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Zimbabwe News

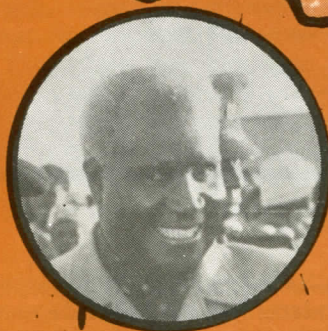
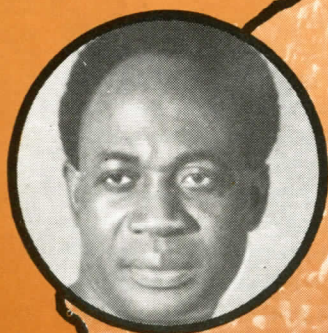
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PAN AFRICANISM

THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION



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JONGWE

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EDITORIAL

Civil Servants Should Play an Active Role in Politics

Civil servants are part of the community of Zimbabwe that is struggling to consolidate its independence after a long bitter liberation war. Some of the people who are now in the civil service took part in that war in order to liberate their country from colonialism, racism and imperialism. They themselves as well as their children are enjoying the fruits of independence like everyone else.

In fact, the civil servants, more than any other interest group in our society, should be enthusiastic supporters of the new political and social order. In the old colonial order civil servants were grossly discriminated against. In that regime, it did not matter how intelligent or how well trained an African may be — as long as he had a black skin he could not be permitted to the high echelons of the civil service. The top and middle positions of the civil service were reserved exclusively for the representatives of the white minority. Hence at the time of the attainment of independence on April 18, 1980, there were no African Permanent Secretaries, no African Deputy Secretaries, and even no African Under secretaries. The highest position an African had ever reached was to be a Senior Executive Officer or to be an Inspector of Schools in the Ministry of Education.

In the new political order therefore, we expect the civil servants to play an active role in politics. They cannot remain neutral. The Government of the people of Zimbabwe has modified the regulations which prevented civil servants from playing an active role in politics. It is now permissible for a civil servant to be a member of a political party and indeed to hold office in village committees, branches, district and Provincial committees of political parties.

Many civil servants complain that they are not given information by the political parties concerning date, place and time of political meetings or rallies, and they are not informed of the general activities of the cells or village committees, branches and party districts. However, if the civil servants are themselves committed and active members of the party at the branch and village levels they will automatically know of the activities of the party. We are pleased that a number of civil servants are members of branches, and village committees of the Party. Some of them are active at the district levels. These men play a very important role in enlightening the population within which they are

working about Government programmes and policies.

Many Party supporters in the villages and high density suburbs complain that some wellknown supporters of former colonialist and racist regimes occupy key positions in the civil service. Some wellknown security agents for former colonialist regimes are also holding key positions in the civil service. Indeed, many persons who were prominent supporters of the Internal Settlement led by Bishop Abel Muzorewa are today holding key positions in the civil service. While all this is true, it should be borne in mind that ZANU (PF) Government is a government of reconciliation. At the time of Independence, the Honourable Prime Minister and President of our Party Comrade R.G. Mugabe announced that supporters of former regimes will be forgiven for their past records and activities. But however, these persons must reciprocate the hand of friendship that has been stretched towards them by supporting the new order and the party that is responsible for bringing about that new order in which they are now enjoying full human rights and promotions to higher posts. They cannot and should not spurn the hand that is feeding them. We can forgive and we have forgiven but we cannot forget the deep wounds of the past which were inflicted by quislings, sell-outs and collaborators with our enemies.

The new recruits to the party, as well as those persons who were active in the minority parties before they joined ZANU (PF) should take every early opportunities to attend the seminars organised by the Commissariat at different levels of the Party and different organs in order to acquaint themselves with Party policies and programmes. It is important that they know the direction or "Gwara" of the Party. They should show by their actions as well as patterns of participation in party activities, that they have truly embraced and accepted the new order and the policies and programmes of the Party. They should leave no stone unturned to learn and be educated about the policies and programmes of our Party. People in this category should however avoid either boasting about their past which is deplorable, or attempt to present themselves as more ZANU than ZANU itself. Such attitudes only create antagonism and friction within the Party organs and should be scrupulously avoided especially by the new members.

Nyaya: Vashandi veHurumende Vanofanira Kushandira Zvamatongerwe Enyika

Vashandi veHurumende inhengo dzezvizvarwa zvemuzimbabwe izvo zviri kurwisa kusimbaradza rusununguko rwedu mushure mamakore akawanda okurwira rusununguko. Vamwe vava kushandira Hurumende iye nhasi vakarwawo muhondo yokusunungura nyika ino kubva muudzvanyiriri, rusaruraganda neusvetasimba. Ava vanhu pamwe chete nevana vavo nhasi vasunungukawo, sechizvarwa chipi zvacho cheZimbabwe.

Idi chairo nderekuti, vashandi veHurumende kupinda boka ripi zvaro muno muZimbabwe, vanofanira kunyanya kutsigira upenyu namatongerwo enyika matsva aya avapo. Panguva youdzvanyiriri vashandi yeHurumende vakanga vakatarisana nedambudziko rerusaruraganda. Hurumende iyoyo yakanga isina hanya nokuti mutema ainge akachenjera kana kudzidza zvakadini — kana aingova neganda dema chete akanga asingabyumidzwi kuva nechinzvimbo chapamusoro mumabasa eHurumende. Mabasa apamusoro aya ainge akachenge-terwa vachena badzi, nokudaro hazvishamisi kuti panguva yakauya rusununguko muna 1980 hapana mutema aitungamirira bazi reHurumende, Permanent Secretary, pakanga pasina mutevedzeri wechitema wechinzvimbo ichi uye pakanga pasina kana anozoteverawo, uya anonzi Under Secretary. Chinzvimbo chikuru chaiva nemutema ndecha Senior Executive Officer kana kuti Inspector wezvikoro mubazi redzidzo.

Nokudaro nokuuya kwerusununguko tinotarisa vashandi veHurumende kuti vave nechinzvimbo chinokosha mumatongerwo enyika. Havatarisiri kungogara vasina zvavanoita panyaya iyi. Hurumende yevanhu veZimbabwe yakanhadzurudza mitemo iyo yairambidza vashandi veHurumende kuti vaite zvamatongerwo enyika. Iye zvino zvava kubvumirwa kuti mushandi weHurumende ave nhengo yemusangano uye kuti apiwe chigaro muvillage Committee, branch, district neProvincial committee yemusangano wamatongerwo enyika.

Vashandi vazhinji veHurumende vanotsutsuriwa chaizvo nokuti havapihwi mashoko akakwana nemabato ezvamatongerwo enyika, maererano nezuva, nzvimbo nenguva apo misangano yezvamatongerwo enyika inoitwa, uyezve vanoti ivo/havanyatsotaurirwi kuti misangano yamasero (cells) maburanji (branches) nematunhu,

(districts) inofamba sei. Asi hazvo, kana vanhu ava vane chido chaizvo kuziva mafambiro ezvitiiko zvemisangano iyi vanofanira kuzvitsvaga. Tinofara chaizvo kuziva kuti vashandi vazhinji veHurumende inhengo dzemusangano we ZANU PF. Vamwe vavo vanobatsira basa mumabran-ches. Ava vanhu vanobatsira chaizvo kudzidzisa povho yedu kuti Hurumende inoshanda sei.

Vanhu vakawanda vanotsigira masangano mumarokisheni vanoti ivo vanhu vaitsigira Hurumende dzezvim-bwasungata ndivo vane mabasa akakwirira muHurumende. Ichi ichokwadi, kuti vanhu vaitsigira Hurumende yavaMuzorewa ndivo vane mabasa akanaka muHurumende. Nyangwe ichi chiri chokwadi, asivo ngaticherechedzei kuti Hurumende yedu, iHurumende inoregerera. Apo takaona kuzvitonga kuzere Mutungamiriri wenyika yedu Comrade R.G. Mugabe vakataura ivo kuti vanhu vaitsigira Hurumende dzezvim-bwasungata vaizoregererwa. Asi nyangwe izvi zvakataurwa, vanhu ava vanofanirwa kudzorera ruoko rwekushamwaridzana urwu, nekutsigira Hurumende itsva, sekuti kudai Hurumende iyi isina kuuya, vangadeno dzimwe nguva vasina zvinzvimbo izvi. Tinokwanisa kuregerera asi hatikanganwi zvivondwa izvo takapihwa nevatengesi neavo vaitsigira vavengi vedu.

Avo vachangopinda mumusangano, neavo vanga vaine zvinzvimbo uye vachishanda nesimba mumapato madiki vasati vapinda mumusangano we ZANU PF vanofanira kushandisa nguva iripo nekuchimbida kuti vaendewo kumisangano iri kurongwa neCommissariat muzvinhanho zvakasiyana-siyana zvemusangano kuti vave vanoizivira zvinodiwa nemusangano nezvirongwa zvawo. Zvakakosha kuti vave vanoiziva Gwara remusangano. Vanofanira kuratidza nemabasa avo uye mashandiro avanoita mumabasa emusangano, kuti vanzwisisa uye vabvuma chirongwa chitsva, gwara, uye mabasa emusangano. Vanofanira kudzidza nesimba kuti vazive gwara remusangano wedu. Vanhu vari pachinhanho ichi havafanire kuvhaira vachizivirova matundundu pamusoro pehu-penyu hwavo hwekare hunoshoreka, kana kuedza kuzviratidza sevanhu vakakosha kupinda ZANU pachayo. Hunu hwakadai hunokonzerwa kusawirirana nemakakatanwa mumusangano, zvekuti hunofanira kunge huchiregwa zvachose kunyanya nenhengo itsva.



Letters to the Editor

Africa: A Store House for Raw Materials

Dear Editor

When observing 'Africa Day' the people of Africa reflect on the fight for freedom in which many gallant sons laid their lives for the sacred continent. Apart from colonial domination and subjugation, the imperialist countries of the west plundered the natural resources of the continent. Many decades have passed since some of the countries of Africa gained independence but still the continent is still considered as nothing more than a supplier of raw materials. This is why the imperialist countries are taking the continent to be of strategic importance. This interest is derived from the fact that Africa tops the list of mineral producing countries. Vast oil and natural gas reserves are found and have been developed in Libya, Algeria, Angola, Nigeria. Western monopolies are bent on further exploiting the peoples of the continent while ignoring the needs of these people's countries through unequal trading patterns.

Since the last few years, the USA has become the major consumer of African manganese, cobalt, platinum, chromites, diamonds, bauxites and increased oil. Particular mention should be made of chromium which is used to make superhard alloys. This is used for jet engines and armoured plates. It is therefore an important component in all types of steel. 95 per cent of this chromium is located in Zimbabwe and South Africa. This is why the United States of America and its western allies have been refusing to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the racist South African regime, at the expense of freedom for the people of Namibia and South Africa.

It is very true that without African platinum, no jet or even automobiles can be manufactured in the west. Modern technology reveal that without this important metal there could be no means of converting crude oil into gasoline and aviation kerosene. When the former US Secretary of State Alexander Haig was still President of (United Technologies Corporation) a leading manufacturer of missiles and military aircraft, the former Secretary of State said, "Africa is a critical resource area, the loss of which could bring the severest consequences to the existing economic and security framework of the west." This is why the

USA considers Africa a priority towards its so-called national security. To this effect South Africa fits in with the imperialist plans for the future of Africa and Southern Africa in particular. While the USA considers this region of strategic importance to Washington, the economic factor is also linked to the USA imperialist military and political strategy. The countries of the west are now prepared to grab the raw materials of Africa, hand over fists. The fact that the countries of Africa were subjected to colonialism and have not yet developed to make fuller use of their natural resources, the imperialist powers are using the long established institutions like Banks and money lender organisations like the IMF, IDB and even private banks to continue to plunder African resources and paying very little for the raw materials extracted from this continent. Even the foreign policy of the USA on Africa is now dependent on the importance of this imperialist plan.

Yours,
Alan Clarke

National Disciplinary Code

Dear Editor

As viewed by the workers, it is now eight months after the enactment of the Labour Relations Act and the arguments by bourgeoisie representatives in parliament are still fresh in the minds of the working class. Amongst those arguments were such remarks like, "the legislation emphasised the rights of employees but there were no fundamental rights mentioned for employers" and "the tail will now wag the dog".

Given such arguments one would conclude that the same masters of the representatives have found the need to change the faces of their soldiers because of the different battle fields. In other words the tactics which can be applied in parliament are different from those tactics which one uses outside the parliament, in order to regain the invaded territory.

The class struggle is becoming more clearer when one looks back to the Industrial Conciliation era only to discover that no employer ever mourned for a disciplinary code. It is a fact that during this dynasty there was no need for this type of code because their judiciary and state machinery were comprehensive such that workers were exploited and dismiss-

ed as the bourgeoisie wished. By introducing a disciplinary code the bourgeoisie stands to gain and the working class will stand at a disadvantage because

- (1) the code will only be there to discipline workers and never management.
- (2) the ownership of the means of production will remain to influence the judgements.

If the disciplinary code is going to discipline members of management which is very doubtful it will be a splendid job by bourgeoisie for the first time in the history of the world, towards justice.

It is undisputable that workers consciousness has raised significantly during the six years of our independence than the time of colonialism which indicates that forced laws are not the answers to both social and economic problems. During the same period of independence the productivity of an individual worker to the average has almost doubled. This is attributed to the seminars being organised by the Party, Z.C.T.U. and the progressive international organizations and the effective role of the Labour Relations Act. With the continuation of this type of ideological education we are sure of reaping positive results contrary to the need of a code. The implementation of I.L.O. Convention 140 will also see Z.C.T.U. effectively implement its education programmes.

The question which is being raised by every concerned worker is what has caused the demand of the disciplinary code after six years of independence and only eight months after the enactment of the Labour Relations Act?

Considering the last arguments in parliament when the Labour Relations Bill was being debated it is clear that the employers would want to see a situation where the code supersede some of the Labour Relations Act Clauses those which deal with dismissals.

Bourgeoisie representatives claim that the law is strictly rigid when it comes to dismissing unwanted workers. One would argue that the employer according to the Act still reserves the right to determine and recommend a dismissal. He also has the right to decide on the profits of the company unlike his counterpart (the worker). The only burden which he may cry against must be that of consulting the Ministry of Labour when he wants to dismiss an employee.

One would be justified to conclude that those who were defeated in parliament want to regain what they still claim invaded territories tooth to nail, their efforts

will never tire and their neo compradors will perish. The truth is, profits will become secondary.

There is a danger of having duplication of laws and codes in some capitalist countries thereby enhancing capitalism and weakening the working class which has no legal access.

Contrary to government stated policies of Scientific Socialism based on Marxist-Lennist philosophy we are going to witness yet another biased and confusing code affecting workers and nothing to do with management falibilities.

It is my belief that laws or codes should supplement ideological education and not vice-versa.

Past experience has shown that in a capitalist society like Zimbabwe, workers are more disciplined than their counterparts despite frequently falling prey to management provocations.

If let to pass the disciplinary code would see incompatible with even the liberal approach to workers participation which the bourgeoisie are in favour of, workers will not decide production targets and the general running of the enterprise when his fate is not guaranteed, one may argue.

As I see it the code will do nothing more than to disadvantage the workers. The devil you know is better than the devil you do not know.

'Aluta Continua'

By Remus Makuwaza

America's dirty warfare

Dear Editor

Early this year several Western and African Newspapers ((New York Times 16-17.12.86)) International Herald Tribune 9.02.87. "New Nigerian 14.01.87 and others" reported on the aids experiments carried out by United States of America and France on human beings in Zaire. Though the alleged aim of the research carried out there is the creation of an effective cure for the killer disease. It is quite clear that the U.S.A. are once again using an African country and its people as a testing ground the way they acted before in a number of countries.

Despite international protests. For instance it is widely known that similar activities were disclosed ILAHOR MEDICAL LABORATOR (PAKISTAN) when Pentagon specialists conducted their biological tests. Last year the U.S.A. under the pressure of the Argentine government had scrapped its genes mutations programme conducted in that country. The character of the experiments underway in Kinshasa indicates that Americans consider AIDS as potential variety of warfare, and are gathering data on infectional peculiarities of the disease, observing an unidentified number of deliberately pre-infected by aids of virus Zairians, and refugees from

neighbouring countries.

The scope and essence of the current tests in Zaire reminds us to a great extent the experiments of 1945 in Japan after atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. There the Americans apart from treating the victims, were testing the results of nuclear explosions on human health with the aim of modifying atomic weapons. Thus, it seems to be clear why the version of African origin of AIDS was invented in USA and is being so widely publicised by Americans. The current aids research in Zaire which involves international infection of Africans with the virus may cause a wide scale epidemic of the killer disease in Africa, thus, providing African version of AIDS so comfortable for the United States.

The aids experiments in Zaire could also be related to the development of genetic weapons which could selectively affect blacks only.

The USA have allegedly concluded an agreement with racist South Africa envisaging the research data exchange in this field with their racist ally.

African states should resolutely press the government of Zaire to report on the essence of the American research work in Kinshasa and guarantee security of the neighbouring countries bearing in mind possible dangerous consequences of such experiments.

By Mufana

Party Reorganisation and Restructuring is Main Task for 1987 — President

The First Secretary and President, Comrade Robert Mugabe, told the Central Committee during the meeting held in Harare on April 10th, 1987 that the reorganisation and restructuring of the Party organs was the main task for the Party in the remaining

months of this year. He referred to several important issues facing us this year, drought, constitutional changes, and national unity, but returned again and again to the theme of reorganisation and restructuring of Party organs.

Parts of the hardhitting

speech of the President are quoted below for the benefit and information of our readers:

"We recognised at our last meeting that our Party restructuring and reorganisational programme was still to be accomplished in terms of its final phase so our registration and statistical exercise could also begin. The Commissariat, which is the Department of the Central committee charged with the task of organising the restructuring programme and the registration exercise, appears geared for action. The Department has prepared specimens of registration documents which it will recommend for our approval.

"I raised this vital issue of Party reorganisation and restructuring with the same vigour and emphasis as I have done in the past because, now more than before, our Party, which carries the primary burden of initiating constitutional reforms envisaged for this year and the next few years, must not be found wanting.



