



LET US FIGHT AND  
REBUILD ZIMBABWE

# Zimbabwe News

## Official Organ of ZANU(PF)

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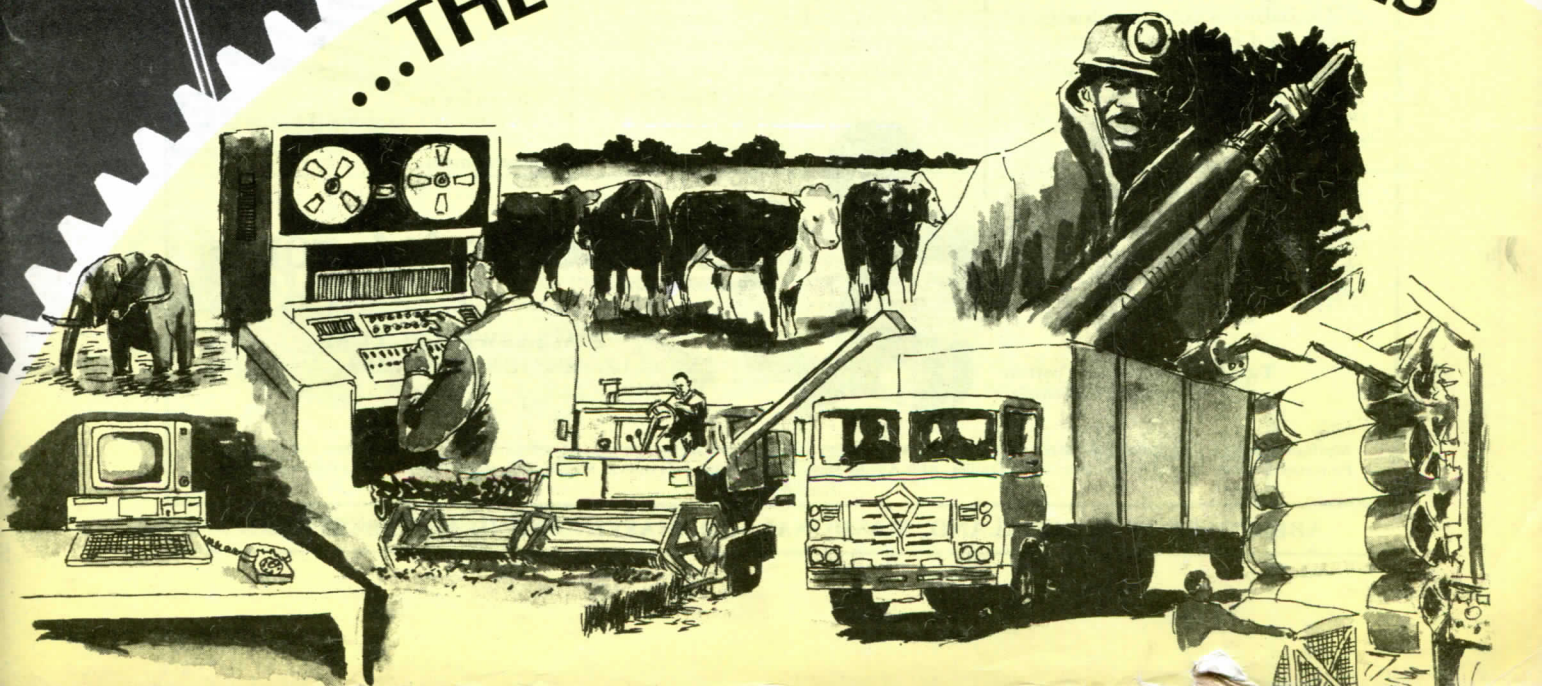
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FIRST CHIMURENGA

SECOND  
CHIMURENGA



...THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES





**T**he Aberfoyle Group means business in Zimbabwe. For example, Aberfoyle have recently invested in an exciting new development in the country's lowveld. This is the 12 000 hectare Mwenezi Oil Palm project which will bring employment to nearly 10 000 workers. At peak production this project is expected to generate foreign exchange earnings to the value of Z\$60 million per annum.



Aberfoyle develops Zimbabwe's first Oil Palm project.

At the heart of this development is the giant Manyuchi Dam, scheduled for completion in December, 1988. This dam will be the fourth largest in Zimbabwe. It will feed the oil palm plantations and provide water to surrounding farmlands.



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Aberfoyle's agricultural interests include Zimbabwe's largest dairy farm

The Aberfoyle Group is putting down strong roots in its property and portfolio investments. **Aberfoyle Investments** owns and manages important properties such as **Globe House** and **Electra House** in Harare and its investment portfolio includes

## Aberfoyle means business

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many of the leading companies in the country.

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We're here to invest and contribute to the development of the country.

Aberfoyle investing in Zimbabwe's property development.



## The Aberfoyle Group

ZIMBABWE'S FUTURE IS OUR BUSINESS

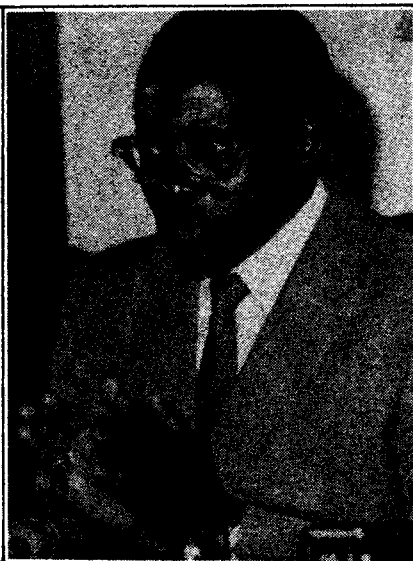
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ABERFOYLE IN MANICALAND, MASHONALAND, MASVINGO AND MATABELELAND



## Chimurenga A reflection on our Revolutionary Tradition

The formation of ZANU was as much an historical event as it was a necessary and logical step in the revolutionary process of our country . . . The oppressor stands opposed to the oppressed, the exploiting bourgeois to the exploited worker, the land seizing Bourgeois farmer to the impoverished peasant holder, and overall the ruling settler minority community to the ruled broad masses . . . The struggle continues. Speech by the President of ZANU, Comrade Robert G. Mugabe, made on ZANU Day, 8th August 1978. *Page 4*



## South-South Cooperation — The Pyongyang Plan

South-South Cooperation is an integral part of the efforts of NAM and other developing countries to restructure the existing international Economic Relation and a key element in their struggle for the establishment for a new International Economic Order . . . We publish the Pyongyang Plan of Action of S-S cooperation. *Page 21*

## Resettled Woman's Daily Life

Women in resettlement schemes have embarked on a self-reliant exercise, where they have formed income-generating cooperatives to supplement seasonal income. Zimbabwe News carries a report on the problems they encounter in their ventures. *Page 17*

## International Lending Institutions Block Third World Development

The World Bank and the IMF — who is using who between these two money lending institutions and developing countries when it comes to economic policies and national development? We analyse the effectiveness of the economic "prescriptions" of these institutions to the Third World . . . *Page 20*

## Voices Against U.S. Promoted Aggression in Southern Africa and Central America

There can be no doubt that "US obsession with inflicting damage on the Nicaraguan Government is a great mistake. It is morally wrong, legally indefensible and probably politically ineffective" . . . Voices against US promoted aggression in Southern Africa and Central America. *Page 30*

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# Editorial

## *Drought in Zimbabwe: Fighting Together for Survival*

Our country is currently experiencing the worst drought in living memory. A dam in Penhalongo has dried up, something that has not happened in thirty years. The Provinces of Matabeleland North and South, Midlands, Masvingo, parts of Manicaland and Mashonaland have all been badly hit. Rivers and dams which supply water to a number of towns and cities have completely dried. Boreholes and wells in many areas have also dried, leaving people in a situation where they have to walk long distances to secure water for domestic use. The water table in many parts of the country has dropped significantly.

This paper examines the drought problem facing Zimbabwe, measures taken by Government to combat its effects, and what ordinary citizens should be doing to help themselves in the circumstances.

### The Problem

Unfriendly weather patterns have been with us in the Southern African region since 1981. These weather conditions have had a marked negative effect on our economy, particularly in the sphere of agriculture.

Agriculture plays a vital role in our country's economy and our Government and Party-ZANU (PF) — attach great importance to this sector. Our staple food and a big proportion of our foreign currency earnings derive from agriculture.

Over the years drought has caused food shortages, scarcity of drinking water for people and animals, death of thousands of cattle, reduction of draught power, acceleration of soil erosion, and large losses by farmers in the affected areas.

Deliveries of maize, our staple crop, to the Grain Marketing Board this year is likely to be around 6 00 000 tonnes, compared with 1.6 million tonnes in 1986. However, there was a higher production of soya beans, groundnuts, sunflowers and other drought-resistant crops which the Government has been encouraging farmers in certain areas to grow.

### Measures Taken By Government

In many parts of Africa and elsewhere prolonged droughts such as those which we have been experiencing invariably result in the deaths of thousands of people. Here in Zimbabwe our Government is determined to ensure that no one person dies because of hunger or shortage of water.

The thrust of Government action to combat the effects of drought centres on two areas:-

- (a) Providing relief under "Food-for-work" programmes, and
- (b) Helping people to secure reliable sources of water supply.

Over and above this, the Government is also educating people on ways to help themselves to survive in drought conditions.

### Food-For-Work Programme

In 1981 the Government established a Cabinet Committee on drought relief. This was an acceptance by Government of the responsibility of looking after the basic food and other needs of all the citizens of this country.

In previous years of drought our Government mounted relief programmes which at one point involved feeding two million and one hundred thousand people, free of charge. At the present time the Department of Social Welfare is distributing food to one million and six hundred thousand people in rural areas. The number of people on the free food distribution list is expected to increase as food supplies of many families are exhausted.

Emphasis of Government relief effort has shifted to food-for-work programmes. Under these programmes local authorities in our eight provinces identify suitable development projects which people on the drought register work on. In return the people working on these projects are given

an allowance of two dollars per day per person.

The individual receiving the money is expected to purchase the food requirements of his family from this remuneration. Once a person is engaged on a food-for-work project and earns the two dollars per day, he/she is then cancelled from the free food distribution list. Government policy is to put all able bodied persons who require food assistance on food-for-work projects.

Implementation of food-for-work projects started in June 1987. Most projects in the programme are developmental and are geared towards reducing the effects of drought. Indeed many of the projects are water related — such as construction of dams, digging of wells and drilling of boreholes.

Below is a table showing the level of assistance given by Government to drought victims over the years:

### Resources Allocated by Government to Drought Victims

Year	Amount (\$)
1982/83	19 055 000
1983/84	55 000 000
1984/85	19 488 588
1985/86	4 952 407
1986/87	8 400 000

### Source: Department of Social Welfare

From the figures given above it can be seen that the level of Government support to people in drought stricken areas has been and continues to be very high.

### Water Supply Projects

As already mentioned above, the current drought is causing many sources of water supply in many areas to dry. What Government is doing to help people in the affected areas was outlined by Comrade Kum-birai Kangai, Minister of Energy,



## Water Resources and Development.

"Government through my Ministry has made funds available to enable my staff to respond to emergency situations which are numerous right now. We are drilling boreholes in areas where it is practicable to get underground water. Our objective is to ensure that no schools, clinics and settled communities are forced to close or move because of lack of water.

"A month and half ago Chipinge was about to close down. We drilled boreholes and simply hooked the water supply system to the boreholes. As a result the town is now receiving its normal water supply. Similar water crises have faced Dorowa Mine, Filabusi, Plumtree, Chivhu and a number of schools and clinics. Boreholes have been drilled in resettlement areas which were facing serious water shortage problems. Dorowa Mine was saved through sand abstraction system which we installed in the river Sabi.

"Non-Governmental Organisations and the Ministry of Health have been assisting people in providing protected drinking water and in shallow well digging. Drilling rigs are within easy reach of all our administrative districts, which makes it possible to

respond quickly to emergency situations. My Ministry and the District Development Fund (DDF) in the Ministry of Local Government, have maintenance teams which respond quickly when boreholes break down", said Comrade Kangai.

In extreme cases, said Comrade Kangai, water bowzers have been provided to carry water to needy people. "Ours is a Government for the people. That is why we are doing everything possible to ease the suffering of our people in these difficult circumstances".

## Importance of Self-help

While our Government and Party are doing and will continue to do everything possible to assist people affected by the drought, the recipients should recognise these efforts and augment them through self-help schemes.

In particular, as the Prime Minister,

Comrade Robert G. Mugabe, said in Parliament on July 8, 1987, "... the task of bringing the problem to the attention of Government is that of the local people through appropriate organs". In other words, affected people should alert appropriate Government authorities to the problems they are facing and, where relevant, register themselves in food-for-work projects.

Those who were able to harvest something this year should keep the food they have, in case we have another bad season. People in drought prone areas should heed the advice which the Minister of Lands, Agriculture and Rural Resettlement, Comrade Moven E. Mahachi, has been giving to grow drought resistant crops. This should be done with the help of agriculture extension officers. Where the Ministry of Agriculture is encouraging the sale of cattle, this should be done so as to reduce overgrazing and to avoid possible loss of valuable animals.

People in employment or otherwise earning a regular income should do everything to help their families, brothers and sisters in the rural areas in these difficult times.

Let us fight together to defeat the effects of the current drought.

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# CHIMURENGA — a Reflection on our Revolutionary Tradition

*"Struggle has never ended because when oppression exists, resistance to this oppression exists as well. This resistance can change in character and form but it never ceases."*

The 1st Chimurenga was a guerrilla warfare fought to unseat the colonial oppression established by the Pioneer column, coming firstly under pretences of looking for minerals and cheating the people about their exploitative and expansionist intentions.

In March 1896, in Matabeleland, the first Chimurenga started. The colonial administrations had ordered the people to pay tax, thus instituting their own system where they tried to profit from what they neither owned nor worked for. When the people refused to pay tax the colonialists decided to fight the people into submission.

The intention of the colonialist was to coerce the Ndebeles first before making the same step in Mashonaland. However in June of the same year, 1896, the Chimurenga started in earnest in Mashonaland. At the time the BSAP troopers had left for what became known as the Jameson Raid in South Africa and it was this time when the people decided to attack the whiteman in his laager.

The spokesmen and Heroes of the first Chimurenga, Nehanda, Mukwati and Kaguvi, rallied the people against national grievances in order to effectively drive the white colonialist out of the country. Forced labour, the hut tax, flogging as well as natural disasters of locusts, rinderpest and drought, all became national grievances.

The people were told that Mwari, the Shona God was very angry and that it was because of the whiteman. Since the whiteman had stolen their land, instituted his own system over the people, the natural way of life of the people was being brought to conform to the expectations of the whiteman. It is also the reason why the whiteman decided to use compromised black people in his designs. Most of these compromised black people were employed by the colonials as policemen, messengers, cooks and trackers.



**Mbuya Nehanda**

Instead of the traditional legal system to function on matters of interest to the masses of people, concerning crimes committed within their own community, which in essence had absolutely nothing to do with the whiteman, these policemen and messengers were used to establish as well as perpetuate the whiteman's form of law and order.

They are the ones who when a chief of a particular people, either refused or was reluctant to collect tax from his people, they would go into the village and cause havoc. Because they wanted to please their masters they went to all lengths to make life unpleasant for the people. Such that those regarded as wrongdoers were then taken in and publicly flogged.

This was a serious affront to the African perspective for it was only thieves and children who were traditionally flogged. This was dehumanisation. It was intended to eliminate the resistance in the people.

It is also the same time when, because the whiteman needed people to work for him and none were willing they started the system of slave labour called "chibharo". Black people were forcibly removed from their village at the point of a gun and taken to mines, at Chinhoyi, Mazoe, Shamva and other areas to provide labour willy-nilly.

Ambuya Nehanda, Mukwati and Sekuru Kaguvi through divine inspiration politicised and conscientised the people about the wrongness of the whiteman, and urged his removal. They were effectively the commanders of the guerilla movement at the time.

Mukwati established his shrine at Ntabazika Mambo in the Gweru area where the last Rozvi King had died. Nehanda was particularly influential in the Mazoe area.

According to a historical critic the Chimurenga spearheaded by Mbuya Nehanda, Mukwati and Sekuru Kaguvi was, "the most formidable, and the scale of their organisation the greatest, of any of the east, central and southern African resistances."



**Sekuru Kaguvi**



However, the Ndebele Chimurenga lasted up to December 1896 when the Ndebele surrendered and negotiated with Cecil Rhodes. This was not the approach of the other chiefs in Mashonaland who kept on fighting and were urged by Mukwati, Nehanda and Kaguvi not to give up their arms since they had not yet driven away the whiteman.

The Shona Chimurenga continued throughout 1896 and 1897 and ended in the total physical defeat of the resisting paramounts — for example, Makoni in September 1896, Mashonganyika, June 1897, and Mangwende, September 1897.

The biggest factor leading to the defeat of the 1st Chimurenga was the superiority of weapons which the whiteman had and the Chimurenga forces lacked, Kaguvi was captured in October and Nehanda in December 1897. Both were sentenced to death and hanged.

Rakafa of the Shawasha people who was a witness to the war, whose historical experiences are written down in records kept at the National Archives, the crime of the two leaders was, "Why did they not tell people not to fight the whites". They were buried in a secret place, "so that no natives could take away their bodies and claim that their spirits had descended to any other prophets or witch-doctor" according to the colonialists.



**Cde Robert Mugabe — 1962 — addresses a rally — Gokwe**

This did not signify the end of the resistance to the white domination however. Chimurenga forces continued to fight the white settlements and continued to champion the cause of the African freedom, that tradition became established firmly into the veins and arteries of ZANU.

The formation of ZANU on 8 August, 1963 heralded the continuation of this revolutionary tradition.

**We reproduce the speech given at ZANU Day: August 8 1978, by the First Secretary and President of ZANU, Cde. Robert G. Mugabe.**



**ZANLA Forces at the Forefront**



Once again, and now for the fifteenth time in the year of our existence as a Party, we are celebrating the anniversary of our birth, the birth of ZANU and our Revolution.

It was on August 8, in 1963, that ZANU was formed in Highfields, Salisbury. A group of leading Comrades who had wearied of the then existing ineffective means of waging the struggle for national liberation and independence decided to launch a new political party, fully dedicated to armed struggle as a principal method of effecting change, the essence of which would be the complete overthrow of the oppressive colonial system and the substitution for it of a new political and socio-economic order with a popular base and people oriented.

The formation of ZANU was as much an historical event as it was a necessary and logical step in the revolutionary process of our country. Imperialism and colonial settlerism, being by nature oppressive and exploitative, always have a potential for creating deadly instruments for their own destruction. The oppressor stands opposed to the oppressed, the exploiting bourgeois to the exploited worker, the land seizing bourgeois farmer to the impoverished peasant holder, and overall the ruling settler minority community to the ruled broad masses. The relationship, antagonistic in nature, yields sooner or later a situation of active opposition, resistance, revolt or aggression by those subjugated against those subjugating them, such being legitimate means of attaining political power, constituting an instrument for correcting and transforming the existing oppressive socio-economic order. It was this pervading phenomenon of class antagonisms, gaping clearly for the adoption of the instrument of armed violence against the ruling settler bourgeois class, that gave rise to ZANU.

For years, since 1890, our people either as impoverished peasants or as ill-paid workers, had struggled in vain for a remedy to remove the burden of racist oppressive rule and socio-economic disabilities that followed in the trail of European occupation and settlement. Their grievances and petitions humbly put before the settler regime had not only gone unheeded but had also been ironically followed by increasingly sterner rule and harsher economic measures that found embodiment in statutes. Oppression and deprivation became legalised.



Cde Robert Mugabe leads the Chimurenga revolutionary tradition

White states and black states became legalised in contradistinction. The Land Apportionment Act, 1930 and later the Land Tenure Act, 1969, which became the white man's "Magna Carta", was to the African the basic law of insulting segregation, deprivation and indignity as well as an instrument for maintaining the master-servant relationship.

In a situation where a small minority, 250 000 in 1962 as against five and a half million Africans then, held by sheer force of arms, more than half the total land acreage of our country, denied political rights to the Africans, maintained two wage scales, a colossal one for themselves and a meagre scale for the blacks, operated two discriminatory educational systems, the poorer and restricted being the African one, and accorded themselves a superior social status and the Africans an inferior status, there was only one option left for us. This was to employ the very instrument they wielded in safeguarding their self-endowed fortunes and privileges in order to overturn their system and overthrow their false kingdom. They had employed the instrument of force to create injustice. We also chose force to create justice by destroying injustice.

