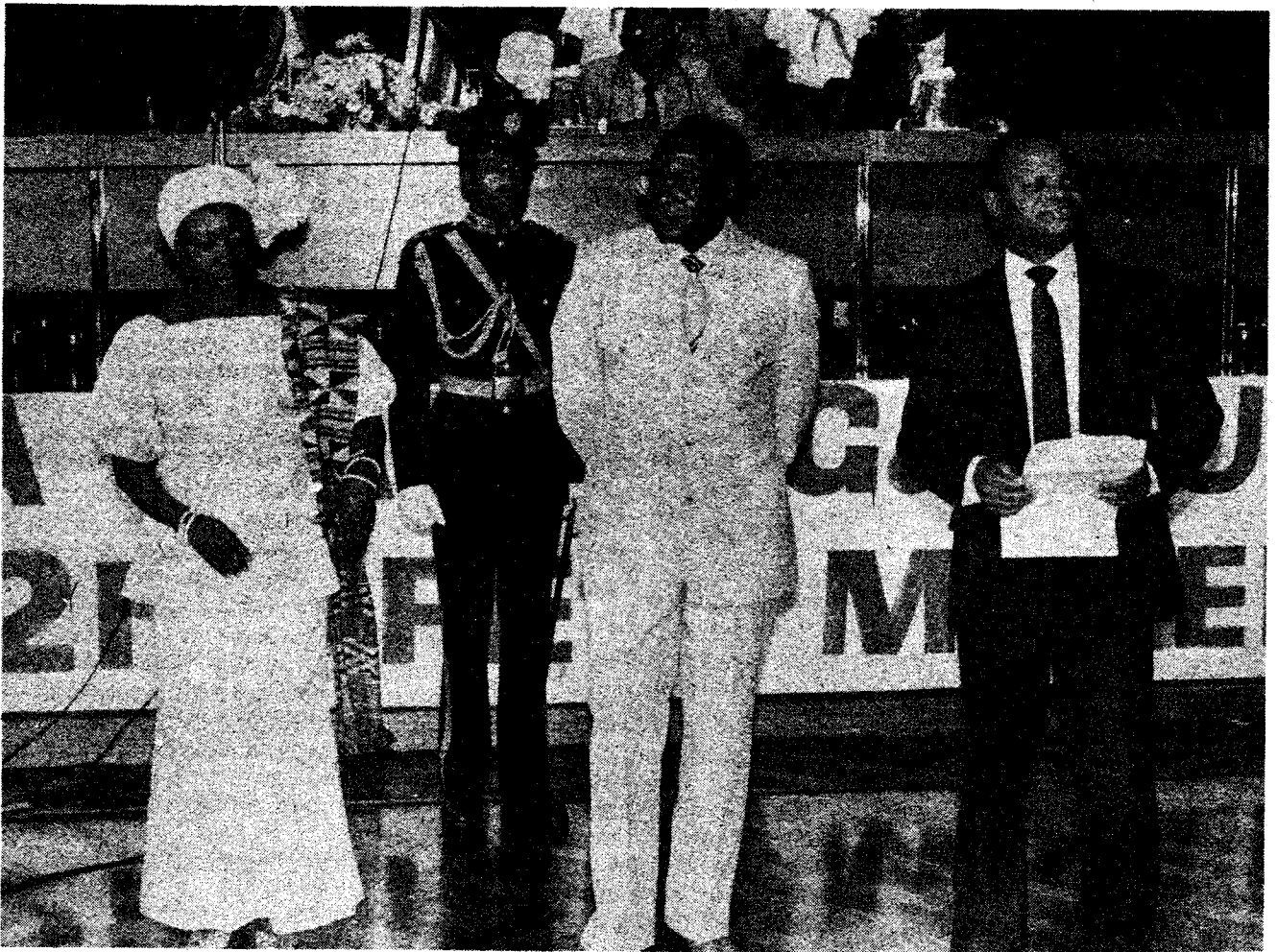
and by starting our own small enterprises individually or collectively as cooperatives in the rural areas.

The government is willing to provide seed money and technical services to those who want to help themselves. The programme of promoting cooperatives embarked upon by Government soon after independence, and the related programmes of resettlement, and the general development of the rural areas, are all aimed at making Zimbabwe self-reliant. Although there have been a number of expected failures, most of the cooperatives started in the last 5 years have been successful, and the resettlement programme has made a slow but sure start. Over 100 rural growth points have been identified and they are growing from small business centres into small towns. Thousands of our people can find employment for themselves at the growth points and in the cooperative movement, instead of trekking to the cities where there are no jobs.

The Government should embark upon large and long-term projects such as Chisumbanje, Mwenezi and the Zambezi Valley, which could employ many people at present, but regenerate the rural areas for the future. A number of large scale irrigation, mining and afforestation projects are capable of generating their own funds, and therefore fit nicely into formulae of large donors such as the World Bank.



The First Secretary and President's Biography in Relation to the 21st February Movement



The President and First Secretary of ZANU (PF) inaugurating the 21st February Movement

"I would rather die than give in", is a revolutionary statement. It reveals determination and the will to march towards victory undeterred.

So it is history of The First Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, First Secretary and President of ZANU (PF) Comrade R.G. Mugabe. He spent ten years of his life in detention, refusing to give in to the settler attempts to weaken him and his stand on the hostile socio-economic conditions, then prevailing. He was imprisoned for demanding the independence and freedom of the oppressed and exploited masses of the people of Zimbabwe. Comrade R.G. Mugabe is a man full of admirable attributes that would make great many a son of our nation through emulation of these aspects.

Today he is an international statesman of proven leadership qualities. He is a man who, when he takes a stand, "would rather die than

give in".

Such is the man who turned 63 years on the 21st February this year, was born of humble stock. His father was a carpenter. He was educated at Kutama Mission up to Standard VI and then after qualifying as a teacher, taught at a number of schools between 1944 and 1954.

He is an impeccable revolutionary who considered education as very important in the execution of both the armed struggle and the building of a nation. His own record reflects this.

After his secondary education he enrolled at the University of South Africa as an external student and later won a scholarship for the University of Fort Hare in South Africa, where he obtained in 1951 a Bachelor of Arts degree. He then returned to the then Southern Rhodesia and continued as a teacher. He experienced a lot of injustice in the pay structure of the colonial system, and fought it all the time.

He earned a Bachelor of Education through correspondence before leaving to work in Zambia, then Northern Rhodesia. While teaching there he received a B.Sc (Economics) degree before deciding to go and work in Ghana which had recently become independent. During that time Kwame Nkrumah's ideas of Pan Africanism were among the most revolutionary on the continent. These ideas helped Comrade R.G. Mugabe's political consciousness and he thought of going back home to fight for his country's independence instead of enjoying others' independence.

The founding of the 21st February Youth Movement is a recognition of Comrade R.G. Mugabe faultless and selfless leadership of the struggle. It is a warm appreciation of his unwavering stand on the revolutionary path. It is an affirmation of the fact that the struggle must continue to go on and that it is the youth who will carry on in the footsteps of the present leadership. It is the present leadership that should infuse its ideals, for they are noble ideals, into the youth and under the guidance of the Party, create revolutionaries out of the sons and daughters of Zimbabwe.

The patron and matron of the 21st February movement *Baba naMai* Mugabe play the role of guide of the movement, true to traditional norms of parents of the movement.

Members of the 21st February Movement have therefore been given a task to be there whenever heads of state from other countries visit Zimbabwe. They entertain the leaders through song and dance as well as learn discipline.

Even in prison there is freedom, freedom to continue the struggle, the reason why the racists could not imprison the indomitable spirit of this gallant son of Zimbabwe and his colleagues. His quest for education remained to be filled as he studied successfully for The Bachelor of Laws, Master of Laws, and Bachelor of Administration degrees from the Universities of London and South Africa, while in detention. Even then he believed that without unity the goals of liberation would be difficult to achieve.

But imbedded in his consciousness, as he acquired education in prison, that had been denied him and the rest of the people of Zimbabwe by the colonial system, was the burning quest for freedom and independence. It would be a fruitless search for independence without the unity of all the progressive forces. While in prison he struggled and achieved the unity of these forces. It was together with them that he journeyed on the bumpy road to freedom, with the youth of Zimbabwe solidly behind him. If at one time he led a nationalist organisation fighting for independence, today he leads a nation, if at one time he guided the revolutionary path of a revolutionary move-

ment, today he leads and guides a revolutionary movement of workers and peasants struggling to defeat capitalism and imperialism in the quest to create a more egalitarian society.

The road to socialism is a long road full of trials. Comrade R.G. Mugabe brought this nation out of exploitation and oppression based on the colour of man, he will lead it towards a more equitable society based on scientific socialism, hence it falls on the youth to see us follow his guidelines towards this goal.

Amai Mugabe said when she was interviewed by *The Herald* at the first celebration of the 21st February Movement, of Comrade R.G. Mugabe, "He hardly ever rests because he has a feeling of great responsibility and love for Zimbabwe that keeps his mind constantly ticking, thinking of the best way to govern this great country." And indeed the manifestation of this is through such national policies in education, training, mobilisation of the youth for the defence of the motherland, and the development of our industries for the uplifting of the standards of living for the people of Zimbabwe. Through hard work and the wise leadership of the Prime Minister, Comrade R.G. Mugabe, Zimbabwe's transformation goals cannot fail but be achieved.

The 21st February Movement is therefore an investment of the future leadership of Zimbabwe who will but follow in the footsteps of its Patron.

Forward ever, backward never.
Let socialism be a reality by the 21st century.



The Health of Women Workers

**R. Loewenson School of Medicine
University of Zimbabwe**

Lenin once stated, "The experience of all liberation movements has shown that the success of a revolution depends on how much the women take part in it." The liberation of women from all forms of oppression is an essential task in the creation of a society free from exploitation. Hence, the just struggles of Zimbabwean women workers to create a healthy society is truly a revolutionary struggle.

The health status of any group within a society is a reflection of their social and economic conditions. Any discussion of health and disease must therefore begin with a clear position on the social and economic relations in that society. In capitalist society, there are many classes, but two major classes exist, in antagonism to and in dependence on one another . . . the workers and the bourgeoisie. The latter exploits the labour of the former to create their private wealth, the former depends on the latter for employment to exist. A fierce struggle wages around the surpluses created by labour in production. The capitalists part grudgingly with sufficient to keep the workers alive, while workers struggle for greater control over these surpluses. The particular conditions of exploitation, which ultimately arise out of the capitalists ownership of the means of production, even creates situations where capitalists bite into the subsistence needs of the workers. Not surprisingly, therefore, workers who live in poverty, with insufficient income to feed their families and in squalid living environments, suffer the diseases of poverty . . . malnutrition, diarrhoea, tuberculosis, pneumonia and other communicable diseases. At the same time, the bourgeois class suffers the diseases of affluence . . . degenerative bowel disease from eating over refined food, obesity, coronary artery disease and some cancers.

When looking at the health problems which affect women, therefore, it is important to note that men and women within the same social class have a more similar health pattern than between women of different social classes.

Women's Double Exploitation:

Women are however doubly exploited under capitalism, and therefore experience health problems arising from the particular forms of their exploitation. In the struggle over the surpluses created by labour, the income which the working classes need in order to survive is minimised by using women as free labour. In Zimbabwe in the colonial period, the largely female peasantry provided the food, health care, post retirement, support and child care for migrant workers on farms, mines and in towns. This meant that the capitalist could pay below subsistence wages, avoiding all these necessary costs. Women were debilitated by landlessness, poverty and agricultural and domestic labour. Their own undernutrition meant that their foetuses were inadequately nourished, producing low birthweight babies who were more at risk of death and disease. Workers returning from the mines brought with them tuberculosis and other communicable diseases which rapidly spread through the undernourished community. Landlessness, social insecurity and the lack of employ-

ment opportunities for women forced many into prostitution as the only means of survival, so that sexually transmitted diseases increased markedly and spread within families.

This double exploitation continues today. It affects both the peasantry and women as wage earners. As one Zimbabwean woman expressed it... "I have to work hard in the factory to keep my job, and then to work in the home to keep my marriage". Women not only bear the costs of reproduction of the labour force through their unpaid labour in the home, they also often function as unpaid health workers, looking after the sick, the old and the aged and after children.

Women are also exploited in employment as the most unskilled labour, with little or no employment security and the lowest wages. In 'Zimbabwean Women in Industry' women are shown to be employed as unskilled or semiskilled workers, or seasonal employees, particularly in the food, clothing and textile industries. They have little chance of promotion. Women are often the victims of the piece wage in agriculture, are brought in to supplement low family wages as contract labour and are sometimes not even recognised as working, coming in to help their husbands complete piece tasks. They lack employment contracts, are not covered by protective legislation in the terms of working conditions and are not considered for post employment security. Even where equal wages for equal work exists, this relegation of women to casual and unskilled work undermines female earnings. The working class under capitalism lives in economic insecurity due to lack of any means to exist outside the sale of their labour. This is intensified for women, whose labour is undervalued, is unpaid in the home and whose economic well-

being is often linked to their husbands' earnings.