The Party must play its own role in organising the people to withstand the adversity stemming from the drought

We must demonstrate a viability, in terms of our ability and capability, which enables us to lead the nation as we prefer it that guidance which it needs for its consolidation and the sustenance of its sovereignty. This year must, therefore, see us conclude a task which has remained pending for too long a period.

"An agreed and well-planned organisational programme for each of our nine Party provinces must be examined by this Central Committee in a given time context, which must also take into account the organisational manpower to be involved in the exercise. If this exercise is planned to start at the beginning of May, one can hope that by the end of September all or most of the provinces will have been fully covered. Again the emphasis on a definite time-table is necessary, while both the organisational district areas to be covered and the provincial and district manpower to be deployed should be well worked out and ascertained in advance. What I am trying

to stress is the need for a definite systematic approach to the exercise, otherwise it will turn out to be haphazard, if not actually chaotic.

"All Central Committee members should, as agreed before, be deployed in accordance with the organisational schedule of the Commissariat, their role and tasks being clearly defined in advance. I am sure that this wide involvement of the Central Committee will be welcome by the people in general as it will afford them an opportunity to meet and interact with their leaders. I have no doubt that it will also have the effect of educating us, all Central Committee members, not only on the standing of the Party in the various areas of the country but also on any other problems facing our people.

Special Production Thrust

"This year, contrary to the expectations we cherished last year, will turn

out to be the worst drought year since Independence. The crop which has been most seriously hit is none other than maize. In practically every Province, if not district, though some areas are more hard hit than others, there will be a great demand for food, and food is not just maize, but beans, nyimo, vegetables, milk and meat, all of which will be in short supply. The Party must play its own role in organising the people to withstand the adversity stemming from the drought. No doubt, Government will continue to play its own part by making food available in all drought-stricken areas. However, since the relief plan as conceived is to organise food-for-work projects, the Party can assist tremendously by, firstly, helping in the actual organisation of the projects and the mobilisation of the people on them, and secondly, by assisting in the food distribution process itself, where such distribution will be necessary.

It is possible to make virtue of our necessity or adversity if we seize the

opportunity offered by the current enthusiasm of the rural population to engage in food-for-work projects and proceed to organise, district by district, communal projects which, after completion, will cause an improvement in rural life. I have in mind such projects as road, bridge and dam construction, brick-making, piped water schemes, paddocking, building of schools and clinics, and any others which are possible in the given area. Those who are employed on such projects would naturally be paid a wage to enable them to buy food.

Apart from such projects, there is need also for the Party to take a more active part than before in helping to organise cooperatives and other self-help projects. Where water is available, the growing of vegetables is a definite necessity this year if malnutrition is to be curbed. Similarly, we must encourage poultries, rabbitries and piggeries. Our extension workers must vigorously set to work, so production can be in volumes that will benefit not only the producers but also a vast area of consumers.

The year 1987 calls for a far greater input of directed energy, that is organised and guided labour along well-defined production lines, than did, perhaps, the year 1986. We have to realise that the wages of the communal population are by and large their earnings from their agricultural products. And when these products completely fail through some natural hazards like this year's drought, then the arm of poverty and desperation will have struck. *It is as if the whole drought-stricken community has, in one stroke, been retrenched without pay and rendered unemployed.* Let us think of their plight in terms of food, clothing, school-fees and other financial family obligations over a twelve-month period during which they are completely deprived of earnings from their fields.

It is this reckoning which impels me to urge you to turn yourselves one and all into practical leaders of projects in various spheres of potential productive activities. In other words, let us, to the extent that it is possible to do so, provide such programmes as will enable our communal population to earn at least subsistence incomes so that the year will not be as bleak as circumstances suggest.

work independently of either Government or other agencies, organisations and entities already operating or tasked to operate in the fields where productive programmes are possible. Whatever the situation regarding the initiators of projects or programmes, the crucial role in mobilising and motivating the people to participate in such projects or programmes is that of the Party. The Party is thus called upon to play its historic and guiding role in ensuring maximum mobilisation of the communities.

Constitutional Reform

"Although the year 1987 will go down as one of our worst drought years, let us also remember that from both a political and constitutional point of view, it is a year during which our national sovereignty will see the unjust and undemocratic shackles on it finally give way. The Lancaster House Constitution, as you know, contains a number of entrenched clauses, such as those providing for racial representation and stipulating conditions governing the acquisition of property, which cannot be amended save by an affirmative vote of the total composition of the House. Thus, the requirement, to date, has been that the House of Assembly, composed of 100 members, must have a total "Yes" vote if such clauses are to be amended. However, the Constitution also provided that this rigidity should have a lasting validity of only seven years after which it would be subject to amendment.

"Over and above our constitutional ability to amend the entrenched clauses, we shall also be examining other aspects of the Constitution such as the bicameral versus the unicameral system, executive presidency, constitutional role of the Party, the enhancement of the role of members of Parliament, the political system that we desire, and similar other issues.

"Whilst the task to examine possible constitutional reforms has already been assigned to the Ministry of Justice, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs, the Party should remain the principal actor and so initiator of these reforms. The nature and character of the Constitution of the Republic of Zimbabwe should now be determined by no one else but the people of Zimbabwe. The people of Zimbabwe have thrown their political weight behind ZANU as their political vanguard. It is, therefore, our political responsibility as the Party to give the

people a Constitution which is an embodiment of their own political views and aspirations. A political system that reflects our political history and philosophical beliefs, and which should be tailored to Zimbabwean requirements and conditions, should now become our pre-occupation so it can be enshrined in the new Constitution we shall be working on.

"The Party's Central Committee must now task its Political and Policy Committee to examine, through its legal sub-committee, these political-cum-constitutional questions and make recommendations or proposals to the Central Committee, which we should discuss in some detail, preferably at the next ordinary session of the Central or at an extraordinary or special session. Once our views are clear and synchronised on them as the Central Committee, we can then undertake the task of educating our people on them. Perhaps some aspects might call for greater consultation with our various communities before the Central Committee is called upon to debate and adopt the proposals, so it can have the benefit of the views secured after consultation. The exercise is quite a mammoth one and no one should under-estimate it. Every member of the Central Committee should be very clear about all aspects of the Constitution at the end of the day. What this means is that the amendment proposals which are made regarding the Constitution should be thoroughly debated by us and simple, but full, explanation made for the benefit of those of us who do not have sufficient mastery of the English language.

Leadership Code

"It must be the wish of some amongst us that we cease raising this question, because they must be finding it embarrassing if not unnerving. The nature and quality of our Socialist principles demand that leadership be upright and principled. The choice before us is, therefore, that we either respect the principles of our socialist philosophy or we abandon them and the very philosophy on which they rest, and hence become ideological apostates. Some of us are not prepared for this kind of ideological back-tracking, not only on the basis of ideological principle but also in the belief that those who have been thrust into leadership by the people must not take advantage of that leadership opportunity to amass wealth at the expense of the people.

"Accordingly, we feel that the Code must be strictly adhered to by all of us if we still want to serve the people honestly and in accordance with the ideological principles of the socialist philosophy we, as a Party, have adopted. This Central Committee must assume its responsibility and finally determine the position of those of us who have infringed the Leadership Code. Otherwise our credibility as leaders is completely lost and those who in the past have looked up to us for honest guidance and leadership will begin to feel cheated and disenchanted. I call for firmness, for the matter of infringements cannot for ever remain undetermined, recurring on every agenda of our meetings and demonstrating an indecisiveness on our part.

"The mobilisation of our youth in accordance with the above-stated programmes is an extremely urgent matter. The Party must gear itself to performing its key role in ensuring a successful mobilisation of the youth and rendering political and ideological guidance in the context of the overall training programme," he concluded.

National Service

"As you are already aware, we are contemplating the introduction of National Service at the end of this year. After seven years of Independence, it has surely become necessary that we ensure the full development of our youth in a manner which raises their sense of loyalty and dedication to the service of the Nation, at the same time as we provide them with some initial military training which can be built upon in the future as we continue to shape them into future leaders and defenders of our Freedom, Independence and National Sovereignty.

"On the military side, a Ministry of Defence team has been examining a possible programme which, among other aspects, will encompass military training and have a definite duration.

"The view we hold is that all young boys and girls who will have reached Form IV or the "O" Level stage, should, at the end of their final year, commence a programme of national

service lasting a given period, perhaps six months for a start. Thereafter, they can return to their respective educational programmes or seek employment. Obviously, the programme would, at the beginning, not be able to encompass all the students who will be yielded by the educational system at the end of the year. Their training might, therefore, have to be staggered.

In respect of the youth without jobs, Government has been working on a more general national youth service programme which will, when established, provide skills training at determined practical levels. Such skills would lie in various socio-economic fields and the main objective would be to turn the student into an individual who not only can be employed on the basis of the newly developed skill he possesses but one who also has an enhanced self-reliance capability. The virtues of loyalty, discipline, public spiritedness, and readiness to assist others should be taught. The training centres established for the programme will naturally promote socialism through both theoretical and practical lessons.

PAN AFRICANISM

The basis for Liberation

Africa Day to the people of this continent reflects the fight against colonialism. There is no way one can write or talk about "Africa Day" without reference to African liberation and Pan Africanism in particular.

African mass resistance to colonisation dates back to the 19th century when the British, French, Belgians and Portuguese decided at the Berlin Congress in 1885 to share out Africa between themselves, an imperialist plan to divide Africa during the so-called great rush for colonies, or the partition of Africa.

The founding of the Organisation of African Unity in May, 1963 was in pursuit of African resistance against colonialism as that of the 19th century. The people of Africa though colonised, did not accept conquest easily and to

strengthen this historical phenomenon, the OAU was founded as an organisation of African independent states' struggle against colonialism.

The people of Ghana (the Gold Coast as it was known) like the people of South Africa, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and many others faced the enemy with great determination but were subdued by superior weaponry. This did not stop them from all forms of struggle and resistance. In some cases the struggle for the liberation of Africa took a long time and in some cases short but difficult

forms of struggle. Ghana which I have made reference to, mass resistance took 60 years and that country won its independence in 1957 under the leadership of Pan Africanist Dr. Nkrumah.

Ghana having established itself as an independent state under Dr. Nkrumah set the precedent to African Liberation. Though the struggle in many African countries did not take the same form of struggle for liberation an impetus was set to free the peoples of all lands under colonial occupation. Pan African Movements were already working in these countries towards a continental front. In Southern Africa, for instance, the African National Congress represented the demands of the People of South Africa, Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland, Zim-

Oppression of man
by man is
Wrong-Nyerere



babwe, Malawi and Zambia, all territories under British colonisation.

As the struggle intensified, the leaders of the Pan African-sub region formed authentic nationalist movements to fight for independence in their different countries.

"The total liberation of Africa under an all African socialist government must be the primary objective of all Black revolutionaries throughout the world."

Prime Minister and latter President of Ghana, Dr. Nkrumah set the history of that struggle by establishing a Journal "The Spark" to urge and propagate his views about African Unity against imperialism, whether in its colonial or neo-colonialist form, against racialism and economic under-development.

The imperialists were not happy about the advance of the African liberation struggle and were ready to seek for reasons of de-colonisation. The people of the Congo now Zaire were engaged in struggle under the leadership of one of Africa's heroes of struggle Comrade Patrice Lumumba. Once the people's government under Comrade Lumumba was elected to power the imperialist flocked to that country like vultures and eliminated the Congolese peoples' leader. Neo-colonialism surfaced in that country under a different form.

Having drawn lessons from the history

of colonisation and imperialism, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) was founded by African leaders as an important instrument of anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggle. This continental established organisation made a major contribution to the elimination of colonial rule on the continent. This strengthened unity among the people of Africa in defence of their sovereignty, independence, integrity as well as establishing inter-state political and economic cooperation. Africa Day is therefore a day when the peoples of this continent re-dedicate themselves to the struggle for which many of our gallant sons and daughters died.

The spectre of liberation and independence had two facets, the first, by which many countries in Africa got their freedom, the latter adopted armed struggle as a means to independence. This brings into mind the Mau Mau of Kenya who started their armed struggle in 1952 and that country became independent in 1962. Algerians took arms on the 1st of November 1954, and indeed the French felt the pinch of that struggle under the leadership of Comrade Ahmed Ben Bella and the National Front for the Liberation of Algeria.

The French, as imperialist sort to thwart the revolutionary spectre of the African people by granting independence to the colonies in the form of Bantustans or external colonies a pattern adopted by the Portuguese earlier. In the Cameroons, the people were waging a strong resistance to French neo-colonialism. In Guinea, the masses led by Comrade Sekou Toure resisted the French peace-meal surrender and demanded total independence, in

1958. Pan African views were heard in all fora on Africa at the United Nations. Those of the African leaders like Comrade Julius Kambarage Nyerere of Tanganyika now Tanzania once delayed their own independence to propagate for the independence of Kenya and Uganda. Through concerted efforts and commitment to freedom, the peoples of Africa helped each other to free the remaining countries still under colonial domination.

When the Organisation of African Unity was formed there were only 32 independent African countries. The leaders of these countries assembled in Addis Ababa-Ethiopia now the sit of the OAU with the objectives of enhancing the liberation of the continent. These objectives were two-fold. Africa sought both political and economic emancipation from colonial and imperialist subjugation and domination, to unite against external imperialist invasion and suppression. The two objectives are inseparable, for they complement each other.

Ethiopia has not been colonised and played the role of parent to the leading countries like Ghana, Egypt and many others whose leaders deplored colonisation and the quest to seize the opportunity to emerge from the first phase of African colonisation. This was a realisation of the roots of the African peoples whose continent was divided by the imperial powers and its borders measured by ruler to create separate colonies for the five colonialist countries of Europe.

The formation of the OAU speeded up the independence of some of the remaining countries of Africa in that support for the struggle increased. Many countries in West, East, Equatorial, Central Africa



Comrade Josiah Magama Tongorara

gained their independence in the 60's. The remaining Sub Saharan countries remained under settler colonialism. In the former Portuguese colonies the colonial power sort means and ways of establishing neo-colonial states by giving them territorial status. A form of neo-colonisation advanced by the French to their ex-territories in the form of COMECON.

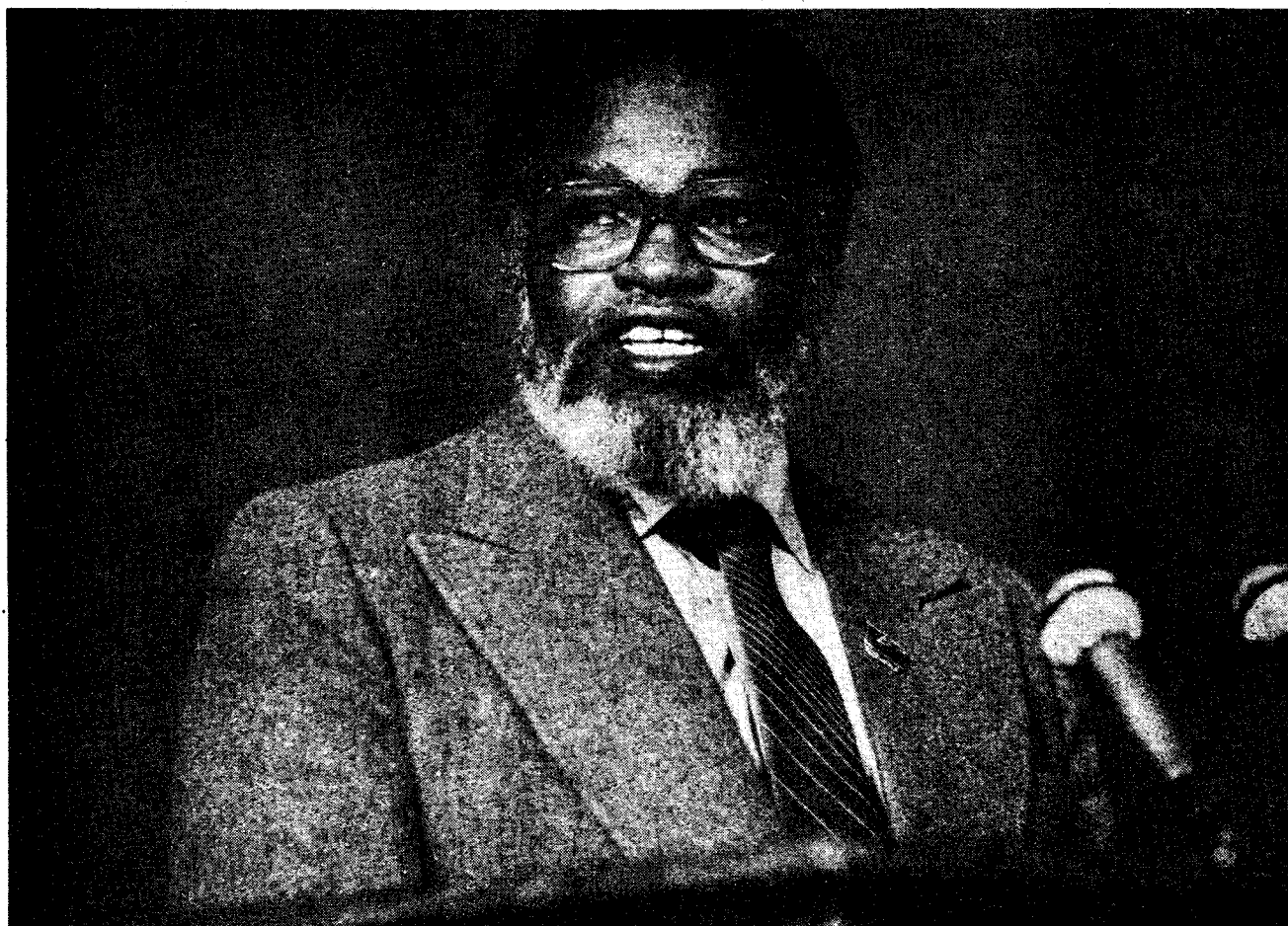
The parent relationship between the French colonialists and the newly independent states. The peoples of Guinea Bissau, Angola and Mozambique were engaged in a vigorous struggle and in the 70s the Portuguese surrendered power to the people. This struggle like that of Zimbabwe got assistance from the OAU through the Liberation Committee which had been formed in 1964 and its headquarters based in Dar-Es-Salaam a country that was totally committed to the liberation of the continent. Comrade Julius Mwalimu Nyerere, became a well known African Statesman by his support to the liberation movements of Central and Southern Africa.