From its very inception, ZANU was unequivocal in its approach to the liberation struggle. It purposefully chose war as a means of achieving liberation. It must always be borne in mind that a system sustained by violence can only be overthrown by violence. War can only be defeated by war. So, because the essence of settler power was force, ZANU decided to adopt the very method of force to defeat it and create a just system based

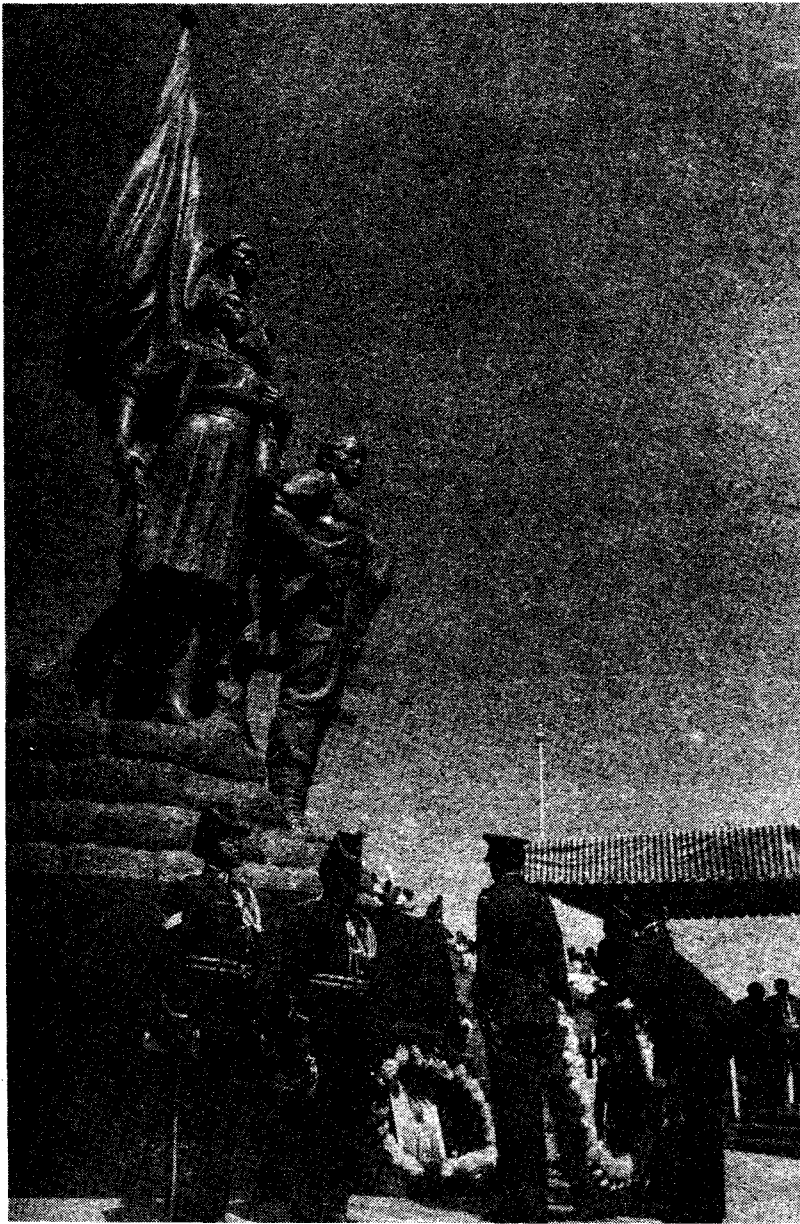
on people's power, whose main anchor and guarantee shall remain popular force. Accordingly, if ZANU at its birth was to become a truly revolutionary movement, it had to forge an instrument of force, sharp and devastating to the enemy. This sharp instrument was ZANLA, whose structure only materialised some years later. Today, ZANLA stands as a mammoth liberation army, dreaded by the enemy but revered and adored by the people as the vanguard of their liberation struggle.

After the formation of ZANU, the struggle in Zimbabwe definitely assumed a completely new form. It will be remembered that not long ago, on April 28, we celebrated the twelfth anniversary of the Sinoia Battle. We did so because the Battle marked the beginning of a revolutionary epoch in our country that has seen the settler citadel crumbling from the devastating assault by the people's forces, as the march to national independence and people's power proceeds.

Throughout, the fundamental principle adhered to by our ZANLA forces has been that of the governance of the gun by our politics, "politics governs the gun". In other words the war we are waging being a liberation war, has political principles and objectives governing it. It is in pursuance of our set political objectives and in accordance with our accepted principles that we are fighting a bitter war and sacrificing our lives.

Our political goals and arch-political principles were given us originally by our Congress held at Gweru in May 1964 through our Political Constitution and Policy Statement. After the banning of





**The First Secretary and President of ZANU (PF), Cde. Robert Mugabe laying a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier**

our Party and in the absence of congress the Central Committee became our policy-maker and the source of supreme directives for the performance of our functions and tasks in both political and military fields. Political direction translates itself into the direction of our war, for before we took up arms, we had realised the existence of a political problem requiring guns as a remedy. This is why I said in September last year, at the First Enlarged Session of our Central Committee, that the trajectory of our bullets is political, and so indeed is the final target.

Remember, our gun differs from that of a robber in that ours is political and the robber's criminal. We have a political cause while the robber has a criminal cause. Our cause being a people's cause is just and selfless in essence. The robber's

cause being individualistic and self-enriching is unjust and selfish.

Our fight has therefore proceeded with full honour and justification. It is the fact of its being in the interest of the broad masses that has attracted to it the full support of our People and of the International Community.

True, the road from 1963 to 1978 has by no means been a smooth one. There have been numerous difficulties and problems the whole way through. The enemies of our Party and revolution have attempted at every stage to destroy us, but because of our strong principles that defy opportunism, and revolutionary commitment that refuses to yield to defeat, we have proved resilient and redoubtable to the utter shock of our enemies and conspirators. True revolutionaries know no

surrender and cannot yield on matters of principle. They thus differ in commitment from opportunists who are easily swayed and turn traitor to the people's cause for more love of money or other personal comforts.

It is principle and commitment that held us together as a Party during the rough days of 1963-1964. It is principle and commitment that sustained us against the imperialist strategy of 1974-1975 which sought our ruin and nearly destroyed us. It is principle and commitment which continue to act as the anchor of our growth, transformation and development as a political and military organisation.

Now we can proudly say that our party and gallant forces are leading the people of Zimbabwe to a true victory and genuine independence. For, are we not operative in 80% of the country? Are we not in control of the vast areas of the country where we run our own administration and the people have been freed by us from torture and brutality by the enemy? Is the enemy now not showing visible signs of crumbling?

We are indeed now on top. We stand poised for victory. Yet the road from 1963 to 1978 has been long and bitter. It has indeed been a long march, but a march certainly worth the effort. For, defeat now inevitably awaits the enemy. He cannot escape it. *Never!* On our part victory assuredly awaits us and cannot elude us. *Never!*

The hour, however, remains crucial and the final blow, the most decisive knock-out by the people's mailed fist, must be effected soon. The enemy is battered and dazed. Let us now move towards him with all our mustered reserve, remembering always that ours is a people's war, fought by the people and for the people. Let us therefore now lead the people to victory in a bond that binds them firmly to the Party and the Party to the people. Let us now create for the people and out of the people a new nationhood that transcends regional and other parochial affinities.

The most solid base for the effective mobilisation of the whole people is always the Party. Let us accordingly continue to build the Party in accordance with the historical revolutionary experiences of the last fifteen years; ensuring true unity, discipline and revolutionary purposiveness. We have had a rich and admirable fifteen years. Let us look forward to an even richer and more glorious future for our Party and our People.

May I thank all our allies and friends for the unstinting support over the years which has helped us to develop an invincible army. We wish that their assistance shall continue and indeed increase.



# On Constitutional Amendments

In 1978, during the Year of the People what became known as the "Salisbury Fraud" was signed between reactionary forces of stooges and puppets, and colonial racists. The First Secretary and President of ZANU, Comrade Robert Mugabe described the Bill of Rights of this "Fraud" not as a Bill of Rights but of Race. This Bill of "Rights" advocated for an independent judiciary, independent from political force and desired high qualifications for the judiciary which effectively meant that the Black people would have to take another century before they could be considered for the Bench. It also championed the cause of the minority interests on the Public Service Commission whose composition and function, it said, should be retrenched. It also said the civil service and the defence forces should be free from political forces.

It demanded that pensions payable from the consolidated revenue funds have a remittance guarantee. This Bill of Race also said there must be dual provision for citizenship. This does not therefore require outmost intelligence to note that the "Fraud" signed by such puppets as Muzorewa, Sithole and other stooges was not in the interests of the Black people, who were presently waging a protracted struggle against the system to which these puppets had sold out to. What the agreement sought to do, is create a "constitutional homeland" which Comrade Mugabe said was no different to the Bantustans like Transkei and Bophutatswana which Pretoria had created.

It was therefore not surprising, when there was discord among the signatories of this "Fraud" at Lancaster, since the "Fraud" had been drafted by the racists and thrust on the puppets and stooges. The most democratic constitutional proposals, those offered by the Patriotic Front were found to be "monstrous" by the British Government, the "Salisbury Fraud signatories" and the British Press, because it was based on the principle of restoring true democracy to the people of Zimbabwe as well as proper freedom to the people of Zimbabwe. This is what the people of Zimbabwe had been struggling for and would continue struggling for till victory was achieved.

When the Lancaster House talks were called, it was now the time for the stooges

to step down. Those who betrayed the armed struggle signed their agreement during the Year of the People and that also was a complete negation of mass aspirations. For the revolutionary fighters it was time to intensify the war. The Year of the People's Storm was declared in 1979. The Zimbabwe-Rhodesia Constitution would give neither the executive, nor the cabinet nor the legislature any say or control over the army, the police, the public service nor the economy. It was therefore not surprising that, that constitution was torn, and rendered worthless. What the talks of Lancaster denied of the Patriotic Front Constitution will now be implemented without a hitch.

There is nothing spectacular about the forthcoming constitutional changes, that are going to give Zimbabwe's political image a completely different outlook. During the Lancaster House Conference in 1979 the British Press called the Patriotic Front Constitution "A plan to drive out the whites". But as any reasonable follower of the Zimbabwean political transformation, or any sane political scientist would comment, it was Ian Smith who feared a backlash of his rule. This has today happened in the form that Smith has had to be kicked out as a result of his intransigence which was bordering on treason. He has been kicked out of Parliament and is no longer the leader of the former Rhodesian Front, Conservative Alliance of Zimbabwe, which has in essence not yet learnt the principles adopted by the ZANU government, "peaceful co-existence" in the form of the policy of reconciliation.

The Lancaster House Patriotic Front constitution which then seemed to the whites and the British like a "monster" because it refused to recognise such demands as those proposed by the British and demanded by Smith that there be special white representation in Parliament, and a ceremonial president, and a British style Legislative system with a House of Assembly and a Senate will now be inconsequential.

This is not a peculiar constitution to Socialist countries as well as Black African states where "wide-ranging powers" are vested in the hands of the executive President. All of Zimbabwe's neighbours to the North's governments are run under such a system which means

that the objections which have been raised by the British government and the white racists were simply in the interests of the minority whites, who understood privilege to be "unending".

What the whites and the British failed to appreciate is the fact that the Patriotic Front had not only the interests of majority rule as the prerequisite to the furtherance of revolution, that the advent of independence would not constitute the aspirations of the Patriotic Front, which is what baffled them about the Patriotic Front constitutional draft. In fact they found the draft very objectionable.

Kwame Nkrumah fought for "independence first" which is what most nationalist struggles' slogans were. This aim would have to be achieved first before the next stage of the revolution could be reached. However, it is also correct that not all nationalist struggles were striving for the establishment or rather for the building of socialism. However it has always been stated in the constitution of ZANU that freedom would not mean independence only but of course the economy would have to be reorganised in order for it to work towards the common good of the people of Zimbabwe, in other words Zimbabwe's struggle was, "anti-colonial and anti-imperialist" what phrase alone abhors capitalism as a system. A socialist struggle was therefore the continuing stage of the anti-colonial stage, which in essence encompasses fighting capitalism.

The failure by the British and the Smith oppressors and their stooges to appreciate the anti-racial stance of the Patriotic Front and do an about turn accusing the Front of what they were is clearly illustrated in Smith's, "If we give away all this what will we (the whites) have left?"

Well, today, apart from Smith what the whites have left is freedom. It is true as one white person said recently in an interview with a local magazine, "We have never been so free, not even under Smith who fed us packs of lies." What are the visible results of the constitutional amendments to the political reality in Zimbabwe as well as to Southern Africa as a whole? One of the provisions at Lancaster House conference which was entrenched as a prerequisite to amendments that this needed two-thirds of the majority in the House of Assembly which



ZANU (PF) now commands with 66 members in the 100 member Legislature.

In most if not all democratic governments with an executive Presidency, the President is the commander-in-chief of the army, and may appoint, promote or dismiss officers. He may also nominate the chief justice and senior posts in government. This nature of leadership has made it easier for the running of the Government where decisions can be made promptly without the rig-marole of a British type of Government.

Also, in the same vein the ruling Party

in these older African states by virtue of the nature of the transformation, politically, and economically, is supreme to the government. As has been correctly analysed before, even though a ruling Party may have a majority the question still remains that the Government cannot effectively cause transformation in the relations of production as well as in the mode of production merely through government business but needs to use other tools as well.

As a result the Party assumes the role of mobiliser, and implementer of particular programmes thereby giving the people more say in the running of their country. Other institutions are also created in this respect. Trade unions, and various movements, all, in the quest for wholesome development.

Because of Zimbabwe's continuing path towards socialist construction, where the people themselves are shaping their own destiny under the guidance of the Party it will be imperative that the Party becomes or acquires supreme status.

# The June Freeze of Prices and Wages

June of 1987 was a very cold month — many workers were seen gathered around fires and burning charcoal to ward off the cold. Many workers do not have the warm clothes necessary to keep warm. It was in this cold month that Government decided to announce the freeze on prices and wages for six months. The workers had been expecting a wage rise since the May Day rally at Rufaro Stadium when the President, Comrade. R.G. Mugabe, hinted that the Ministry of Labour was considering the matter. Therefore the freeze came as a surprise and a disappointment.

Our Party's policy on the question of wages and prices is determined by two basic principles — to improve the living and working conditions of the workers; and to narrow the gap between the rich and the poor in our society. One of the key factors in improving the living conditions of the workers is the strengthening of the value of the dollar or dollars in his pocket, so that he/she can buy the essential goods and basic services that he/she needs. It is not the number of dollars that he/she takes home at the end of the week or month that counts, but the number that remains in his pocket, at that home after paying for the essential goods and basic services.

We welcome the freeze on prices. We have watched with dismay how the impressive gains of the workers in the field of minimum wages, and collective bargaining since independence, have been undermined by the sharp rise in prices of basic

commodities. We have also been disappointed by Government's apparent failure to inspect and supervise effectively the prices that have been set and gazetted. Retail outlets continue to overcharge customers, especially in rural areas. The control of prices through a centralised procurement system, and strict supervision of all outlets should now be a high priority for government.

The monopolies that control most of our manufacturing plants will use the freeze period of six months to prepare their case(s) for steep price increase in January next year, accompanied by the usual threats of shutting down plants and halting production. We are afraid that the financial position of the worker(s) could deteriorate further in the first half of 1988, as the monopolies score one price victory after another. It is now up to the workers, and their trade unions, and especially the umbrella organisation the ZCTU, to prepare an equally convincing case for higher wages, backed by figures of both increased production, and the rising cost of living.

The Labour Relations Act has increased the power of the trade unions, and the bargaining position of the workers on the shop floor. In many industries, the workers are now

strong and responsible enough to look after their own interests. The notable exceptions are the unskilled farm workers and domestic workers whose advancement is still wholly dependent on Government-stipulated minimum wages and minimum working conditions. As far as the skilled and semi-skilled workers in commerce and industry are concerned, the time may now have arrived for the role of Government to be limited to supervising monitoring agreements negotiated between employers and employees organisations.

Finally, the policy on prices and wages must take into account the difficult financial situation of our country brought by successive drought seasons, mounting economic and military pressures from South Africa, and the continuing world economic recession. We cannot and must not continue financing the budget from a huge deficit, and increased borrowings. Already one dollar out of every three dollars we earn in foreign currency does not come to Zimbabwe — it goes to pay for loans and debts we have already incurred. We have now reached a stage when those who borrowed us money want it to be returned to them. We must never be a debtor nation that lives on the charity of other nations. Both employers and employees have a national duty to pull up their socks, reduce expenditure, and increase production and savings, so that we may surmount the difficult problems ahead of us, and ward off the real cold in the economic/financial field.



# Party Organisation Part II

## Restructuring of the Party: Methods and Style of Work

1. This paper was thoroughly discussed and adopted by ZANU (PF) Central Committee as the basic guidelines for Party Restructuring. From 17th to 18th July 1987 the same paper was part of the discussion material at the seminar organised on Party Restructuring, Administration, Finance and Communication at Senka in Gweru. The Paper should now be used by all Party Workers, leadership and members in carrying out this formidable task of Party Organisation.

2. As clearly set out in the ZANU (PF) Constitution the organizational principle of ZANU (PF) in Democratic Centralism, this means that:-

2.1 The organs of the Party must operate from the mass base of the Party (cell/village level) through the intermediate levels of the Party (i.e. the Branch, District and Province) to the Central Committee.

2.2 That the Party must be able at the same time to operate the reserve process, to pass decisions from the Central Committee through the intermediate Party organs the Province, the District, the Branch to the Cell/Village level. The slogan for this system of Democratic Centralism is: FROM THE MASSES TO THE LEADERSHIP AND FROM THE LEADERSHIP TO THE MASSES.

### 3. Party Meetings.

3.1 To be properly conducted a Party meeting must have and aim for the following: — All Party meetings, including public meetings must have an aim and a purpose and specific tasks to fulfill. This means that the leadership of whatever level must discuss and prepare an agenda.

— All Party meetings must be properly chaired and the duty of the Chairman must be to see that the objectives as laid down in the agenda are met.

3.2 All party meetings shall have a Secretary who shall write minutes according to the following format:-

- a) Date and place of meeting.
- b) Organ of the Party holding the meeting.

- c) The people present and their positions.
- d) The agenda of the meeting.
- e) The discussion points raised.
- f) The conclusions

### 3.3 The Agenda

The agenda of a meeting must include the following:-

- Matters arising from previous meetings.
- Reports of office bearers and discussion on these reports.
- Any other business not included on the agenda.

### 3.4 Party Reports

Every official of the Party is required to give a report of his/her work periodically. The report shall follow this format:-

- Name of Official and position held.
- Statement on the period covered by the report.
- The tasks undertaken or performed by the official.
- General problems faced by the official in carrying out his/her duties.
- Progress achieved.
- Suggestions for the future.

4. Communication within the Party  
Communication within the Party shall be carried out through Party Secretaries and for this reason all Party Secretaries and Treasurers must literate and numerate. There can be no excuse what so ever when adult literacy classes are organised throughout the country.

### 4.1 The Cell

It is recommended that all cell meetings be held once a month. Thus, it is also recommended that cell Executives shall meet at least twice a month in order to carry out the work of the cell.

The cell Secretary shall send to the Branch copies of the monthly minutes which will also include departmental reports, and Cell minutes shall constitute the report of the Cell to the Branch. The Cell/Village membership is inclusive of the Youth and the Women's Leagues whose members have full participation rights in the main Party Cell or Village Cell.

### 4.2 The Branch

The branch Executive shall meet once every month, and the minutes

of the Branch meetings and the reports of the Branch departments attacked to them shall constitute the Branch Report a copy of which must be sent to the District.

### 4.3 The Districts

The District Executive shall meet once every month.

The Departments of the District must submit report to their respective Provincial Department. The Secretary of the District shall therefore forward the District Report composed of the minutes and Departmental reports to the Province.

### 4.4 The Province

The Provincial Executive shall meet once every month and the Departments of the Province shall produce Reports which must be discussed by the Provincial Executive and then forward to the relevant Departments of the Central Committee. The Provincial Secretary shall produce a monthly report which shall deal with the issues of Party Administration.

### 4.5 Central Committee

The Central Committee shall meet once every three months, as prescribed in the ZANU (PF) Constitution. The Agenda of the Central Committee shall include items from the Central Committee through the Politburo with recommendations on how the issues should be dealt with.

As soon as decisions are made by the Central Committee the Secretariat to the Central Committee shall write an Executive Summary of decisions made and pass them the lower organs of the Party.

It is in this way that the Central Committee exercise its leadership of the Party organs and Party members. It is recommended that the Central Committee decisions shall be passed down for discussion and implementation at organised meetings of the Province, the District, the Branch and the Cell. The Provincial, District, Branch and Cell Executive shall ensure that important Central Committee decisions are known to Party members.

### 5. Youth Organisations

The Youth Organisation of the Party consists of all male and female



members of the Party between 15 and 30 years of age. While the Party allows the Youth to elect the leaders who are above 30 years of age, it is however, Party Policy that the Youth should elect its leadership from among the Youth Wing members. Members of the Youth as well as the Women's League are eligible for elections into the village or cell executive of the Party.

## 6. Rallies

6.1 Major Political rallies shall have themes determined by the Central Committee and further these themes shall be of National and international importance. The Department of the Commissariat and Culture at all levels shall plan and organise all rallies giving guidance on the following areas of rally organisations:-

Target group of rally

— Persons to lead the rally.

Rally themes shall be discussed before implementation and all the rallies organised for Central Committee members shall include local themes and grievances.

6.2 Rallies organised by Province shall deal with Provincial issues, those organised by the District shall deal with District issues, unless otherwise directed.

6.3 The Executive of both the Province and the District shall ensure that a proper programme AND AGENDA HAS been prepared for a rally that they organise.

6.4 At such rallies, the masses shall be given an opportunity to have their problems noted and discussed, unanswered policy questions or new policy questions raised, shall be communicated to the highest organ of the Party, namely the Central Committee. The policy issues once clarified by the Central Committee shall again be passed down to the people.

6.5 Rallies are organised to achieve the following:-

- to allow the Party to be in touch with members as well as non-members at large on a boarder basis.
- to explain, the Party's line on major national issues and problems to the general public.
- to enable the Party leadership to meet the people and to record people's grievances
- to provide the Party with means of building a national leadership by giving Party leaders opportunity to visit and meet people and members of other regions

and by so doing, eliminate all forms of tribalistic and regionalistic outlooks within the Party and amongst the Zimbabwean people in general.

## 7. Study Groups

7.1 At each cell/village level there must be established study groups by the Cell/village commissar who shall divide the cell into seven study groups each study group being led by an executive member of the cell/village.

7.2 Study groups must aim to achieve a good understanding among its members of the guiding ideology of the Party namely, Marxism-Leninism along the basis of the syllabus already approved by the Central Committee whose topics cover the following:-

- 1) The Constitution and Resolutions of the Second Congress of ZANU (PF),
- 2) The Political History of Zimbabwe, of ZANU (PF) and guidelines by the Party and its President and major statements by the Party Central Committee,
- 3) The Political Economy of Zimbabwe.
- 4) The National Liberation Movements, Regional Co-operation and World Peace, Imperialism, the United Nations, the OAU and NAM,
- 5) The Emancipation of Women and the Rights of children,
- 6) The struggle of the Workers and Peasants Against Capitalism,
- 7) The Social and Economic Achievements of Socialism in the World today.