The use of women as unskilled labour is part of the process of capitalistic production. As production is intensified through mechanisation to reap greater profits, the unemployed and underemployed labour pool swells, keeping workers at low wages and easily replaceable.

As surpluses in production are grabbed for individual profit, sometimes even including the amount needed for working class existence, women are exploited as free labour in the home to meet those costs the capitalist denies, and as cheap unskilled labour in the workplace.

What Health Problems do Women Suffer as a Result of These Processes?

The general health pattern which arises out of poverty has already been mentioned. These are the diseases of undernutrition, including anaemia and vitamin deficiencies. Severe anaemia, for example, is a major cause of maternal mortality in Zimbabwe. Chronic female undernutrition results in cephalopelvic disproportion (CPD), where the pelvis of the mother is too small for the head of the child. This can be fatal to mother and child in the absence of effective obstetric services.

Poor environmental conditions produce high levels of infectious disease, such as pneumonia, tuberculosis, malaria and gastrointestinal infection. Migrant labour, social instability and economic insecurity undermine marital relations, producing high levels of sexually transmitted disease. Added to the exposure to infection, these result in Pelvic Inflammatory Disease (PID) and STD in women, which often progress to advanced stages before being diagnosed or treated. These diseases not only endanger the lives of women, but also their children, and may cause infertility. Women in Zimbabwe, as in many underdeveloped countries, suffer

high blood pressure (hypertension), a result of risk factors including stress, poor diet and cigarette smoking.

Reproductive Health Hazards

Women's role in production also results in health hazards in reproduction. The nutritional demands during pregnancy are much higher than normal. Low wages, hard labour and a poor diet deprive women of adequate energy so that the risk of anemia, poor foetal development and a low birthweight baby is very high. Levels of infant mortality in the first year of life are up to ten times higher in the working class than in the bourgeois class, witness to effects of maternal and child undernutrition. In work under hot conditions, heat stress places a load on the heart, already stressed by pregnancy.

Exposure to toxic substances during pregnancy is known in many cases to affect the foetus. There are thousand more cases where the effects are as yet unknown, especially given that of the 70 000 chemicals in industry, only about 500 have been tested for toxicity. Anaesthetic gases, such as halothane, have been implicated in abortion in exposed health workers. Pesticides, such as 2,4,5,T, have been shown to produce abnormal foetal development and lead (used in paint, battery, printing and welding industries) has also been implicated in mutations resulting in deformed children. Formaldehyde (used in textile, paper and ink industries and in laboratories), vinyl chloride (used in the manufacture of plastics), chloropene (used in synthetic rubber manufacture), perchloroethylene (used as a dry cleaning agent), carbon disulphide (used in synthetic rayon manufacture) and metals such as mercury, copper and cadmium have all been found to be risk factors in a range of reproductive problems, from menstrual disorders, decreases in fertility, deformity and brain damage in children, miscarriage, stillbirth and spontaneous abortion. Clearly the list of reproduc-

tive hazards is not complete... in many cases the high levels of stillbirth and infant mortality due to other causes, coupled with inaccessible health services, means that many chemical effects are undetected or unreported. In addition, the effects may take years to become apparent. For example, exposure to the drug Diethyl silboestrol only produced its effect of cervical cancer in the succeeding female generation about 40 years later. Given poor screening for diseases such as cervical cancer in underdeveloped countries, these health problems may remain undetected although commonly suffered.

Radiation (in health workers from X rays) can result in foetal deformity in the earliest weeks of pregnancy, sometimes before the pregnancy is known. Biological hazards, such as rubella, malaria and toxoplasma, also endanger the mother and child's health, and may be contracted through hospital and domestic work. Women who are required to lift heavy loads or to spend the entire day standing over machinery or to travel long distances over rough roads risk not only bone and muscle injury, high blood pressure and heart disease, but also face the risk of prematurity or abortion.

This description of the health problems facing women as workers does not mean that men do not suffer under the same conditions, nor that the special risks to women should be used as a means of excluding women from certain forms of labour. Indeed, many of these problems are faced by the working class as a whole. However, the role of women in childbirth implies that these risks require attention for their additional effects on future generations. Also, as described earlier, because of women's common position as casual, unskilled labour, they are often exposed to the most risky working conditions with the lowest levels of protection.

The Response of the Health Care System

The response of the health care system needs to be examined to see to what extent the social relations which produce disease are also reflected in that response. The capitalist class, whose influence is dominant within the organisation of 'Western' health care, attempts to draw attention away from the social and economic causes of ill health, by placing the blame on the individual. We call this 'victim blaming'. Women particularly bear the brunt of this approach, as they are cast into the role of custodians of their family health. Hence the response to child undernutrition is to blame it on the ignorance of the mother, and to painstakingly educate her about food habits which she already knows but cannot afford. Diseases which arise from poor environments, such as diarrhoea, TB, measles and typhoid, are attributed to lack of hygiene or unwillingness to build better facilities. The response is to teach family hygiene to the mother. Sexually transmitted diseases are blamed on female prostitution. The view of STD as arising from 'bad behaviour' was so seriously held by the previous regime that they charged higher fees for its treatment as a form of punishment. They thought this may reduce it . . . but of course it did not.

Even 'overpopulation' is blamed on the 'insatiable sexual habits' of the working class. Women are daily harangued about reducing their family size with contraception, ignoring the reasons behind having that size of family. The entire burden of the unequal distribution of national and international resources, which makes Africa with a population density of 12/km overpopulated, while Europe, with a population density of 90/km is not, is placed in the laps of women in underdeveloped countries.

The social and economic relations which produce this model of ill health also produce an organisation of health care which is dominated by doctors, who although they may not be lan-

downers or industrialists themselves, see their wealth and security as coming from these groups. They may not expose the real sources of ill health, although they use medical technology to treat the effects every day. They may monopolise medical knowledge, equitable distribution of health care, if it conflicts with the interests of the social class whom they serve. They may monopolise medical knowledge, so that people will not be able to understand or gain control over their own health. They may hide those aspects of the production process which cause the ill health of the working class. They may use the benefits of their technical education and training in the interests of minority of the population. In this organisation of health care, men often fill the role of doctors, while women are cast in the so called 'caring' role of nurses, where their ability to control health care is minimised. It is not surprising that only 7% of doctors in the most advanced capitalist country, the USA, are women, while the socialist USSR, 77% are women. The issue however is not only one of sex, but of the class composition of the health profession, and of their class interests.

Until health workers who come from or act in the interests of the working class control the organisation of health care, there will continue to be a struggle both to expose the real causes of ill health, and to direct the resources towards dealing with disease.

The control the bourgeois class has over health care, whether in terms of manpower, technology, drug distribution or facilities, often means that women bear a large part of the costs of health care, either by low cost labour to the health sector, or by taking on in the home the tasks of care of the sick, disabled, elderly and the young. The costs of disease at the workplace, in terms of disability, child deformity and mental retardation and death are either heavily subsidised by or totally borne

by women's labour within the home. Indeed, as long as women continue to perform this work unpaid, and the costs of caring for disease is not taken from the wealth generated in production, employers in industry may see no cost benefit in spending money on improving the workplace to prevent disease.

In this respect, the Zimbabwe Government Health Policy of bringing accessible health care to all the population merits working class support. This is particularly so if it redistributes technology, manpower and other resources to areas previously underserved, such as for workers on commercial farms, and where it challenges the underlying determinants of disease by taking environmental and economic action. The thrust towards democratising the health service, bringing people into greater control over health care and encouraging popular discussion over health issues is a progressive step towards overcoming the inherited bourgeois class dominance in health care. Trade Unions should be deeply involved in this thrust towards democratic, universally accessible health care.

Working class women need to continue the struggle for a more socialised and effective coverage of maternal and child health, Child care, care of the disabled and the elderly, food canteens, home hygiene should be brought under cooperative and public sector control, liberating women from these tasks as individuals. Antenatal, obstetric and other health services should be available to working women at times and places appropriate to their working hours. Health workers at all levels need to be more effectively trained to expose and deal with health problems experienced at the workplace. This also calls for the organisation of health and safety committees at the workplace which, with the active support of the health profession, would further the process of monitoring and control of occupational disease. Naturally this

implies an increasing struggle to ensure that the health professions are chosen and trained to use their skills in the interests of workers and peasants.

Legal and Technological Control of Diseases

We have already discussed how, under capitalism, the production process is designed in the interests of maximising profits. Democratic and workers' struggles which conflict with this profit motive are mediated by the state thereby bringing about some legal and technological control of diseases. The scope of this action ranges from the elimination of dangerous practices (which is rare), to the substitution by less dangerous ones, such as the substitution of benzene by toluene. Hazardous work processes can be enclosed or isolated, machinery made safer, and ventilation provided to remove dusts and fumes. As a last line of real protection, but often the first and only form of legal action, workers may be given protective clothing. As these measures often bite into profits, the battle to obtain safety improvements may be fierce. Laws passed are not observed without great vigilance on the part of the Trade Unions. Not surprisingly, therefore, it is in socialist countries where the most stringent safety levels exist. In the German Democratic Republic (GDR) and Bulgaria, maximum weights for lifting are stipulated for women, with the maximum length of time of such activity. In the USSR, safety levels of chemical toxins (dusts, fumes or gases) in the workplaces are set at safer (lower) threshold limits than in the UK and USA, while pregnant women in the USSR and GDR who are in occupations which endanger their foetuses are shifted to other parts of the workplaces without loss of pay or employment.

In Zimbabwe, the Factories and Works Act, the Hazardous Substances Act, the Mines and Minerals Act, the Pneumoconiosis Act and the Workmens Com-

pensation Act all provide some degree of protection in terms of:

1. control of the working environment
2. inspection of hazards at the workplace
3. detection and compensation for injury and disease at the workplace.

These acts and their regulations do not as yet cover the range of hazards in Zimbabwe. In particular, while compensation for injury and accidents at work is relatively well organised, the detection, monitoring and compensation for workplace diseases does not cover the range of problems experienced. This is an area for collaborative work between the trade unions, government and health researchers.

Furthermore, the enforcement of legal safeguards is still weak in Zimbabwe. In agriculture, for example, regulations to the Hazardous Substances Act provides for labelling, storage and practices of use of pesticides, including provision of protective clothing. On many farms, however, these laws are not enforced as many workers are not aware of them, farmers are resistant to meet the expense they incur, and casual workers are afraid of losing their jobs if they push for their rights. In addition, there is not yet an effective system of inspecting for and dealing with their infringement.

The battle to control workplace disease, both through legal and technological means is not one to be waged in isolation, within each country. The experience, research capacity and political motivation of the socialist countries can provide valuable skills and information. In addition, many Zimbabwean industries are multinationals, based in USA and Western Europe. Trade Unions can examine the gains made by workers in their countries of origin to identify the legal and technological controls which have been applied there. This not only exposes the differences in the same company's mode of operation under the advanced and underdeveloped capitalism, but also provides a means for

linking working class action across national boundaries.

Changes in the Organisation of Production:

Finally, we return to the points made in the first pages of this paper. Health is a social issue, not an individual one. It arises out of the social relations of production, which defines the antagonisms between classes and gives one class the means to exploit the other, defining their unique health experiences. For women workers, their particular situation is deeply embedded within the nature of these class struggles, particularly as they often bear the harshest blows of capitalist exploitation.

Advanced capitalism has provided some level of social welfare to workers and controls the most severe and obvious forms of workplace disease and injury to some extent. However, the means for such reforms are derived through imperialist wealth, and through the immiseration of workers in underdeveloped countries. The class inequalities in health and health care remain, and bitter struggles are fought over each improvement in conditions of work and won, in the words of Walter Rodney, only by the "organisation and resoluteness of the working class." It is indicative of the failure of advanced capitalism to solve health problems that one of the greatest battles being waged in the UK today is over women's health, over the retrenchment of women health workers back into the sphere of free domestic labour, over the unequal distribution of health care to the disadvantage of working class women, over unemployment amongst women, and of course, over the greatest reproductive hazard yet faced, the escalation of nuclear arms.

Capitalism produces no solutions to these crises. Working classes are guided by the gains made in socialist countries such as Cuba, GDR, Bulgaria and USSR. These include socialising domestic work to free women for

their full role as workers, eliminating the unemployment which keeps women out of the workplace, providing maternity benefits, special job allocations and control of hazards in pregnancy. They also cover the establishment of strict controls

over general workplace hazards. In these countries, the wealth created in production is used in the interests of the society as a whole. Working class women confirm Lenin's words that the success of the socialist revolution depends on how much

women take part in it... they also confirm that their struggle for health is inextricably linked with the success of the socialist revolution.

