

# Zimbabwe News

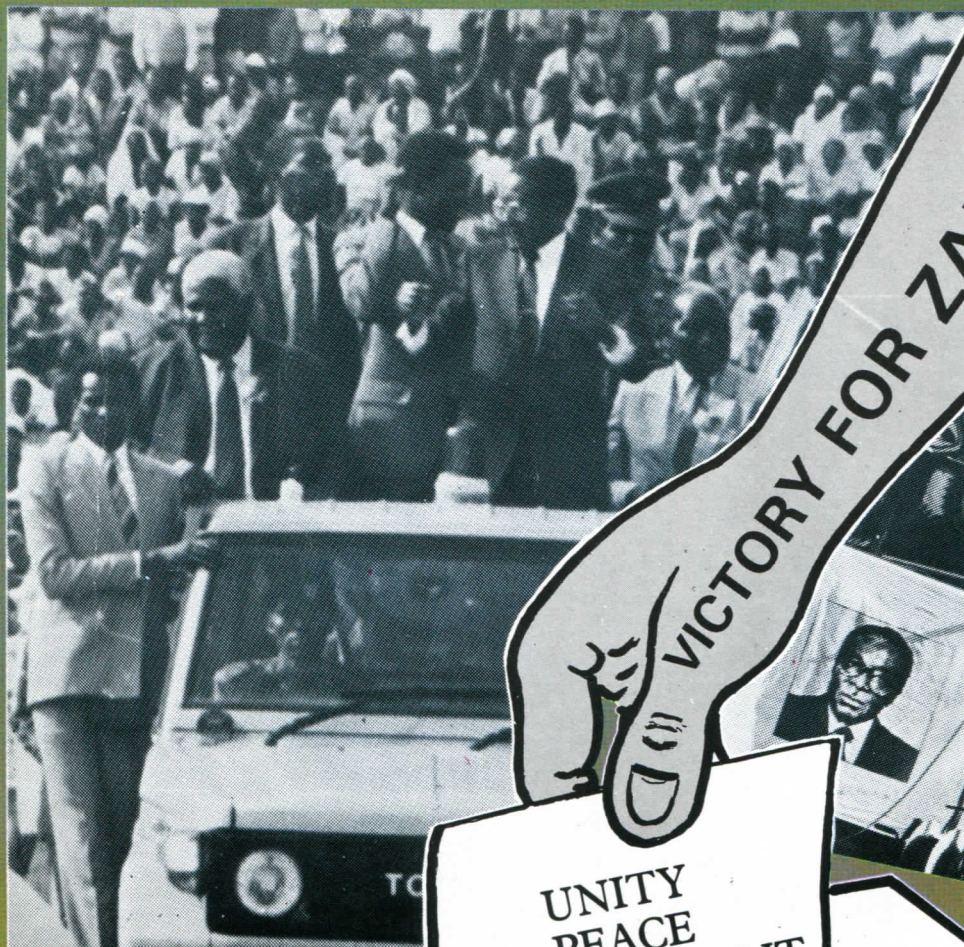
## Official Organ of ZANU(PF)

Department of Information and Publicity, 14 Austin Road, Workington, Harare  
Volume 21 No. 3, 1990, Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper

70c (incl. sales tax)