7.3 The study organs are a means by which the Party trains its cadres by advancing their knowledge, their literary skills and their political and social knowledge. Study Groups should be compulsory to all cell/village members irrespective of age and sex.

7.4 The Party school in the form of the Herbert Chitepo College should cater for all the ideological and political education of the Party leadership at District, Provincial and Central Committee levels.

## 8. How Democratic Centralism Works in Practice

8.1 The lower organs of the Party must be able to report all the problems and issues and suggestions for solution to the Central Committee through the Politburo which is really the Secretariat of the Central Committee. The Central Committee then amends and passes recommendations of the Politburo to it in the form of Party Decisions. The decisions of the Central Committee are very important to the life of the Party; they lead and guide the Party, they have the force of political law to every Party member.

8.2 For the Central Committee decisions to be authoritative they must be derived from the general policy and ideological principles of the Party and from the thinking of the masses. Thus Democratic Centralism only works when the lower organs of the Party are active and feeding the centre — that is, the Politburo and Central Committee with information and suggestions on the welfare of masses and their political and economic problems.

8.3 The system of Democratic Centralism only works when the Party as a whole is able to do the following:-

1. Conduct meetings properly.
2. Prepare and submit reports of activities and problems being faced at all levels.
3. Establish a good system of Communication.

In our endeavours we must however always be guided by the slogan.

**FROM THE MASSES TO THE LEADERSHIP AND FROM THE LEADERSHIP TO THE MASSES.**



Zimbabwe's liberated masses are now fighting for the upliftment of the dignity through the economic struggle



# Journalists Urged — Conscientise the Masses!



The peasantry too should know about the new information order and the new economic order being called for by the progressive Third World leaders

The time has now come for the international media to accept the responsibilities of a responsible press and desist from cooperating with imperialists, and reactionaries, in a world where justice and peace must prevail.

In this regard the President of the Non-Aligned News Agency Pool Comrade Pedro Morgallés Villanueva challenged newsmen in the Non Aligned Countries to progressively influence the masses in these countries as well as change the mentality and the traditional approach to information.

He told a Press conference during the recent conference of Ministers of Information in Non Aligned Countries (COMINAC) held in Harare recently that it was now up to the newspapers, radio stations to rise up to the needs of the struggle for a new information order.

After accusing the transnational news agencies of imposing and distorting news to the Third World people, he however urged the journalists in Third World countries to improve the quality of reporting and made it known that the training of journalists would be a priority for the POOL.

However, one major reason that needs to be borne in mind is the fact that the coverage of the Third World by the western news agencies is done by westerners whose interpretation of Third World affairs is dictated by the interests of imperialism and that it is necessary for Third World countries to send their own journalists to cover other regions so as the rest of the Third World get a balanced picture of what is happening in other Third World countries.

While denouncing the transnational news agencies Comrade

Villanueva said these agencies were still transmitting news and that therefore the local newspapers should sift the news instead of merely using the copy because it came from Reuters, AP, AFP or some such "reputable" news agency.

Since the ideological interests are obviously different between those of the transnational press and those of the Third World countries, in the same way as there are differences arising from the way the present economic relations between the South and the North, journalists have therefore to be cognisant of this fact as they handle news from the transnationals.

However, it is true that while the policy makers are busy debating the new information order, the practitioners themselves, the journalists, have not adjusted themselves to the tone of the policies they are reporting on.



The tone of reportage used by the western news agencies is well known. Though not all transnational news agencies are both cynical and partial about Third World affairs, those that are, are the biggest, and have endless resources at their disposal to continue reporting as they please, basically with an aim to distort whatever is taking place in any particular Third World country. In the same way as the Third World countries are getting an economic raw deal from the west, so too about news and information dissemination.

As Zimbabwe takes up the Information Chairmanship for the next three years within NAM, the major point of concern should now be opened to journalists through such seminars as can politically influence them on the major issue of the struggle in southern Africa, the apartheid regime, economic affairs in the third world, and promote the South-South cooperation programme as well as bring forth the nature of the present international economic relations.

The rest of the world needs to know correctly how odious the apartheid regime is. The world needs to know concretely about the liberation struggle in South Africa and in Namibia. It needs to know about the role of imperialism in collaboration with the obnoxious apartheid regime in banditry in keeping the apartheid

regime going. Today South Africa has mounted a massive propaganda campaign throughout the world through its own radio, and it is also known to have a stake in many international newspapers in the western world.

It is trying to be credible, to seem like they are being wronged while at the same time unleashing a reign of terror in southern Africa.

Apartheid is on rampage in southern Africa. It is on rampage inside South Africa. It is indiscriminately killing and the imperialists have accepted the situation calmly, continuing to repeat at international fora, that decisive and firm action will hurt only the black people in southern Africa and those in the neighbouring states. What a double-faced hypocritical stance to take. It is therefore as clear as daylight that it is now up to the Non-Aligned Movement to take the bull by the horns and show the world the need for an independent South Africa through apartheid's destruction.

However, it is the duty of the journalists to fill in this gap and to give the people the news of the imperialist conspiracy to deny the people of southern Africa peace, to develop, and justice, where a regime's only understanding of justice is the Hitlerite tactic of attempting to exter-

minate the whole Black race in South Africa in order to safeguard its own interests. "No man is free until everyman is free" and indeed before South Africa is free and under majority rule there can not be any talk of southern Africa being free and indeed if southern Africa is not free, Africa is not free, Asia is not free, Latin America is not free. If the western countries are free their understanding of freedom therefore is others must be in bondage.

It is the same with the economic relations. Some of the capitalist institutions which have decided to write down some three billion dollars of its loans to some third world countries, like the American Banks CitiCorp, Chase Manhattan and Security Pacific may be lauded as steps in the correct direction. But with the total Third World debt standing at some phenomenal \$1 trillion this is peanuts. These Banks only cancelled the debt after seeing that it was now beyond repayable proportions, yet it is precisely this leverage which the capitalists are using to keep a hold on Third World economies. The IMF should be dismantled as it is the major trouble causer in the Third World and be replaced by an institution agreed upon by the North and the South mutually. The media must champion the cause of the new economic order.

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# Being Masters of the Means of Production

*The Honourable President Comrade Canaan Banana in his opening speech to the Second Parliament of Zimbabwe said, "The Five Year National Development Plan has an objective to accelerate the process of Zimbabwe's transformation and establishment of a firm foundation for the transition to socialism." He said that the government will increase its participation in the public sector, the manufacturing industry primarily through the Industrial Development Corporation. The Corporation will take up equity in new joint ventures with local and foreign partners besides investing directly into its own enterprises account that it wholly owns.*

**T**he thrust towards the establishment of a strong Zimbabwean industrial base is basically the means by which citizens of this country can be the masters of the means of production. However, the question which many Zimbabweans may ask is "what does it mean to be masters of production?" The worker must first have a feeling of responsibility for the affairs of the enterprise he or she works for. It may be on a collective farm, co-operative, local authorities, public or private enterprise, agricultural or sectors of intermediate or capital goods manufacturing concerns.

Since transformation is a process, change cannot be overnight but should be formed by Zimbabwean life itself, centred on the system of relations under which the work done by an individual simultaneously meets

his or her own personal interests and those of society. This process cannot be an easy one because Zimbabwe inherited an old economic outlook which had fostered on private or individuals for many decades.

There is therefore a need to study and implement a steady social and economic change for the socialisation of the means of production as set by the 2nd ZANU (PF) Congress held in August, 1984 and now fully covered by the New Five Year National Development Plan which has created objective prerequisites for the desired transformation.

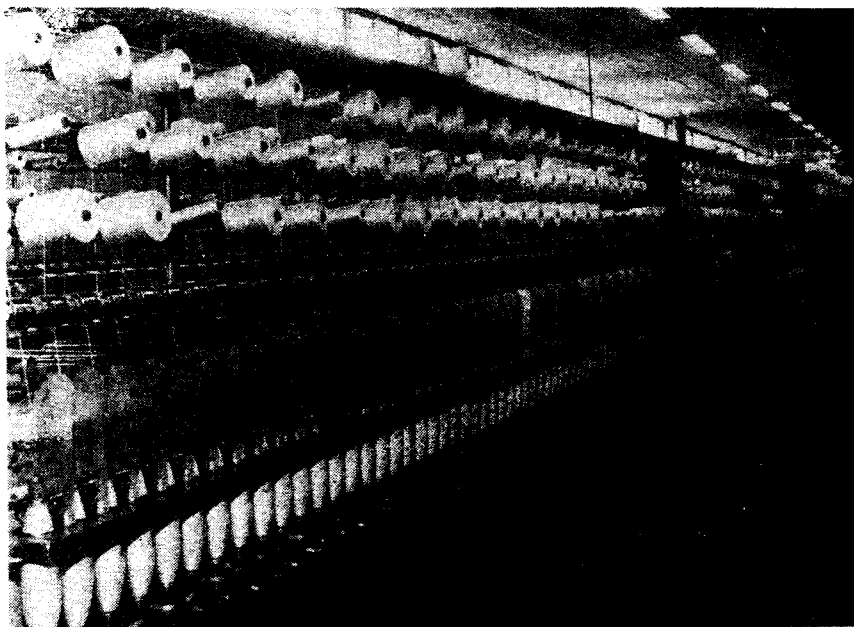
The concept of "the master of production" to Zimbabweans has to acquire a new meaning. The worker in this country should not only wait to get his salary or wage but be the new master as he who works. Once this



President Canaan Banana

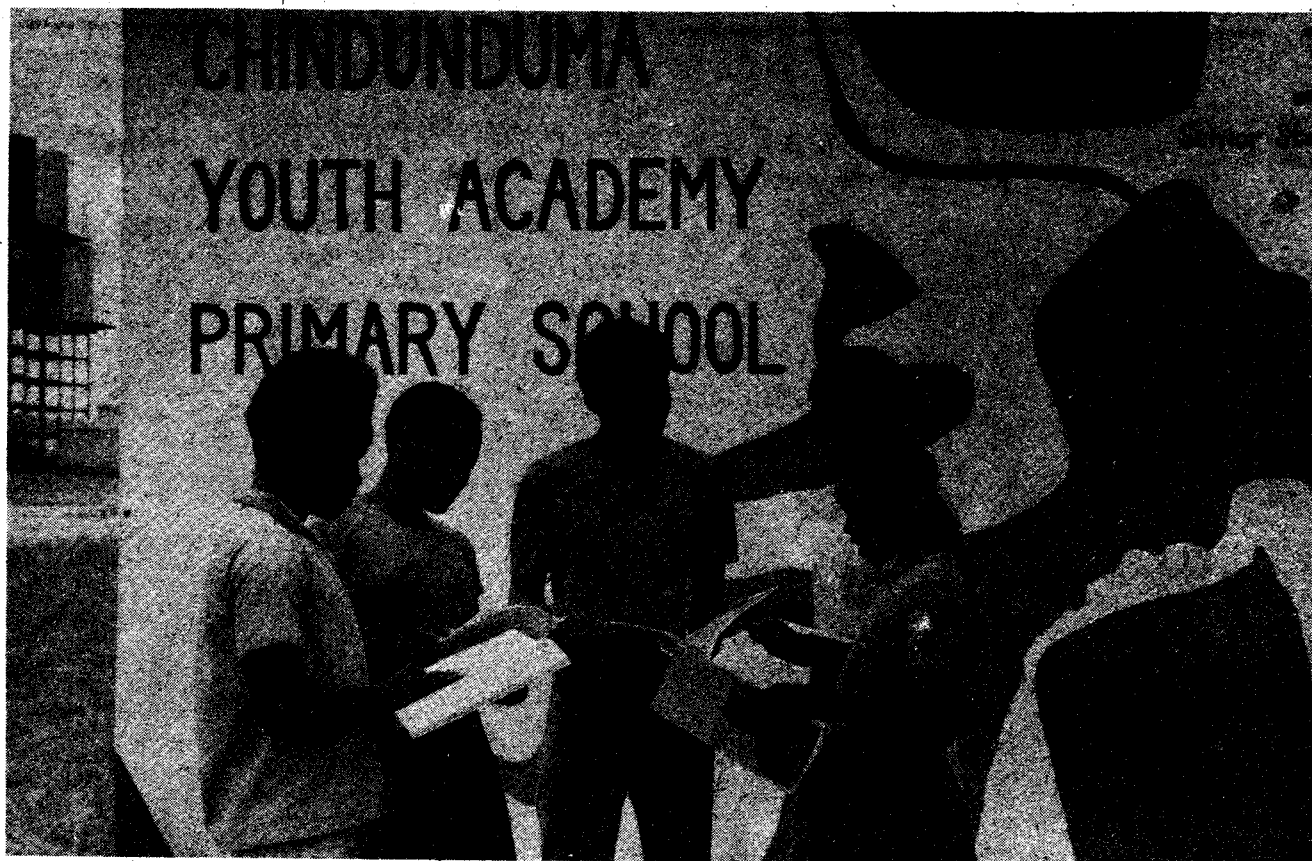
concept is grasped by the people of this country, then can we only become true workers and work becomes the main criteria for judging our society. A respect for labour in agriculture, the factory, co-operative, collective farm or the private industries is therefore necessary. That stage is a precedent to Zimbabwean workforce as respect for labour becomes part of our social and economic lives.

While the State and Party have set the target for socialisation by creating the mechanism of change through the establishment of institutions like the Industrial Development Corporation, tasked to take up equity in new joint ventures with local and foreign partners, it is also aimed at increasing investment directly into an enterprise account that is run by Zimbabweans. The feeling of being masters of production in such industries should set an example to many of our workers who are now tasked to take the role of creators of wealth and masters of production in all the institutions that create a base for Zimbabwe's socialist transformation. Workers should realise the importance of their work in the plants, industry, agriculture and co-operatives as important to the country and society. The capitalist distortion of labour and man should start to be thrown away and the idea that competition fosters initiative and



Workers at the production line





It should be incalculated into the minds of the youth that labour is valuable

enterprise should be discouraged. Thus the establishment of many socially owned industries in Zimbabwe through the Industrial Development Corporation should be a very welcome development to our workers who are now tasked in these collective enterprises. While capitalists believe that individual industry should be given more of a lion's share in most of the developing countries of Africa, of which Zimbabwe is part, the Five Year National Development Plan seeks to destroy the myth that individualism creates a person's capabilities while now, collectivism levels them out. The collectivism that we seek to expand under the transformation process puts the social being first and then

destroys the cruel and extreme destructive features in our socio-economic thrust for change. To achieve a geographical spread of industry, the President said, the government intends to decentralise industrial activity and create employment opportunities through the promotion of small scale industries as well as industrial cooperatives.

The accelerated thrust for socio-economic change in Zimbabwe is therefore aimed at creating conditions, of a socialist man moulded into collective society, in which the worker acquires knowledge, professional skill, uses his creative strength, learns how to manage pro-

duction and the sense being an owner of the means of production, as sought by the Party and government towards bettering the wellbeing of the masses of Zimbabwe.

Zimbabwe is truly going to be a socialist country if all the people value labour, the worker competence, knowledge and skills that we use in the transformation process from under development to development. Every citizen in this country should not only aim at self-satisfaction but society's satisfaction.

Given this direction by the Party, ZANU (PF) and the government, the workforce of our country should be prepared to take the challenge of socio-economic transformation.



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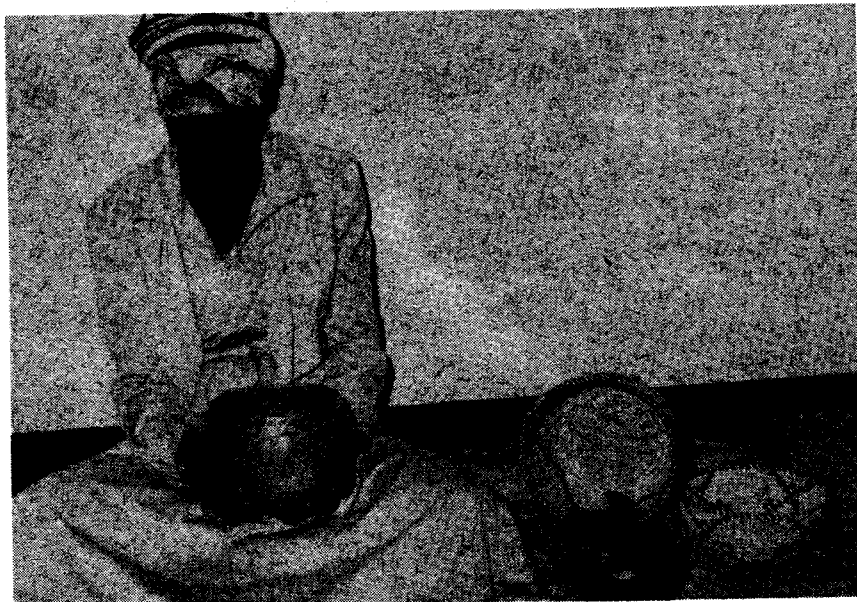
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# Resettled Farmers Market More Grain



Self-reliance projects

*The resettlement scheme programme which came into effect in 1980, and involved the movement of communal farmers from tired and largely un-productive soil into formerly white owned farms has seen an increase in grain production where farmers have moved from the position of being merely subsistence farmers to a commercial level.*

In a continuing series on resettlements and cooperatives *Zimbabwe News* has noted that the Grain Marketing Board has had an increase in grain marketed from the resettled farmers. One such area that has become a success story is the Umfurudzi resettlement scheme in the North East near Shamva.

However, owing to the different types of soil and rainfall, grain production tends to vary from area to area. The Government's provision for loans to com-

munal farmers and cooperative farmers has had a tremendous effect on production since the farmers are able to purchase chemicals and other necessary tools in their daily farming engagements. At this time when there has been successive drought in the whole of Zimbabwe, the repayment rates by the farmers has been affected therefore, production has been minimal.

However, what is most important is that the spirit of the revolution in

agricultural production has not been affected by these years of drought. The farmer has continued to assert his indomitable spirit year after year and still sells half of his grain and have enough to eat for the rest of the year until the next season.

What is encouraging however is the fact that in some of these areas, resettlements, cooperative structures have been set up, mainly by the women who have become involved in home industries. Up to ten member groups are engaged collectively in the production of goods namely, bread, soap, clothes and poultry varying.

This has seen more prosperity coming to the villages and more inter-dependence, resulting in the income basically circulating within the seven villages of Ringa. Now instead of people boarding a bus to the nearest town Beatrice, some 30 or so kilometres they only have to walk a few kilometres to the nearest village for their bread, soap or chicken. Also instead of this money going to some shopowner in Beatrice who would not contribute to the community development of the resettlement scheme and, now stop within. Even though there is this collective work going on establishing inter-dependence, it is still important that the cooperatives themselves learn the essence of skills mastering outside their agricultural activity to enable them to focus on other activities outside their normal line of work. Our struggle for economic independence should also be implanted into the minds of each and every peasant, and cooperative farmer so that they conscientiously execute their role towards the achievement of self-reliance, which when achieved in grain production will go a long way in promoting self-reliance in other spheres of the economy.

## Maivepi Cooperative's Progress

The unhealthy conditions at Maivepi Producer Co-operative situated at the entrance of Rambanai Beer Garden in Mbare are costing the co-operative essential business.

The co-operative which cooks food and sells to the public told *Zimbabwe News* about the presence of an undesirable ablution block, "We are appealing to the Department of Community Services to

come forward and assist us. We have raised this complaint for several months but no action has been taken yet. Our business is suffering because of the intolerable smell coming from this toilet which is always blocked most of the time. The effluent just flows on the tarmac facing our co-operative," said Mrs Beauty Nhire, the treasurer of the co-operative.

Many people who patronise the beer

garden usually buy their food from the co-operative but the stench is unbearable for one to consume foodstuffs." The City Council should close the toilet completely because we can still use the facilities inside the beer garden since our sales have been drastically affected," went on Mrs Nhire.

Outlining the progress of the thirty member co-operative which was started on April 9 this year, Mrs Nhire said the members who used to sell their produce individually near Rambanai Beer Garden started collectively to put their money together until they raised \$600,00 with which they opened a joint account.



The members then approached the Harare City Council which then offered them a stand to rent at a minimum fee. The City Council gave them a stand overlooking the entrance of the beer garden furnished with all cooking facilities where co-operators pay \$360,00 per week as rent.

The co-operative cooks various types of food including sadza and meat. Each individual member has a stand where she/he rents and cooks whatever is marketable. At the end of the day, each member gives whatever amount has been raised to the treasurer who takes a percentage leaving the member with some money to feed his family.

The money collected is used to buy more items to cook for the following day and the treasurer banks the remainder three times a week. "After all our overheads we bank about \$380,00 every week. At the moment we are still banking all our money which we intend to

share at the end of the year among all co-operators", said Mrs Nhire.

Many co-operatives fail because of lack of unity between the members. Most of the members are greedy for money because as soon as they get a small profit they would want to share and squander it all before they accumulate a reasonable amount. But Maivepe co-operative members are among some of the members who are proud of their success.

Another good example of co-operative unity was shown by Teurai Producer Cooperative which is also situated near the Mbare Musika Bus Terminus. The ten-member co-operative started in 1986, is also progressing due to the zeal and co-operation of the unemployed women. When Teurai co-operative was started the women were many. But because they used to get very little profit from sewing school uniforms which were hardly bought due to competition, many desperate women who were after a quick

buck deserted in search for money. The ten women who remained decided to cook various types of food using the complex offered by the Harare City Council at a rent of \$400,00 per week.

"After getting the stand, we then decided to send every member to attend catering courses at Lever Brothers. Since then, due to our unity and progress we have made major strides and we are proud of our success," said Mrs Catherine Masawi, the Chairwoman of the co-operative. "We do not tolerate any rumours concerning our members and if there are any contradictions we solve them communally," she said.