A luta continua!

Land Allocation in Communal Areas

G.M. Chinengundu Deputy Minister of Local Government, Rural and Urban Development.

Before Independence the Land Allocating Authority in the Communal Areas was the Chief who worked through the Headman and the Kraalheads (Masabhuku) in terms of the Tribal Trust Land Act No. 6 of 1979, sections 17 and 18. No-one else had the authority to allocate land in Communal Areas (referred to as Tribal Trust Lands). This state of affairs continued until the Tribal Trust Land Act was repealed and replaced by the Communal Land Act No. 20 of 1982. From the time of the enactment of the Communal Land Act in 1982, Chiefs and Headmen no longer have any powers to allocate land in Communal Areas. The Chiefs and Headmen Act No. 29 of 1982 and the Communal Land Act referred to above do not recognize the existence of a Kraalhead — a Sabhuku — hence there is no such legal animal as a Sabhuku.

In terms of Section 4 of the Communal Land Act No. 20 of 1982, Communal Land vests in the President who shall decide how it is to be utilized and by which people. In terms of section 8 of the said Act, only district Councils are the legal land Allocating Authority in the country. These Councils are answerable firstly to the Minister of Local Government, Rural and Urban Development and eventually to the State President.

Fortunately ever since the enactment of this legislation the Ministry has received no complaints that Chiefs were still allocating land, and has received very few complaints about Headmen flouting the law. Unhappily numerous complaints have been received from people especially ZANU (PF) members, concerning "Kraalheads — Masabhuku" still assuming land allocating functions despite the existence of District Councils in their areas.

In some cases District Councils are completely ignored and on their part take no action at all when the law is flouted by these unrecognized 'kraalheads'. It can be argued that the so called kraalheads are ignorant of the law but in the majority of cases they know the law but decide to take the risk because there is money involved in the game and unhappily they are supported by some politicians — especially those that do not belong to the Ruling Party. The correct procedure in the allocation of land in the Communal Areas is detailed hereunder for the information of all concerned:-

One who wants to be allocated land for agricultural and residential purposes must approach the land allocating authority — which is the District Council in the area. Normally people go either to a

person known to have been "kraalhead". If this happens the so-called 'kraalhead' must direct this individual to the Chairman of the Village Development Committee who in turn must refer the person to the Ward Councillor. The councillor will then know what to do from there. It must be emphasized that it is the Council and not the Councillor who is the final authority. This procedure must be strictly adhered to if we are to avoid haphazard settlements in our communal areas and if we are to implement correctly our policy of villagisation in which land in the communal areas must be clearly divided into Residential, Agricultural and Grazing Purposes.

In their function of allocating land, however District Councils will always be encouraged to consult with Village Ward Development Committees. The Party should also assist if called upon to do so. This would be desirable from a security point of view. Councils are better placed to know where people can be suitably settled because they have their Natural Resources and Health Committees and also get the assistance of Agritex and other land experts. The law must be strictly followed if we are to avoid unnecessary destruction of our natural resources.

Having stated this, it must be borne in mind that the Ministry intends to enforce all the relevant provisions of the Communal Land Act and will make sure that all District Councils strictly enforce the law or face the consequences. In this regard, section 16 of the said Act will be invoked to deal with those who flout the law. Police will be called upon to arrest and have the offenders prosecuted irrespective of whether or not one is a member of the Ruling Party. This is a timely warning to would be offenders.

COOPERATIVES: A LOOK AT THE INSIDE SET-UP

How Resettlement Schemes are Classified

All resettlement schemes are classified according to the mode of organisation. Model A schemes are subdivided into small holdings. There is very little capital inputs by the government and most of the settlers are former communal farmers.



More land should be put under cultivation so as to increase grain production

The models range from A to F. Model B is where government acquired land is farmed collectively. These are collectives and no individual owns a small piece of land for their use. Here government has a lot of capital inputs.

The C Model of which there are still very few of these under the resettlement scheme, is when government acquired land is subdivided into a number of small individual holdings but with one or two fields farmed collectively.

The next model, and it is only found in Matabeleland, is where the government purchases land for ranching purposes. Here farmers may then move their land into the farm and graze individually or they may also form a cooperative. The rest of the models, E and F are settled by master farmers and there is nothing to stop them from forming cooperatives though in each they also work according to the Group A scheme. No other farmer except a master farmer may settle on these models.

Following is a story by Zimbabwe News Staff on cooperatives in Mashonaland Central, their problems and successes, based on the type of resettlement scheme that it is.

Focus Mashonaland Central

It is a very simple way of life. But full of hard work. In his overalls Comrade Maxwell Dema starts the day with porridge and tea. Then calls the rest of the cooperators with a gong. The people assemble at a central point, each ready for their duties. "Most of us have no training or any skills to talk about," said the Secretary of Kushingirira Cooperative, Mt. Darwin, Comrade Maxwell Dema. "We started the cooperative in 1983, and then it was all trained people."

"Most of these people were trained at Ponesai Vanhu Technical Training Centre, about 40 kilometres due East, but they were not greatly keen to stay and do cooperative work. They expected an easy life. Some of us were trained in agriculture, some in building and some in metal work. There were twenty of us with such skills originally who organised themselves after our training at the Centre and opted for agriculture through cooperatives."

All have now left short of four. Some found jobs in nearby Shamva Bindura and Mt. Darwin. Kushingirira Cooperative is a group B scheme.

This means that the people have common fields, live in a village, market the collective produce and share the profit according to the hours spent by each worker in the fields throughout the period of production. But at the same time they must remember that in order for production to continue they must plough some of their profits back into the fields.

With thirty members, twenty six of whom have no skills, Kushingirira Cooperative is undergoing numerous problems.

Need for Skills

Apart from organisational problems where the sharing of work is not according to ability, where there are a number of jobs that need skills, like renovating the buildings for storage of seed potato, there is no one to maintain their tractors. They have three and only one is functioning.

"We have no proper storage facilities, no qualified mechanics to take care of our workshops of which we have none, because we have no tools."

Comrade Dema said that the Government had promised them a big tractor since the land which they

farm is too hard for the small tractors they have.

"We have not yet heard from the Ministry of Cooperatives since it was recently formed and previously it used to be a department so we think that because our problems are now dealt with at ministerial level, we will have them solved soon, but most of our members are threatening to pull out as a result of the difficulties which we are facing."

This is a problem which most cooperatives are facing. However some members blamed the Ministry of Cooperatives officials who visit cooperatives charged with the function of advising cooperatives on how to maintain good books as well as teach them bookkeeping. "They come with the attitude of inspectors, and do not want to listen to our problems because they say they have only come to inspect the books. They are the only people from the ministry we see occasionally, so we hope that they can take our problems up.

However there is a great difference between this Group B scheme and other schemes. The other existing scheme is the resettlement scheme where the settlers have no activity in common but farm individually in their own plots. Such a scheme was visited by the Zimbabwe News team at Umfurudzi west of Madziva Mine in the Shamva area.

A great difference could be discerned as one drives through the resettlement scheme.

Comrade Peter Makana who is also the ZANU (PF) Branch Youth Chairman was tending his chickens. "There is great competition here and very few lazy people. In fact in each village you will not find two lazy farmers. Most have prospered and bought their own machinery." Bearing testimony to this fact was the nearby home of a fellow farmer. He owns three trucks and two tractors. Some own a tractor each but those without are helped in ploughing by those with, for a fee per hectare. The resettlement scheme is surrounded by communal lands. The settlers also help these farmers with ploughing. This has managed to create a good relationship of cooperation, which has resulted in some communal farmers opting for resettlement, since the Government can provide them

with farming inputs in such set-ups.

Comrade Makana was convinced that since the resettlement was started in 1982, the yields per individual settler have gone higher and higher. "This season we have not had much rain and it is going to affect our yields in maize but not a great deal. As for our cotton crop we hope to do better than previous years." The rosy picture he paints is not only for his fields but for a number of fields that can be seen from the road.



Cooperative garden-self-help schemes have become the order of the day in the realisation of socialism

A new scheme has come into existence however and the first of its kind, that promises to mushroom is the Kufunga Zunde in the Mt. Darwin area. Comrade Philimon Mukwanya, one of the farmers, described how it was organised, "We have two common fields, a maize field with forty-five hectares and a cotton field with thirty hectares. Over and above this we have our own individual holdings, where individuals have varying acreages depending on the size of their families, or their ability to work. In a five day week we spend two days in the communal fields and the rest we spend in our own fields." There are forty-five members in this cooperative. The cooperative was started at the beginning of the previous year but they have become so established that it is now so advanced, it seems the group B schemes in the area are in desperate need for revamping in order to boost the morale of cooperators for better levels of production.

According to what state of affairs in existence in the Group B schemes there is waning morale as a result of lack of organisational skills mainly and lack of proper and adequate planning in order to identify priorities.

Communal Farmers

COMMUNAL farmers in the area have been seriously hit by drought this year. The situation is similar as

you go from Shamva, Mt. Darwin, Centenary, Chiweshe and Guruve. For many of the yields that have the maize crop tussling at fifty centimetre level, it's a question of late planting. "Most communal farmers wait for the rains to start then they plough, which is a wrong approach," remarked one youth cooperative member at Nzvimbo in the Chiweshe area.

However not all of them are late ploughers and late planters. For many other farmers who probably planted early the question is that of inputs. While the organised farmers can get their fertilisers and chemicals in time, communal farmers have to compete with organised effort to be served too. The Bindura-Mt Darwin Cooperative Union based in Bindura said that their work was to distribute chemicals for cooperative farmers and not for communal farmers. "Even with this arrangement our farmers are talked into ordering their chemicals through these companies

but privately, but some have to organise their own transport, which is more expensive, but still some farmers organise themselves into a group and organise their own transport for the transportation of chemicals. This tends to disrupt our system," said one official of the Cooperative Union.

However this disruption of the Union distribution system helps the communal farmer to organise himself with others and place bulk orders with the same private companies and, if he can afford it get his chemicals in time. "Most communal farmers

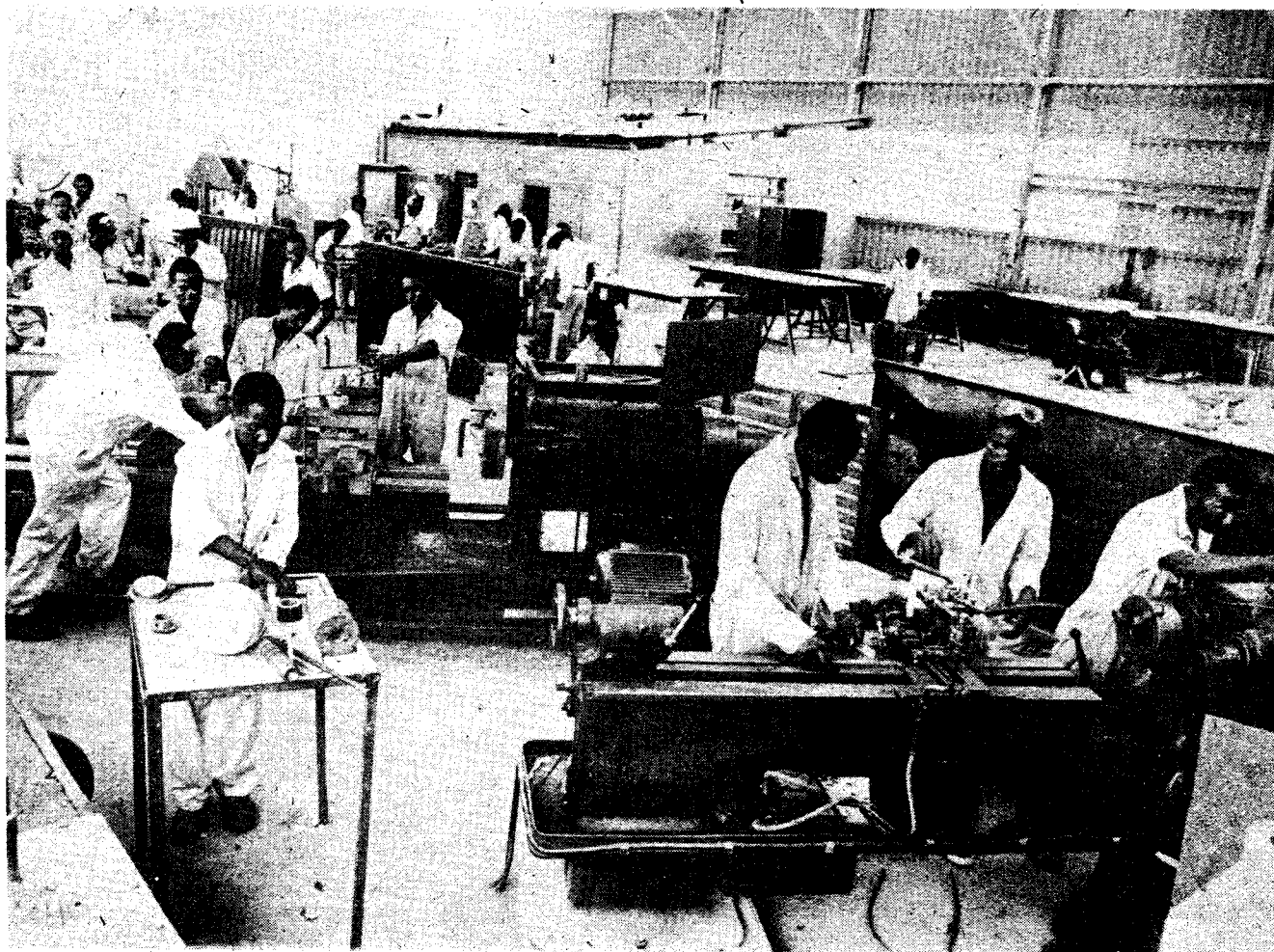
here want to be resettled" said one of the Chiweshe District Party Chairmen, who has organised a cooperative on communal land, "they do not want to leave their original homes for they do not want to leave the social network which they have established over the years. Perhaps it is because of the Rhodesian forces' keeps or protected villages which were established here".