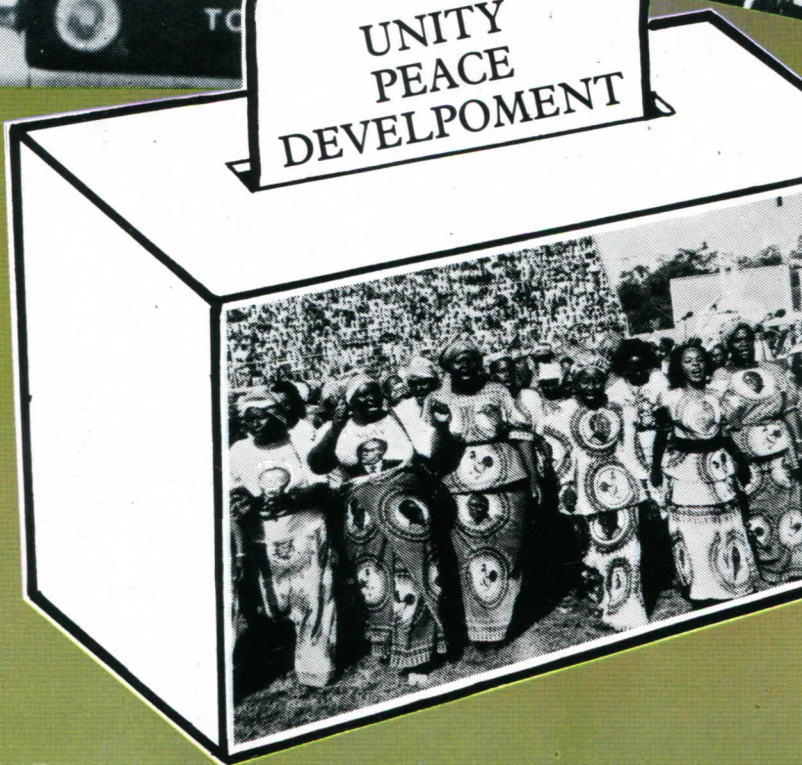
— 1990 —

## GENERAL ELECTIONS



UNITY  
PEACE  
DEVELOPMENT

VICTORY FOR ZANU PF



### INSIDE

- Mandela Gets A Tumultuous Welcome
- USSR — China: Let Bygones be Bygones
- The Newest Independent Nation
- Zimbabwe And Development Strategies



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### Several Cities' Streets renamed

In a bid to eliminate all offensive and objectional colonial names of roads, streets and avenues as well as to honour our fallen heroes, names of certain roads, streets and avenues in cities, and towns municipalities throughout the country have been changed. The changes become effective from March 6 and are still in process. . . *page 6*

### Mandela Gets Tumultuous Welcome

The time was 27 minutes from the tenth-hour of a scorching Sunday morning, March 4, when a Zambian Airways aircraft, ATR 42, carrying Comrade Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela landed at the Harare International Airport.

Famous intellectuals, local ANC sympathisers and ANC exiles thronged the Harare Airport . . . *page 23*

### The Newest Independent Nation

It has a new flag, a Constitution and Government in the wings. At midnight on March 20, Namibia will become Africa's and the world's newest independent nation.

Since winning a substantial majority in the United Nations — supervised elections last November, the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) has moved almost flawlessly towards independence under a theme of national unity and harmony. . . *page 46.*



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**Pictures by:** The Zimbabwe News, Ministry of Information and Zimpapers

# EDITORIAL

*Mandate For Progress and Change*

**T**he Presidential and parliamentary elections of March 1990 were a great success, and a credit to our young nation. They were conducted with fairness and freedom for all voters. The administration of the elections was thorough and scrupulous, and done by honest and dedicated civil servants.

We congratulate our President and First Secretary, Comrade Robert Mugabe, on his resounding victory, and we applaud him for the way he worked hard to visit every province and put the issues clearly before the voters. We congratulate all the new members of Parliament; and thank our leaders in the Politburo and the Central Committee, for the efficient manner in which they organised and prepared for the general elections.

We also thank the hundreds of Party workers who worked with devotion and conviction in all the 120 constituencies of our country. Many worked without pay, food, or transport, and late into the night contacting voters, supervising the work of the civil servants, and helping those who needed help. We salute them for their hard work, dedication, and commitment.

By all accounts the elections were free and fair. The prediction by Edgar Tekere, the self-appointed ZUM leader, that the elections would be rigged was proved to be totally malicious, utterly false, and without any foundation whatsoever. The other Tekere prediction that the ZANU PF government would fall within twelve months was also one of the false dreams and huge fantasies that go through his mind from time to time when he is possessed by the evil spirits.