The only problem hindering the progress of the co-operative is that there is now a lot of competition in the catering field hence they are now looking for other areas where they can sell their produce. However, some of the women are maintaining their families from the co-operative profits.

## A Resettled Woman's Daily Life

The advent of Zimbabwe's independence, on the 17th of April 1980, gave birth to a new woman who has committed herself to the upliftment of the nuclear family's social conditions first and foremost and largely those of the community in which she lives in. Zimbabwe News visited Ringa Resettlement Scheme recently and got this story.

At this time of the year when the maize crop is being removed from the fields, and some farmers have already finished this activity, those who planted early, is the time when the women have self-reliance activities through cooperatives and other such ventures.

Most of these cooperatives are small. They are not cooperatives in the strictest sense, in other words they do not follow specific rules and regulations laid out by the Ministry of Cooperatives. They do not have a constitution, for example. They do not have a proper membership number to form a viable cooperative. The groups have proliferated according to what one village can best do. Sawing, bakery, poultry and soap-making. It is therefore much more appropriate to call these "cooperatives" self-reliance groups, who are geared towards supplementing income from the fields. These self-reliance groups have become long stan-



Self-reliance

ding though with varying degrees of success.

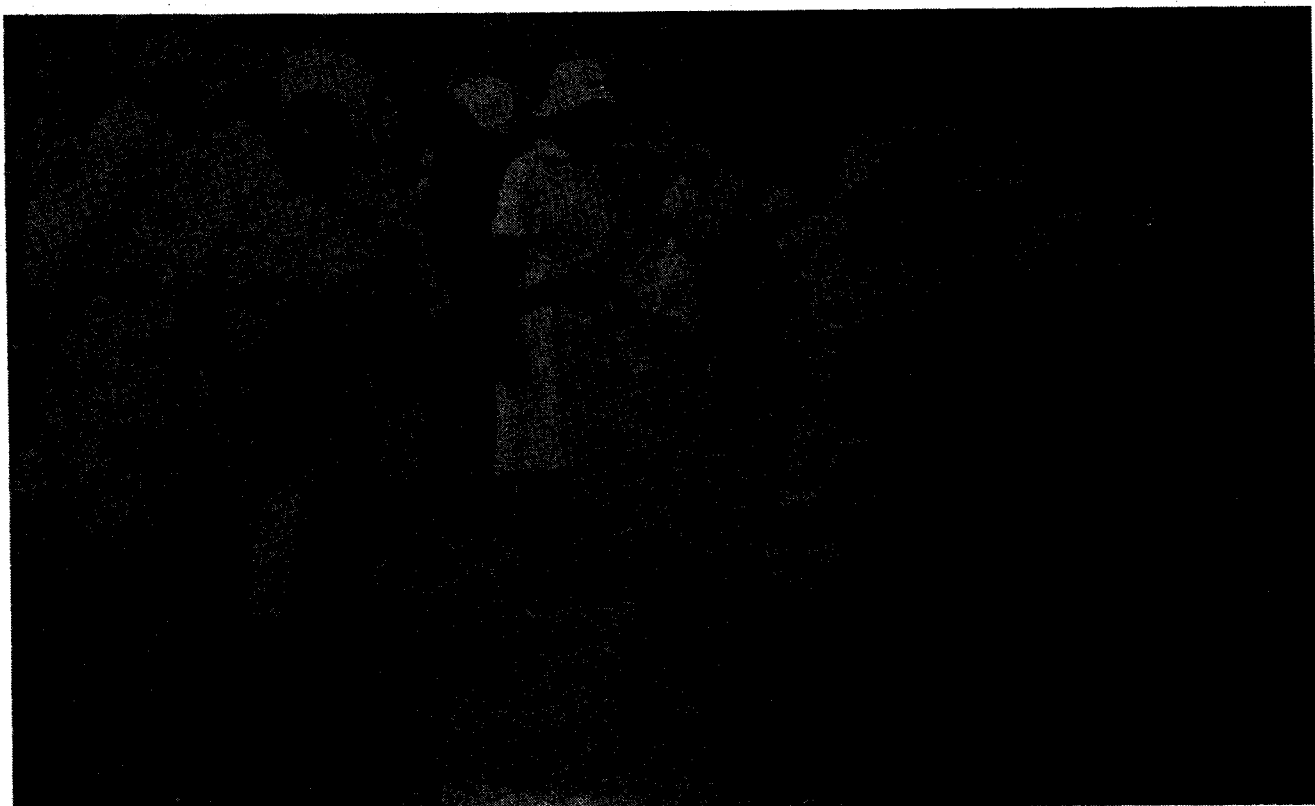
The resettlement scheme, called Ringa, a few kilometres from Beatrice on the Harare-Masvingo Road has encountered a few problems relating to these self-reliance groups, most if not all of which are women's groups.

They have to walk about 15 kilometres from the nearest resettlement village to the main road where the bulk of their

goods are dumped by various transporters, from where they have to get the goods to the village by ox-driven carts. This has affected the baking group especially which used to have things easy when a local milling company still had a depot in Beatrice, which has since been moved, so they rely on the Harare factory for their flour.

This costs them money and of course for their project to continue they still have





#### Working for community development

not started sharing the money and are still trying to save to ensure success, "We are still banking our money and using it for inputs". However the continued success of the project is seasonal and is based on the availability of money. This means that at this time of the year when farmers have not yet sold their produce to the marketing board or when their produce cheques have not yet come from the board the bread that is produced each particular day is much less than they are used to making at an average day during the summer season when money is still available.

The women have however not given up but have persisted on to try to give their families a better living throughout the season of hardships coupled with the winter. This has given rise to the spread of influenza and common colds including other small health problems. There are no clinics in the Ringa Resettlement area which started in 1982 with the settlers coming from such areas as Chihota and Mahusekwa in Murewa. However the village health workers who make the rounds in the area have managed to combat though limitedly, the spread of disease.

In an area where there is not much stored up water, whether in dams or lakes or even rivers it has proved increasingly difficult to do gardening and therefore there is a shortage of vegetables among other necessities. The mothers in the Ringa area are not very happy with their maize transporters who are exploiting

them by charging them fifty cents more than last year to make it \$2,00 for the transporting of a bag of maize to Mubayera forty kilometres away. It used to be \$1,50, but as soon as the price and wage freeze was announced the transporters increased the price of transporting one bag to the nearest granary thus costing the resettlement farmers much more than they get in return in the final analysis.

As a result a lot of grain is lying on villagers' yards. This coupled with the shortage of grain bags or their unavailability for those farmers who are not members of the Farmers Coop which has provided its members with bags, already, will cost some of the farmers fair returns, since the drier their produce becomes the less its value.

The women's self-reliance groups have not been themselves without problems, and indeed some of them have disbanded as a result of disagreement stemming from the self-aggrandisement which beset the women at the start of their programmes. The chicken programme stopped when the women quarrelled over who was who in the group and those who were still interested in the project started or continued their project at the home of one of the members. This in itself also causes the general atmosphere to be one of mistrust and the general development therefore is not conducive to development.

Though there is a resettlement officer

in the area the proper management of the groups is not within his jurisdiction giving rise to confusion which if the resettlement programme was so structured as to give room for the growth of these groups would have to be overseen by a cooperatives officer who should introduce managerial skills. Though the women have gone to various centres for training this has only been in the practical skills which because the groups lack cohesiveness has rendered this training useless owing to the fact that some group members give up, when faced with problems without attempting to solve them.

Overall, though the people in the Ringa Resettlement scheme express satisfaction with their way of life, "The land here is much better. We are producing more and are having a little left after all the expenses and if it were not for the rains this year we would be far much better" said one former Chihota resident who went on to lament the need for shell-ing machines. A resident in the villages who owns such a machine charges other farmers 50 cents for each bag they manage to fill up, using the machine, on hire.

*Zimbabwe News* tried to find out why they do not collectively own one and the farmers said that it was an idea which they have never thought about before even though some farmers own a scale collectively.

Perhaps the problem existing in the resettlement scheme among farmers is the



existence of two institutions for the marketing of grain produce. The Grain Marketing Board and the Farmers Co-op.

Members of the Farmers Co-op pay a certain annual amount to the Co-op and then they are provided with services such as a scale, bags early, and sometimes transport, whereas members of the village who deal with the Grain Marketing Board have no collective structure from which to operate from. Resultantly there is no way of reconciling the ill feeling that tends to build owing to the fact that other farmers transport their produce early while the rest are still awaiting the arrival of sacks or the purchasing of them. At a time when they will be without money and, for those without grown up children working, it is even a bigger problem.

Some farmers resent the fact that the Farmers Co-op once it gives grain bags later on, takes away a percentage equal to the price of a grain bag, while the Grain Marketing Board will, actually buy the bag if the farmer so desires since the farmer would have originally bought the bag anyway, so at this later date the farmers see it as if they are being robbed of capital.

It seems proper therefore for a uniform structure to exist so as to arrest the pro-



Women lead a productive existence

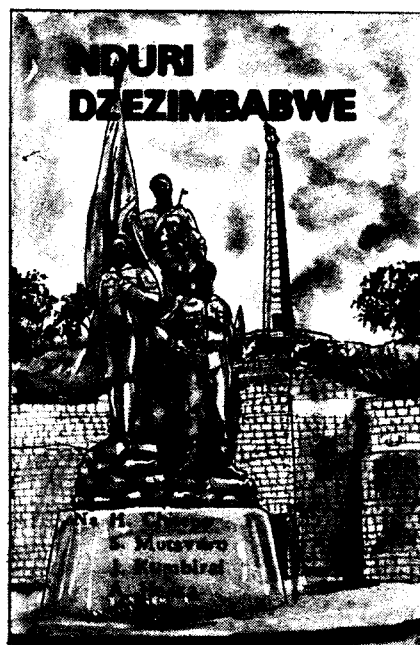
blems of uneven rural development economically, structurally and administratively which it is quite possible, can happen. The burden falls on the women whose self-reliance structures in resettlement schemes are falling apart mostly because the Farmers Co-op/GMB structures tend to divide the women also

according to which institution the husband cooperates with. Ultimately the simple problems that could be collectively tackled are left unattended because the settlers become non-committal to the pressing problems and instead resort to bickering.

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# International Lending Institutions Block Third World Development.

*The lesson that can be learnt from the unrest in most of the third world countries that have applied IMF economic prescription of keeping down real wages, removing subsidies, and opening all people to the dictates of market forces, is that these nations cannot use as blue prints the British and American economic monetarist policies.*



The latest victim of these IMF fiscal and monetary measures, Zambia cast the IMF cloak off after finding that it wasn't meant for Zambia at all though, it had been tailored to make it seem like so.

President Kaunda said, the reasons lying behind his break up with the IMF are

that, the IMF did not want Zambia to award salary rises to her workers, that the IMF told Zambia to increase fuel prices by 75 per cent, increase prices for the people's staple food, mealie-meal, liberalise the price mechanism and peg the bank interest rate at 60 per cent.

Other conditions include a demand by the IMF for President Kenneth Kaunda to reduce the central committee of the ruling UNIP, United National Independence Party, from its present twenty three members to about ten.

However the major economic measures



which the IMF expects from states when they borrow money or expect to borrow are unacceptable to the conditions prevailing in the third world economies today.

The Zambian case demonstrates that while Zambia could have developed solely without initially taking IMF aid the situation could be different. However, while the Zambian economy could not diversify, the situation is that it could long have learnt to make its economy resilient without having to become dependent on IMF deals. Most of the IMF deals are with national governments rather than providing loans for individual enterprising concerns as with the World Bank, which preoccupied with the national state, also makes inroads into the national individual lives by providing loans to either farms or projects that are income generating.

However, while this is a noble thing to do a question in this instance must be asked. A question that was asked during the development of the Vietnamese revolution in the 1940s. Who is using whom or who is winning over whom?

Well, the current situation economically must be the one that answers this question for us. Perhaps before the situation is answered there is need to understand what happened to the other countries who accepted IMF economic medicine. Chile, Peru, Nigeria, Ghana, Zambia, Philippine, and Brazil have suffered as a result.

Anthony Harris of the *Financial Times* observed the IMF is "seeking to apply British policies to the whole world," and it was also observed that, "The IMF's answer is that everyone must become more competitive with everyone else." From these two statements it can be seen

that what the IMF is trying to do in recent times is to implement British or Thatcherite, monetarist policies at times of unprecedented transfer of capital from the poor South to the prosperous North, through firstly debt servicing and, trade protectionist policies by the North. It can only be asserted therefore that the existing economic situation is one that can only be stopped if south-south cooperation takes grip.

There have been disasters in Africa and other third world countries, natural disasters, drought, which have had devastating effects on the African economy. The move, therefore by African leaders to ease the problem of these disasters that are not budgeted for cause the African states to channel their resources into these spheres which leaves their economies struggling. This makes the demands by the IMF, the World Bank, which do not take into cognisance these issues rather puzzling as to the intention behind the prescription of their "medicine".

What is more, these institutions are in complicity with the imperialists as can be seen from the Nicaraguan and Granadan situations where both countries have been refused aid because of the revolutions taking place there.

According to a book "Aid, Rhetoric and Reality" by Teresa Hayter and Catherine Watson, "When the revolutionary nature of the Sandinistas Government, its economic success and its overwhelming popular support became clear, the World Bank decided to stop lending. It thus went along with the US view that the government should be overthrown

rather than conciliated." As a result the Contras are being used to do just that.

In Granada the World Bank was hostile to the New Jewel Movement government of Maurice Bishop from the start. It denied the Movement funds for a new airport at Point Salines, complying with the US government notion that the airport, "was a staging post for Cuba". The Bank then proceeded to attempt to obstruct Granada's access to other sources of credit.

When the IMF went on to extend credit to Granada on the reasoning that "there was no technical basis for objection to Granada's economic management", the Executive Director of the World Bank expressed concern, "with the IMF's involvement with development aid to Granada without World Bank endorsement". As a result the approved Extended Fund Facility was withdrawn.

Then the US invasion followed, killing Maurice Bishop in the process and altering the chosen revolutionary path of the New Jewel Movement, and the Granadan people. Tanzania was also urged to borrow more by the World Bank and that plunged the country into an economic crisis that resulted in poor balance of payments. So in a way these institutions have been conniving with the imperialist governments to strangle economic growth in the Third World, and themselves propelled only with the reason — profits, and how to protect the interests of capitalism.

One hopes that the UN Programme of Action for Africa's Economic Development, among other programmes of regional cooperation will avert the economic crisis which the Third World has been plunged into by these two institutions.

## South South Cooperation — The Pyongyang Plan of Action

*The Extraordinary Ministerial Conference of Non-Aligned Countries on South-South Co-operation, held in Pyongyang, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, June 9-13, 1987, under-took an overall review of the present status of South-South co-operation and considered appropriate measures to speed up implementation of existing action programmes of non-aligned and other developing countries and future approaches and policies aimed at increasing co-operation, firmly determined to explore and pursue the immense possibilities of co-operation among these countries in trade, finance, food and agriculture, science and technology, industry and in other fields with a view to promoting and strengthening collective self-reliance and social and economic development based on justice and social equity, has adopted the following Declaration and Plan of Action:*

## Declaration S-S Cooperation and the Present International Economic Situation

**T**he Ministers reaffirmed their full and unwavering commitment to economic co-operation among developing countries and the principle of collective self-reliance.

The Ministers recalled that the strengthening of economic co-operation among developing countries has been one of the foremost concerns of the Non-Aligned Movement since its inception. The strategies and policy guidelines for economic co-operation among developing countries have been adopted and were embodied in concrete Action Programmes for



Economic Co-operation through the initiative of the Movement.

The Ministers stressed that the present world economic crisis hampers the development process of the developing countries, thus affecting their possibilities for effectively strengthening South-South co-operation. They further noted that this crisis, which has a structural nature, is aggravated by the economic policies pursued by some industrialized countries, resulting in a massive net transfer of real resources from developing to developed countries.

In this context, they expressed the view that South-South co-operation has attained a marked importance for the non-aligned and other developing countries insofar as it constitutes an endeavour for the achievement of collective self-reliance.

The Ministers recognized that the external debt crisis was the direct result of the unfair existing international economic order and noted the serious consequences that this problem had for the non-aligned and other developing countries' development process — and, thus, for the possibilities of strengthening South-South co-operation. In this regard, they supported the conclusions reached on this topic by the Havana Ministerial Conference of the Group of 77.

The Ministers noted with concern that the current international economic crisis has many negative monetary and financial repercussions, as evidenced by the instability of exchange rates, the persistence of high real interest rates and the net outflow of resources from the developing countries. They pointed out that a viable monetary and financial system is a prerequisite for the improvement and development of international economic co-operation and underlined the need for the restructuring of present international monetary and financial system and for the early establishment of a system fully responsive to the diverse and constantly changing requirements of the world economy, especially to the needs of the developing countries.

The Ministers reaffirmed the pressing need to implement an efficient international monetary system based on internationally agreed reserve assets that would guarantee stable rates of exchange, non-inflationary growth and appropriate liquidity levels. They emphasized the need to apply effective multilateral surveillance in order to ensure an equitable and symmetrical international adjustment, as well as the co-

ordination of the major countries' macro-economic policies, thus favouring growth and the development of the developing countries.

The Ministers pointed out that the monetary and financial policies followed by some developed countries and the international financial institutions ran contrary to the developing countries' economic development objectives and hindered the expansion of South-South co-operation. In this connection, they reaffirmed the urgent need for substantial changes in the IMF's conditionality criteria from demand deflation to growth-oriented structural adjustments that require lengthened programme periods and increased levels of financing. The Ministers expressed concern at the introduction of a new form of conditionality in ODA by the governments and official agencies of the developed countries along the lines of subordinating the disbursement of concessional resources to the settlement of outstanding financial obligations.

The Ministers noted with profound concern that developing countries' world export trade continued to be characterized by market instability, an excessive and continuous decline in the prices of their exports lack of access to the markets of the developed countries, the upsurge of protectionism, unfair competition due to subsidized exports by certain developed countries and the decisive influence of transnational corporations as regards price setting by virtue of their control of the main markets for these products. In this regard, they supported the conclusions reached on this topic by the Ministerial Conference of the Group of 77 that was held in Havana in April 1987.

The Ministers further expressed deep concern at the excessive and continuous downward trend in the prices of commodities exported by developing countries and the worsening of their terms of trade. They noted with equal concern that no serious attempt was evident at the international level to reverse this trend, and stressed that concrete measures to resolve these problems should be urgently taken in all appropriate forums in particular UNCTAD VII.

The Ministers pointed out that subsidies for agricultural exports and the protectionist practices that certain developed countries apply in the agricultural sector engender an artificial accumulation of excess stocks on the world market and do not serve the purposes of world food

security, to the extent that the developing countries' domestic output may be eliminated from local and international markets.

The Ministers noted that the sharp fall in the price of oil and the resultant massive transfer of resources from the oil exporting developing countries to developed countries and they expressed concern at the adverse impact this will have on the economies of oil-exporting developing countries and their ability to sustain development.

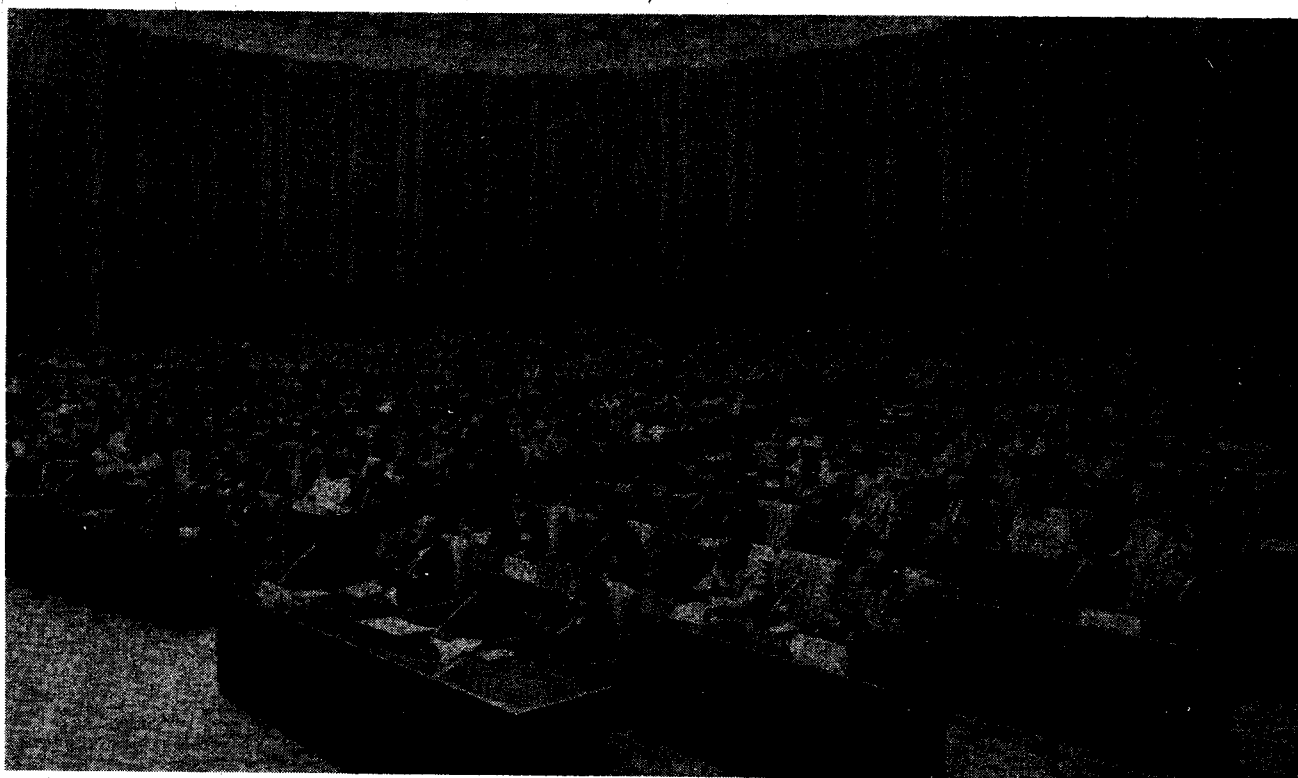
The Ministers regarded the efforts of the non-aligned and other developing countries to establish the New International Economic Order and strengthen South-South co-operation as an integral part of their peoples' struggles for economic, cultural and social emancipation and as one of the essential objectives of the Movement. In this context, they stressed again that imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, racism, apartheid, Zionism, foreign aggression, occupation, domination, economic blockade, coercive measures, hegemony, expansionism, exploitation and any forms of destabilization constitute fundamental obstacles to the complete economic emancipation and socio-economic progress of the non-aligned and other developing countries and reaffirmed their commitment to individually and collectively adopt effective measures to put an end to these practices.

The Ministers reiterated the inalienable right of every state to attain social and economic development, to freely choose its own socio-economic system and to promote the well-being of its people in accordance with its national plans and policies. In this regard, they deplored the growing tendency of some developed countries to resort to unilateral, coercive and discriminatory economic policies and practices in order to exert political and economic pressure on members of the Non-Aligned Movement and other developing countries, thus obstructing development and the possibilities for promoting South-South co-operation.

The Ministers urged the developed countries to refrain from applying such coercive measures, that violate the spirit and letter of the United Nations Charter.

The Ministers expressed grave preoccupation and concern at the continued deterioration in the economic and social conditions in





The conference in session

the Palestinian territories, the Golan and other occupied Arab territories, and in Namibia and South Africa as a result of the policies and practices of the Israeli occupation authorities and the racist regime of South Africa respectively. They urged the international community to provide assistance to the Palestinian, Namibian and South African peoples through their respective liberation movements, the PLO, SWAPO and the ANC to help them eliminate the Israeli and South African occupation and *apartheid*, achieve their national independence and sovereignty and develop their national economies freely, something which would enable them to participate effectively in South-South co-operation. The Ministers reaffirmed their solidarity with the Syrian Arab Republic to liberate its Golan from the Israeli occupation, recover its sovereignty thereon, and develop the national resources therein.

The Ministers noted with serious concern the worsening economic conditions in the front-line and neighbouring states of South Africa and Israel as a result of the continued aggressions by South Africa and Israel respectively, which forces them to divert their national resources for defence purposes. They reiterated their call for the provision of effective assistance to these states.

The Ministers called once again for the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa. They stressed the need for the implementation of the decisions of the Eighth Non-Aligned Summit Conference concerning the living conditions of the Palestinian people.

The Ministers affirmed that South-South co-operation should be understood as a strategy aimed at a more rational and effective use of the

non-aligned and other developing countries' human, material, financial, scientific and technical resources in order to promote their development and strengthen their economic independence. At the same time, they were of the view that this co-operation was aimed at promoting economic relations among developing countries based on equality and mutual interest. It is also an important means for building up their col-







lective self-reliance and increasing their bargaining power in negotiations with the developed countries. But, above all, South-South co-operation is an integral part of the efforts of non-aligned and other developing countries to restructure the existing international economic relations and a key element in their struggle for the establishment of the New International Economic Order.

The Ministers reaffirmed the view that neither was South-South co-operation a substitute for North-South co-operation nor did it in any way relieve the developed countries of their historical responsibilities for facilitating and contributing to the development of the developing countries on the basis of equality and mutual interests within the context of the indivisible nature of global prosperity.

The Ministers recalled the considerations of the Heads of State or Government at the 8th Summit Conference on the results of the 5th Meeting of the Co-ordinating Countries of the Action Programme, held in New Dehli in April, 1986. On reviewing the implementation of the Action Programme, the Ministers noted that substantial progress had been made in several spheres of co-operation. However, they expressed serious concern for the limited progress achieved in some of the other sectors. They recognized that further efforts should be deployed to make overall progress commensurate with the vast existing potential and with the political determination of the non-aligned and other developing countries to promote greater co-operation.

The Ministers expressed their high appreciation for the efforts made by the group of 77 to strengthen and promote economic co-operation under the Caracas Programme of Action. In this regard, they recalled with satisfaction the positive outcome of the High-Level Meeting of the Group of 77 on ECDC, held in Cairo, Egypt, in August 1986 as incorporated in the Cairo Declaration and the final report, in particular the specific measures aiming at enhancing the implementation of the Caracas Programme of Action. They stressed the need to continue efforts to harmonize the action programmes adopted by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries with those of the Group of 77, mainly in the implementation stage. They expressed the hope that the IFCC-VI, to be held in Havana in September of this year, will constitute another step forward in South-South co-operation.

The Ministers expressed their firm support for the Declaration, the Consolidated Assessment and Specific Measures adopted at the 6th Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77, held in Havana in April 1987, as a joint platform for action by developing countries at UNCTAD VII. They also expressed the hope that the developed countries will respond to the important opportunity provided by UNCTAD VII to work constructively in order to achieve substantial progress in the inter-related areas of money, finance, external debt, commodities, trade and development. They expressed their belief that UNCTAD VII provides a timely and valuable opportunity to the international community to devise, in the light of the interdependence of world economy, a coherent multilateral strategy for revitalizing development, growth and international trade in a more supportive international environment.

The Ministers reiterated the importance of the Global System of Trade Preferences (GSTP) as a valuable instrument for the promotion of trade, production and employment in the developing countries and expressed their satisfaction over the results of the Ministerial meeting held in Brasilia in May 1986.

The Ministers called on the international community, in particular the developed countries, and the international financial institutions to increase the flow of resources in real terms to Africa and make an effective contribution to the full implementation of the UN Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development, 1986-1990, adopted at the 13th Special Session of the UN General Assembly, held in New York in May 1986. They urged the member





states of the Non-Aligned Movement and other developing countries to give concrete support to the implementation of that Programme and particularly to the actions contained in the relevant section on South-South co-operation.

The Ministers emphasized the direct relationship between peace, disarmament and development. They stressed that orderly development could only be realized in an atmosphere of peace and co-operation and in this context reiterated their call for the immediate halting of the arms race, followed by urgent disarmament measures that would release the human, financial, material and technological resources sorely needed for development. They urged the non-aligned countries to participate actively and in a co-ordinated way in the work of the International Conference on Disarmament and Development, to be held in New York in August 1987, and expressed the hope that this conference will adopt specific recommendations on ways and means for releasing resources for the developing countries' development efforts, including South-South co-operation.

## **2. Ways and Policy for S-S Cooperation**

Having made a critical examination and evaluation of South-South co-operation, the Ministers recognized the need to give new impetus to co-operation among non-aligned and other developing countries and to adopt a new approach, in order to make this co-operation more dynamic.

The Ministers stressed that South-South co-operation should become an integral part of the national development plans and programmes of all non-aligned and other developing countries. Strategies for South-South co-operation and national development strategies should be complementary, so that SSC projects and programmes may be the outcome of an assessment of national needs and priorities.

The Ministers stressed that South-South co-operation should be based on perceived economic and social benefits, so that subsequent implementation and follow-up of selected programmes and policies may be, to the fullest extent possible, a self-generating, self-sustaining and self-financing process.

The Ministers stressed that the viability of South-South co-operation

**Our industries are being smothered**



should be strengthened by making a better assessment of economic and social cost effectiveness. South-South co-operation should basically develop as a relationship wherein partners share costs and obtain benefits. They affirmed that the complexity and interdependence of activities in different sectors should be given due consideration, since activities in one sector are closely interrelated with those in others.

The Ministers recognized the importance of the focal points in following up the application of South-South co-operation programmes and reaffirmed the need to identify and strengthen them so they could play an important role in gathering and disseminating information on the possibilities for economic cooperation and direct contacts among the partners in this co-operation.

The Ministers recognized that the participation of non-governmental entities in SSC should also be encouraged. Entrepreneurial activities and government activities in the field of South-South co-operation are not alternatives but should be complementary and well balanced. The

Ministers held the view that South-South co-operation implied active involvement of all economic sectors and that all countries must recognize the urgency of South-South co-operation and the rich rewards to be derived from it.

The Ministers stressed that priorities should be established in the different spheres of co-operation. They asserted that co-operation should be action-oriented and project-wise. In this connection, it is essential to identify and accurately assess co-operation needs and capabilities. All projects cannot be expected to be of equal interest to all developing countries. There should be scope, therefore, for a group of countries which perceive economic benefit from a given project or proposal to move rapidly to the implementation stage, without precluding the possibility of other countries' subsequently joining the project.

The Ministers stated that the non-aligned and other developing countries should devote more attention to project and programme implementation mechanisms.



The Ministers recognized that competent professional consultancy organizations available in developing countries must be more fully tapped in order to implement the Action Programmes for South-South Co-operation, and specific tasks and projects should also be awarded to relevant institutions in developing countries.

The Ministers recognized the importance of the United Nations and its specialized agencies as catalysts of the developing countries' development efforts and promoters of South-South co-operation. In this context, they urged the United Nations and all other concerned international organizations to find additional resources to be able to undertake an increased number of projects in the field of South-South co-operation and to assist in the mobilization of finan-

The Ministers expressed concern with some proposals, made in relation to the restructuring of the economic and social sectors of the UN, that could imply the merging of the high-level committee in charge of examining TCDC with other UN bodies.

In this context they emphasized the importance of TCDC activities within the UN system and expressed that the high-level committee on TCDC should continue to perform in the future its unique role within the UN system in accordance with the Buenos Aires Plan of Action.

The Ministers invited the governments of the non-aligned and other developing countries to co-operate closely with the United Nations and UNESCO so that the International Year of Literacy currently under

countries to harmonize their positions and achieve unity of action on all matters of common interest.

The Ministers stressed the importance of solidarity with and special treatment for the least developed, and developing land-locked and island countries. They emphasized the need to give special attention to those countries' concerns when drawing up South-South co-operation programmes.

The Ministers praised the entry into effect of the Africa Fund at the Conference of Heads of State or Government of the member countries of the Fund Committee in New Dehli in January of this year. They appealed to non-aligned and other developing countries to make a generous contribution to the Fund. In this regard, they stressed that the experience acquired in the establishment of the Fund evidenced the will and ability to mobilize and use financial resources for collective interests and should be fully taken into account in future measures for financing South-South co-operation projects and plans.

## Plan of Action

"A. Level of Measures", the first part of the Plan of Action, contains measures for developing South-South co-operation at the national, bilateral, subregional, regional and international levels.

"B. Immediate Actions within the Framework of the Co-operation Programmes of the Developing Countries", the second part of the Plan of Action, covers 28 projects which special attention should be given to the effective implementation of Action Programmes for Economic Co-operation.



Let's diversify our economies

cial resources for the implementation of identified projects. Furthermore, they expressed the need for all the relevant organs of the UN System to make more identifiable their activities in the promotion of South-South co-operation.

preparation and the UN Cultural Decade become a genuine covenant of solidarity towards promoting education for all.

The Ministers recognized the imperative need for the developing

# Africa Working for Spiritual Decolonization

## Garba Inuwa (Nigeria)

After the 21st UNESCO General Conference approved the 'Macbride Report' in 1980 which noted the unbalanced character of the world information flow, the leading Western states and some of their ideological allies launched a campaign to discredit UNESCO which is advocating a New world information order.

Aiming to rechannel UNESCO's activity or destabilize its work, some

Western powers have put more pressure to bear on it, threatening to stop aid to mass media development. In 1984 the US walked out of UNESCO, to be followed a year later by Britain and Singapore, while Japan, the Netherlands and some other countries threaten to do the same.

These actions were denounced by African countries in a petition in support of UNESCO signed in 1985 by

more than 30 prominent African public figures, and in resolutions by the OAU and other Pan African forums. It is believed here that such moves mean denial of the fundamental principles of international cooperation and are aimed at hampering UNESCO activity in the Third World.

Unable to prevent the emergence of independent information pools in Africa, the West tries to reduce the problem to the establishment of a technological base and personnel training. Important as these issues are, they in no way affect the West's control over information for Asia and Africa. Of the 349 non-budgetary programmes for Africa in 1984-85, most of the programmes for communica-



tions development and personnel training were shouldered by several Western countries, and not by international organizations.

Speaking about balanced information flow is another matter.

The July 1986 session of the UNESCO Executive Council discussed a programme "Communications in the Service of man". Ethiopia and Egypt, speaking on behalf of Africa, supported the programme and noted that it proposed measures which meet the vital interests and needs of the developing countries.

Now what about the West? It attacked the theoretical parts of the programme, notably those concerning the prohibition of war propaganda and denunciation of the policies

of racism and apartheid in South Africa. Western nations demanded that research programmes be cut radically or reduced to research into culture and economics precluding a politico-legal turn.

Despite this, UNESCO's assistance and support continue to positively influence Africa's efforts for a New World Information Order. The Pan-African News Agency and national news agencies have improved their operations. Under the International Programme for the development of communication, UNESCO allocated more than 750 000 dollars to Africa in 1987. PANA will receive modern equipment which will allow it to establish regular communication and invigorate the work of its five regional centres.

Many Africans have been trained in the Centre for research and technological studies of information (CESTI) in Senegal. UNESCO-supported African Council for Education in Communications, established in 1977, coordinates the activity of national training centres and elaborates teaching programmes.

African states working perseveringly for "spiritual decolonization" are grateful to UNESCO. At the 8th Non-Aligned Summit in Harare together with other participants they passed resolutions expressing their gratitude to UNESCO for their cooperation in the establishment of a more balanced information exchange between the developed and developing countries.

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## PART OF THE STRENGTH OF ZIMBABWE



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# Pana and the New World Information Order

*Serge Diop (Senegal)*

*On the eve of the information ministers' conference of the Non-Aligned countries African experts had assembled in Cairo. They reiterated the urgency of the establishment of a New International Information Order, and called for stronger regional co-operation within the framework of the Pan-African News Agency (PANA).*

This is well-substantiated. The industrialized countries still categorically reject the very concept of a New World Information Order (NWIO). This has been vividly proved by the November 1986 session of the Special Political Committee of the 41st UN General Assembly. Commenting at the time, the Guinea-Bissau-based newspaper *Libertad* said:

"The huge imperialist propagandist machine fiercely resists the establishment of a New Information Order in the world, doing all it can to maintain the status-quo. An information order based on democratic principles in international relations alone is capable of ending the injustice in the production, control and exchange of information in the interests of all nations".

PANA is for such an information order. The agency has won tangible successes in the past few years, and has come up against difficulties and problems. It goes without saying that PANA has accomplished positive results in reaching its main goal that (as the Convention on the establishment of the agency states) is to correct the distorted idea about Africa

and its nations, which has resulted from the dissemination by foreign agencies of biased and malevolent information.

PANA distributes 30,000 words of information a day, or five times more than when it began functioning. Still, that is but one-twentieth of the AFP reports. Forty-six national agencies co-operate with PANA, 35 regularly transmitting reports to it via five regional pools. The regional centre of Southern Africa is most active among them. It accounts for 30 to 40 reports, or 8,000 to 10,000 words a day. PANA says its aims are to objectively cover the situation in the South of the continent, expose the hypocrisy of some Western powers so far as their relations with Pretoria are concerned, and to support the fair struggle waged by the African majority in South Africa as well as to unmask Pretoria's aggressive policies towards the "Frontline" states.

The recognition of the need for a "national information order" in each African state as the basis for setting up an NWIO is a new aspect of the PANA policies. This presupposes a higher role of the national agencies. The information agency of Mozambique (AIM) has been a great success. Numerically one of the smallest agencies employing but 25 reporters, it accounts for about 8 per cent of the PANA reports, including those from South Africa. One may mention ZIANA as well for its high standards and efficiency.

Journalists are trained at national and regional seminars for media workers of the African countries, and within the programmes of the International Organization of Journalists

(IOJ), UNESCO, etc. Recently a research Institute of information and communications opened in Nigeria, a journalist training centre functions in Benin. The first group of students graduated from the faculty of international journalistic at the Patrice Lumumba Friendship University in Moscow etc.

But there are objective difficulties that prevent PANA from working at full capacity, such as financial issues, poor equipment, and insufficiently developed systems of telecommunications. National agencies still depend on Western economic and technical aid, which is rather expensive, and more often than not has political strings attached. For instance, Mali had to pay 85 million African Francs for space communications organized by the TRT French firm.

PANA's work is also hindered by certain states in Africa which, while supporting the key goals of that agency, continue to call for limiting the PANA subjects to descriptions of African events, its cultural and economic achievements, and internal issues. Others want African information to be clearly anti-imperialist, and to expose the industrialised powers' policies on the continent and the world scene.

Naturally, the struggle for a new world information order is going to be long and difficult. But focussing on the task to create independent means of communication, and assisted by UNESCO and the world progressives. PANA will be able to become a genuine mouthpiece of the African peoples' will and interests. The conference of information ministers of the Non-Aligned countries is sure to be another important step along that road.

## For a New International Information Order

Discrimination in the information sphere and "intellectual colonialism" in politically independent countries are incompatible with equality in international relations. This explains the Non-Aligned countries' unity in their efforts against

"information imperialism".

This can be seen from the speeches of their representatives at last year's international seminar on information on the eve of the 8th Non-Aligned Summit in Harare and at that forum itself, as well

as at the UN General Assembly's Special Political Committee. An important role in achieving the aim is allotted to the Non-Aligned news agencies pool which has become one of the world's leading information centres in the ten years of its existence. Uniting 94 states, the pool has increased its daily capacity from a few hundred to 90,000 words. Regional cooperation between Non-Aligned countries is its main foundation. Hence, the broader the



participation of the Pan-African News Agency (PANA), and the Organisation of Asia-Pacific News Agencies (OANA), and of some other agencies in the pool, the higher its efficiency.

Direct contacts with UNESCO have increased the pool's prestige. At the headquarters of this organisation the pool's teletypes stand next to those of TASS, France Presse, Associated Press and the International Press Service.

The pool faces many problems and Western information magnates never stop attacking it. According to Pedro Margolles, Chairman of the pool's coordinating committee, they view its "modest efforts as a threat to their information agencies 'monopoly'". The Non-Aligned movement is a constant target of misinformation on the part of Western

secret services. As was stated by the Director of the New York Institute for Mass Media Studies, the CIA spends from three to five million dollars annually on these purposes. Up to now some Non-Aligned countries do not have their own news agencies. Nearly half of them have no equipment to exchange information. High communication costs are also a serious obstacle to information exchange, as was pointed out at the Harare Summit. Though some states have already lowered them, the problem is still very acute. Of course it is difficult for Non-Aligned countries to solve many of these problems by themselves. Therefore they enlist international assistance. UNESCO, for instance, has taken a decision this year to allocate 2 270 000 dollars under the International Programme for the Develop-

ment of Communication to carry out 69 projects, including the training of journalists.

The next regular session of the Inter-governmental Council in the capital of Zimbabwe this year is to work out a further strategy of cooperation between the Non-Aligned countries in the sphere of information. Its agenda will include aspects of creating a new and consolidating the already existing technological and personnel basis of the information services, and items concerning cooperation in exchanging economic information, radio and TV programmes and in studying and popularising the experience of individual countries. All this is called upon to promote the solution of the global problem of achieving a new international information order.

## CENTRAL AMERICA

# The Enemy is One and the Same

*The recent 77-15 Senate vote calling for suspension of aid to Frontline States supporting liberation movements against the racist Pretoria regime, is one of the examples of hypocrisy underlining professed US concern for democracy and human rights. This is true in Southern Africa and in Central America.*

In Southern Africa the discredited US Policy of "Constructive Engagement" with Pretoria is in fact designed to protect white minority interest against those of the black majority. It aids and abets terrorist attacks against Frontline States committed to the cause of the genuine democracy in South Africa. The US Administration through its support for terrorist contras led by remnants of the defeated Somoza National Guard, in Central America is actively seeking to destroy the democratically elected government of Nicaragua and restore to power a criminal clique distinguished only for its subservience to Washington.

Last May the Reagan Administration renewed the brutal and illegal embargo imposed two years ago as a means to pressure Nicaragua into accepting US dictates. This is the

very Administration so adamantly opposed to economic embargo against Pretoria and which consistently uses its veto power to block UN mandatory sanctions against the racist regime.

In Southern Africa the US is seeking to coerce Frontline States into abandoning their support for liberation and democracy, which is nothing short of a demand that Governments of Frontline States compromise their principles through tacit, if not explicit acceptance of the most blatant negation of democracy and human rights: The apartheid regime.

In Central America, the US through blackmail and bribes is seeking to force Central American Governments into supporting its policy of terrorist aggression against Nicaragua, a policy condemned by the World Court in its June 27, 1986 ruling as contrary to the most elemental principles of international law.

It is patently clear that in Central America, as in Southern Africa, the enemy of freedom and democracy is one and the same. In Southern Africa its surrogate is the racist Pretoria regime. In Central America its agents are the contra bandits organized, financed, trained and directed by the US Administration.

Faced with this reality, the people of Central America and Southern Africa should adopt uncompromising joint actions to blunt and defeat this savage onslaught against liberty. They must join efforts in defense of their fundamental rights to self-determination, independence, justice and peace.

Threats and intimidations used by the Reagan Administration in an effort to win support for the contras and disrupt Central American peace talks.

Some of these actions involved: **Panama:** "The US tried to force General Antonio Noriega, Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces to oppose the Contadora peace process. When he refused, the Reagan Administration leaked documents about alleged involvement in drug money, laundering and death squads."

### Mexico:

- a) "US officials warned Mexican officials that if they continued to promote the Contadora process, the US would lobby in Mexico for PAN (National Action Party, opposing the Government)."
- b) "Eliot Abrams, assistant Secretary of State for Interamerican Affairs, testified about alleged Mexican corruption, drug trafficking and





From the first days of the victorious Sandinista Revolution the US has tried to intimidate the Nicaraguan people, implementing all sorts of sanctions and using the detachments of Somoza gangs which were not finished off. This policy became especially active with the advent of the Reagan Administration to power. It made frantic anti-communism and the suppression of the national liberation movement in Latin American countries the corner-stone of its subversive activity. To defend the country armed units of the people's army were set up in Nicaragua, which keep a vigilant eye on the intrigues of imperialism and counter-revolution and are always ready to give a worthy rebuff to armed provocation.

economic mismanagement."

c) Carl Channel, right wing fundraiser and associate of National Security Council member, Lt Col Oliver North, told PAN followers that the US would help them if PAN gave money to the contras."

**Costa Rica:** "As part of its campaign to pressure Cost Rican officials to allow that their country to be used as base for contra operations, the US funded the campaign of Rafael Angel

Calderon, Costa Rican presidential candidate who supported aid to the contras. He lost to Oscar Arias."

**Honduras:** "The US punished Suazo (former President of Honduras) for holding up contra supplies by blocking delivery of 67,5 million dollars to that country."

**Guatemala:** In a recent visit to Washington, May 13, President

Vinicio Cerezo is said to have been pressured by the Reagan Administration to show more support for Reagan's policies in Central America in exchange for more aid. Mr. Cerezo acknowledged that "American dollars and weapons are contingent on Guatemala's support for the contras." He added: "Many people both inside and outside my country have told me that if I changed my position I could receive more aid."

## Voices Against US Promoted Aggression in Southern Africa and Central America

"The (US) role is identical, because the bandits that are armed and trained by South Africa and the contra bandits in Nicaragua, commit the same atrocities against defenseless civilians and respond to the same objectives of US imperialist aggression." — (Marcelino Dos Santos, President of Parliament of Angola, ANN, May 11, 1987.)

"There can be no doubt that US obsession with inflicting damage on

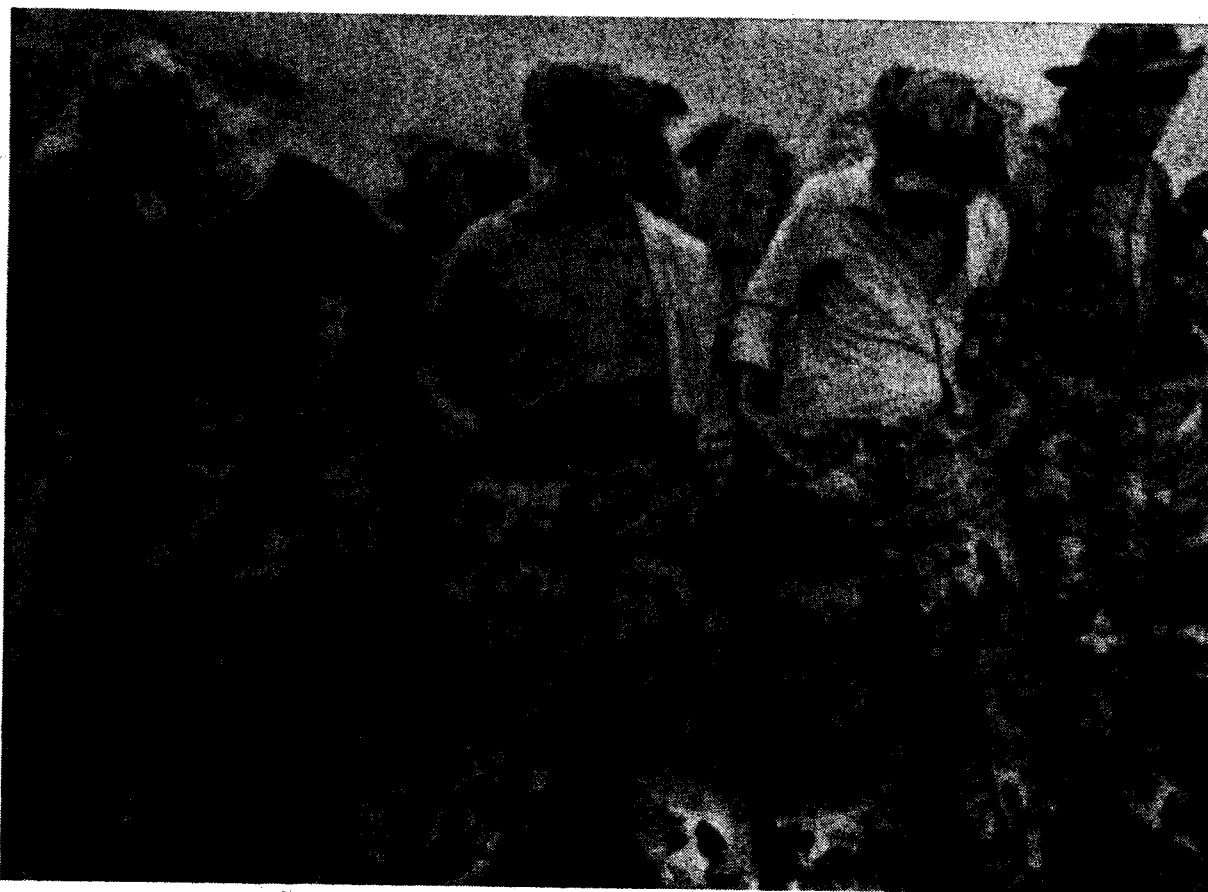
the Nicaraguan government . . . is a grave mistake. It is morally wrong, legally indefensible and probably politically ineffective." (Michael Manley, former Prime Minister of Jamaica, SOUTH Magazine, May 1987.)

"But of course the Senate voice is dominantly the voice of whites who value more the colour of their skin than justice being done to the black people. They cannot, as racists at

heart, though with the hypocritical gimmick of turning liberal when expediency so demands, be expected to do any better than demonstrate what they really are and stand for." (Prime Minister Mugabe, address to the Nation on Africa Day, May 25, 1987)

"The price we have paid for creating and directing the war on Nicaragua: the corruption of our own souls." (Anthony Lewis, New York





Contra-bandits trying on US gifts

Times Columnist, May 15, 1987)

"Bill (former director of the CIA, William-Casey) must have thought us bishops blind to the potential of a communist threat in this hemisphere, as we oppose and continue to oppose the violence brought in Central America by the support of the contras. These are not light matters on which to disagree. They are matters of life and death and I cannot conceal or disguise my fundamental disagreement on these matters with a man I knew and respected." (Homily delivered by US Bishop John McGann at former CIA director William Casey's funeral, May 10, 1987.)

"Consistent with the fundamental principles of the Non-Aligned Movement, Nicaragua strongly condemns recent attacks carried out by the racist Pretoria regime against Front Line States. Such acts of aggression recently took the form of attacks on urban centres of Zimbabwe and Mozambique."

"These actions demonstrate once again that the apartheid regime is the root of the problems in Southern

Africa and only the defeat of this odious and racist regime can ensure a durable and stable peace in that region." (Statement issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Nicaragua, June 4, 1987.)

### Other Developments:

On June 25 - 26 of this year the five Central American presidents will meet for the second time in Esquipulas, Guatemala to discuss solutions to the problems of the region.

Nicaragua has announced its disposition to participate in the Guatemala meeting and appeals to the flexibility of the Central American's presidents, so that concrete agreements may be reached.

Nicaragua recognizes as positive the initiative of President Vinicio Cerezo of Guatemala towards the formation of a Central American Parliament and the promotion of dialogue between the presidents.

Nicaragua has also stated that Costa Rican president Oscar Arias' proposal is a constructive contribu-

tion to the Contadora efforts for a negotiated solution to the problems in Central America.

The 27th of June marks the first anniversary of the historic World Court decision condemning the US government for its policy of aggression against Nicaragua. The Court found that US actions against Nicaragua are contrary to the UN Charter and basic principles of international law. The US Government continues to refuse to abide by the decision of the Court and hence, has assumed the position of an outlaw state.

On the occasion of Mother's Day celebration in Nicaragua, Lea Guido, Secretary General of the Nicaraguan Women's Association (AMNLAE) said that the association along with neighborhoods, work centres, and rural communities will focus attention on the state and well being of the pregnant women. "Mother's day celebration should not be expressed through the price of gifts, rather it should take the form of practical content and daily celebration of maternity and its social character," said Ms. Guido.



# PLO Strengthens its Position

*The Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organisation held a series of intensive meetings between the 13th and the 16th of May 1987, during which it reviewed the results of the works of the 18th Session of the Palestine National Council and its repercussions on the Palestinian arena, as well as on the Arab and International arena.*

The Executive Committee also reviewed the means and ways of implementing the Resolutions of the Palestine National Council as well as its future plan of action, in order to carry out these Resolutions on all the levels.

The Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organisation expressed its great pride in the achievement of Palestinian unity which enhanced the unity of our people inside and outside our occupied homeland and which came in response to their desires and their will and expressed their aims and determination in continuing their struggle on the basis of national unity, in order to achieve their national rights as to return, to self-determination and to the establishment of their national Independent State, with Jerusalem as its Capital.

The Executive Committee has felt the joy and satisfaction of our Arab and Palestinian masses at the results of the works of the 18th Session of the Palestine National Council hosted by fraternal Algeria, to reaffirm its definite determination to preserve and protect the national unity against all attempts of suspicion, of destruction or of conspiracies to which it might be exposed, relying in this on the Popular Palestinian, Arab and friendly armor which enfolds the Palestine Liberation Organisation and the Palestinian Revolution.

Based on the tremendous driving force granted by the Algeria Session of the PNC, the Executive Committee expresses its pride in the steadfastness of our people in the occupied homeland and their heroic confrontation against occupation and this, through the longest uprisal of our people against the Zionist occupation, its tyranny and terrorism, as well as their pride in front of the total adherence of our people to the Palestine Liberation Organisation, their sole legitimate representative.

The Executive Committee reaffirms the determination of the Palestine Liberation Organisation to continue and to intensify the struggle in all its forms inside our occupied homeland against the Zionist enemy, its repressive terrorist measures, and colonial settlement perpetrated against the masses of our Palestinian people.

The Executive Committee gave special attention to the Palestinian situation in Lebanon. The Executive Committee reaffirms the Resolution of the 18th Session of the Palestine National Council on this matter, it condemns the continuous Israeli aggression and the air and sea attacks against the masses of our people in Lebanon and against the fraternal Lebanese people and whose aim is to defy the Palestinian determination. The Executive Committee salutes the steadfastness and the heroism and the self denial of our people in the refugee camps as well as the steadfastness in Lebanon and has decided to grant all possible means of National, Political and Social steadfastness to the Palestinian masses in Lebanon.

In this context, the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organisation expresses its pride in the stands of the fraternal Lebanese people and of their National Movement in the joint-struggle against the Zionist aggression and for the Independence of Lebanon, its freedom and the unity of its land and of its people.

Concerning the situation on the Arab arena, the Executive Committee studied with great concern the issue of the Palestinian relations with the Arab countries and underlined the importance of the regaining of Arab solidarity on the basis of the commitment to the national inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and the continued adherence to the Palestine Liberation Organisation, as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, as well as its participation



**Cde Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO**

in the international Conference on an equal footing with the other parties concerned, on the basis of the Resolutions of the Arab Summits and the Charters of Joint Arab Action and with the aim of the liberation of the Arab and Palestinian occupied territories.

Based on these principles which represent the basis of the Arab-Palestinian relation, the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organisation has decided to form Committees to follow-up the relations with the fraternal Arab countries and to act for the implementation of these relations in their true nationalist context and fulfill the necessary conditions for the convening of an Arab Summit capable of confronting the dangers facing the Arab nation and its central cause, the Palestinian cause.

The Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organisation has studied the relations between the Palestine Liberation Organisation and fraternal Syria.

The Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organisation considers that in view of the national unity which has been achieved by the Palestine National Council, all the obstacles which were hindering the establishment of relations with fraternal Syria have become null, and relations with Syria can be established on the basis of homogeneity, mutual respect and struggle against the common Zionist imperialist enemy.

On this basis the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organisation extends its hand to fraternal Syria to overcome the past and open a new page for



the benefit and aims of both our fraternal people and in the interest of the joint national Arab struggle. On this level, the Executive Committee has formed a Commission to follow-up the issue of the relations with Syria.

The Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organisation has also studied the issue of the Palestinian-Libyan relations and has greatly valued the positive developments in this relation, as well as the role of the Libyan Jamahiriya and of its leader, Brother Moammar Qaddafi, in achieving the process of unity and of the convening of the Session of the National Council, as well as the recent measures undertaken by the Jamahiriya and the reactivation of the work of the office of the Palestine Liberation Organisation in the Libyan Jamahiriya.

The Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, desiring to develop and enhance its militant relations with fraternal Libya, has decided to form a delegation from its members and to visit the Jamahiriya for this purpose.

The Executive Committee has also discussed the latest developments in the relations with the Arab Republic of Egypt in light of the Resolutions of the 18th Session of the Palestine National Council and the measures which have been undertaken with regard to the Palestine Liberation Organisation's office in Egypt.

In spite of the pain felt by the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, as a result of these unexpected measures, it reaffirms its firm stand of appreciation in the role of Egypt and of its President and the sacrifices offered by Egypt in defence of the Palestinian people and of their national cause, as well as in the defence of the national Arab causes with the aim of liberating the Arab and Palestinian occupied territories and the regaining by the Palestinian people of their national inalienable rights.

Based on these facts and stands, the Executive Committee has formed a Committee, headed by its Chairman, to follow-up the issue of the relations with fraternal Egypt and to deal with it on the basis of the Commitment to the national inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to return, to self-determination and to the establishment of their national independent state, as well as on the basis of the adherence to the Palestine Liberation Organisation as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and its participation in the International Conference on an equal footing with the other concerned parties.

In light of the Resolution of the Palestine National Council related to the Iraq-Iran war, the Executive Committee

has discussed the issue of this war where the Iraqi army stands in defence of the Eastern part of our Arab nation. The Executive Committee has also discussed the dangers which constitute the continuation of this war on the Arab land in Iraq and on the Gulf area, which also endangers the safety, the security and the unity of this Arab land, as well as the dangers which threaten the overall Arab security as well as world peace. The Executive Committee also discussed the Arab and Islamic efforts which are exerted away from the principle battle-field against the Zionist enemy.

Therefore, the Executive Committee reaffirms the Resolution of the Palestine National Council in this regard, and will act as much as is possible, in co-ordination with the Arab brothers as well as on the Islamic and International Level, in order to put an end to this war.

The Executive Committee reaffirms its rejection of all separate or partial solutions. The Executive Committee condemns the dubious moves of the American Administration and of Israel in collusion with other parties in the area, in order to impose solutions which ignore the national inalienable rights of the Palestinian people as well as the Palestine Liberation Organisation and whose aim is to deal a blow to the Palestinian representativity, and open the way in front of separate deals.

The Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organisation is committed to the convening of the International Peace Conference on the Middle East in the framework of the United Nations and under its auspices, with the participation of the Permanent Member States in the Security Council, as well as with the participation of the parties concerned in the conflict in the area, including the Palestine Liberation Organisation on an equal footing with the other parties.

The Palestine Liberation Organisation reaffirms that the Conference must have mandatory power to enable it to achieve a just and lasting peace in the area. The Palestine Liberation Organisation approves the suggestion of the convening of a Preparatory Committee to this Conference. The Palestine Liberation Organisation will act for its part for the unification and activation of the Arab stands and endeavours in support of the idea of the International Conference which has started to gain a large support on the International Level.

The Executive Committee has studied the reactions to the Resolutions of the 18th Session of the Palestine National Council on the International Level and has noticed great welcoming and approval of these Resolutions from the side of the friendly countries and forces in the world

and this enhances the position of the Palestine Liberation Organisation in the International Community and opens the way for wider support to the just struggle and rights of the Palestinian people and of their Liberation Movement, the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

On the other hand, the forces hostile to our people and to their just rights, as the world imperialist circles and in particular, American imperialism and Israel, they have seen in the convening of the Council and in its Resolution a hard blow to their schemes of isolation, destruction and weakening of the Palestine Liberation Organisation. Therefore, they have intensified their campaigns against our people and against the Palestine Liberation Organisation. This has been proved by the intensification of the dimension of terrorism and the destructive raids perpetrated by Israel against our Palestinian people in the occupied territories and our refugee camps in Lebanon. This intensification has also been proved by the savage campaign launched by the United States of America against the Palestine Liberation Organisation with the aim of distorting its image and isolating it from participating in the International Conference.

It is in this context that certain parts of the American Congress have tried to issue an order to close the Palestine Information Office in Washington. This unveils the biased role of America and the repercussion of this role, on the process of peace in the area.

The Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organisation condemns this America-Zionist terrorism against our people and against the Palestine Liberation Organisation and against the office of the Palestine Liberation Organisation which abides by the American Laws, in spite of the fact that the Palestine Liberation Organisation is a Member of the United Nations Organisation. The Executive Committee call upon the world public opinion to denounce and condemn these stands undertaken by the American Administration and by Israel.

The Executive Committee also draws the attention to the malignant objectives of this unjust campaign against the Palestine Liberation Organisation and therefore not to respond to the provocation against the Palestine Liberation Organisation and the Palestinian people.

The Palestine Liberation Organisation reaffirms what has been declared in our Palestine National Council, related to the condemnation of all forms of terrorism particularly terrorism aimed against the unarmed civilians. The Palestine Liberation Organisation also condemns the State Terrorism which is being perpetrated by



the United States and by Israel.

The Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organisation has also discussed the issue of enhancing its relations with the World Liberation Movements and with the Socialist Countries. The Executive Committee reaffirms the latest Resolution of the Palestine National Council in this regard and will act in order to intensify its relations with the countries of the Socialist Block, headed by Soviet Union, with the People's China and with all the National Liberation Movements in the world, particularly in the African and Asian Countries, especially with the African Frontline States, with the people of Namibia and South Africa, with the peoples and countries of Latin America and Central America.

The Executive Committee will continue its actions for the strengthening of its rela-

tions with the Islamic Countries and the African Countries and the Countries of the Non-Aligned Movement.

At the end of its meetings, the Executive Committee expressed its thanks and high esteem to fraternal Algeria and to President Shadli Ben Jedid for the efforts and fraternal auspices granted to our National Dialogue and to our Palestine National Council and which played an important role in realizing the important achievement of the convening of the 18th Session of our Palestine National Council.

The Executive Committee also expressed its gratitude and esteem to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, to the State of Kuwait, to the Arab Emirates and to the other Gulf States, to North and South Yemen, to Sudan and to all the other

Arab Countries for the support that they offered to the Palestine Liberation Organisation and to the Palestinian people and their national cause and this on all levels.

The Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organisation expressed its particular appreciation to fraternal Tunisia and to President Habib Bouguiba for the auspices they offer to the Palestine Liberation Organisation and to the Palestinian people.

The Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organisation pledges to the masses of our people inside and outside our occupied homeland, to continue the struggle together and hand in hand for the achievement of our national inalienable rights until we raise the banner of our revolution, over Jerusalem, the Capital of our Independent Palestinian State.



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# Second Unity Meeting — Latin America

*Following is the position of the Government of Nicaragua with respect to attempts by the US Government to sabotage the second meeting of Central American Presidents, held on June 25 in Esquipulas, Guatemala.*

1. Nicaragua denounces as one more element of escalating aggressive US involvement in the Central American region, the fact that the meeting of Central American Presidents, to be held on the 25th of this month, is being sabotaged and boycotted. This attitude demonstrates the obsessive policy of the Government of the United States that opposes a negotiated solution in the Central American region, so as to be able to continue with its policy that seeks to destroy the Sandinista Revolution. Objectively speaking, this situation increases the danger of North American intervention in the region.
2. Nicaragua insists on the need for the meeting of Presidents of Central America to be held on the 25th of this month and, therefore calls on all the governments of Central America to attend. In this meeting commitments already assumed will be seriously discussed and, with contributions from all the governments of Central America and within the framework of Contadora and the Arias Plan, provide the opportunity to address the grave situation we are presently going through.
3. Not to hold the meeting on the agreed upon date is to attest a fatal blow to efforts underway, both through the Esquipulas meeting and the Arias Plan. To accept another kind of meeting as the one proposed by President Duarte, is to open the door to a new plan, the "Habib-Duarte" Plan.
4. The "Habib-Duarte" Plan, that calls for a series of meetings of foreign ministers and a meeting of the Presidents in August, since it depends directly on the will of the United States, is intended to postpone indefinitely the presidential summit by convening new and unending number of meetings of foreign ministers. This maneuver seeks to create another negotiating instance totally dependent on the Government of the United States for the purpose of isolating Nicaragua, bury the Arias Plan and create conditions for the launching of direct US military aggression against Nicaragua.

If the obstructionist policy of the US is allowed to prevail, the Central American countries would be denied the

possibility of celebrating a Summit of Presidents that has created great expectations for regional peace. At the same time it would have the effect of discarding all the peace initiatives presently underway, exposing the meeting of presidents to new postponements that would lead to the failure of negotiations.

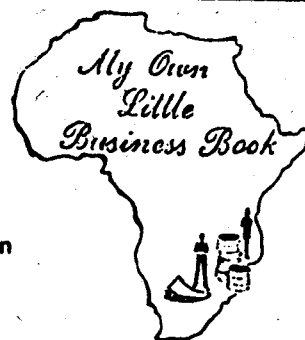
For this reason Nicaragua could not assist to this kind of ministerial meetings, conceived within the framework of a strategy directed at impeding dialogue and peaceful solution and to promote war in the region.

5. These unseemly facts demonstrate once more, as Nicaragua has incessantly pointed out, that Contadora is the only viable instance of negotiations where significant progress has been made, with some aspects related to security and

verification of the Accords, as agreed upon in the May 1986 "Esquipulas Declaration", still pending. Faced with US pressure on some Central American countries, it is necessary that we return to-and strengthen negotiations in the framework of Contadora, and in so doing, open the perspective of a wider Latin American consensus for dialogue and understanding.

Nicaragua reiterates its willingness to attend, immediately, any meeting called by Contadora for the purpose of continuing the May and June 1986 Esquipulas negotiations where the Central American Heads of State supported Contadora, or any bilateral contact with the Presidents of Central America that will allow us to continue with the negotiating efforts in the region.