Even though there is land lying idle in the area, the people shun cooperatives, or to be resettled, which is leaving many of the previously

white owned farms lying fallow unnecessarily.

For many people resisting resettlement or life in cooperatives, the major attraction is the "township life" establishing itself around the previous "keep" areas because of the electricity supply.

However these are not growth points, therefore there is not a structured system development, which may create problems for such structuring in future. Much as this is so, the life of the people in the Mashonaland Central has greatly improved, and has an upward mobility.



A Revolutionised and Technical cadre is what is needed for the building of strong Agro-Industrial base



Youth at the Forefront of the Socialist Struggle

Focus — Mashonaland Central — Youth



Members of the Youth Brigade learn skills in order for them to contribute to the development of their local area

One of the most striking features of youth activity in the Mashonaland Central Province is the zeal with which they are tackling developmental projects, and their conviction that the socialist road is the only way towards national reconstruction, where all the people share the national cake.

This is in spite of the teething problems which the people have had in the process of establishing cooperatives, as many people, having in the beginning mistrusted these socialist structures because of the wrong view fed to them by puppet and racist regimes, that socialism was bad and added to that, the advantage taken by some cooperators who went into the ventures with a spirit of self-aggrandisement. However other problems faced by the youth, like lack of practical and managerial skills are now being tackled, together with the communities in order to create equal development, without leaving some of the structures

ideologically and developmentally behind.

When a Zimbabwe News team toured the projects it left with the impression that, still, this is not yet the time to pat ourselves on the back, as the general state of cooperatives can only be described as being encouraging."

The Simba Cooperative, in Madziva, which was started in 1980, today has a completely new membership. The original membership and leadership swindled cooperative funds and left the project with a deficit of \$58 000. Through discussions with the new twelve cooperative members three of which are graduates of Mluzu Agricultural Institute, the Ministry of Cooperatives cancelled the debt, to give the new members a new start. Though the cooperative is without an irrigation system, the cooperative has twenty-two hectares under cotton and twelve and half under maize.

They put cotton under a higher acreage in compliance with the

government directive for more cash crops.

It is not only crops that these youths have under production. Piggery, egg and chicken production, are also some of the activities they are involved in. The local community relies on the Cooperative for eggs and chicken.

Members of the Youth cooperative, asked about their experiences of cooperative work expressed their commitment to the cooperative movement. "For us to be successful, for us to be able to feed ourselves, hard work is necessary. We all gain from cooperative work and we create our own community closely linked by our efforts of working together".

The whole province is characterised by a communal approach to community developmental issues.

As the comrade from the Simba Youth said, each community is becoming a fraction of the whole.

Building, Agriculture and Metal work form the basic skills in the developmental thrust of the area where such training institutions as the Ponesai Vanhu Technical Centre and Chaminuka Youth Centre have penetrated the development projects, imparting skills and sharing experiences. Resultancy, having studied the problems encountered by the cooperatives and helped to find solutions to them, many of the youth have after completing their training gone to form cooperatives.

However, they become discriminative against prospective members without skills. The Chairman of the Simba Youth Cooperative, Comrade James Denha, said, "Members of the last cooperative here lacked skills, and were used to doing



The Youth and the Community are helping to build schools, hospitals, and other buildings in the urge to develop their area

things the wrong way, and from experience we know that working with these members creates an unhealthy air, where arguments on how to go about doing things are a normal way of life. This retards progress". However the ideological correctness of such a view is open to interpretation.

Both the Ponesai Vanhu Technical centre and the Chaminuka Youth Centre run ideological orientation lessons as compulsory units of the educational programme. According to Comrade Don Chipango the Principal of the Chaminuka Training Centre, "This is to equip the students with both the skills and political consciousness for the students to organise their lives correctly, but at the same time you cannot conquer two problems at the same time, that of training the people who produce and that of increasing production. This is where the ideological training comes in to play a significant role."

When the Prime Minister, Com-

rade Robert Mugabe opened the Centre he told the students, "It is recognised that for the people to achieve their provincial developmental plan trained, they have to be fully involved in the projects to fulfil the goals of the plan. Gone are the days when constructors have to come from far

away to construct schools, hospitals, clinics, shops and centres of recreation. Self-reliance is now the order of the day. Therefore the need for training. Students from youth training centres are now involved in the building of these structures in the area. They are also construc-



Fields belonging to the Chaminuka Youth Centre — Mt Darwin

ting teachers' houses in the various schools, something which they do for no cost at all, as they regard it as the practicals in their training programme.

This has helped cement ties in the community. Building projects

have been undertaken to as far as Chiweshe and Centenary. All these are coordinated efforts towards the achievement of socialist goals. Zimbabwe News also visited youth projects whose members are graduates of these

centres. The Dzimwe Youth project in Chiweshe is one centre which has managed to conquer the problems of lack of technical and managerial skills and are in fact on top of the situation.

"Our only problem is that of space at the moment as we need to expand our fields and we are surrounded by rock, and mountains." The most important fact however is that all these youth fully subscribe to the ideals of the Party, ZANU (PF).

Their revolutionary spirit can be summarised by Bessie Essau's words "We are the youth and we are engaged in our struggle for self-reliance knowing fully well that if we have to fight again for our motherland, we will be ready at any time". Comrade Bessie belongs to a sewing cooperative. All the youth are now preparing for the Independence celebrations soon in April.



Egg and Chicken production is one of the many self-reliance projects in Cooperatives and Youth projects

Book Review

Cooperatives, What About Them?

By Cain Mathema and Irene Straunton

This is a very simple book on cooperatives which gives a guideline about what cooperatives are all about. Their organisation and their function. It has been approved by the ministry of education as a text book for schools where students may learn about cooperatives in terms of the socialist transformation which is Zimbabwe's path. It is not only for students however but also for groups of cooperatives where they can study their strength and weaknesses and understand how to improve on them.

Many young people shun cooperative work because they think it is unrewarding and not respectable. They see cooperatives only as the agricultural cooperative collectives as he only form of the cooperatives.

Mathema and Straunton enlighten the reader about what cooperatives are all about. They take the reader through all aspects of cooperation such that the reader is not left behind and is aware all the time of what the subject is according to his interest. The cooperator is a comrade in the struggle for the building of socialism and self-reliance in our country and therefore he is today at the foremost of the struggle to defeat the capitalists, imperialists and stop them from controlling our economy.

However any structure should have a system in order for it to function properly and needless to say for the cooperative movement to be successful and play a revolutionary role it must have definite roles for each and every member to play so that the team spirit is what creates that success. One of the most important aspects of Zimbabwe's cooperative

movement that can make or break it is the need for skills. Without skills it is difficult to see where the success of a cooperative can come from.

Managerial skills, bookkeeping skills and practical skills. Some may not have trained in the skills but have experience, all this need to be noted down before a group starts up as a cooperative, or joins the cooperative movement.

Mathema and Straunton correctly point out that the aim is to eventually control the means of production through the building of socialism, and create a more fair and equal society.

Cooperatives are an alternative to conditions created by capitalism which include unemployment, malnutrition, lack of housing, scarcity of commodities and services. They are a socialist reality where the

being of things is orderly and not chaotic as typifies an economy left to the mercy of market forces.

The booklet 'Cooperatives, What about them' is therefore calling upon all interested in building socialism successfully through membership of the cooperative movement to first study the structures of what they intend to build, to see what skills the members have, to identify how they

can educate each other and pass on essential skills like bookkeeping to all members of the cooperative so that they are able to read and understand the accounts of their cooperative.

It is a booklet which exhausts all aspects on cooperatives. Principles, interpersonal relations, financial management, administration, the need for skills and skill development, in the context of the meaning of

socialism and Zimbabwe's struggle to achieve a more egalitarian, a more equal society.

As such it is therefore recommended reading for students and those already involved in cooperative work.

A Luta Continua — The Struggle Continues.

WORKERS LEARN THEIR RIGHTS

The Mashonaland Central Province recently organised a one week seminar at Mazoe Mine to educate mine and farm workers on their rights.

The seminar was attended by forty-two members of workers' committees from three mines and six farms within the Mazoe administrative district. There are two hundred large scale commercial farms and more than six mines in the area.

The member of Parliament for the constituency, Comrade Chen Chimutengwende in liaison with the Ministry of Labour, Manpower Planning and Social Welfare organised and designed the programme for the seminar.

The programme constituted the teaching of members on the role of workers and employers' organisation in labour relations, grievance handling procedure, disciplinary codes and procedure, reasons for improving productivity, meeting procedure and preparations, importance of workers' participation in decision making, labour law and its importance to workers and industry, importance of health and safety at work, importance of good communication in industry, correct relationship between the Party and Workers' Committees and the role of the Trade Union Movement.

Comrade Morklard of the Mazoe Citrus Workers' Committee said that workers used to believe that since Zimbabwe is now independent people can do

and say whatever they want because they have got power and the support of the government, whilst employers in turn said the farm belonged to them. Nobody knew what rights people should have, as members of the workers' committees and the Party.

"After this seminar, we now know what channels to follow if anything happens on a farm or in the mines. We are going to implement what we have been taught when we go back to our respective places and the main task is to teach our members who did not attend," said Comrade Mudiwa.

This is only one example of the many workers throughout Zimbabwe who do not know their

rights and if they do, are ignorant of what channels to follow in solving labour disputes. Many people still believe that socialism will be imposed upon them by the government and the Party but forget that it is the people who transform society. No change can come on its own unless people devote themselves to increase production levels in the struggle to transform capitalism to socialism.

Workers Education

The holding of such seminars geared to educate workers on their rights within our society enhances the revolution in Zimbabwe.

Several seminars have been held throughout the country but none has ever been held for the less privileged. People in mines and farms are the backbone of our economy and the least paid.



Farm and Mine Workers teach each other their rights

The need to educate these members of our society who are exploited need not be over emphasized. These people are working fifty-six hours per week. Some of them end up calling their wives to come and assist in either weeding or reaping. Most if not all of them do not have a pension or gratuity when they retire. They also do not have any permanent accommodation within the farms

or mines because the houses belong to the farmer or mine owner.

"We urge the government to build low-cost houses out here just as in towns which workers can rent to buy," said Comrade Mudiwa.

Many farmers in this country refuse their workers to form workers' committees on the

pretext that they are pro-ZANU (PF) yet when problems arise they turn to government and their local Member of Parliament to come and solve their problems. Workers' Committees are a must in all institutions since they are meant to improve employee-employer relations. Even when these are formed, the need to educate members on their role still remains paramount.

Sanctions — Western Europe Lagging Behind



The Canadian Premier, Mr. Brian Mulroney with the Prime Minister, Comrade R.G. Mugabe during the former's visit to Zimbabwe

Canada's example in understanding the problems of Southern Africa caused by apartheid must lead other Western countries to accept and act to bring peace and stability in the region.

One of the major tasks facing the African countries particularly Frontline States in their campaign to mobilise world opinion to recognise the evils of the apartheid regime is to convince western countries that it is in their interest and that of humanity to be actively involved in the struggle against the racist government of Pretoria.

