



# Zimbabwe News

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# MANDELA FREE!



## ... END OF APARTHEID?

*"Turning and Turning in the widening gyre  
The falcon cannot hear the falconer;  
Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold;  
Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world."  
W.B. Yeats: 'The Second Coming'*



- Inside** ● President Mugabe's Press Conference on the release of Mandela  
● ARDA — Road to Socialism  
● American Lobby for Savimbi  
● Eastern Europe — New Realities

## PILLARS OF APARTHEID STILL STAND



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## Mandela's Release Address In Cape Town

We call on our white compatriots to join us in the shaping of a new South Africa. The freedom movement is a political home for you too. We call on the international community to continue the campaign to isolate the apartheid regime.

.....page 38



### President Mugabe on the Release of Comrade Mandela

"... the struggle continues because apartheid is prevalent ..."

.....page 7

### Soviet Solidarity With Developing Countries Stands

"We, as before, support national liberation movements and express our solidarity with the developing countries including those in Southern Africa in their struggle against racism, for elimination of apartheid."

.....page 43

### Mixed Ability Grouping, a Motivation To Students

"... in the end no production or work is done. Almost everyone will be afraid of them. They will in the end, be reinforcing each other's belief in their 'uselessness' but a success or trust can counteract these feelings. They unconsciously think that if one of their member is trusted, or is successful, then maybe they could be too."

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# EDITORIAL

## *(1) Welcome Nelson Mandela*

Zimbabweans are delighted to welcome to their soil Comrade Nelson Mandela, the national hero of the struggle for justice, freedom and peace in the Republic of South Africa. The hearts of all our people are filled with great joy that Comrades Nelson and Winnie Mandela have visited our country. The name of Comrade Mandela now stands as a shining beacon on the road to peace and progress in our region. He is a symbol of struggle and resistance against racism and oppression. Our people salute him for the supreme sacrifice he has made for the liberation of the South African people.

As he stated so clearly in Lusaka last Tuesday, his release was made possible by the strenuous efforts made by the international community on the one hand, and the struggling people of South Africa, on the other. Many, many international organisations, governments and eminent individuals, called for and worked for his release. Infact, the international campaign for his release became a very important part of the general struggle for freedom in South Africa. The United Nations played an important part in giving international focus for the campaign.

More importantly, the mass organisations inside South Africa, including the trade unions, the student organisations and civic bodies within the black community, mounted considerable pressure on the regime to release Comrade Mandela. We salute these international, regional and local organisations for the victory they have scored; and urge them to continue the struggle until all political prisoners have been released, and the state of emergency has been lifted.

Although Comrade Nelson Mandela has been freed from jail, his people (and himself) are still victims of the larger jail — the

evil system of apartheid. Until Apartheid has been eliminated, and all its structures dismantled, no black person in South Africa can say he is free. Apartheid is a system that is offensive to every black person inside and outside South Africa. In a very direct way, Comrade Mandela's fight for freedom is also our fight for the same objective: We have to continue supporting the liberation movements in their just struggle, and with all the means at our disposal. We have to continue calling for the intensification and widening of mandatory economic sanctions on South Africa by the international community. We have to continue to isolate the Apartheid regime in the diplomatic field, until the negotiations have produced a new constitution that is acceptable to all South Africans of all races.

The Organisation of African Unity has a central role to play in supporting the efforts of Comrade Nelson Mandela and the African National Congress. It presented the Harare Declaration on South Africa to a special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations last December.

The UN adopted the declaration and tasked the Secretary-General, Mr. Perez De Cuellar, to report back in July. The declaration set out the conditions that have to be met, in order to create a climate favourable for starting negotiations for a new constitution. Although the Secretary-General's report will have the good news of Comrade Mandela's release, it cannot be a positive one in the circumstances. All the necessary conditions for starting negotiations have not been met, and may never be met. The white reactionaries and the right-wingers in South Africa are busy organising the rejection of the negotiations and refusing to walk on the road to peace. □

## *(2) The (March 28 – 29 General Elections*

The general election that is going to take place on March 28–29, 1990, is of great importance to our country. It is the third general election since independence. It comes at the end of the period in which Zimbabwe was constrained by the Lancaster House Constitution. Those constraints no longer exist. Our Parliament can now pass any laws that it considers necessary and in the national interest. This is a great victory for all our people. It should also be pointed out that Zimbabwe observed every letter and the spirit of the Lancaster House Constitution, although we were opposed to several clauses therein. We are a law-abiding people, and we have established a governmental system based on the rule of law. To a large extent, we have observed and upheld all the decisions of a judiciary which is independent and autonomous. Many of these decisions were infact against the government.

The central issues of this election are UNITY, PEACE and DEVELOPMENT. The 4 810 810 voters in Zimbabwe are being given an opportunity to confirm and to consolidate the unity that has been achieved between the two major parties, PF-ZAPU and ZANU (PF). The unity of our two major parties is the most significant political development of the last ten years. It will prevent the enemy or his agents from coming between us and therefore dividing the nation. The enemies of our nation are the only ones who benefit from disunity.

Of course, there are some small political parties led by drunkards, embezzlers and lunatics, that may talk about unity, but their real role is to try to divide the nation. They were brought into existence by the enemies of Zimbabwe specifically for the purpose of confusing our people, and dividing the nation. The leaders of these parties are themselves wellknown drunkards and lunatics who have consistently failed to work with others. There is no unity they can promote; and infact they do not want that. What they do want is a source of funds from the South Africans

or former Rhodesians, to replace the salaries they lost when they were dismissed from Government service for corruption and inefficiency.

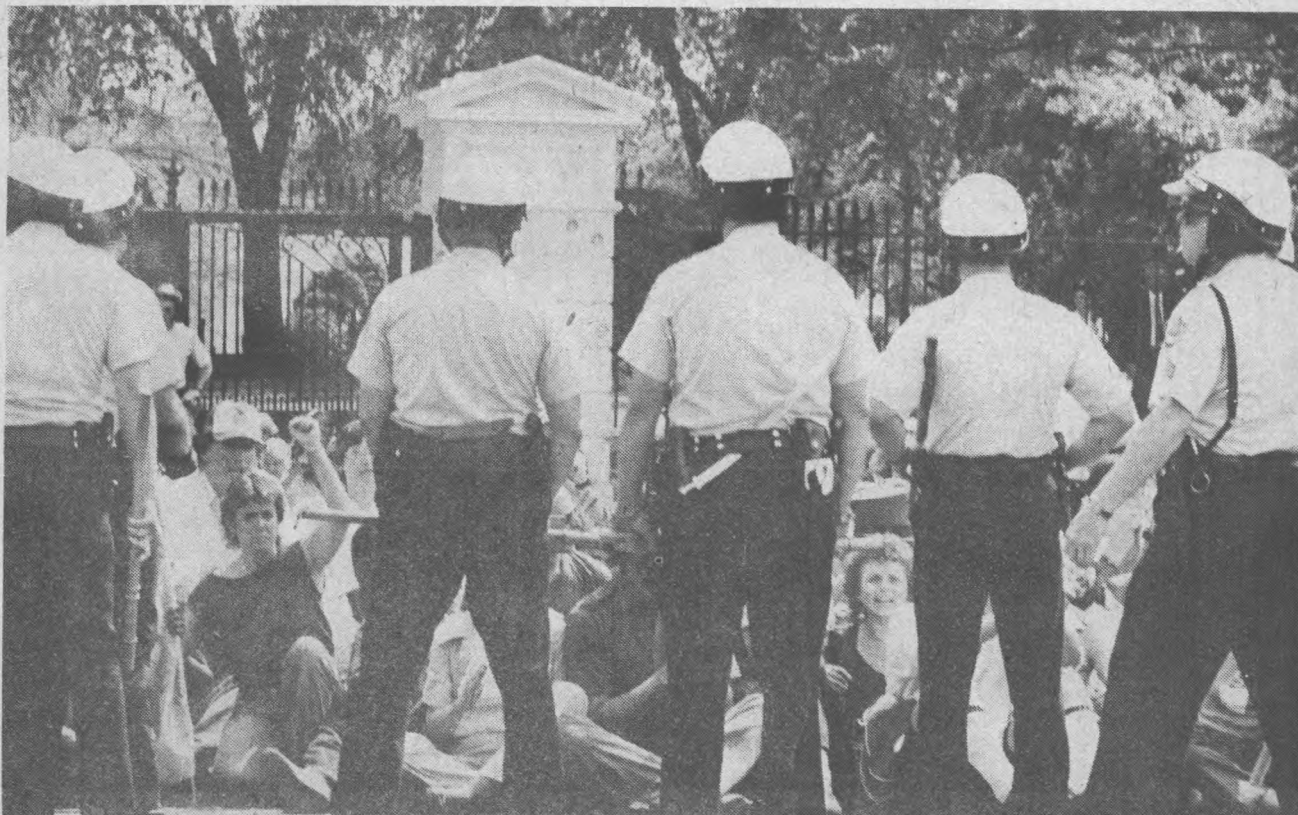
Another central issue in this election is peace. It is the desire of every Zimbabwean to see that conditions of peace and harmony are established in our country, as well as in the region of Southern Africa. We want peace to return to Mozambique and to our eastern borders. At present, some of the ferocious bandits cross the border to come and steal food, livestock and property from innocent villagers in Manicaland. The government is dealing with this problem both at the diplomatic and the military level. While that effort is being made, we must remain united as one people. What some of the misguided minority parties want is to return to a situation where we have a new crop of bandits and dissidents again in our midst. No one in Zimbabwe would want to throw away the peace we are enjoying and replace it with the kind of banditry we saw in 1981 and early 1982. If the drunkards and lunatics destroy our peace, it is the innocent villagers who will be left to suffer, but not themselves. On March 28–29, the 4 810 810 voters of Zimbabwe should tell these minority parties once and for all, that they are not wanted; and that their leaders are rejects of our society.

The emphasis of our programme in the next 10 years must be on the maximum development of our people, and of our natural resources. We have consolidated our political independence by various measures, including the establishment of an executive president, the termination of the Lancaster House Constitution and the attainment of national unity. What we now need is economic independence. To advance our people towards economic independence, requires that we develop the national economy for the benefit of all our people. The Party and Government is planning to start a large number of projects that will provide employment for most of our people and also stimulate the growth of our economy. That is the second phase of our revolution. □



*Letters Letters Letters Letters Letters*

## The Sad Story of Panama



Washington. Hundreds of US democratic representatives mass arrests  
Photo: The police cordon during the sitting strike

Dear Editor

December 20, saw yet another invasion by a superpower into a weaker and smaller country. The United States of America, as usual, with its imperialist muscles which want to be felt all over the globe, invaded Panama.

Like a shovel showing a spoon that it is mightier, America sent altogether 26 000 troops and murdered about 5 000 Panamanians to topple the Noriega government.

The American troops from the 7th light infantry division and directed by the defence chief, Dick Cheney overcame the Panamanian army and failed to capture General Manuel Noriega.

The deposed General Noriega drove to the Vatican embassy in Panama city on the Christmas eve seeking sanctuary until he gave himself up to the American troops after a week.

An American imposed leader on Panama, Guillermo Endara insisted that the Pope ends the sanctuary given to Noriega so that the Americans could arrest him.

America is very good at this business of invading small countries to install puppet governments which dance to its tune (American).

It was Lybia, Kampuchea, Grenada and today it is Panama. I find it hard that such weak nations are wantonly invaded by America.

The American government is accusing Noriega of drug trafficking. It wants to try him in the United States of America.

Earlier in the year 1989, democratic elections were held in Panama where Noriega won by a wider margin defeating the American sponsored candidate. To that event, America declared the election results null and void.

General Noriega being a former official of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) of America, has now become their enemy. There is something more to the story than being labelled a drug trafficker.

If the American government is good at trying world criminals, I hope one day they will invade South Africa or Portugal to arrest the leaders of the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) who are causing deaths

and suffering in Mozambique and the neighbouring countries.

America, a nation well known for sending missionaries to Africa to preach the word of God has done so fully aware of such biblical quotations as 'thou shalt not kill nor maim' and 'love your neighbour as you love yourself' — Why f... the world? This is a shame!

It clearly shows that the Americans are like the Israelites, who call themselves the holy children of God when they are committing atrocities in Lebanon and Palestine.

The world was surprised to find that the Americans resorted to what they call 'black magic' so that they could capture General Noriega from the Vatican embassy.

Why call the 'magic' black and not 'white'.

Why is the American government using magic when they preach to us in Africa everyday that we should abandon these evil ways?

By Comrade Sy Password  
Glenview.  
Harare



# Popularise Our Thinking

The Editor

The unity accord has been sealed. The people are one. The first united party congress has come and gone leaving massive victories in its wake in a country whose state is sound and healthy. All this happening not isolated from global events; Eastern Europe, the West and at home socialism and the one party state.

The press in Zimbabwe has a special and great responsibility to provide information, mould public opinion and popularize our new thinking and set objectives to ensure the further fertilisation of the people's minds and speed up our movement towards a socialist state.

The duty of fending off western propaganda is on. Let us be wary of carefully knit western media news which is meant to destabilise our efforts and discourage us from fighting for the complete emancipation of our people. If we join the stampede and propound their ill-conceived ideas, we are consolidating their oppression of us.

Remember imperialism, neo-colonialism and the multinationals. We want no political independence only, we want no flag independence only. We should be our own masters owning the means of production and hence distribute national wealth amongst ourselves equally.

By Comrade D. Moto  
Mutare

## One Party State

Dear Editor,

The one party state is no monster as some would like to believe. It is not a one party dictatorship. There is democracy in a one party state. Zimbabwe will not join the bandwagon. A multi-party democracy is a luxury to Third World countries. These countries need to economise and consider all available resources for maximum utilisation. In a multi-party system, people spend time, money and other essential resources in power fights. There is no time to concentrate on development.

After all, the multiplicity of parties is not democracy in itself. Western nations can afford to do that because of our dependent relationship on them culminating from past colonisation. The people on the other hand need to unite and collectively tackle national issues putting every available resource to maximum use in this regard. Capitalist countries sponsor some of our people to prevent us from uniting and getting at the private property which we seek to distribute to its rightful owners.

We are hence diverted to feuds so that we cannot be able to get our act together to successfully win back the means of production. What checks and balances does an opposi-

tion give save for serving its master's interests?

Pamberi ne One Party State  
Comrade Mabhunu Muchapera  
Chipinge

## Guard Against Enemies of Unity

Dear Editor,

I am writing to congratulate President R.G. Mugabe on the successful conclusion of the ZANU PF Congress that finally sealed the unity of the people of Zimbabwe.

May I take this opportunity to call on all Party members not to think that the enemies of our unity have given up trying to divide us. They will continue to do everything possible to sow seeds of division amongst us. We must be vigilant and guard against their efforts to try and turn brother against brother and sister against sister and children against their parents or vice versa.

The only way we can defeat them is by making sure that we have strong Party cells that must regularly and never allow rumour mongering to go without being quashed.

Long live unity!  
Long Live ZANU PF.

Comrade Mugaradzakasungwa  
Murewa

## Political Lessons Needed

Dear Editor,

I would like to call upon the Commissariat Department of our Party, ZANU PF to quickly provide us with political lessons. We are hungry for the ideology of the Party. We need written material to read so that we can better understand what our President and the party want us to do as we carry on our revolution.

May I also add that when those lessons are prepared, they be made available in Shona and Ndebele so that those who can neither read nor understand English can also get to know what the party expects of them.

Comrade S. Moyo  
Filabusi

## No Zimbabwe News in the Rural Areas

Dear Editor,

Why is it that we do not get the *Zimbabwe News* in the rural areas? Whenever I want the *Zimbabwe News* I have to go to Harare to get it. And even in Harare it is very difficult to get.

May you please do your best to see to it that this magazine gets everywhere in Zimbabwe especially to the rural areas.

Tinodawo kunzwa gwara rerusununguko!  
Mwana weZANU PF  
Comrade D. Mboga  
Chitomborwizi

## Bush — Old Wine in A New Bottle

Dear Editor,

The mention of the name George Bush, one immediately knows you are talking of an imperialist at heart. For George Bush is no different from Ronald Reagan. They are birds of the same feather and they always fly together.

In Shona we say, "*Mombe dzinofura nzirani*".

The above is confirmed by the fact that President Bush succeeded Reagan after having been his predecessor's vice. Therefore, Bush is there to continue from where Reagan left.

The way that Bush ordered his troops to invade Panama, a sovereign and independent state, is living testimony of this.

The hypocrisy that he has shown in pretending to favour international efforts to bring peace, justice, equality and development of Southern Africa and yet he is busy drumming support for apartheid South Africa by opposing sanctions against the Pretoria regime and supporting the MNR and UNITA, shows clearly that Bush is the same old wine in a new bottle.

George Bush, like Ronald Reagan before him says, sanctions will not bring apartheid to its knees. Why did you Mr. Bush shamelessly campaign for sanctions against Libya, Poland, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Cyprus, Syria and even Japan? Remember, what is good for the goose, it is good for the gander!

History shall condemn you, Mr. George Bush.

Comrade Joel B. Kwapata  
Marondera

## South Africa — The Struggle Continues

Dear Editor,

On February 11, 1990 at 4.15 p.m., one hour and fifteen minutes after the racist Pretoria Regime; leader F.W. de Klerk had announced his "release", Comrade Nelson Mandela walked out of the Victor Verster prison.

The big question now is, what does de Klerk and his capitalist mentors hope to achieve from this action? Has he accepted the fact that apartheid is a heinous crime against humanity and it must be liquidated? Is he prepared to accept majority rule or is this part of a well planned strategy to try and defeat the revolutionary process that the people of South Africa have set in motion?

The Pretoria regime must have received a shock of its life when Comrade Mandela refused to renounce the armed struggle and instead called for its intensification until final victory. If the regime thought that Comrade Nelson Mandela's 27 years of incarceration had made him forget the collective de-





“... apartheid is a heinous crime against humanity, it must be liquidated”

cision making that binds the ANC as a revolutionary movement, then he was again in for a surprise for when speaking on his future role Comrade Mandela said, “No person has the right in our organisation to determine what their role is in the cause of the struggle. It is my intention to go to Lusaka at the earliest possible convenience. They will tell me what role to play.”

Whilst most of the five million whites in South Africa see the writing on the wall that their domination of the 26 million blacks cannot continue forever, de Klerk's thinking was that Comrade Mandela would come out of prison and not talk directly of non-racialism, compromise to a degree where the people would be duped into accepting a situation where there is no real majority rule, but the endorsement of a system that ensures continued dominance politically, economically and socially of the majority by a minority. Instead, Comrade Mandela made it very clear that, “Nothing has changed. The demand in this country is for a non-racial society...”

Even on the issue of the distribution of wealth, Comrade Mandela stands firmly behind the ANC position and, “The question of nationalisation of mines is a fundamental

policy of the ANC. I believe the ANC is quite correct in this attitude and we should support it”.

Whilst Comrade Mandela did hold discussions with Botha and de Klerk over the past three years on various issues he never lost sight of the fact that for the dialogue to be meaningful, negotiations on the future of South Africa had to be held not with him as an individual, but with the ANC as an organisation taking into account the existence of their anti-apartheid movements and even the homelands.

“Some of them we disagree with their policies — some of them are quite innocent. Nothing would please us more than that they join us.”

With reference to the PAC, he called, “on the political organisations, particularly the ANC, to determine in what way we can increase the momentum of unity among black organisations...”

Within de Klerk's strategy is the usual imperialist tactic of divide and rule. Whilst on the one hand, de Klerk knows who the true representatives of the people are, he will try to put them on par, with even some puppet organisations. He will also try and encourage

some organisations in South Africa that support either the ANC or PAC to stop doing so and look at themselves as political parties not affiliated to any of the two liberation movements that have been waging the armed struggle.

The other futile hope that de Klerk might have is that there will be a breakdown of communication between the political leadership of ANC and PAC and their fighting forces Umkhonto We Sizwe and Azania People's liberation Army respectively. He is looking forward to seeing a situation where different view points as to how the enemy should be dealt with at this stage arise. Here, the ANC and PAC must defeat him by keeping their military wings fully informed of all developments so as to give the enemy no opportunity of distorting the reality of what will be happening at the various stages of the struggle.

We call upon the people of South Africa to take heed of what Comrade President Robert Mugabe said recently, that the release of Comrade Mandela did not mean that South Africa was now free. The struggle must be continued through to its logical conclusion! Pamberi ne Chimurenga!

Comrade 226  
Norton



# President Mugabe's Press Conference on the Release of Comrade Mandela

*His Excellency, President Robert Gabriel Mugabe's Press Conference on the Release of South Africa's ANC Leader, Comrade Nelson Mandela on February 12, 1990 in the Cabinet Committee Room*



**G**ood afternoon ladies and gentlemen. As you all know today . . . we received the good news that Comrade Mandela has been released from prison. And naturally, as a country and as a people, we have all along been supportive of the struggle for freedom in South Africa and Namibia and elsewhere. . . We regard it as a step in the right direction. But having said that, may I say that Mandela needed two kinds of freedom. South Africa has had two prisons in one. The general one is that which denies people democratic rights; the area where apartheid prevails and makes it difficult for people to participate in the political order of their country: That is prison one. Within it, was built the inner prison which variously is defined as detentions, restrictions and imprisonment proper. And that's where Mandela was: is now out of the inner prison into the greater prison. The prison that affects the lives of all the non-white South Africans.

And so, whilst we are jubilant that Mandela is partially free, we remain critical of the system that South Africa and the South African regime is allowing to prevail — the system of apartheid. There are those who will rush to congratulate President de Klerk that he has done a wonderful job and that the world now must accept South Africa as a good neighbour and a good partner and ally in all areas of cooperation and that interaction, good relations must now prevail be-

tween South Africa and the rest of the world, that investment must be rushed into South Africa immediately . . . because de Klerk has now created a new situation.

We beg to differ with such people. What de Klerk has done so far is merely perhaps to indicate by way of one or two steps he has taken, the direction, the correct direction that the regime must take and it must be the direction that leads to the complete overhaul of the apartheid system and creating a new political order in which people are free first and foremost, people have equal rights, and can participate, therefore in the process of choosing their own government, their own leaders.

## New Political Order

Only when that final step has been taken, shall we say, de Klerk, yes, has done what those before him, Botha, Vorster, Verwoed, down to Malan, had not been able to do, in fact had done in the opposite direction. He has destroyed the order of apartheid that **had been** created by his predecessors, and we will praise him for it. But we remain sparing in our praise of him because the basic the people of South Africa have been fighting for was not the mere release of Mandela. It has been the creation of South Africa of a new political order that denies no one

his or her rights: Civil liberties, the right to participate in a political system on equal basis with everybody else. . . the destruction therefore of apartheid. That is what the people of South Africa have been fighting for. And so, let's not get deceived into believing that these few steps taken amount to the overhaul of apartheid and the creation of the desirable political order.

And let note those who have been supporters of apartheid directly or indirectly now try to deceive us into accepting that what has happened in South Africa is the establishment of democracy. It isn't. And therefore, Zimbabwe, in line with the other Frontline States as indeed in line with the other members of the Organisation of African Unity, will continue to support the struggle that the people of South Africa will wage. And we feel delighted that Mandela was forthright on this point. The struggle continues in the form the people of South Africa desire it to take. Whether it's armed, political, economic or a combination of all these, that's the form they desire and we will support them as before in that struggle.

But we are full of hope however, that these initial steps having been taken, other much more meaningful steps will follow. And it's now up to President de Klerk to proceed with speed and not lose momentum in reversing the system that his predecessors had estab-



lished and which system has caused so much pain, so much suffering and so much inhumanity to the majority of the people in South Africa.

I thought I should, on behalf of government and the people of Zimbabwe, make this statement to you. Most of you had been waiting for it. Yesterday, was Sunday, we were not able to interact with you and I should warn you that I have come to speak about this one subject alone. I shall be speaking almost everyday and be available to you for interviews of all kinds when it comes now to our own process here and the steps we shall be taking towards the general elections. You can ask us questions about us, about our system, aspects of that system, what we intend to do later. But today it's South Africa we are thinking about and our minds therefore must be focussed on that situation and no other, so be single minded please.

### ***"Sanctions must continue until apartheid goes"***

**QUESTION:** *On the issue of sanctions:*

**ANSWER:** We continue to advocate sanctions against South Africa on the various fora: the Commonwealth sanctions must continue. I was glad to hear Sir Shridath Ramphal pronounce himself on this one. The sanctions through the United Nations we should continue to work for and here of course we have always talked about comprehensive mandatory sanctions. We see no reason at all why those who have been imposing sanctions must relax those sanctions. I am glad that President Bush has not rushed to remove the sanctions — American sanctions on South Africa. So we say sanctions must continue until apartheid goes. Only when it is gone shall we say the cause for which sanctions were in the first instance required has now vanished and therefore the sanctions must go.

**QUESTION:** *Have the steps taken by de Klerk changed the attitude of Frontline States towards a possible meeting with the South African Government?*

**ANSWER:** A meeting between President de Klerk and say Zimbabwe or the rest of us in the Frontline can only take place really in respect of two issues:

One: As a forum to try and assist the process of democratizing South Africa.

Two: As a process of normalizing relations between South Africa and ourselves.

Now on the first: Assisting the process. The people de Klerk must first talk to are the leaders of the liberation movements in South Africa. Those are the people he must first meet, purpose will be served by any meeting between de Klerk and ourselves? Really, that purpose. So let him be seen to be meeting the people in South Africa and if they have problems: problems of the nature where assistance perhaps is needed, only then can our role come in. Otherwise really in respect

of that forum, it is mainly the people of South Africa he should talk to and that means of course, talking to the senior leaders. The normalization of relations between South Africa and say Zimbabwe: that also would come as a sequel to the normalization of the situation in South Africa itself. The reason we regard the South African leadership as say,



a quarantin to leadership, is because there is apartheid. There we are fighting a system that denies the majority of the people their political rights, social and economic rights as well. Until that system goes there is really no purpose to be served by any discussion between him and ourselves on the question of normalizing relations. Of course those relations cannot be normalized relations. Of course those relations cannot be normalized before apartheid goes. And only when he has taken steps to remove apartheid, we are satisfied that there won't be any reversal of the process, shall we be in a position to interact with him. But for now I think that is irrelevant.

### ***"... when he has taken steps to remove apartheid, we are satisfied that there won't be any reversal of the process, shall we be in a position to interact with him"***

**QUESTION:** *Has the President plans to meet Mr. Mandela in the near future?*

**ANSWER:** Those who have organized the reception of Mandela were kind enough to include me and Zimbabwe as a member of the reception committee. I wait to hear what they will want the programme to be. Zimbabwe in its own right naturally can invite Mandela.

We have already invited some of the leaders who were released earlier than he. He will certainly also be very welcome here. But we are yet to extend that invitation personally to him.

#### **Times of London**

**QUESTION:** *On Mrs Thatcher's praise for Klerk's release of Mr. Mandela and her moves towards lifting the sanctions*

**ANSWER:** That's too hasty an embrace from Mrs Thatcher and we would rather she didn't rush to embrace him that quickly. Let us first see whether he will tackle the substantive issue that of apartheid as effectively as he has the initial steps. But what about the issue of apartheid? He appears to be hesitant on that. And he also appears not to have, clearly defined his solution to the apartheid question. He is talking of group rights and the preservation and protection of group interests. So what does he mean? He is yet to enunciate that and clarify himself on that. But from our point of view you can't talk of protection of group interests without at the same time talking of apartheid. Otherwise really what does apartheid amount to? And he hasn't talked then of wanting to abolish the legal pillars of apartheid, the Group Areas Act. The Population Registration Act, the Land Act and so on. These are still intact and I hear actually he is saying now that the issue of emergency is one for negotiation. Whether this is merely a tactic or not, I don't know. If that issue is one for negotiation, is apartheid also a negotiable thing? A negotiable policy? I would have imagined that the

### ***"... the struggle continues because apartheid is prevalent"***

issue like the state of emergency and the apartheid question were issues really that should be handled by him and that the solution must be found to the removal of these issues; that of state of emergency and apartheid. This is not a matter for negotiation. What should then be negotiated is what they view as a just dispensation. The political system. What is the nature of the political system that we desire ladies and gentlemen? Let's talk about this. The leaders of the liberation movements. And this is then the discussion they should hold. What is the nature of the constitution we want? What is that constitution to achieve in terms of the necessary political order? That order of course being defined as democratic and nothing less. Well, if he wants negotiations the state of emergency, negotiations about the issue of apartheid itself, then I think the way is bound to be very protracted and there is no reason why in those circumstances the ANC, the PAC and other parties should not stick to their original position, namely that the struggle continues because apartheid also is prevalent.

**QUESTION:** *On the Mandela reception party and countries involved*

**ANSWER:** I don't know if my memory carries me right. But I think Zambia is in it too, Senegal, Nigeria and so on. They are also in the reception party. But we haven't yet come together. Perhaps events have overtaken us before we are ready in our forms of receiving him and how we will want to be received.

I think everybody is satisfied. Thank you.



# Cooperative Bill Goes Before Parliament

Staff Reporter



**Comrade Joyce Mujuru, The Minister of Community and Cooperative Development**

**T**he Cooperative Bill giving cooperatives more support and guidance in the running of their affairs goes before Parliament during the present session.

Addressing the annual general meeting of the Honde Valley Coffee Growers Cooperative Society in Honde Valley recently, the Minister of Community, Cooperative Development and Women's Affairs, Comrade Joyce Mujuru said government is reviewing its policy on cooperatives with the aim of introducing measures that make cooperatives play a major role in the country's economy.

This is being done in view of so many cooperatives which have failed because of lack of managerial skills and commitment and insufficient planning.

"The Cooperative Bill will go before Parliament during the next session and will pass into law. This Act aims to give cooperatives much more support and guidance in the running of their businesses. The Government will shortly be reviewing its whole policy on cooperative support. It is planned to introduce many new measures which will assist cooperatives in Zimbabwe to play a greater role in the economy. . . We are already seeking support to start . . . a cooperative college," Comrade Mujuru revealed.

The college will be open to ordinary cooperators without high educational qualifications. This college will concern itself with practical business training so that cooperators can learn the skills of management, planning and other business skills which have

been lacking for so long. The courses offered will be flexible and designed to suit the needs of the cooperative movement.

## Recovery Programmes

She said recovery programmes are being developed by the ministry together with union management committees to reorganise and restructure union business and institute measures to ensure that business is run by efficient managers supervised by competent management committees. This should halt continued decline in both society and union business.

Cooperative regulations protecting the rights of members will be instituted. These will demand the termination of employment of incompetent staff and the removal of corrupt and ineffective committee members. Such measures, she said, will have to be rigorously applied if marketing and supply cooperatives are to prosper again.

"We are planning to set up a locally staffed management consultancy service. This would provide local experts to go out in the field to advise and help cooperatives. The future holds much more support and help for the cooperative movement. There will be mass campaigns to help cooperators im-

prove their basic project-planning skills. . . The success of the cooperative movement lies in the hands of a committed and disciplined membership," Minister Mujuru emphasised.

"This is exactly what my ministry wants to encourage. We want to see cooperatives which are run like proper businesses. Cooperatives that keep up-to-date records, cooperatives which hold regular annual general meetings, cooperatives which present proper accounts to their members at annual general meetings. We want to see cooperatives where the membership benefits from their hard work. Cooperative members must be fully informed and fully in control of the business," Comrade Mujuru reiterated.

## Supreme Authority

She told the meeting that a cooperative's supreme authority is the general meeting of the membership. Members make the democratic decisions. Democracy, she said, is hard, but it is the only way. She said it is up to the members to elect competent committee members who are hard working and honest.

Comrade Mujuru urged members to make responsible decisions and keep the membership informed about everything.



**Women Cooperators display their wares. The future holds much more government support for them**

## Stop Press

**T**he House of Assembly (9/2/90) passed the Co-operative Societies Bill which will revamp the Co-operative movement in Zimbabwe.

The Bill will replace the Co-operative Act with a new Act comprehensively covering the structure and functioning of the co-operative movement.

The Minister of Community and Co-operative Development, Comrade Joyce Mujuru, said a Registrar of co-operatives would be appointed to supervise co-operatives.

Comrade Mujuru said the co-operative movement would consist of primary and secondary co-operative societies.

*refer to table on page 11*



"That is the member's right and the committee's responsibility. The committee must protect their member's interests in all the society's business activities. The committee must be careful to hire competent and honest staff, when this is necessary. The committee must not enter into dangerous contracts or make careless loans on the society's behalf," she explained.

She also reminded members of their duties saying that they must support their committee. When unpleasant duties like sacking incompetent staff or expelling dishonest members arise, the members need to back up the authority of the committee. She said in the past members and committees have avoided their responsibilities. This has resulted in the societies being bedevilled by corrupt committees and employees losing business in the process.