"In Africa there should be no "aliens" all are Africans. It is around the African people's struggles for liberation and unification that African or Black culture will take shape and substance."

As the struggle for liberation grew in scope in the non-independent countries of Africa, the OAU set up sub offices of the Liberation Committee to help the liberation movements expand revolutionary actions in their countries. African Nationalism or Pan Africanism which had bred armed struggle saw the intensification of that struggle in Zimbabwe. With material and moral support from African countries and Socialist states, Zimbabwe was liberated and ZANU (PF) under the leadership of the First Secretary and President, Comrade R.G. Mugabe, Zimbabwe took its seat in the OAU as a member of the organisation. The struggle for the freedom of Zimbabwe was not an easy one but a bitter and long struggle that resulted in the loss of many great sons of the African revolution. Among them were heroes like Comrade. L. Takawira, Comrade H. Chitepo and Comrade J.M. Tongogara.

In celebrating the founding of the OAU, Africa Day, the organisation's efforts are now concentrated on resolving Africa's central problem, that of the liberation of South Africa and Namibia. The Saharawi Arab Democratic State issue is an OAU responsibility and the Chad's internal strife.

The OAU has a duty to Africa's pro-



Implement United Nations resolution 435 on Namibia-OAU

blems in political, economic and social. Through its agencies like the liberation Committee, the struggle for the liberation of South Africa and Namibia needs the commitment of all African leaders of the OAU countries and the Frontline States to give maximum support and encouragement for them to intensify the struggle against apartheid. The non-liberated peoples of Africa need material, diplomatic and moral support for them to intensify that struggle and give the Botha regime no chance to continue with its destabilisation policy of the Frontline States. To sustain the struggle inside South Africa there is need to pull resources together with the oppressed masses of South Africa and Namibia.

Africa, through the OAU has become a force to reckon with in international relations and now that African countries make a third of the United Nations body gives the OAU a strong position on the international scene. This has seen a growing awareness in Africa of the indisputable fact that the African peoples' true independence demands the preservation of the unity of the newly independent countries and the intensification of their joint actions against imperialism, racism, neo-colonialism and the plunder against the continent's natural resources.

Stronger Unity

In a bid to bring together peoples and nations with different political and ideological systems of development, the OAU held a special Committee meeting in 1984 and established a Political Security Council which is charged with taking prompt and effective measures to settle conflicts among member states, repel acts of aggression against its member States in word, a kind of collective security body on the African continent. Zimbabwean patriotic forces are in Mozambique in line with this continental protocol and these forces deserve to be commended for the job they are doing together with Tanzanian and Mozambican patriots. The OAU and Africa are helping Mozambique in the face of South African aggression against a member state of the organisation. Pan Africanism has been demonstrated by the moral and material support being given to countries in Africa which have fallen victim of aggression from racist South Africa.

The efforts of the majority of the newly independent states and governments is to strengthen unity and cohesion in their ranks in the struggle for greater political unity and for self-reliance. The 20th and 21st sessions of the assemblies of Heads of States and governments held in Addis Ababa in November, 1984 and July, 1985 cemented this resolve. This continental organisation has since gained a lot of experience, positive to greater unity and ex-

perience in strengthening the relations and repelling imperialist encroachments on the freedom and independence of the newly free countries.

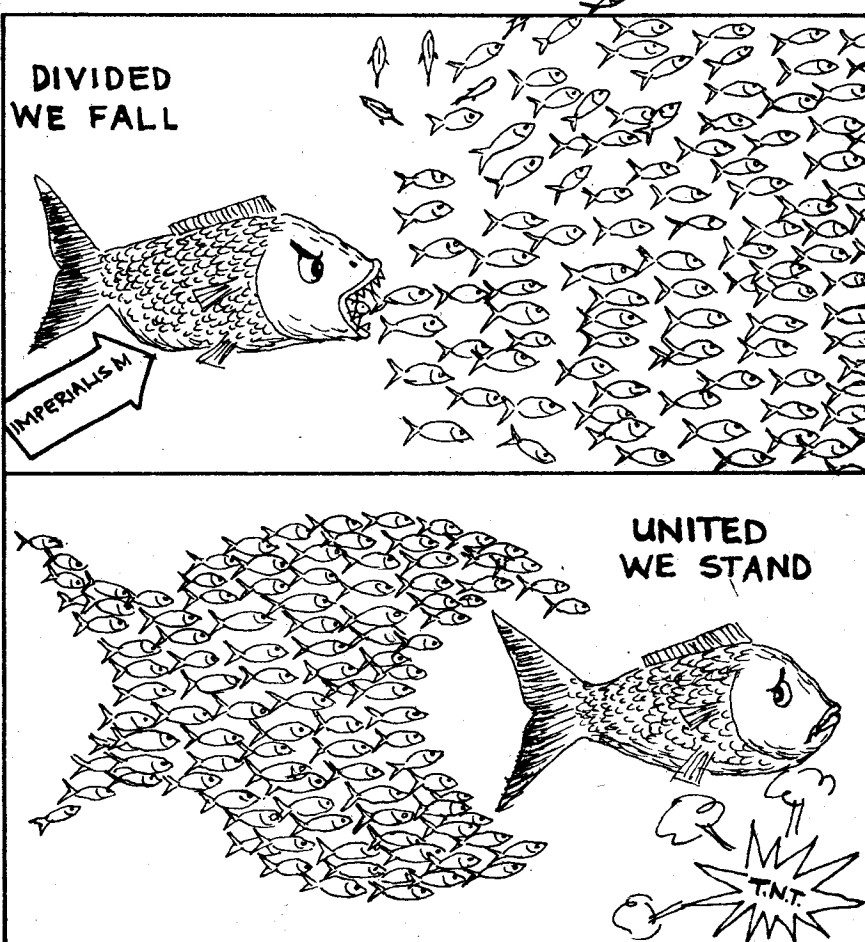
Since the mid 70s the threat to peace and security has been posed by the existence of the racist Pretoria regime. The OAU has vigorously opposed South African expansionism. This has strengthened the continent's military and political front. Africa's diplomatic front has found support from the progressive forces as well as Non-Aligned Nations of the world.

Since the independence of Zimbabwe in 1980, the continental Organisation has increased its support to Namibian and South African Liberation movements. The position held by the Frontline States in support of the struggle in South Africa and Namibia has an important impact on the continent. The United Nations Organisation has recognised the OAU as the chief spokesman for Africa. African nations' voice is heard much louder in the UN because Africa represents a third in the world body.

On the military front the OAU established a Commission on Defence in 1963. Though financial constraints hamper the formation of a United Military Force much ground has been covered towards that direction. This joint

commission has been meeting on a regular basis and has put forward very positive and constructive proposals for considerations by the Heads of States and Governments. On January 26, 1984 representatives of this Commission met in the Ghanaian capital Accra. The OAU pledged to use a united force to repel any South African aggression against any of the Frontline States. Africa sees South African aggression as an undeclared war on Africa and has through the UN demanded the imposition of comprehensive economic sanctions against the Pretoria regime. It has called on the Pretoria regime to withdraw its forces from Southern Angola and Namibia. Coordinated efforts show that at no distant future the countries of Africa will be able to manufacture small arms as a start to recommendations of the Defence Commission.

The 9th Defence Commission held a regular session in Harare, May 21 to 29th. The OAU Defence Commission's meeting of Defence Chiefs was opened by the First Secretary and President of ZANU (PF) Comrade R.G. Mugabe — Prime Minister of Zimbabwe. In his opening speech which was read on his behalf by the Deputy Prime Minister Comrade Simon Muzenda, the Prime Minister said, "Without peace and security in Africa



"Socialism can only be achieved through class struggle. Socialist revolutionary struggle can only be ultimately effective if it is organised and if it has its roots in the class struggle of workers and peasants," Nyerere.

there can be no success in improving Africa's socio-economic status." He was making reference to South African aggression against the Frontline States and the continent in general. The OAU Assistant Secretary General Comrade Brownson Dede said that the recent events in Africa were a powerful reminder that the enemies of Africa were working day and night to deny the independent countries of Africa their total freedom and sovereignty. The recent bombing of Zambia and Zimbabwe by South African racist agents of death show the need for Africa's need for a collective Defence and Security system.

Comrade Ernest Kadungure, the current chairman of the Defence Commission of the OAU said that the defence chiefs had come up with recommenda-



An OAU Army to reinforce the Liberation Movements must be established

tions that were in preparation for Ministers of Defence of the OAU. These recommendations would be forwarded to the Heads of States and Governments for considerations and implementation. So far the security forces of Africa have been exchanging training experience of their defence forces and much ground has been covered especially in the Frontline States where the need is most urgent.

The OAU military Council has put

recommendations to their heads of States and Governments that a Pan African Defence Force is still to be funded as a joint supreme command in Africa as embodied in a special OAU Protocol.

Africa Day is the Continent's Liberation Day.

A LUTA CONTINUA!

LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE!



Only a United Africa can conquer, Imperialism, Neo-colonialism, Racism-Africa for the Africans



Our Revolutionary gains must be protected at all costs.

END APARTHEID

1987 is regarded by some to become the most difficult year for Zimbabwe, what with sanctions against South Africa, the MNR menace in Mozambique and little understanding from big powers which establish policies on Africa which are diametrically opposed to African goals, expectations and aspirations.

Sanctions against South Africa are likely to be the major issue and concern of most of the Frontline States and the progressive world for as long as the apartheid regime continues its apartheid policies in South Africa. The United States legislature has bound the Reagan administration to implement an impressive sanctions programme against South Africa. The Commonwealth countries tried to establish a common approach to sanctions against South Africa but came up against British Government's lack of understanding which was shared by the other EEC

countries.

Zimbabwe is committed to implement the Commonwealth package of sanctions. The most interesting item within the package appears to be the cutting off of air links with South Africa. Given the possibility that Frontline States will co-operate with one another in the enforcement of this item, it will pose an interesting scenario affecting those EEC countries that may wish to maintain air links with South Africa. If the Frontline States accept a joint enforcement prohibiting the use of Frontline air space to any air lines



Comrade Didymus Mutasa-Secretary for Foreign Affairs

proceeding to South Africa, and to impose penalties for any air line that breaches their accord, this could lead to cutting air links with any air lines that proceed to South Africa whether or not they violate Frontline States air-space. If for instance, British Airways were to fly from Nairobi by-passing Frontline States along the sea to South Africa, Frontline States could ban British Airways flights to their own countries. British Airways could inevitably retaliate by doing the same, and, for instance, stop Zimbabwe Airways flying to Gatwick. In my view that would pose an interesting situation that would expose clearly where their hearts lay and their desire to see apartheid continue in South Africa. It would show quite clearly how ready the British Government would be to impose sanctions against the Frontline States instead of doing so against South Africa.

Some Zimbabweans are of the opinion that sanctions will hurt Zimbabwe very severely, particularly if South Africa retaliates. That could be true but it could affect a very small section of the Zimbabwe population, the business community, concerned with imports and exports. The majority of Zimbabweans who live in the rural areas will not be severely affected.

When sanctions were imposed against Rhodesia, the contention of the British Government that they would hurt Africans more than Europeans was disproved. Africans were comparatively poorer than Rhodesian Europeans. They had nothing to lose, and fewer, if any, rural people were affected by sanctions. Given good weather during sanctions period our people will be able to have enough sadza and meat to feed themselves.

End Apartheid

Another essential feature of sanctions, against South Africa, that is often omitted in discussions is the American involvement in the imposition of sanctions against South Africa. A very important section of West European business with South Africa will be affected. Important

American firms are pulling out of South Africa. The South Africans will find it very difficult to live with that situation and will inevitably seek alternatives to overcome their dilemma. The only alternative available for South Africa will be to end apartheid. In that case the world would achieve its objective. It would be disastrous for South Africa to do anything else. One does not expect the world to stand by and observe South Africans using their military might to 'bomb' apartheid into being accepted by the Frontline States or by the international community.

The sanctions programme would, of course, be insufficient on its own to end apartheid. It would be important for the South Africans opposition groups to unite in order to oppose apartheid effectively within South Africa. The South African liberation movements supported by the international community should be encouraged to mount a concerted armed struggle against the apartheid regime and extend their efforts to encompass the whole of South Africa.

Whatever is done against South Africa, it would be important to keep some doors open for dialogue with South Africans and to allow those of them who can travel to come to Frontline States to engage in dialogue and indeed to allow them to experience, that there is better life on the other side of apartheid. Indeed many of the former Rhodesians now calling themselves Zimbabweans and living in this country now accept that life after UDI is better, more secure and peaceful. The same shall apply to South Africans no matter how long it takes to end apartheid. Many South Africans will, as many former Rhodesians did, look back and ask themselves "was it necessary to have gone to war to achieve such peace and security?"

When that peace and security is achieved in South Africa, the MNR menace will disappear. The MNR bandits will inevitably ask themselves the same question. Their conscience will weigh much heavier than that of the South Africans, because the MNR have no cause to fight. They are fighting at the command of the South Africans for objectives which are beneficial to South Africans and certainly not to Mozambique. One can hardly imagine a situation where MNR could be able to set up a government in Mozambique. If that were their objective, the only way to achieve it is through negotiations with the Mozambican authorities. The same must be said for the Super ZAPU dissidents. It is through unity that their leaders may be involved in the government of Zimbabwe.

So 1987 is likely to be an interesting year for Southern Africa. It could indicate the beginning of the end of apartheid and herald a future for South Africa and the Frontline States full of promise, prosperity and great opportunities for all people of Southern Africa. This requires tremendous hard work on the part of our Prime Minister and the other Frontline Heads of States and Governments. It requires patience to explain to the South African Government and its supporters, both English and Afrikaans, that the only way to safe-guard their interests is by removing apartheid willingly than to be forced to do so.

It will require determination, courage and selflessness on the part of the liberation movements of South Africa and the people of South Africa to work together in a bid to remove the evil of apartheid. It requires great understanding on the part of the inhabitants of the Frontline States to make sacrifices once and for all for the good of South Africa. 1987 must be a good year when all these good things will happen.

D.N.E. Mutasa
Harare



The Need For a New World Information Order

By N.C.G. Mathema

In their book 'A New Information Order Or Psychological Warfare?' A. Gracher and N. Yermoshkin say when a Latin American opens his morning paper, eight out of ten stories he reads have nothing to do with the problems of his continent. They also say six out of ten reports have been supplied by AP, UPI, Reuters or Agence France Presse. On television the situation is the same.

This grim picture is pretty much the same in Africa and in Asia. The information industry in these three continents, where the majority of mankind links, is still dominated by the Western imperialist world. True, some of these countries (like Zimbabwe) have their own national news agencies, they own the newspapers, magazines, radio and television stations. But what is read in these papers, what is seen on television screens and what the nation news agencies churn out originate in the majority of cases, from the imperialist news agencies mentioned above. This applies even to stories about other developing countries, and stories from neighbouring countries. This is the case even when in Africa we have PANA, and even when developing countries have taken steps towards creating a news agencies pool of non-aligned countries.

In such a situation it is very clear that people in the developing countries are fed on information that is designed to impose the views of the West on any subject on earth. The goal is very clear, it is to maintain the state of affairs where newly independent countries only enjoy 'flag' independence, not economic independence as well.

Involve the Media

The mass media does not exist in vacuum or in a world divorced from the everyday life of people, countries have class struggles, and imperialism wants to enslave the whole world. The mass media protests the predominant economic relations, or advocates for the dismantling of the predominant economic relations. If

the economy is dominated by transnationals, then the predominant information order is the old one. If the economy is a people oriented one, then the predominant information order, we cannot have an independent news agency, newspaper, magazine, television or radio station, an independent journalist or editor.

The world's divided into two main camps — one, that of imperialism, neo-colonialism, racism repressive regimes and colonialism, that is, the reactionary camp, the camp of the part two, that of national liberation, democracy, economic independence, equality and mutual benefit between countries, anti-racism, and social progress that is the progressive camp, the camp of the future. The new world information order is for the future, it is anti-imperialist it is for the economic independence of each and every country in the world.

"The Congress points out that the IOJ and its member unions gave considerable attention to the establishment of a new international information order, in keeping with the breadth and importance of the movement of countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The IOJ believes that all-round support for the setting up of a new international information order must be linked with the establishment of a new international economic order." All this means that only by fighting and defeating the transnational corporations will it be possible to establish the new world information order.

The fight for a new world information order is a fight that must involve governments, the news media, political parties, the working class

and its organisations other mass organisations and all patriotic and democratic forces in developing countries. In other words, the patriotic forces that are fighting for economic independence must be the same patriotic forces fighting for the new world information order.

The imperialist countries not only control news films and other programmes. They also control the technology used by our radio and television stations, newspapers and news agencies. Most of our equipment comes from the West it is manufactured by the same companies that dominated our economics. What this means is that the West will do its best to prevent us from manufacturing the equipment we need to transmit and publish the stories we want. Our fight for the new world information order therefore demands that we fight for industrialisation as well. We can only industrialise when we own and control our economies, when we move away from the situation where we are producers of cheap raw materials or cheap parts of a car whose other parts are produced in twenty different countries none of which manufactures the whole car, except to assemble it.

Raise Literacy

The new world information order also means that we also go out to the countryside and smaller towns and settlements. It also means we involve more the workers and peasants in the mining of the economy and politics of our countries. The old order concentrates on the cities, towns big farms, mines, managers and leaders, that is, it deals with those areas and people transnationals are or want to control. The old information order in the developing world is represented by non-patriotic, spineless and reactionary journalists and editors, people who are always thinking of their mortgages, people who support any winning side, people who can easily be used by the transnationals, people who always say "the paper cannot exist without adverts" forgetting that those who advertise are the transnationals.

Of crucial importance as well about the new world information order is the use local indigenous languages in our information industry. The imperialist countries and the transnational corporations do their best to try and prevent the development of local languages. This they do in order to strengthen cultural imperialism and neo-

colonialism. As long as we keep on writing and transmitting in the languages of the former colonial masters at the expense of the languages of the people, we are really still not communicating with ourselves but with the imperialists. Anti-imperialism, anti-neo-colonialism, anti-racism, patriotism, democracy and social progress demand that we develop our languages, the languages of the majority of our people. This cannot be done without sustained literacy campaigns at the end of which there will be no illiterates in our countries.

Decolonise the Media

How far has Zimbabwe moved towards the new world information order since independence? Several strides have been made. For instance, we have our own national news agency ZIANA, the biggest daily and weekly newspapers are locally owned, we are affiliated to PANA, and our government and leaders want to see an information order that is on the side of democracy, patriotism and social progress. That is why the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe Comrade Robert Mugabe said in 1981 "The establishment of ZIANA signifies a step in the continuing struggle to decolonise the mass media."

Yes, strides have been made forward, the environment has been created and is being strengthened to have an information order that we will use against the old economic and information orders. However, going through our newspapers and listening to or watching news and other programmes, one observes that we still rely too much on imperialist news agencies, films and programmes.

A study of four of our newspapers (*The Herald*, *The Chronicle*, *The Sunday Mail* and *The Financial Gazette*) which I carried out in September 1986 indicates that more than six years of independence 51 percent of stories in *The Herald* are foreign stories; the pictures is 54 percent in *The Chronicle* and 57 percent in *The Financial Gazette*. *The Sunday Mail* had 31 percent (this however does not mean that *The Sunday Mail* is necessarily more informative, this is a weekly paper which takes only a few minutes for one to go through).

Coming to foreign news agencies we have *Reuters*, *Sapa*, *Agence France Presse*, *AP* and *MPI* dominating without any question. Our own national news agency is hardly acknowledged alone. Western

Europe is the most popular world region in our newspapers followed by Africa and North America. There is very little news from the socialist countries. The stories from other developing countries are mainly political unrest and natural disasters. Moving from province to province in Zimbabwe, Mashonaland East dominates even though it is Harare really. Other provinces are hardly mentioned. Government policy is generally read about when newspapers are reproducing a leader's speech. There is very little research on each story and very little is said about workers, peasants, cooperatives, socialism, the Five Year National Development Plan, transnationals and women as forces of social progress, not prostitutes and brewers of kachasu.

At the end of the day therefore, our news media is still serving the old economic order and the old information order.

The struggle for the new world information order is not easy, it will not be easy. But all non-aligned and developing countries must do all they can to harness all the forces at their disposal to bring the new order about. There is no alternative but to push on with the fight for a new world economic order.

The Media and Non-Alignment

The reality of reporting Third World by the western press is well known. The domination of news by the press corporations in the western world is in fact by design and a result of existing economic relations between the developed countries and the developing world. But the question arises, what is the third world going to do to fight for its own survival in a world where the developed capitalist countries aim to absorb and chew the third world.

Perhaps the Non-Aligned Movement is the answer to both questions on a new and democratic economic order and a different information order. Many journalists in the Non-Aligned countries have become obsessed with their profes-

sionalism at the expense of the politics of their countries in relationship to educating the public in their countries about the unequal relations with capitalist countries, about the threat to peace posed by the imperialist countries through the nuclear war materials, the question of development, and about debts.

To rouse the millions in these countries is to generate the strength of the millions, it is to bring awareness to them that they have the power to effect nuclear disarmament to develop positively from self-reliance, and to reject debts, since the third world, which has been and still is exploited, has in fact no right to pay back to an imperialist.

If the millions in these countries come out to say "US hands off South Africa, hands off Namibia, hands off Nicaragua, hands off Angola, hands off wherever imperialism is interfering" the imperialists

will feel the impact. The role of the media should be to awaken the people about these practices which are causing underdevelopment. The people should go into the streets and tell the United States, tell Britain, tell all imperialist powers that "rescheduling of third world debt" is a swear phrase and that as far as the third world know, the west owes them billions and billions of American dollars, which they will 'cancel' if they, the imperialists denounce themselves as blood suckers. International mass media network help "muffle" events in the Third World. It is no secret that the Western leaders have no respect of the Non-Aligned Movement, it is therefore conclusive that the reason why the western press gives scant coverage to issues relating to the NAM policies is because of their government policy towards the Movement.

The African continent has formed the Pan African News Agency (PANA) for precisely, this reason, that the African image is ill-portrayed in the west. That there was no inter-African news exchange in spite of the existence of major news agencies.

The media structures in the third world were created by the colonial governments

because, "they were anxious to facilitate fast and reliable communications with the settler communities and colonial administration in its attempt to ensure the maximum efficiency of the economic structures of colonial territories." (Phil Haris, Reporting South Africa)

The people should know the history of these structures in order for them to be equipped with information for fighting the oppressive structures in their own countries.

The question arises as to why news organisations like Reuters, Associated Press, United Press International (UPI), should have their reports regarded as being more authoritative than a PANA story. It is because they have the money to reach western capitals earlier than PANA copy. In some western countries a newspaper may print two or three issues a day.

There is no way in which the debate for a New Economic Order can be divorced from the debate of the New Information Order.

Because the third world countries may not have the resources to compete with these media organisations, the media in the third world, in the Non-Aligned Countries should awaken the conscience of the Third world people in order to create news which would dominate in the western capitals, and this would force the imperialists to change their stance on the third world. Their image of members of

the Non-Aligned Countries is that of trouble causers, discord orientated group whose aims threaten their hegemony economically, politically and technologically over the world which is still developing.

But who is the West to dictate to the Non-Aligned Movement how to make policy over issues that concern the West. What if the Non-Aligned Movement decided to become a military alliance instead of the diplomatic one that it is today? This arrogance of the West must be exposed in order **FOR THE PEOPLE TO UNDERSTAND THAT IN FACT IT IS BASED ON THE FACT** that the West is actually saying to the Third world "we plundered you and you can't do anything about it."

But what are the people in the third world, more specifically the Non-Aligned Movement countries saying. What is the media doing in order to fight this propaganda and psychological war? It is true that they will for a while not take such information to the people about the evils of imperialism seriously but the more it is beamed to our people the better they will become equipped to fight the whole imperialist system even through its agents many of which are in our midst.

The three tasks that have always preoccupied the NAM decolonisation, i.e. the fight against imperialism, racialism, and domination of all kinds; disarmament and peace; and the struggle for develop-

ment are questions that the third world media should feature prominently and constantly, in the news papers, magazines, radios and television.

Like any struggle, the anti-imperialist thrust, the fight for development, and the war against domination cannot be left only to the leaders. The people should become aware of this fight which their leaders in the Non-Aligned Movement are waging. The media is therefore there to render vocal support of all the struggles going on in the world today. Apart from merely saying in an editorial yes we support the struggles against all evils of imperialism, the media should help the people become staunch opposers of the exploitation, domination and subjection.

It is up to the people to say, yes, we support the anti-imperialist struggles, we support the liberation movements and here are our works.

The creation of wealth by third world people, for the third world people is an ongoing struggle which should be supported, discussed every time, and in situations where there are imperialist obstacles the people should be informed about it in order for them to know that to defeat the problem they only need to push aside the nature of the obstacle. This way the west will no longer ignore the developing world but indeed will give it grudging respect.

The Struggle Continues

Increase Productivity — Workers Told

The President and First Secretary of the Party has called for an increase in production in all industries in order for the living standards of workers to improve. In the same address at the May Day ceremony at Rufaro stadium, the President reaffirmed the commitment to the socialist path through Marxism-Leninism. He reiterated that only through scientific socialism can the whole of society be transformed and become mass orientated instead of the bourgeoisie individualism built by capitalism.

In his analysis of the Soviet Revolution, Lenin emphasised that both its victories and defeats taught the people great historical lessons.

The first and fundamental of such lessons was that only mass revolutionary struggle could improve the workers' conditions and secure a measure of democracy.

It is therefore imperative to understand the lessons from the President's address. The workers themselves must become scientific in their analysis of the problems besetting the country. They must begin to understand the reasons for the call by the President who not only spoke in terms of the material benefits of the workers in the event of general in-

crease in productivity levels in all industries but also because it is the workers who themselves are the "custodians of socialist transformation". The workers are at the forefront of the national democratic revolution". In a radio broadcast to the people in 1976 the President spoke on the meaning of the revolution and in one of the items he said, "The choice of the struggle meant the launching of a people's war. This in turn meant that the masses were henceforth to be mobilised into fighting and supporting a war of liberation behind a vanguard revolutionary Party".

He also continued "... the armed struggle did not become an end in itself but as a means or instrument to an end, namely political, economic, and social change to bring



maximum socio-economic benefits to the masses away from selfish and racist individualism of the oppressive bourgeoisie class."

Today the struggle is to "bring maximum socio-economic benefits to the masses..." The historical experience of our revolution must be taught to the masses so that they understand that the basis of the call for increasing productivity is not necessarily a reflection of the material conditions, nor of the exploitative nature of the capitalist system but is based deep in our historical experience.

The step by step movement which the Party is taking in the realisation of scientific socialism should also be able to make the worker see all classes of society openly as they show themselves in their true colours, as they reveal their true aspirations.

For the workers to play second fiddle to the revolution is a revolutionary error. But also this is a capitalist tendency where the oppression of the worker at the working place was both a concern of the settler racist arm of so-called law and order as well as that of the capitalist himself who went to great lengths to connive with the workers enemy in order to safeguard his "place of eating". In his doings the capitalist gave inferior treatment to the workers while all the time enjoying the fruits of their labour. During this time, before the revolutionary forces triumphed the workers confidence and dignity was locked in the settler-racist-capitalist cupboard until it was unlocked violently and set free. Today the worker regained his dignity and his confidence and proudly proclaims, "I'm a worker".

It is this confidence and dignity, which in the national socialist transformation the worker will use to defeat exploitation of man by man.

It is the conditions that matter, and only the worker can create the conditions necessary for socialist transformation.

Organised and disciplined, the Zimbabwean worker was challenged by the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions to shun all negative tendencies, like drunkenness, lateness and become positive in the national struggle to establish socialism over capitalism. In the same way as the



President denounced the wicked ways which workers may indulge in at the expense of productivity, so did Lenin. (Collected Works, Vol. 31, pp. 123-25), "Down with the old social links, the old economic relationships, the old habits". He promoted a new approach to labour based on collec-

tive principles that would develop the society and build a new one based on the equality of workers and new relations of production.

In the same way as any economic condition has difficulties of attaining goals before they have been properly organised into socialist relations of production. The Zimbabwean economic labour relations are still capitalist and therefore their transformation rests on the reality of new labour relations.

Workers, the Working Environment and Conditions Necessary for Increasing Productivity

But also the physical, social and psychological conditions necessary for the worker to work with satisfaction are dependent on his role in the decision making process of the particular work place. Seven years after the attainment of our independence workers are in a far much stronger position than they have ever been in understanding the stage of the revolution as well as what they need to do in improving their conditions themselves. It is perhaps the reason why the President told the workers at the May Day rally that the Government intends to let workers negotiate for the increase of their salaries

depending on the increase of the company's productivity which means this calls for the establishment of committees or such bodies which monitor the daily productivity levels. This means that the worker will be more and more involved in the production process as well as in the

decision making aspect of the particular process because there is no way in which the Government can establish machinery to enable it to monitor the productivity of each and every company and resultantly recommend percentage increase.

However, this also recognises the fact that the workers are increasingly taking a major role in the running of both the economy and the establishment of scientific socialism.

The Party being the leader of the revolution guides the path towards

the attainment of socialism, and this is why Lenin said about the Party, "Without a Party of iron that has been tempered in the struggle, a party enjoying the confidence of all honest people in the class in question, a party capable of watching and influenc-



President Quett Masire arrives at the Trade Fair in the company of the Prime Minister Comrade Robert G. Mugabe and President Banana

The Zimbabwe International Trade Fair 1987, ended in Bulawayo on May 9th. The Trade Fair was officially opened by the Botswana President, Comrade Quett Ketumile Joni Masire. In his opening address, Dr. Masire said, "The Zimbabwe International Trade Fair is the country's shop window and an important event which has won this country's industry much praise in the region and internationally."

This year's trade fair was held at a time when the region is facing economic difficulties, because of shortages in foreign exchange, drought and destabilisation by racist South Africa. The fair is therefore a test of Zimbabwe's economic activity in the region and Zimbabwe in particular as the countries of Southern Africa are preparing to break trade relations with Pretoria which has been one of the major trading countries in Southern Africa. Dr. Masire said, "The Zimbabwe International Trade Fair is a display window of peace and progress". It goes a long way in the marketing of goods and services for the industrialist and agricultural community.

The objectives of the Trade Fair is to promote exports to foreign markets as well as buyers from within the region in the SADCC and PTA economic groupings. The Botswana President said that there was room for expanded trading with his country and has now become the country's second largest trading partner.

Zimbabwe and Botswana are due to sign a new Trade agreement. In view of easy access to each other's markets, there is no doubt that the volume of trade between the two countries will increase at a much faster rate.

The intra-regional trade between the SADCC countries accounted only for between 276 and 316 million US dollars in the same year. Intra-regional trade thus represented only 5 per cent of the total exports of SADCC countries, and 4.4 per cent of their total imports. This is far from satisfactory.

It is now a matter of record that these countries had, in establishing SADCC, anticipated correctly the unfolding of events in Southern Africa. Whilst it was undesirable for these countries to be forced into a situation of economic dependence on South Africa, it has since become clear that the prevailing political situation in that country does not augur well for regional development, especially once that country is unable to

guarantee delivery of goods and services.

SADCC projects such as the rehabilitation programme for the transport and communications network is beginning to bear fruit.

It would be recalled that as early as 1974 Botswana had wished to take over its side of the railway line and it was only when that country was on the threshold of doing so in December 1986, twelve years later, that new and unexpected demands were made. It was only with the cooperation of the National Railways of Zimbabwe that Botswana was able to continue to haul goods on the railway line whilst making permanent arrangements to satisfy all future needs.

It is not only trains that are assured of smooth operations, but also air and road transport which have improved following the opening of the International Airport in Gaborone and the tarmacking of the Francistown/Ramokgwebane Road.

In addition, important joint infrastructure projects in other sectors such as power and telecommunications. All these developments, support trade and industry and play a key role in efforts to realise tourism potential.

Dr Masire said, "We share a very beautiful tourist circuit covering Chobe,

Zimb Intern Trade

ing the mood of the masses, such a struggle (against the forces and traditions of the old society — (capitalist) cannot be waged successfully."

This is why the President in the same radio address said on the question of the meaning of the struggle,

"By choosing and rallying behind the armed struggle the broad masses of Zimbabwe had clearly chosen the revolution as the sole creator of their leadership and the revolutionary policies to guide them in creating a new social order."

The workers should therefore bear in mind that they are in the forefront of the national democratic stage of our revolution and that it is only through discipline and being organised both politically and ideologically can the socialist revolution triumph.

abwe ational Fair



Machinery by Zimbabwe's Industrialists

in Botswana, and the Victoria Falls, in Zimbabwe and Zambia. For this reason, it is natural to plan joint promotional and marketing strategies through the Botswana/Zimbabwe Permanent Commission."

In 1983, the Zimbabwe Tourism Board and the Botswana Department of Tourism, together with their national airlines, launched a joint promotional programme involving German, Swiss and Austrian tour operators. In addition, the SADCC has commissioned a Regional Tourism Demand Study which, among other things, will look into such areas as cooperative advertising, sharing of sales offices in Europe and joint production of tourism promotional literature.

Transport and communications links between Zimbabwe and Botswana will not be complete without the transport and harbour networks of Mozambique, Tanzania and Angola, to facilitate the movement of imports and exports respectively.

The SADCC

The SADCC Programme of Action has placed high priority on the rehabilitation of facilities in these countries, funds were identified and works started. No sooner had the 1980 Lusaka declaration, "Southern Africa: Towards Economic

Liberation" been made, launching the SADCC than South African backed bandits began to sabotage Mozambican and Angolan transport routes.

Bandit activities in Mozambique and Angola should not be allowed to frustrate efforts towards economic liberation. On the contrary these bandit activities must be thwarted and eliminated.

Corridor Authority

Zimbabwe's sacrifice and contribution to assist Mozambique in keeping Mozambican corridors deserve the support of all peace loving nations. Southern Africa owes Zimbabwe a debt of honour. Indeed many Zimbabwean lives are being lost in Mozambique in defence of lifelines.

The supreme sacrifice that Zimbabwe is making is not in vain. It will be recalled that the bandits in Mozambique had calculated and announced that by this time, they would have caused enough destruction to render the routes inaccessible to SADCC.

Comrade Masire said, "I have noted with satisfaction that the support which we give to the Government of Mozambique complements that of the people of Zimbabwe."

I am also encouraged by the populari-

ty of the share issue of the Corridor Authority, an entity whose existence confirms the unity of the people of Zimbabwe against and their determination to uproot all colonialism and its attempts to reestablish itself in our countries through neocolonialist and unrepresentative regimes.

The role Zimbabwe is playing in Mozambique reflects the determination of the region to assure collective security and economic liberation.

Regional Unity

The future of our countries is poised on a precipice. Having achieved our independence we have grown to learn that it takes just as much of a moral commitment and effort to safeguard it as it did to win it.

"We have even a much more difficult task in this than perhaps many in Africa because of the political situation. Our responsibility for the future is, therefore, quite clear." The Botswana President said.

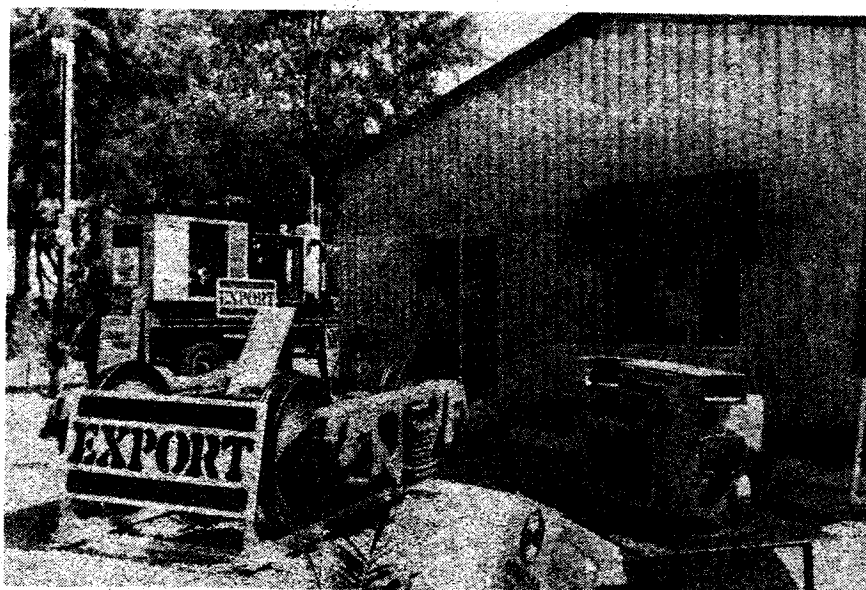
"We must limit, if not deny opportunities for our enemies to sow seeds of dissension to divide our people. Most of all we must ensure that our enemies do not have the luxury of using our own people to fight their wars against our own

countries."

It is therefore, imperative that we accentuate the positive and harmonise differences in order to achieve a genuine accommodation. National and regional unity and solidarity, respectively, are an insurance for stability and peace without which there would be limited prospects for positive economic and social development. The independence of Zimbabwe tilted the balance of power in favour of the forces of liberation, justice and equality and diminished greatly the forces of oppression, terror and racism.

The ideals to which we aspire can be realised if our economies are strong and our peoples united. I am positive that we are on the road to freedom, peace and prosperity in our region.

Zimbabwe has already a foundation of a strong economy with the potential for food security for all SADCC countries and the International Trade Fair bears clear testimony to this.



Machinery by Zimbabwe's industrialists



South Africa Launches New Attacks Against Frontline States

Soon after the bogus whites only racist elections South Africa is now directing new attacks against the Frontline States spreading its conflict across the continent because it has failed to contain it.

Recently, Comrade Tsitsi Chiliza died when a booby-trapped television set brought from Maputo for the ANC chief representative exploded in a Harare flat and within a week an empty house belonging to South African refugees in Harare's Avondale suburb, was fired upon by rocket grenades causing superficial damage.

Prior to the undemocratic and racist elections, four innocent Zambian civilians were callously murdered by South African racist commandos. These are signs of a dying horse as they prove that Pretoria can no longer reverse the tide of the revolution inside South Africa hence the only alternative left for Botha is to spread it across the continent.

One example after another shows that the racist regime's criminal policy both at home and abroad is diametrically opposed to the universal quest for peace, security, independence and economic stability. Apartheid's policy of regional destabilisation imposes additional burdens on the



Part of the destruction at No 7 Earls Court, Harare where Comrade Tsitsi Chiliza was killed by South African agencies



The Minister of State (Security) Comrade Emmerson Munangagwa, briefing the President of ZANU(PF) and Prime Minister Comrade R. G. Mugabe at the bombing site at No 7 Earls Court whilst the Secretary for Administration Comrade Maurice Nyagumbo looks on

African States and their peoples. It is an abundantly proven fact that the existence of the apartheid system is at the root of the constant exacerbation of the situation in Southern Africa.

Aggression, occupation and repression remain apartheid's main attributes. The Frontline States are perpetually subjected to direct and indirect attacks from the apartheid regime. This policy of state terrorism is approved in imperialist circles and is being increasingly aided with undisguised support.

In trying to cover the naked act of aggression and terror carried out in Zambia before the false and undemocratic whites only elections, South Africa claimed to have killed five armed ANC combatants whom it alleged were planning to infiltrate and disrupt the May 6 elections. But according to the Zambian Minister of National Guidance, Information and Broadcasting Services, Comrade Milimo Punabantu those killed were watchmen at the Zambia National Provident Fund, Mosi-oa-tunya House, including a man and a woman at Dambwa Site. Another woman was seriously injured and rushed to hospital.

And commenting on the recent blast in Harare, the Minister of State (Security) Comrade Emmerson Munangagwa, said, "This bomb claimed the life of one per-

son, a Zimbabwean, a young girl. This is an area for civilians. There is no one from South Africa here and there is no one from the Army". Comrade Munangagwa went on to say that such acts of terrorism were expected in Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe after the unfair May 6 elections.

The regime on several occasions has claimed that Frontline States are allowing their territories to be used as springboards for attacks by South African freedom fighters. Just before the white elections, the regime claimed that tracks led from a northern Transvaal land-mine blast to the Zimbabwean boarder /although the government vehemently denied the allegation and reiterated Zimbabwe's stand that while the nation opposed apartheid, it has never granted bases or transit facilities to the freedom fighters.

The manifest of the crisis of the apartheid system will not be resolved by Botha's desperate attempt to export the South African conflict into the neighbouring Frontline States on the pretext that they are holding ANC bases. South Africa has once again seen it fit to divert its basic political problems that are due to its fascist policies by directing military attacks covertly and overtly to the Frontline States.

Not long ago the Pretoria regime carried out simultaneous attacks in Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Botha murdered the late President Samora Moises Machel whose plane they gunned down to disrupt his quest for peace in Southern Africa. Millions of Mozambicans' lives have been disrupted by South African backed bandit activities. Zimbabwean nationals who should be staying with their families are inside Mozambique, guarding Zimbabwe's life-line which is constantly and continuously being sabotaged by South African agents so that Zimbabwe continues to use the more expensive South African ports.

Namibia is still being denied its independence and its territory is still being misused as a launching pad for acts of sabotage against the legitimate government of Angola. As in Nicaragua, counter revolutionary gangs receive covert and overt support in Angola, Mozambique and other Frontline States with a view to topple the legitimate governments of these states.

The recent attacks clearly prove the escalation of the conflict which Botha has failed to contain. During the Zimbabwe-Rhodesia fake elections, Ian Smith carried out several cross-boarder attacks into Mozambique and Zambia with a view of destroying freedom fighters whom he

claimed wanted to jeopardize his efforts to put puppets in power. However, even after his elections, the war never stopped. It was actually intensified because Smith had shown his true colours to the rest of the world that he would not tolerate to see Zimbabwe being run by Africans as he had already predicted, that no African would rule during his lifetime. But where is Smith today? Where are the freedom fighters he was fighting against? Where are his mercenaries who used to give him material and moral support? This proves where Botha is going. Imperialists use the same strategy of conducting fake elections and carrying out cross-boarder attacks to mislead the world about the extent of the war inside their own territories.

However, as shown by different examples the world over, imperialists will fail because of the power of the oppressed majority which will continue to triumph until they free themselves from the yoke of bondage.

Such raids and atrocities being con-

ducted by Pretoria are the direct effect of not imposing sanctions on the racist and fascist regime. Those who are refusing to impose sanctions are direct murderers of the Front-Line States' population. It is surprising to note that after such raids, condemnation comes from all over the world including those western countries which have investments inside South Africa who continue to give Pretoria more military assistance to carry out such cross-boarder attacks. Ironically, western countries are the first to send condolence messages to African governments condemning apartheid but when it comes to the imposition of sanctions, they totally refuse on the grounds that sanctions will jeopardize the already unstable African economies. What suffering can the people of Southern Africa have which is more than the lives of their innocent civilians, murdered in cold blood.

It is high time the world community should come forward in its true colours in support for international, peace, freedom and justice. Because of its

military might, South Africa has lost respect of the territorial integrity of its neighbouring states and this underlines the destructiveness and aggressive nature of the conflict in Southern Africa. All progressive forces and peace loving nations the world over should now intensify their support for freedom and justice by giving more help to South African Liberation Movements, SWAPO of Namibia and the Front-Line States and to effectively implement sanctions against the regime of Pik Botha.

Those who make common cause with apartheid regime and its vassals are the same aggressive circles whose bellicose plans and activities are stocking up tensions in the Mediterranean, Central America, Middle East, Southern Africa and other parts of the world. They do not shrink from using blackmail violence or boycotts in order to push through their aims to intimidate those states whose path of development and policies are progressive or man orientated.

RACIST ELECTIONS WHAT THE PEOPLE SAY

TAMBO SLAMS SHAM POLL RESULTS

**Millions strike as
poll protest sweeps
SA**

*White poll circus 'of
no interest to ANC'*

**ANC FAVOURED TO WIN ONE-MAN-ONE-
VOTE POLL**

**Whites-only election irrelevant —
ANC**

'SA white poll challenge for blacks to back armed struggle'

White activists launch bid to expose racist poll

SA elections 'are about how whites can stay on top' says Ramphal

COMMONWEALTH Secretary-General Sir Shridath Ramphal has said that the whites-only elections in South Africa will be nothing but a debate about tactics of maintaining white supremacy and re-surfacing the structures of apartheid.

Boesak dismisses SA poll

MASS STRIKE BY BLACKS TO PROTEST AT SA POLL

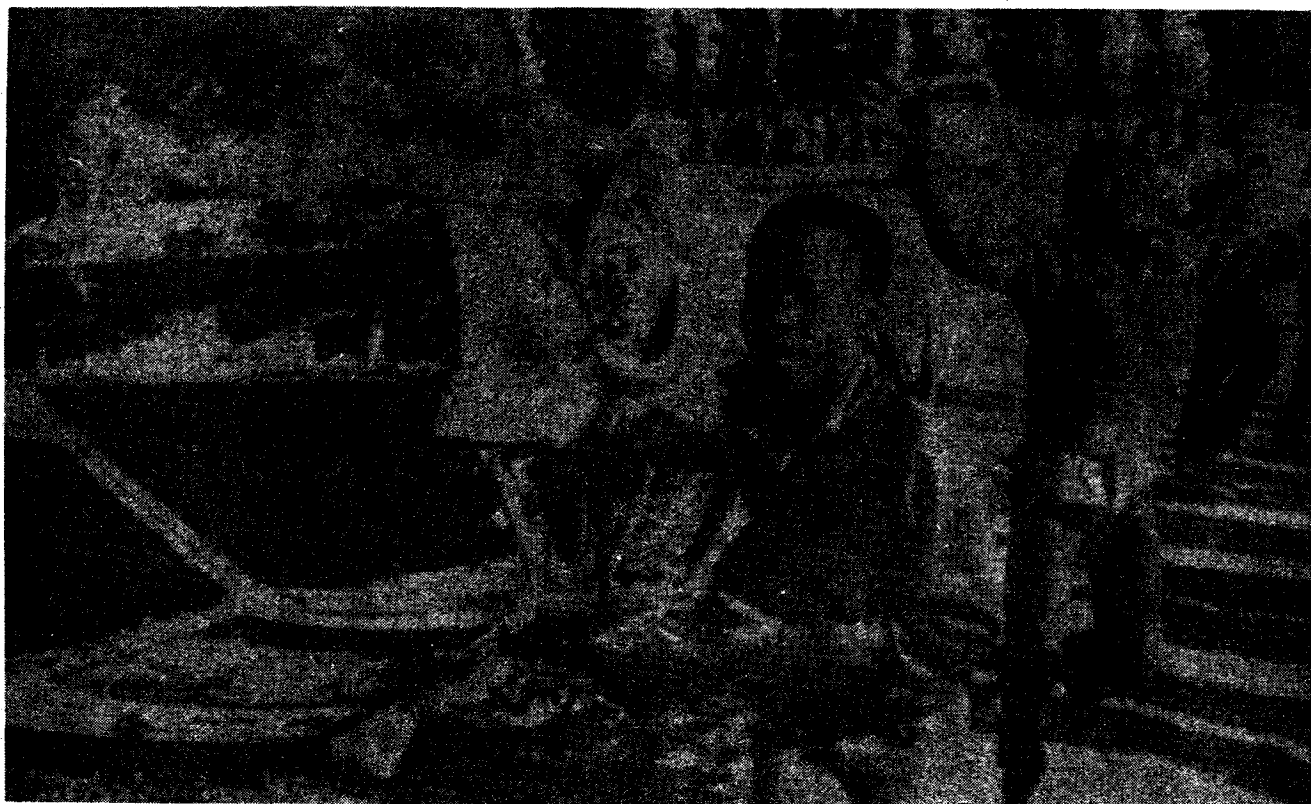
JOHANNESBURG.

AS white South Africa prepared yesterday for today's election, up to a million workers stayed away in protest and at least five explosions were reported from various parts of the country.

SA whites-only election a farce and tragedy

THE May 6 "whites only" election in racist South Africa has been derided by many observers as "a farce", "a circus" and "a non-event". The reason? Consider the statistics: the population of South Africa is nearly 30 million, but only under two million voters will take part in the election. The majority of the people, the blacks, have no vote. A Ziana correspondent examines the poll as seen from Zimbabwe.

Apartheid Robs Black Children of their Childhood



Text of a protest leaflet during the 1976 Soweto school boycott: "Parents, you should rejoice for having given birth to this type of child . . . a child who prefers to die from a bullet rather than to swallow a poisonous education which relegates him and his parents to a position of perpetual subordination"

Whenever a South African newspaper reports that a 2-year old has spent 9 months in prison with his mother and that he showed evident signs of malnutrition when he was released, that paper is censored. The same happens when newspapers relate events such as the police firing tear gas at trucks full of children. This week the police burst in at "The Star", South Africa's most influential paper, that isn't however voicing liberal opinions, to stop the publication of an advertisement against detentions without trials, and asking for an end to the state of emergency.

Another newspaper, the "City Press", that is read mainly by the black community, talked about 25 000 people, under which 10 000 children and 3 500 women, who had been arrested under emergency measures.

Newspapers being censored, all that remains are individual testimonies. Philippe de Masure, a volunteer sent to South Africa by

"Frere des Hommes", has collected moving testimonies on the repression against the black community and its children. 4 000 young people and children are still detained to the present day without judgement, according to the committee concerned with the rights of people incarcerated. In the best of cases they will be released without even an explanation. In the townships, police fire at children without warning, others are "discreetly" tortured in prison, hanged by the feet and plunged in water full of detergent: it burns, it hurts but leaves no trace.

Older children are not allowed to go back to school after they have been imprisoned, and they lose all opportunity to follow their studies. Repression is aimed at those young people who demonstrate in the townships, a violent generation that defies the tanks of the South African army and burns alive those who are considered as traitors and collaborators.

But the violence also affects younger children who have to remain in jail with their parents or even alone, for long months, and who will remain psychologically scarred for the rest of their lives.

This brutality is consciously planned and is part of a deliberate tactic from the authorities to intimidate the black population and answer their revolt with greater violence.

"Frere des Hommes" has decided to help those children whose childhood is being stolen by the apartheid, the brutality, the repression and all the inequalities of the educational system. In the East London area, children have to walk 30 km to their school, built by a church: they are not allowed to cross the land owned by white farmers.

To defend the cause of this lost generation, "Frere des Hommes" addresses the young people in Europe. Teachers are invited to organize information days and discussion on the theme of apartheid and 15 infor-

mative sheets will be sent to them to help them set up such activities in the coming spring.

Solidarity concerts could also attract thousands of young people. "A link, contacts, have to be created between here and there. We'll ask young Belgians to write to South Africa, to show signs of their solidarity with the Black youth: it is important for their future that they can feel they are not alone."

On the unavoidable road towards reforms, the white regime in South Africa, always trying to gain time, has just received a good whipping.

Twenty-seven academics from one of the most influential universities of the country have indeed overtly rebelled against President Botha. They are all white, Afrikaans, and teachers at the Stellenbosch University, and they have published a statement that is bound to have a great impact. They voice their worry about the stagnation of the reforms announced by the government. They strongly

urge the government to abolish its apartheid policy and share the power with the black majority.

This revolt from 27 white academics reaches farther than one might think. First because the University of Stellenbosch is the intellectual cradle of the National Party, that has formed President Botha who is in office since 1948. This is why a statement published there means a humiliating disavowal for the white regime. It also shows, once more and in a particularly spectacular way, the inner dissensions that weaken the National Party.

When, last January, President Botha fixed on 6 March the date of the anticipated elections, he surely didn't expect the opposition within his own party would come from the left and not from the right.

It is true that the right wing reproaches him with the reforms, however timid, he took in favour of the blacks. But with the passing of time, it becomes clear that President Botha will also have to count with a

left wing opposition.

Some observers even foresee a real exodus of personalities who believe in deep social and political reforms.

This dramatic loss would probably not happen before but well after the elections. All those who, within the National Party, overtly disagree with the government's policy, would stay in the majority until they are re-elected. They would leave afterwards, either to join the left opposition, the PFP, or to form a new center-left formation.

Once more, President Botha and his regime face a choice they try to evade: they have to evolve or run the risk to have to disappear. Useless to say that a peaceful and progressive evolution would be preferable to a violent and brutal overthrow in order to safeguard the future of South Africa.

Are they going to realize it at last in Pretoria?

Chinhoyi Declaration on Namibia

The United Nations Council for Namibia and the World Organisation's Information Centre in Harare organised a Seminar under UN auspices at Chinhoyi from the 11th to the 14th of May this year.

After the deliberation on the Namibian Independence extensively, a Declaration by Zimbabwe's representatives in Chinhoyi and SWAPO, passed a declaration.

Zimbabwe News reproduces the Declaration for the information of our readers.

The people of Zimbabwe and Namibian liberation movement, SWAPO, having seriously deliberated on the question of the independence of Namibia under the auspices of the UN Council for Namibia and the UN Information Centre resolved that:

South Africa ceases and deceits actions which include fascist repression of the majority in South Africa and Namibia including the detention and torture of women and children particularly below the age of 12 years. The continued murder of civilians both in South Africa itself and Namibia and the Frontline States, such as the recent barbaric and cowardly killing of innocent and defenceless civilians in Zambia and Zimbabwe. The continued threats and destabilisation of Frontline States. The continued illegal exploitation of Namibia's natural resources in defiance of decree No. 1 and the opinion of the international community.

We reject the linkage of Namibia's independence to Cuban troops withdrawal from Angola, we reject and do not recognise the legitimacy of the so-called interim government in Namibia. We reject and regard as of no legal consequence the recent "whites only" elections in South

Africa.

Condemn press censorship, detention without trial, the state of emergency, acts of brutality and destabilisation. We condemn the militarization of the South African and Namibian populace. We condemn increasing racial conflict and vigilante activity. We condemn the exhaustive support given to bandits in the region, UNITA in Angola, RENAMO in Mozambique, Super-ZAPU in Zimbabwe. We condemn the Reagan Administration's policy of constructive engagement and open support to South Africa and UNITA bandits. We condemn the Western alliance for its economic and military support to apartheid. We condemn the use of Namibian territory as a dumping ground for nuclear wastes.

Demand the implementation of resolution 435 without any preconditions NOW. The release of all political prisoners, the removal of press censorship and state of emergency. We further demand that South Africa ceases and deceasts forthwith detention of women and children, murder of innocent civilians, barbaric and cowardly acts of terrorism against Frontline States.

Demand that Botha dismantles his illegal minority so-called government in both South Africa and Namibia and give way to democratically elected governments so as to facilitate and

guarantee stability, peace and security in the region.

Failing which, we call on the UN to invoke article Chapter 7 of the UN Charter involving military action against the regime besides mandatory economic sanctions. We believe South Africa constitutes a threat to international peace and security. That South Africa is not just a regional threat. That Central America, the Middle East and

Southern Africa are potentially the ultimate cause of a third world war from which mankind may not survive.

Maintain that apartheid is a crime against humanity and therefore that Botha and his regime must be punished as the criminals that they are and expect the international community to intensify its support to the just struggle of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia.

In accordance with the revolutionary traditions of Chinhoyi, we resolve to defend the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all Frontline States and support the liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia and urge the U.N. Council for Namibia to sponsor more deliberations of this nature and commend their efforts.

Southern African, Situation and the Church's Role

(a) Military Take-over

Many observers have characterized the recent situation as a virtual military take-over. Fearing a "revolution" on 16 June, 1986, the tenth anniversary of the Soweto uprising, an elaborate network of "security" committees has been set up by the regime in black townships under the cloak of the emergency declaration. These committees are controlled by the military. The highest decision-making body in the country is the State Security Council (SCC) composed of military, intelligence and security officers. With the collapse of the government-imposed local councils, the police is rapidly establishing itself as a shadow administration. In a desperate attempt to reassert control and authority, soldiers have occupied the townships and schools. Death squads and vigilantes have attacked and bombed homes and property of known or suspected *apartheid* opponents. On December 11, 1986, President Botha tightened the already draconian regulations to prevent, what he called a "revolutionary onslaught" by the African National Congress (ANC) during Christmas. 40 000 - 50 000 people are reported to have disappeared since June 1985.

(b) Torture, Detention and Killings

Suffering already from malnutrition, lack of decent housing and education and broken homes, the black children and youth in the townships have become specific targets of repressive violence. It is estimated that 8 000 children have been held since mid-June, 1986, half of whom are still under detention. 40% of the detainees are between ages 11 and 18. While in detention, according to testimonies, they are often beaten, physically humiliated and tortured with electric shocks. A 1986 Cape Town Medical Report said that half of the people shot in that area in 1985 were shot in the back, the youngest being seven year old. In addition, some of the youth have been sent

to "re-orientation" or brain-washing camps where the government is trying to wean them from the struggle against *apartheid*.

These revelations of further atrocity by the South African racist régime have attracted international outrage. Archbishop Desmond Tutu brought them to the attention of the Secretary General of the United Nations (UN) who was moved to issue a strong statement in December 1986 denouncing such cruel and inhuman treatment of children and youth.

(c) Media Censorship

Another development that has drawn much international publicity is the severe censorship on news coverage of the uprising and unrest in the country. All reports are censored and all news about the upheaval is given by the official bureau of information. Television cameras or newspapers cannot go into the townships or any "trouble" area without permission nor are they allowed to report army or police movements or actions. In fact, it is virtually forbidden to publish any information on unrest, detention or so called "security" actions.

(d) People's Response

One of the most significant developments in the black townships is the loss of authority of the South African regime. This resulted from the militant strategy of the youth who have attacked the councillors and black policemen believed to be collaborators. Street and area committees have been formed by the people to replace the councils. They undertake road repairs, lighting, street cleaning and garbage collection. They also settle family disputes and quarrels and help organize vigils for detained children. Rent boycotts continue in these townships as do consumer boycotts and strikes against shops and business owned by the government or *apartheid* supporters.

Violence has turned ugly in the

townships; it has inflicted a terrible toll. Black vigilantes kill *apartheid* opponents who claim that the police and army either support or turn a blind eye against murderous activities there. Many black leaders including ANC President Oliver Tambo have expressed concern about the use of certain types of actions that may threaten the solidarity and unity of their people.

Despite difficult circumstances, the opposition to *apartheid* continues to grow among the blacks, the coloureds, the Indians and some whites. The Congress of South African Trade Unions and the Congress of Unions of South Africa and Azanian Congress of Trade Unions were formed in December 1985 and October 1986 respectively. They have a combined membership of about 800 000. Within the churches one significant document emerged. The *Kairos Document* published in September 1985 analysed on the basis of theological convictions the volatile political situation and challenged the churches in and out of South Africa to support the struggle for freedom, justice and peace in South Africa. A recent document "Evangelical Witness" calls for the involvement of Evangelicals in the struggle for social justice in South Africa. Today the churches have the only national structure which functions effectively in providing assistance to the victims of *apartheid* and their families and in serving as a visible rallying point for the struggle for liberation and justice. The leadership and structure of the other social sectors have suffered severely from a deliberate government campaign of weakening and decapitating their institutions.

Namibia

On 29 - 30 April, 1986, the Christian Council of Namibia (CCN) convened a meeting which included political parties

and groups and representatives of students and women's organizations. The meeting unanimously adopted what is known as the Ai-Gams Declaration which, *inter alia*, rejected, "the succession of Pretoria installed puppet governments of which the so-called transitional government is the latest creation", "reaffirmed that UN Security Council Resolution 435 is the only peaceful democratic way of achieving an internationally recognized independence for Namibia" and condemned "all the oppressive and inhuman laws applicable in Namibia, in particular . . . the Terrorism Act of 1967".

Both the people and the churches of Namibia have long linked their continued repression to the delaying tactics and the persistent refusal of South Africa to help implement Namibian independence under UN auspices. For example, in the north of the country where over half of the population lives, there is since 1972 a dusk-to-dawn curfew. It is also the primary area of operations of the South African army which murder, maim, rape and destroy and rob property at will. Across the country the South African Defence Force raid houses, abduct children to concentration camps where they are brutally tortured, and arrest and detain people, has disrupted family life and the education of youth. While harassment of church leaders and Christians is almost the rule of the day, new violence has been committed on church property. In January 1986, a bomb blast destroyed generators and part of the building of the Oshugambo Lutheran High School and arsonists burned down the offices of the CCN. Bishop James Kauluma of the Namibian Anglican Church described the situation in his country as "continuing to be one of bloodshed and suffering. . . The whole war situation is having a destructive effect on the whole life of the coun-

try . . . There have been detentions of clergy from all different denominations."

With regard to diplomatic initiatives at the UN, the Secretary General told the Council for Namibia on 9 January, 1987, that all outstanding issues relevant to the UN plan for Namibian independence had been resolved. Unfortunately, South Africa had shown no sign of departing from its position of linking the implementation of the UN plan "to an extraneous issue which had no bearing on the Namibian people's right of self-determination." He said that South African's insistence on linking Namibian independence to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola was "unacceptable."

Frontline States

The Frontline States, particularly Angola and Mozambique, and the neighbouring countries have been victims of South Africa's aggression and destabilization. These are accomplished either through direct military attacks, sabotage or through activities of its surrogates. In these countries the infrastructures have been destroyed: bridges, roads, hospitals, clinics, schools and factories. Agricultural and development projects have ground to a halt in certain areas. Foreign technicians, doctors, nurses and teachers have been kidnapped or forced to abandon their work. Countless people have been killed or displaced. In Mozambique, over 100,000 people are said to have died of starvation in 1984 alone. In December last year, one UNICEF study showed that South Africa's war against Mozambique and Angola had created in these two countries the highest child mortality rate in the world. In 1985, 158,000 children

died in Mozambique and 141,000 in Angola.

Destabilization not only weakens and creates political instability in the Frontline States but it also makes the latter economically dependent on South Africa. Thus Zambia and Zimbabwe are forced to use South African railways and ports to export and import goods because bridges and rail facilities through Mozambique are continually bombed. Because of South Africa's attacks on Lesotho, Botswana and Mozambique, the ANC has been forced either to close its offices or curtail its activities. At the same time, refugees from South Africa are forced out of the transit camps located in these countries causing great hardship to thousands. According to one estimate, South African destabilization has caused US\$10 billion destruction to the economies of the Frontline States.

Against such brutal realities South Africa has imposed what it called counter-sanction measures against the Frontline States. However, support for the Frontline States is being perceived by the international community as critical for combatting the *apartheid* regime. The UN General Assembly recently called for more contributions to its Trust Fund for South Africa which has been effective in providing emergency relief for refugees from South Africa and Namibia. The Non-Aligned Movement has established an Africa Fund specifically designed to give financial assistance to the Frontline States. The nine-nation Southern Africa Development Coordination Council (SADCC) is at the moment negotiating for a large increase in assistance from the United States as part of a strategy by the Frontline States to take effective measures to become less economically dependent on South Africa and to begin to protect themselves when they cut off transportation arrangements with South Africa.

World Bank's "Mini-Baker" for Tropical Africa

The plight of Tropical Africa has been attracting more and more international attention in recent years. The region, plagued as it is by vestiges of its colonial past, seems unable to cope with most of its social and economic ills.

The crisis there worsened in the first half of the '80s. One reason was a drop in prices of just about all tradi-

tional exports, brought about by crisis developments in the world capitalist economy and by the ac-

tivities of multinationals. Secondly, in 1983-84 twenty-one African countries were hit by severe drought, which to some extent resulted from the disruption of the ecological balance, largely due to neocolonialist practices. In consequence, by the mid-80s the total GDP of these countries remained at the level of the previous decade, falling by 12 percent in per capita terms. The foreign debt reached 80 billion dollars, or one-third of GDP. At least 35 million Africans suffered from famine in 1983-85.

Evidence indicates that most African economies have lost viability due to both external and internal factors. This worries Western

business concerns, too, for if they are to operate effectively, the recipient countries must retain their ability to pay and have a fairly developed banking system, in short, a level of development adequate to the requirements of multinational companies and banks. That, however, in no way means development oriented to economic independence. The West believes that the required level can be achieved by encouraging capitalist relations, primarily through strengthening the private sector to the detriment of state-owned industries, and through public spending cuts, withdrawal of subsidies, currency devaluation and greater reliance on market forces.

For all their differences, Western countries have succeeded in coordinating efforts to promote capitalist relations in Tropical Africa. The main vehicle of Western strategy is the World Bank, whose role has markedly increased in the '80s. It is acting in the belief that African countries must restructure their economies following Western recipes and with Western financial support. The 1984 World Bank Report on Tropical Africa said that the West would help countries which went ahead with reform.

Circumstances compelled some African countries to launch the recommended reforms — at a heavy social cost. This caused living standards to decline, blighted prospects for economic growth, and, in most

cases, failed to achieve the original aim — a marginal improvement in the existing economic machinery — because the free-enterprise methods applied in the developed capitalist nations did not work in Africa. Outlook remained grim even after the drought had ended and coffee prices went up and oil prices dropped.

In this context, the World Bank modified its stand, admitting that reforms were bound to flounder if the West failed to come up with adequate resources. This admission was made in the latest World Bank report on Tropical Africa, dubbed a mini-Baker plan for the low-income countries of Tropical Africa after the debt settlement package proposed by US Treasury Secretary Baker for the 15 biggest Third World debtors. The report concentrates on the 29 countries getting help from the International Development Association. Its main idea is that to maintain economic development adequate to population growth in these countries until 1990, the West must give more effective and greater aid, increasing it by 1.5 billion dollars a year — on top of the earlier bilateral and multilateral commitments. The report also says that funds cannot be provided either as direct investment or commercial loans, and that the African nations must continue with structural reform, assuming that no

marked deterioration in the terms of trade occurs.

A closer look at the report reveals that the World Bank specially identified this group of countries as generally holding little promise at least for the next five years from the standpoint of the multinationals. It is thought necessary to maintain a minimum inflow of funds to keep these countries within the world capitalist system and enable them to increase their imports slightly and to service their debts. The average income countries of Tropical Africa, such as Cote d'Ivoire and Cameroon, are considered more prepared to be partners of the multinationals but need to go through a long transition period of stabilization.

So, the World Bank wants Tropical Africa to carry on with painful and largely useless reforms, counting just on minimal Western aid and possible debt rescheduling, given "mutual understanding". The US favours an even tougher approach in the firm belief that aid must be politically motivated and that African countries must follow all Western free enterprise precepts without a murmur. Yet the West never mentions the need to establish fair prices for Africa's traditional exports and to achieve a comprehensive settlement of the international debt crisis. The World Bank report is no exception in this respect.

Co-operatives Urged to Produce Higher Quality Goods

The need for co-operative products to reach a wider cross-section of the society to boost the early stages of the co-operative movement in this country has been recognised by a departmental store in Harare.

The First Street OK Bazaars recently offered space to the Ministry of Co-operative Development to be used by co-operatives to display their products on quality basis at national level.

The first such co-operative, Kungwara Producer Co-operative Society, which specialises in homecraft items for the first time this year started to display their products on the 22nd of April this year under the agreement at no cost. The high quality

products now openly displayed for the public include crocheted tops, dresses, bedspreads, macrame flower pots and other items which used to be sold on display at the Avondale Shopping Centre and in the streets to passersby and small public will

now be nationally and internationally recognised by different customers.

Speaking to *Zimbabwe News*, the Chairwoman of Kungwara Co-operative Mrs Doreen Machena, said the thirty-two member co-operative which started in 1986 used to get less than a thousand dollars per month at their Avondale stand. "But" she emphasised "since we started displaying in OK Bazaars on the 22nd of April, we have so far managed to get three thousand dollars because the market here is viable."

Opening the display outlet, the Minister of Co-operative Development, the Hon. Comrade Maurice Nyagumbo thanked the OK Bazaars for such a genuine gesture and called on other organisations who suppress co-operatives to come forward and assist the Co-operative Movement in Zimbabwe which, regardless of the high quality and attractiveness of their products, find it difficult to penetrate the open market which is dominated by Monopoly multinational corporations.

"A Co-operative may be producing very attractive products but because these

products are sold from the most hidden corners of the town, few people will ever know about them," said Comrade Nyagumbo.

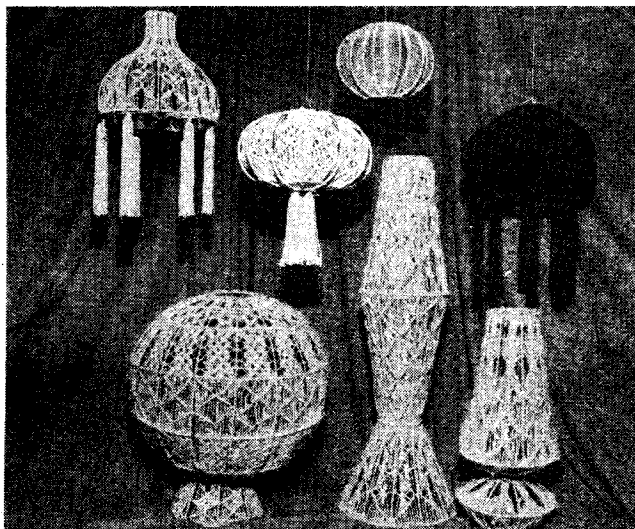
Comrade Nyagumbo said OK Bazaars First Street, will no doubt assist to put the co-operatives on the map. Being such a prestigious place and being so experienced in the retail trade, OK Bazaars will help to boost the level of demand for the products for all those co-operatives that will have a chance of displaying their goods.

Comrade Nyagumbo urged the transfer of managerial skills to co-operatives. "What is of importance therefore is the transfer of these skills from the saturated private sector to the rapidly growing but skills starved co-operative movements."

While the move taken by the OK Bazaars may echo a trend in co-operation between the private sector which has in the past felt threatened by this socialist movement and while this move heralds co-operation between the Co-operative Movement and the established business community, more should be done for producer co-operatives in the agricultural sector.

Such co-operatives in the plantation agriculture face problems of marketing their produce because of the dominance by monopoly companies which reject their timber on the grounds that it is of poor quality even though most of these

Quality garments by cooperatives.



Items of Various Nature are being made, and now can reach a wider market

co-operators have been workers in the timber plantations before.

"At first the co-operative idea was anathema to private companies," Comrade Nyagumbo said. "But now more and more private companies are coming forward with different ways of assisting Co-operatives."

The plantation agriculture industry should also follow this example, instead of killing the initiative of cooperative members. What some of the co-operatives in the Chimanimani district have done instead, as a result of discrimination in marketing their produce is to find markets among the population, from the rural councils, where they sell their timber for construction purposes but at a lower return.

ISRAEL IS BECAUSE PALEST



An international conference on Palestine under the UN aegis will be held soon. Zimbabwe's role as current chairman of the NAM and a staunch supporter of the armed struggle by the people of Palestine, South Africa, Namibia and Western Sahara remains central in resolving the independence issues of the oppressed peoples of Africa, and the Middle East.

Comrade Ibbo Mandaza analyses the role of Zimbabwe in the Middle East Question. Below is the full analysis.

It should not be surprising that since its election to the Chairmanship of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) last year, Zimbabwe should have increasingly become a vibrant diplomatic centre of the world. Even before NAM, Zimbabwe had already established an extensive and intensive network of diplomatic and political relationships with most of the countries of the world, with the notable exception of such countries as South Africa, Israel, Taiwan and South Korea. Today, Zimbabwe has 65 embassies (plus 12 international organizations) on its soil and is itself represented at ambassadorial level in 28 countries. This is a far cry from the situation which prevailed prior to the attainment of national independence when Rhodesia had only one embassy here, that of South Africa.

However, an even more interesting role of this newly developed and central position that Zimbabwe now occupies is that of peace-broker. Indeed given the objectives and problems of the NAM itself in this decade, it was expected that Zimbabwe would as Chairman have to attend to the burning problems of the NAM world. Among these many and complex problems is the question of the Middle East in general and Palestine in particular. And so it is that Zimbabwe hosted and chaired the Session of the meeting of foreign ministers of the nine-member non-aligned special committee on Palestine. Through this important meeting, the NAM will have prepared the ground for the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East under UN auspices.

Addressing the opening session of this nine member non-aligned special committee on Palestine on April 14, the NAM Chairman and Prime Minister, Comrade R.G. Mugabe, said:

"The Committee of non-aligned countries on Palestine faces an enormous challenge in seeking to explore, in accordance with its mandate from the eighth summit conference of our movement and within the framework of the principles and objectives of the non-alignment, ways in which the movement can constructively contribute towards the promotion of a peace process in the Middle East".