"The imposition of sanctions against the regime by the Frontline

States need the support of the industrialised world which could provide a greater leadership than the Frontline States whose economies are fragile", said Mr. B. Mulroney, Prime Minister of Canada.

The stance taken by the government of Premier Mulroney is a concrete sign that with the passage of time and persistent backing by popular action, western governments will be obliged to stop collaborating

with the South African government.

Trade is one area which SADCC member states should reduce their dependence on South Africa and in 1985 Canada imported \$110 million from the region as compared to only \$46 million in development projects since independence with a further \$120 million in bilateral projects and food aid earmarked for the region this year.

Dependence on South Africa can also be reduced by SADCC countries by being self sufficient in energy communications and transport and to this

end, Canada will build a 340 kilometre power transmission line to join the electric grids of Zimbabwe, Botswana and Zambia under a \$45 million agreement signed at Victoria Falls by the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe Comrade Robert Gabriel Mugabe, President Kenneth Kaunda and Dr. Quet Masire with the Canadian Premier.

The new power interconnector will enable Botswana to use surplus electricity from Zambia and Zimbabwe. These new sources of power will reduce Botswana's dependence on electricity from South Africa. The total cost of the project is estimated at \$52,6 million with \$3.5 million coming from Botswana and the rest from Canada. A Canadian firm will be responsible for supervising the construction of the project expected to start this September. This power interconnector is part of Canada's assistance to SADCC member States.

In trying to replace South Africa as a major trading partner, there is an increase in exports and imports between Canada and Zimbabwe. Chrome and sugar are Zimbabwe's main exports to Canada.

An exchange programme for professors was also agreed upon by the two leaders during the Canadian Premier's visit to Zimbabwe. Under

the agreement, a faculty of family sciences will be established and Canadian assistance in business studies of \$2,1 million was also extended.

Technological Transfer

Militarily, Canada has trained helicopter pilots for the Airforce of Zimbabwe. In the development of the private sector, Canada allocated \$4 million. She also approved the contribution of \$3,9 million for the establishment of a small milling project in Zimbabwe. The money would help to introduce small electric or diesel driven machines to alleviate hand pounding of sorghum and millet. As a result, Zimbabwean farmers would grow more sorghum and millet which are drought resistant.

The small-scale milling technology was first developed by a National Research Council Laboratory in Saskatchewan with support from Canada's International Development Research Centre (IDRC). The International Development Research Centre extensively tested this technology over the past decade in twenty five countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America. The Canadian Premier pledged \$1,2 million towards Zimbabwe's immunisation programmes. The money will be used to purchase mobile immunisation units and

equipment. Canada has contributed \$35 million towards immunisation programme in developing countries of the commonwealth and those of the Francophone group.

Since the London meeting which decided the commonwealth package of economic sanctions against Pretoria, Canada has banned agricultural products, uranium, coal, iron and steel from South Africa.

Canada is also refusing to issue visas to those applying to visit Canada from South Africa. Canada believes the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group still has a role to play in bringing a peaceful solution to the South African crisis.

All western countries must learn from Mr. Mulroney's statesmanship of taking the lead in recognising Southern African problems and actively participating in the dismantling of apartheid. He is prepared to remain with this stand when he hosts the commonwealth heads of government to be held in Vancouver in October this year.

We should join hands in thanking him for his visit to this part of the region for it was an important, historic and morale booster to the Frontline States, anti-apartheid movements and all progressive forces the world over.

TANZANIA'S ARUSH DECLARATION: TWENTY YEAR AND AFTER

"The Arusha Declaration and Resolution is Tanzania's Socialist Transformation Blue Print, which explains the meaning of Socialism and Self-reliance and its relevance to Tanzania." It was passed at the TANU Party conference held in Arusha in January, 1967, Comrade Karabani, the Tanzanian Minister Plenipotentiary.

"As soon as the Declaration was published all Government and public institutions were instructed to implement policies which would make Tanzania a Socialist and Self-Reliant nation." On the 6th February, 1967, all private Commercial Banks were nationalised, on each of the suc-



Chama Chamapinduzi has taken further steps to bring the economy of the country under the ownership and control

ceeding four days further steps were taken to bring the economy of the country into the ownership and control of the people," Comrade Karabani, the Tanzanian Minister Plenipotentiary told *Zimbabwe News*.

Since that exciting week, never a month has passed without further endeavours by the TANU, Government, public institutions, or individual groups of the people themselves, to translate into reality the principles and policies outlined in the two Arusha Party documents, the Declaration and Resolution. "Once the exploitative nature of man had been changed, the people of Tanzania were given a task to build the country. The government had now owned the means of production, the people were resettled in a more planned way in what is called Ujamaa Villages. The Party, TANU, the government and leadership of Tanzania were criticised by enemies in and outside our borders whose exploitative (Marija) exploiting devices were affected by the nationalisation process," Comrade Karabani said.

The Tanzanian Government was accused of having forcibly moved rural populations into encampments. This was not the case, in fact when the Declaration was announced, the masses marched in support of the Party decisions. The masses were eager to move even further than what the leadership had decided."

How can a government move more than 15 million people forcibly. Where on earth would Tanzania get policemen and army to move such a big number of people at one time?" Comrade Karabani asked.

TANU as a Party led the people to independence, consolidated that independence and implemented the wishes of the people, hence when the Central Committee of TANU met, the masses had been involved in the move of arresting the exploitation of Tanzania's resources by multinational companies as well as local capitalists. "The masses demanded the destruction of the colonial economic structure." "The masses expectations were the prime factor that demanded the nationalisation of industry as well as land."

Comrade Karabani said "the Party and Government invested a lot of resources to resettle the rural popula-

tion in these well planned settlements called Ujamaa Villages. We had to provide the services needed by the people, piped water, schools, clinics, hospitals, Communication and roads constructed." The people themselves helped build with assistance from Central Government. The masses worked together in cooperatives and developed the spirit of togetherness," Comrade Karabani explained.

Tanzanians who had become independent only six years earlier had not yet tested the practical relationship of work as masters of their country. The Arusha Declaration gave them the power to run the day to day affairs of the state and industry. "There now arose the question of building a cadreship with the business acumen. That does not take a short time to achieve," said Comrade Karabani. In our rural areas we experienced the same problems because like in any society, the human attitude of self has to be erased and replaced by working together as a community." The Party under the leadership of Mwalimu Julius Nyerere taught the masses to work together and develop together. We had to make people understand equality. This involved the provision of every necessity to all the people regardless of location, rural or urban.

"We had to fight against the renegade attitude towards work and community property," Comrade Karabani said. In those days some people used to say well this is government property, so there is no need to take care and people did as they pleased. But the Arusha Declaration has a section that deals with supervision at work places.

Some misguided workers used the clause to serve their own interests by saying "Usiwe nyapara" . . . Which means that no leader in industry or civil service shall use command to his or her subordinates. This is wrong interpretation because this causes a lot of loss in terms of production. "Both the value for labour and product is lost," Comrade Karabani said. TANU, however took the task to correct negative attitude, and now Tanzania is a different country. The peasants and workers are now living decent lives.

"Although houses can be different, at least every Tanzanian has a decent house regardless of his or her location, urban or rural", Comrade

Karabani said. "Programmes to service the rural areas with electricity and piped water are being carried out."

Resettlements: A New Method

The other sector of our Community based on cooperatives had problems, because the masses were not very clear on the running of cooperatives. "We tried yet another method, which we call Bega KwaBega." This is a second type of resettlement where people have a community large scale farm but own individual plots. Families work in community fields for a number of days in a week and the remainder is devoted to their family plots. "This system has paid off because food production has increased compared to what was being produced in Ujamaa Villages", Comrade Karabani said.

The marketing of produce is no more a problem because the people themselves have formed marketing cooperatives at central points in the settlements. Servicing of farm implements is no more a problem because they are done at central points. The government owned large scale farms also play a very big role in food production because the workers are now conscious of their duty to the nation.

Comrade Karabani explained, "Since 1975, more than 800 village settlements were registered with the central government for proper planning and expansion of cottage industries in all the provinces of the country." This helps us to identify areas that need urgent attention in terms of services as well as communication and development. Industry has been expanded and spread across the country in an effort to minimise the movement of people from rural areas to cities.

The diversification of our industry has reached a stage where we can now say the country has been developing. We now manufacture textiles, footwear, food processing plants like the National Milling Corporation have been expanded. The National Development Corporation now has independent parastatals that are viable. "The National Bank of Commerce last year made a lot of profit which means that the country has finances to invest in both social ser-

vices as well as industry. We however cannot say we have no problems because we are part and parcel of world economic society, we were also affected by an economic crisis during the 70s and 80s and we also have had mean years when ecological conditions forced us to import what we did not have. We were also affected by conditions of the international agencies like the IMF and others. However, we have managed to sustain much of the hardships and continue to look to the future more determined to make our country self-reliant.

Referring to a question on why Tanzania has given back some of the large estates to private companies, Comrade Karabani said that the State did not do that but had entered into agreements with private organisations as partners, the Tanzanian government commanding a large share. This cannot be said surrendering businesses or large farms to private

companies or multinationals. This is a way of developing these large scale estates with advanced technology in the development of large scale farming and food production.

It can therefore be said, without hesitation, that one result of the Arusha Declaration from which Tanzania now benefits, is that the wealth we produce in Tanzania is available for use in Tanzania. Exploitative forces have been cut; today we have no (Mrija) wealth suckers. The productive as well as distributive sectors of our economy have now been transferred into the hands of the public, we can now decide what we want to build and decide for ourselves our priorities," said Comrade Karabani.

We have been able to create industries from our own resources and borrowings from abroad to create more industries which will serve the interests of our people. Soon after the

Arusha Declaration there has been an expansion of enterprises which use local content, our own raw materials. For example hardly any cotton produced in Tanzania was made into cloth but today Tanzania textile industries produce over 200 million meters of cloth. This is as a result of diversification from 1975 onwards when we had just 8 textile mills. Some of our larger factories that were established after the Arusha Declaration manufacture varied goods like farm implements, tyres, fertilisers, radios, batteries and bicycles, cement works, printing plants and many others. Expansions in tobacco and shoes factories which we nationalised in 1967 have been carried out.

The construction of factories has not been completed to make Tanzania self-sufficient in all the day to-day commodities of life, so we continue to establish such institutions that will be operational on completion, Comrade Karabani concluded.

PALESTINIANS IN LEBANON: THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES

The struggle for the liberation of Palestine has been regarded as the centrepiece of Middle East politics by many people around the world since 1948. Recent massacres of Palestinians in refugee camps in Lebanon by certain Arab elements, however, has clouded this long-standing popular perception.

This article examines the plight of Palestinians in Lebanon. In particular, it looks at Lebanon's socio-political situation in its historical perspective, now and why Palestinians came to be in that country, and assesses the forces now threatening their existence.

The Republic of Lebanon lies in Western Asia, bordered by Syria to the north and east, and by Israel to the south. The country has a coastline of about 220km (135 miles) on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean Sea.



The Non Aligned Movement is at the fore front of the Anti-imperialist and Anti-colonial struggles. Here the Chairman of the Non Aligned Movement and Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, Comrade Robert Mugabe holds hands with the Leader of Palestinian Liberation Organisation, Comrade Yasser Arafat at the latter's arrival for the 8th Summit in Harare

Its official language is Arabic, spoken by small ethnic minorities. About 10 per cent of the population are Arab refugees

from Palestine. The major religions are Islam and Christianity, and there is a very small Jewish community. In the early 1980s it was estimated that 57 per cent of Lebanon's inhabitants were Muslims, with about 43 per cent Christians. The principal Muslim sects are the Sunni and Shi'a, while there is also a significant Druze (Druse) community. Most of the Christians adhere to the Roman Catholic Church, principally the Maronite rite. There are also Armenia, Greek and Syrian sects (both Catholic and Eastern Orthodox), and small groups of Protestants. By the 1980s it was widely believed that the Shi'a Muslims, (totalling an estimated 1,2 million) constituted Lebanon's largest single community. The country's capital city is Beirut.

Recent History of Lebanon

Lebanon, the homeland of the ancient Phoenicians, became part of Turkey's Ottoman Empire in the 16th century. During the First War (1914 - 18), in which Turkey was allied with Germany, the Arabs under Ottoman rule rebelled. In 1918 British and French forces invaded Lebanon and, with Arab help, expelled the Turks. At the end of the war, following Turkey's defeat, the Ottoman Empire was dissolved. Lebanon was administered by France, under a League of Nations mandate; from 1920 until independence was declared on 26 November, 1941. A republic was established in 1943, and full autonomy granted to the new state in January 1944. All foreign troops left the country by December 1946.