The Minister advised members to do their trading through the Coffee Growers Trading Society. In times of difficulties, members should know about them immediately. The committee must make certain they know, she added. Members, she proceeded, must act to correct mistakes. They must not only trade through the society during good times and then "evaporate" when bad times come along.

"We, in the ministry strongly believe in the power of the membership. We believe that once cooperative societies' members are properly informed about the state of their societies and are actively involved in the running of these societies, they will respond well. Societies where the membership is fully informed and involved will make wise and practical business decision. Those which have uninformed, uninvolved members, will always perform badly and suffer corruption and petty squabbles.

"Once societies have strong, efficient and committed committee members, society business will succeed. It stands to reason . . . that the same primary societies should elect competent committees to supervise union



**Cooperative members busy weeding in their garden**

business, ensure the efficient delivery of services and discharge of duty by union employees. It is the right of primary societies to demand for efficient services from unions and CACU," she clarified.

#### **Accountability**

Corruption and business decline can be arrested by vigilance and responsibility. It is also imperative to have annual general meetings tabling financial reports, progress on business and election of new office bearers. Annual meetings are important because they call for accountability on the part of the management committee and their employees as regards the running and management of society's business. She called on societies and unions to regularly conduct annual meetings so that accountability is reinstated and efficiency restored.

Minister Mujuru thanked the Sweden Cooperative Centre for all the work they have done in updating the accounts of all the CACU cooperatives and for assisting the ministry with the auditing of societies and unions as well as their generous support to this education and mobilisation drive.

The Honde Valley Coffee Growers Cooperative was registered in June, 1987. At that time it had a membership of only 25 men and nine women but has now matured to a strength of 945 men and 925 women. Comrade Mujuru also launched the Central Association of Cooperative Unions (CACU) member mobilisation campaign at the same occasion.

The Cooperative Societies Bill has now been passed by the House of Assembly. □

## **Hydrology Technicians Training Essential in Solving Water Problem**

**A**pproximately eight percent of the mean annual rainfall in Zimbabwe finds its way to the rivers as runoff, the rest being wasted through evaporation, evapotranspiration and recharge to groundwater. This calls for the availability of trained hydrological personnel with the technical know-how in planning, designing, construction and operation of all water resources projects.

Dam construction is an important aspect of water development policy in this country.

However, the construction of dams and other water supply facilities are not a random exercise, but requires precise records of stream-flow measurements for effective planning and designing.

Officially opening a regional training course for hydrology technicians at the University of Zimbabwe in January 1990, Comrade Kangai said the training of such personnel would go a long way in harnessing African countries' water resources.



**Comrade Kumbirai Kangai, The Minister of Energy, Water Resources and Development**



"Water is frequently described as the most valuable natural resource, and it is undoubtedly the most vital. Without water no life is possible and it is an essential pre-requisite for any form of development. We need it to quench our thirst, to grow our food and fibre, to power our industries and when all our work is done we need it for recreational purposes", the Minister said.

He further explained that in Zimbabwe, without adequate and assured supplies of water the exploitation of agricultural production, the establishment of industries and expansion of towns are impossible and consequently Government would be unable to raise the standard of living of the people, particularly of those living in the communal and resettlement lands.

On the basis of the data from the present hydrological network, it is estimated that the total mean annual runoff is 20 000 million cubic metres excluding the flow of the Limpopo and Zambezi rivers.

The mean annual runoff, however, varies greatly over the country. The areas with the lowest runoff also frequently have the largest variation in runoff from year to year. Most rivers in Zimbabwe dry up during the dry season. Perennial rivers are confined to the Eastern Highlands and part of the high veld in the north and east.

Comrade Kangai said in other areas surface water can only be utilised as a reliable source by means of storage.

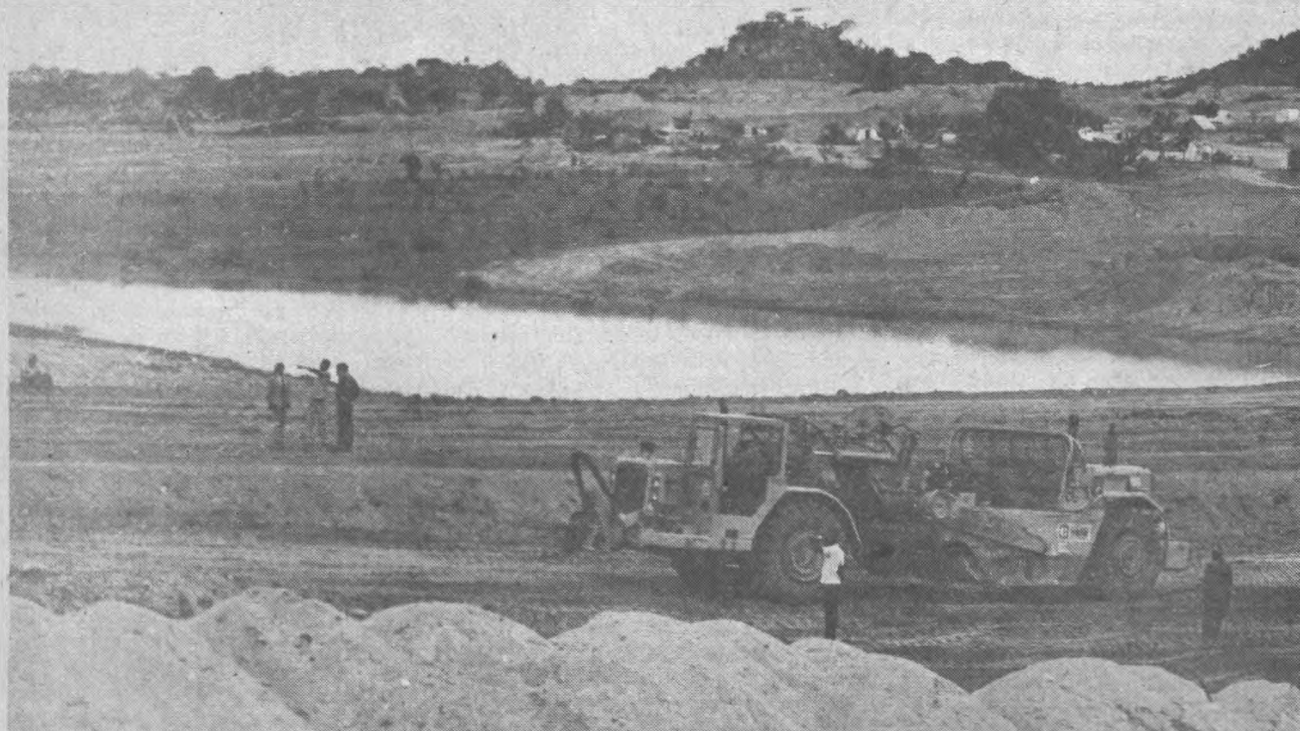
"Consequently, construction of dams is an important facet of our water development

#### Measuring Stations

Comrade Kangai said reliable streamflow determinations will require an expanded network of hydrometric stations and high degree of efficiency in their operations.

Also, he pointed out, the network of sediment measuring stations will have to be extended in order to provide guidelines for determining the useful capacity of future storage works or to predict when augmentation of existing works is required to match increasing demands.

"This, in turn will mean strengthening of our hydrological service at all levels. Trained hydro technicians, competent to make streamflow measurements and to convert



Surface water can only be utilised as a reliable source by means of storage

"Indeed, the whole development of the country and its capacity to support an increasing population are strictly limited by the availability of water and the extent to which our water resources can be exploited", he clarified.

Rainfall in Zimbabwe is seasonal, occurring mainly between the summer months of November and March. Average annual rainfall varies from below 400mm in the low lying areas of the country to over 1 000mm on the central watershed. Limited areas in the Eastern Highlands receive over 1 500mm annually. The mean annual rainfall over the country as a whole amounts to 675mm.

#### Rainfall

However, it exhibits a considerable variation between seasons annually. An important characteristic of seasonal rainfall is that its reliability decreases in general from north to south and the areas of lower rainfall are thus more liable to mid-season droughts which cause a serious deleterious effect on rainfed agriculture.

policy in Zimbabwe. This naturally brings me to the role of hydrology in realising our development objectives in water resources".

The design of a reservoir, he said, requires knowledge of the quantity of streamflow and its occurrence with respect to area and time and the operation of the reservoir requires analysis of streamflow and rainfall estimates. In fact, the hydrological appraisal of water resources is the basic requirement for planning, designing, construction and operating all water resources projects.

Adequate hydrological data is needed for this appraisal. Often it is not the mean values but the flood and drought extremes that are most important for planning, design and operations of water supply.

Only long-term records of continuous measurements can be relied upon to include reasonably dependable values of these extremes. The rapidly increasing demands on water resources make it imperative that they be determined with as high a degree of precision as practicable.

them into figures of runoff are therefore becoming increasingly important", the minister said.

As the economic development of African countries depends mostly on the rational optimum utilisation of their respective water resources, Comrade Kangai said, it is only logical that their potentials should be accurately determined so that their development and management can be integrated into their rational and regional economic plans.

"This, to a large extent will depend on the availability of trained hydrological personnel in our respective countries."

"Hence the present training course which is being organised by UNESCO and financed by the government of Norway is indeed a welcome development not only for Zimbabwe, but also for all the English speaking countries in Africa. I therefore, thank UNESCO and the government of Norway for the timely organisation of this training course for the benefit of all the English speaking countries in Africa", he said. □



**TABLE**  
**Distribution of Cooperatives by Year of Registration by Number of Registered Cooperatives (Reg) and By Number of Functioning Cooperatives (Fun)**

Year	Manicaland		Mashonaland Central		Mashonaland East		Mashonaland West		Masvingo		Matabeleland North		Matabeleland South		Midlands		Zimbabwe	
	REG	FUN	REG	FUN	REG	FUN	REG	FUN	REG	FUN	REG	FUN	REG	FUN	REG	FUN	REG	FUN
1956	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
1957	1	1	0	0	2	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	4
1958	1	1	0	0	2	2	0	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	6
1959	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	2
1960	2	2	2	1	2	1	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	1	1	9	7
1961	2	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	6	6	1	1	0	0	5	5	15	15
1962	3	3	3	3	1	1	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	4	4	13	13
1963	1	1	2	2	0	0	1	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	6	5	17	15
1964	1	6	2	2	2	1	1	1	3	2	2	2	0	0	13	12	30	26
1965	8	7	5	4	3	1	5	4	10	8	4	3	4	3	12	10	51	40
1966	5	5	8	8	4	1	0	0	8	6	2	2	2	2	7	6	36	30
1967	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	3	0	1	1	4	4	9	9	23	20
1968	3	3	0	0	4	3	1	1	5	4	0	0	4	4	4	3	21	18
1969	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	6	4	0	0	0	0	6	5	16	9
1970	0	0	2	2	3	2	2	1	7	6	0	0	2	1	6	6	22	18
1971	2	2	1	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	1	1	9	6
1972	0	0	5	2	4	3	4	4	2	2	1	0	0	0	2	2	18	13
1973	0	0	0	0	3	3	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	5
1974	0	0	4	4	2	2	0	0	2	2	2	2	0	0	1	1	11	11
1975	6	5	10	10	1	1	0	0	9	5	0	0	0	0	4	4	32	25
1976	1	0	7	6	1	1	0	0	9	5	0	0	0	0	1	1	19	13
1977	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	4	4	4
1978	0	0	5	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	3
1979	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2
1980	0	0	2	2	3	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	3
1981	5	4	4	2	21	7	4	3	6	5	0	0	2	1	6	4	48	26
1982	70	42	15	9	50	20	22	14	34	30	24	10	13	9	18	13	246	147
1983	100	49	36	24	148	37	33	14	78	24	59	9	28	14	79	21	561	152
1984	15	8	2	0	69	24	16	14	29	7	16	9	3	1	32	13	182	76
1985	29	28	13	12	54	26	47	43	9	9	6	5	4	4	17	8	179	135
1986	10	7	12	8	59	27	48	40	11	10	4	3	2	2	20	9	166	106
1987	10	9	13	13	30	20	9	7	3	3	3	3	4	3	5	5	77	63
1988	5	5	1	1	6	6	8	8	1	1	6	6	1	1	0	0	28	28
1989	6	6	2	2	11	11	5	5	0	0	3	3	3	3	1	1	31	31
ALL	296	200	160	124	492	204	210	163	253	151	138	62	79	55	264	153	1 892	1 112



# Rehabilitation Home Brings Hope for Destitutes

Staff Reporter

**S**ituated in the heart of Mtanda Two resettlement scheme in Odzi, Manicaland, Rukariro Rehabilitation Centre for the Mentally and Physically Destitute has brought comfort, hope and care for the many who seem neglected by society in that part of Zimbabwe.

Only two years old, the centre, set on an eight acre plot caters for 23 inmates although it can accommodate up to 50. Touched by the plight of the destitute who roamed the streets in Mutare with society paying a blind eye, Sister Esther Soko, so motherly, kind and caring, took up the matter.

Resultantly, resettlement officers in Manicaland donated an eight acre home previously occupied by a white settler farmer. These needy, Sister Soko said, were roaming the streets, sometimes being taken to hospitals or chased around. She was so touched that in 1987, she and the other members of the home's management committee successfully established Rukariro Rehabilitation Centre for the Mentally and Physically Destitute.

"I felt so bad about it . . . I was touched. I felt we should do something about it; we then acquired the home through resettlement officers who were very generous," Sister Soko stated in a telephone interview with *the Zimbabwe News*.

## Objectives

Rukariro Rehabilitation Centre aims at rehabilitating adult destitutes for society. Trainable clients are also set to benefit from the skills imparted to them for self-sufficiency when they leave the centre. This is also done to provide the centre with a sound and self-supportive basis.

The mentally disabled are also supervised hoping that they will improve for their subsequent entry into mainstream society. The rehabilitation centre seeks to integrate these needy into society.

"We hope", Sister Soko said, "that the people at home will cooperate. We expect them to carry on with the care of the mentally retarded so that they don't relapse."

Subsequently, the chairperson of the centre expressed hope that the industry can employ those of the inmates who would have been drilled in relevant skills. Their cooperation would be greatly appreciated, she added.

## Resources

Asked what resources sustain the centre, Sister Soko said initially there were 20 inmates and so the centre got per capita grant of \$100 from the Department of Social Welfare resulting in them getting \$2000. They send a claim to the Ministry of Labour, Manpower Planning and Social Welfare on a yearly

basis with details of the annual additions to the original inmates.

Rukariro also gets assistance from Christian Care, Home Affairs (the Zimbabwe Republic Police), the Ministry of Health and Resettlement officials of the Ministry of Lands, Agriculture and Rural Resettlement.

*"Touched by the plight of the destitute who roamed the streets in Mutare with society paying a blind eye, Sister Esther Soko, so motherly, kind and caring, took up the matter."*

Inmates come from their homes and hospitals in the province and the centre also sends inmates to hospital for medical and other attention. There has been a few cases when the handicapped absconded resulting in police follow-ups. Initially the centre was run by five voluntary workers who, in December 1989, were replaced by five qualified ones. It was out of sacrifice and devotion that the voluntary workers gave up their homes and came to put up with the handicapped at Mtanda Two.

There are two senior workers who are paid by the Social Welfare Department and the other three are paid by the centre. Those who qualified to be part of the centre's staff had to submit references of experience and their previous employers.

## Interviews

"We actually had to interview them. The management committee conducted the interviews and came out with the successful candidates," she explained. The successful applicants had to be interested and committed to caring and being of service to the mentally and physically handicapped.

"We are working together with the district nursing officer of Mutare. . .," she told the magazine adding, "Accommodation had to be found in Mtanda Two because this is the only place where we could get it. We had also asked if we could have a home in Mutare. It seems there is no help at all."

From information obtained from some sources in Mutare, Rukariro Rehabilitation Centre for the mentally and physically handicapped could be the only non-governmental centre in the province.

Meanwhile, plans are underway to renovate the centre and to fully utilise the various complexes like bans, workshops and other smaller buildings. Funds, however,

have not been forthcoming and any assistance from various organisations and government is appreciated.

## Self-reliance

The centre does not have any means of transporting goods and inmates. In cases of emergency, the centre has to phone Mutare for an ambulance, a distance of over 43 kilometres.

"I find it very difficult to operate like this. Carrying food to the centre is very difficult. We have to scrovice", she explained.

Operating without a proper fund, the centre has resorted to a programme of self-reliance. There is an orchard, a vegetable garden and very soon a foul run, a tuckshop and sewing machines will be introduced. Rabbitry is also in the pipeline.

In terms of recreation, the centre hopes to acquire a television set and a radio. Sofas and other domestic utensils are also needed.

From the Mutare Mayor's Christmas Cheer Fund in 1989, Rukariro centre received \$250, a stove, 40 beds and mattresses, one refrigerator. This year \$287 was donated.

On the attention given to inmates, Sister Soko said they keep a progress report on each inmate. The past history of the handicapped is also written so that the staff know how to proceed in assisting individuals in improving on mental and physical disabilities. The onus is on people at home who war expected to offer maximum care to inmates released from the centre.

The belongings of each inmate, whether acquired after or before coming to the centre, are also recorded and stock of these taken whenever necessary.

Members of the management committee who administer the centre, pay an annual subscription fee of \$5 each.

The centre received \$5 000 from the First Lady, Amai Sally Mugabe. The centre expressed pleasure and gratitude to this gesture and expects more and closer contacts with her. Assistance in further development of the centre is also sought bearing in mind the vast experience Amai Mugabe has.

The centre is appealing for assistance from individuals, governmental and non-governmental organisations in the form of money, clothes, blankets and many essentials that a rehabilitation centre can need. All interested individuals and organisations can contact the centre at:

The Management Committee  
Rukariro Rehabilitation Centre for the Mentally  
And Physically Destitute  
Box 1287  
Mutare



# Legal Resources Foundation Gives Hope to Many

Staff Reporter

**T**he free legal services offered to many Zimbabweans by the Legal Resources Foundation (LRF) have gone a long way in giving a new hope to the less fortunate members of society.

This was said by the National Director of LRF, Comrade Wilson Manase, when he explained the role and significance of his organisation in an interview with the *Zimbabwe News* in Harare recently.

Established in 1984, the LRF aims to improve the accessibility of legal and information services to all sections of the population. This was done against the background of the limited financial and legal resources in Zimbabwe.

Comrade Manase said that the rocketing costs of legal services means that the legal system favours the elite members of society while the poorer classes do not have access to the benefits of law. It is these less fortunate members of society who the LRF wants to help.

"The organisation is a human rights organisation which gives legal advice to those who request for it," said Comrade Manase.

## Objectives

Speaking on the broad objectives of this le-

gal foundation, the national director said it aims;

- to initiate and support projects which promote the development of legal resources in Zimbabwe;
- to establish and maintain law libraries;
- to train paralegal personnel and provide them with supporting services;
- to promote public legal education and contribute to legal research and legal publications;
- to assist in the training of law students, legal practitioners, persons holding judicial office, court staff and administrators;
- to initiate reform and
- to support organisations providing legal advice and assistance to the public.

## Direct Services to the Public

Comrade Manase added that under direct services to the public, the aim is to improve knowledge of legal rights and remedies and to provide better access to legal services.

"The paralegal scheme under direct services to the public involves workers either employed by Government or by Non-Governmental Organisations operating in rural areas to be trained as Advice Volunteers," said Comrade Manase.

On the question of interpreting the contents of their pamphlets, the director said that the Advice Volunteers are also trained to understand and accurately interpret the contents of the publications to members of the public.

Currently, Advice Centres have been opened in Mashonaland Central and Matabeleland North and the pamphlets are written in three official languages, Shona, Ndebele and English.

The Advice Centres at focal points in rural areas are where paralegal workers will advise consultants using the paralegal manual which was compiled by the foundation. The paralegal lawyers supervise the activities of this project.

The paralegal scheme also advocates the taking of cases which cannot be resolved by Advice Centres to court. "Of late we have been asked to take up a selected case on the Mutoko bus disaster to court," explained Comrade Manase.

Meanwhile, the Foundation has two separate arms, one in Harare and the other

*continued on page 14*

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# Functions of the Ombudsman Spelt Out

The Ombudsman's office is the baby of the Lancaster House constitution which was instituted in Zimbabwe in 1982 to be a watchdog and oversee maladministration and injustice suffered by the public at the hands of public maladministration.

The Deputy Ombudsman, Comrade William Chirambasukwa, said that the Ombudsman's office is intended to be the eye of the central authority and it sees to the protection of the individual citizenry against abuse or misuse of administrative power.

In an interview with the *Zimbabwe News* recently, Comrade Chirambasukwa said that the primary functions of his office were; to review and to investigate complaints and to improve, admittedly indirectly, the quality of public administration.

The office does not deal with cases which do not involve public administration; it deals with the Government, the parastatals, municipalities and other bodies set up by government. In a nutshell, the office recommends and redresses malpractices in government, in fact it is against government injustice.

The Ombudsman's office is an independent body but the Ministry of Justice, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs is responsible for the financial and staff needs of the Ombudsman's office. However, there is a principle of conflict in the whole set up because the Ombudsman's office can or has the jurisdiction to investigate the Ministry of Justice.

The Ministry of Justice, courts in particular cannot query or comment on the functions of the Ombudsman neither does the Office of the Ombudsman comment on the matters that are being handled by the courts or that have been tried by the court.

The Ombudsman's office has no jurisdiction to investigate the courts or to demand the court record of a case. The office can only make some consultations with the Secretary for Justice or the administration in the periphery and not to seek the details of the court proceedings of a particular case should they feel there is injustice.

Nevertheless, the Ombudsman's office is adorned with enough powers to investigate most of these high public offices but of course not the police, army, President's office, cabinet office and officials and the Central Intelligence Organisation.

Comrade Chirambasukwa said that his office has never encountered any problems with anyone resisting its recommendations. The office does not indulge in any area that is outside its powers. It only receives complaints from people who are involved with government set ups. It is important to note that the complaints must result from maladministration.

The office does not handle individual cases like domestic disputes. The office which com-



The Deputy Ombudsman, Comrade William Chirambasukwa

said that there is need for decentralisation so that the functions of the office could be felt throughout the country.

The shortage of staff has resulted in the office having a heavy burden in attending to complaints from various people. In 1988 alone, the Ombudsman's office attended to 1 418 cases and last year 1 700 cases brought forward to the office, most of them without appointment.

There is no time to move out of the office because the number of cases that come to the office are just too many. Comrade Chirambasukwa said that an average of 12 to 15 cases were reported to his office on a daily basis.

## Legal Resources Foundation Gives Hope To Many continued from page 13

in Bulawayo. Plans are afoot to open other offices in Gweru and Masvingo.

Public legal education, is done through publication of pamphlets, schools legal education, co-operative training, promotion of women's rights and using the mass media. Some students from the University of Zimbabwe also work for the LRF. "The students go to the rural and urban people to interpret and explain the contents of the pamphlets we give them," he added.

The director of LRF went on to say that the law of Zimbabwe recognises the positive role which the female population plays in the social and economic development of the country.

"The Foundation works flat out on the promotion of women's rights as in the Legal Age of Majority Act, the director said.

### Direct Services to Profession

The foundation also trains law enforcement agents like the police on some very sensitive areas which affect them in their work.

The organisation also makes full use of the two libraries which are based in Harare and

Bulawayo. The LRF has also written several legal publications which include Law and Medicine in Zimbabwe and Family Law in Zimbabwe.

The foundation has 12 trustees drawn from the legal field and of late, Comrade Manase has also been appointed one of the trustees.

Responding to a question on the relationship of his organisation with the Ministry of Justice, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs, Comrade Manase said that, "We as a Foundation work with the Ministry of Justice, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs. We have regular meetings with the ministry and our relations with it are very healthy". The foundation and the ministry drafted the law of co-operatives together.

Although the LRF has done quite well since its inception in 1984, the director said it is highly regrettable that local funding for his organisation was not forthcoming.

"We have tried our level best to publicise ourselves but we are getting little local assistance. I am appealing to local companies to come forward and help us in fulfilling our objectives," Comrade Manase told the *Zimbabwe News*.

Presently, the foundation is being funded by local and international sources. □

prise the Ombudsman, the Deputy Ombudsman, two investigation officers, one lawyer and some supporting staff, gives free services to the nation.

The Deputy Ombudsman expressed concern on the size of the office in terms of staff suggesting that the office's personnel be increased and the operations be expanded to other areas. He said that the office was not known to many people because of the centralisation system. Comrade Chirambasukwa

The Ombudsman's office can go on to investigate any government ministry with notice or without notice. However, the office does not entertain every complaint including those that will have a legal remedy in the courts of law.

The Ombudsman's office can entertain complaints against any official or body whether such a body is autonomous or not. If only that body falls under the jurisdiction of the Ombudsman's office then it is entitled to be investigated. □



# Boy's Expulsion from School Sparks Fire

The last ten years of independence in Zimbabwe saw huge expansions in all socio-economic, political and educational fields and there has been an on-going fight against racial discrimination and representation in any sphere of life. Education itself has been made a right to every citizen.

Efforts have been made to turn all existing schools into multiracials in order to ensure that all children enjoy same privileges regardless of their race, colour or creed.

However, the treatment of some black pupils in some private schools, as revealed to this magazine recently, clearly indicates that we still have elements who treat people according to their race. It is a pity that in an independent country, there are some schools where some races seem superior than others.

There have been suspensions and expulsions of pupils from some private schools on petty issues or for no specific and satisfactory reasons.

One such instance is the recent expulsion of a black pupil from Eaglesvale Secondary School on the grounds that he has been an accomplice in selling stolen tickets to some scholars in order to get pocket money.

The pupil, Patrick Nyamutsamba (14), was in his second year at Eaglesvale Senior School when he and other two black and one white pupil were found to have been selling tickets kept by the hostel matron last November.

His expulsion from school is a matter of concern to all Zimbabweans who want equal treatment and is also surrounded by a racial cloud because a white pupil who was also found guilty of the same case was not expelled from school. He was even allowed to write his final examinations.

In a letter addressed to the Regional Director of Education for Harare, Patrick Nyamutsamba's parents said their son was only asked to keep the tickets by one of the pupils who had stolen them from the Hostel matron.

After the incident, the white student who was doing Form 4 was allowed to sit for his examinations "yet our son was not allowed to write the internal school exams and was also asked to leave the school", the letter said.

In an interview with the *Zimbabwe News*, Mrs Priscilla Nyamutsamba said that she and her husband were summoned to the school by the headmaster on November 16, 1989 where they were told to take their child away from the school as a result of what had happened.

She said that they were shown a letter dated August 15, 1989 about their son which they only knew of on November 16, the day they were summoned to the school.

"There is no parent who would ignore such a letter without approaching the headmaster to discuss the matter," Mrs Nyamutsamba said adding that since Mr Bousfield became the headmaster of Eaglesvale senior school, he never called them about the child.

The original copy of the letter given to the Nyamutsamba couple by the headmaster was made available to the *Zimbabwe News* and it partly read:

"After consulting the hostel teachers, matrons and prefects, I write to inform you that Patrick's attitude and behaviour in hostel is quite unacceptable.

"I must inform you that unless there is an immediate all-round improvement in his behaviour next term, he will lose his hostel place. I regret that I am no longer prepared to tolerate his constant infractions of hostel rules and impatient attitude".

The matters which were levelled against Patrick included leaving hostel without permission when incorrectly dressed, missing prep sessions, constantly being on the wrong floor after several warnings, missing meals without permission, incorrect dress at school functions, forgetting to collect items or clothing in lost property and no money to redeem them — although he is constantly at the tuck shop, and insolent behaviour towards matrons.

After the case could not be resolved by the parents and the headmaster, the Nyamutsambas approached the Regional Director of Education for Harare, Comrade Molife who could not help either.

When Comrade Molife went on leave, she left the case to her deputy, Comrade Mukonoweshure who later told the parents of Patrick that the headmaster had insisted that he was not going to receive the child because of what had happened the previous year.

On January 12, 1990, Mr Nyamutsamba sent a cheque of \$850.00 for tuition fee only and it was accompanied by a letter to the headmaster which read:

"After discussing with authorities in the Ministry of Higher Education and Culture, they have concluded that my son, Patrick, has to be at that school and he can only lose his place as a border according to your letter of the 15th August, 1989 which we only got to know of in November, 1989.

"Enclosed please find a cheque for his tuition fee for \$850.00.

However, the headmaster still insisted that he was not going to take the boy back into the school.

Mrs Nyamutsamba explained that she then went back to the Regional Director (this time Comrade Molife who has been on leave) and told her that I still wanted the boy to go back to the same school".

The Regional Director told her that private schools were run by trustees and are very difficult to deal with.

"So Comrade Molife tried to look for another place at Lomagundi Secondary School and many other private schools but they all asked why Patrick left Eaglesvale", she pointed out.

She took the case further to the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education where she talked to the Deputy Secretary Comrade Jonathan Mukurazhizha who told her that he was also dealing with a similar case involving St. Johns.

"Mr Bousfield was asked to meet the Permanent Secretary for discussions and he said he was going to take the case to the body of governors and we are currently waiting for the result", Mrs Nyamutsamba said.

Attempts to contact the headmaster of the school, Mr. Bousfield for a comment on the issue failed. The chairman of the body of directors for the school, Mr. Viljeon who was said to be answerable was said to be out of the country at the time of going to press.

However, his wife said her husband was aware of the matter and was very sympathetic with the parents of Patrick for what had happened to their son.

She said, "Nobody wants to see a child lose a place in a school" and declined to comment further on the issue.

The Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education, Comrade Isiah Sibanda confirmed that the matter has been brought to his attention and that negotiations with the headmaster were in the process at the time of writing. He, however, could not say whether the boy was going to retain his place or not.

Mrs Nyamutsamba also revealed to the *Zimbabwe News* that the conflict with the headmaster of Eaglesvale school due to unfair treatment of children dates back to 1984 when their older son, Brian, was bitten by a dog of one of the teachers, Mr. Brian.

When they learnt that Brian was bitten by a dog, the Nyamutsamba couple went to the school but nobody attended to them for over 30 minutes.

*continued on page 17*



# Deforestation — A Threat to Human Survival

Staff Reporter



The public should adopt sustainable management plans of the environment. Indiscriminate cutting down of trees should be discouraged

**T**he problem of deforestation is sending loud waves of alarm because of the severe and disruptive effects it can have on the climate.

The fear of fast disappearing resources and its frightening consequences is expressed in the Natural Resources Bulletin. A major feature of concern cited in the bulletin is the composition of carbon dioxide, methane, nitrous oxide and chlorofluorocarbons, collectively called "greenhouse".

The "greenhouse" is added by mankind's industrial, agricultural and transport activities which are currently increasing emissions of the gases into the atmosphere.

The bulletin says the gases making up the "greenhouse" allow heat from the sun to reach the earth but stops radiant heat from returning into space. Carbon dioxide is cited by the bulletin as mainly responsible for the global warming and it constitutes half the gases' composition.

Scientists believe that with the present rate of global warming caused by this composite gas, the earth's average temperature could

rise by between 1.5 degrees centigrade within the next 60 years.

It is not uncommon and indeed frightening in this century to cut these trees and burn grass randomly. This trend of burning vegetation is a double threat to everyone because trees absorb carbon dioxide from the atmosphere. Every tree that is destroyed releases carbon dioxide into the air but leaves fewer natural sponges to absorb carbon dioxide.

The Natural Resources Board bulletin warns that it is an environmental catastrophe for deforestation to go unchecked.

## Appeal

It is because of the dangers caused by careless cutting down of trees and grass burning, that the bulletin is appealing to the authorities and members of the public to adopt sustainable management plans of the environment.

"We all have an important role to play in saving the world's forests. In so doing, we will be contributing significantly to slowing down global warming and climatic change", says the bulletin.

The President, Comrade Robert Mugabe, once appealed to all Zimbabweans to live no stone unturned in their bid to undertake conservation projects as the natural environment is necessary for human survival.

President Mugabe said this when presenting an award to the Young Conservationist of the Year, Comrade Blessing Chari last year. Comrade Chari (14), was presented with this award during the 15th annual meeting of the Zimbabwe National Conservation Trust held in Harare early November 1989.

Speaking at the ceremony, Comrade Chari said, "If one is to use our natural resources, one has to use them in a sensible manner. People should try to work hard in conserving our natural resources because if we do not, we might reach a stage where we would deplete them critically not only to human life but also to other species."

Comrade Chari, a pupil at Prince Edward High School, took more than two months to construct his project and to perform the research work which was too demanding. His project which won him the trophy was under the theme 'Timber in Zimbabwe'. □



# ARDA — The Road to Socialism

**T**he Agricultural and Rural Development Authority "ARDA", a parastatal whose parent ministry is Lands, Agriculture and Rural Resettlement is spearheading the socialist transformation of our agricultural infrastructure in Zimbabwe by establishing state farms and rural development

Besides its continuous contribution to foreign currency earnings through the sale of its agricultural products, ARDA is the single largest employer of labour in the agricultural industry. The 27 estates operated by ARDA employ more than 15 000 people at various levels including managers, engineers, plum-

ical services to its workers and people living in communal areas surrounding the estates. It also helps the peasant farmers with land preparations and other essential farming services at/or above cost.