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# Consumers-Know Your Rights

*by Kindness Paradza of the Consumer Council of Zimbabwe*

In Zimbabwe, consumer protection can be effective only if every consumer, male or female, young or old, has access to some form of redress for legitimate complaints.

However, the Consumer Council is sure that the availability of legal aid to consumers of this country, together with the establishment of a small claims courts, would go a long way towards providing really effective protection to the consumer.

In our opinion, we feel that it is not enough to provide the consumer with partial protection or protection which is only effective up to a certain stage. But unfortunately this is the order of the day in Zimbabwe at the moment. This state of affairs, denies a consumer the means of obtaining a just solution to his complaint.

On daily bases, our complaints officers encounter people who have become victims of credit schemes, repair shop "technicians", hair dressers, retailers and other members of the commercial sector, after some business transaction has transpired.

Not only that, the Council has also handled countless complaints about bad workmanship in which the customer is forced to pay in cash, for items such as cars, radios, fridges, etc. before they can be removed from the premises.

In such cases it is almost always impossible for the customer to get a refund. Even if he or she demands that the job be redone or completed to his satisfaction, the outcome is seldom satisfactory.

We have also discovered that most of the time, the repair company may eventually collect the item and make a half-hearted attempt to fix it and it is always the practice of those "so called" technicians to find what they claim to be faults in order to ask the innocent customer for even more money. But generally, the item ends up in a worse condition than before it was repaired. Then at the end of the day, the customer has no choice but to take his or her item elsewhere for more repairs where more money will be paid again. Such cases, usually apply to panel beaters, garages and electrical repair shops.

On his routine checks, our research officer has also noticed that certain shops

frequented mainly by black customers, sell goods, sometimes secondhand ones, which are not in good condition and are later found to be defective by the customer soon after purchase. Sending these items back for a refund would be a big problem then.

In short, there is actually a rampant misrepresentation in cases where goods are sold as new but later turn out to be secondhand. In some cases, a dealer or seller gives wrong information about the condition of the goods.

And in Zimbabwe today, many unscrupulous businessmen practise these dirty tricks because they are well aware of the fact that few customers would take them to court over a small amount due to the expenses and time involved. Most of them capitalise on this knowledge and their attitude is always "sue me" or "go to your lawyers". But the big question is how many of us afford to hire lawyers?

Unfortunately, very often, it is the lower income group that suffers most — they don't take legal action even if they wanted to — in short, they are denied justice.

Since Independence, our Government has done a great deal in taking justice to the people by establishing village courts on top of the existing community, magistrates and high courts.

But in our view, the village courts deal only with small social matters. And on the other hand, community courts are more involved in African Customary law. They deal, for example, with cases concerning marriages etc.

Magistrates' courts deal with civil cases involving amounts of not more than \$2 000. Any case above that would be referred or transferred to the High Court for further decision.

However, the majority of complaints which are handled by the Council are concerned with amounts or items under \$500 but the only disputes involving larger amounts are generally connected with motor vehicles, insurance claims and other occasional complaints about furniture and other household domestic appliances.

Therefore, we feel that if a consumer complaint involves such an amount too

small to warrant legal action then the consumer needs an alternative means of seeking redress that is through a Small Claims Court. This is therefore the only clear system through which consumers can seek redress for small claims. This is because lawyers at the moment are within the reach of the upper income group only, yet every consumer has a right to redress.

Those prohibitive costs of legal services are one of the most constant frustrations experienced by the Consumer Council. This means that very often, the work we do cannot be followed through to a just conclusion. Sometimes when investigating a case, we know that a consumer has a legitimate complaint and we try to negotiate a solution but fail to do so. The consumer is then left out in the cold — with no redress.

From our view, justice is supposed to be the right of every individual but unfortunately it is only available to the affluent.

In general, small claims courts would not only protect consumers but these would also be of help to those in business because sometimes it is the customer who is wrong and a dealer who is suffering.

The Council is convinced that if these courts are eventually set up, they should not operate on voluntary basis, where if a dealer decides against having the arbitration he can refuse. In fact he should receive summons and have no option, otherwise the whole exercise would be pointless as the majority of dishonest people would simply refuse to co-operate.

Although the Government has set up a free Legal Aid Department in the Ministry of Justice, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs, but we still feel that a small court should be established like any other courts of law.

Therefore, if the Ministry of Justice introduces these courts, we are certain that this would constitute one of the most significant legal developments of the decade. And if they are utilised properly, these courts would have a revolutionary effect on the commercial scene.



# SOCIALISM PART II

## Principles of Scientific Socialism

*The subject matter of scientific socialism is a very wide one to exhaust in the short space of time. There are however, certain basics one has to come to grips with before one can make a meaningful contribution to both the theory and practice of scientific socialism. These basics are the conceptual framework and the method of scientific socialism.*

The two as we can see call for a thorough grasp of the theory that is, the conceptual framework, and for deep involvement in the practice of this theory which is the method of scientific socialism.

This series therefore intends to outline short and concise presentations that should be used as guidelines for more thorough discussion in study groups that will enable us relate this theory of scientific socialism to our everyday practice.

### What is Scientific Socialism

Even many of us who have tried to go through several books on Marxism-Leninism, usually take the answer to this very important question for granted. The answers that one receives to it however always bear the stamp of a particular class and its interests. In our everyday life these interests coincide either with those of the workers or those of the capitalists. This is because the two today stand face to face with one another, locked in do or die relentless class struggle — now open, now hidden but never ceasing. Scientific Socialism show us and through its method — the practice — prove to us which of the two classes will emerge victorious, why and how? What, therefore, is scientific socialism?

Scientific socialism is the doctrine for the emancipation of the working class. It expresses the true class interests of the working class and also identifies for it the true class interests of the bourgeoisie and those very methods used by the bourgeoisie to exploit the workers and peasants and oppress the entire society in the course of its rule.

In expressing the true class interests of the proletariat scientific socialism formulates the revolutionary tasks of class struggle of the proletariat and identifies ways and means for overthrowing capitalism and going over to socialism and communism.

In these series, we shall refer to the working class as the *proletariat* and the capitalists as the *bourgeoisie* as these two terms have a scientific definition that outlines the interests of these classes.

Is this definition correct? Is it workable? If so, what makes it correct? How does this scientific socialism originate and how does it actually come to perform the tasks outlined in the definition?

### Scientific Socialism Versus other Forms of Socialism

To qualify socialism with the adjective *scientific* only serves to underline that there are certain *socialisms* which are not scientific. They have their own qualifiers;

**R**eactionary socialism, this includes: feudal socialism and petty bourgeois socialism. These were and are socialisms. These were and are socialisms arrived at by defeated and ruined classes following the overthrow of the rule of feudal lords. These ruined classes whisper doom in the ears of the new rulers. They evoke the sentimental goodies of the past and appeal to the working classes which included slave, serfs, peasants and workers, *et cetera* to come and join hands with them to turn back the wheel of history and restore the goodies of the past. They forget that during their day, those nostalgic good old days, they as rulers or petty owners of the means of production were benefiting from that social order and oppressing all the working classes that were in existence.

**B**ourgeois or conservative socialism. In our present day we also find, manifestation of this nostalgia among some black and white Zimbabweans who benefitted from the settler colonial oppression. These people include the organisers of such propaganda as "Radio Truth". It also includes those who insist on African Socialism and not Scientific Socialism. This includes all the sections of the bourgeoisie that would like to redress all the social grievances social ills in order to secure the continued existence of the bourgeois society. These includes economists those that say that the workers and their movement, the trade unions should concentrate on economic struggles and leave the political struggle to the liberal bourgeoisie, to the bourgeois and petty bourgeois leadership. They want to hide from the working class that their economic interests and therefore political interests are antagonistic to those of the bourgeoisie of any kind. In this brand of socialism there are also the philanthropists, organisers of charity, social workers, quackers, and all "improvers" of the conditions of the working class. These want to throw dust in the eyes of the working class and blind it to the fact that the capitalist system and the bourgeoisie can never work for its interests as these are antagonistic. Of late we have also those that have come up with the convergence theories and demonstrating how state monopoly capitalism in this imperialist stage is acquiring a human face. According to these brand the workers are urged to buy shares and fully participate in the running of enterprises. This is only to create illusions in the minds of the working people that the capital is theirs when the single share of the worker can never be decisive on how the enterprise is to be run or where to reinvest *et cetera*. This is only a method of intensifying exploitation of the working class by multinational corporations. Take as an example: Say A MNC employing 1.5 million workers in Zimbabwe mobilises at least \$1.5 million single shares from the individual workers. The Directors of the MNC being the largest individual share holders in the company therefore have at their disposal an extra \$1.5 million which they have taken from the worker's minimum wage. The fate of this \$1.5 million which is decided in the country where the workers of all those other countries where the company has subsidiaries. In the next issue we continue to expose other forms of socialism.



# FILM REVIEW-PLATOON

*For 117 years the Vietnamese resisted Western attempts to mould Vietnam's national destiny and arbitrate the country's internal affairs. In 1973 in what came to symbolise Vietnamese resilience the United States fled the country with its troops and guns, making Vietnamese Communism a reality.*

In April 1975 Vietnamese Communism became a reality. Their independence declared in 1945 became real and now they themselves could shape the events in their country without the interference of either the French or the Americans. Seeing "Platoon", the American whitewashing film, about the type of individual who constituted American imperialism in Vietnam, one really leaves the theatre with a sour feeling. It tries to marginalise the character of imperialism in its conception of what interventionism and invasion is.

To correctly analyse the film we must compare a similar situation in the history of Southern Africa where Imperialism played a similar role but using local forces, of course tactically, Imperialism has not changed strategy, far from it.

The photography and the artistic talent employed should not veil the point that the film could be about Rhodesians fighting a war of attrition, against the legitimate rulers.

Today, if a Rhodesian were to make a film that was diametrically opposed to the aspirations of the majority of the mass of the people, thereby glorifying the virtues of racism and the Hitlerite attempt at supremacy by the white settler colonialists it would be an objectionable film from any democratically minded individual. The same therefore applies with the United States which has tried to marginalise its role in Vietnam by being some kind of crusader against the indigenous interests.

What interests was the US protecting in the Vietnam? Today, however, the US strategy has up to an extent shifted from active involvement in the foreign lands where it is fighting the "spread of communism". They are

using power hungry puppets supplying them with sophisticated weaponry and millions of dollars to destabilise a particular country like they are doing in Nicaragua, where they are using the Contra bandits, in Angola where together with the racist regime of Pretoria they are aiding Savimbi and his UNITA bandits. Because they now fear world condemnation the US and its imperialist allies now find it more convenient to employ bandits, thugs and counter revolutionaries to do its dirty work in the guise of stopping the "spread of communism"

Well, if the people have chosen communism, what then has the United States got to do with it? The United States is a god-fearing country. It espouses the virtues of Christianity. Anyone who has followed the history of Christianity has not heard of any one time when the Christians went on some kind of Jihad in order to assert their authority or the authority of the Almighty. Christianity and capitalism seem to have become inseparable.

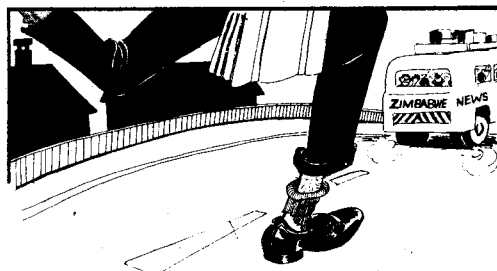
The film *Platoon*, is many things. The privileged American Yankee kids lost their innocence in the American "struggle for nothing" in Vietnam. It however makes it explicit that the underprivileged Yankee kids who didn't "volunteer" but were conscripted into the Army fought and defended the mighty United States against a technologically inferior people called the enemy of US interests.

What was so innocent about American privileged kids loosing their innocence in a war of imperialist attrition? The United States film industry backed by immense sums of money is trying face-saving gimmicks which aim to portray the imperialists, focusing on seemingly victimised Americans, as having played no role in the destruction of a people, and that people's persuance of national sovereignty, freedom and justice. Such films as *Platoon* are also trying to legitimise the role of imperialism the world over. Buying the audience over by making them become sympathetic to specially created roles where innocence and being victimised is a major point.

In the American film industry's collaboration with their governments' imperialist policies another film *Killing Fields* portrays President Surkano of Indonesia as some kind of dictator who does not feed his people, as in role played by an Indonesian who gets shot down by a security countryman after displaying a banner saying "Surkano Feed your people".

So the US sees itself, everywhere where they destroy, maim, and murder as saviours, Christians, and freedom fighters.

The Americans think they are the only nation with an honour to protect, that they are the only nation with pride, ... well they ain't.



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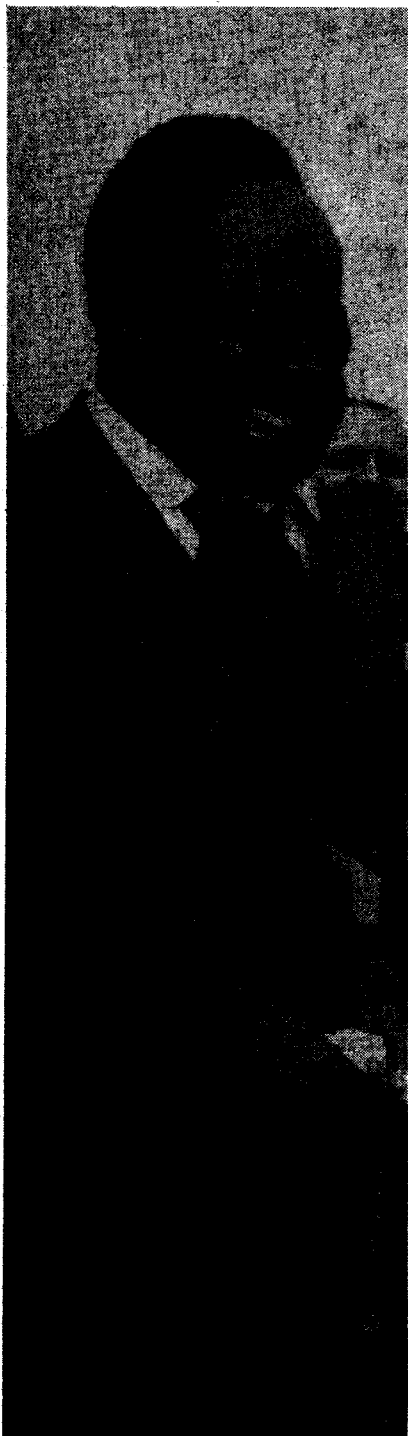
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# MARCUS GARVEY: (1887 – 1987)

Prophet, Philosopher,  
Revolutionary.

By Ama Ata Aidoo



Dr Kwame Nkrumah

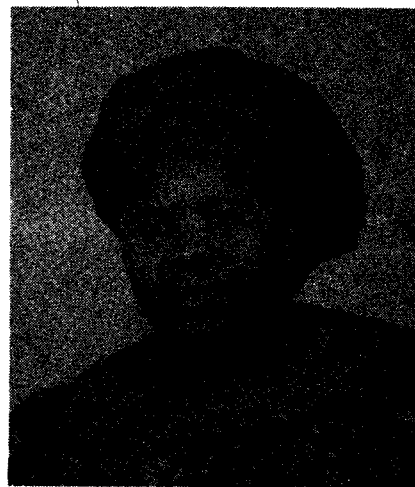
*(It is absolutely necessary that the term "NEGRO" from Garvey's quotations in the following paper be taken only in its 1920s sense. For today, read AFRICAN, AFRICAN-AMERICAN, AFRO-CARIBBEAN OR BLACK. Because it is inconceivable that an essentially progressive person like Marcus Garvey would in 1987, use "Negro" to refer to himself or anyone he liked and respected.*

*Similarly, Garvey's use of the term RACE should be viewed against the background of his times.*

*Finally, the source of all quotations below from and on Garvey is THE PHILOSOPHY AND OPINIONS OF MARCUS GARVEY, edited by Amy Jacques Garvey; Cass Africana Modern Library 1923 and 1925, London and New York; and from the Introduction to the edition by E.U. Essien-Udom.)*

**M**arcus Mosiah Garvey was born on August 17, 1887, to Sarah and Marcus Garvey at Saint Ann's Bay, Saint Ann, Jamaica. He was a descendant of a Maroon; and the Maroons had been Africans who had refused to come to terms with slavery, and had revolted in different areas throughout the Caribbean. In Jamaica, "having fled to the hills to establish free communities after the English captured Jamaica from the Spaniards in 1655, (they) successfully repulsed several British military assaults, and in 1739 gained local autonomy from the white rules of Jamaica." (p.x)

Garvey's parents had been quite poor, and in 1904 he left them, with rather minimum education, to go and look for work in Kingston. He found a job with the P.A. Benjamin Com-



Cde Ama Ata Aidoo

pany, "one of Jamaica's largest printing firms." By 1907, he was already a "master printer and foreman." That same year, Garvey went on strike with the rest of the workforce "for wage increases and better working conditions," in spite of the fact that the management had tried to bribe him with an increase in his pay. He was consequently blacklisted, and a revolutionary was born. Garvey was only 20 years old. From then on, having looked around and concluded that only organized action could ever improve the position of the Black worker, he never rested until he died in 1940.

In a relatively short lifespan of 53 years, Garvey became a unionist and a keen pamphleteer who established dailies, weeklies, and periodicals for which he was often the publisher, editor, distributor and "newspaper boy." Besides, he also developed himself into a traveller and a tireless public speaker, an industrialist, and shipowner. Above all he demonstrated a capacity for mobilising people on a scale that could have been rivalled by only a handful of other humans in the 20th century.

Through 30 stormy years of incredibly revolutionary activities, Garvey had only one burning aim: to help Africans and people of African descent wherever they were, to liberate themselves. In his own words, there was a need to unite "all the Negro peoples of the world into one great body to establish a country and government absolutely their own." (p. xiii)

Indeed, he could see "a new world of black men, not peons, serfs, dogs and slaves, but of a nation of sturdy men



making their impress upon civilization and causing a new light to dawn upon the human race." (p.xiii)

Again in August 1920, he was to tell an estimated crowd of 25 000 Black people at the largest convention of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (which he had originally established in Kingston Jamaica in 1914) that:

"We are the descendants of a suffering people. We are the descendants of a people determined to suffer no longer. We shall organise the 400 000 000 Negroes of the world into a vast organization to plant the banner of freedom on the great continent of Africa . . . If Europe is for the Europeans, then Africa shall be for the black people of the world. We say it, we mean it . . ."

As a revolutionary visionary Garvey could be appreciated when it is considered that at the height of his activities, even the nominal independences from colonial rule for most African and Caribbean countries as well as the passage of the Civil Rights Act in the United States were all about forty years away. Meanwhile, closely related and fundamental to all his struggles and aspirations was a firm belief to be restated by Walter Rodney and other Black activists in the 1960s — that "until Africa was liberated, there was no real hope for black people anywhere." It is only in the light of that belief that the fearless commitment of those two to Africa and the African revolution can be appreciated. And it is also in the light of that commitment that, as Ngugi pointed out in the First (London) Walter Rodney Lecture (1985), they, as well as other Afro-Caribbean and African-American political thinkers and activists had:

"related so much of the originality of their thoughts and actions towards the African revolution that the movement had acquired a number of terminologies that became part of standard political thought and analysis."

Once he had set foot on his revolutionary path, Garvey went everywhere where the people of African descent lived and slaved: the Caribbean, South and Central America, the United States of America, England. And everywhere he went, he talked, he mobilised, he organised.

The culmination of all his activities was in the establishment, in 1917, of

the Universal Negro Improvement Association (known shortly as UNIA) in Harlem, New York, USA.

The Association's primary objective was to organise and help organise any mature person of African descent from the United States and the Caribbean, who desired to come to Africa to live, to do so. And not haphazardly either, but within the framework of a highly organised movement with its own funds and trained personnel whose expertise covered a whole range of human activities from masonry and carpentry through law, engineering, medical health and shipbuilding. The plan was to be dubbed "the Back-to-Africa Movement" by Garvey's detractors. At its height, the UNIA had a very conservative estimate of 1 million members, Garvey's claim of 6 million and therefore, an easily credible figure of 3 million members.

Garvey and the UNIA had targetted Liberia as the best first base for them to settle in Africa for a number of reasons, prominent of which was the fact that:

"Over a hundred years ago the white friends of the Negro in America, known as the American Colonization Society, helped establish the Black Republic of Liberia with the hope that it might become the home of those Negroes who wanted to live among themselves." (p. 380)

Furthermore as part of the Constitution of Liberia, it was stipulated:

"Amended by Section 6 to read that Article 5, Section 13, be made to read: "That none but Negroes or persons of Negro descent shall be eligible to citizenship in this Republic." (p. 391)

The association actually negotiated for land in Liberia with the then Liberian government and even sent a vanguard group of technicians and experts to go there in 1924 "to start construction work" and other activities, as a preparation for the UNA settlers. The only reason why the scheme fell through was that Garvey and his association were consistently and in the end irrevocably betrayed.

In fact, sadly and tragically, betrayal was like an ugly seam that ran through the entire Garvey story. In all the three geographical areas where his work should have had the greatest impact, that is, in the Caribbean, the United States and Africa,

Garvey was betrayed each time. So that his work was destructively slowed down each time, and eventually stopped. And all this mostly by none other than intellectuals and other elitist elements within his own "race" with their inverted racism and its attendant inferiority and God-knows-what-other complexes.

It started early in Jamaica where he and the then newly-formed UNIA had nearly succeeded to establish trade colleges" with even the "support from the white mayor of Kingston, the Governor of the Island and a Roman Catholic Bishop." But his efforts were sabotaged by

"Some of these coloured men of the island who did not want to be classified as Negroes by whites."

How painfully silly some of our problems had always been!