Unlike most Arab countries, Lebanon is characterised by great religious and cultural diversity. When the republic was established, the various communities agreed on a delicate balance of power as a means of avoiding mutual hostility. The unwritten "national pact" of 1943 provided for a sharing of executive and legislative functions in the ratio of six Christians to five Muslims. It was agreed that the distribution of seats in the

Chamber of Deputies (renamed the National Assembly in 1979) would be on a religious rather than an ideological basis. There is a convention that the President of Lebanon is a Maronite Christian, while the Prime Minister is a Sunni Muslim. Political parties have usually been identified with particular religious affiliations, and attempts to form national parties have met with little success.

Arrival of Palestinians

For many years, however, Lebanon's various Christian and Muslim groups generally coexisted in a spirit of tolerance. But the country never participated actively in Arab-Israeli wars which dominated the politics of the region. The influx into southern Lebanon of Palestinian Arabs, mostly Muslim refugees from those wars, tilted the balance between the religions and led to calls for a more active Lebanese role in the wider regional conflict.

The arrival of the Palestinians, and the indigenous Muslims' higher rate of population increase, resulted in approximately parity between Christians and Muslims, and it is generally believed that Muslims constituted a majority of Lebanon's

population by the 1970s.

In 1958 there were serious internal disturbances which really shattered the existing political arrangements. Domestic tranquillity was restored, and peaceful coexistence continued, with few interruptions, until 1975, since then there has been bitter conflict between the various communities. The relative stability of Lebanon until the mid-1970s enabled the country to become the commercial and financial centre of the Middle East. However, the business district of Beirut was largely destroyed in 1975 - 76, and it has remained in ruins during the subsequent civil strife. As a result of continuing violence and political uncertainty, Lebanon's role as a trading centre has greatly diminished.

Lebanon's first President was Sheikh Bishara el-Khoury. He held office from 1943 until his resignation, after allegations of corruption, in 1952. His successor was Camille Chamoun, who adopted a pro-Western foreign policy. Following elections to the Chamber of Deputies in 1957, there was considerable unrest, mainly among Muslims who favoured policies of Arab nationalism, particularly a closer alignment with Egypt and Syria.

Chairman of the PLO Comrade Yasser Arafat addresses a joint rally with the First Secretary and President of ZANU (PF) Comrade Robert Mugabe. The struggle against Zionism continues till final victory



By 1958 civil disturbances had grown into a full-scale insurrection, with Muslim and Christian forces in conflict. In July 1958, near the end of his term of office, President Chamoun appealed to the USA for military assistance. US forces, totalling 10 000 men, quickly arrived in Beirut and remained until October, by which time peace had been restored. Meanwhile, the Chamber elected General Fuad Chehab, commander of the armed forces to be the next President. He held office until 1964, and was followed by Charles Helou (1964-70) and Sulaiman Franjiya (1970-76).

After the establishment of Israel in 1848, Lebanon accepted thousands of Palestinian refugees, many of whom settled in camps in southern areas. The country also joined in the policy of boycotting Israel adopted by Arab and other countries. The Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO), founded in 1964, had its headquarters in Beirut, until the events of mid-1982 caused the removal of the PLO leadership to Tunis.

Pressure on Palestinians to Leave their Homeland

In November 1917, the British Cabinet (which had no legal authority over Palestine) promised the Zionist movement "the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for Jewish people." The population of Palestinian Arabs in 1918 stood at 644 000, while that of native Palestinian Jews and recent immigrants was 65 000.

Palestine was placed under a British administration from 1922 which was committed to encouraging Jewish immigration and settlement on the land, as part of the implementation of the Balfour Declaration. The Palestinians, aware of this attempt to colonise their country, rebelled. Faced with this challenge, the British administration suddenly began efforts to limit Jewish immigration.

The slaughter and persecution of Jews under the Nazis gave fresh sympathy to the Zionist movement's claims. Illegal

Jewish immigrants flooded into Palestine. By 1948 Palestinian Arabs numbered 1 380 000 people; while the population of Jews, mostly illegal immigrants, had jumped dramatically to 700,000.

In October 1947 the General Assembly of the United Nations recommended dividing up Palestine. This gave the Jews (who constituted only one third of the total population) around 60 percent of the land, including the most fertile areas, leaving the poorer and smaller proportion of Palestine to the native Palestinian population.

While the British were still in control, civil war broke out in Palestine. By the time the British withdrew in May 1948, 960 000 Palestinian Arabs had been made homeless refugees. When the fighting ceased the Zionists were in control of an area one third larger than that allocated to the Jewish state, under the United Nations plan. The state of Israel was proclaimed as a Jewish state in Palestine.

In May 1949, as a condition of United Nations (UN) membership, Israel undertook to implement a UN resolution calling for dispossessed Palestinians to be given the chance of returning to their homes. After achieving membership, and for three decades since, Israel refused to implement this resolution.

In October 1956, after making a secret agreement with Britain and France, Israel attacked Egypt and occupied Gaza and the Sinai Peninsula. However, Israel was forced to withdraw to the 1948 boundaries following strong diplomatic pressure from many countries. All the same, Israel continued to employ terror tactics against neighbouring Arab states, culminating in the virtual destruction of the village of Samu in the West Bank in November 1966.

Israel again occupied Gaza and Sinai in June 1967. What was left of Palestine and even part of Syria was seized at the same time to "teach the Arabs a lesson". Half a million Palestinian Arabs were made homeless.

The fourth Arab-Israeli war broke out in October 1973 which resulted in further occupation of Arab and displacement of Palestinians. Since the Israeli invasion of the West Bank and Gaza Strip areas of Palestine in 1967, the Palestinian economy there has been systematically attacked, undermined and manipulated by the occupation forces. The Israeli government has ruthlessly enforced the under-development of the Palestinian economy and radically altered production, distribution and employment, in order to create Palestinian dependence in Israel. There are two purposes to this: the bolster-



Palestinians demonstrate against camps' seige outside Syrian HQ in Beirut



Palestinian women carrying bags of food ask Amal gunmen to lift camps' blockade

ing of the crisis-ridden Israeli economy and the control of the population of the occupied territories — a form of control to accompany the guns of the occupying army and Zionist settlers.

These are some of the pressures which have been forcing Palestinians to leave their homeland to seek refuge in neighbouring countries. Given this background, the question now being asked is: why are Palestinians being victimised in Lebanon by people who should be giving them every assistance to fight the common enemy, Israel?

These are some of the pressures which have been forcing Palestinians to leave their homeland to seek refuge in neighbouring countries. Given this background, the question now being asked is: why are Palestinians being victimised in Lebanon by people who should be giving them every assistance to fight the common enemy, Israel?

Forces Behind Massacres of Palestinians

When the Palestinians began their exodus into Lebanon they were welcomed by progressive elements, particularly among the Muslim community. For many years these elements fought

side-by-side with Palestinians against the Israeli enemy, realising that the Palestinian struggle could not be separated from the struggle for peace and territorial integrity of all countries in the region.

However, the presence of Palestinian guerilla groups, and the consequent Israeli reprisals, caused security problems for successive Lebanese governments and led to frequent Cabinet crisis. As the years went by Lebanese society became increasingly split over the question of support for the Palestinian guerrillas (*fedayeen*). Following the expulsion of the *fedayeen* from Jordan in July 1971, the bases in Lebanese refugee camps became increasingly important to Palestinian guerrilla groups. Their operations against Israel in the 1970s were met by brutal reprisals, with the villages of southern Lebanon, in particular, suffering damage and casualties as a result of Israeli raids and shelling.

The continuing violence involving the *fedayeen* and Israeli forces led to increased tension between Palestinian guerrillas and members of the Phalangist Party (the Phalanges Libanaises, also known as al-Kata'eb), a militant right-wing Maronite Christian group, founded and led by Pierre Gamayel. Phalangist and Palestinian forces clashed in July 1974, with the Phalangists

demanding that the Lebanese Government should control guerilla activities.

An incident in April 1975 led to more serious fighting between Phalangists and Palestinians in Beirut. The conflict continued and quickly developed into full-scale civil war between the religious communities, with the "National Movement" of left-wing Muslims (including Palestinians), led by Kamal Jomblatt of the Progressive Socialist Party, in conflict with conservative Christian groups, mainly the Phalangist militia. The underlying reason for the war was the widely held belief that the population balance, which favoured Christians when the allocation of political and administrative posts was agreed in 1943, had shifted in favour of Muslims, who thus felt under-represented. Also, the Muslims identify with the Arab and Islamic world, while the Christians look towards the West.

Assad's Role

Before Hafez Assad became President of Syria through a coup in 1971, Palestinians used to receive a lot of support from Damascus in their struggle against Israel.

Since that time, however, the role Assad has played in the politics of the region has changed.

Assad has always regarded Lebanon as Syria's backyard. Since the early 1970s he has intervened in Lebanese politics without reservation. His Lebanon policy has been based on two principles. First, he has concentrated on identifying and backing those Lebanese factions willing to maintain a situation of instability in which no other political force can assert a dominant influence.

Second, when his Lebanese allies have failed him, or have changed their allegiance, he has been willing to intervene directly, imposing his will by virtue of Syria's massively greater military resources.

The pattern was set in the ear-

ly 70s. Then, with Lebanon's political crisis deepening, Assad aligned himself with the "natural" allies of his Baath ("resurrection") Party — the nationalist forces of the Lebanese Muslim Community and their Palestinian allies.

Syria provided finance, arms and training facilities for the Muslims and closely identified with the Lebanese National Movement led by Kamal Jumblatt, the Druze leader and father of Walid Jumblatt, present head of the Druze Progressive Socialist Party.

When civil war erupted in 1975, Syria backed the Lebanese National Movement and the Palestinians. But when the Muslim alliance threatened to defeat its enemies among the Christian rightist militias, Assad made an abrupt about-turn.

Thinking that a victory for the Movement might result in a decrease of its influence, the Assad regime sent 40 000 troops across the border to aid forces of the Right.

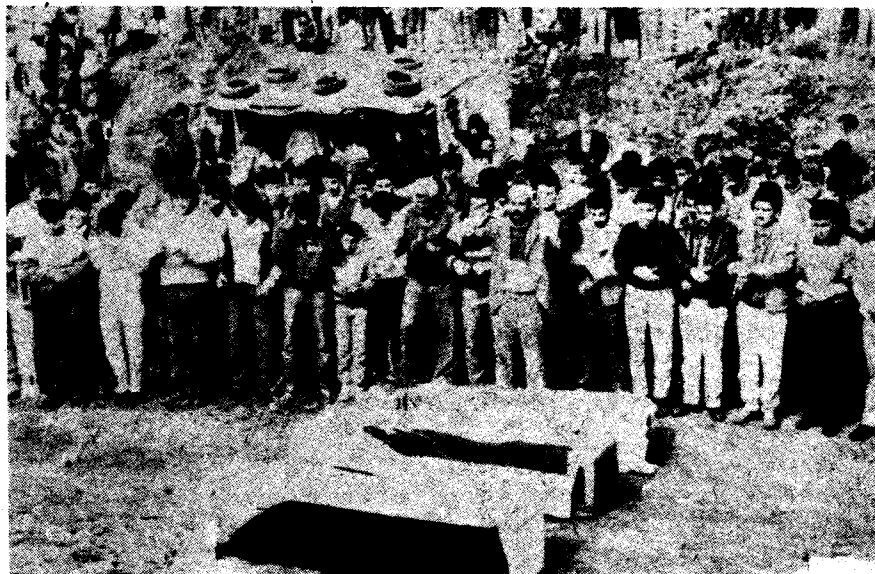
Formally, Assad had the backing of Lebanon's President and the Arab states for his "Arab Deterrent Force" and its supposed aim of bringing peace to the country's warring factions. But once inside Lebanon's borders his strategy was clear — to destroy the Lebanese National Movement and ensure that no single group could dominate the Lebanese political system.

It is in this context that the brutal massacres of Palestinians have occurred in Lebanon.

Zimbabwe News recently interviewed the PLO ambassador to Zimbabwe, Comrade Ali Halimeh, on the Damascus regime's role in Palestinian affairs.

"Since Assad toppled the government Noor Aldin al-Atasyi in 1971 Palestinians have not been allowed to mount a single operation against Israel from Syrian soil.

"Assad has always been hostile against Palestinians. This hostility manifested itself even before he became President. For



The funeral of three youths killed trying to get food into Bourjel-Barajneh

example, when 20 000 Palestinians were being slaughtered in Jordan in 1970 it was Assad who blocked assistance which Syria would have given to it to save the situation. Assad was then Syria's Defense Minister," said Comrade Halimeh.

Comrade Halimeh revealed that when the Israeli army invaded Lebanon in 1982 with the aim of wiping out Palestinians, Algeria offered the Palestinians US\$20 million worth of Soviet arms. North and South Yemen, as well as Sudan, offered to intervene. These moves were blocked by the Damascus regime. "In the fight itself, Syria, which had highly sophisticated Soviet weapons, only offered token resistance. Assad was much more interested in seeing the PLO crashed."