Before 1980, ARDA existed as a co-ordinating



Tea picking at Katiyo Tea Estate in the Honde Valley where clonal tea material is producing spectacular results (Photo-credit ARDA)

programmes throughout the country — thus ensuring that the means of production are directly owned by the state.

In an interview with the *Zimbabwe News* recently, the General Manager of ARDA, Dr. Liberty Mhlanga, said as from 1982 the Authority has become one of the largest single agricultural operations in the country.

## Production of Strategic Agricultural Commodities

Agricultural commodity production is a function of a number of factors among which the factor of commodity price is quite a dominant one.

The Authority, which owns about 30 farms in different parts of the country, grows on a large scale 15 different crops which include cotton, tea, coffee, rice, onions, carrots, tomatoes, wheat, pineapples, macadamia nuts, proteas (flowers), maize, groundnuts, soya beans, tobacco, sorghum, sunhemp, lucerne, beans, sunflower ryegrass and is also involved in dairy and beef farming.

bers and takes on over 17 000 casu- als. According to Dr. Mhlanga, the Authority provides schools, recreational facilities and med-

body for rural development loosely integrating the planning and development functions of three other state development agencies,

from page 15

"When we asked how our son was bitten, Mr. Brown said that we better ask the dog. We reported the matter to the Regional Director of Education but to no avail", Mrs Nyamutsamba said.

The then headmaster of the school, Mr. Stokes, she pointed out, apologised after a long time and from that time, the relationship between them and the school deteriorated.

The second incident involving Brian, she said, was when he was involved in a fight with a white school boy after the latter had tried to have homosexual sex with him.

"Brian was not given any access to the telephone to contact us. We only knew about the affair after one of his friends phoned on his behalf", Mrs Nyamutsamba told the *Zimbabwe News*.

After completing his 'O' Levels, Brian got a place to do his 'A' Levels at the same school but Mr. Ratcliffs, the Maths teacher, told him to drop the subject, she said.

"I went to see him and told him that my son was capable of doing the subject and that his intended professional field after school required Maths. He however, insisted that he drop the subject and I wrote another letter to the Regional Director who gave no help", Mrs Nyamutsamba explained.

She said that at the end Brian's books were no longer being attended to by the teacher.

"As a result we looked for a place for him to do studies at a private college", she mentioned, further stating that the conflict has been going on for a long time. □



namely, the Sabi Limpopo Authority (SLA), the Tribal Trust Land Development Corporation (TILCOR) and the Agricultural Development Authority (ADA). They were incorporated into ARDA in April 1982.

Dr. Mhlanga explained that prior to the amalgamation, SLA was responsible for exploiting, conserving and utilising water resources for social and economic development through the establishment of farming and settlement operations.

TILCOR, he went on, was involved in the development of rural areas with agricultural development as its main concern. "However," Dr. Mhlanga said "our effort to ensure stability in food supplies and such cash crops production, ARDA makes sure that there is continuous production of certain strategic agricultural commodities even in cases where the prices may not be that attractive".

Thus, Government, through state farms run by ARDA ensures a stable production and supply of strategic food seed, livestock products and oil-seed crops.

**Production of Agro-Industries**  
Zimbabwe, like most third world countries exports a lot of its raw agricultural products thereby losing the value added benefits of processing raw products into semi-finished and finished products. The economy further



**Dr. Mhlanga stressing a point during one of the staff meetings (Picture by ARDA)**

state farming activities, but will also improve the economic position of the surrounding rural communities. Katiyo Tea Estate and fac-

"At Sanyati, we have a cotton depot which receives the biggest quantity of cotton from the local communal farmers, besides our



**ARDA also engages in dairy farming (Picture by ARDA)**

loses through the unfavourable terms of trade because of exporting low value products while importing high value products.

"Through the establishment of state farms, we hope to be able to establish agro-industries to enable the processing of produce from state farms and the surrounding local farms", said Dr. Mhlanga. "This will not only facilitate vertical integration in the

tory is a typical example of ARDA's ability to promote agro-industries' development in the rural setting."

#### **Growth Points**

The General Manager pointed out that the strengthened state farming entities, encompassing general agriculture production and agro-industrial development serves as a backbone to the general development of commerce and industry, especially growth points and rural service centres.

own. As a result of strengthening our farming activities and thus increasing commercial activities, we now have a town with tarred roads, well planned sewerage system, clinics and some small secondary industries."

The strategy and technique used in the development of Sanyati applied during the development of Mapise, Mzarabani, Middle Sabi and Chisumbanje growth points.



### Resettlements

There are four models of resettlement in Zimbabwe and ARDA is involved in two of them. Model C resettles small scale farmers on state farms, model D is implemented in regions four and five of our natural farming regions and people are mainly into cattle ranching.

Under model D, villagers are allocated one area for residents, and the rest of the land is divided in such a way that rotational grazing can be affected. "This programme is being successfully carried out in Gwanda, Matebeleland South".

### ARDA — People Oriented

Dr. Mhlanga also mentioned that ARDA is helping rural people on an individual and co-operative basis to go into small and medium size projects which will have been seen to be viable by ARDA's planning teams. The communal farmers are given free expert advice on how to improve quality and quantity of their products.

Dairy farming has proved very popular and successful in this regard and examples of this can be found in Marirangwe, Chikwaka, Chivhu, Dorohwa and Watsomba.

Last year, ARDA carried out research on where most of the vegetables sold at Mbare-Musika came from and it was discovered that mainly people from Dema, Seke were the deliveries because of the availability of transport.

Mashonaland East communal farmers could not bring their produce to Mbare-Musika because of transport and strange problems.

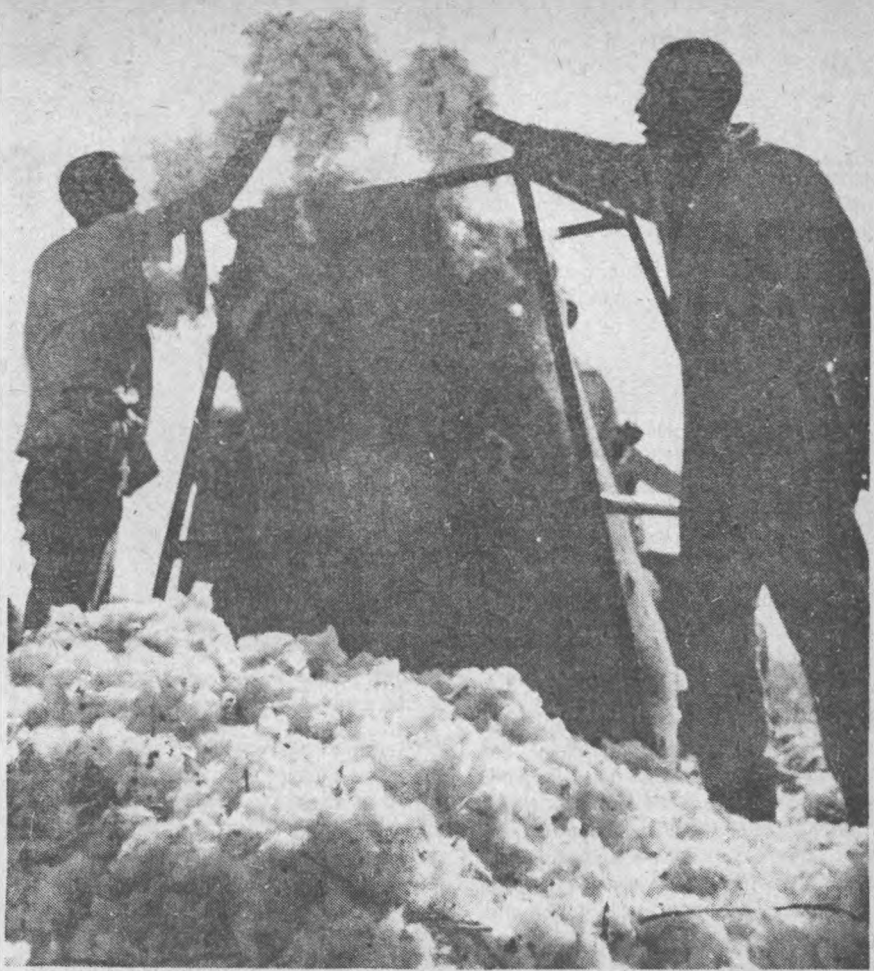
Another problem which surfaced during the aforementioned research that people lacked irrigation facilities so as to engage in post rain season planting. The quality of seeds used was also found to be poor. "The communal farmers depend on seeds from the previous harvest, which might not necessarily be the best", said Dr. Mhlanga.

Following this research, ARDA set up a committee of agricultural experts which was to look for ways of solving the problems that the people were facing.

Funds were sought and obtained from the European Economic Community for the project.

### Problems

Dr. Mhlanga explained that ARDA's reception by the people in the communal areas



ARDA employees packing cotton into Bales (Picture-credit ARDA)

where it intends to carry out its projects has been very good. However, the Authority at times fails to meet demand.

Some of the problems the Authority faces include the lack of trained manpower with management skills and bureaucracy has hampered progress because it extends time.

The General Manager expressed mixed reactions on the newly gazetted pricing policy saying that on the one hand it is good and on the other, it came too late after many farmers had already delivered their produce to the marketing boards. "The Government delayed in announcing the new pricing and pre-planting policy and many farmers had already reduced the amount of certain crops", he said further stating that when a

farmer goes into a crop, there is a lot of equipment bought and if he phased that crop out, the farmer suffers heavy losses.

Dr. Mhlanga also said that prices of some agricultural inputs such as fertilisers have become very high as compared to prices of the agricultural products. "Yields are not always constant and to catch up with cost of inputs can be impossible at times. The aim of many farmers is to cut down costs of production and maximise yields, hence profits", he said. On the issue of hiking prices of foodstuffs, he pointed out that farmers must be well-paid and that they should be given the facilities to produce at low costs which will lead to low prices of food stuffs. □

## Catholics and Socialism in Schools

By Bright Mpofu and Ronald Imbayago

The Roman Catholic Church welcomes the teaching of socialism in their schools as long as it is in the interest of social justice and peace, the social communications secretary, Father Oskar Wermter, has said.

Father Wermter told the *Zimbabwe News* that the Catholics appreciate educating stu-

dents on how the government and economy function as this is important in understanding the role of social development.

On consultation between his sect and the government in teaching socialism, he said, "An agreement has been reached between the catholic bishops and the Ministry of

Primary and Secondary Education and we have appointed one representative from our committee to work with the ministry in drawing a suitable syllabus for political economy".

He added that the staff of the Roman Catholic Church, drawn from different departments, discussed at length the proposed



government policy of introducing political economy in all schools of Zimbabwe.

During the discussions, Father Wermter indicated that a headmaster from one of their schools had told them that he does not mind teaching the subject as it has contributed to some positive political and economic developments in different countries worldwide.

"An educated person must know what socialism is all about. Many people talk of socialism but they mean different things", added Father Wermter.

#### Shortcomings

Although he appreciates the teaching of political economy in schools, he was quick to point out that it is not the only socio-political theory and it has its shortcomings as well. "History has taught us that socialism has its shortcomings and while we teach its theories in schools, students must know certain criticisms levelled against it", he said.

The Roman Catholic communications secretary reiterated that their church is concerned with moral and social justice.

In executing its policies they consider whether the proposed political ideologies are morally sound and whether they are being observed. In this regard, the communications secretary explained that it is imperative for them to teach Marxist-Leninist philosophy from a Christian point of view taking those elements which promote social justice and harmony.

#### Socialism and Capitalism

On his attitude towards capitalism, Father Wermter said with confidence, "The church has been criticising both socialism and



**Father Oskar Wermter, the church's social communications secretary**

capitalism where they feel these did not promote social justice and peace." He said it is necessary to urge students to look at these ideological issues critically because they have some important bearing on society.

He expressed optimism on the government of Zimbabwe because the President, Comrade Robert Mugabe, assured Christians that socialism in Zimbabwe does not mean an atheist attitude but a stance which takes into account the realities prevailing in the country.

Talking about what socialism has meant for other countries he said some Marxist governments have suppressed churches.

"We have always felt that Christians should not be persecuted. If there was no atheist link with socialism generally, then our relationship with the countries that follow this ideology would have been much better over the years", emphasised Father Wermter.

#### First Syllabus

Father Wermter pointed out that his church had objected to the first draft syllabus of political economy because it was very difficult and too theoretical. Its content was suitable for undergraduates. In their objection the Ministry of Education had expressed the sentiments and views that their stand was justified and it was scrapped.

On whether his church makes consultations with other denominations he said, "We always make consultations with other churches on these matters. Christians should work together and speak with one voice."

On the subject of drawing a political economy syllabus, he said different churches have representatives who work with the ministry of education.

Father Wermter's position came three weeks after the Salvation Army church welcomed the teaching of socialism as long as the students are not taught that there is no God.

On the forthcoming general elections, Father Wermter appealed to all political parties and their supporters to exercise maximum restraint from violence. □



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# Mutasa Opens PAC Consultative Meeting

A consultative meeting between the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and 24 delegates from inside Azania (South Africa), representing trade unions, lawyers, students, youths, women, the church and the media, was held in Harare, Zimbabwe last November. This first formal consultative meeting was facilitated by the Cold Comfort Farm Trust.

The meeting was formally opened by the Honourable Comrade Didymus Mutasa, the then Secretary for External Affairs of Zanu PF, Speaker of the House of Assembly and Chairman of the Cold Comfort Farm Trust. He reaffirmed ZANU PF — PAC solidarity and expressed confidence that victory in Azania was in sight. He urged the people of Azania to unite and wage resolute struggles on all fronts.

The formal opening session, attended by Zimbabwe Government officials, the Diplomatic corps and invited guests then heard a keynote address by Comrade Johnson Mlambo, Chairman of the PAC. In his address he traced PAC's pioneering role in the legitimate struggles of the Azanian people for national liberation and self-determination. He said the people were waging the struggle on the following principles:

- 1) Apartheid cannot be reformed, it must be totally eradicated;
- 2) The vehicle for genuine change can never be the illegal minority racist regime but rather the oppressed majority. Therefore, the primary task must be to increase the fighting capacity of the people;
- 3) All forms of struggle must be encouraged and supported;
- 4) Internationally, the regime must be isolated and the call for comprehensive sanctions intensified. However, international actions must be regarded as a complementary factor... the decisive factor must be the internal factor;
- 5) The introduction of the East-West conflict in our struggle must be strongly resisted;

These principles have received wide support both internally and internationally.

## "Negotiations"

On the current "negotiations" Comrade Mlambo emphasised that as of now there existed no basis for genuine negotiations. The minority racist regime had not pronounced itself on the five pillars of apartheid, namely:

- 1) The population registration Act;
- 2) The 1913 and 1936 Land Acts on which is based the Group Areas Act;
- 3) The Bantu Education Act;
- 4) The tricameral parliament system;
- 5) The Bantustans.

The above five political pillars of apartheid are non-negotiable and must go!

Comrade Mlambo welcomed the participants and expressed confidence that the consultations would prove extremely useful.

Comrade Dikgang Moseneke spoke on behalf of the delegates from the home front. He informed the meeting about the growth of Africanism and the structures already established and those that will be launched shortly. He said that the Pan Africanist Movement (PAM) would soon be formally launched to co-ordinate and promote the Africanist cause. He stressed that the people inside Azania were also convinced that the racist regime was not ready for serious negotiations.

The consultative meeting then went into closed sessions to discuss the roles of church, lawyers, labour unions, students' and youth organisations, women, journalists and researchers and their contribution to the struggle for liberation. The discussions were wide-ranging and profound.

The exchanges were conducted in a democratic atmosphere with the sole purpose of defining the common enemy and the most effective strategy to eradicate apartheid and its attendant evils of dispossession, oppression and exploitation and to usher in a new genuinely democratic, non-racial and united Azania.

## The Struggle

The participants agreed that the struggle was for national liberation and self-determination. To achieve this objective, the participants emphasised the need for the intensification of the struggle on all fronts.



Comrade Didymus Mutasa

The launching of the Pan Africanist Movement on December 1-3, 1989 inside Azania was warmly welcomed by the participants. The PAC pledged to fully co-operate with the independent PAM.

The participants were unanimous in their call for principled unity of all those having a contradiction with the racist minority regime. Sectarianism and diversive were deplored. They agreed to campaign vigorously to end sectarianism such as those practised by the Kagiso Trust and other internationally-funded institutions in South Africa.

The participants endorsed the PAC's position that, as of now, there exists no basis for genuine negotiations. They unanimously maintained that only a one-person one-vote elections to a single non-racial chamber can lead to a genuine non-racial democratic society.

The internal and external participants expressed profound gratitude to the Cold Comfort Farm Trust and to the Government and people of Zimbabwe for making this important and historic meeting possible and the warm hospitality extended. □

## Speech by PAC Chairman, Johnson P. Mlambo at the Organisation's Consultative Meeting

At the very outset allow me to most sincerely thank Comrade Mutasa and the Cold Comfort Farm Trust for making this important consultative meeting possible. This meeting has brought together the leadership of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and the important grassroot leaders, organisers and activists in the fields of trade unions, the legal profession, youth, students, women's activities and the church. The delegation from apartheid South Africa also includes prominent journalists and a research-

er. Over the next three days, in a democratic spirit and atmosphere, we shall consult each other regarding the current developments inside apartheid South Africa, in the region and internationally.

We are confident that this and future consultative meetings will not merely lament on the evils of apartheid — a fact now universally acknowledged — but consciously examine appropriate and effective measures to eliminate the universally condemned policies



and practices of the racist minority in apartheid South Africa. Although total eradication of the evil system is the immediate priority, we will also seriously examine what kind of system and policies will usher in and guide the new, genuinely, democratic, non-racial and united Azania.

Therefore, Comrade Mutasa, by facilitating this important and timely meeting, you and the Cold Comfort Farm Trust, have made a significant contribution towards eliminating apartheid and thereby heralding the total liberation of the African Continent from centuries of colonial domination.

#### Principal Method

Comrade Chairman, allow me now to share some thoughts with this opening public session about how the PAC views recent developments. All objective political analysts and historians acknowledge that the turning point was, policy-wise, the adoption of the 1949 Programme of Action and, action-wise, the March 21, 1960 Positive Action Campaign against the pass laws called for and led by the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and which culminated in the Sharpeville massacre.

That campaign decisively ended non-violent protest as the principal method of struggle and ushered in the era of serious and effective challenge to racist domination and exploitation. In the face of concrete conditions, the oppressed and dispossessed majority correctly decided to resort to armed resistance to realise their noble objective of national liberation and their inalienable right of self-determination. Another significant result of that campaign was that it led to our people losing the fear of the enemy's prisons.

That campaign, precisely because it challenged the status quo, terrified the illegal minority racist regime. Three years after the Sharpeville Massacre, the regime openly displayed its mortal fear of the man who spearheaded the challenge campaign, the Founding President of the PAC, Comrade Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, by passing, in an all-white parliament, a special Act which came to be known as the Sobukwe Clause. Under this clause, the racist regime continued to detain President Sobukwe after he had served his sentence.

The next major uprising in apartheid South Africa was the June 16, 1976 uprising, popularly known as the Soweto uprising. The only organisation to be formally charged for the Soweto uprisings was the PAC present President Comrade Zephania Mothopeng. He was accused number one in the political trial to be held in total secrecy in South Africa. He was sentenced to 30 years for what the racist Judge described as "organising and predicting" the June 16 national uprisings. This milestone uprising resulted in our people losing the fear of the enemy's guns.

With the oppressed and dispossessed majority no longer fearing the enemy's prisons and guns, and determined to resolutely challenge the illegal minority racist regime, the PAC, as the custodian of the genuine aspirations of the Azanian masses, declared the 1980s as the Decade of the Azanian Revolution. No objective observer can deny the fact that during the 1980s the revolutionary



**Comrade Johnson Mlambo, the PAC Chairman**

struggles of the oppressed majority significantly increased on all fronts including the armed struggle.

#### Decisive Decade

Hence we shall soon be entering the last and decisive decade shortly with the illegal minority racist regime wallowing in a political quagmire, an unprecedented economic crisis and foreign debts, and the myth of its so-called military invincibility exposed. On the other hand the oppressed and dispossessed people are better organised, their fighting capacity considerably increased and their resolve to be free in their lifetime further strengthened. The armed struggle by the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA), the military wing of the PAC, has been successfully internalised and qualitatively developed.

Internationally, the racist regime has been isolated politically and our call for sanctions heeded. Today, the principle of sanctions has been accepted and consequently, voluntary and selective sanctions, which are currently applied are hurting the racist regime. Regrettably, the legitimate demand for comprehensive mandatory sanctions, the most effective and peaceful international action to speedily end racist domination, has been thus far frustrated by the United Kingdom, the United States of America, the Federal Republic of Germany and a few others. Their frustrating actions will not assist in perpetuating the universally-condemned apartheid system. However, it does call to question their seriousness about wanting to see the conflict in apartheid South Africa resolved relatively peacefully. We strongly urge them to reconsider their negative attitude towards the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions.

We are compelled also to single out and strongly condemn the Federal Republic of Germany and Zionist Israel. The FRG is now South Africa's principal trading partner, overtaking Japan. The United States, considered by many as Zionist Israel's Godfather, recently confirmed extensive nuclear and military

co-operation between Tel Aviv and Pretoria. Such weapons in the hands of known and acknowledged racists undoubtedly poses a grave threat to international peace and security.

The PAC, in consultation with the mass and vocational organisations inside South Africa, evolved the following five principles as a guide and rallying point of our legitimate struggle for national liberation and self-determination:-

- 1) Apartheid cannot be reformed, it must be totally and completely eradicated;
- 2) The vehicle for genuine change can never be the regime, but rather the oppressed and dispossessed majority. Therefore, the primary task is to intensify the fighting capacity of the people ideologically, organisationally and militarily;
- 3) All forms of struggles must be encouraged and supported with the armed struggle as the principal form of struggle;
- 4) Internationally, the racist regime must be isolated and the call for comprehensive mandatory sanctions intensified. However, we must regard international action as a complementary factor ... the decisive factor being the internal factor.
- 5) The introduction of the East-West conflict into the legitimate struggle for national liberation and self-determination must be strongly resisted.

#### Rejects

These principles have and continue to enjoy wide acceptance and support inside and outside apartheid South Africa. The PAC, from its inception, rejected both racism and multi-racialism and was the first to opt for and practise genuine non-racialism. Our inaugural conference in 1959 declared PAC's belief in one race — the human race and called for the constitutional guarantee of individual rights.

Comrade Chairman and distinguished Representatives, allow me now to briefly dwell on a current political topic regarding developments in South Africa, namely negotiations. At the outset allow me to put, on behalf of the PAC, the issue in its proper context and perspective. It is acknowledged by all that as of now there does not exist a conducive climate for negotiations. Hence the call by the international community that the racist regime must undertake certain steps which could lead to the creation of a conducive climate. These steps are the unconditional release of all political prisoners and detainees; the unconditional lifting of the ban on the PAC, ANC and other organisations; the ending of the state of emergency; the withdrawal of racist troops from the townships and the return of political exiles. These, it will be observed, merely reflect a call on the regime to withdraw its reaction to the legitimate struggle of the Azanian people. They do not address the pillars of apartheid.

In the candid opinion of the PAC there are five political pillars of apartheid which must go if there is to exist a conducive climate for

*continued on page 23*



# Youth Advisory Services Fights Against Youth Social Ills

The Youth Advisory Services Unit (YAS), an arm of the Zimbabwe National Family Planning Council (ZNFC), has intensified its campaign against illegal abortions, unwanted pregnancies, drug abuse, high rate of alcoholism among the youth and the general belief that sex education is taboo.

The unit, which was launched with only three youth advisers based in Harare, aims

at curing prevalent social ills. Today the number of advisers has increased to 32. This expansion has greatly enhanced its position in dealing with social issues affecting the youths.

The Youth advisers are working flat out to cover as many youths as possible. Advisers of the YAS were once the personnel of the Family Unit Sexuality Education Programme (FUSEP) and they counsel youths in schools, out of schools and parents on sex related matters.

"It is against this background that the Youth Advisory Services Unit is leaving no stone unturned in a bid to curb sexual problems faced by youths in Zimbabwe", said Comrade Brown Nkomo, the Acting Chief of Youth Advisory Services in an interview with this magazine recently.

Comrade Nkomo said the Zimbabwe National Family Planning Council believes that parents are the primary sex educators and with this in mind, it has introduced a programme to teach parents and dispell the myths and misconceptions often passed on to children.

He pointed out that unwanted pregnancies have led to baby dumping with some of the young mothers left with permanent physical impairments or their infants dying.

With the high risk of sexually transmitted diseases, alcoholism and drug abuse, there is need for every caring citizen to be concerned about the plight of our youths.

In 1987, the ZNFPC launched the parents education programme which is aimed at improving communication between parents and their adolescent children in terms of human sexuality.

The Youth Advisory Services Unit covers the entire country. "In the rural areas the YAS has gone through the local leadership to address parents and out of school youths and the response has been positive", explained Comrade Nkomo.

Like other organisations, YAS has not escaped from the economic and social predicaments in implementing its programme. The main problems faced by this organisation are the shortage of manpower, transport and education facilities.

## Objectives

1. To give youths factual information and decision making skills to enable them to make informed decisions about sexual and other issues that affect their lives.
2. It is hoped that through population education the youths will be urged to cultivate a responsible attitude towards population issues. This is aimed to reduce Zimbabwe's population growth rate in the long term.
3. To improve communication between adolescent youths and parents.

4. To provide young people with the knowledge and communication skills needed to promote healthy attitudes and behaviour so that they can become responsible citizens.

## Interrelationships with other Organisations

The ZNFPC works with the following ministries and organisations: the Ministries of Health, Education, Youth, Sport and Culture, Labour, Manpower Planning and Social Welfare, Co-operative and Community Development, church organisations and many youth organisations.

Comrade Nkomo indicated that each of the above mentioned ministries and organisations are involved to a certain extent with the youth.

"It is only through collaborative efforts that the problems faced by youths today may be alleviated", added Comrade Nkomo.

An indication that the country's youth are making a positive response to the organisation's programme is the frequenting of YAS offices and the sole youth centre in Harare for counselling. Numerous letters are received asking for advice.

Even though many youths write to the YAS, Comrade Nkomo explained that these letters do not simply need replies but a number of individuals require counselling as well.

## Awareness Programme

In the light of Zimbabwe's increasing population, new centres are urgently needed to address the problems of youths.

Wide ranging activities are conducted in the implementation of the awareness campaign on youth sexual education. A flip chart and a booklet called, "Facts about Growing Up" — a teaching manual on family life and human sexuality, have been published.

Some awareness campaigns are in the form of songs in English, Shona and Ndebele. However, the YAS still feels that there is a lot to be done.

"We hope to solicit for more funds to print more posters, pamphlets and booklets so that besides educating the youths only, the books will be read by adults as well. A campaign will be launched in the near future using posters, pamphlets and by holding workshops", he said.

It is anticipated that these activities will help parents to better educate their children about sex, so as to minimise some prevailing social immoralities.

As the Acting Chief of Youth Advisory Services Unit noted, the ZNFPC believes that children with access to enlightened programmes such as those offered by YAS run less risks of unwanted pregnancies, abortions, STD's and baby dumping and that they will develop mature attitudes towards their sex. □

from page 22

genuine negotiations. Moreover, these five political pillars of apartheid are non-negotiable. They are:

- 1) The Population Registration Act;
- 2) The 1913 and 1936 Land Acts on which is based the Group Areas Act;
- 3) The so-called Bantu Education Act;
- 4) The Tricameral parliament system;
- 5) The so-called Bantustans.

Comrade Chairman, one may then ask — what is it that must be negotiated? The categorical answer is — a new non racial and democratic constitution. It is the declared demand of the PAC of Azania that the new constitution must be based on a one person one vote election to a single non-racial chamber in an unfragmented Azania. The constitution must guarantee individual rights in a Bill of Rights as opposed to group rights. Group privileges and prejudices have been the cornerstone of apartheid and, therefore must have no place in a new democratic and non-racial Azania.

The PAC, since its inception, was a grass-root organisation. It prepared and led the Azanian masses in a milestone and historic struggles. However, the regime and its apologists have waged a concerted campaign to distort its declared basic policies and even attempted to marginalise the PAC. The truth is that the PAC has remained an irresistible force. To confirm this, allow me to quote what Senator Fagan said in the all-white Parliament in April 1963 during the debate on the Sobukwe Clause: "Pan Africanism cannot be killed by one blow. Neither by a series of blows. If we put all the leaders behind bars others would take their place... if we relied entirely on force to fight Pan Africanism, it would be a fight without end. We might win the first round, there will be a second round. We might win the tenth round but there will be an eleventh. We are in a morass and we must support ourselves that we do not sink away".

The racist regime never recovered from the decisive blow the PAC landed on March 21, 1960. For the past three decades the struggle qualitatively and quantitatively progressed. We are now in the final and decisive round. □

Thank you.



# Bus Accidents Need Urgent Attention

By *Gandi Mudzingwa*

In a space of four months an 8.5 million peopled nation has been twice at mourning. In only two of its many road accidents in that year, over a hundred people perished. It is those fuel propelled lions once again, people seem to be saying. How long again does the nation have to wait before another such bus tragedy? This is the question one would ask. NO MAS!

Many have, through the press or otherwise, attributed the increase in the incident of bus accidents to such factors as the quality of tyres, overloading, overspeeding and fatigue. Many others still have called for increased policing of the country's roads as a way of checking this tendency.

Some have drawn attention to the plight of the victims and their dependants, whilst others still have called for creation of national disaster funds in aid of the victims of such calamity. What is the real solution to this problem? This small paper tries to establish the real cause of the current spate of bus involved road accidents and further tries to give a solution.

### Tyres

The country's sole tyre manufacturers supply tyres for the many and varied vehicles that use the country's roads. These range from the light motor cycles to the eighteen wheeled heavy duty trucks. Of the latter some take over 28 tonnes on one loading axle and unlike the country's long distance buses, often travel heavily laden more than 100 kilometres without recess at speeds in excess of 80 kilometres per hour. Yet if the information in the press should be anything to go by, the problem of front tyre burst and

indeed that of tyre bursts has of late been characteristic of long distance buses alone.

Therefore, if it should be true that the quality of tyres supplied by the manufacturers have become questionable then a clear case of sabotage against long distance bus operators, who are predominantly black, can be established. However, such sabotage or discrimination does not exist as it could have been reflected in the manufacturer's system of distribution.

Perhaps if a case can be established in the system of the individual forex allocation for the purchase of spares and kits then can a case be established against the quality of tyres supplied by the local manufacturer, for such a system may be discriminating against long distance bus operators.

Further investigations, however, seem to point to the cost of tyres and their current scarcity rather than their quality as a lead to the problem of tyre bursts.

In a bid to keep their profit generating machines on the income run whilst at the same time minimising costs many a bus proprietor has braved costs and the current shortage of tyres by resorting to dangerous improvisations. Such improvisation includes the fitting of wrong size tyres, worn out tyres and retreads in front wheels. The tyre manufacturer tale is a myth deliberately manufactured to cover up for what is really going on.

### Overloading

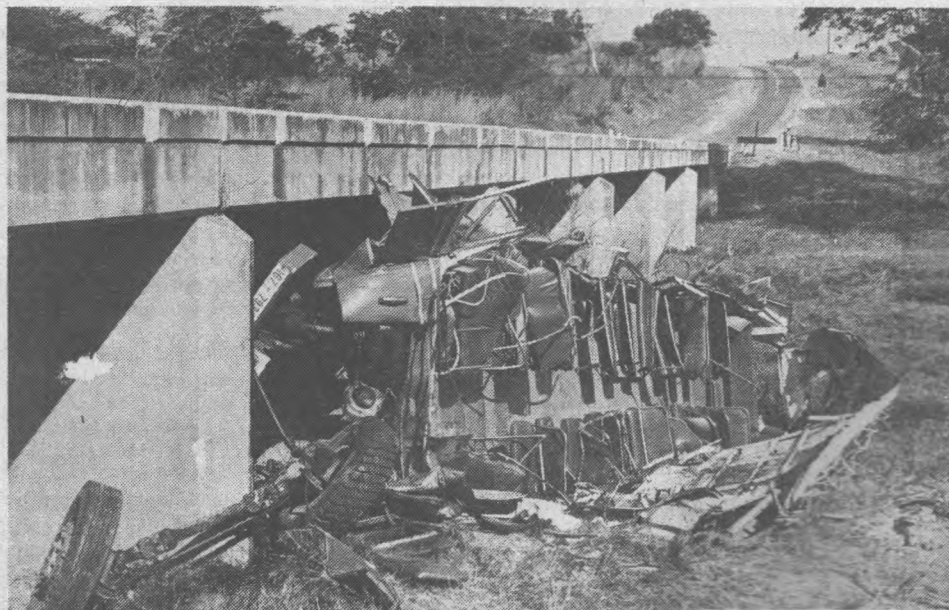
Overloading is the excess of a technically approved road safety maximum loading capacity. In buses, however, it is not only the

weight that determines the maximum loading capacity. Often other parameters are used. In long distance buses the human being itself as the weight load is considered. The ability of the body to withstand a certain measure of time in or under defined condition is taken into consideration.