We were very pleased that there was no major violence in any constituency, except in Gweru where Patrick Kombayi had started again organising a series of violent incidents. In Karoi, two of the local leaders of our Party who had worked hard for our victory there, the late Kenneth and Martha Gomwe, were gunned down in their house on the day of victory. Before that ghastly murder, they had received several threats from ZUM supporters who were gathering at the neighbouring farm owned by Mr Gerald Smith, the CAZ leader. The murder of the Gomwes was definitely politically motivated. It was not an ordinary robbery as stated by Karoi Police. The assassin did not take the large amount of money which was in Comrade Gomwe's briefcase. Both before and after the shooting, the assassin made no financial demands whatsoever to Comrade Gomwe or to his wife, Martha. In spite of this provocation, our Party members should remain calm.

The most important factor is that Zimbabweans have given our Party a clear mandate to direct and

shape the future of this country and the society. In the last ten years our Party and Government have taken several decisive steps to consolidate our political independence. Among the most important of these was the uniting of the national army and the main political parties, ZANU (PF) and PF-ZAPU. Although we have consolidated our political independence, our national economy is still dominated by foreign companies and multinational corporations. The task before us in the next ten years is to wrest economic power from these foreign interests and place it squarely in the hands of Zimbabwean citizens. Furthermore, that wealth must be evenly divided among the people of Zimbabwe. It should not again be concentrated in the hands of a few black Zimbabwean tycoons who may have replaced the white foreign tycoons.

Equitable distribution of the national wealth will also create employment opportunities for all our citizens. Unemployment is a major problem we must try to resolve in the next decade.

The Party has several major tasks ahead of it in order to direct our society and our country towards positive humanitarian goals. One of those goals is the general improvement of the quality of life of all our citizens, in all fields of the national life. Reactionary, violent, and racist elements are still present in our society. They regroup from time to time and make attempts to divert the broad masses towards the dark tunnel of colonialism and racism from whence they came. All the hard-won people's gains can be lost very easily.

The fact that in a free and fair election, as many as 400 000 Zimbabweans can still vote for a Party and a leader who has an open alliance with Ian Douglas Smith and the racist CAZ, shows how close to the surface the social forces of darkness and reaction are in our society. All the parties and elements that are in opposition to us are from the right — the students, the ZUM, CAZ, Ndonga, NDU, NDE etc. Therefore, we are the only progressive force in Zimbabwe today. The burden of progress and of liberation lies only on our shoulders.

It is ZANU PF alone that has to defend the people's gains and continue to liberate our people in the region of Southern Africa. Over the next ten years, we have to redouble our efforts to mobilize and educate the people to defend the gains they have made, and to attain new goals. We also have to work hard to consolidate the unity of ZANU (PF) and PF-ZAPU which we have achieved. The social forces of darkness and reaction will make efforts to disturb and destroy this achievement. □



# Letters

## The Border Areas and Security

Dear Editor,

The people of Zimbabwe through ZANU PF have achieved unity and peace, which are prerequisites to the creation of favourable conditions for meaningful national development. However, the enemies of Zimbabwe from within and without, are hell-bent on destroying these noble achievements of the revolutionary sons and daughters of our country.

The evil apartheid Pretoria regime, in its cowardly acts of wanton murder of innocent civilians and destruction of property in the frontline states, sponsors malcontents and bandits to discredit and destabilize democratically elected governments in the region.

The South African sponsored MNR is a bandit organisation that is being used to do its master's dirty work. Having failed to dislodge the popular government of FRELIMO in Mozambique and rejected by the masses, MNR resorted to desperate measures of cross-border incursions into Manicaland and Mashonaland Central provinces of Zimbabwe, robbing, murdering and maiming innocent civilians.

### Repulse

Our Party ZANU PF could not stand by and watch while such criminal acts were being perpetrated against the people of Zimbabwe. Hence our gallant defence forces were deployed in the Zimbabwe/Mozambique border areas to repulse the enemy.

MNR's acts of banditry are extended to efforts aimed at destroying our landlocked country's vital road, rail and pipeline links with the port of Beira. The enemy knows that our shortest route to the sea is through Beira. Using South African ports is taking a longer and costly route to the sea, and if the MNR were to succeed we would become dependent on racist South Africa for our economic survival.