Turning to the present crisis in Lebanon, Comrade Halimeh said since the "camps war" started a few months ago more than 5 000 Palestinian men, women and innocent children have been killed. "80 000 more have been displaced and of the 12 refugee camps in Lebanon, 6 major camps have been completely surrounded by the Amal Militia men and 4 have been completely destroyed."

Asked why Amal, which in the past was a close ally of the PLO, should now be taking arms to fight Palestinian refugees Comrade Halimeh blamed Assad. "When Amal was formed in the

early 1970s relations between that organisation and the PLO were very good. Indeed the name Amal, which means 'hope', was given to that organisation by PLO Chairman Arafat. Amal and the PLO used to fight side-by-side against Israeli forces in Southern Lebanon. Relations changed when the first Amal Leader, Aral Musa Sadr, disappeared in Libya and Nabih Berri took over. Berri, under the control of the Syrian regime, turned Amal against Palestinians. Syria does not want to see an independent Palestinian state and will use anyone to crush us."



Palestinian refugees stream out of Rashidiyeh, near Tyre, during break in siege

WHICH ROAD TO TAKE

Nauka, a Soviet publishing house has issued a book entitled "Economic Development Problems Facing The Countries of Socialist Orientation" written by a group of scientists of the Patrice Lumumba Peoples' Friendship University.

The authors say that the national liberation revolutions in a number of the newly-free countries have paved the way for transition to socialist revolutions there. The road of socialist orientation meets the best interests of their peoples since it creates opportunities for ridding them of exploitation, for rapid progress, and for raising the working people's living standards.

The agrarian reform is one major democratic measure in the interests of the people. Its strategic goal is cooperation of farmers, the setting up of a public sector of the economy, and thereby raising the agricultural output. This in turn is of great importance for the industrial development. Therefore, the elimination of pre-capitalist productive relations in the countryside is a must if an independent economy is to be created.

These transformations are launched, as a rule, with the nationalisation of land. Thus, following the revolution in Algeria 2,7 million hectares of land were nationalised, 4 000 hectares became state property in Angola, and so did 1 500 plantations and companies which had belonged to the colonizers in Mozambique.

Second in importance after the nationalisation of land is the cooperation of farmers. Cooperation is deemed most important in the countries of socialist orientation. For instance, the motto of

the rural social and economic transformations on Madagascar is "Agrarian Reform without Cooperation Is Senseless!" In Tanzania about 13 million farmers moved to the "ujamaa villages". And in Mozambique there were 1 352 "communal villages" in 1982 with a total population of 1 807 000 (from 50 to 11 000 families in each village).

Highly mechanized state farms are being established. They introduce new agricultural crops. The programme documents in such countries assign the state farms and plantations a leading role in agricultural production.

The government renders vast assistance to the cooperative movement. In Ethiopia the agricultural and industrial development branches of the State Bank grant the cooperatives credits for a term of 15 years demanding no guarantees. In Congo, the National Agricultural Credit Fund allocated 300 million African francs for the purpose in 1981 alone.

The book says that in their social and economic reforms the countries of socialist orientation are supported by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. By the early 1980s Soviet assistance to Ethiopia's public sector included the construction of a tractor plant, setting up 15 repair service stations for agricultural machinery, and the building of more than 30 warehouse facilities, agricultural elevators and refrigerating plants. Ethiopia has begun developing 10 000 hectares of virgin land with Soviet assistance. Meanwhile agronomists, zootechnicians, machinery operators and other specialists are also being

trained.

The writers of the book also analyze several possible solutions to the food problem, a most important and difficult issue facing the developing countries. According to FAO, no less than 150 million Africans suffer from hunger. This is because agricultural exports in these countries are single-crop in nature, inherited from the colonialist epoch. The major reason for this is the neocolonialist policies of the former "parent states". The solution of the food problem is greatly aggravated by the fact that the Western powers use food shipments as a tool for political pressure and blackmail. In accordance with its Law No. 480 the US, for example, has been granting food aid since the 1950s only to those Afro-Asian and Latin American countries which toe its political line.

The book exposes the bourgeois theories of the appearance and aggravation of political crises. For instance, British 19th century economist T. Malthus said that some "superfluous population" is appearing in the world, unable to get either jobs or food. This is triggering a brutal struggle for existence, or "war of all against all" — a "law of nature", he said. Meanwhile Professor R. Milliken (American) declared that the world's population should be reduced by 90 per cent to make life "replete and interesting" for the remaining 10 per cent.

The authors of the book feel that the food crisis in the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries can only be overcome through reorienting their economies (agriculture included), to a non-capitalist road. (APN)



Africa and Asia: Conditions for Successful Industrialisation

By professor Mai Volk

Developing countries pin great hopes on industrialisation. In the 1975 Lima Declaration adopted at their insistence, the 2nd General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organisation (UNIDO) solemnly affirmed its strong belief in the role of industry as a dynamic instrument of growth, indispensable for ensuring the rapid economic and social advancement of developing countries, especially those least developed. Accordingly this conference determined as a global task the enhancement of the developing countries' share of world industrial production at least to 25 per cent by the year 2 000, and the securing of a possibly more even distribution of industry across the developing nations.

The significance of this task is due to the fact that by the time of adoption of this Declaration developing countries, representing 70 per cent of the world's population, accounted for only 7 per cent of world industrial production.

Over the past time, great successes have marked the industrialisation of developing countries. Modern industrial plants have risen up and whole manufacturing areas have appeared in Latin America, Asia and Africa. Some of the developing countries have turned into exporters of finished industrial goods. The process of industrialisation is very uneven, though: only about ten new industrial states, with about 80 per cent of the developing world's total manufacturing output, stand out. But, on the other hand, few countries are now left that haven't been touched by industrialisation in some degree or

The development of Industry and Agriculture should be enhanced so as to ensure a solid Agro-Industrial base and therefore reduce dependence on the Western capitalist metropolis Africa and Asia: Conditions for Successful Industrialisation



other. Industrialisation determines the important positive shifts in economics and the social sphere: a growing number of industrial workers, technicians and engineers whose skill, outlook and cultural background are significantly higher than illiterate peasants, and who are familiar with the modern practices of production; a possibility for all-round updating of production and the achievement of economic independence; and a higher rate of overall economic growth.

But the dark sides of industrialisation also show up. They not only complicate the very process of industrial development, but also cause definite negative consequences in the society as a whole. Thus, industrialisation in a number of developing countries has begun to assume a militaristic character: they're building industrial plants that turn out modern types of weaponry. Already 30 developing countries operate plants manufacturing various kinds of today's combat equipment. With more Third World modern industrial plants, dependence on world capitalist centres in the technological field, that is on supplies of spare parts and some types of materials and components, on foreign technical specialists' services and on scientific-technical information, increases. Many of the industrial plants built in

developing countries are the property of foreign capital and are subsidiaries of transnational corporations. Profits from their operation are appropriated by the foreign owners: they are not used for economic development or the satisfaction of the social needs of the people. Increasing dependence of developing countries on external markets for their manufactured goods leads to increased dependence on the trade policy pursued by Western nations. The production capacity of a number of plants remains constantly underutilised, and this is one of the reasons for their low profitability or even unprofitability.

Ever louder voices can be heard among Western economists that accuse the developing countries of being overenthusiastic about industrialisation and urge them to shift the emphasis on to the development of agriculture and to cover the requirements in manufactured products with imports from industrially developed states. They erroneously divide the single national economy into supposedly rival branches, where as industry and agriculture in a rationally organised economy are closely related and their development is mutually conditioned. This is why industrialisation should be backed with the appropriate development of

agriculture if it is to be successful. Economic ties between industry and agriculture, which form an integral agro-industrial complex in which agriculture produces food and basic stock for industry, as well as providing a market for industry's goods, make up the core of a sound and normally functioning economy. Regulating these ties with the help of a rationally organised system of commodity-money relations can ensure the success of the industrialisation of those branches of the economy which are directly oriented towards the agricultural sphere.

As far as heavy industry, including that producing capital goods, is concerned, here the main condition for success is the strengthening and expansion of the state sector and the establishment of firm, reciprocally advantageous economic ties between the state and private enterprise with the latter drawn into vigorous activity in the national interest of economic and social development and enveloped by the system of state planning.

Successful industrialisation is impossible without the subjection of the foreign enterprises on the territory of developing countries to national economic policy, the prevention of their activities that are detrimental to the interests of economic and social development and the establishment of effective state control over them.

Consequently, successful industrialisation calls for major socio-economic changes in different spheres of society, and also a restructuring of international economic relations that would ensure the observance of developing countries' interests and enable them to attract external resources for development on an equal, fair and mutually beneficial basis.

The experience of Afro-Asian states' industrial development shows that a variety of organisational and economic forms, such as nationalising particular enterprises and branches of the economy, creating mixed companies and using contracts and subcontractor relationships on a large scale, can be used to achieve the industrialisation goals. It is essential that all these diverse forms should be filled with a social content ensuring the subordination of private interests

to national and guaranteeing the observance of the principles of social justice.

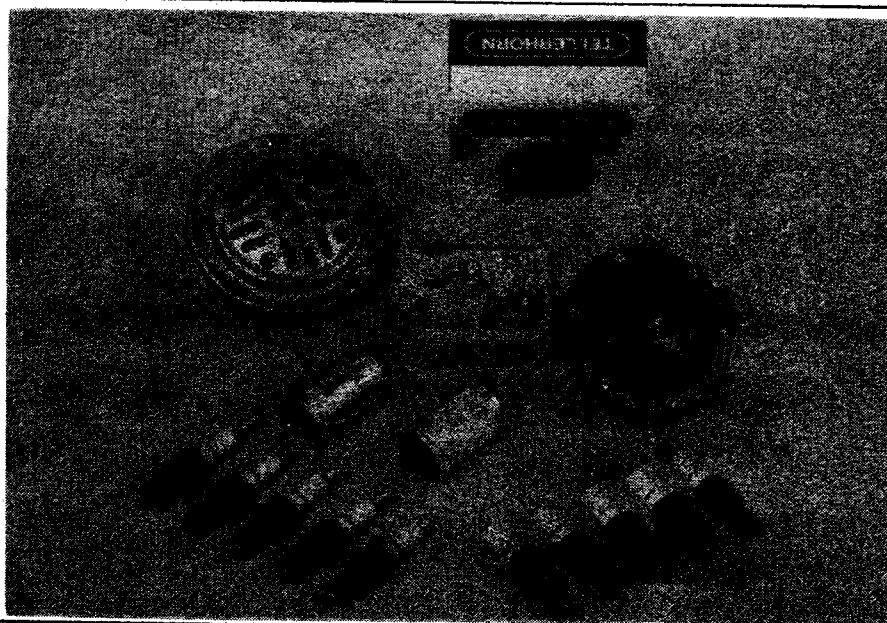
For successful industrialisation developing countries need to create their own scientific-technical base closely associated with the world and scientific-technical potential on a basis of equality. Modern science and technology should be converted from a tool of enhancement of the dependence of developing countries and their exploitation by transna-

tional corporations into a powerful force harnessed to the national interests of social progress. Also coupled with this is the need to bring up national skilled personnel who would not only possess high professional qualifications and an ability to master the latest technology, but would also exhibit high moral qualities, loyalty to their own people and be free from the spirit of greed and the bourgeois world outlook alien to the traditions of Afro-Asian civilisation.



MASHONALAND PARTS DISTRIBUTORS

A Division of MASHONALAND PARTS SUPPLIERS (PVT.) LTD.



We are pleased to introduce our new range of Hungarian goods to the Zimbabwe Market at the following recommended retail prices.

Spark Plugs	- Full range	\$3,04 inc. tax
Horns	- 12V and 24V	\$33,02 inc. tax
Flasher units	- 12V and 24V	landing soon
Filters	- Z81, Z84, Z151, Z153, Z74, Z68A-	landing soon.

For your nearest supplier and trade enquiries
phone 736639/40/41 or write to:

Mashonaland Parts Distributors, P.O. Box 1023, Harare.

Aquino and the Philippine Rebels

By Comrade H.M.R. Farinya

"Why rebels, are they not struggling for a just cause?"

The traffic lights flickered, and a roaring stream of cars moved away from the city centre.

Taka had a quick glance at his watch. His bus was not moving fast enough. He was supposed to lead the discussion at a ZANU (PF) study group due to start at 5.30 p.m. The main topic in the agenda was the situation in the Philippine islands and the revolutionary struggle against capitalist domination there.