One can not dispute the existence of overloading on the country's long distance buses. One can only add that the increased commercial inclined activities and the increased general level of incomes generally would increase the load that has to be ferried on these buses. This is partly indicative of the pattern of the country's distribution outlets and partly of the structures of the country's transport system.

Further, overloading is indicative of the demand for passenger transport outstripping the supply for it. A strongly decisive factor in the organisation of passenger transport supply is the periodicity of the demand. In the urban areas, on week days the demand for transport is felt most at peak hours when the working commuters have to get to their respective work places or back to their respective homes in a space of two hours, or less. However, in an atmosphere where market forces are the beacon to rationality, it is said that, if the supply is equal or more than the demand then through competition such factors as periodicity of the demand will be effectively catered for.

The peculiarity of long distance bus transport demand and supply is in the existence of a possible supply in the above regulation carrying capacity. Where demand is greater than the supply a willing accomplice in contravening standing carrying capacity regu-



One of Zimbabwe's worst bus disasters



## Apology

We Apologise for the error in our January issue, page 9, on the article: "Central Committee and Politburo of ZANU PF Announced".

The error is in the first column, 3rd paragraph which reads: "The Committee members are Comrade Thenjiwe Lesabe, Comrade Bernard Chidzero, Comrade Richard Hove and Comrade Nolan Makombe. However, these Committee members are only members of the Central Committee and not the Politburo".

The correct statement is that these Committee Members are members of the Politburo.

lation is to be found in the stranded travelling public. This is on the one hand. On the other hand it makes the provider of the above regulation service seem to be carrying out a noble national obligation, (standing, squatting or otherwise).

Such a state of affairs serves to effectively remove social control on overloading replacing it with support for it. Further still it leads to the deterioration of standards of the services being so offered, as the competition is momentarily or otherwise stifled. The most effective way of removing over-loading lies therefore in equating supply to its demand. As regards baggage more goods transport must be made accessible to the rural folk.

### Overspeeding

Speed limits are a stipulated technically approved maximum safety speed on a strip of road. They are six functions of a number of factors. These include carrying capacity, the nature of the load, technical parameters of the vehicle, traffic population on a strip of road, the quality of the road in use and liability therefore to human control. Overspeeding is therefore exceeding stipulated limits on a strip of road.

By Zimbabwean highway speed limits, traffic on the European highways is generally overspeeding. It is hard, however, to believe that 100km/h can be overspeeding on the country's best maintained roads.

There exists what one would call technical controls on speeding. One such control is injector-value governing, the effect of which is the reduction of the maximum speed a vehicle so governed can attain on a normal gradient. It is, however, the slopes of the country's rugged terrain that pose the problem therefore making governing much ineffective.

Often drivers try to take advantage of downward slopes, which in many cases precede upward slopes, to gather momentum to take up the immediate climb at better speeds as their vehicles may have more of traction power than speed on the uphill. Governing can pose its own problems too. One such problem is traffic congestion. In some countries on certain roads there are minimum speed limits.

Time-tables are another way of controlling the speed of buses. A bus is given time limits between two points which are not very far apart. A bus crew which has started off late at point "a" may have to speed up to catch the time at "b". Timetables as can be seen therefore need a lot of policing if they are to be effective. However, given the current state of affairs in the country and the volume of work that it places on the country's small police force this can not be done. Let alone that the police force itself is seriously suffering from the lack of adequate facilities.

A contributory factor to overspeeding can be destructive competition. Yes, bus crews may between themselves race to please their clients, getting them to respective destinations on time? Of course anyone who has travelled on these buses may tend to disagree with such a contention. Indeed he would be right.

These buses often race from Harare to Dema or say Chegutu or indeed any of the intermediate destinations where they recess for over thirty minutes without regard for the competitor. The question is, why do long distance buses recess so long at intermediate points? Its not easy to say. However, it is a matter that can be best understood when we look at fatigue.

### Fatigue

Fatigue is a state of body best described through its metabolic-physiological interchange. It connotes a mental and physical state of a body brought about by the disharmony of the above in the process of working. The effects of fatigue are among others, the lack of maximum possible control of one's actions. Stimulants can often help to prop up the so lost in the process body abilities. However the degree of this rejuvenation is the question. A body so fatigued may regain its normal functions once again through physical and mental rest. (the natural way)

A sad state of affairs prevails in the rural bus transport system of the country. Bus crews are working an average 15 hours a day with or without rest on their respective off days. During peak periods often rural bus crews work between 18 and 22 hours a day. The immediate result of all this has been a search for stimulants to restore the body's control abilities on the part of the bus crews.

The social consequences have been among other things the cigarette, the bottle, rampant immorality and of course crude disposition towards the travelling public by the same bus crews. Further, bus crews during such peak periods do not even have enough time to prepare themselves meals at the final destination of their respective routes. This forces them to make stops

wherever they can for a meal. But the tired mind needs all the blood supply it can get in order to maximise concentration.

However, when the way dinner hits the bowls the uncontrolled reaction of augmented blood supply to the abdomen starts causing a diminished supply of blood to the head and the diminished concentration follows.

The unemployment plaque has made the bargaining position of the individual workers the more vulnerable, whilst the current duality of the same worker militates against his own organisation. The apparent shortage of transport at peak periods and its mal-organisation make the bus owners dictators over the stranded travelling public.

It is here that the question has to be asked, "WHAT HAS A CREW THAT IS ON A PERMANENTLY CONSTANT SALARY TO GAIN BY OVERLOADING AND OVERSPEEDING?" Mention must be made here that apart from a few bus companies only drivers get paid a part of their due legal wage for overtime worked. Conductors and Assistants get no compensation for the extra hours put in. The council for transport or whatever your name is, where are you?

### Road Safety

Rural passenger transport workers know no public holidays, no vacation leave nor the pay in lieu, no off days. The resultant fatigue is taking its revenge on society. Lamentably it is doing so on the wrong part of that society as those who are causing it seldom or never use the service.

The task therefore lies in making those causing it bear the brunt of revenge. The aim of bus operators in, impliedly or directly, compelling their crews to work health detrimental hours and contravene road safety regulation lies in their pursuit for increments in their profit margins. NO MAS, in doing so they must put their profits at risk too. Only such would be a deterrent to national disasters on the ticket of the unscrupulous.

Legal provisions for checking excessive profit motivated accidents do exist in Zimbabwe. But that such provisions have not been very effective of late is no doubt indicative of procedural impediments. The time required, the energy, the financial resources and let alone the knowledge. Legal full compensation is the possible answer to the current spate of profit motivated accidents.

However, the procedure must be changed from the victim optional to mandatory making the Government of the people responsible for instituting legal proceedings for compensation.

Only such compensation would make the owners of passenger transport exercise caution. Understandably this would be a stop gap measure but an effective one pending the eventual overcome of the transport blues in the country.

Funds for national disasters are not adequate to make victims of such disasters self sustaining. The victims of such accidents often end up a further burden on the already strained fund for social welfare.



## Mixed Ability Grouping, A Motivation to Students

By Ben Chisvo

When at school, students should be considered as different individuals, in the same way they are considered at home or in life. In essence there are no two similar students/people. Therefore, at school, for every student to understand everything, he needs his/her own teacher. No country in this world, can afford that.

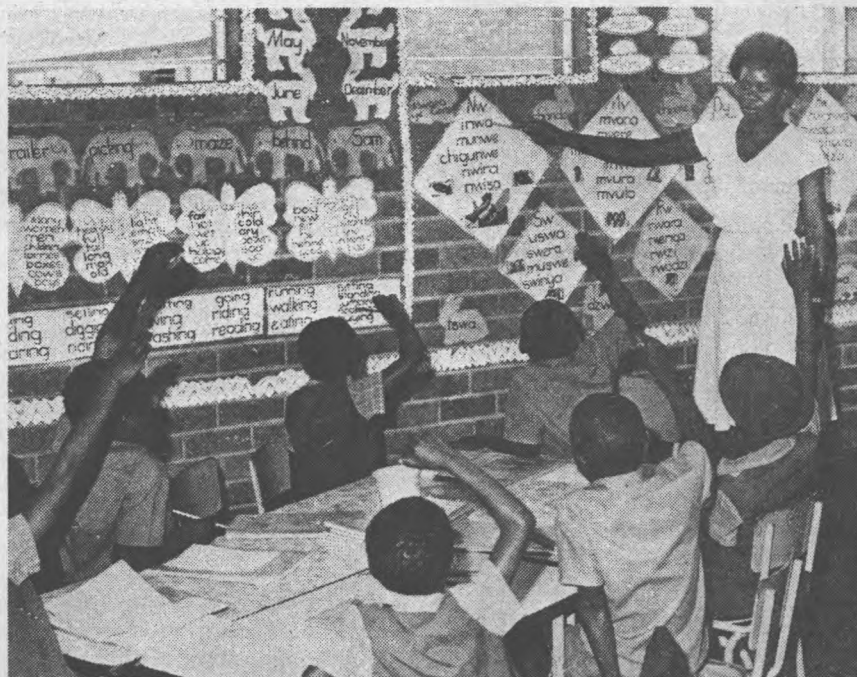
Consequently when students are at school, in classrooms, they may be grouped in small groups. So that the teacher ensures that everyone participates in the learning process and that everyone is given at least, the minimum teacher's minimum attention he needs. These small groups can be brought about by streaming the students (that is putting them in groups according to their abilities).

Each year, then it will be imperative to exchange teachers, so that there is a good relationship among the teaching staff and also that students learn more from different and "new" teachers. However, it is not advisable to group students or trainees according to their abilities, when they are starting any given course for they will discover that they are classified as *bad* and *good* learners. Subsequently demotivating the "bad" and motivating the "good". This is more distinct when trainees are on an on-the-job training, and can retard their progress.

It is wise, I think to define what on-the-job training is, and relate it with the mixed ability grouping, so that we discuss the effects of that learning organisation.

When a person is on an apprenticeship, he is in essence being trained a certain aspect of a job, at that particular job's workplace, and doing the required job. The apprentice will be learning a certain craft from the training. The craft would be as a result of the skills and knowledge of an experienced person, which he would have passed to a novice. In addition to the admission of knowledge and skill, the master undertakes a supervision of the moral and public relations of the trainee or apprentice. However this apprenticeship or on-the-job training can be done even if one is already qualified as a certain craftsman. But if he has to modify a certain aspect of his job he can undergo on-the-job training.

Using mixed ability groups during on-the-job training, in my opinion is more sensible and productive because personality problems are minimised or completely eradicated. Let's explore the issue of personality. Temperament and character are the main attributes/components of personality. Trainees behave differently under the same situation



Primary school children in one of their class sessions

because they have different temperaments. Temperament is a person's nature which affects his way of thinking, feeling and behaving. Our temperamental qualities are inherited from our parents, and our environment stimulates them. The result is our personalities. Hence in any learning situation (for any large group) there are 3 different groups described below:

### 'The Easy Group'

#### 1. 'The Easy Group'

The qualities of this group include:

- (a) Regular bodily functions. They eat, sleep and excrete at regular intervals.
- (b) They are adaptable. They are friendly and sociable when they see new faces or are placed in new circumstances. Their responses to stimuli are those expected by their society.

#### 2. 'The Difficult Group'

- (a) These trainees have irregular bodily functions — they eat, sleep and excrete in an unpredictable manner.
- (b) They are unfriendly to new people and dislike new situations, that is anything different from the usual routine.
- (c) They over-react to stimuli. For example, a hug by a stranger cause loud cries.
- (d) They have a negative mood, that is they never seem happy with anything.

#### 3. 'The slow-to-war-up Group'

- (a) They have low activity and adaptability

levels. They spend most of the time asleep and can not get used to a bath at the same time and temperature, until after a long time.

- (b) They keep to themselves when confronted by new people and new situations.
- (c) They respond mildly to stimuli such as heat, cold or hugging.
- (d) They are not very cheerful.

Character refers to traits such as honesty, self-control, persistence and a sense of justice. We define these qualities as socially acceptable. If a person is dishonest, rude and cruel we say, his character is socially unacceptable. Character, includes the development of values and attitudes. We can also use a person's character to define his attitude towards other people, and our attitude towards him. The summary on Personality is that the development of personality is influenced by:

- (a) Biological inheritance or temperament
- (b) The person's physical environment
- (c) Culture
- (d) Group (Peer) experience
- (e) Unique experience

To a certain extent, the above five factors affecting personality, also affect performances at school and on-the-job training.

For a mixed ability group during on-the-job training to be useful, the trainer has to





**Although pupils learn in different groups, they always come together at the end of the day**

be careful to group them also according to their age and intelligence, and should not group the bad characters and good characters separately. This should be planned by the trainer on paper, before hand. A very able trainee should be the group leader, (if he is needed). But each group should have a mixture of better trainees and weaker ones. If possible each group should have a fast and efficient trainee, to instil that concept or skill in almost all of them. Trainees who do not work well together should be "broken up". This also requires experience and good discipline, on the part of the trainers.

Mixed groups during school and on-the-job training, help mould better working relationship and individual, because if trainees are grouped in ability groups they form strong peer groups. That retards progress, because there will be three peer groups formed:-

- (i) the rapid learners
- (ii) slow learners
- (iii) average learners

The rapid learners will realise it and become proud, demotivating the other two groups in the training/learning process. The slow learners will realise their academic, cultural, emotional and physical failure.

Briefly defined as the total failure to reach the required same materials standard. So they cover this up, by being introverted, reserved or withdrawn, and conversely idlers and difficult to control. In the end no production or work is done. Almost everyone will be afraid of them. They will in the end, be reinforcing each other's own belief in their "uselessness" but a success or trust can counteract these feelings. They unconsciously think that if one of their member is trusted, or is successful, then maybe they could be too.

Therefore mixed ability groups reduce all this peer group problems. It is difficult to to-

tally eradicate it, because people enter different peer groups with different influences. It also greatly reduces the following major problem of working interaction — Defence mechanisms especially found during school days and on-the-job training (especially attached to a training school):

#### **Defence Mechanisms**

Defence mechanisms are a shield against intolerable animalistic tendencies of human beings brought into conflict with the conscience the individual has acquired from the society. Some of the defense mechanisms include:-

#### **Compensation**

In compensation we replace one way of expressing a motive by another. For example, an unattractive woman may work hard at her workplace because she is unable to get a boyfriend or a man may emphasize extramural activities because he finds his class work difficult.

#### **Identification**

Some trainees regard themselves as other people admired by the general public. This is called identification. Students or trainees often identify themselves with such people as the member of parliament or "Mukadota" or "chef".

#### **Regression**

Regression occurs when a trainee uses behaviour more characteristic of an earlier stage in his life.

Characteristics such as scolding or swearing without elaborating. As younger people have been able to get what they wanted by scolding or swearing sometime in their life, as they get older on the job they regress into this earlier tactic.

#### **Sublimation**

If an earlier desire is not fulfilled, trainees redirect their efforts into similar activities of a lower calibre. For example, when a student who wanted to become a doctor was unsuccessful, he may join other related fields such as nursing, pharmacy, physiotherapy or medical social work.

#### **Projection**

Projection is a tendency of projecting one's faults or wishes into others. For example, a girl say that a woman being watched by men, more as a wishful thought than reality. Trainees working next to each other during on-the-job-training often accuse one another of starting a quarrel.

#### **Rationalization**

Rationalization is an attempt to find excuses for our failures. When we rationalize we normally deceive ourselves. This is popularly known as: "The sour grapes syndrome" For example, if a trainee is not fond of welding, he rationalizes that too much welding ruins his eyes. If a trainee is cowardly, he says he does not fight because he is a peaceful person.

#### **Repression**

Repression is a deliberate thrusting aside of the animalistic (sexual) forces which are striving for expression. The repressed drives remain as traces in the unconscious mind. They influence the actions of the trainee when similar unpleasant situations arise.

These methods of compensation occur as normal reactions. When they get out of proportion, anxiety, fears, obsessions and hysteria develop. The person develops neuroses (Mental problems). Neuroses are results of an inability to find ways of adjusting to life's problems. The problems which result affect mental and intellectual functioning. □



# The Plight of Domestic Workers

By Patrick Mundava

The issue of exploiting domestic workers is still an ongoing thing in our socio-economic environment although there has been a positive change.

Before independence, many domestic workers worked for just a place to sleep, a weekly packet of beans, dried fish popularly known as "bakayao", and a bucket of coarse mealie meal.

However, post-independence Zimbabwe saw the emergence of new domestic workers' bosses as equal opportunities for both black and white resulting in people like bank tellers, managers of different firms, Government and Party officials, civil servants and many others who could afford, employing domestic workers. But, how many of these employers are paying their domestic workers the stipulated salaries, and how many of them give their employees a bonus?

They must give their employees a form of remuneration as a gesture of the services rendered during a year.

Domestic workers are the third largest group in the country's labour force, following agriculture and manufacturing workers. But they are the most exploited, and the most common offenders in underpaying their domestic workers are black African employers.

## Groups

There are three groups of domestic workers. The first is the child or age minders, who must get a minimum of \$120 per month. These are followed by house keepers and cooks whose salaries stand at \$118 per

month, and the third group is of gardeners who must get a minimum of \$116 per month.

Their allowances are \$8,50 for accommodation, for those workers who do not reside at their places of employment, \$5,50 transport allowance, \$2,50 for lighting, and \$3,50 for fuel.

According to the Zimbabwe Domestic and Allied Workers Union which represents domestic and allied people in Zimbabwe, a lot of disputes arise from the payment of salaries and allowances, resulting in some workers being victimised.

The present Zimbabwean laws prohibit employers to penalise, threaten or fire employees who claim for an increase of income.

Some black employers employ disabled relatives whom they underpay claiming that they are helping them by giving a hand to the family.

There are others who take advantage of employing Mozambicans who are escaping from the ravages of war. A displaced Mozambican considers himself lucky if he finds a job, what he gets out of it is secondary. A well paid Mozambican in Zimbabwe is getting something around \$20 to \$30 per month.

## Innocent Young

There are others from Zimbabwean poor families who only work for food and shelter. To avoid paying the stipulated minimum wages, some black employers go for the young, less educated, rural born and bred candidates who are ignorant of the law, and who are at the same time desperate for money to buy clothes, food or even further their education.

Nobody is supposed to work for more than six hours without even a 30 minutes break, but very few employers if any allow their workers to go for a break.

Employers who cannot genuinely pay their employees should apply or enter into mutual

first of all be approved by the labour relations board.

Some white employers still have a master and servant mentality. They treat their dogs better than they treat their domestic employees. A case in point is of a Borrowdale domestic worker who was shot using a pellet gun by his employer's son, yet he and other domestic workers are not even covered by the Workers Compensation Act.

Many exploit and ill-treat their workers because the job market is flooded with thousands of the industrial reserve army which is roaming the streets and can accept anything for a start.


There are also some domestic workers who are lazy, dishonest, flirts, bad tempered, and cruel to the children they mind. Some bring their boyfriends into their employers bedrooms, and at times there are thefts, burglary or fights between rival lovers at the employers' premises. In society, there are good and bad people, this can not be a scapegoat to underpay an employee.

## Desperate

Some female domestic workers are unmarried mothers struggling to bring up a family on her own, or she is a wife of a husband who has a small or no income at all.

Some employers ban such people from switching on their radios to prevent them from hearing about changes in their incomes. There is also a discouragement of interaction with neighbouring domestics to avoid influences from outsiders.


With the ever escalating cost of living, domestic workers should also get a fair deal from their employers. They must be paid accordingly, and also consider giving them a bonus to enable them to buy clothes and Christmas gifts for them to enjoy the festive season just like any other worker in Zimbabwe and pay school fees for their children. □



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# Zimbabwe Gears for First Non-racial Polls

All is set for the forthcoming general election which will be Zimbabwe's first non-racial polls. The 100-member House of Assembly will now be combined with the 40-member Senate into a single chamber of 150 members.

Of these, 120 members will be popularly elected and the remaining 30 specially elected. The latter figure includes 10 chiefs, eight provincial governors and 12 others appointed by the President.

In the forthcoming general election, common roll voters will directly elect the Executive President for the first time in the history of this country. The constitution says that "the President shall be elected by voters registered on the common roll". Zimbabwe's first Executive President was elected in 1987 following the necessary constitutional changes.

## Voting Procedure

Meanwhile, the voting procedure for the general election has been outlined. National identity cards, passports with national identity card numbers, driver's licences with national identity card numbers and birth certificates will be some of the documents that will be used.

Each of the 120 constituencies will have 20 polling stations. These stations will be manned by an estimated 20 000 polling officers to be recruited for this general elec-

tion. They will be mainly school teachers and civil servants who were involved in the 1985 general election. The officers will be trained and assigned to their stations in time for the general election.

The five-member Electoral Supervisory Commission headed by Professor Walter Kamba will visit as many polling stations as possible to satisfy itself on the polling process. It will also supervise the election of Members of Parliament and later report to the President on whether the election had been free and fair.

In another development, 4 810 810 voters have registered for the country's third general election to be held on March 28 and 29 this year, the chairman of the Delimitation Commission, Judge President Justice Wilson Sandura has said. This number had been recorded by October 15, 1989 with each of the 120 constituencies having an average of 40 090 registered voters.

Manicaland, with 646 390 registered voters has 16 constituencies, Masvingo 656 851 and 16 constituencies, Midlands 654 569 and 16 constituencies and Matabeleland North with the same number of constituencies has 630 621 registered voters.

Other provinces are as follows: Mashonaland Central seven constituencies, 288 695 voters; Mashonaland East (including Harare) 1 123 295 voters, 28 consti-

ties; Mashonaland West 507 905, 13 constituencies; and Matabeleland South 302 464 voters and eight constituencies.

By October last year nearly 500 000 new voters had been registered with another 200 000 transfers being registered.

In yet another development, the Party, ZANU PF, has embarked on a pre-election drive to fully prepare itself for the general election. These preparations include the setting up of provincial election directorates headed by political commissars soon after the election of provincial executives.

The director of elections is Comrade Moven Mahachi, the Minister of Home Affairs and the Party's secretary for the Commissariat and Culture and deputised by Comrade Kotsho Dube.

At the time of going to press meetings were being held at various levels to map out strategies for the general election. Primary elections were in full swing. These elections gave the people an opportunity to choose for themselves election candidates. We will be publishing the results of the primary elections in our next issue before the general election.

The party has also adopted and registered the Great Zimbabwe Symbol for the March 1990 general election. The united party decided not to use either the cockerel (jongwe) of the old ZANU (PF) or the bull used by the then PF-ZAPU. □

## List of Members of the Central Committee February, 1990

At the recent historic national people's congress, a new Central Committee was elected. It consists of large numbers of men and women who were in the Central

Committee of the dissolved parties of PF-ZAPU and ZANU (PF). It also has a large number of new political cadres from the provinces

and the districts, new faces and new blood. The full list of the new Central Committee members is reproduced below:-

1. The President and First Secretary
2. The Vice President and Second Secretary
3. The Vice President and Second Secretary
4. The National Chairman
5. The Secretary for Administration
6. The Secretary for Finance
7. The Secretary for Commissariat
8. The Secretary for External Affairs
9. The Secretary for National Security
10. The Secretary for Information and Publicity
11. The Secretary for Transport and Welfare
12. The Secretary for Production and Labour
13. The Secretary for Women's Affairs
14. The Secretary for Youth Affairs
15. The Secretary for Economic Affairs
16. The Secretary for Legal Affairs
17. The Secretary for Education
18. The Secretary for Health

- H.E. Comrade R.G. Mugabe
- Comrade J.M. Nkomo
- Comrade S.V. Muzenda
- Comrade J.W. Msika
- Comrade D.N.E. Mutasa
- Comrade E.D. Mnangagwa
- Comrade M.E. Mahachi
- Comrade S.J. Nkomo
- Comrade S. Sekeramayi
- Comrade N.M. Shamuyarira
- Comrade W.H. Mabheba
- Comrade J.L. Nkomo
- Comrade Amai S. Mugabe
- E. Kadungure
- Comrade N.K. Ndlovu
- Comrade E.J.D. Zvobgo
- Comrade J.T.R. Mujuru
- Comrade H.S.M. Ushewokunze

- Manicaland
- Midlands
- Manicaland
- Matabeleland South
- Mashonaland East
- Mashonaland West
- Matabeleland North
- Matabeleland North
- Women's Affairs Harare Province
- Youth Affairs
- Matabeleland South
- Masvingo
- Mashonaland Central
- Harare



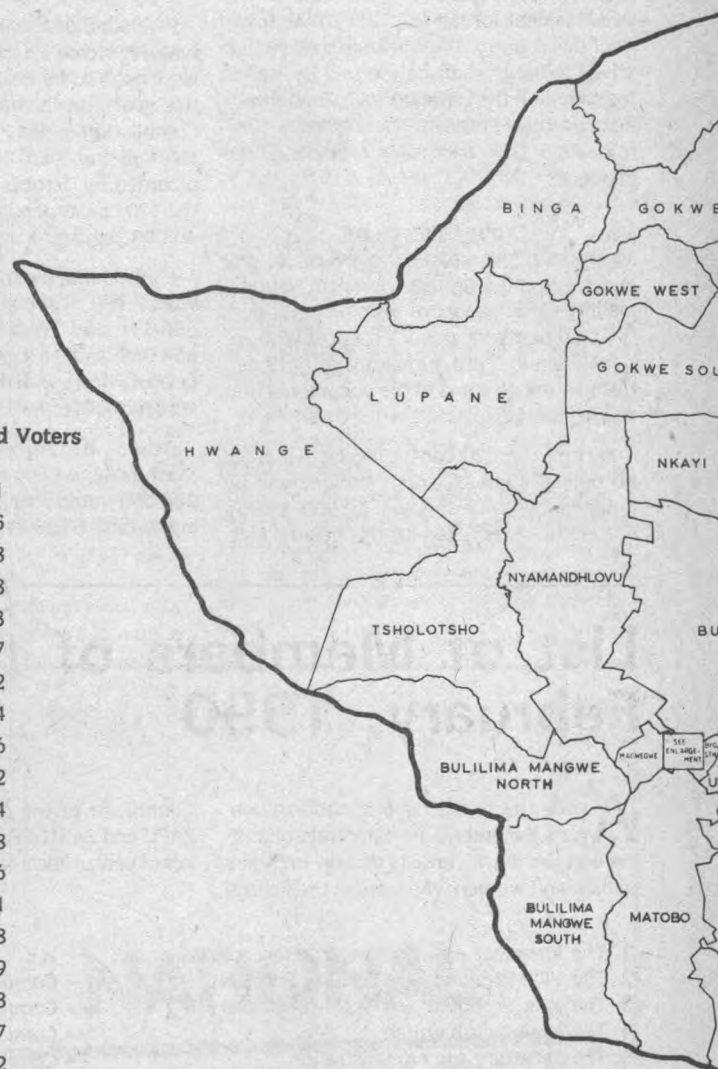
# ZIMBABWE BOUNDARIES

## Enlargement

### Mashonaland East Province

This is the largest province in the country and the total number of voters registered in the province up to the 15th October, 1989 was 1 123 295. The province includes the whole of Harare district. In determining how many constituencies were to be allocated to this province we divided the total number of registered voters in the province by the average number of voters per constituency i.e. 40 090. As already indicated in our introductory remarks and in the earlier chapters of this report, the average number of voters per constituency was established by dividing the total number of registered voters in the country, i.e. 4 810 810, by 120 constituencies. As a result of this mathematical calculation we allocated 28 constituencies to this province and accordingly divided it into twenty constituencies. Ten of these constituencies are rural and eighteen are in the urban centre of Harare. The constituencies and the number of registered voters in each of them are set out below.

Constituency	Number of Registered Voters
Chihota	42 751
Chinamhora	38 955
Chitungwiza	42 378
Dzivarasekwa	38 938
Glen View	43 303
Goromonzi	47 507
Harare Central	45 882
Harare East	40 294
Harare North	32 366
Harare South	41 592
Harare West	44 344
Highfield East	39 258
Highfield West	36 426
Hwedza	39 261
Kambuzuma	33 728
Mabvuku	43 139
Manyame	46 403
Marondera	35 467
Mbare East	34 542
Mbare West	36 108
Mudzi	33 460
Mufakose	36 808
Murehwa North	46 698
Murehwa South	44 632
Mutoko North	32 941
Mutoko South	37 761
St. Marys	45 395
Zengeza	42 958
<b>Total</b>	<b>1 123 295</b>



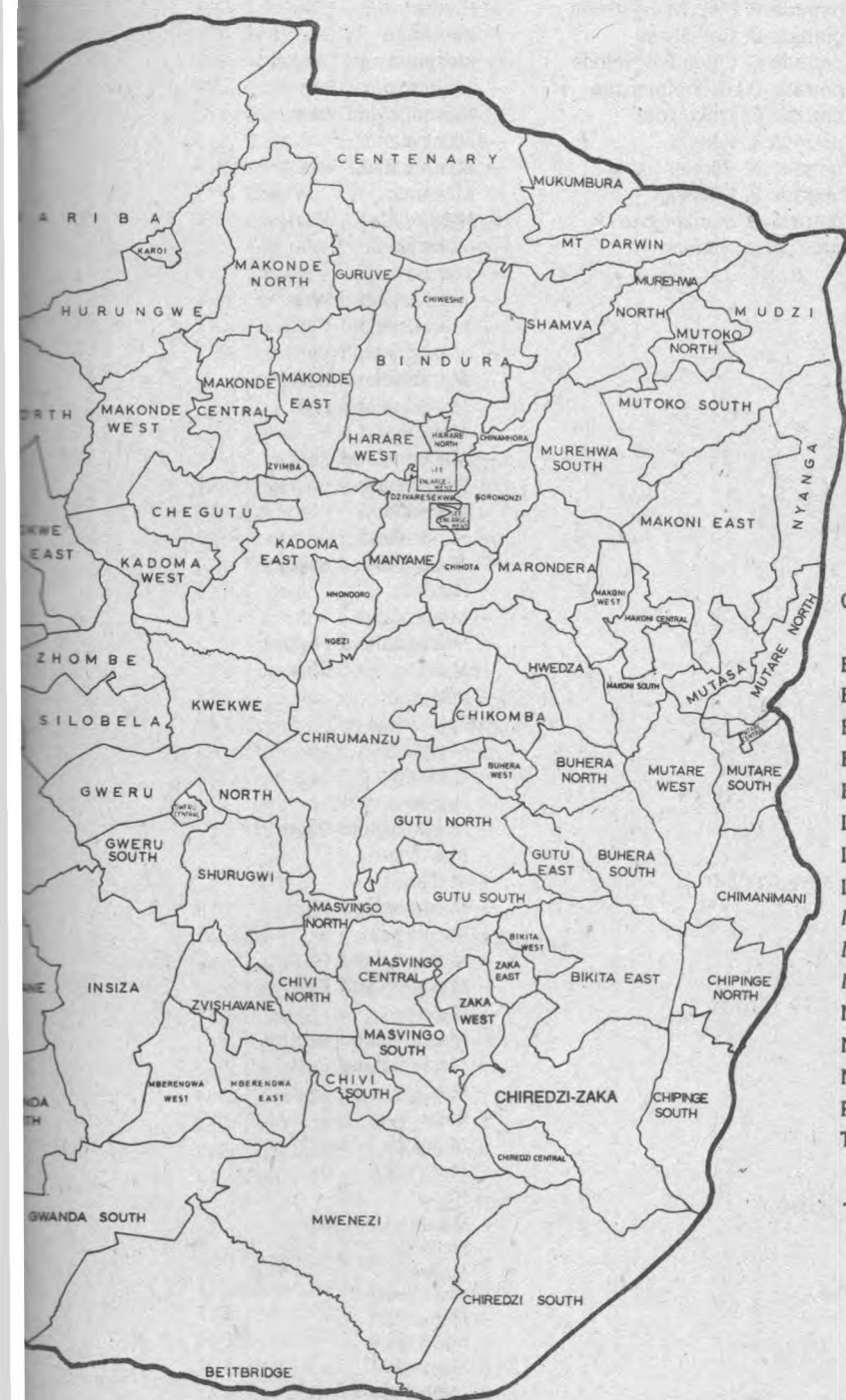
# ES — 1990

## Enlargement

### Matebeleland North Province

This province which includes Bulawayo has a total of 630 621 registered voters. This is the total number of voters registered in the province up to the 15th October, 1989. In province we divided that figure by the average number of voters per constituency i.e. 40 090. As already indicated in earlier chapters the average number of voters per constituency was established by dividing the total number of registered voters in the country, i.e. 4 810 810, by 120, that being the number of constituencies into which the country was to be divided. Resulting from this mathematical calculation we allocated sixteen constituencies to this province and divided the province accordingly. The constituencies and the number of registered voters in each of them are set out below.