The government of Mozambique, recognising a common enemy of the independent and peace loving people of the frontline states, invited the government of Zimbabwe to assist in the protection of vital economic links to the sea against destruction by MNR.

Our party ZANU PF was amazed at the unholy alliance forged between the Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole and his ZANU-Ndonga and Alfonso Dhlakama and his MNR bandit organisation in 1986. The picture shows malcontents under the leadership of Edgar Tekere in ZUM, echoing the misguided sentiments of the Reverend. Our Party, ZANU PF, unreservedly condemns Sithole and Tekere's calls that we stand by while our people are being murdered, property destroyed,

# Letters

daylight robbery carried out and our links to the sea severed.

Our Party and Government calls upon people in the border areas to remain vigilant until the external and the internal enemy is destroyed. Let us get organised in self-defence committees and assist our forces in defending our hard-won independence and our right to import and export through Beira.

Hebert Mhlanga  
Mt Pleasant

### Fulfill Promises

Dear Comrade Editor,

Now that the elections are over and the results out, we people of Zimbabwe who have refused to be taken for a ride by forces of disunity would like to see the People's Party, ZANU PF and its government honour its promises.

We have known this party for a long time. We have suffered side by side during the difficult times of the struggle for independence and have made our views clear in the first two general elections. Having done so, we have strived to compliment each other's efforts for ZANU PF is for the people, a true representative of progressive Zimbabweans.

With its record of the past decade, I cannot see ZANU PF failing to fulfill all or most of the promises it made during the campaigns for the just ended elections in which the people's party amassed 116 seats, virtually sweeping aside the meaningless and ill-conceived challenge of the reactionary parties.

We want to see these programmes implemented. I hope the Party will not let us down, which is unlikely. Let the preachers preach, we are a committed people with clear-cut goals. We cannot be cheated. We have given you the mandate to fulfill your promises, we expect you to do so with our unreserved support.

Yours

Comrade Anna Hamandishe

Mutare

### Congratulations, ZANU PF, the People's Party

Dear Editor,

I write this letter congratulating the people's party, ZANU PF for overwhelmingly winning the 1990 general elections.

Through your magazine, the *Zimbabwe News*, I want to echo my message to all political parties who stood against the

# Letters

united party, ZANU PF, to reorganise themselves and join hands with the rest of the patriotic masses.

Although some idle minded Zimbabweans may say that parties like ZUM and the UANC are supported by intellectuals who know much about the state of affairs in our country, to this dream, I say there is no country which is run by intellectuals without the support of the masses.

It has shown that ZANU PF has got the support of the people because of its principles which place the people at heart.

By Comrade Hamunyarinei Tumapato  
Tudiki  
Chinhoyi.

### MPs must meet the people

Dear Editor

I would like to thank you for giving space to my letter. I also congratulate all ZANU PF candidates who emerged victorious in the general elections and to his Excellency the President and First Secretary of ZANU PF, I say your overwhelming victory is a clear indication that the masses of Zimbabwe have confidence and faith in you.

However, for the past 10 years of our independence, I have noticed something very common in our Members of Parliament. Most of them have a tendency of visiting their constituencies only towards elections or when there are important national events.

This practice makes the public feel regretted and they as a result fall prey to some political opportunists. I therefore, urge all MPs to regularly visit their constituencies. They must go and meet the people at the grassroots, hear their problems and forward them to the House of Assembly.

I noticed that some three weeks or so before the general elections our President, Comrade Mugabe shouldered the burden of holding a series of star rallies in all the country's provinces. He had to explain to the people what the Party had done for them and what it aims to do after winning. Most people had the chance to tell the President their problems.

This is an example which our Members of Parliament must follow. Let them meet the people and this will convince us that they are devoted to work for the people.