In the United States, the story was the same and not a little complex. However unbelievable it was to sound later, it seemed to have been a fact at the time that led by such as A. Philip Randolph — later for a long time to be President of the NAACP, and the well-known "leftist intellectual giant, W.E.B. DuBois — light-skinned Africa-American intellectuals persecuted Garvey for among other reasons, the fact that he was "of unmixed stock" and a foreigner: not a home-grown Black American. Since he had been born in the Caribbean. So that all the efforts he made to help people organise themselves including the phenomenal mobilisation of the Black masses at the time were bitterly resented as the demagogic activities of an alien upstart. They moved to sabotage him. In fact, when Garvey was arrested on some unclear charges of fraud in connection with the UNIA's shipping line, The Black Star Line, the hangman's judge who sat on his case and who saw to it that he was convicted and sent to prison was Judge Mack, "a coloured man" and a known member of NAACP, the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured Peoples (NAACP) Indeed: Sometimes we all feel like motherless children, orphaned by our brothers!

Finally, the quisling treachery of Africans just completed the circle of betrayals Garvey suffered. For some unknown reasons, the authorities in the United States as well as the colonial powers at the time seemed to have panicked at the very idea of some Diaspora Africans wanting to return to Africa and settle in Liberia. Yet this policy seemed to have been



encouraged earlier when it was at their instance and not co-ordinated by a Marcus Garvey.

But once they had checked Garvey out, they appeared to have put a great deal of pressure on President King of Liberia and members of his government to renege on all agreements with the UNIA, and to declare Garvey an undesirable alien. According to a news release from the Associated Press of 26th August 1924, Liberia

"irrevocably opposed both in principle and in fact to the incendiary policy of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, headed by Marcus Garvey." (p 389)

Two of the numerous tragic ironies in the drama of Africa and African peoples must be pointed out here. One being that around the time Garvey and the UNIA were looking for a foothold in Liberia, Mr. Harvey S. Firestone of the Firestone Tyre and Rubber Company had also been negotiating for land in the same country. But in 1924 when Liberia made it quite clear that "Neither Garvey nor any of those who have been identified with him would be received in Liberia."

Firestone was assured that his company had been given:

"one million acres in Liberia to be devoted to rubber raising, . . . and can have as much more land as it desires."

"Labour is cheap in Liberia and strong, healthy men work for 25 cents a day . . ."

The Honourable Edwin Barclay, Minister Plenipotentiary for the Republic of Liberia went on merrily during what was supposed to be a private visit to the United States.

So Marcus Garvey never set foot on African soil. He died in London and was buried there. Yet W.E.B. DuBois who had been one of his "arch-enemies and who had consistently tampooned his ideas was, in the course of time to go to Africa, live out his last days in Ghana, die, and get buried in Accra! But then, the destructive rivalry between those two great sons of the African Diaspora needed a set-down telling: something no one was keen to undertake for the damage it did to the global African cause, and the grief it has caused us all. It would serve no useful purpose to invoke DuBois at his best when he was attacking Garvey. But when Garvey was already dead (after he had been utterly ruined and thrown out of the US as an undesirable alien, DuBois said, with obvious generosity, that Garvey's central scheme was "grandiose and bombastic;" although Garvey himself had been "sincere . . . a master of propaganda."

Yet there had been nothing reactionary or unduly bombastic and grandiose in Garvey's ideas or schemes; except to the small-

minded. And definitely, until Africa is truly free, we cannot afford to be intellectually or ideologically snobbish about African nationalism. What Garvey and other Pan-Africanists have desired, fought for, been betrayed for, and eventually died for, is no more or no less than what other nations and peoples on the earth struggle for: liberty; the right to self-determination; access to their own land and freedom to develop in ways that as a collective the people consider valid.

Besides, Marcus Garvey had not just been a spewer of rhetoric. He had also been a profound thinker and a tireless activist. What had appeared to be rough edges to his philosophical formulations and his so-called mistakes were almost inevitable considering that he had been largely self-taught and self-made: a pioneer on and of so many uncharted courses.

No, we were not talking of Nkrumah of Ghana and the smartest of his critics. But they did it to him too: the wing-clipping, cut-him-down-to-size "radical" polemics. Therefore, and maybe, it is high time those of us latter-day African socialists had a rethink: not our convictions. But at least, how to readjust them to a meaningful accommodation of our African realities. For, after all, pathfinders are bound to make mistakes: a luxury that those who come after them should have no right



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to. However unfortunately, so far, we African people have been so severe with our pathfinders that discovering they are flawed, we had gone ahead and sometimes provided the platforms on which our enemies (and we do have some, who don't?) have stood to get rid of the Pathfinder and even to close up the new paths. Those who had come later had always then had to start all over again. So that instead of a forward movement, we seemed to be caught in endless cyclical motions; a tragedy.

What is incredible about Garvey is that in spite of the obstacles, he enunciated and relentlessly worked on nearly every aspect of the African condition. So that nearly anything any *progressive* African leader anywhere then and since had said, and sometimes done had been an echo and a reflection of Garvey. Because either he would have had an intimate knowledge of his philosophy or simply because great men (and women) think alike. Nkrumah unapologetically declared in his *Ghana, Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah*:

"That of all the literature that I studied, the book that did more than any other to fire my enthusiasm was

the *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey*." Then he proceeded to put Garvey's black star in the flag of the new Ghana, and name the country's merchant navy The Black Star line (i).

Garvey had said that: "The battles of the future, whether they be physical or mental, will be fought on scientific lines, and the race that is able to produce the highest scientific development, is the race that will ultimately rule. (p.13)

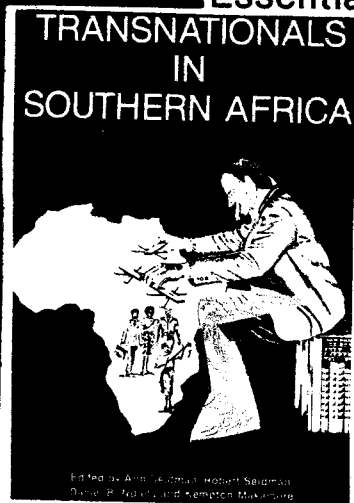
Yet a bare fourteen years to the end of the 20th century, Nyerere could stand in Lagos and forecast "a short term (?) future for Africa which was gloomy economically and full of political strain."

But then, the struggle continues. It had better. In the meantime, some of us were persuaded that wherever and whenever possible, it was absolutely necessary to educate growing young people throughout the global African world to a general awareness of Garvey's life and work, and even import essentially, his ideas. Garvey's *Philosophy and Opinions* should be recommended, prescribed and even compulsory reading in our schools, colleges and other institutions of higher learning.

Anything the slightest bit less than that would betray us: that 100 years after his birth, we had learnt nothing from Marcus Garvey. And if we continued to refuse to learn from the Garveys of our world, then when and how were we ever going to escape any of the traps we were in? "All of us may not live to see the higher accomplishment of an African Empire — so strong and powerful, as to compel the respect of mankind, but we in our life-time can so work and act as to make the dream a possibility within another generation. (p.13) Maybe an African Empire sounds too grand. But how about the most mundane element within that concept? That of a truly united and economically viable Africa? Instead of the current balkanised and pitifully vulnerable continent? So many people after Garvey have considered it. A great crime of any leadership is to dream too small or too narrowly on behalf of a people. And as for Africa's intellectuals and other so-called elites, we would have to bury once and for all time, our penchant, acquired over the last 500 years, of betraying the best of our leadership as well as our own historic mission.

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# ZIMOFA — A Programme of Co-operation

*"Support and solidarity is neither an act of charity nor favour but mutual assistance between forces fighting for the same goal", Comrade Samora Machel said.*

At the launching of the Zimbabwe-Mozambique Friendship Association in Harare in 1986 Comrade Raphael Maguni, the then Mozambican Ambassador to Zimbabwe said, "To speak of friendship and solidarity between Mozambique and Zimbabwe is to speak of the historic unity among the two peoples." It is to recall the common resistance to colonial penetration and occupation of the great empire that existed then. It is to speak of the common culture and civilisation from the Monomotapa era.

It is indeed to speak of the Zimbabwean and Mozambican combatants like Warrior Mapondera who helped Warrior Makombere against the Portuguese settler Gouveia who wanted to colonise the land in Catandica-Mozambique. There were no boundaries between the two countries and the people of Mozambique and Zimbabwe paid tribute to Monomotapa.

History tells us that it is not by chance that we have the Provinces of Manicaland in Zimbabwe and Manica Province in Mozambique. The peoples on the borders of these two provinces speak the same language and to us the boundaries drawn by the colonialists are artificial.

When the people of Mozambique made Zimbabwe's struggle their own, they mixed their blood with the blood of Zimbabwean people. Today when the Zimbabwean people are fighting in Mozambique they are mixing their blood with their Mozambican counterparts to defend genuine freedom and independence as much as Mozambican comrades sacrificed everything for the two countries to be more free. ZIMOFA stands as a symbol of this oneness which is embodied in the highest and most noble ideals of friendship and co-operation based on the same objectives the spirit of which comes alive during the Zimbabwe-Mozambique Solidarity week.

Zimbabwean and Mozambican friendship is based on revolutionary principles and the anti-imperialist struggle. Comrade Samora Machel like his comrades, Eduardo Mondlane, Herbert Chitepo, Samuel Kankaomba and Comrade Josiah Tongogara died for the cause of these two countries.



**Economic co-operation**

When Comrade Joaquim Chissano came to Zimbabwe for the first time as President of the Republic of Mozambique, he reaffirmed "No enemy can divide us". And when Comrade R.G. Mugabe spoke at the mammoth rally organised by ZANU (PF) for Comrade Chissano, Comrade Mugabe said, "the struggle against MNR bandits in Mozambique is our own just as Mozambicans made our struggle their own."

The Zimbabwean-Mozambican friendship is based on the principle, of dedicated brotherhood and sacrifice in the cause of man — the colonially oppressed. It is out of this dedication and bond of blood unity that ZIMOFA was founded and has continued to deepen the bond of friendship between the two people's parties, governments, central committees, and now the grassroots level, and economic programmes have also become part and parcel of that unity.

ZIMOFA united the two countries youth organisations, women's organisations, students and even the Continuadores and the 21st February Movement for it is out of the common past of struggle for national liberation and independence that the exchange of experiences in the present struggle for reconstruction, development and interdependence that cemented ZANLA and FRELIMO fighters against settlers in both Mozambique and Zimbabwe. There is a need to further cement our ties of oneness in the fight against banditry in both Mozambique and Zimbabwe, for our enemy is one. How does ZIMOFA help our Mozambican brothers?

As set in the objectives of the association when it was formed; ZIMOFA helps our Mozambican brothers through many ways of friendship rather than charity as the late President and freedom fighter Comrade Samora Machel said. We are one in history, culture and the struggle for

independence, we are one in supporting revolutionary ideals and the struggle for independence in the non-independent countries of Africa and elsewhere. Other than that the association is to foster economic cooperation between the people of Mozambique and Zimbabwe through joint projects. Soon Agricultural students from Mlezu Agricultural College and students from Chaminuka will be in Mozambique to help our brothers in agricultural activities for the benefit of both countries and peoples.

One other area of cooperation is on technological training and to develop mutual understanding through increasing information exchange and Tourism without forex problems.

In pursuit of solidarity between the two countries and peoples, a delegation of ZIMOFA from the Zimbabwean side visited Maputo in February this year. The delegation led by the Chairperson, Comrade Clemence Gaza held discussions with their Mozambican counterparts and later were presented with the Mozambican Highest Medal of merit. The three medals presented to Zimbabwe "read" "Ten years of Mozambique's Independence". The Zimbabwean delegation was presented with these medals in the "Palace of Distinction" where only President Samora Machel and Comrade President Joaquim Chissano took their Oath of Office as leaders of the revolution.

The presentation of these medals of distinction to Zimbabwe in the Palace shows how our brothers in Mozambique value "Unity and Solidarity between the two countries and peoples". Recently when the President of Mozambique, Comrade Chissano paid an official visit to Zimbabwe to hold talks with the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe who is the President and First Secretary of ZANU (PF) Comrade R.G. Mugabe at the Victoria Falls, ZIMOFA's activities were discussed and affirmed to be in line with the



aspirations of the peoples of the two countries.

Before his departure for home, Comrade Chissano, the President of Mozam-

bique held talks with the Patron of ZIMOFA, Comrade Simon Muzenda, the Second Secretary and Vice President of ZANU (PF) and a protocol of solidarity

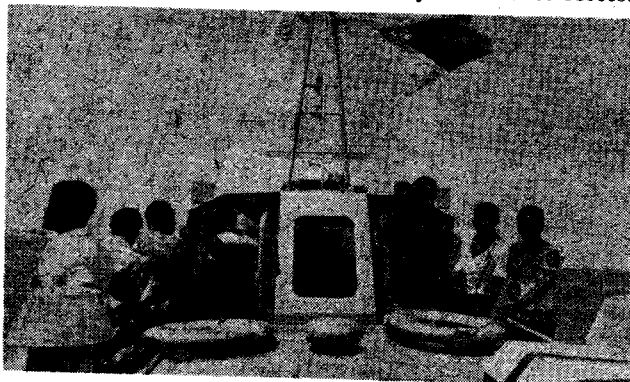
was signed. We produce the protocol in full for the benefit of our readers:

## Zimofa Plan of Action

*The following objectives were developed after meetings with Mozambican Officials in Maputo, the Mozambique Ambassador to Zimbabwe and the Patriot of ZIMOFA, and the Deputy Prime Minister Comrade Simon Muzenda.*

### Short Term Relief Aid

- Mobilise the masses** in Zimbabwe as well as companies and non-governmental organisations to donate food clothing and medicine to assist the victims of destabilisation and drought in Mozambique;
- Help to coordinate** relief efforts of large international aid agencies and Governments through a tripartite committee composed of representatives of the Mozambique Government, the Zimbabwe Government and ZIMOFA;
- Help to determine** areas of greatest need through consultations with the local authorities in Mozambique and the joint defence forces;
- Organise distribution** of relief supplies through the local authorities in Mozambique and the joint defence forces.



### Development and Training Assistance

- Administer the Samora Machel Memorial Scholarship Fund which in consultation with the Mozambican Government and



relevant training authorities in Zimbabwe will make places available for Mozambicans to further their education in specific skills areas;

- Assist the Ministry of Education to establish a school in Zimbabwe for Mozambican students from Grade 4 to Form VI;
- Coordinate the placement of Mozambican students in secondary schools throughout Zimbabwe in consultation with the Ministries of Education of both Zimbabwe and Mozambique;
- Provide seeds and agricultural implements to enable Mozambicans to become self-reliant in food production;
- Assist in recruiting Zimbabwean Agriculturalists to help develop the farming sector in Mozambique;
- Assist the Mozambican Ministry of Agriculture to develop several model farms which will be run by joint teams of Mozambicans and Zimbabweans.

### Solidarity and Exchange Programmes

- Help to coordinate Solidarity Week with the respective Ministries of both Mozambique and Zimbabwe;
- Arrange for the exchange of analysts on various topics of mutual interest;
- Promote cultural events e.g. drama, dance, song, art, literature which will strengthen our rich cultural heritages;
- Arrange for exchanges between mass organisations, cultural group athletes, scholars, *et cetera* in order to promote deeper understanding and solidarity between our two countries.

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# POEMS



## Comrade Tongogara of Zimbabwe

*By Phillip Gonera*

Dedicated to Comrade Tongo and all others who died in the struggle for the liberation of Zimbabwe

Tongogara!! — Who among Zimbabweans dead or alive didn't know of that great name?

What were you to Zimbabwe?

Books and Books can be written about what you were to Zimbabwe. If you wanted a price Zimbabweans could have paid you one.

History does not forget great people like you.

You were the driver of the liberators of Zimbabwe, a man of action and a hero of Zimbabwe.

What you believe was one thing, Zimbabwe must be liberated.

You sacrificed to shed your blood for the sake of Zimbabwe.

Your heroic courage and determination we will stride behind it.

The job you left unfinished we shall do.

Comrade Tongoo you are no longer there.

But you will always live in our blood. Though you joined the dead your spirit still leads us.

All what one can now say is to repeat a living fact.

The hero himself is dead.

But your death will always be written and talked about.

We know you joined the ranks of the past leaders and comrades who died for the liberation of Zimbabwe.

If your life was to be paid for you to arise from the dead who among the people of Africa would not contribute?

You were a gifted patriot whose death robbed Africa of one of its most dedicated sons.

Though death is inevitable and a necessary end, your passing away came at a wrong and unfortunate time.

Your death wasn't only a big blow to ZANLA FORCES but also to all the people of Zimbabwe and Africa in general.

A hero of Africa who stood firm until death for the fundamental interests of the people of Zimbabwe.

May your spirit lead and bless us all.

**ZANU DAY — 8th August**

*Ko wakandipiwa naniko nhai zano?*

*Rokufunga iri zuva*

*Zuva risingapere*

*Kusvika narinhi*

*Richaramba riripo*

*Izano hwai pasipano?  
Imhepo hwai pasipano?  
Ipfungwa hwai pasipano?  
Dzakaunganidza Zimbabwe  
Kuti ifunge iri zano  
Zano rekuvaka ZANU*

*Taidai tirikupi nhasi  
Dai pasina zano reZANU  
Zano rekusunungura vanhu  
Zano rekurwira rusununguko  
Zano rekufira vanhu  
Zano rakaunza Zimbabwe  
Zano reZANU iZimbabwe*

*Ko wakandibvira nepiko nhai  
ZANU?  
Nezano rakadai  
Risina anotenda  
Vanhuiko vasingatendi?  
Vanhuiko vasingafare?  
Vanhuiko vasingafunge?  
Vanhuiko vasingatondere?  
Musi weChisere waNyamavhuvhu  
Musi wakavambwa ZANU*

*Tokutenda neiko nhai ZANU  
Kuyeuka kuberekwa kwezano guru  
Zano rerusununguko  
Zano rakaunza Zimbabwe  
Zano reZANU*

*Varikumativi mana  
Ngatipembererei zuva guru iri  
Zuva rerusununguko  
Rakatipa pfungwa  
Rakatipa simba  
Rakatipa shungu  
Rakatipa ruzivo  
Rwekuzvisunungura  
Tingadai tiri kupi nhasi?  
Dai pasina ZANU*

*Tokutenda nei nhai zuva guru  
Kuti uzive kuti ndiwe Zimbabwe  
Kuti Zimbabwe ivepo ndiwe  
Kuti tibudirire ndiwe  
Dai ZANU yatipawo zano  
Rokuti tizive maremekedzero  
Atingaite musu weChisere  
waNyamavhuvhu  
Musi wakabuda zano rokuvamba  
ZANU  
Inove ndiyo yakaunza  
rusununguko  
Rwatiri kufarira nhasi*



# QUIZ

1. In what year was the First Chimurenga launched?
2. Name Four (4) of the seven heroes who died in a battle at Chinhoyi in 1966?
3. How many people comprise a branch in Zanu (PF)?
4. Who built the National Heroes' Acre?
5. What is the official Organ of the Ruling Party?
6. Which department of ZANU (PF) is responsible for teaching politics?
7. What is the date of birth for the 1st Secretary and President of ZANU (PF)?
8. What do you associate the above date with in the Youth League?
9. When was the Sharpville Massacre of South Africa?
10. Who is Nelson Mandela?

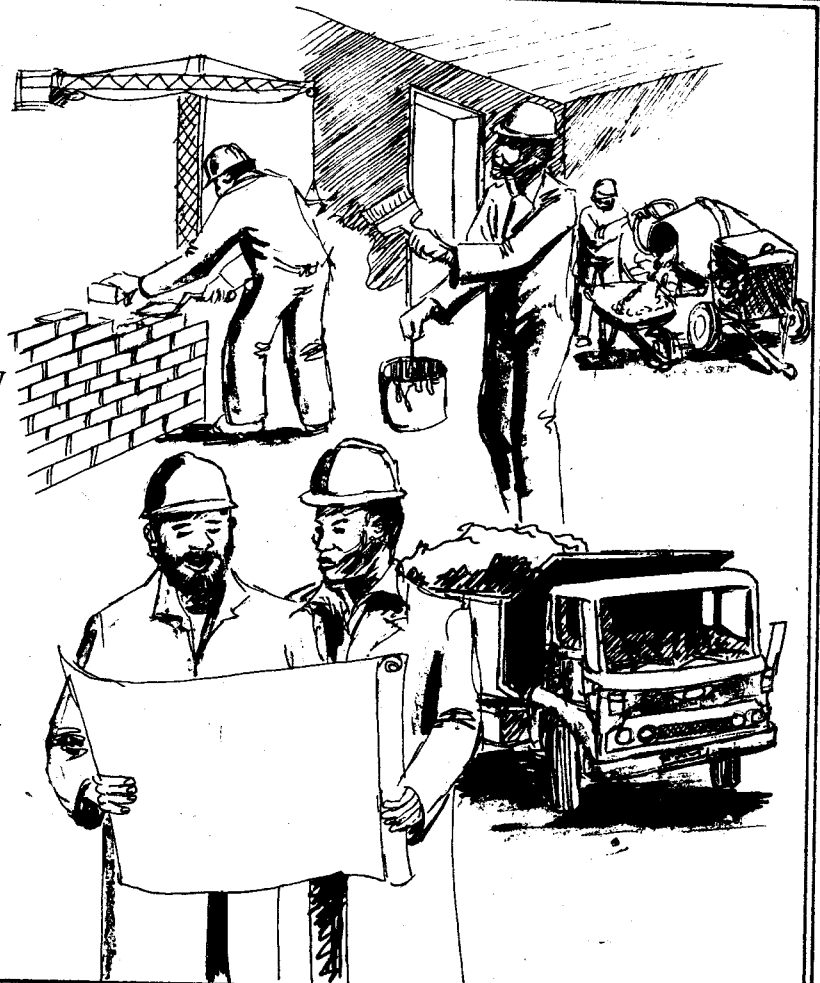
Dear Reader, Your Quiz is going to be monthly.  
Dead line: 20th September, 1987.

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