Constituency	Number of Registered Voters
Binga	40 770
Bubi	34 006
Bulawayo North	35 475
Bulawayo South	33 218
Hwange	45 731
Lobengula	42 959
Lupane	47 268
Luveve	35 140
Magwegwe	45 075
Makokoba	32 946
Mpopoma	46 688
Nkayi	40 477
Nkulumane	34 028
Nyamandhlovu	36 190
Pelandaba	35 832
Tsholotsho	44 818
<b>Total</b>	<b>630 621</b>





## Committee Members

19. Comrade B.T.G. Chidzero
20. Comrade T.V. Lesabe
21. Comrade R.C. Hove
22. Comrade N.C. Makombe

— Women's Affairs

- Harare
- (Matabeleland South)
- Midlands
- Masvingo

## Candidate Members:

23. Comrade S. Mujuru
24. Comrade J. Tungamirai

- Midlands
- Masvingo

## Other Members:

25. Deputy Secretary for Administration
26. Deputy Secretary for Finance
27. Deputy Secretary for Commissariat
28. Deputy Secretary for External Relations
29. Deputy Secretary for National Security
30. Deputy Secretary for Information and Publicity
31. Deputy Secretary for Transport and Welfare
32. Deputy Secretary for Production
33. Deputy Secretary for Economic Affairs
34. Deputy Secretary for Youth Affairs
35. Deputy Secretary for Legal Affairs
36. Deputy Secretary for Education
37. Deputy Secretary for Health
38. Prof. Reg Austin
39. Comrade K. Bhebe
40. Comrade M.M. Bhebe
41. Comrade S.J. Chandengenda
42. Comrade A. Chiasa
43. Comrade F.M. Chigwedere
44. Comrade L. Chihana
45. Comrade E. Chikuvanyanga
46. Comrade R.L. Chinamano
47. Comrade M.T.S. Chinamasa
48. Comrade P.A. Chinamasa
49. Comrade G.M. Chinengundu
50. Comrade F. Chitauru
51. Comrade V.F. Chitepo
52. Comrade Z. Chitsakani
53. Comrade M. Chivende
54. Comrade J.K. Choto
55. Comrade F.K. Chung
56. Comrade C. Dauramanzi
57. Comrade J.H. Dauramanzi
58. Comrade T.M. Dongo
59. Comrade M.M. Dube
60. Comrade V.M. Gava
61. Comrade J.M. Gumbo
62. Comrade E. Gwanzura
63. Comrade Z.R. Hove
64. Comrade V.D. Jingura
65. Comrade A. Kabasa
66. Comrade E.C.M. Kanengoni
67. Comrade J. Kaparadza
68. Comrade R.B. Katsande
69. Comrade V. Katyamaenza
70. Comrade N. Mabhena
71. Comrade J.M.K. Machaya
72. Comrade G.M. Machinga
73. Comrade F. Magadu
74. Comrade P. Mahlabvana
75. Comrade H.S.M. Mahlaba
76. Comrade L. Makanda
77. Comrade M. Makwavarara
78. Comrade M.D.P. Malianga
79. Comrade T. Maluleke
80. Comrade S. Malunga
81. Comrade T.A. Mangwende
82. Comrade A.F. Manungo
83. Comrade K.V. Manyonda
84. Comrade S.M.T. Marara
85. Comrade G.R. Marange
86. Comrade R.M. Marere
87. Comrade S. Marwodzi
88. Comrade J.B. Maseko
89. Comrade E.K. Masiyane
90. Comrade G. Matende

- Comrade K.L. Dube
- Comrade K.S. Vuma
- Comrade E. Ncube
- Comrade W.P.M. Mangwende
- Comrade D. Dabengwa
- Comrade C. Chimutengwende
- Comrade D.I.G. Karimanzira
- Comrade E. Chikowore
- Comrade K. Kangai
- Comrade N. Zikhali
- Comrade E. Ndebele
- Comrade E. Madzongwe
- Dr. S. Sakupwanya

- Matabeleland South
- Midlands
- Bulawayo
- Harare
- Bulawayo
- Mashonaland Central
- Mashonaland East
- Mashonaland West
- Manicaland
- Youth Affairs
- Midlands
- Mashonaland West
- Manicaland
- Harare
- Mashonaland West
- Matabeleland North
- Mashonaland West
- Matabeleland North
- Mashonaland East
- Manicaland
- Mashonaland Central
- Pres. (Harare)
- Manicaland
- Manicaland
- Mashonaland East
- Harare
- Manicaland
- Mashonaland Central
- Mashonaland West
- Pres.
- Pres. (Harare)
- Masvingo
- Masvingo
- Harare
- Matabeleland South
- Masvingo
- Midlands
- Mashonaland West
- Masvingo
- Mashonaland Central
- Mashonaland East
- Harare
- Mashonaland Central
- Mashonaland East
- Pres.
- Bulawayo
- Midlands
- Masvingo
- Harare
- Matabeleland North
- Midlands
- Midlands
- Manicaland
- Manicaland
- Masvingo
- Bulawayo
- Mashonaland East
- Mashonaland Central
- Manicaland
- Harare
- Midlands
- Harare
- Mashonaland East
- Harare
- Matabeleland South
- Masvingo

91. Comrade D.C. Mavaira
92. Comrade Mawema
93. Comrade E. Mdlongwa
94. Comrade A. Mharara
95. Comrade S. Mombeshora
96. Comrade H.V. Moyana
97. Comrade J.G. Moyo
98. Comrade S.K. Moyo
99. Comrade Sikwili Moyo
100. Comrade V. Moyo
101. Comrade O.M. Mpofu
102. Comrade T.V. Mpofu
103. Comrade C.F. Msipa
104. Comrade S. Mubako
105. Comrade O.C.Z. Muchinguri
106. Comrade K. Mudamburi
107. Comrade G. Mudariki
108. Comrade L.D. Mudehwe
109. Comrade S.S. Mumbengegwi
110. Comrade F. Mnkombwe
111. Comrade O.M. Munyaradzi
112. Comrade E.D. Munyoro
113. Comrade H.S. Mupanduki
114. Comrade I. Murape
115. Comrade G.P.C.R. Mushanhu
116. Comrade H.J. Mutangi
117. Comrade C.I.T. Mutema
118. Comrade D.K. Muvuti
119. Comrade A.M. Ndlovu
120. Comrade C. Ndhlovu
121. Comrade R. Ndlovu
122. Comrade S.T. Ndlovu
123. Comrade A.J. Ngwenya
124. Comrade R.P. Nyandoro
125. Comrade N. Nyashanu
126. Comrade H.G. Nyashanu
127. Comrade L.G. Nzarayebani
128. Comrade C. Pasipamire
129. Comrade L. Senda
130. Comrade S.K. Sibapda
131. Comrade S.M. Sithole
132. Comrade E.S. Tongogara
133. Comrade M. Urimbo
134. Comrade C. Ushewokunze
135. Comrade J. Zhakata
136. Comrade C.S. Zihuu
137. Comrade S. Zinyemba
138. Comrade J.T. Zvobgo

139. Comrade T.K. Hungwe
140. Comrade I. Mashonalandonganyika
141. Comrade S.B. Mahofa
142. Comrade R. Musungu
143. Comrade R. Dhlamini
144. Comrade S.L. Kachingwe
145. Comrade E. Motsi
146. Comrade S.G. Mugabe
147. Comrade A. Masuku
148. Comrade S.M. Nyashanu
149. Comrade E. Xaba

150. Comrade K. Bute
151. Comrade M. Chiranganyika
152. Comrade B. Gezi
153. Comrade T. Mabhande
154. Comrade G. Marimo
155. Comrade E. Masawi
156. Comrade K. Matimba
157. Comrade K.C.D. Mohadi
158. Comrade J.P. Shonhiwa
159. Comrade A. Sikhosana

Comrade G.R. Ziyenge

### Women's Affairs:

### Youth Affairs:

Late

- Pres. Masvingo
- Masvingo
- Matabeleland North
- Mashonaland. West
- Mashonaland. West
- Manicaland
- Midlands
- Matabeleland South
- Matabeleland South
- Matabeleland South
- Matabeleland North
- Mashonaland East
- Midlands
- Masvingo
- Manicaland
- Masvingo
- Masvingo
- Manicaland
- Midlands
- Matabeleland North
- Masvingo
- Midlands
- Mashonaland. West
- Pres.
- Mashonaland. Central
- Mashonaland. West
- Mashonaland. West
- Pres. (Harare Province)
- Bulawayo
- Mashonaland. West
- Matabeleland South
- Bulawayo
- Bulawayo
- Harare
- Pres.
- Bulawayo
- Manicaland
- Harare
- Bulawayo
- Matabeleland North
- Manicaland
- Midlands
- Masvingo
- Harare
- Harare
- Manicaland
- Mashonaland. Central
- Midlands

- Midlands
- Harare
- Masvingo
- Mashonaland. East
- Masvingo
- Manicaland
- Mashonaland. Central
- Mashonaland. West
- Matabeleland North
- Mashonaland. East

- Mashonaland East
- Midlands
- Matabeleland Central
- Manicaland
- Manicaland West
- Harare
- Masvingo
- Matabeleland South
- Masvingo
- Bulawayo

- Mashonaland. East



# Multi-party Democracy or A One Party State? Zimbabwe Political Choice:

By Taparendava Ndashaisheyi Maveneke



President Robert Gabriel Mugabe addressing a mammoth crowd at the Zimbabwe grounds

**T**he debate on the suitability or otherwise of the two political orientations, multi-partyism or one partyism has generated a lot of debate. The controversial debate has been joined by intellectuals, politicians and the masses in general. This article aims at assessing the various stand points and at last emerge with a synthesis.

For those who advocate multi-party democracy the reasons advanced are as follows:-

1. The multi-party system is the linchpin of democracy, as democracy implies competition among multiple organisations — political parties.
2. The multi-party system is an insurance against dictatorship as it allows for periodic change of leadership.
3. Multi-party system is said to allow for maximum political participation of all shades of political persuasion.
4. The above system is said to encourage development as competing policies offer the electorate the "best" or optimum policy choice.

In my defence of the one party mode of democracy I wish to make a critical analysis of the above points. The argument that multi-party system is a linchpin of democracy, is a well orchestrated Western propaganda that is designed to ensure that developing countries continue to imitate the west in all respects. In political discourse and action, competition is not among multiple organisations as such, but among competing ideas. Within a single party system, there is great room for competing ideas among members and consensus is still reached.

In Tanzania, Kenya and Zambia to mention a few, there is intra-party democracy in Chama Chamapinduzi, KANU, and UNIP. As to the argument that multi-partyism is an insurance against dictatorship, analysis does not support this posture. Dictatorship arises



People singing and chanting slogans at one of the mass rallies

from individuals who get saturated with power and thus implement policies inimical to the general interest of the national and international community.

## Non-democratic US policies

In the United States where it is assumed there is plural democracy, the various Presidents have, at different times, acted in ways inimical to their own citizenry and the international community. Take for example United States interventionist policies in Latin America, Southern Africa and the Middle East. These policies are not democratic in any way as they go against national and international political conscience.

In one party state, issues are still debated, points of controversy ironed out and a generally agreed position taken. On leadership in a one party state, one must realise that the choice is usually on the best candidate. That leaders who fall foul of their followers in a one party state are removed is never considered by the opponents of the one party system. In any community, political participation occurs at various levels.

In a multi-party democracy the participation is heard at election times when the few

leaders seeking office start campaigning. At most of the time the "multi-parties" will be on political holiday. In a one party system which is well organised, political participation from grassroots upwards is a continuous activity as politics and development are closely linked.

Policies in a one party system emerge from exhaustive discussions at various levels of the party. In this case development options will be enhanced by the party and government machinery. One observation I would like to put forward is that among the so called multi-parties of Britain, United States, West Germany *et cetera* there is very little difference except the personalities leading the parties.

My last section is in the defence of Zimbabwe under the leadership of ZANU PF to choose the one party system of democracy. The choice is based on the historical trend that Zimbabwe followed up to the independence. The two parties PF-ZAPU and ZANU (PF) which are now united under the new ZANU PF emerged from the liberation struggle as the genuine representatives of the people.

Thus the one party statehood was born in a political process of liberation which cemented our people as one. This unity was born through a process of sacrifice hence its strength. Zimbabwe's major enemies are the destabilization on threat from the apartheid regime and the economic problems of rural and urban development.

To confront these problems there is a need for oneness of purpose that can only be realised through a single powerful mass oriented party ZANU PF. With a committed leadership of President Comrade R.G. Mugabe and patriotic party members, the one party system in Zimbabwe will be the bedrock of political unity, economic prosperity and progressive international Relations. □

# American Lobby for Savimbi

from Reporter, (Botswana)

On September 17, the US State Department issued a statement "strongly" supporting the Angolan rebel movement Unita and its call for "free and fair elections" in Angola. Considering that the US government has been providing substantial military assistance to Unita for the past three years, the language sounds, on the surface, unexceptional.

However, administration critics — as well as several of the officials most directly involved in Africa policy making — regard the wording as a significant, if subtle, shift in the US stance — a change that followed intensive canvassing by Unita's powerful political friends in Washington. The result, accord-

scenes effort to convince Unita leader Jonas Savimbi to attend the meeting.

The campaign to convince the administration to shift its position began with an approach to Cohen by Christopher Lehman, one of Unita's Washington representatives. While serving as a special assistant to President Reagan for national security affairs, Lehman had been charged with winning Congressional support for the administration's defence and foreign policies. When he resigned from his National Security Council (NSC) post in 1985, he began working for Unita as an employee of the public relations firm of Black, Manafort, Stone and Kelly.

plus expenses. Unita is paying another \$75 000 a year with expenses to Lehman, who set up his own consulting company last year and \$200 000 to TKC International, headed by Robert Keefe, who was hired for his Democratic Party connections. In addition, the cost of operating the Unita office in Washington and of retaining several other advisors runs to more than \$800 000 a year, according to reports on file with the Department of Justice.

*"Lehman's argument to Cohen was that the US cannot rely on Zairean President"*

## USSR: New Approaches to the Non-Aligned

Moscow (APN) The Soviet Union has traditionally supported the objectives and principles of the Non-Aligned Movement, said a post-April 1985 Soviet Foreign Policy Review, out here, and welcomes the striving of Non-Aligned countries for active partnership in world affairs.

The Review noted that the transition from confrontation to international dialogue has noticeably enriched relations between the USSR and the Non-Aligned Movement. The basis for cooperation with that movement is becoming broader, considering the fact that the fundamental politico-philosophic principles of new thinking are in consonance with the main precepts of the nonalignment doctrine.

As part of the effort to deideologise international relations the Soviet Union introduced new and important elements into its approach to the Non-Aligned Movement: the USSR announced that it recognised the movement as an independent factor in world

politics and reaffirmed its respect for the movement's principles and objectives, it registered support for the right of all countries and peoples to choose their own road of development without external interference. The Soviet Union is no longer viewing the Non-Aligned Movement through the prism of differences between east and west.

There is no doubt that the Non-Aligned Movement can play an even more important role in the settlement of regional conflicts. The USSR shares the hope of the movement that current favourable changes in the world will alter international economic relations, too, and help developing countries surmount serious difficulties in that sphere.

At the same time, positive changes in the international scene and related prospects that confrontation between blocs will become less intense have become a challenge of sorts for the Non-Aligned Movement, urging it to look consistently for its place in the new historical conditions.

All indications are that the main element in the new role of the Non-Aligned Movement will be a departure from its traditional confrontation with the great powers in favour of an active and equitable cooperation between Non-Aligned Movement countries and other influential forces of our time in tackling global problems.

The Belgrade decisions show that the approach of Non-Aligned countries to the great powers has become markedly less confrontational, they are constructive and designed to evoke a favourable reaction on the international scene.

Scaled-up interaction between the USSR and the Non-Aligned Movement can become an important factor in establishing a new international order based on the primacy of law, unconditional respect for the principle of freedom of choice and the need to ensure all nations, big and small, a fitting place in the international community. □

ing to this view, was a side tracking of a promising move towards peace which is only now beginning to be back on course.

At a time when both sides in the Angolan negotiations are resisting the compromise required to make peace possible, many observers believe any easing of pressure on either party is likely to be detrimental to the effort to end 29 years of fighting.

The September 17 statement aligned the US with Unita's negotiating stance. Before that, American officials had been saying that the terms of a settlement should be decided by the warring parties themselves at the bargaining table. The State Department statement was released one day before an African summit called to revive the stalled Angolan peace process and just as assistant secretary of state of Africa. Herman Cohen, was engaged in an intensive behind-the-

It was a perfect Washington match. Lehman, who had participated in formulation of the "Reagan doctrine" in the White House was now helping one of the anti-communist movements that doctrine was designed to support.

Since signing Unita as a client four years ago, the Black-Manafort PR firm has managed three highly publicized American visits for Savimbi, has helped mobilize unprecedented Congressional backing for the movement, and has been paid nearly \$3 million in fees and expenses for its efforts. During the same period, Unita has begun receiving covert US military assistance, which began at the level of \$15 million in 1986 and has climbed to a reported \$540 million this year.

Black-Manafort's current 12-month contract, signed last November, is for \$900 000,

Lehman's argument to Cohen was that the US cannot rely on Zairean President, Mobutu Sese Seko, as a mediator but should lay down its own conditions for an Angolan settlement, including the demand for elections. After Cohen left for Africa, Lehman took his case for a shift in the US position to Cohen's superior, Under Secretary of State Robert Kimmitt, who was executive secretary and legal counsel at the NSC when Lehman worked there. According to several sources, Lehman reported that he was in direct contact with Savimbi and that he expected the Unita leader would agree to attend the summit if the US endorsed his negotiating stance.

Kimmitt agreed to the language Lehman advocated, and with the approval of Secretary of State James Baker the September 17 statement was released.



***"It's ridiculous to think Savimbi would give up at the negotiating table what he has been fighting for all these years"***

Lehman argues that the new US stance is the only approach that can end the fighting. "It's ridiculous to think Savimbi would give up at the negotiating table what he has been fighting for all these years", Lehman says. "He is committed to achieving a multi-party democracy for Angola, and that deserves US support", Lehman believes Savimbi does not have to make major compromises because he is bargaining from a position of military strength.

But many experts believe neither side has the military strength to dictate terms and that both can be nudged towards negotiations if their outside supporters don't encourage intransigence.

In recent weeks, there have been tentative indications of a slippage in Savimbi's sizeable base of support in Congress. A resolution introduced by Rep. Wolpe "urging a reassessment and modification" of US policy towards a more neutral course now has 80 cosponsors, including 16 Republicans. Wolpe also organized a letter inviting dos Santos to visit Washington, but the Angolan President decided not to come this year.

However, Savimbi's bipartisan backing remains strong. A new pro-Unita task force chaired by Oklahoma Democrat Dave McCurdy, with 15 Democrats and 11 Republicans, has just been established in the House paralleling the Angola task force in the Senate, headed by Arizona Democrat Dennis Deconcini, an energetic Unita proponent.

The Angolan government's attempts to counter this support have concentrated both on discrediting Savimbi and on emphasizing its own pro-investment policies and good relations with American companies doing business in Angola.

Fenton Communications, a media consulting firm receives about \$200 000 annually to handle press contacts, arrange interviews for visiting government officials and distribute materials presenting the government's viewpoint. On Capitol Hill, Angola has the lobbying services of Richard Baenan and of John Sassi, who formerly handled relations with Angola as an official of Gulf Oil.

Charles Black, Paul Manafort and Rogar Stone were all active in the Bush presidential campaign as unpaid but highly-placed advisers. Manafort handled scheduling for Bush and a variety of campaign surrogate speakers. Peter Kelly, a Democrat from Connecticut was a fund raiser for the Dukakis campaign.

Lee Atwater, who directed the Bush campaign and is now head of the Republican National Committee, was until recently a partner with Black, Manafort, Stone and Artwater in a campaign consulting business that shares offices with the PR firm.

This PR network's clout was demonstrated soon after Bush's election last November. In early January, prior to his inauguration, Bush wrote a personal letter to Savimbi assuring him of continued US support.

Lehman, along with unnamed employees of Black-Manafort made several calls to the White House about the letter, reports on file at the justice Department indicate.

***"... prior to his inauguration, Bush wrote a personal letter to Savimbi assuring him of continued US support"***

The Black-Manafort firm has a reputation in Washington for aggressively seeking new clients. In June, prior to Mobutu's scheduled Washington trip, rumours began circulating that the firm was taking over the Zaire account. Even as arrangements for the official visit were being made by another company, Van Kloberg and Associates, which has a contract with Zaire worth \$300 000 Black-Manafort personnel were telephoning State Department officials to discuss Mobutu's plans. But the Zaire ambassador in Washington told everyone who asked that Van Kloberg was his country's designated representative.

In mid-July, the Justice Department was notified, as required by law, that Black-Manafort had indeed worked out a deal with Mobutu. The unsigned contract — calling for payment of a million dollars a year — was dated July 1, one day after the Zairean president left the US. A spokesperson for the firm said there was no conflict of interest involved in representing both Mobutu, the mediator in the Angolan talks, and one of the parties to those negotiations, Unita. □

## Eastern Europe — New Realities

By Andrei Ryabov, PHD, History

Radical changes in Eastern Europe were the hallmark of the past year. To be sure, the processes underway there have just begun, and the time for any generalized conclusions and judgements has not come yet. Nevertheless, the repercussions of the shocks sustained by eastern Europe are so great that I believe there is a need to consider what may be in store for socialism and the socialist idea and to assess the impact of these events on the situation in Europe and the world.

When last autumn teletypes announced the oustering of the neo-Stalinist leaderships in East Germany and Czechoslovakia, many believed at the time that the reform-minded communists there would be able to prevent the kind of developments that had taken place earlier in Hungary and Poland where the communist parties "had failed to control"

the processes of renewal in their midst and either joined the opposition or had to develop into different political entities. But judging from further developments, the reformist forces in the East German and Czechoslovak communist parties would hardly be able to keep these processes under control.

News comes every day about political parties that openly announce as their aim the creation of western-type democracies consolidating their positions. In Rumania things even came to a demand that the communist party should be banned, though quite recently it was the biggest communist party in Eastern Europe. (to be sure, the unexpected decision to have the communist party banned was rescinded soon). Privatisation goes apace in a number of countries, traditional ideological symbols of socialism, and

the achievements of socialism reapraised.

All these developments receive different interpretations. Some are happy to declare the end of the world communism. Others seek to see the features of a new socialism in the stormy changes. Still others hold the opinions that communists should stop their retreat and give decisive battle to the anti-socialist forces responsible for the restoration of capitalism in Eastern Europe. So what is behind the process of change. The collapse of the theory and practice of socialism, or the emergence of its new face?

Far it be from me to describe every event underway in the countries of Eastern Europe as socialist rejuvenation. It would be rash, to say the least, to see the mass privatisation of the basic industrial capacities or a growing unemployment rate as essential to

socialism. But then, there is no need to try to describe the complex realities in a black-and-white format (socialist — non-socialist) as was our hallowed tradition. We would prefer another tack.

The bureaucratic and centralized model must have been an inevitable stage in the development of socialism relying on the powerful leverage of administrative regulation, the countries of Eastern Europe, mostly backward states. When they were beginning their socialist construction, have managed to become industrial states within a historically short period of time and have risen to the top of the world industrial classification.

Out when these societies began to enter the period of scientific and technological revolution with its organic gravitation toward economic autonomy of basic industrial units and when the choice of a lifestyle replaces the method of distribution as the principal problem the people are concerned with, then the administrative type of socialism exhausted its potential. With it, there comes the death of the old traditional communist parties, essentially constituting the top echelons of the national power structure.

#### Values

But communist and socialist values remain intact in the minds of some, even if not a majority of members of society, social equality, collectivism and mutual assistance. The communist parties, reformed or reshaped into basically different left-wing entities, have a complex road of quests and a lot of work ahead of them to try to combine these values with the present-day realities of the 'post-industrial' epoch with its indispensable attributes. Democracy, the freedom of choice and creativity, and legal protection.

It is possible that modern developed societies already contain some elements of this new type of socialism in which, as Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels wrote, the free development of each should be a 'condition for the free development of all' these elements probably include various self-governing production associations that have neither the sharp differentiation of incomes typical of capitalism nor the lackadaisical and non-creative work of a worker becoming a small cog in the bureaucratic machine, a situation typical of administrative socialism. Among the signs of the future are all kinds of social initiatives based on a collectivist cooperation — ecological associations and groups having alternative lifestyles. A distinguishing feature of these associations is that they cannot exist without recognizing the freedom of personality and its having a creative choice as the foundation of their activities. Let us be frank. There was no place for this idea under the conditions of bureaucratic socialism. This means that it will take time to make this idea a general mode of life.

To be sure, mastering the new socialist idea in the countries that have already entered the period of technological revolution will be largely different from the shape this process will take in developing countries that have not yet been through the stage of in-

dustrialisation. In the latter case, there may be a nostalgia, not always an 'ideological' one, for the old-line, administrative model of socialism. But we cannot forget either that human civilization at the turn of the 21st century is a single interconnected world in which it becomes increasingly difficult to shield oneself from the principal trends of social progress.

Another problem that emerged as a result of the stormy changes in eastern Europe can be formulated as a question. Is there any probability of a drastic change in the balance of forces in Europe and the world strongly impressed by the developments, many quarters in the west and elsewhere began predicting an early collapse of the system of socialist economic integration, the COMECON. Some say, quite rashly, that the Warsaw Pact's coming apart is inevitable too but the reality proves to be far more complex.

It is quite understandable why the leadership of some COMECON member countries are dissatisfied with the structure and character of economic ties within the association that are based on directives and distribution and ignore the role of market factors in the development of the economy. The over-controlled and often non-equivalent exchanges are a brake of the modernization of the economies of eastern European countries and prevent their integration into the world economic structures.

#### Scenarios

However, when searching for new development scenarios, one cannot ignore the 40 years of the COMECON's existence, the period that has seen the emergence of a stable system of the division of labour within this organization and of the economic ties that cannot be severed at one fell swoop by re-orienting the economies on the western countries to the exclusion of all other in-

terests. Besides, many products the COMECON produces at the moment are not competitive in the west and cannot be guaranteed a market unless within the COMECON. So the 45th COMECON session held in Sofia this January did not lead to the collapse of the organization despite some dire prophecies. On the contrary, there are signs of a shift toward market relations on the basis of world prices in hard currencies. There is certainly an uphill road to be covered to work out an optimum model of new economic ties within the COMECON framework. This model will apparently not keep some COMECON members from entering some other economic groupings, reinforcing thereby the processes of both economic and political integration in Europe as a whole.

As for the Warsaw Pact, the importance of keeping it intact is not only due to the desire to protect the established military balance in Europe. The image of the Warsaw Pact does not have to be associated with ideology as its member countries have national and geopolitical interests of their own, Soviet foreign minister Eduard Shevardnadze emphasized during his January visit to Rumania. Under the new historical conditions the Warsaw Pact will be transformed into an organization having mainly a political rather than military nature. There will probably be changes in the structure of the Warsaw Pact's bodies of management. For example, it would hardly be appropriate for the first secretaries of the communist parties to take part in the work of the political consultative committee, considering the existence of multi-party systems in many countries. The 'politicized', not 'militarized' Warsaw Pact can and must become a powerful factor to improve the situation in Europe and to provide for the growth of mutual understanding between countries — naturally, if Nato moves in the same direction. □

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# Mandela's release address in Cape Town

**THE full text of Cde Nelson Mandela's address to the people on the day of his unconditional release after 27 years in prison. Grand Parade, Cape Town — February 11 1990.**

FRIENDS, comrades and fellow South Africans, I greet you in the name of peace, democracy and freedom for all. I stand here before you, not as a prophet, but as a humble servant of you, the people.

Your tireless and heroic sacrifices have made it possible for me to be here today. I therefore place the remaining years of my life in your hands.

On this day of my release I extend my sincere and warmest gratitude to the millions of my compatriots and those in every corner of the globe who have campaigned tirelessly for my release.

I extend special greetings to the people of Cape Town, the city which has been my home for three decades. Your mass marches and other forms of struggle have served as a constant source of strength to all political prisoners.

I salute the African National Congress. It has fulfilled our every expectation in its role as leader of the great march to freedom.

I salute our president, Comrade Oliver Tambo, for leading the ANC even under the most difficult circumstances. I salute the rank and file members of the ANC. You have sacrificed life and limb in the pursuit of the noble cause of our struggle.

I salute combatants of Umkhonto we Sizwe, like Solomon Mahlangu and Ashley Kriel, who have paid the ultimate price for freedom of all South Africans.

I salute the South African Communist Party for its sterling contribution to the struggle for democracy. You have survived 40 years of unrelenting persecution. The memory of great communists like Moses Kotane, Yusuf Dadoo, Bram Fischer and Moses Mabhida will be cherished for generations to come. I salute general secretary Joe Slovo — one of our finest patriots. We are heartened by the fact that the alliance between ourselves and the party remains as strong as it always was.

## Conscience of whites

I salute the United Democratic Front, Co-satu, the National Education Crisis Committee, the South African Youth Congress, the Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses and the many other formations of the Mass Democratic Movement.

I also salute the Black Sash and the National Union of South African Students. We note with pride that you have acted as the conscience of white South Africans. Even during the darkest days in the history of your struggle you held the flag of liberty high. The large-scale mass mobilisation of the past few years is one of the key factors which led to the opening of the final chapter of our struggle.

I extend my greetings to the working class of our country. Your organised strength is the pride of our movement. You remain the most dependable force in the struggle to end exploitation and oppression.

I pay tribute to the many religious communities who carried the campaign for justice forward when the organisations of our people were silenced.

I greet the traditional leaders of our country. Many among you continue to walk in the footsteps of great heroes like Hintsa and Sekhukhuni.

I pay tribute to the endless heroism of the youth. You, the young lions, have energised our entire struggle.

I pay tribute to the mothers and wives and

sisters of our nation. You are the rock-hard foundation of our struggle. Apartheid has inflicted more pain on you than on anyone else.

On this occasion we thank the world community for their great contribution to the anti-apartheid struggle. Without your support our struggle would not have reached this advanced stage. The sacrifices of the Frontline States will be remembered by South Africans forever.

My salutations will be incomplete without expressing my deep appreciation for the strength given to me during my long and lonely years in prison by my beloved wife and family. I am convinced that your pain and suffering was far greater than my own.

Before I go any further, I wish to make the point that I intend making only a few preliminary comments at this stage. I will make a more public statement only after I have had the opportunity to consult with my comrades.

Today the majority of South Africans, black and white, recognise that apartheid has no future. It has to be ended by our own decisive mass action in order to build peace and security. The mass campaign of defiance and other actions of our organisation and people can only culminate with the establishment of democracy.

The apartheid destruction on our subcontinent is incalculable. The fabric of family life of millions of our people has been shattered. Millions are homeless and unemployed, our economy lies in ruins and our people are embroiled in political strife.

## Armed struggle — no option but to continue

Our resort to the armed struggle in 1960, with the formation of the military wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe, was purely a defensive action against the violence of apartheid.

The factors which necessitated the armed struggle still exist today. We have no option but to continue. We express the hope that a climate conducive to a negotiated settlement will be created soon so that there may no longer be the need for the armed struggle.

I am a loyal and disciplined member of the African National Congress. I am therefore in full agreement with all of its objectives, strategies and tactics.

The need to unite the people of our country is as important a task now as it always has been. No individual leader is able to take on this enormous task on his own.

It is our task as leaders to place our views before our organisation and to allow the democratic structures to decide on the way forward. On the question of democratic practice, I feel duty-bound to make the point that a leader of the movement is a person who has been democratically elected at a national conference. This is a principle which must be upheld without any exceptions.

## Insistence on a meeting

Today I wish to report to you that my talks with the government have been aimed at normalising the political situation in the country. We have not as yet begun discussing the basic demands of the struggle. I wish to stress that I, myself, have at no time entered into negotiation about the future of our country, except to insist on a meeting between the ANC and the government.

Mr De Klerk has gone further than any other Nationalist president in taking real steps to normalise the situation.

However, there are further steps as outlined in the Harare Declaration that have to

be met before negotiations on the basic demands of our people can begin.

I reiterate our call for, inter alia, the immediate ending of the state of emergency and the freeing of all, and not only some, political prisoners.

Only such a normalised situation which allows for free political activity, can allow us to consult our people in order to obtain a mandate.

## Not behind the backs of the People

The people need to be consulted on who will negotiate and on the content of such negotiations. Negotiations cannot take place above the heads or behind the backs of our people.

It is our belief that the future of our country can only be determined by a body which is democratically elected on a non-racial basis.

Negotiations on the dismantling of apartheid will have to address the overwhelming demands of our people for a democratic, non-racial and unitary South Africa.

There must be an end to white monopoly on political power and a fundamental restructuring of our political and economic system to ensure that the inequalities of apartheid are addressed and our society thoroughly democratised.

It must be added that Mr De Klerk himself is a man of integrity who is acutely aware of the danger of a public figure not honouring his undertakings.

But as an organisation we base our policy and strategies on the harsh reality we are faced with and this reality is that we are still suffering under the policy of the Nationalist government. Our struggle has reached a decisive moment. We call on our people to seize this moment so that the process towards democracy is rapid and uninterrupted.

We have waited too long for our freedom. We can no longer wait. Now is the time to intensify the struggle on all fronts.

To relax our effort now would be a mistake which generations to come will not be able to forgive.

## The sight of freedom

The sight of freedom looming on the horizon should encourage us to redouble our efforts. It is only through disciplined mass action that our victory can be assured.

We call on our white compatriots to join us in the shaping of a new South Africa. The freedom movement is a political home for you too. We call on the international community to continue the campaign to isolate the apartheid regime.

To lift sanctions now would be to run the risk of aborting the process towards the complete eradication of apartheid. Our march to freedom is irreversible. We must not allow fear to stand in our way.

Universal suffrage on a common voters' roll in a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa is the only way to peace and racial harmony.

In conclusion, I wish to quote my own words during my trial in 1964. They are as true today as they were then. I quote:

I have fought against white domination and I have fought against black domination. I have carried the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunity. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But, if need be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.

I hope you will disperse with dignity and not a single one of you should do anything which will make other people say that we can't control our own people.





## Mudini Maivha Writes on the Unfolding Situation in Azania and were subjugated to foreign imperialist rule.

were defeated in the subsequent centuries and were subjugated to foreign imperialist rule.

Our ancestors and great revolutionaries in the name of various kings, among them Shaka, Sekhukhuni, Maqoma, Mantatishe, Dingaan, Mosheoshe, Bambatha and a host of others refused to submit to colonial subjugation and continued the struggle for national emancipation and self-determination.

The above chronicle of events in Azania since 1652 actually crystalized the contradiction between the settlers and the dispossessed African people, leaving us, the current day generations, a legacy of heroic resistance to inherit.

That is where heroes and gallant fighters like PAC immortals Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe and Zephania Lekoane Mothopeng came in — to carry on a long-standing battle in defence of our people's right to their land and sovereignty.

### De Klerk for Status Quo

The basic cause of the existing conflict in our country was land robbery at gunpoint by de Klerk's forefathers. To date, the same de Klerk has proved that he cherishes and will continue to defend that inheritance!

When he announced the unbanning of the political parties, de Klerk made it clear that the "new" order he and white South Africa wanted to see dawn in our country should inter alia guarantee individual and minority rights. The core of the struggle, the land, legislated under the Land Act, and the Internal Security Act and the Suppression of Communism Act aimed at governing political activities of revolutionaries would however remain intact.

In that case, that could be the real implications of de Klerk's intentions, including the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

Given the fact that the conflict in Azania is 337 years old, it is difficult to accept that de Klerk and whites under leadership have understood the contradiction and changed in less than six

months in office.

In summary, the unbanning of the PAC and other organisations as well as the release of Mandela have its own benefits for the regime.

### The Strategy

De Klerk, who appears to be smarter than his predecessors, wants to stem the irreversible tide to the revolution that means complete end to white monopoly over power in Azania; he wants to get South Africa's debt payment rescheduled this coming June; he wants sanctions on South Africa to be lifted, and; above all, denial of the African people of their right to rule their own country.

De Klerk has actually responded to civil rightists' demands for the unbanning of organisations, the lifting of the state of emergency, the release of political prisoners, and the return of exiles. These "demands" had served to obscure the real issues of contention between the two social forces of European settler subjugation on one hand and African nationalism on the other.

Hurried and unstudied acceptance of de Klerk's charity would result in organisations and individuals finding themselves in a Pretoria trap.

Once anybody, and organisation or institution get themselves in that situation, move their bases body and soul into South Africa, de Klerk will have all the aces to enable him to dictate the terms of any ensuing dialogue between the regime and African representative organisations.

If de Klerk decides to wreck "negotiations", chances are that the liberation organisations that might be involved in the exercise will have no force to turn since they will have been disbanded under the law.

None of them would be in a position to regroup, and reorganise armed struggle.

PAC President Uncle Zeph Mothopeng has warned that de Klerk will have the latitude to arrest everybody and bundle them back to prison if "negotiations" break down.

Once the coast is 'clear' for de Klerk, he might simply put forward difficult proposals at the negotiation table. Any party that might not agree to the terms will be branded unco-operative and sidelined from the table.

Subsequently the party or such parties will have nothing to fall back on, including their own forces. □

Naturally there have been various reactions South African settler President F.W. de Klerk's so called initiatives when he announced the unbanning of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and other organisations — exiled and internal.

However, what has to come out clearly yet is what are the true intentions, in deed, of de Klerk's adventure.

Some quarters in the liberation have hailed the announcement as "a historic development in the history of South Africa", meaning that it is welcome news of the century as far as the dispossessed African people are concerned. But is this really BIG news for the Azanian masses?

The answer is NO, an emphatic NO!

Why do I say the answer is no, you may ask.

### Land Usurped

Perhaps we need to look into the history of relations between the indigenous African people and the settler since their arrival with hostile and colonial intentions on the shores of Azania on April 6, 1652.

Led by Jan van Riebeeck, the settlers were not the first European people to land on our country. Many Portuguese-speaking Europeans had landed before them, and were given the traditional African hospitality until they departed, or decided to be one with the Africans and reconciled their interests with those of the indigenous people.

Van Riebeeck, and later on Europeans of similar stripe, went on to become greedy of African ownership of the land in Azania, and set out to acquire it by force.

At stake was the land itself, accompanied by all the resources above and underground as well as the sea route between Eastern and Western Europe and Asia. On the battlefield, and because of inferior firepower, we Azanians



# Israeli Palestinians: Staying Put

By Ella Westland First Feature

Unlike the term *intifada*, the Arabic word *sumud* has yet to be internationally understood. But it could be argued that it is the concept of *sumud* (steadfastness, defiance) — and 20 hard years of practising it — that is the foundation of the uprising in the territories occupied by Israel.

In 1982 the West Bank lawyer Raja Shehadeh wrote with some pride: "Between the mute submission and blind hate — I choose the third way. I am *samid* (one who practises *sumud*)."

Now that the stone throwing children of the *intifada* have generated worldwide sympathy, their parents can feel that their determination not to leave also has fuller appreciation and support.

But despite all the news and discussion about the uprising, there is little notice taken of the situation of over 700 000 Arabs living as Israeli citizens inside the Green Line, the pre-1967 boundaries of the Jewish state. *Sumud*, which gives meaning to the mundane task of simply staying put, was not an idea available to the Palestinians who remained within the newly proclaimed country of Israel in 1948. Most Arabs fled — at least 700 000 out of 900 000 — in the hope of an eventual return. In Haifa, the non-Jewish population fell from 70 000 before 1948 to under 3 000 afterwards. Many of the richer Arabs merely locked their front doors behind them as if they were leaving for a holiday; it was the workers of the downtown Wadi, out of economic necessity rather than political principle, who tended to remain.

But now, for Arabs in an Israeli city like Haifa — and throughout Galilee, where 65 per cent of Israel's Arabs live — the importance of *sumud*, and the related concept *baqa* (staying put), is being newly upheld. These words express the renewed determination of these enfranchised Palestinians, whose families lived in the land long before 1948, to stay put and assert their presence. They feel themselves to be Palestinians, although since 1967 divided politically from the occupied territories — and from the promised land of a coming Palestinian state. They have no intention of blurring their Arab identity but they are demanding to exercise fuller rights as Israeli citizens. The Palestinian community of Haifa is now approaching 20 000 — nearly nine per cent of the town's total population — and although a thin stream has left Israel for jobs abroad, most have chosen to remain.

## Two halves of an orange

Staying or leaving: the decision is a hard one. Two men who have taken very different roads since I first met them in Haifa as rising Arab writers 20 years ago are Mahmoud Darwish and Samir al-Qasim. They were then

in their late 20s, but their poetry was already recognised within Israel and beginning to be known far beyond. Their work was radical — politically as well as poetically — and their writing and activism made them forces in their own community. I remember an electric

*"Between the mute submission and blind hate — I choose the third way. I am samid (one who practises sumud)."*

cal reading by Mahmoud Darwish in the local Communist Party meeting house, where the poet recited to an intent, politicised audience his already famous poem, *Identity Card*:

*Write down  
I am an Arab  
and my ID card is 50 000  
and my children are eight in number  
and the ninth  
arrives next summer  
Does this trouble you? ...  
Write down  
I am an Arab,  
You usurped my grandfather's vineyards  
And the plot of land I used to plough  
I and all my children  
And you left us  
And all my grandchildren  
nothing but these rocks ...*

Passionate poetry was not an intellectual exercise for Darwish and his audience — it was bound up with being Palestinian.

But in 1970 Darwish chose to turn his back on the country where his writing is rooted, and in leaving Israel for the Arab world he lost his homeland. He only found it again, in spirit, through his later association with the PLO. He left behind his friend Samih al-Qasim, pledged to fight for a different future. Qasim believed there was no choice but to stay put. Twenty years later, he is married and lives in his family's village of Rama, going daily to his office in Haifa. He has brought out more than 30 collections of poetry, and put a good deal of effort into setting up an organisation to support Palestinian arts.

Bitter at the time of parting, they agreed three years ago to correspond through the press. For the next two years, as al-Qasim puts it, those 40 letters stood "at the top of the hit parade of Palestinian culture". Published in Paris these *Messages between the Two Halves of an Orange* explore what it means to be Palestinian. No one can deny that it would be thrilling to be there at the birth

of a new Palestinian state, as Darwish hopes to be. But Qasim's gentle stubbornness in keeping his poetry and polemic flowing has sustained his creativity through innumerable inconveniences and occasional imprisonments — and taken him through the chores of endless meetings and negotiations — this is what it means to be *samid*.

*"Personally I lose, but the cause gains."*

Qasim is famous for his writing, but he still wonders whether leaving Israel and concentrating on his poetry might have brought him greater international success. "I think it is worth paying a heavy price for staying in my homeland. Personally I lose but the cause gains."

## Barriers against the slayers

Most Arabs, with legitimate desires to find satisfying work and raise their families, are concerned less with the PLO than with their personal future. And here, in the Haifa community I used to know, there has been a shift. In 1969, at the large Arab school where I taught, the aim of many students was to emigrate to Europe or the US. They looked at their parents' lives as Arabs in Israel, and they did not like what they saw.

Some left only *pour mieux sauter*. The most politically active student of my time — imprisoned for two days and questioned about his leafletting while he was in the middle of his final school exams — took a Communist party scholarship to Prague and married in Czech, but his determination to return was never shaken. Dr. Tawfiq Soleh is now back in Haifa working as a lawyer. For this man, staying away was never an option. But others have no intention of returning. Many were financially successful, at the cost of leaving homeland, friends and families. Interestingly, though, I found when I went back that none of the final year students in the "class of '89" plans to leave.

So for those Arabs who can get good education and jobs in Israel, the consequences of staying put are now acceptable. But the general situation of the Arab communities measured by all the usual social indicators is still a long way below their Jewish neighbours. And among the people I met, the increasingly impressive level of education and aspiration in the post-1967 generation of Arab school-leavers has in many instances simply pushed down one barrier only to bring them up against the next.

Discrimination is rife, especially in employment. Farid buys a bar from a Jew as a going concern and finds that he is being denied a licence to continue to operate it. Nabil writes in the Communist party magazine and finds that the school offering him a job cannot get the necessary government approval to take him on. Laila gets clerical work in a bank, but after 20 years realises that she has been repeatedly passed over for promotion. It is extremely hard for any Palestini-

an, however well qualified, to find work in a field like electronics. Jobs in any area that can be defined as remotely sensitive are barred to Palestinians on "security" grounds.

Samih al-Qasim recognises the problems of the educated man or woman with no fulfilling work, but he insists that leaving is not the answer: "I sympathise with them. But

I don't think it is the right solution. I know it is difficult for a computer engineer to have a vegetable stall in the *Wadi*. But let it be that he sacrifices personal success and personal dreams."

Few Palestinians want to volunteer to be vegetable selling heroes. This may be the Israel Arab equivalent of throwing stones at the troops — an assertion of steadfastness against the odds — but it is perhaps harder to do. Certainly the world will never notice. But many Palestinians who propose to stay on argue that they are less afraid to speak out for their own rights within Israel than they were in the past, and that now educated and articulate professionals are more able to make their mark.

The *intifada* has excited the Israeli Palestinians, as it has excited the West. They are dedicated to the claim of the Arabs beyond

*"Everyone I talked to about politics admitted that they were passing through 'difficult and dangerous times,'"*

the Green Line for a Palestinian state, and guardedly optimistic of the outcome. Everyone I talked to about politics admitted that they were passing through "difficult and dangerous times", with the Jewish state divided between the pro-Palestinian left and the virulently anti-Palestinian right. They were all intensely aware that any growth in the sporadic anti-Jewish incidents that have flared up inside the country over the past 20 months would be horribly detrimental to both Palestinian causes. If an Israeli Arab from the Galilee, driven by small acts of discrimination — rather than a man from occupied Gaza, whose relatives are in goal and whose friend is paraplegic from a soldier's bullet — drives the next Israeli bus over a cliff, the social and political repercussions for the Palestinians will be terrible.

So the community leaders have to keep people calm, while the children watch the stone-throwing on television and inevitably long to be doing something more dramatic than selling vegetables in the *Wadi*. □



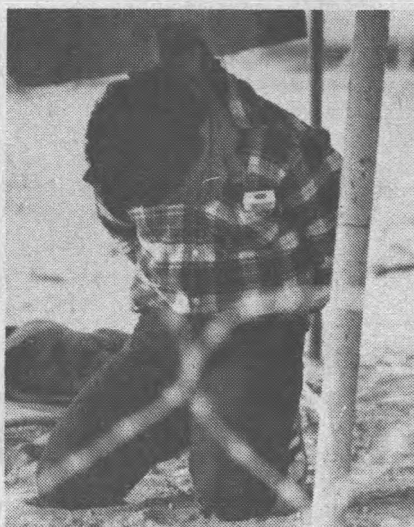
Jerusalem police roughly drag a Palestinian youth to a nearby truck

#### Steadfastness Against The Odds

And there is the daily question of trust. If you are an electronics student with equipment in your home, and a neighbour has informed on you so that you are suspected by the police of being a Syrian spy, you feel under surveillance for years afterwards. Even an Arab woman who has worked for years in a Jewish office believes that her colleagues

*"— the test of sumud", can be a depressing and demoralising experience"*

will never fully accept her: "They greet me according to the news." After the Jerusalem bus crash, as tension flashed across the country, Arab youths attacked on a beach in Caesaria felt it immediately, so, in subtler ways, did Arab professionals in their middle-class jobs. Steadfastness, the daily living which is — as Shehadeh recognised — "the test of *sumud*", can be a depressing and demoralising experience.



A Palestinian youth in an Israeli defence force camp is blindfolded ready for torturing

## The United States and Palestinian Self Determination Second Feature

By Donald Neff

By sheer coincidence of timing, the Bush administration is the first one since Truman's in the late 1940s that has not only the opportunity but the objective need to address the basic question of Palestinian self determination. The reason — though no one seems willing to discuss it — is the fact that all of America's traditional excuses for opposing it no longer exist.

The original reasons for America's refusal to support self determination for the Palestinians rest less in some sort of evil cabal than in historic accident. Right from the beginning of the UN partition vote in 1947, Washington ignored Palestinian aspirations because of the post-war atmosphere at the time, British imperial ambitions and a desire by politically weak President Truman to gain

the support of Israel's supporters. On the emotional level, passions were still running high against Grand Mufi Hajj Amin Hussein for his wartime embrace of Hitler. Strategically, there was Britain's desire to maintain its colonial position in the region, paramount since World War I. And on the less exalted level domestic politics, Truman was so weak that he needed all the votes he could muster.

These attitudes simultaneously converged with an inclination in Washington for the US in general to take its lead from the British in the Middle East — although Atlee and other British officials at the time no doubt would have been astounded to hear such a thesis. But, with one important caveat, that



was in fact the policy in Washington; the caveat was that British policy should not threaten President Truman's perilously shaky political position at home.

#### **Taking its lead from Britain**

The inclination to follow the British remained a basic element of US policy even into the Eisenhower administration, as a comment in Eisenhower's memoirs as late as the mid-1950's confirms: "... we felt that the British should continue to carry a major responsibility for (Middle Eastern) stability and security. The British were intimately familiar with the history, traditions, and peoples of the Middle East — we, on the other hand, were heavily involved in Korea, Formosa, Vietnam, and in this hemisphere."

The problem with all this was that British policy was propelled by its self interest in maintaining Britain's imperial position regardless of what that meant to the Palestinians. Its main goal in denying a separate Palestinian state was to attach the Palestinians to Jordan and thereby retain London's position through its vassal in Amman. The rationale for this strategy was spelled out with considerable cogency in a Whitehall paper of the time: "It (a Palestinian state) would be a hotbed of ineffectual Arab fanaticism and after causing maximum disturbances to our relations with the Arabs would very likely fall in the end under Jewish influence and be finally absorbed in the Jewish state, thereby increasing the area of possible Russian influence and excluding the possibility of our obtaining strategic requirements in any part of Palestine."

These arguments, or variations of them, were persuasive to Washington, as indicated by the instructions received by the US

representative at the 1949 Lausanne Peace Conference. The instructions included the following: "US favours incorporation of the greater part of Arab Palestine in Transjordan. The remainder might be divided among other Arab states as seems desirable." In other words, no self determination for the Palestinians.

Britain finally seemed about to achieve its goal the following year when it became the only Western country — in fact the only country other than Pakistan — to recognise Jordan's declared annexation of the West Bank into Jordan. Though that gambit ultimately failed, the tag ends of Britain's policy lingered on and could still be detected as late as 1956 as muted motives helping fuel the disastrous Suez crisis.

#### **Favouring the Jordan option**

Despite these multiple failures, Washington did not change its opposition to self determination for the Palestinians. Presumably the argument prevailed that Jordan, after all, still existed and thus a "Jordan option" was still viable. Then, too, there was always the political angle: why upset the Israelis? And opposition to self determination remains US policy to this day — despite the fact that the original reasons for it are now totally irrelevant. The final blow occurred last year when King Hussein renounced any claim to Palestine. That act meant there is no longer a "Jordan option", which in turn meant, more significantly, there remained no external objective reason for the US to continue to oppose self determination. Nor is there any shred of strategic, intellectual, philosophical or moral excuse for maintaining this antiquated policy against self determination.

But there is one soaring political reason to retain the policy: to pander to Israel, which has all along violently opposed the concept of Palestinians, let alone their self determination. By supporting Israeli policy Washington perhaps hopes to keep alive some faded and dubious scheme of bypassing the PLO by recreating the "Jordan option". Certainly that is still desired in Israel and actively pursued. Therefore it cannot be discounted that as a covert policy by the US is still secretly working to outmanoeuvre the PLO by dealing with Jordan.

*"Nor is there any shred of strategic, intellectual, philosophical or moral excuse for maintaining this antiquated policy against self determination."*

In such an atmosphere of duplicity and cynicism, there is no likelihood that the Bush administration will grasp its chance and reverse its policy against self determination. No one watching the gleeful disregard for the rule of law displayed by the US in Panama could have the slightest expectation that this administration gives a damn about such ideals as self determination. Indeed, with its troops running wild in Panama like a bunch of Israeli settlers in the occupied territories, there is precious little hope the Bush administration will do anything bold or even useful during its entire term in office — anything, that is, except continue to treat the Middle East with the politics of deception that in its cynicism it evidently sees as serving its self interest and chances of survival into a second term. □

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# Soviet Solidarity with Developing Countries Stands

Staff Reporter



President of the USSR, Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev

The new political thinking which at present is the basis of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union by no means signifies its withdrawal of support from national liberation movements or a rejection of solidarity with developing countries, the Soviet ambassador to Zimbabwe, Comrade Arkady M. Glukhov has said.

Answering questions from the *Zimbabwe News*, Comrade Glukhov said the new political thinking means an acknowledgement of priority values common to mankind as a whole and "to be more precise — survival of mankind under the conditions of nuclear threat."

"We, as before, support national liberation movements and express our solidarity with the developing countries including those in Southern Africa in their struggle against racism, for elimination of apartheid," said Comrade Glukhov.

He said in practice, the new political thinking means the way of achieving mutually acceptable agreements and compromises on the basis of common highest interest — to

prevent global conflict and nuclear catastrophe.

"That's why we are calling upon all the conflicting and quarrelling sides in all parts of the globe to negotiate, to talk, to reach mutually acceptable agreements, to compromise," he added.

He acknowledged simultaneously the right of the oppressed peoples to fight and said that the Soviet Union will continue to support and "such is Moscow's stand and it is a firm one and of principle."

***"... perestroika and glasnost make the Soviet foreign policy politically more realistic, constructive, honest, open, democratic and responsible for the destiny of world peace."***

## Socialism

Perestroika and glasnost, he said, are not an abandonment of socialism. On the contrary, the deformation of socialism is removed and there is a return to genuine socialism as it was understood by Marx, Engels, Lenin and what the working masses wish it to be. This is the task that is being fulfilled in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics by the Soviet people headed by the Communist Party and its General Secretary, Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev.

The ambassador said, perestroika and glasnost make the Soviet foreign policy politically more realistic, constructive, honest, open, democratic and responsible for the destiny of world peace. He said its basic and main instrument has become a dialogue to guarantee peace and international security, the search for the solution of problems and settling of conflicts by peaceful means.

"... From use of force in international relations," Comrade Glukhov proceeded, "and proclaiming primacy of law, the Soviet foreign policy in essence is aimed at not con-



frontation but cooperation, not hostility but partnership. It categorically rejects interference into internal affairs of other states and acknowledges for other peoples, the right to free choice . . ."

In the economic sphere, perestroika and glasnost, he said, demand for the paying of most serious attention to the world economic situation, strict consideration for economic and social realities in each country and especially in the developing states.

Proceeding, the ambassador said the Soviet Union advocates for a new world economic order in which justice would reign in trade-economic and financial relations and would create favourable conditions for sound development.

#### Revolutionary Process

Perestroika is a complex revolutionary process which arouses not a single and the same reaction in the USSR as in the whole world and differently influences people's consciousness, he said.

"That is why we meet with different estimations and points of view on perestroika, with both negative and positive commentaries, with different attitudes to it. To a considerable extent, as it seems to me, it proceeds from not an adequate understanding of the essence and significance of perestroika, failure to understand that the very reality demanded its carrying out, that it was not an "invention", but the result of an objective necessity of the development of the Soviet society which could not live as before.

*"... not everybody understands it even in the Soviet Union. But, on the whole, the Soviet people has met perestroika with approval and actively puts in into practice."*

ka, failure to understand that the very reality demanded its carrying out, that it was not an "invention", but the result of an objective necessity of the development of the Soviet society which could not live as before.

"Unfortunately, not everybody understands it even in the Soviet Union. But, on the whole, the Soviet people has met perestroika with approval and actively puts it into practice. It has won approval and sympathy, with rare exceptions, in the whole world," clarified Comrade Glukhov.

Explaining the changes in Eastern Europe, he said these peoples are making an effort on the renewal of socialism and transforming it from totalitarian into a democratic structure. He added that these events are not isolated because the world is interdependent.

"But this is not the main point. What matters is that these changes have become eminent and, like perestroika in the USSR, they have become an objective necessity . . . Life itself has put them on the agenda and the people have responded to it with practical actions," he emphasised.

Responding to a question on allegations from the West that socialism is in the intensive care unit he said, the allegations that

socialism is at the stage of reanimation are not correct in their essence, since the theory and practice of socialism is a reality, a component and an inalienable part of the development of human civilisation.

The development of one or another phenomenon envisages its constant renewal and perfection. He said exactly the same occurs with socialism in the USSR as well as other countries. It depends on the specific conditions and that is why the renewal and perfection is being carried out in different ways, methods and forms.

#### Market Forces

Answering a question on market forces in East European countries, he said there is no necessity to "open" economy for market forces. Where commodity-money relation exist "(and they exist anywhere)" market forces or "law of market" are acting and they dictate prices, demand and supply, level of production and consumption.

"The trouble is, that 'law of market', that is, the objective economic laws often were ignored in the socialist countries, were substituted by government instructions and a tough centralised management. This negatively affected the economy, was a hindrance to its development, fettered progress of productive forces and led to stagnation.

"At present, practically in all the socialist countries of Eastern Europe, including the USSR, deep economic reforms are being carried out, which take into account 'laws of market' and 'mobilizing' them for the development of the economy to give it more dynamism and effectiveness," said ambassador Glukhov.

He proceeded by saying perestroika was not imposed by individuals. It is an objective necessity that has become imminent in the development of the Soviet society. The delay in societal restructuring was fraught with the threat of a socio-economic and political crisis. The emerging situation under review resulted from the defects of the defunct bureaucratic administrative system.

Through the dismantling of that system, reestablishment of Lenin's idea and genuine principles of socialism, it was possible to help the Soviet Union out of stagnation, to prevent the oncoming crisis. The concept of revolutionary perestroika was then born.

#### Difficulties

Clarifying his point, he said the present stage of perestroika is of a transitional nature hence overcoming past deformations, radical abandonment of stereotypes and outdated views actively engaged millions of people in practical activities in transforming society. "This is the main outcome of today."

Asked whether consideration was given to possible difficulties emerging with the advent of perestroika he said the leadership was aware that it would not be a momentary campaign. It would be a long process requiring beating many serious obstacles and difficulties of an inveterate and profound nature.

The difficulties have turned out more numerous than expected, these being in the

field of economy, relation among nations and nationalities of the country and social ones. Perestroika has been facing resistance from conservative and bureaucratic elements, nationalist and extremist tendencies he said. They are to be dealt with.

"In this struggle, we count on sound and creative forces in our society which perestroika and glasnost have a mission to mobilize. The problems that we are now solving are not a result of perestroika and glasnost," he said adding, "rather, it is perestroika and glasnost that made it possible to expose their gravity and put on the agenda the need for their immediate and stable solution."

Responding to a question on the contribution of the new political thinking to the success in moving away from world nuclear catastrophe, he said it has resulted into a turn from confrontation to mutually beneficial cooperation in international relations. For the first time in world history, a real disarmament was initiated under the Soviet-American INF Treaty.

#### Regional Hotbeds Liquidation

The Soviet Union considers this treaty a significant step along the way to free the world of nuclear and other mass destruction weapons by the year 2000. It has put forward an idea of reasonable defence efficiency and has practically done so, the ambassador said. This has been necessitated by the need to prevent any major armed conflict.

The new political thinking, he went on, may be said to have enhanced progress in the search for solutions to regional conflicts like Afghanistan, Angola, Namibia and Iraq-Iran.

"As we see it, the system of international security, liquidation of international hotbeds, renunciation of use of force in international relations and settlement of issues through political means would create conditions for reducing armed forces and defence budgets by all, including also African states.

"Moreover, we speak out for the introduction of a principle of disarmament for development which has met a favourable response from many states. Thus saved resources could be channelled to solve grave social, economic and ecological problems which countries of this continent go through," Comrade Glukhov said.

He concluded by saying his country believes in the success of perestroika and its fruitful future. He said the country is renewing relations of production and social ones. Profound democratic transformations in political system are being realised. A state governed by law is also being established and a transition to effective forms of economy management is under way.

"It is not a task for a day," he said before quoting Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, "Perestroika we consider to be a long stage of the historic way of socialism". Only recently, Comrade Gorbachev, speaking in Moscow, said the Soviet Union needs perestroika as it needs air. □

# Thousands of African Students Denied University Education

*Decades of differential access to educational institutions in South Africa has plunged the country into a crisis. Already reeling from the worst matriculation results in black education in five years, the country's tertiary institutions are under growing pressure. Thousands of African students are being turned away from universities and technical colleges because there is supposedly no space to accommodate them. The fruits of the blindness of apartheid that never envisaged Africans being anything other than servants to white people has become a major issue.*

## **The Press Trust of South Africa Investigates**

Agrim response awaits thousands of African high school graduates seeking admission to South African universities and technical colleges this year. Most will be turned away. The main reasons being put forward are lack of space caused by cuts in state subsidies. This has led to stricter admission criteria which many students with deprived educational backgrounds cannot meet.

Places of higher education in South Africa have traditionally been the domain of the white minority ruling bloc with "handsful" of African students concentrated mainly in ethnically-based universities.

However, in recent years with the "opening up" of universities to all races, albeit on a racial quota basis with a fixed percentage of blacks to whites usually around 15 percent for the former, universities have seen a phenomenal growth rate.

## **Statistical Comments**

This follows an acceptance by the government of this past decade that "professionals, entrepreneurs and technologists must be drawn from the whole population".

The other major English-language tertiary institution, University of Cape Town, is also hard pressed with the capacity to admit only 3 500 out of an expected 12 000 applicants. Here too entry into the prestigious medical faculty will be restricted to 150 at first-year level. There are likely to be more than 1 000 applications.

A similar horror story is evident at the University of Durban-Westville where some 20 000 enquiries about admission have been received.

According to Mr. N.J. Nel, the university public relations director, some 6 750 formal applications have been received but "this is far in excess of the 2 200 places and university has".

The university, which was itself established on the apartheid ethnic doctrine to cater for the local Indian population, has since opened its doors to all races and is bursting at the seams.

Dennis Nkosi, vice-president of the Students Representative Council (SRC) at the university, says the 2 200 cut-off point will result in "frustrating a number of unsuccessful applicants".

Miss Elaine Sithole, a hopeful speech therapy first-year student who travelled to Durban from the Transvaal some 600 kilometres away, found that the university was not accepting any more applications.

"We spend all this time in hardship to get an education and when we want to go further there are other obstacles. I don't know whether it is because of racism that I am not wanted here", she remarked disdainfully.

Sources at the SRC said that calls are received daily from all over the country from students confused as to whether they will be accepted or not and imploring the SRC to help them. It was discovered that the university administration communicates through ordinary mail with students and a letter lost in the mail could mean a place lost at university.

Mr. Nkosi says "we realise that there are limitations that buildings impose on admissions, however we must place the blame squarely at the door of our administration and the education departments nationally for failing to project future needs and to plan accordingly".

## **Entry Requirements**

The crisis at this university is bad news for many students because the university has traditionally catered for a large proportion of students without exemplary matriculation passes.

Another factor working against the aspirations of the African students is the commitment by certain university authorities to

"weed out" prospective poor performers. The universities have introduced a 50 percent matriculation examination pass mark as the lowest entrance requirement.

With the shambles that African education is currently in, it is likely that even many who have managed to pass high school will be effectively excluded from making it to tertiary studies.

A finger of blame for the current crisis can only be pointed at the short-sighted policies of apartheid which have for years turned a blind eye to demographic trends within the African population, currently around 26-million.

Referring to this crisis in African education, Professor Charlton ruefully maintains "we've got a backlog of facilities, of qualified teachers and of libraries and on top of that, this enormous population growth rate".

The increasing numbers burden a fixed subsidy in the form of one cake that has to be shared out equally irrespective of the number of students. A cut in the subsidies has been aggravated by the government awarding a mere six percent increase as compared to an inflation rate around 16 percent.

Professor Charlton said that "hand in hand with the new government thinking on tertiary education for black students has been an economic squeeze on university authorities forcing them to control the numbers of additional students or face bankruptcy".