Long live ZANU PF

Tinoda Kubudirira  
Mutoko



# "MEET MY WORKING PARTNER..."



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# ZANU PF was Confident of Overwhelming Victory

**Z**ANU PF, under the outstanding leadership of Comrade Robert Mugabe has been for years working with the people, working towards national development, achievement of national unity and peace and has always kept on strengthening its commitment to the people.

Speaking in an interview with the *Zimbabwe News* recently, Comrade Moven Mahachi, Minister of Home Affairs and also the Election Director for ZANU PF expressed total confidence that the people's Party was going to win the 1990 general elections overwhelmingly.

Comrade Mahachi who is also the Secretary for Commissariat and member of the ZANU PF Politburo, said the people of Zimbabwe are mindful of what ZANU PF has done for them. Congresses and elections have been held in order for the people to exercise their rights and to enable them to choose their leaders from the cell/village to the national level.

"The people would obviously vote for their revolutionary Party which they fought and died for", Comrade Mahachi said adding that already the Party has secured eleven seats in eleven constituencies which other parties have not contested.

"We have confidence in the people of Zimbabwe who know their true leaders and that other parties only emerge for elections. Moreover, these parties represent minority groups and are financed by our enemies", he stated.

"How can we entrust the fate of our country to people we don't know? Who has given Tekere the mandate to do whatever he is doing? He was not chosen by the people but appointed himself the president of ZUM. I am appealing to people that they must not be cheated by ZUM, NDU, UANC and Ndonga", Comrade Mahachi stressed.

The election director mentioned that these parties pose no threat to ZANU PF and "we are informed that ZUM's candidates have been given money to contest by CAZ".

Tekere himself has betrayed the revolution by forming an alliance with the CAZ and the people of Zimbabwe very well know who this party represents.

Comrade Mahachi said people have given ZANU PF the mandate and they know that "we are the only people who can deliver the goods and we have high credibility with good history to talk about".



**Comrade Moven Mahachi, ZANU PF election director**

followed by the election manifesto which he said is the guiding principle for campaigning.

The manifesto, he said, is centred on the theme of the Party which is, "unity, peace and development."

"The President's and every candidate's addresses were centred on that theme which we reached after the unity which has brought about peace in the country", the Minister pointed out.

He said that the real campaign was to be characterised by holding rallies whereby President Mugabe was going to address two star rallies in each province. The vice-presidents had one star rally in each province because they needed adequate time to talk to the people of their constituencies.

Comrade Mahachi said that the election campaign layout was good and that every village was reached.

"ZANU PF is a mass party. Therefore, all



**ZANU PF was voted into power by the people and the voters still have faith in the Party**

## Preparations

On preparations for the general elections Comrade Mahachi said the Party, ZANU PF, started by seeking candidates and this was

officials at the grassroots must be utilised. Party structures must not be ignored because they are important in reaching the people", he emphasised adding that he, as the



election director would be analysing the process.

On whether there was any possibility of making changes in the campaigning strategy since the two old parties have united and that this was the first time the united Party went into elections, Comrade Mahachi said there was no need to make any changes because the election manifesto was going to guide the campaigns.

He also stressed that even though the election directorate is said to be cheat-proof, the Party was going to have officials in polling stations to ensure that there was no cheating.

He therefore called upon all Political Commissars and officials at cell/villages to try hard to detect where there was cheating. Polling officers were going to be stationed at every polling station and there were going to be 20 for each constituency who represented the Party and the candidate.

On rival parties' clashes Comrade Mahachi said that it has been known that minority parties are always aggressive as evidenced by the behaviour of ZUM supporters whom he said were painting public buildings, durawalls, bus stop shelters and the like.

However, Comrade Mahachi said that he expected less clashes and appealed to the people to have the elections under peaceful conditions. He added that the state was going to lawfully deal with people who would be seen painting public structures as a way

of campaigning.

#### Primary Elections

Commenting on ZANU PF primary elections, he said the Party got a good lesson.

"In some areas the primary elections went on very well and in others all sorts of ways of trying to gain people's support were employed, but we have called for the elections to be re-done in such areas. Through the primary elections we have also managed to determine who our voters are", the election director said.