Other comrades would also be rushing to the same meeting. The South African struggle, the war in Namibia and in Western Sahara, the Palestinian issue and the Central American issue had all been discussed. The party had always shown a true revolutionary stand by supporting the liberation struggle of other people. They had also assisted the Zimbabwean struggle specially during the war.

Now we lived in comfort and we tended to grumble almost about everything. We even called this obligation of meeting once a week an excessive demand. How important it was then, to refresh our memories with the deprivations and misfortunes of millions and millions around the world.

The chairman welcomed the members and explained how confused he was at the contradictory nature of news on the Philippine situation as reported in the media.

First of all one could detect a deliberate attempt to have Aquino promoted as "the most popular head of state in the world today" (USA senator Solarz, Time 1.5.87).

Even in Zimbabwe every single news broadcast had to include President Corazon Aquino. The Herald had followed suit in the international campaign to over-cover the Aquino phenomenon. What about the "povo" the 54 million Filipinos who were the real news makers in that country?

Taka was then asked to offer a more balanced view of the situation in the Philippines and a more satisfactory account of the revolutionary struggle. "Please do not start

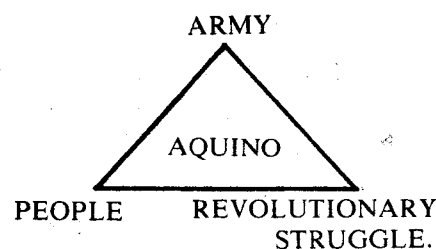
like in the news: 'President Corazon Aquino of the Philippines has said today . . .'" Added the chairman laughing. Taka moved to the blackboard and drew a triangle.

"This is how the conflict surfaces: See these three points: the army at the top, overlooking the whole situation. Then the people, the exploited proletariat, the unemployed, the peasants, the fishermen at the bottom forming the base of the triangle together with the National Democratic Front and the New People's Army."

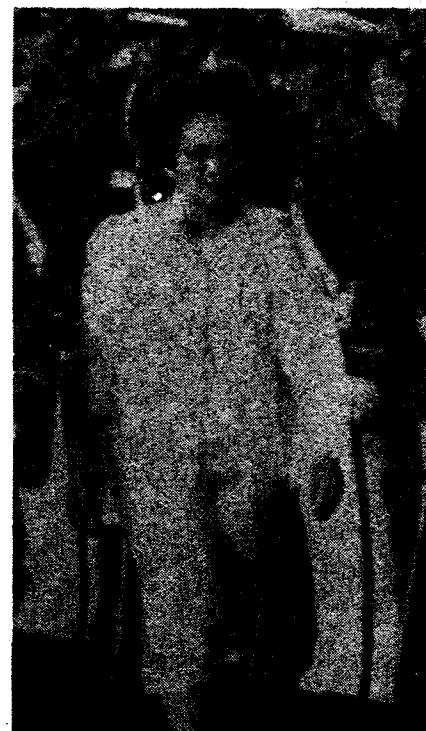
"No place for Aquino", said somebody jokingly.

"You are right, but we have to place her somewhere. Her place should be in the middle of all these conflicting forces, in isolation, in the centre of the triangle. Notice that the line joining the people and their struggle contains the historical base of the Philippine nation the only adequate foundation for a people's democratic government, for the security of the country, for a new economic social and political order.

Nevertheless this is completely forgotten, and attempts are made to disintegrate it.



Now see what would happen if Aquino would leave her position in



The President reviewing honour-guard troops in Manila

the centre and would move towards the base, in the direction of the people and their struggle. Suppose she would initiate an adequate land reform or move into the private sector and try to localise foreign control of the economy. Suppose she would start negotiating with the guerillas, not to ask them to throw away their weapons but to invite them to join the government forming a coalition from where they could defend the interests of the people.

What would happen? She would run away from the military and that would be disastrous for her. The army would immediately destabilize her government and produce a military junta to rule the country according to their demands.

"Move Aquino closer to the top, towards the military and she would lose the popularity that she now enjoys".

"You are telling us" said a young man from the crowd "that all the

problems in the Philippine islands are 'power' problems. You have made no reference to the class struggle. What about the economic base?"

"You are right?" Taka said.

"The conflicts that surface due to the confrontations between the top of the triangle and the base are only the result of a deeper contradiction that does not appear in my diagram."

Let me explain how it all began. The Philippines are 7 000 islands covering 300 000 sq. km, much less than the area of Zimbabwe. Nevertheless with a population of 54 million their density of 180 per sq. km, or nine times greater than ours.

This is the only Asian country which was colonized by the west without having achieved a central government of their own or an elite culture which would have helped to unite the whole population. Each one of the successive colonial powers left its imprint till independence was granted in 1946 leaving the people with no clear direction. Dependence on foreign powers, namely United States and Japan, has been the main trait of the 40 year old nation. No wonder that the only two trips of Cory Aquino so far out of the Philippines have been to Washington and Tokyo.

The islands had been successively occupied by Spain, United States and Japan. Different guerilla movements had opposed the different invasions till the huks were exterminated soon after independence.

Marcos took over in 1965 and his 21-year-old dictatorship had the appearance of another form of foreign domination. The economy was controlled by 116 transnational corporations most of them based in the United States. Only 2 per cent of the total population (about 70 rich families) had access to 75 percent of the main sources of production, the land and the capital. The linkage between the elite and the transnational was well established.

Meanwhile about 85 percent of the local population lived in a feudal society with the following characteristics:

- a) Abundance of cheap labour and uncertain agricultural develop-

ment. Consequently widespread unemployment, reaching more than 50 percent in the cities.

- b) About 70 percent live under the poverty line while malnutrition in the rural areas affect 80 percent of all children.
- c) Such natural resources as gold and wood are processed outside the country and sold back in the Philippine as imported manufactured products at very high prices.
- d) The land is gradually passing to the ownership of a very small minority while the peasants become workers without land.

These were the results of the so called "New Society Movement", the Party headed by President Marcos. The people did not want to be dictated the type as society they wanted. In 1968 the communist party was organised and the following year a bitter and continuous struggle started with the inception of the New People's Army. Today the NPA has reached 64 of the 74 provinces and is comprised by some 20 000 men and women. Some of them know nothing else but the war and are not ready to give up unless substantial changes for the total population are effected.

In 1976 an umbrella organisation embracing 12 different groups of students, trade unionists, women groups and communist activists, was formed, the National Democratic Front (NDF).

Meanwhile a liberation movement which envisages the succession of the moslem population of the South was formed. The Moro National Liberation Front presses not only for the legitimate social and economic rights of the banqsa-moro population but also for complete independence as a separate nation.

"Now you tell us, Taka," said the chairman "which are the prospects of a lasting peace in the Philippines with Aquino or without Aquino?"

"Well, in my opinion a lasting peace is impossible without lasting structural changes that secure for the majority of the people a place in society. Lasting peace cannot be obtained by a ceasefire because the question is not primarily military. The question is not about guns but about the people who hold them.

Negotiators were very quick asking the guerillas to surrender their weapons. At no time were they offered a power base in government, an equal place from where to decide the future of the people.

Here is where Aquino will prove totally inadequate. Her religious education in an American convent and her 13 years as treasurer of her family's immense wealth will make her highly unsympathetic with the communist guerillas. She will not be able to discover that the main issue is not a coalition with the marxists but a coming together with her own people from whom she will get greater support than she now gets from the United States and Japan.

The army has clearly shown that they are not ready to negotiate. Apart from three different attempts to overthrow the new President staged by different dissenting military groups, clear signs of no reconciliation were given during the ceasefire. On the 23 of January 12 people were killed and nearly 100 wounded as troops fired volleys on 10 000 left wing farmers surging towards the presidential palace demanding land reform.

Ten days later, as 20 million Filipinos were flocking to vote for a new constitution no shots were fired, but the military presence and the fresh memory of the peasants killed served as strong warning against any coalition with the left.

The chairman thanked Taka for his enlightening information. More questions were asked and the discussion was later focused on the crucial issue "no revolution without the people". Is there not a danger of the revolution being hijacked by foreign interests and the army as in the Philippines, calling Aquino's reform a revolution, or may be by the elite, the civil servants, or even the party?

Taka's study group continued well into the night studying our own situation in Zimbabwe. Are our peasants and workers fully involved as they were during the war? What are we fighting for today? How far has our revolution gone when a large segment of our population, especially in the rural areas, has remained "stuck with the socio-economic injustices and imbalances of our colonial past" (Mugabe, 1980)?

*** POETRY ***

Tungamirai Vakadzi veZimbabwe

Tungamirai Nyika vakadzi veZimbabwe
Sungirirai vana kumusana mufambe
Dare reupenyu norufaro zvino rarira
Wasara mushure wasarira rufu.

Penyai senyenyedzi mupunze zarima pasi
Bwibwinyai sezuva vana vaone nzira
Pepetai uipi vana vashaye hosha
Kwekweredzai varume vabude munungo.

Kwinyai sokunge mvumba vakadzi veZimbabwe
Tandanisai varume vabude mudzimba
Bvutai mikombe yedoro vaite basa
Hapana chingavakwe nomukombe wedoro.

Vadzimai ndimika vatinhi venyika yedu
Munotitinhira kugova rainofura
Kunodya dzimwe nyika uswa hwebumharutsva
Mukasara shure hapana angaitinhe.

Tungamirai nyika kumwenje worufaro
Parapatikai pose pamunenge muri
Pana katsono bate, pane penzura bate
Kuti isu tose titevere tisingatye.

Wasara wasara, kunopona vanokwakuka
Vanokambaira vanourukwa navamwe
Vanonanaira vanoora vari vapenyu
Vakakotsira vanosara vave voga.

Nyatsoumbai vana vakadzi vomu Zimbabwe
Vanopinda mujahwe vasina mafemo
Vanongwiririka vakasimba sorunhare
Vano unhu hwomene hwakapinda muropa.

Ndizvo zvatinochemera vakadzi ve Zimbabwe
Zvokuti mutikakate tiri mumujahwe
Tirege kuwana dzamira nemhuru mombe
Tichiva rudzi gotwe muwasara-wasara.

M. Mutsonziwa
Secretary — Women's League



THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES



As the resonant knell peels
 we wake up
 to mount up the causeway
 of the black soil
 climbing the atrocious tangles
 in the lost forests
 we wimper in anguish
 the terrestrial soldiers
 of a doomed yesterday
 fighting to liberate ourselves
 we will thunder the ground
 in victory
 piercing the bottomless abysses
 in search for the beast of apartheid
 devouring Africa's sons:
 Samora where are you?
 today incarcerated under the ground
 by the voracious fox of apartheid
 but with iron-clad fists,
 we'll move on
 to defend the African sovereignty!
 Long live Samora!
 Amilcar Cabral!
 Kwame Nkrumah!
 Modhlane!



ZIMBABWE INSURANCE BROKERS (PVT.) LTD.

are proud to announce their association with the Association of District Councils of Zimbabwe.

ZIB was created by the people of Zimbabwe for the people of Zimbabwe, to provide an efficient and professional insurance advisory service to all sectors of the Community.

FOR ALL YOUR INSURANCE REQUIREMENTS:

- *Individual Assurance,*
- *Pensions,*
- *Commercial Insurances,*
- *Industrial Insurances,*
- *Farming Insurances, etc.*

CONTACT: PAUL CHITATE OR CHINEMBIRI MANYUKWI

ZIMBABWE INSURANCE BROKERS (PVT.) LTD.

6th Floor, Southwing Travel Centre,
 Cnr. 3rd Street/Speke Avenue, P.O. Box 3413, Harare.
 Telephone 729651-9

Jongwe Printing & Publishing



Company (Pvt.) Ltd.

**14 Austin Road
Harare
Zimbabwe
Telephone 64749**



Subscription Form For ZIMBABWE NEWS

Please send

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

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

Name:
(Please Print)

Address:

.....

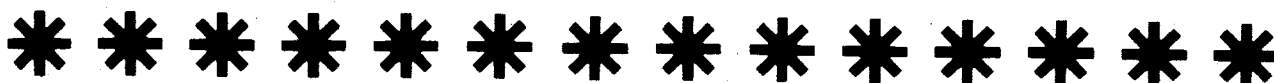
Signature

The Rates Include Postage and Handling.

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

Mail to

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





Subscription Form For ZIMBABWE NEWS

Please send

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

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

Name:
(Please Print)

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

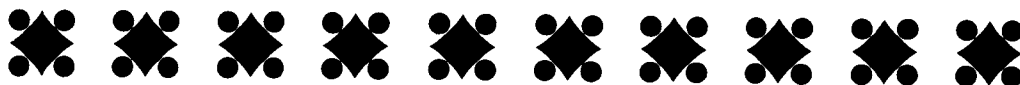
Signature

The Rates Include Postage and Handling.

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

Mail to

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



THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES