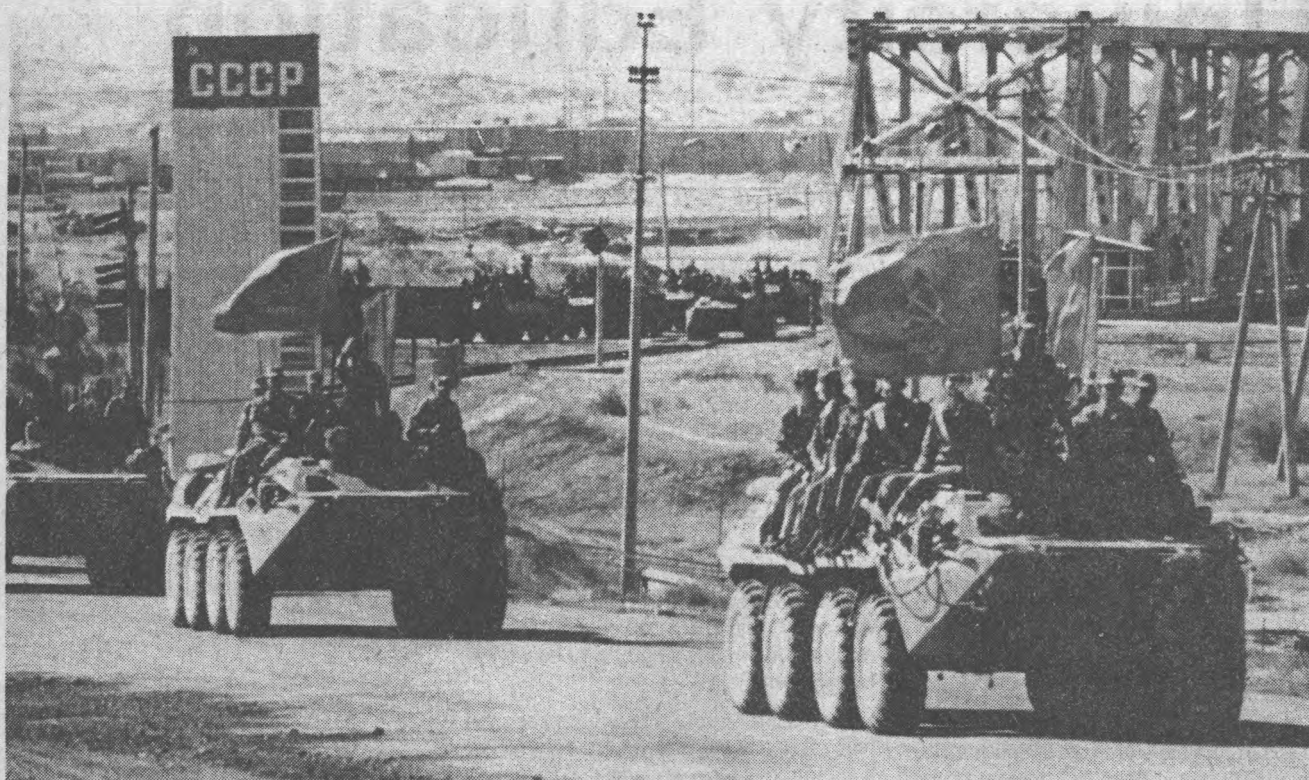
The current situation appears to be only the tip of the iceberg. A recently-released document, entitled "The Role in Society of the University of Natal", predicts a startling scenario for the year 2010.

It maintains that over the next 20 years, African student numbers would grow by a massive 887 percent and coloured student numbers by 170 percent. White student numbers will drop by 63 percent and Indians by 38 percent. □



# 1st Anniversary of the Soviet Troop Pullout from Afghanistan (APN)

By Boris Gari, Novosti Commentator



The Republic of Afghanistan. The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan began on May 15, 1988, when the Geneva accords went into force. The Soviet troop withdrawal followed the "rolling up the carpet" pattern. . .

On last February 15, the Soviet Union completed its troop pull-out from Afghanistan, in a demonstration of a genuine desire to achieve a political settlement of the more than 10-year-old conflict.

But even this crucial Soviet move did not put an end to the civil war in Afghanistan, although many had hoped it would. Who is to blame? It's not difficult to answer this question. The Afghan opposition and its closest allies, Washington and Islamabad, which together with Moscow signed the Geneva accords in Afghanistan, read the package as implying only the Soviet troop withdrawal from the Afghan land. So far neither of the two have fulfilled a single provision of the accords. Afghan rebels still operate from their bases on Pakistani territory and are still provided with arms and money by the United States. Saudi Arabia is becoming increasingly involved in the Afghan war.

It is crystal clear today that the alliance of the seven and its patrons have chosen the wrong path. Despite fierce fighting near Jalalabad, Khost, Herat and Kandahar and at the walls of Kabul, the opposition has not moved forward even by an inch. The Government troops and the Najibullah Government have emerged victoriously from the fighting. Hopes for a quick victory have failed. The

war is becoming protracted, and the Afghan situation is being increasingly seen as an impasse even by the United States and Pakistan.

#### Circumstances

A natural question to ask in such circumstances would be what to do? And it is certainly asked not only in Moscow and Kabul but also in the capitals making no secret of their hostile attitude to the Najibullah administration. Sober-minded politicians are increasingly in favour of a political compromise which they think might be precipitated by a dialogue between rival Afghan groups. That the western position on the Afghan issue is being gradually altered is evident from the French move to re-open the Embassy in Kabul and Italy and West Germany's intention to follow suit shortly. The United States, too, appears to be re-considering its tough stand. The New York Times, quoting a well-informed state department source, claimed that Washington no longer regarded Najibullah's resignation as a *sine qua non*. It had earlier said no talks would begin as long as Najibullah remained President. There are signs of a thaw in Pakistani attitude as well. In a statement in Moscow, Abdul Sattar, the Pakistani Ambassador, was at pains to prove that his Government wanted a political settlement to the Afghan question.

Regrettably, these are only declarations of intent, rather than actions. To stop the bloodshed will obviously take some resolute moves. In this context, it would be wise to pay more attention to the new peace proposals advanced by the Najibullah Government which called for an immediate end to arms supplies to the rival groups not only by the Soviet Union and the United States, but also by Pakistan and the Arab countries. The proposal has been dubbed "negative symmetry". A cessation of arms supplies should be accompanied with a ceasefire, disarmament of the sides involved in the conflict and Afghanistan's demilitarisation under United Nations control.

I see Najibullah's recent proposals as reasonable. Indeed, Afghanistan has been stuffed to the corners with weapons. The nation is reckoned to have three sub-machine guns per head, including newborns. And the arsenals are still swelling. This undesirable trend can be effectively terminated with the help of the United Nations which has proved in Namibia to be a good peace-keeper. The chance to achieve peace on the Afghan land, open in the wake of the Soviet troop pull-out, must not be missed. It only takes goodwill, preparedness to compromise and a desire of all the parties to the conflict to co-operate. □

# Socialism: The Time of Historic Changes

By Viktor Kiselev, Candidate of Sciences (Philosophy)

Changes, changes... we are demanding changes." These are the words from a Soviet song of the perestroika period. I do not know whether the marchers in the GDR, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia know this song, but the idea of renovation in the socialist countries has won the minds of the masses who have demanded rejection of ideological self-satisfaction, solution of urgent social, economic and political problems and extension of freedoms. The latest events in Eastern Europe have once more confirmed that socialism is living through a crisis, maybe the most dramatic in its history. Perestroika in the USSR, the rapid political processes in Hungary, Poland, the GDR, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia, the economic reforms in China, the wary and even hostile attitude to the winds of ideological and political freedom by the orthodox leaders of a number of other socialist states are the bright colours of today's world which only recently looked grey and monotonous.

## Socialism — Whether to?

Where is the socialist world heading? What is going on in it: creative renovation or downfall, confirming the ultimate victory of bourgeois economic and political liberalism in the great historical dispute of the 19th — 20th centuries? Some participants in the heated debates speak of the defeat of the new system in economic, political and moral terms, rather than of the crisis of the former Stalinist model of socialism. Others, on the contrary, hope that socialism can be revived and its deformations overcome by delivering it from vulgar interpretation and distortion of the essence of the new system.

In any case, we can assert that mankind's prospect is determined not only by the ongoing socialisation of capitalism, but also by severance with pseudo-socialisation of capitalism, but also by severance with pseudo-socialism by the countries of the new system, and by the renovation of the humanist sense of socialist ideals.

The essence of perestroika is de-etatisation, because the complicated process of socialisation in the socialist countries has been brought to nearly total etatisation of all social relations. The socialisation of the means of production was replaced by nationalisation: the monopoly of state ownership did not disappear, it was lessened by allowing cooperative and even private ownership in some countries. As a matter of fact, there appeared state, distributing socialism which was often imposed by force. The most surprising thing in such a totalitarian system

is the merging of economics and politics and the losing by each of them of the autonomy which has made it possible for capitalism to have permanent source of its progress. There appeared ineffective and anti-human mechanisms of social development, based on the estrangement of working people from ownership and power. Having inevitably found themselves in a blind ally, the socialist countries were confronted with a choice: partial private property and denationalisation or further socialisation. There were also attempts to combine these two ways.

## Socialisation of Capitalist Societies

Yet, I think that none of the socialist countries will return to the bourgeois way of development. This will not happen at least because socialisation is going on also in capitalist societies due to the involvement of the majority of the population into management, the extension of rights and freedoms, stronger social protection, growing justice and humanisation of public life. On the other hand, radical reforms of social structures in the majority of socialist countries are creating the foundation for overcoming the counterposing capitalism and socialism and for searching mutual understanding between the two systems.

The search for new ways of development, that is for sweeping reforms, is going on within the following alternative: commodity, market, democratic or non-economic, administrative-command, barrack socialism. In the countries which call themselves socialist the first option exists only theoretically so far. It has not been introduced in full anywhere.

The countries which have proclaimed fundamental renovation are striving for a multi-structural economy (state, cooperative, private and mixed), for market regulator with the use of indicative planning, competition, openness for world economies, for participation in the international division of labour, for the creation of a civic society with diversified interests and a state governed by laws, for political pluralism, even the recognition of multi-party opposition, and for spiritual, including ideological, freedom.

The major problems that arise in the countries striving for democratic, market socialism are the following: greater social differentiation of the population, growing contradictions, exacerbation of political instability, unpredictability of social processes, unemployment, and so on.

## Reforms

By the will of the people, reforms are going on in the majority of the socialist countries which have started an offensive on the pyramidal bureaucratic structure of power, are rejecting suppression of the opposition forces, are getting rid of the omnipotence of the ruling parties and of information and culture monopoly, and are broadening free contacts with the West. This can be seen from the events in the Germany Democratic Republic, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia in the past few months of the outgoing year 1989.

There are also countries which, in the course of their search, have been trying to avoid the extremes of the administrative-barrack and market models and combine the advantages (obvious or illusory) of both. Hence the many contradictions of their search: stage-by-stage development, purposefulness, on the one hand, and stagnation and political hesitation, on the other; introduction of economic and market mechanisms on a certain level (different forms of contract work, including family contracts, cooperation, joint-stock forms of ownership, and so on) with the preservation of the command system in the economy and the tremendous administrative apparatus, which is not going to give up its functions; aspiration for spiritual freedoms and diversity coexists with resistance to political pluralism. However, the desire to look like a civilised society with a full set of the freedoms and rights of the members of a civic society and the triumph of law is limited by the fear of the growing opposition forces and the fear of starting dialogue with them.

The reforming forces in the socialist countries, which are striving to establish closer contacts with Social Democrats and, on this basis, to get rid of strangling dogmas are accused (not only in reformer-countries, but also in the countries not wishing to follow the way of sweeping reforms) of class treachery and petty bourgeois, and rightist revisionist regeneration. Unfortunately, the victory of reformers over dogmatic advocates of outdated social structures and frenzied supporters of ideological intolerance is not predetermined. Glasnost and democratisation are not enough in this case. Only the end of the crisis, especially marked improvement in living standards, can ensure victory. The taste for rights and the benefits of freedom develops not only through getting rid of ideological warders. It develops and grows stronger in the masses only if accompanied by better living standards. This is the critical point of perestroika which will determine its victory or defeat.



# Who Will Win?

By Yri Kudimov

**T**he election campaign has entered a crucial stage in Nicaragua. Over twenty political parties are contesting the presidential and vice-presidential posts. Fourteen of them have formed the National Opposition Union. Half a dozen parties have their own platforms. All of them are opposed to the Sandinist National Liberation Front (SNLF).

The ideological spectrum of contestants ranges from the extreme left, which believes that a world revolution is inevitable, to the extreme right, which preaches neo-conservative views. And so, we are convincingly shown that political pluralism does exist in Nicaragua.

Most of the foreign observers staying here acknowledge that Nicaragua's electoral law measures up to world standards. Franchise is enjoyed by every citizen who has reached the age of 16. The electoral system is universal, fair, direct and confidential. More than 80 per cent of eligible voters have registered so far. This result was described by the UN secretary-general's representative Elliot Richardson as impressive.

## Confidence

Officially, registration has been completed. But it has been prolonged for those who decided to cease armed resistance to the Sandinistas and return home, as was recently done by nine contra commanders. In their public speeches and private conversations the Sandinistas express confidence that they will win the February 25 election. The opposition leaders do not want to accept a defeat in advance, and I think they have some grounds for such a belief.

The Sandinistas can boast a military victory over the contras and certain gains in the social arena. They have at their disposal a well-organized party and state machinery which, it must be admitted, is working hard to ensure victory for the SNLF. At the same time, the Sandinistas are aware of their miscalculations. The most serious mistakes were made in the economy. The national economy is now in a critical situation. Production level is low and finances are in disarray. High prices and even poverty remain.

Nicaragua has never been a prosperous country — no one expected a miracle from new authorities. All the more so that during their 10-odd years of power, the Sandinistas had to fight for some eight years. When a Nicaraguan, who has been starving all this time, is offered an instant alternative solution to such immediate problems, of course he falls to thinking. Sadly, material concerns inevitably influence the psychology of Nicaraguan voters. And the opposition will try to seize on this chance.

Daniel Ortega and Sergio Ramirez, the SNLF's presidential and vice-presidential candidates, are opposed by Violeta Barrios de Chamorro and Virgilio Godoy, candidates of the National Opposition Union. Violeta Barrios de Chamorro is widow of Pedro Joaquin Chamorro. He was the former owner of the newspaper *La Prensa*, who was killed by Somoza agents before the revolution. This status adds popularity to Violeta. But she is rumoured to be in poor health and, if elected head of state, she may be unable to run the country effectively. In such a situation the role of vice-president will become more significant. However, Virgilio Godoy's reputation has been seriously undermined. His

colleagues from the Independent Liberal Party accused him of "inaccurate" conduct of party finances. At their insistence Godoy was stripped of his parliamentary immunity and the case was taken to court.

Be that as it may, the National Opposition Union claims to have put forward an alternative to Sandinism. An ordinary Nicaraguan may find some attractive promises in the Government programme. For example, the union promises to turn the land over to the peasants. The United States and some West European countries have unequivocally declared their support for Violeta Barrios de Chamorro. This enables the opposition to lure voters by the prospect of generous financial aid from the West if it wins the election.

Usually quiet and considered, Nicaraguans sometimes display unexpected aggressiveness in the current election campaign. Mutual insults and even fisticuffs between SNLF and NOU supporters demonstrate the low political standards of the two camps. The opposition asserts that the most belligerent Sandinistas intimidate those who are going to vote for the NOU. The supporters of Daniel Ortega and Sergio Ramirez accuse the opposition of provoking riots. My view is that the media of both sides, having tried hard to libel each other, bear a share of the responsibility for outbursts of violence.

Frankly speaking, it is difficult to believe the results of opinion polls which predict a landslide victory for one or another side (depending on who holds a poll and now). Some foreign analysts do not rule out that the final results of voting may be very close. In this case the formation of a coalition government will be the most reasonable way out. A similar situation arose in the early years after the victory of the Sandinist revolution. □

# SADCC Enters Second Decade

**I**n April 1980, the leaders of Angola, Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland and Tanzania proclaimed the establishment of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference. At their first conference in Lusaka, the nine different fields in the declaration "South Africa on the road of economic liberation". The Lusaka declaration proclaimed SADCC's main objective as being

to reduce the members' economic dependence on South Africa, especially in transport and communications, by consistently putting into effect the principle of collective self-sufficiency.

Over the past ten years, SADCC has achieved a certain measure of progress. Shipping by the railways and through the ports of South Africa dropped from 75 to 58 in the overall foreign trade carriage of the SADCC

member-states. The TAZARA railway connecting several member-countries with the port of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania was once the most profitable enterprise in Africa. But SADCC at the present time is undertaking 490 joint projects in transport, energy, agriculture, communications, the food industry, *et cetera*, at a total cost of more than

*continued next page*

6.3 billion dollars. A SADCC report circulated recently in the Zambian capital said its efforts had consolidated the economic integration of Southern African states and paved the way for their independent moves in the international arena.

Evaluating SADCC performance and prospects, one ought to remember that it was propelled into existence primarily by Pretoria's aggression and is therefore a result of confrontation in South Africa, albeit a positive result.

By the time the group was set up, Southern Africa had developed a certain pattern of regional economic links. Ten years on, all SADCC countries with the exception of Angola and Tanzania, still maintain a relationship with South Africa. Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland are in a South African-dominated group under the auspices of the customs union agreement between Swaziland, Botswana, Lesotho and South Africa, prescribing a single customs tariff for imports. South African capital is unrivalled in their economies. Pretoria also provides electricity to meet 100 of requirements of Lesotho, 80 of Swaziland, and 50 of Botswana. All their oil products also come from South Africa.

One should not ignore the fact that trade with South Africa is profitable for SADCC members, because South African goods of no inferior quality cost their consumers much less than similar western goods. Transportation costs of imports from South Africa are also lower than when merchandise arrives from Europe, the United States or Asia Pacific. Consumers in Lesotho, Botswana or Swaziland pay 30 to 40 per cent less for goods imported from South Africa than for their western analogues.

South Africa trades not only with SADCC members but also with many other African countries, not just Mauritius and the Seychelles repeatedly criticised for failure to boycott Pretoria.

Being an inalienable part of the continent, South Africa, too, has its vested interests in Africa. It wants to boost trade with its neighbours in order to achieve one strategic objective. . . . expand exports of manufactured goods and semi-finished articles. Most of Pretoria's manufacturing industries are not competitive enough to survive in western markets.

Such are the economic realities which, if ignored in drafting political or economic policies, may entail high costs.

Over the past decade, the SADCC countries and many other members of the international community have achieved one of their immediate objectives. . . . getting the drive for dismantling apartheid of the ground. As the hated system crumbles, co-operation with a renewed South Africa will steadily climb to the top of the trade and economic agenda of the region. "We are waiting impatiently for the day when a South Africa ruled by the majority will join SADCC", said Robert Mugabe echoing the natural trend towards economic integration of Southern African countries, in which SADCC will certainly play a prominent role.

Namibia's progress towards independence and an entirely new situation in South Africa seem to be clearing the ground for negotiations between the government of the country and the black majority. If constructive elements in South Africa's policy grow in scope and scale, and there is evidence that they will, the region may soon be ushered into a long-awaited era of stability and co-operation. □

## People Act as the Sovereign

*New Year message of the Acting Chairman of the State Council, the President of the Council of Ministers and the Chairman of the People's Chamber to the people of German Democratic Republic*

**T**he outgoing year 1989 will go down in our country's history as the year of a peaceful revolution. The citizen of the German Democratic Republic — women and men — are making a reality of their dreams of freedom, democracy and justice. The people's Chamber, the Government and the Council of State are dedicated to their will.

The people need no instruction, no political missionaries, no self-righteous moralizers. The people act as the sovereign. We feel we are expressing the views of a majority of all citizens when we say at the threshold of the year 1990: the GDR needs revolutionary changes. It needs the rule of law, it needs a sense of reason and perceptiveness. The freedoms that have been won are to be invigorated.

Civil rights must be granted to every citizen. The GDR needs the good work of all its citizens. All are here dependent on one another. Everyone has a share of responsibility for the whole. We need a functioning economy because our people need it. Without a functioning economy, there can be no functioning democracy.

Our thanks therefore go to the citizens in towns and in the countryside who have been tirelessly working these weeks to sustain

production, to maintain the flow of supplies and to protect the public. All energies must be mobilized to overcome the crisis. Assistance in this endeavour, especially from the Federal Republic of Germany, is necessary, urgent and welcome. Emergency measures taken by the government of the GDR are beginning to show positive results. Its ability to act and to assert its authority will be further in evidence in the next few weeks. Although the borders with the FRG and west Berlin have been fully opened, a buyout of the GDR will not be allowed. As in the past, there will be no sellout of enterprises in this country in the future. Every citizen should know that his or her savings deposits are safe. No currency reforms is contemplated.

The GDR is on the way to something new. Many things seem unusual, even threatening. Old structures are crumbling, are being called into question. New political forces are forming up. Firm ground needs to be found. We must build it together in a democratic manner. Confidence in the future should be growing already in the new year. Nobody should have fear, and everybody should contribute to ensuring order, a well-ordered life in towns and villages. Let us not forget the old and the sick and let us also care for our children.

### New Political Landscape

The year 1990 will be marked by the elections. They will produce a new political landscape. Till then, the People's Chamber, the coalition government, the Council of State and not least the Round Table are and remain committed to the welfare of all citizens. This is their supreme political mandate. Throughout these weeks, millions of citizens have taken part in demonstrations and manifested their will at meetings. Millions of citizens are still silent. In the new year, also the silent ones in our country should raise their voices and join these citizens who have been shouting: no violence, no outbursts of hatred, no xenophobia. Not the slightest chance of right extremist clamours and neo-fascists.

Courage for responsible action is the first civic duty. We trust in the ability and performance of the workers, cooperative farmers and the intelligentsia, indeed all working people — women, men and the younger generation — to shape a better future for our country through peaceful endeavours.

The renewal of the GDR is inseparably linked with the democratic upheavals in other socialist countries, especially with perestroika and glasnost in the Soviet Union. Our efforts and achievements, but also our omissions and errors, have repercussions on developments in Europe. Let us therefore meet the expectations placed in us. It is true, now as before, that the two German states share a special responsibility for peace and security, for disarmament and detente.

The GDR will always live up to this responsibility. All political forces should cooperate to this end.

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# East-European Factor: Is Africa's Concern Grounded?

By Dr. S. Shatalov (Part 1)

Holes in the Berlin Wall signify the end of a chapter in history. To say that stronger economic links between western and eastern Europe are highly desirable is to say little. This is crucial for regional progress and political stability.

What can the poorest countries expect from intensified cooperation between western Europe and its neighbours in the eastern part of the continent? Will Africa not prove a burdensome and unwanted partner? Africans have serious apprehensions on this score.

## The European Community and Africa

The bulk of EC funds reaches Africa through the channels of official development aid, that is via the inter-state mechanism of the Lome Conventions or Bilaterally. As for the latest, fourth Lome Convention, everything is clear. Vigorous and hard, especially for the ACP countries (Africa and the Caribbean and Pacific countries), talks have come to an end more than two years after the start. In the next five years, the EEC will spend 12 000 million ecus, or 3 500 million ecus more than in 1985-89. This is about a fifth of all aid flowing to Africa from the European community.

What is uncertain is how individual EEC countries will act on the aid issue. Considering Africa's concern, French President Mitterrand, West-German Chancellor Kohl and British Prime Minister Thatcher have declared that aid programmes will not be curtailed. However, most likely, the donor countries will act differently.

President Mitterrand will most probably honour his promise since France has major interests of long standing in Africa. Paris was steadily building up its positions in Africa even during the crisis-marked 80s. Effected mostly through aid programmes, this policy will hardly change.

This also applies, although with smaller probability, to Britain. From the viewpoint of long-term interests, it would be unreasonable for British capital to cut down aid, especially now that the prospect of dismantling apartheid is looming on the horizon. However, like France, Britain is short of funds, due to the persisting adverse balance of trade and preparations for a single European market.

The situation is different in West Germany. Whatever turn rapprochement between two Germanys may take, the pivot of this process would be the striving for the greatest possible economic integration. This ambi-

tious design would require huge funds. What makes forecasts as regards West German aid optimistic, is that West Germany is the only EEC country to have a major surplus on its balance of payments. This gives Bonn ample room for manoeuvring.

In all probability, the aid of the smaller EC donors, such as Italy, Spain and Portugal, will remain on the same level. For them it is also important not to weaken trade and economic ties with the third world. To sum up, Africa should hardly fear that EC official financial and economic aid would be curtailed. The effect of the East-European factor would most probably be that the EC would not be able to go over its present aid pledges.

The Western donors' stand with regard to Africa is not Altruistic. As President Mitterrand put it, to aid the third world means to aid ourselves. Even with grants-in-aid, the donor has at least 67 per cent of allocations returned in one form or another. With commodity credits, the recoupment coefficient soars to 300 per cent. The average recoupment of aid is from 70 per cent for bilateral programmes to 92 per cent for multilateral arrangements.

## Bretton Woods Organisations

Credits extended to Africa by the IMF, the World Bank and its branch, the international development association, played a significant role in the 80s, and it is to be believed that the policy of promoting structural change will not affect its substance. The establishment of a European Bank for reconstruction and development of eastern Europe would lessen the pressure on World Bank resources, which benefits Africa's interests.

Eastern Europe's growing requirements may complicate building up the resources of these organisations. Some Western experts say that in the 90s the central task of the IMF should be facilitating eastern Europe's reintegration with the world economy. The IMF is actively studying its opportunities in this respect. It is not excluded that the IMF would experience difficulties with allocating its credit resources.

There is every reason to believe that all East-European countries will join the IMF several years from now. These countries have their own ideas about the methods and pace of reforms. Their joining the IMF may make for reformist trends which have already made the IMF leadership's stand more realistic.

## Commercial Credits

Some experts fear that Eastern Europe may push the third world from the capital market. No denying, the

USSR and some other east-European countries intend to substantially increase commercial borrowing. This is of no practical significance for Africa. These are two absolutely different groups of borrowers and any rivalry between them is excluded. Even today not a single African country has free access to the commercial loan market simply because banks see their credit as too risky.

This is confirmed by, among other things, creditworthiness index computed by the US magazine institutional investor twice a year. Late last year, the index for Africa was 18 percentage points (on the 0-100 scale), and for eastern Europe and the USSR 45 points, which indicated to their relative stability. In Eastern Europe, too, the situation differs between the countries. For instance, banks finance Poland reluctantly. Hungary, with its per-capita debt among their highest figures in Europe, also experiences difficulties with securing loans. The German democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia have no difficulties in this field. Banks also willingly issue loans to the USSR.

Creditworthiness largely depends on the record of a borrower and the economic progress of African countries will eventually raise their credit rating. It is not excluded that in credit rating some African countries will outdo certain CMEA member countries.

## Private Investments

The state of affairs with private investments is comparable with the situation on the commercial credit market. Foreign investors' conduct largely depends on the policy of the recipient nation. Also important are such factors as local skills, infrastructure, telecommunications, etcetera. (In this respect some African countries can compete with Eastern Europe). However, what is even more important is the investment climate. It should not necessarily be greenhouse-like, allowing investors to do all they want. Decisive is the predictable policy of the recipient government and its ability to ensure economic and financial stability.

What dampens foreign investors' interest in both Africa and Eastern Europe is numerous bureaucratic hurdles. It does not make any difference to an entrepreneur where to operate in Lagos or Sofia. All he is interested in is the low costs and high quality of his products.

## Trade

Development resources also come from international trade. Potentially, Eastern Europe is a rival of the more advanced African countries which are eager to sell their products to the developed states. There is another major factor. Overcoming the postwar split of Europe would speed up western Europe's growth by at least 1-2 per cent. The EC domestic market would expand to improve the conditions of trade for the African exporters of raw materials and semi-finished goods. In its turn, faster growth would increase western Europe's possibilities of rendering economic aid to the third world.

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# Electricity from Wind Experiments in The GDR's Coastal Region.

*Adopted from the Wissenschaft and Technik: Information aus. GDR*

The first wind power machine for producing electricity in the German Democratic Republic was installed near Rostock on the Baltic. Situated on a hill at the edge of the town. It serves experimental purposes.

After the completion of the first phase of the extension of the wind power machine 55 kilowatts of electricity will be fed into the grid. Within the space of one year an average of 110,000 kilowatt hours could be produced, enough to provide 50 families with electric power.

The column of the machine is 25 metres

high and is equipped at the top with two ten metre long blades, which come from a helicopter. They make it possible for the machine to function at wind speeds as low as four metres per second.

The small power station has automatic recording and control systems and is fitted with special adaptor equipment to make it compatible with the municipal electricity supply.

At present the Rostock energy combine is carrying out investigations into whether or not the widespread use of wind power would

be appropriate in the German Democratic Republic. Analysis by the meteorological service indicate that not only the coastal region but also some sections of the mountain ranges in the country's south would be suitable for wind power generation.

In addition, scientists on the Baltic island of Hiddensee are carrying out investigations into which materials can best withstand the stresses which wind power generation equipment is subject to. □

## African Association of Political Science (Zimbabwe Chapter)

The Zimbabwe Chapter of the African Association of Political Science condemns the recent United States invasion of Panama and the US harassment of diplomats of certain Latin American countries based in Panama.

The US invasion of Panama is a clear violation of Panama's sovereignty and an interference in Panamanian internal Affairs.

The Association notes with great concern that this is not the first time the US Govern-

ment has terrorised a third world country. For example, similar acts of aggression were committed against Libya and Grenada.

The Association urges the US Government to leave the Panamanians to solve their own problem without outside interference.

By Dr. Donald Chimankire  
(For AAPS Executive) (Zimbabwe National Chapter)

*from page 49*

Europe is looking upon us because the GDR's development and its relationship with the FRG — concerns the whole of Europe, especially the neighbours and partners of the two German states. The contractual community with the Federal Republic of Germany which is to take shape in 1990 can only be useful for Europe and useful for us if the GDR Government is able to act as a reliable partner. The stability and governability of the

GDR are a German necessity and a European concern.

When in these eventful days people are speaking about the future, they often recall the German past. Let us continue, dear fellow citizens, jointly to write here a new chapter of German history, a chapter without blood and iron, a chapter by the people for the people.

We wish you all a peaceful new year, good health, well-being and energy. □

*from page 51*

### Humanitarian Aid

The importance of this aid aimed to combat natural disasters, famine, in the first place, is obvious. Compared with other regions of the third world, Africa receives relatively more in Humanitarian aid. The European community is getting increasingly 'tired' of rendering economic and financial aid. This does not apply to humanitarian aid. Compassion is the motive force behind humanitarian aid. Affected by political considerations least of all, humanitarian aid is unlikely to fall.

As for the difficulties experienced by some East-European countries, they have nothing in common with Africa's problems. In particular, although a lot is said and written about the food problem in Eastern Europe, famine does not threaten that part of the continent.

APN



# Another Headache for the Pretoria Regime



Members of the Inkatha backed UWUSA trade union demonstrating against unemployment and hunger

Many overseas companies that have been the backbone of the South African economy have disinvested or are in the process of disinvesting because they can now see the futility of continuing to be associated with a system that has been internationally condemned as inhuman — apartheid.

These companies no longer want to be used by the racist regime in its programme of oppressing and exploiting the people of South Africa coupled with the effect of economic sanctions which are taking their toll and the chaotic internal political situation, economic expansion is at a standstill.

Thus the de Klerk regime is facing another problem which is growing day by day — mass unemployment.

The architects of apartheid are themselves admitting to the fact that South Africa's unemployment toll which now stands at 3 000 000 will rocket to an unpredicted figure of 8 000 000 by the year 2000 — an increase of 37,5 per cent.

Every year, young men and women leave the regime's army after having satisfied the requirements of their conscription and this year is not going to be any different.

Experience has shown that most of them leave the army ill-equipped for skilled jobs. Some might enter universities or go for apprenticeships but a large number will seek for immediate employment.



American students participate in the campaign of solidarity with the struggle of the people of South Africa against the apartheid regime



**USA:** A mass public protest demonstration against apartheid attended by more than 2 000 people was held near the Embassy of South Africa in Washington. Photo: A demonstration participant displays a placard

The unemployment figure further soars with an increasing number of school leavers streaming into the market. Therefore, 350 000 more jobs should be created yearly — eight times faster than of the current rate.

The total black unemployment figure is given as 4 000 000. This figure includes the informal and subsistence farming sectors.

The officials further admit that virtually nothing is being done to solve the country's employment crisis because about 50 per cent of South Africa's labour force is threatened with retrenchment.

They agree that the solution lies in faster economic expansion which requires the removal of balance of payments problems caused by political pressures and a cure to skilled labour shortages.

Proof that the regime is worried is the recent trip to Eastern Europe by one of its ministers to import expatriate labour. It is then safe to say that the present government cannot do anything to solve the job crisis.

The biting problem is worsened by sanctions, disinvestment and the reluctance of external banks to give financial assistance.

The regime has got to find ways of addressing the linkage between production performance and wage increase at a time when salaries and wages are fixed according to race.

#### **Ruled Out**

More government and private sector expenditure or schemes targeted at finding jobs for unskilled and unemployed people has been ruled out by prominent officials in de Klerk's regime.