Later, the Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, Comrade Yasser Arafat, ably expressed satisfaction that the two-day meeting had been an important NAM achievement and a "positive factor in the efforts now under way to create a favourable climate for convening a peace conference on the Middle East under UN auspices".

According to Zimbabwe's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Comrade Witness Mangwende, the attendance by all members of the NAM committee on

\$, TIME IS NOT



Palestine at such high level was an eloquent testimony to the movement's active solidarity with the Palestinian people, and total commitment to peace in the Middle East.

The Palestinian Question itself has become in recent months in particular more well-known to most of us in Zimbabwe. What with the plight of the Palestinians in the refugee camps in Lebanon! In general, Zimbabwe has a constant reminder of the Palestinian struggle for national independence in the charismatic leader of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, Comrade Yasser Arafat; and in the existence in Harare of the Palestinian Embassy.

The PLO Ambassador to Zimbabwe, Comrade Ali Halimeh, has done his best to publicize the Palestinian Cause; and there is perhaps no diplomat/activist more vibrant and therefore more effective and prominent than Comrade Ali, as he is affectionately known in Zimbabwe. The Zimbabwean media has also played its part in making known the cause of the Palestinian people. There is now a Zimbabwe-Palestine Solidarity Committee in this country, formed soon after Comrade Arafat's visit

to Zimbabwe in August, 1948.

Yet until these recent developments, and notably the manner in which Zimbabwe and the NAM have championed it, the Palestinian Question had been somewhat a vague factor in the political culture of Zimbabwean society. I am not sure as to how I should express it, but it would seem as if our interest in this struggle of an oppressed mass of people is almost itinerant, left to the realm of official statements by the leadership. If this is a correct impression, then there must be some reason for this.

First, perhaps, the dominance of African nationalism in our political culture conditions us somewhat to recognize and understand oppression only in terms of the relationship between white oppressor and the black oppressed.

It therefore becomes difficult to understand and appreciate how people of the same race — Arab and Jew — could develop such an antagonistic relationship.

There is also the historical fact that Zionist Israel was established in 1948 on the land of Palestine, by making

the people of Palestine homeless through the combined efforts of Zionism and imperialism under the aegis of Britain and the United States of America.

The Palestinian question is akin to any colonial question — to that of Zimbabwe, Namibia or South Africa.

Second, it is perhaps the prevalence of the Christian ideology (and its Old Testament concomitant) that has carried and maintained the eulogy of Israel and the Israelites to a level and degree enough to confuse and disguise the distinction between BC and AD.

The point is simply that the combination of this Christian ideology and imperialist intrigue has helped to hide partly and temporarily the sad plight of the Palestinian people.

As a non-Zionist Jew, Isaac Deutscher, explains: "The responsibility for the tragedy of European Jews, for Auschwitz, Majdenek, and the slaughters in the ghetto, rests entirely on our Western bourgeois 'civilisation' of which Nazism was the legitimate, even though degenerate, offspring."

"Yet it was the Arabs who were



Palestinian mother hugs her siege-starved child

made to pay the price for the crimes the West committed towards the Jews. They are still made to pay it, for the 'guilty conscience' of the West is, of course, pro-Israeli and anti-Arab.

"And how easily Israel had allowed itself to be bribed and fooled by the false 'conscience money' . . ."

This brings me to the third point, namely the extent to which the Zionist smear of anti-Semitism is being used extensively and indiscriminately against all those who disagree with Zionist policy. In other words, if you express revulsion at Zionism — as we all should, then it is assumed you hate anybody who is either Jewish or of Jewish background.

We have many good citizens in our

country who are of Jewish origin; and a number have striven for justice and freedom as much in this country as anywhere else in the world.

But there are among them some who are Zionist in outlook, even if they don't fully realise it. Zionism is not only the belief that the Jews are a special category of people; and this is why the United Nations equates Zionism and racism.

But also, Israel IS because Palestine IS NOT: Israelis are where they are because Palestinian Arabs have been evicted from their ancestral homeland, replaced by persons imported from a hundred foreign lands.

British historian Arnold Toynbee said in May 1961: "Zionism and anti-

Semitism are expressions of an identical point of view. The assumption underlying both ideologies is that it is impossible for Jews and non-Jews to grow together into a single community and that therefore a physical separation is the only practical way out.

'The watchword of anti-Semitism is 'Back to mediaeval apartheid'; the watchword of Zionism is 'Back to the mediaeval ghetto'. All the far-flung ghettos in the world are to be gathered into one patch of soil in Palestine to create a single consolidated ghetto there'.

Lastly, the justice of the Palestinian cause has perhaps been partly hidden from us by Israel's succession of victories against the Arabs; in 1948, when the Arabs were at loggerheads with one another; in 1956, when the Arabs had become far less divided; in 1967, when the Arabs had formed a common front; and in 1974, by which time the Arab and Palestinian cause had become fairly acknowledged throughout the world.

"Paradoxically and grotesquely", writes Isaac Deutscher, "the Israelis appear now in the role of the Prussians of the Middle East . . . Just so did the Prussians a century ago defeat all their neighbours within a few years, the Danes, the Austrians, and the French. The succession of victories bred in them an absolute confidence in their own efficiency, a blind reliance on the force of their arms, chauvinistic arrogance, and contempt for other peoples . . ."

But Israel is only a "feeble parody" of Prussia. For the Israelis are surrounded by Arabs. More than that, the Palestinians are waging an increasingly intensified struggle, with the support not only of the Arabs but the progressive world as a whole.

The Germans have summed up their own experience, says Deutscher, in the bitter phrase: "You can drive yourself victoriously into the grave!" This is what Israel is doing, indulging in the false confidence that it will always receive the colossal financial aid it now receives from the United States and world Jewry.

As in Southern Africa and in the Middle East: victory and liberation is inevitable. But why the waste of time and human lives when history would inform us better?

It is our hope, therefore, that the peace conference on the Middle East will soon be convened under the auspices of the UN; and that this will form an important basis for the attainment of national independence by the Palestinian people.

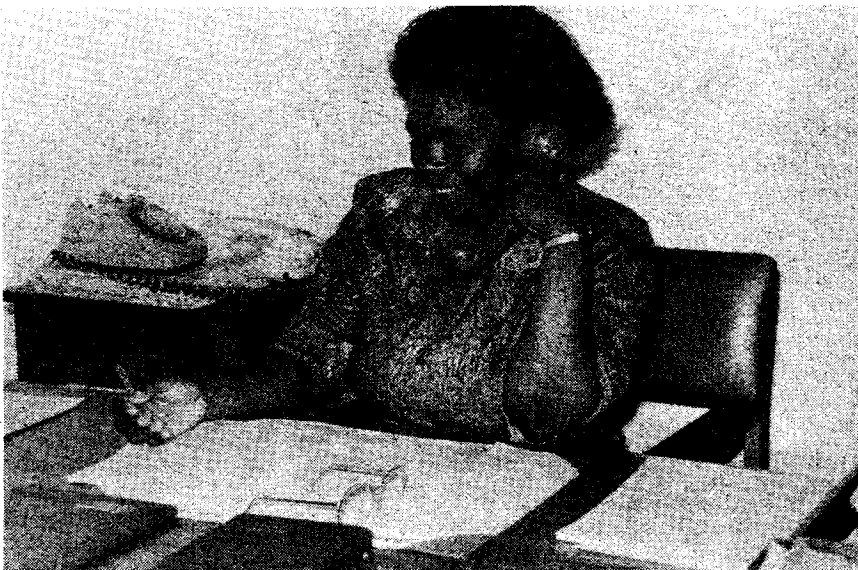
Zvimhingamupinyi Zvemadzimai Anoshanda

Vana amai vanoshanda vanosangana nezvimhingamupinyi zvakanwanda chaizvo. Chekutanga vana amai ava vane mabasa akawanda chaizvo — mabasa aya anoti kuzvara vana, kukudza vana vacho nekuchengetedza misha. Zvino pamusoro pemabasa aya akakosha saizvozvo, vanoendazve kubasa kuitira kuti mhuri dzavo dzivewo neupenyu hwakakwirira.

Chimhingamupini chikuru chemadzimai anoshanda ndicho icho chinonyanya kuuya kana vaine nhumbu, neapo vanenge vachangobva kusununguka vana. Tinoona kuti nguva yavanopiwa kuti vazorore — mwedzi mitatu — inguva diki chaizvo. Kutakura mwana mudumbu kwemwedzi mipfumbamwe nekuzovara kwacho chinhu chinotambudza chaizvo. Vamwe vana amai vanotozvara kana vachekwa matumbu. Zvino kuti vabva vangodzokera kubasa, vachikurwadziwa nezvironda izvi chinhu chakaoma zvikuru. Asi tinoona kuti pamusaka pekuti zvinhu muzvitoro umu zvave kudhura, uyezve nechido chavo chekuda kubatsira vanababa, vanongoshingirira zvakanwanda. Hatisi kuti zvedu nguva iyi mwedzi mitatu yakaipa. Asi zvingadero zviri nani chaizvo kuti avo vanokwanisa zvavo kudzokera kumabasa avo mwedzi mitatu iyi yapera, vanodzoka zvavo, asi avo vasingakwanisi vombogara zvavo kumba.

Chimwe chimhingamupinizve chemudzimai anoshanda ndicho chekusiya vana vacheche kumba. Hongu, Hurumende yedu inobvumira vakadzi vanoyamwisa kutora "hour" rimwe masikati kunoyamwisa mwana. Izvi zvinhu zvakanwanda chaizvo. Asi, vakadzi vazhinji havana motokari dzekufambisa nadzo, uyezve nzvimbo dzavanogara dziri kure nenzvimbo dzavo dzekusevenza. Saka kazhinji "hour" iri rinopera amai vasati vatombosvika kumba kwacho.

Chimhingamupini chekufamba ichi chinobva chatonyanya kunetsa, kana vamwe vana vari pamazororo avo echikoro, kunyanya kana vana vanogara muma'boarding schools



Madzimai ve mumaHofisi

vouya. Amai vanenge vachifanira kusiya vaona kuti vana vachadya chiiko masikati uyezve nekuona kuti mumba masara muchiratidzika zvakanwanda here. Hongu mamwe madzimai vane vasikana vanoshanda, asi avo vasina, zvinobva zvatonetsa chaizvo.

Kwochizoitazve, kana baba vachinjwa basa ravo, amai vanofanirwawo (pachivanhu chedu) kuenda uko kunenge kuchienda baba. Dzimwe nguva izvi zvinoita kuti mhuri idimburwe nepakati — amai vasara muHarare — baba vave kuBulawayo. Zvino, kana mumba mulne vana, hachisi chinhu chakanwanda, kuti baba vave kwavo — amaiwo kwavowo sekuti kuti vana vakure zvakanwanda, vanofanirwa kugara nevabereki vavo panzvimbo imwe chete. Zvino panenge pakadai apa, vamwe vanababa kana vanzi ngavachinje nzvimbo dzavo dzekusevenza, vanobva vada kuenda naamai — izvi dzimwe nguva zvinokonzerwa kuti amai vasiye basa ravo — vobva vanogara pamba vasisina basa.

Zvino kana amai vagara pamba, dzimwe nguva mari yababa haichakwanisi kutenga kudya kwakanwanda mumhuri. Vana votanga zvino kurwara nezvirwere zvekushaya kudya uyezve zvekupfeka zvakanwanda. Zvino munyika munoitwa zvemushandirapamwe, Hurumende dzacho dzinobva dzatsvagira vana kudya kwakanwanda.

Saka tinoona kuti vanaamai vanoshanda vane basa chaizvo. Vanhu vashoma vanozwisisa kuti kutsvaga miriwo yakasiyana pamazuva akasiyana chinhu chinonetsa sei. Vana amai nguva dzese vari kubasa vanenge vachifunga kuti "zvino manheru ano mhuri yangu ichadya chii?". Saka vana amai, nyangwe zvavo vanenge vari kuita rimwe basa, vanenge vachifungazve mhuri dzavo. Zvino mazuva ano mitengo yezvinhu zvekudya yakwira. Saka dambudziko zvino rave rokuti mari yowanikwa kupi kuti mhuri dzirambe dzichidya zvinhu zvadzaisidya kare.

Nyangwezvo, zvinhu zvizhinji zvakaomera madzimai anoshanda, Hurumende yedu iri kuita zvakanwanda chaizvo kubatsira madzimai. Mitemo mizhinji chaizvo yakapasiswa kuitira kuti upenyu hwemadzimai huve nani. Kare madzimai aisevenza, apo vaiita nhumbu vana vasingapihwe nguva yekuzorora. Uyezve, kare vakadzi vaishanda mabasa akafanana neevavume, vaipiwa mari shoma. Izvi zvakarambwa zvekare neHurumende yedu. Hurumende yedu yakabva yaisa mutemo wekuti varume nevakadzi vanoita basa rakafanana vapiwe mari yakafanana. Chichemo chemadzimai mazuva ano ndicho chemutero uya unonzi "income tax". Vakadzi vanotera mari yakawanda chaizvo. Asizve, apa Hurumende iri kutarisa nzira dzekuti



Madzimai vezve Utano

izvi zvipere.

Saka Hurumende iri kuita zvinhu zvakanwanda chaizvo kubatsira vakadzi vanosevenza. Bato rezvutano riri kuita basa chaizvo mukudzivirira vana vadiki kubva kuzvirwere zvevhetamakumbo nezvimwe zvakanwanda. Pamusoro paizvozvi, rimwewo bato rakamirira vakadzi riri kukuchidzira chaizvo kuti vana vasvingaendi kuchikoro vaende kuzvikoro zvevacheche zvinonzi "maNursery

Schools". Izvi zvinobatsira kuti mwana achengetedzwe apo amai vake vanenge vari kubasa, uye zvinopawo avo vakadzi vanenge vasina mabasa chekuita. Pari zvino zvikoro izvi zvinopfuura zvuru zviviri. Vana vanoenda kuzvikoro izvi vanopfuura makumi maviri ezvuru.

Pamusana pekuti vanaamai vanoenda kubasa vanosangana nezvimhingamupini zvakanwanda zvakanaka izvo kuti vanababa vapote

vachibatsirawo mudzimba umu. Mazuva aya ekuti amai ngavabike, ngavanyaradzwe vana, akapfuura. Kana amai vachimukawo kuenda kubasa, baba vanofanirawo kuziva kuti amai munhu wenyama saka vanoneta. Saka apo amai vanenge vari kubika, vanababa vanofanirwa kubatsira nekutamba nevana, kana kugezawo mapoto nezvindiro zvinenge zvashandiswa. Mudzimwe nyika dzakafanana neAmerica, Britain, Denmark neSweden, vanababa vanobikawo zvekudya uye nekugeza ndiro. Kugeza kana kusunga mwana mitambo ibasa rinoitwawo nanababa. Kunyika inonzi Italy, amai kana vanebasa rakati kwirirei, baba vanobvumidzwa kubva kubasa vachienda kumba kunochengeta mwana.

Mazuva atiri aya, mazuva anoda kuti vanababa navanaamai vabatsirane muzvinhu zvese, semabat-sirirano aaitwa mumazuva ehondo. Zvinhu hazvidzokeri mumashure, saka naizvozvo isuwo nepfungwa dzedu ngatienderere mberi. Tine rombo rakanaka chaizvo nokuti Hurumende yedu, ihurumende inoteerera kuzvichemo zvedu. Isu vakadzi tine basa rakakura chaizvo rekudzidzisa varume vedu kuti kana tichivakumbira kuti vatibatsire, hakuzi kuti tinoda kuvatonga, asi kuti tinoda kuti zvinhu zvifambe:

Current Situation in Central America

Recent events in Central America have shown that Reagan's interest in the region is mainly due to his fear of widespread revolution, indeed his fear of true democracy.

His administration have suddenly realized that the Third World are not a bunch of poor countries where raw materials can be cheaply obtained in exchange for some hand-outs of economic and technical aid.

The Third World is acquiring a new meaning, and current intervention of USA in Central America, has helped to reassess it. One of the main contributions of the Non-Aligned Movement has been to bring together the revolutionary forces of the Third World to share their aspirations with other nations and to present a common front to capitalist domination.

Confronted with such a formidable

threat the USA's foreign policy during the last decades can be summarized in two simple principles;

- 1) Crush every people's revolution wherever it may be found.
- 2) Protect any reactionary outburst no matter where it is found.

International aid for development programmes, arms sales, negotiations for peace talks, military bases, are all based on those two principles.

Central America, offers an ample opportunity to study in detail how that policy operates

It is true that Central America and the Caribbean region have always attracted the attention of the United States due to the proximity to their national borders, constituting the so called USA's backyard. Trading in the area has been

an exclusive American privilege. Political interference has also been very common.

A special situation has emerged during the last thirty years. The presence of Soviet influence is only an excuse or a cover up for more specific objectives. The US do not act in the region to combat communism but to liquidate one after another every single revolution.

Two revolutions were singled out in the notorious Santa Fe document: Nicaragua and Grenada. The latter was crushed in 1983. The former continues being the main hub around which the whole USA policy in Central America revolves. On one hand Somoza's Nicaragua had been up to 1979 the most convenient ground from which the regional strategy of complete domination was co-ordinated.

On the other, Somoza was overturned by the people of Nicaragua, an unex-



pected result in USA's monitoring of political changes in the region.

The military, economic, informational and diplomatic fronts have all been combined to topple the Sandinista government of Managua. About 35 000 people have died, of which 11 000, were children, and more than US\$2 800 million has been wasted in the attempt. A group of neighbouring countries in dire need of co-ordinated efforts to solve their developmental problems, have been forced to oppose each other in a fratricidal war instigated from above.

The Central American Conflict

CENTRAL AMERICA is a well defined region comprising six small countries spread over the isthmus that joins North and South America. Five of these countries, Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua and Costa Rica formed a political unit in the past before attaining independence from Spain in 1821. They also constitute the main area where the USA-Central American conflict is taking place. Panama had been joined to Colombia till the beginning of this century.

During the first years of independence these countries experienced frequent changes of government and military coups. Later they had successive periods of extreme liberal or extreme conservative rule. Their economies are strongly dependent on agricultural exports with a share of more than 50 per cent. Half of the population are employed in this sector.

The gulf between the rich and the poor is extremely high, widespread poverty is

often intermingled with immense fortunes, the fruit of well established exploitative relations of production.

The majority of the 23 million people living in the region have a capital income not above \$200 while the riches are controlled by a few families well protected and connected to powerful multinational American corporations.

THE ALLIES when the USAs lost their hegemony in the region after the fall of Somoza it was to be expected that a new state platform would be sought among the three main allies: El Salvador, Costa Rica and Honduras. These three countries received in 1986 US\$1 500million not exactly to alleviate the problems of the poor, but to keep the alliance working in favour of the US strategy, the complete demolition of any revolutionary struggle in Central America. One of the allies had to supply that platform.

El Salvador was the first choice. During the 70s the country had been ruled by military and repressive governments which indulged in continuous violations of human rights, while the peasants were deprived of their land. A facade of wealth

was created with the American assistance but the structures of inequality remained.

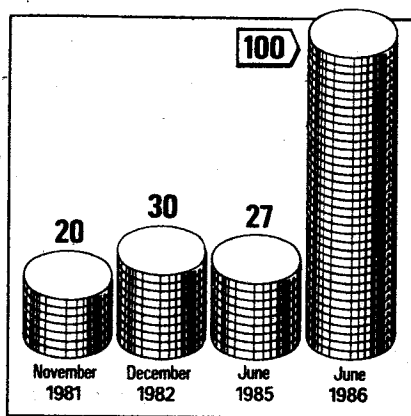
The liberation was started in 1980 by a coalition comprising five revolutionary groups, the FMLN/FDR. For 1987 President Napoleon Duarte has been promised \$180 million to frustrate the guerilla efforts for a peaceful solution. However given the extraordinary development of the popular movement and the ineptitude of the ruling classes, it appeared that El Salvador was busy enough with its internal problems.

Costa Rica came next. It was immediately discovered that a country without a well trained army was not suitable. The country had always been under constitutional rule until 1948 when a revolutionary junta was established and the army abolished. In spite of its apparent neutrality it had always been a

United States ally. Siding with USA has forced Costa Rica to deny support to Nicaragua. In 1984 she received \$180 million from the United States, consequently all decisions on the future are taken from Washington and a force of 1000 US soldiers are maintained in the country. Although its militarization has been stepped up during the last few years the country was in no ways fit for USA strategical plans.

Honduras, the third ally, was, then, considered. It was in the centre of the region. It had borders with Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala, the three warring countries.

Till 1980 Honduras has always been governed by dictators and by the military. Robert Suazo Cordoba was elected that year but the military retained control, the USA Ambassador in Tegucigalpa being



THE COST OF MAINTAINING
THE CONTRAS
(min. dollars)

the most powerful man in the country. Honduras would be in complete bankruptcy if it were not for USA continuous

assistance. It would need the GNP of two years to pay its foreign debt, its dependence on United States and the control of the economy carried out by a few American multinationals. Have won Honduras the nickname of a "true banana republic," its main export being indeed bananas. It has been practically rented out to USA for some economic benefits.

Problems immediately arose as Salvadorian and Honduran soldiers were to be trained together. The Pentagon missed a very important fact: many years of war between the two countries had created great animosity and not all scores had been settled.

Another element of discord has been a growing intolerance of the people to the presence of US soldiers in the country. The Honduran people were disgruntled by the arrogance and heartless behaviour of the foreigners. This brought the US plans into disarray and new alternatives had to be provided.

What about Guatemala? After 30 years of dictatorial regimes, the country could now improve its international image. President Cerezo, a Christian Democrat elected in 1985, could be directed and assisted to modernize the economy and to assuage the plight of the poor peasants, offering an opportunity to the small business men and giving to the country an appearance of peace. The URNG (Revolutionary Union of Guatemala) has been fighting since the 1970's to topple the illegal regimes and to defend the rights of the people. No concerted regional plan could be possible on the basis of a regime which was held in international disrepute. The army had to be seen firmly acting to exterminate the guerrillas. A counter-insurgency plan carefully drawn by Israeli advisers should be carried out in every detail.

Guatemala could then strengthen the US attempts to isolate Nicaragua and to weaken the position of the Contadora Group. Cerezo was supposed to assume a "neutral" posture towards the Nicaraguan problems.

"Active neutrality" was the name of the new policy, only that it did not work. Nicaragua has not been isolated but strengthened due to the high quality of Sandinista diplomacy. Cerezo has stated that he opposes "any foreign military intervention in the region" (Newsweek, February 1987).

Obviously such a departure from the lines established in Washington have sparked an immediate reaction. The amount of military aid allocated to Guatemala has been slashed by 60 per cent from \$5 million to \$2 million. The difference between "foreign military intervention" and "foreign military aid" rests to be explained.



The Sandinista Revolution

Such a co-ordinated plan of action involving millions of dollars, requiring full intervention of the CIA, resulting in a "contragate" menacing to engulf President Reagan and his closest advisers, and spreading all over the globe from Tel-Aviv to Pretoria, such a machinery of counter revolution and conspiracy must have a well recognised and dangerous enemy. The enemy are the revolutionary people of Nicaragua. This is Reagan's fear that the Sandinista revolution may succeed and be turned into a beacon of hope for other revolutionary movements in Central America, South America and the rest of the Third World.

Nicaragua is now celebrating the 25th Anniversary of the FSLN (The Sandinista Front for the Liberation of Nicaragua). The Front named after former guerrilla Augusto Cesar Sandino, assassinated in 1934 by Somoza's orders, was set up in 1962 to overthrow a son of the dictator who killed Sandino, and to eradicate poverty, hunger, disease, ignorance and unemployment. The rural areas of Northern Nicaragua became the first operational zone. During the 70s the FSLN became a full fledged guerrilla movement and in June 1979 it announced the formation of a provisional junta of National Reconstruction.

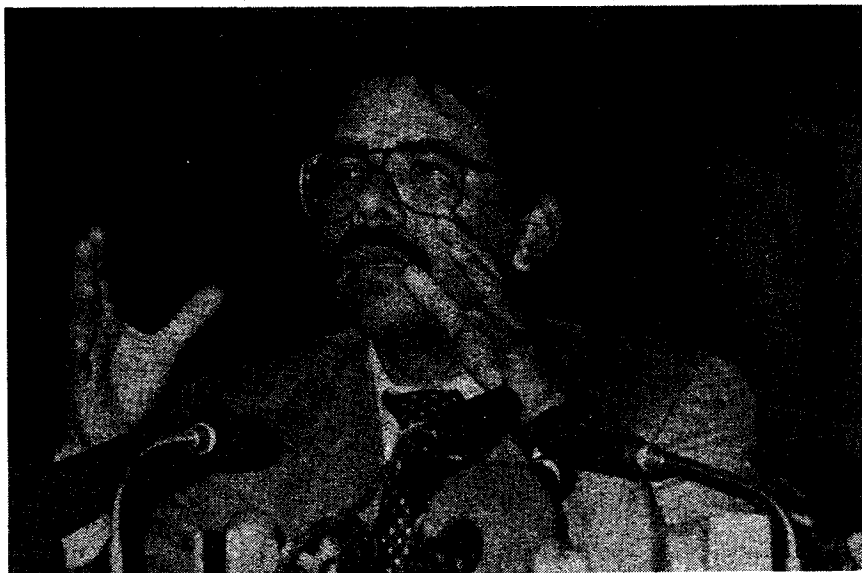
In July the same year Managua fell and Somoza resigned. About 50 000 people had died during the revolution.

The government and the people joined hands in the national task of rebuilding their country. The GNP grew at a rate of 10,7 and 112 000 jobs were created. Economic resources were reverted to develop the social sector. Land previously owned by Somoza, his high command and his partisans were confiscated to create communal lands which were soon producing 16 per cent of the gross product of the sector. This Reagan could not tolerate. In 1981 he started to set up military preparations to attack Nicaragua using former somocista guards who became known as "contras", leading to the scandalous sales of arms to Iran and the covert financing of operations which were not fully approved by Congress.

Peace Initiatives

Washington views that "Nicaragua constitutes a serious threat not just to US security but also to its neighbours", has been used as a lame excuse for US intervention in the region. The risk of a regional confrontation involving the US, Cuba and other American countries increases with every new violation of Nicaraguan sovereignty.

Nevertheless the Sandinista government has opted for peaceful solution at the negotiating table while resisting with



President Daniel Ortega-Leader of the Sandinista revolution

a well organized popular army any aggressive act from neighbouring Honduras and Costa-Rica or directly from the US as in the case of Hasenfus.

Numerous paths have been opened to solve the crisis by peaceful means. Dialogue with the other four countries in the region has been a step in the right direction. As a member of the United Nations, of the NAM and of multiple world organizations Nicaragua has sought international support from those organizations including the International Court of Justice at The Hague.

Contadora

Nicaragua accepted the peace proposals of the Contadora group in 1984. The following provisions were included.

- 1) Arms should not be further introduced into the region.
- 2) Foreign military advisors should be eliminated.
- 3) Military, political or financial aid to subversive or terrorist activities should be discontinued.
- 4) The traffic of arms to groups that seek to destabilize the Central American governments should be halted.

Surprisingly enough a document which was originally instigated and approved by the US, was now considered as

- a) transitory, because it was only useful until better initiatives were propounded.
- b) irrelevant because the conflict was no concern of other Latin American countries.
- c) incomplete as it did not consider more permanent solutions as the creation of a Central American Parliament, the strengthening of true democratic processes as those of Costa Rica and Honduras, and the need of dialogue with the counter-revolution.

- d) redundant as a new plan, the Contarrican Plan, had been proposed encountering more progressive solutions.

The Secretary General of the United Nations Javier Perez deCvellar visited Central America in January to provide support for the efforts of Contadora within the framework of the resolutions of the Security Council and General Assembly. He also "expressed the disquiet and concern of the international community regarding the situation that still persists in Central America and the desire of all countries that a peaceful settlement be found".

Lobbying in the European capitals to obtain a consensus favourable to the US during the EEC-Central America — Contadora meeting on the 10th February in Guatemala, did not work. A political communique issued on the occasion stressed the Contadora solution, advocating, for international dialogue and condemning interventionism in any possible form.

Conclusion:

The success of the Sandinista Revolution in Nicaragua is an issue that transcends the national borders of that country. It is not only that the people of Nicaragua need peace to employ themselves in the reconstruction of the country. It is not only that Central America is turning into a replica of South East Asia in the 70s with all the horrors of the Vietnam Conflagration.

What is happening in Central America is the concern of every single Third World country. We are being crushed in those countries, the hopes of a better life for the Third World proletariat are being founded there. If the Sandinista succeed, we succeed with them, because that is only another focus where the liberation of the Third World is being effected.

US Policy: After Sanctions, WHAT?

Adopted from the Southern Africa Report

By Mike Fleshman & Jim Cason

Six months after congress repudiated "constructive engagement" and imposed limited economic sanctions against South Africa over a Presidential veto, US policy toward embattled southern Africa remains contradictory and confused. The bedrock of US policy toward the region, the assumption that "in South Africa the whites are here to stay"* has been shaken by nearly three years of bloody black insurrection in the townships.

Shaken too is conservative hegemony over the policymaking process. The administration, in the person of Assistant Secretary of State Chester Croker, largely set the agenda on US policy toward South and Southern Africa until September 1985, when the administration imposed its own limited sanctions to head off stronger Congressional measures. But with pressure mounting at home during the election year and fueled by the increasing repression in South Africa, Congress finally revolted — passing its own limited sanctions package last October.

But if the White House is no longer making policy, neither is Congress. The old political consensus behind constructive engagement has not been replaced by a new one. Instead, a badly divided US ruling class has scrambled to fill the vacuum with a hodgepodge of contradictory and confusing policy initiatives and statements — all intended, somehow, to preserve US interests in the region and maintain Western political and economic control of the southern half of Africa.

** A number of Reagan Administration policy makers have paraphrased this statement, but the quote is from a 1984 interview with then U.S. Ambassador to South Africa Herman Nickel.*

Shultz commission report

Nowhere are the divisions in the establishment more visible than in the Presidential commission's report on US policy towards South Africa submitted in January. The commission was established by Secretary of State George Shultz at the end of 1985 as part of the administration's efforts to fend off congressional action and rebuild a "bipartisanship" badly battered by public outrage over Washington's "tilt" toward apartheid.

The starting point for this effort at a new consensus was the assertion that "the Administration's strategy of constructive engagement has failed." They note that "the development of a coherent, sustainable, bipartisan policy toward South Africa has been hampered by disagreements in the United States over strategy and tactics."

Most of the commission members concede the need for sanctions — "strong signals of the the United States' rejection of apartheid" — and even call on the president to enlist Europe and Japan in a "multilateral" program of sanctions similar to Congressional package. Should Pretoria still refuse to negotiate with the black opposition the commission can even contemplate a full trade embargo — including sanctions on gold.

The commission also has things to say about US policy toward the region, noting that "efforts to build positive relations with black leaders in South Africa have been significantly damaged by the failure to deliver a long promised settlement in Namibia and the decision to provide military support for Jonas Savimbi's UNITA in Angola." But they stop short of recommending a cut off in aid to Savimbi, urging only that "the

President take note of the complications for US policy in South Africa created by US military assistance to UNITA."

Although the commission was explicitly charged with reaching a "bipartisan consensus on US policy," they proved unable to agree amongst themselves. Three of the twelve commissioners, former Undersecretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger, General Motors Chairman Roger Smith and John R. Dellenback, dissented from the majority on the question of sanctions. "Intensified sanctions, whether unilateral or multilateral, cannot serve as the cornerstone" of a new US policy they argue. "Indeed, the evidence suggests that the context of a growing economy that South Africa has the greatest likelihood of resolving its basic problems." They urged that the United States "turn away from what we are convinced would be a wasteful and counterproductive continued concentration on sanctions."

Implementing sanctions

Far from settling the debate on sanctions, the Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 has only deepened divisions within the ruling establishment. Within weeks of the bill's passage, the administration began to sabotage the sanctions by writing loopholes into the enforcement regulations. To give just one example, although the legislation explicitly bans uranium imports from South Africa and Namibia the administration has decided that uranium destined for re-export is exempt.

In March the President vetoed a United Nations Security Council sanctions package patterned after the US law. The veto drew an angry

condemnation from Republican Senator Richard Lugar, a key strategist of last year's successful efforts to water down the strong sanctions passed by the Democratic controlled House of Representatives. The veto, Lugar pointed out, was in direct opposition to a clause in the act requiring the President to coordinate international sanctions against Pretoria. It also contradicted a key recommendation of the administration's own commission report.

In lieu of concrete steps to distance the U.S. from Pretoria, the administration seems to have fallen back on the traditional device of rhetorical condemnation of apartheid. Earlier this year in Geneva the State Department launched an unprecedented attack on the Botha government's human rights record. On April 2, the State Department issued a report, required under the Congressional sanctions passed last year, that was highly critical of Israeli violations of the international arms embargo against South Africa. Washington has always previously looked the other way while Jerusalem provided nuclear weapons, aviation and missile technology to the Botha government.

But if the State Department hopes to avoid slapping Pretoria by scolding them they are not getting much help from the right. In recent months, conservative activists have bitterly attacked such State Department initiatives as Shultz's meeting with ANC president Oliver Tambo and aid to Mozambique, and accused Crocker of seeking to block military aid to Savimbi. In February right-wing activists jeered a Republican Presidential hopeful who supported sanctions against Pretoria, and vowed to make support for the South African government a litmus test of conservative orthodoxy.

Confusion in congress

The situation to the left of the administration is no less confused. With further action on sanctions unlikely until after the first anniversary of the sanctions bill this fall, Congress has focused most of its attention on the Front Line States. In

the Democratic controlled House, for example, bills to provide economic aid to the Front Line States were slashed 50 percent. Congress has failed to lift the ban on aid to Zimbabwe and the public sector in socialist Mozambique, and may well pass legislation imposing comprehensive economic sanctions against Angola.

Indeed, overthrow of the Angolan government may be the one southern African objective that U.S. policymakers can agree on. In late March, the powerful chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, Democrat Dan Rostenkowski, tried to pass an Angola sanctions amendment through his committee. Congressional liberals were slow to react and only after some quick pressure was mobilized did Black Caucus member Charles Rangel persuade Rostenkowski to drop the measures. Chances of passage of anti-MPLA measures are good in a Congress that last year refused to debate the merits of Reagan's covert military aid program to the South African-backed Angolan rebels. This year there are already two anti-MPLA bills before Congress. There is even a proposal to expand and modernize an airstrip in southwestern Zaire that is already being used by the CIA to provide weapons to Savimbi.

Reagan himself cited US aid to Savimbi in defense of his global counterrevolutionary strategy during his crucial March 19 press conference on the Iran/Contra affair. The 1975 Congressional cut-off of aid to Savimbi, Reagan said, was "the most recent example perhaps where the Congress has turned on the President." And as a result "They have a communist government now."

In short there's both good news and bad news about US policy toward South and southern Africa. The good news is that the strength of popular resistance in South Africa has shattered the Reagan alliance with Pretoria and pushed US policy slightly to the left. In the wreckage of the old policy there are opportunities for further changes.

The bad news is that US policy is still being debated without reference to the right of political and economic self-determination that belongs to the South African majority. The debate among the powers that be is not over a new definition of US interests in southern Africa but how best to protect those interests in the current crisis.

Profound changes in US policy toward southern Africa will probably have to await a change in those powers that be.



***** RECIPE *****

***** YOGHURT CHICKEN *****

***** Ingredients: *****

1 Medium size chicken cut into 8 pieces.
 1 small carton of natural yoghurt.
 2 onions finely chopped.
 3 cloves of garlic crushed.
 2 heaped table spoons of curry powder.
 2 table spoons of tomato puree.
 one quarter cup of oil.
 1 cup stock or water.

***** Method: *****

Heat oil until hot then add onions and garlic. When slightly golden add chicken pieces and fry until the chicken is slightly brown. Add tomato puree and stock, then add curry powder and salt. Simmer until cooked stirring occasionally.

When the chicken is tender and cooked add Yoghurt. This dish can be eaten with sadza, rice or pasta.



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