Even the development of the small business and informal sectors by more deregulation, more subcontracting by bigger companies and more training schemes for the unemployed is not likely with the exodus of big companies going on.

As indicated above, South Africa consists of mainly unskilled and semi-skilled labour. Amid this state of affairs, employment agencies in South Africa say that employers are now demanding a university degree where it was not previously required.

It should be borne in mind that education is segregated against blacks and the responsible minister recently ruled out any prospects of significant overhauls to the education system.

It therefore means blacks are still disadvantaged and will continue to suffer until apartheid is no more. These same employment agencies agree that they turn away youths who do not have the degrees their clients require.

#### **Woes**

The economic woes continue worsening, South Africa's jobs crisis will also do the same amid numerous other problems. With the disinvestment in the troubled country, millions of people are being laid off, the unemployment pool swells even much more. There hence is no logic behind South Africa's frantic efforts to import expatriate labour because there will be little or no jobs for them.

Amid this chaotic atmosphere of political and economic upheavals more social ones will follow with mass crime. This, indeed, is yet another headache for Pretoria. □



# The Western Sahara — Deadlock Continues

(By our Correspondent)

The South Commission on Decolonisation of the 44th Session of the General Assembly recently adopted the resolution on Western Sahara by consensus. It re-affirmed support for the UN-OAU joint good-offices process initiated in 1986 and welcomed the meeting held in January 1989 in Marrakech between King Hassan and the Polisario Front, with the hope that more such direct contacts would follow.

The UN-OAU peace plan turns around two basic points: the organisation of an authentic referendum free from any pressure and direct negotiations between the two sides (Polisario and Morocco) in order to define the modalities and conditions under which the referendum must be held.

The reality on the ground is that the conflict remains intractable. There has not been any significant move towards a peaceful solution in the last few months. After a truce of nearly ten months which was unilaterally declared by Polisario, five major attacks against Moroccan forces have been launched between October 7 and November 10th 1989 by the Saharawi forces.

## Meeting

Reacting to this, King Hassan has angrily denounced Polisario and said that he was calling off a planned meeting. Polisario retorted that there had never been a planned meeting since it was the King himself who had repeatedly rejected any further talks. King Hassan has emphasised that while he is always willing to receive "wayward subjects" his meeting with Polisario in no way constituted negotiations.

Although Polisario's Congress held in April 1989 voted to adopt a move diplomatic approach to the conflict, it has become clear that a sizeable part of the leadership still considers armed struggle the best method to force King Hassan to negotiate. This explains the latest offensive. Polisario leaders point out that in spite of all the concessions that Polisario has made, Morocco has not reciprocated. In a pointed snub to a goodwill gesture, Morocco refused a Polisario offer to release 200 of the estimated 2 000 Moroccan prisoners.

The visit to the region by the UN Secretary-General towards the end of June did not see any concrete advances towards a peaceful solution. Essential to Polisario's strategy of ensuring that the proposed referendum will be free and fair, is the withdrawal of Moroccan troops, and settler administration from the disputed territory. It would not be

fair to let the Saharanis vote in a situation where they are outnumbered by Moroccans. The Technical Commission which the UN Secretary-General set up has so far not produced any recommendations, particularly on the vexing issue of what to do with the presence of the Moroccan troops in the disputed area.

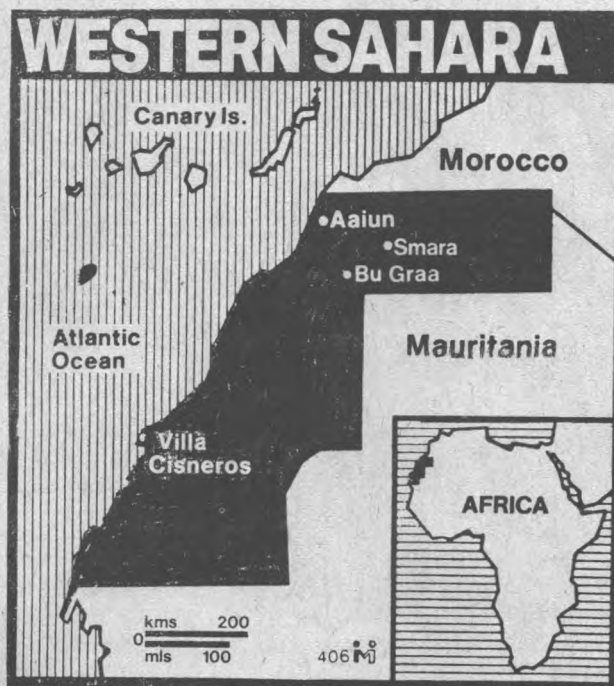
The UN plan, in order to strike a balance between Polisario's demand for troops withdrawal and Morocco's insistence that this is not necessary, envisages the neutralisation of the Moroccan administration as opposed to dismantling it. The rival troops would be confined to certain designated areas away from the civilian population centres to reduce the risk of intimidation. While agreeing that this is a possible compromise, Polisario insists that both sides must know of the numbers involved so that Morocco will not leave behind its citizens passing them off as Saharawis. Furthermore, Polisario does not guarantee the total independence of the territory. Morocco on the other hand is not willing to abandon its vested interests and has in fact refused to guarantee the success of the peace process.

It is not yet clear how the latest flare-up will affect the relations in the region. Algeria publicly continues to support Polisario in its demand for direct talks with Morocco and is prepared to accept the results of a referen-

dum. Algerian leaders are now committed to the wider goal of the Maghreb unity and keep emphasizing the point that they are not part of the quarrel. Though there has a sudden warming up by Algiers towards Polisario as evidenced by the wide publicity it has recently been receiving in the Algerian Press, there is yet no evidence to suggest that Algeria is actively encouraging the attacks. Polisario itself has been at pains to declare that it takes independent decision with regard to the armed struggle.

Finally, it appears that Polisario's sudden resumption of military operations is a reflection of the divisions afflicting it — that is to say, the more radical elements have gained the upper hand. More serious than the divisions on ideological lines are the reported tribal differences which are said to be of a long standing nature. During the movement's congress last April, Polisario leader Mohammed Abdelaziz attacked tribalism and deviationism.

Polisario's options are increasingly getting limited and these tribal and policy differences are most inappropriate at a time when regional as well as international opinion is in favour of a negotiated settlement to the conflict. The Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic itself has now been recognized by more than 70 countries throughout the world. □





Comrade Ali Halimeh, PLO ambassador to Zimbabwe

## Text Of Commentary — Voice Of Palestine

No analytical talk about Jewish immigration to Palestine is needed to clarify the danger it poses to the Palestinian cause — land and people. The Palestinians in particular are fully aware of what Jewish immigration to their homeland means and the grave danger it poses to their national and rightful struggle. At this stage, with the appearance of the threat of Jewish immigration from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, it is important to shed light on the real dimensions and aspects of this danger to determine our response to it and what we — the Palestinian *intifadah* and the Palestine Liberation Organisation — should do to oppose it.

This new danger has three elements. The first is the new Soviet decision granting every Soviet citizen the freedom of emigration and travel. This also means freedom for Jews to emigrate. The second element is the US decision announced last summer — arranged by the Zionist lobby in the Congress — banning Soviet Jews from going to the United States. The third element is the activity of the Zionist movement and Israel to steer Soviet Jews to the occupied Palestinian territories. Those are the elements the new danger, or rather the new challenge, which is now added to the other challenges that our people are struggling to overcome in order to regain their legitimate national rights.

The Arab nation should work vigorously to obstruct the US anti-Palestinian policies, especially the law banning Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union to the United States. The second front on which to

confront Jewish immigration and its grave threat is to escalate the *intifadah* and stir up the confrontation against the occupiers until Soviet Jews everywhere realise that if they want to emigrate to Palestine, they will be emigrating to an insecure and unstable area and that they will be involved in a confrontation with the Palestinian people, who are determined to liberate their national soil and establish their independent state.

On the other hand, Shamir's statement on a greater Israel receiving millions of immigrants confirms the need for Arabs to reconsider their position of the conflict with Zionist and Israel. The threat of a greater Israel involves Arab countries and jeopardises the interests of the entire Arab nation. The issues of immigration and its anticipated dangers will sooner or later create a new Arab awareness, giving rise to new responsibilities and attitudes on behalf of the revolution and the *intifadah* and in the interest of the Palestine people's battle of liberation in defence of their homeland and the Arab homeland and in defence of their existence and that of the Arab nation.

Those are the dimensions of the dangers and future impact of immigration. The danger is there, but it will produce a proper revolutionary response. The danger is there, but it is a challenge that will be confronted by the Palestinians and the Arabs with a new spirit and with a firm determination to defy and confront the Zionist threat with all legitimate means of struggle, confrontation and resistance. □

## The Namibian

1. Three former members of Koevoet and 101 battalion were taken into custody as suspects following a grenade attack recently in Northern Namibia. The attack resulted in the injury of four people including a seven year old girl. Searchers' to the suspects' home resulted in the confiscation of two AK-47s, 9MM pistols, two hand grenades and an unspecified quantity of ammunition.
2. Responding to a question whether Comrade Nelson Mandela would be invited to the coming Independence celebrations, the "shadow" Prime Minister, Comrade Hage Geingob replied, "obviously... if he is freed in time." The Shadow Foreign Affairs Minister, Comrade Theo-Ben Gurirab confirmed the issue and also indicated that President de Klerk would be invited.
3. Addressing members of the public and SWAPO last week-end at Ondangwa, the Shadow Minister of Home Affairs, Comrade Pohama, announced that all former plan members who received police training in exile will be integrated into South West Africa police structures. He added that members of the current force were not going to be dismissed from the force stating "those presently in SWAPOL are all sons and daughters of this country."
4. The Shadow Deputy Minister for Information, Comrade Danny T. Jongarero received a new kidney following an operation last Sunday in the Cape Town Croote Schuur Hospital. He is reported to be recovering well and is expected to remain in hospital for the next three weeks.
5. Most daily newspapers in the country carried pictures of the new Namibia flag which was first unveiled and unanimously adopted in the Assembly last Friday. The flag was chosen from amongst 700 designs submitted. It consists of five colours. Blue, white, red, green and yellow. All colours run diagonally except for the yellow sun against the blue in the top lefthand corner. □



# The Soccer Nurseries That Brought No Fruitful Yields



**Julius Chifokoyo, Caps United Chairman says football needs incentives**

**S**o many promising young footballers have fallen on the wayside since 1980. Our staff reporter, Silas Chikati delved into the root cause of the disappearance of young players.

Football clubs cannot just depend on old horses. An injection of young players to replace ageing ones ensures the sustenance of the team and utilisation of up and coming stars. This youth policy has not been practiced and maintained by local clubs with the exception of Highlanders and Zimbabwe Saints.

These two teams have tried their level best to implement a viable youth policy. They have attempted significantly to groom junior players for the senior team.

Not long ago such promising youngsters as Alex Marisa, Jonah Munemo, George Munjanja, Alois Bikwa, Martin Kalambayi and Philip Machingauta (Dynamos), Takaitei 'Taks' Muswe and Gift Mudangwe (CAPS United) were highly talked of.

Today, all the above mentioned players have disappeared into thin air without making it to top flight soccer. Some have briefly appeared in top flight soccer but never to show up again.

## Why?

Questions spring to mind. Why are so many promising stars waning before fully entering competitive soccer? Is it because of frustration or early injuries? The main reason seems to be frustration because most of the big clubs do not inject the young talent into senior football.

After joining the popular clubs with high hopes of making it to the top, the unfortunate young players are given a cold shoulder. If they are lucky, they are tried before being left to slump into oblivion. Some have resorted to playing lower division soccer be-

cause they cannot bear the 'competition'. With no experience whatsoever, they have no alternative but to join lower division teams in order to remain active in soccer.

A young player (17) who plays for a Harare Super League club speaking on conditions of anonymity said chances of rising to the top are very slim when playing for any of the Harare-based teams. He pointed out that senior players do not want to surrender their positions to youngsters.

He said this is because senior players are more influential to coaches who accede to their request of sitting on young players citing experience as the main factor.

Another young player, Jeremiah Makiwa (21), who once played for CAPS United from 1982 until 1986 faded when he got injured while his school team (Glen Norah High 1) was playing Churchill School. Jeremiah told the *Zimbabwe News* that many young players are quickly put out of soccer because of



**Gift Mudangwe — injury has halted his career**

frustration and early injuries.

## Social Habits

A sports writer and popular radio football commentator, Comrade Evans Mambara said that young players are frustrated by senior players who prevent them from rising in their career. He said social habits also hinder their progress because they resort to early drinking, smoking and want leisure as against sport.

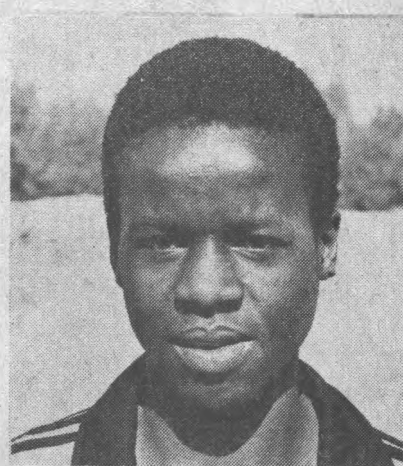
"Although injury is putting off some of our young players, the main factor is frustration," said the vibrant soccer commentator.

Caps United chairman, Julius Chifokoyo had this to say: "Most of the young players who are still attending school have a disadvantage in that once they are transferred to another school, his otherwise progressive career in football is retarded.

"Apart from football, they also need more time to concentrate on their studies as this

is the only gateway to a prosperous life."

Comrade Chifokoyo added that most junior players today are not as dedicated to soccer as were the likes of George 'Mastermind' Shaya. He said nowadays players are changing clubs regularly for monetary gains.



**Alex Marisa, formerly of Dynamos disappeared into thin air**

Asked about alleged frustration of junior players by coaches, Comrade Chifokoyo agreed that youngsters are left in the cold while seniors are fielded regularly. He urged coaches to be like teachers in treating every player equally regardless of seniority in the club.

The other contributing factor, said Comrade Chifokoyo, is that most clubs are affected by player power which leads to the instability of club affairs. This, he said, makes the coach powerless over the players.

## Youth Policy

An experienced soccer reporter with a local monthly magazine, Comrade Tendai Dindingwe, had this to say: "The youth policy is non-existent to some football clubs."

He said most young players flood the pools of big clubs but in the end they do not qualify into the first team.

"If I were a soccer player, I would not like to play for most of the popular teams as there is no chance to secure a permanent place in the first team," echoed Comrade Dindingwe.

He commended Highlanders Football club for its implementation of the youth policy. Furthermore, he said that because of the publicity given to big teams, most people expect miracles from junior players because they think everyone who is accepted into the team can deliver the goods. They expect them to fit into top flight soccer easily to sustain the fame of the club.

On the issue of injuries, Comrade Dindingwe said Zimbabwe's sport medicine system is developing at a very slow rate. He cited an example where a minor knee injury puts a player out of action for the whole season. He said players need immediate and specialised attention to be on the field soon after.

Comrade Dindingwe criticised referees who let go "atrocious" tackles by seasoned players on juniors. He said this puts the whole affair in turmoil further worsened by "the unacceptable standard of refereeing in this country."

While the soccer fraternity holds a broad spectrum of views on this issue, the *Zimbabwe News* calls upon the mother body, the Zimbabwe Football Association to maintain the sponsorship of junior leagues and cups for the success of national soccer at all levels.

It is up to the Super League clubs to capitalise on this and scout for talent from junior leagues for the successful utilisation of young talent. A good garden flourishes because of a good nursery, hence a healthy football club should have a respectable youth policy. □

## Communique

### **Statement of the OAU Council of Ministers on the Decision of the British Government to lift the Ban on New Investments in South Africa**

**T**he OAU Council of Ministers, meeting in its Fifty-first ordinary session in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, has received with profound indignation the news of the British Government's decision to unilaterally lift the ban of the EEC on new investments in South Africa.

The Council is of the opinion that such a decision, coming at a time when there is an international consensus on the need to maintain sanctions and other forms of pressure until the Pretoria regime takes irreversible measures to eradicate the system of apartheid, is most regrettable. The Council is also of the view that this decision instead of encouraging the Pretoria regime to proceed with meaningful measures leading to the dismantling of apartheid, would rather embolden the regime to entrench apartheid.

The Council, therefore, condemns this unfortunate and unilateral decision of the British Government.

Meanwhile, the Council expresses its appreciation to the EEC Council of Ministers for maintain-

ing its original position on the question of sanctions against the Pretoria regime.

The Council seizes this opportunity to reiterate the position of the OAU as enunciated in the Harare declaration whose essential elements were endorsed by the 16th special session of the UN General Assembly, and declares that existing sanctions and other forms of pressure should, at the

very least, be maintained until irreversible measures leading to the establishing of a non-racial and democratic South Africa are then in accordance with the UNGA declaration adopted by consensus last December.

In this connection, the Council reiterates its appeal to the International community to continue to maintain all forms of pressure against the apartheid regime until apartheid is abolished. □





# Hero Ziyenge Falls

Staff Reporter



The late Comrade Ziyenge

Comrade Rwizi Grafton Ziyenge is no more. He died at 1.45 a.m. on January 11, 1990 while driving to Marondera from Harare after attending the Tenth Commonwealth Speakers and Presiding Officers Conference in Harare.

Comrade Rwizi Ziyenge died instantly when his car hit an electricity post and over-

turned after he failed to negotiate a bend. The Zimbabwe Republic Police then sought assistance from the Zimbabwe Electricity Supply Authority to deal with a live cable which was in contact with the car in which Comrade Ziyenge was trapped.

Speaking at Comrade Ziyenge's burial at the National Heroes Acre, Comrade President

Robert Mugabe said the late son mixed very well with people. He was so dedicated that he rose to become the first Mashonaland East Provincial Governor. Comrade Mugabe added that people are born to accomplish earthly objectives.

"But when we go, we take nothing with us. He was a brave son who would stop at nothing to accomplish his goals," said Comrade Mugabe.

He said Comrade Ziyenge worked hard for the merger of ZANU (PF) and PF-ZAPU hence at the National People's Congress, he was elected a member of the united ZANU PF Central Committee. For this the hero should be emulated.

The loss, he said, of Comrade Ziyenge, is not only a family loss but a national one because he had become of and for the people.

In his condolences at the Ziyenge home in Marondera, Comrade Mugabe expressed shock and horror at the untimely death of Senator Ziyenge saying, "Senator Ziyenge's agonising death comes hardly six and a half months after the nation lost Comrade William Ndongana in similar circumstances, and, hardly two months following the horror at Chivake Bridge in Murehwa.

"The death of Comrade Rwizi Ziyenge comes to most of us, particularly his colleagues in the Party, Government and Parliament, as a shocking event," Comrade Mugabe said.

Comrade Ziyenge was born on May 25, 1933 in the then Charter District (now Chikomba), in the Midlands province. He went for primary education at Zimondi and Chamukwenjera before he left for All Saints Mission.

After obtaining a building diploma at Domoshawa in 1951, he joined the African Artisans Union when he started working in 1952. He was the secretary of the Union.

The late Senator was also a member of the youth wings of the African National Congress, National Democratic Front and the Zimbabwe African People's Union. After the split in ZAPU, he joined ZANU at its formation in 1963. He became the new party's Highfield district treasurer up to 1964.

Later on, he became the national organising secretary of the People's Movement, ZANU's internal wing. This was during the latter part of the liberation struggle.

With the war raging on, culminating in the Lancaster House Conference, Comrade Ziyenge was in the Patriotic Front delegation to London, Britain in 1979. He was then elected Member of Parliament for Mashonaland East in the first general elections in 1980.

In 1984, he was elected to the ZANU (PF) Central Committee. A year later, he was appointed Senator. He has held the post of Mashonaland East Governor since 1983. He is survived by his wife, Eleanor Ziyenge and seven children. At the time of his death, his widow was in Chivi attending a funeral of a relative. □

# Tribute to the Late Comrade Vhemba Alois Mutandadzi (Johnson Ndoda Hondo)

**O**n December 29, 1989 robbers raided a farm neighbouring Comrade Alois Mutandadzi's who was called to apprehend them and in the process was shot by one of the robbers.

"It is a pity that Comrade Mutandadzi was shot by criminals who he had liberated", said President Robert G. Mugabe in his graveside speech.

Comrade Mutandadzi was born in the early 1940's in Dotito, Mt Darwin, in Mashonaland Central Province. As a boy from a humble family he herded cattle and spent most of his time helping his parents in the fields. He got his early education up to standard Six in Mt Darwin.

In the early sixties when ZAPU was formed, he joined the party from Mt Darwin and was involved in slashing of tobacco on white settler owned farms as people were against colonialism. He was arrested and tortured for these activities, but this did not demoralise his revolutionary spirits, for in 1973 he and other recruits left Dotito for Zambia. He arrived at Mumbwa farm 15 kilometres from Lusaka, where he received his initial military training. Comrade Mutandadzi was in the group which included Comrade George Rutanhire who were sent for further military training in Nechingweya, Tanzania.

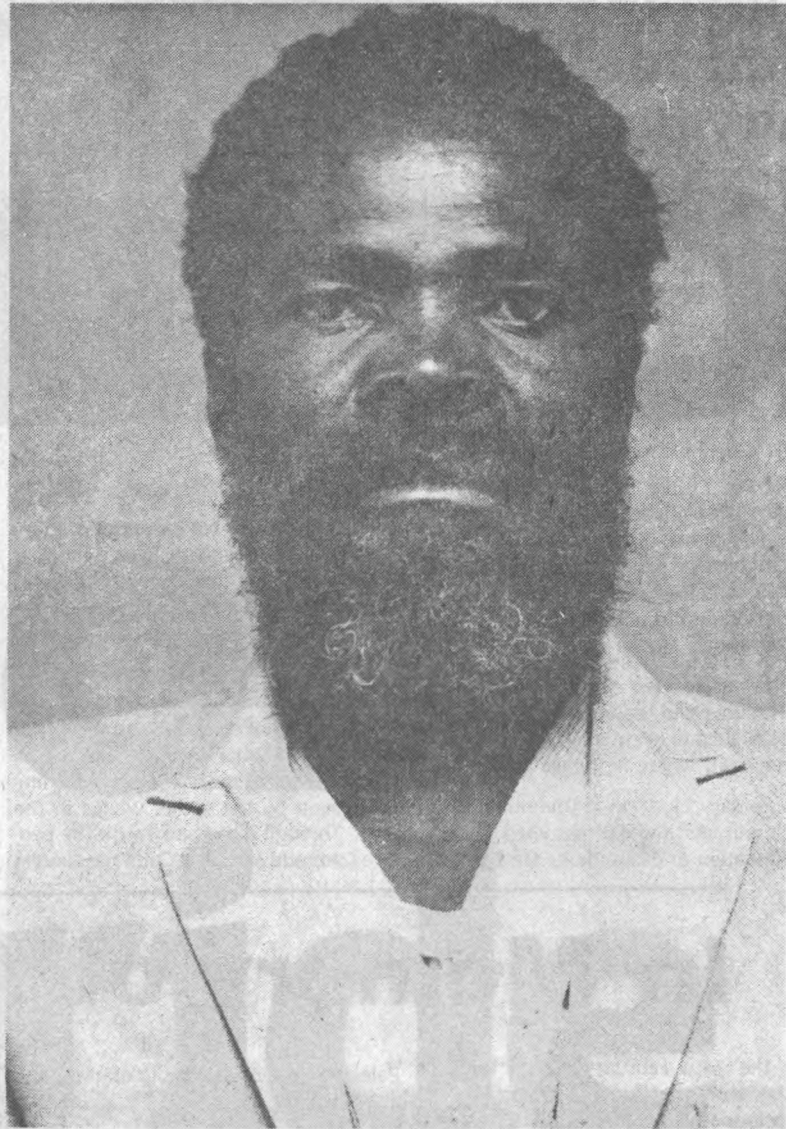
He trained for one year, returned as Section Commander in the Commissariat department and was sent to Chifombo. Comrade Mutandadzi was transferred to Frelimo camps and was later re-assigned to Chifombo where he was responsible for maintenance of camp discipline, farming and logistics.

## Transferred

In 1975 he was transferred to Tembwe, Tete Province in Mozambique where he was made Camp Commander.

In March 1975 all ZANLA Commanders were called back to Lusaka for consultations and Comrade Mutandadzi was one of them. Before the consultations could be held, the late Comrade Herbert Chitepo was killed in a bomb blast. The Zambian authorities clandestinely arrested most of the commanders among whom was Comrade Mutandadzi. He shared a cell with Comrades Mayor Urimbo, Ernest Kadungure, and Shoti, only to mention a few.

He was most of the time isolated from others and constantly questioned why he was being held by the Zambian authorities. All the time his concern was with the fate of the comrades he had left at Tembwe. He stayed in jail for one year eight months. While the Senior Commanders, on release, left for the Geneva Conference, Comrade Ndoda, who was also a member of the general staff of ZANLA forces, took up his former post



**Comrade Vhemba Alois Mutandadzi**

as Commander of Tembwe and this time was assisted by Comrade Makasha. During his stay at Tembwe and later Mavonde between 1976 and 1980, he survived numerous raids by the Smith regime's army.

At Independence he was appointed manager of Grazely farm, which the party had acquired. However he did not stay there long for he was demobilised the same year and thus went into private life.

As a man with experience in farming Comrade Ndoda mobilised some colleagues and a few relatives into forming a cooperative and approached Government for land. The Government responded favourably by granting the new cooperative land near Mt Darwin commercial farming area. The co-

operative venture was a success and continues to prosper.

On October 14, 1989 Comrade Mutandadzi was elected to the executive of the Province (Mashonaland Central) as Deputy Secretary for Security, a post he held until his death. During the short time Comrade Mutandadzi was a member of the executive, he proved his dedication to the ideals and principles of the party and reminded colleagues to be disciplined and dedicated. He was an unwavering no nonsense man.

Comrade Ndoda left behind 12 wives and thirty-five children. The spirit of Comrade Ndoda lives with us in ZANU PF, for the gallant freedom fighter fell in defense of the right of all Zimbabweans, irrespective of their race, colour or creed to live in freedom and peace. □



## Mourning Comrade Nauyala



Comrade Kapuka Nauyala

On the 11th of December, 1989, Comrade Nikodimus Kapuka Nauyala of Swapo, Namibia died following neck injuries that he had sustained when he was involved in a serious car accident on Sunday the 3rd December, 1989.

The motor car accident occurred near Luderitz in Namibia and the veteran freedom fighter was rushed to Keetmanshoop Hospital in Cape Town where he finally died.

Born on January 27, 1943 in Onamukulo, Namibia, Comrade Kapuka obtained his primary education at Onamukulo. He then

went to Oshingambo for his upper primary education. After attending Boys School at Oniipa, he went to Ouguediva to be trained as a teacher. He did not complete the course for he left the training college and went to work in Walvis Bay.

It was at this time that he began to directly experience the slave conditions under which the people of Namibia were working. It was at this time he saw how blacks were discriminated against by the settler whites in the country. Through discussions with the people like Comrade Maxailili, Comrade Nauya-

la came to the conclusion that there was no other way of liquidating this evil system of government and bringing about conditions where people live in equality, without racism nor the exploitation of man by man besides taking up arms and fighting for national liberation.

Thus, Comrade Nauyala left Namibia in 1963 to join other members of SWAPO who were in exile in Zambia and Tanzania. He served as SWAPO's chief Representative to Zimbabwe from 1986 until 1989 when he went to Namibia to join the SWAPO Elections Campaign. In November 1989, he was elected a member of the first Namibian Constituent Assembly.

Comrade Nauyala Kapuka will hardly be forgotten by anyone who met him before his untimely death, especially workers at Jongwe Printers.

He always wore a happy smile which amplified his vibrant personality. He interacted readily with workers and had developed a candid relationship with them. This close relationship culminated into him arranging a visit to Jongwe Printers by President Nujoma on the 5th of August, 1989 to meet his "Kapuka" friends who were christened "revolutionary printers" by the SWAPO President.

It is on this visit that President Nujoma tasked Kapuka to formulate a programme "... whereby some workers from Namibia will be coming here, to be hosted by you and you going there to be hosted by them", a comradely gesture which was received with delight by the revolutionary Printers.

Unfortunately Comrade Kapuka died before fulfilling this task and workers were left with a question that will never be answered — why did Comrade Kapuka die? □

## In Memory of A Hero

On the 14th February, 1990, the Zimbabwe-Namibia Solidarity Association held a memorial service at the Anglican Cathedral in Harare for the late SWAPO Chief Representative in Zimbabwe, Comrade Nikodemus Kapuka Nauyala.

The service, conducted by the Zimbabwe based Catholic priest, Father Cas Paulsen of the International Regional Meeting of the Bishops of Southern Africa was attended by the Palestinian Ambassador to Zimbabwe and dean of the diplomatic corps, Comrade Ali Halimeh, Harare Provincial Secretary, Comrade Tony Gara, SWAPO's deputy Chief Representative in Zimbabwe, Comrade Chris Uulenge and the Namibian Deputy Minister designate for Agriculture, Fisheries, Water and Rural Development, Dr. Kaino Mbuende, who was in Harare for the land reform conference.

Below is a full text of the message that was delivered by His Excellency, the Ambassador

of Palestine to Zimbabwe, Comrade Ali Halimeh.

Comrades and Friends

I have never been confronted before to speak on such an occasion, but as I have been asked to say a few words about the late Comrade Kapuka, it is really a difficult task to talk about a man like Comrade Kapuka who devoted all his life to the liberation of his country.

Comrade Kapuka was a man of courage and commitment. I came to know him the day he was appointed to represent his organisation in Zimbabwe. We shared discussions on issues related to our struggle both in Namibia and Palestine and we spoke about South Africa. He was clear in his political direction, devoted to his people's cause and was always telling me, "Ali, you terrorist, I will be free in Namibia soon."

I still remember him, when we declared our Independent State of Palestine, saying to me,

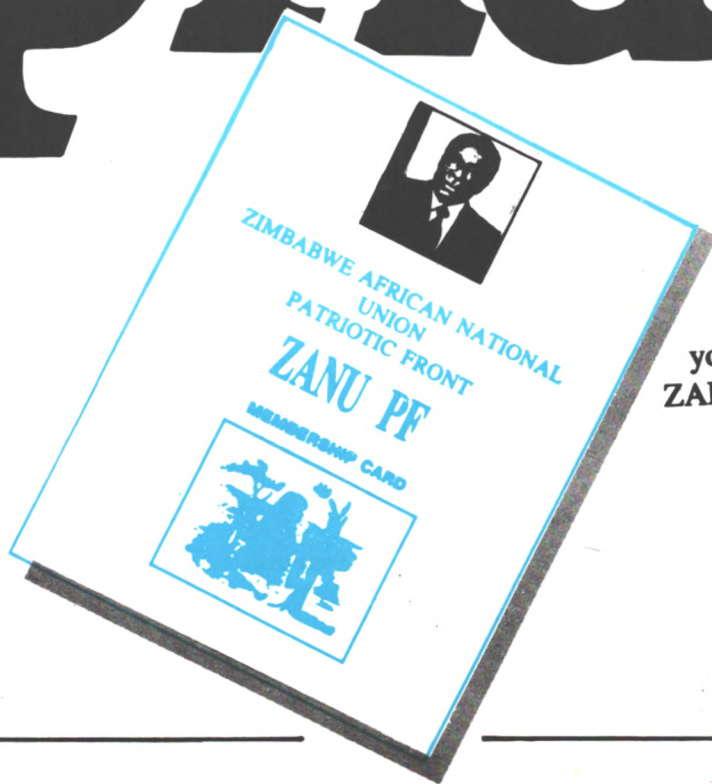
"Congratulations Comrade, soon we shall both celebrate the Independence of Namibia".

Comrade Kapuka lived just long enough to see Namibia. It was in recognition of his commitment and dedication to the struggle, that he was elected by his people as a Member of the Namibian Assembly. This great recognition will always be remembered by his family, colleagues and friends.

To you Comrade Kapuka, we say that the cause which you lived for was fulfilled. You made a great sacrifice. The people of Namibia and SWAPO will continue the struggle to build a strong Namibia.

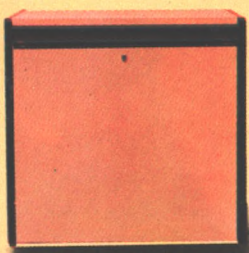
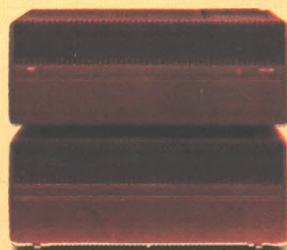
Your colleagues will always remember you, your courage and dedication. We shall continue to fight for the ideals and objectives which you lived and fought for. We shall continue the struggle for freedom and Independence, wherever there is oppression and occupation.

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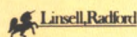
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