During the primary elections, he said, people chose their representatives. "All the candidates except for only one or two constituencies came from the people."

He however stressed that in future, the history of the candidates should be known before they stand for the primary elections so that their leadership abilities and qualities are known.

"For those who have been elected their performance will be determined after the general elections through their contribution in parliament and in their constituencies", he said, further stating that "we don't hesitate to take appropriate action if we discover that a candidate is incapable of carrying out his/her duties."

Comrade Mahachi also revealed that the Party will always supervise members of constituencies because they would have qualified for parliament through a Party ticket. He

added that at this stage if anyone after being voted into Parliament by ZANU PF decides to cross to another party like Tekere, the Party is going to ask that person to resign and stand for election.

Commenting on ZUM's manifesto, Comrade Mahachi said, ZUM's demands are baseless and senseless, for instance the withdrawal of Zimbabwean troops from Mozambique. He said this demand clearly shows that ZUM is a megaphone of CAZ which has an alliance with South Africa which is sponsoring the MNR bandits.

"ZUM, therefore, has an alliance with RENAMO. By asking us to withdraw our troops from Mozambique he wants MNR bandits to infiltrate further into the country".

"Therefore people should sustain our revolution by voting for the Party which is capable of learning through mistakes and listens and responds to their grievances and demands", he said adding that ZANU PF, of course, has its own shortfalls but it has always tried and succeeded in making corrections.

Comrade Mahachi further stated that ZUM is not clear on what they want to do with the land. Looking closely at their manifesto, he said, it is obvious that Tekere is going to maintain the status quo of Smith and his party will represent a few and bring back the old order whereby education and medical expenses were only afforded by a minority group. □

## Several Cities' Streets Renamed

In a bid to eliminate all offensive and objectional colonial names of roads, streets and avenues as well as to honour our fallen heroes, names of certain roads, streets and avenues in cities, towns and municipalities throughout the country have been changed. The changes became effective from March 6 and are still in process.

In a Press statement, the Minister of Local Government, Rural and Urban Development, Comrade Enos Chikowore, said it is the specific wish of Government and the people to honour the President of the Republic of Zimbabwe, Comrade Robert Mugabe, in recognition of his outstanding and gallant leadership during the many years of the liberation struggle and during the past ten years

of our independence as well as his internationally renowned contribution to unity, peace and development by naming certain roads, streets and avenues, schools and public features after this great son of Zimbabwe.

"The process of naming and re-naming of public features in Zimbabwe is a continuous one. Accordingly, Government has also approved recommendations to change names of certain dams, hospitals and other public features throughout the country", said Comrade Chikowore.

The following are new names of roads, streets and avenues in municipal and town areas:



City Council workers putting new road sign posts

Old name

New name

Old name

New name

#### Bulawayo

Selborne Avenue

Leopold Takawira Avenue

Grey Street/Birchenough Road/Queens Road to Airport  
Jameson Street  
Abercon Street

Robert Mugabe Way  
Hebert Chitepo Street  
Jason Moyo Street

Johannesburg Road

Gwanda Road



Old name	New name	Old name	New name
Rhodes Street	George Silundika Street	Golden Stairs Road	Second Street Extension
Wilson Street	Josiah Tongogara Street	Montagu Avenue	Josiah Chinamano Avenue
Borrow Street	Samuel Parirenyatwa Street		
Kings Avenue	Masotsha Ndlovu Avenue	Hatfield Rd/Prince Edward Dam Road	Seke Road
Mafeking Road	Plumtree Road	Mackenzie Road/Mainway/McNeillage Road	Masotsha Ndlovu Way
London Road	Josiah Chinamano Road	Harari Road South	Mbare Road
Salisbury Road	Harare Road	Mazoe Street	Mazowe Street
		Umtali Road	Mutare Road
<b>Chinhoyi</b>		Salisbury Street	Harare Street
Rayton Drive	Herbert Chitepo Drive	Mazoe Road	Mazowe Road
Bluejay Street	Munhumutapa Street	Mtoko Road	Mutoko Road
Windsor Way	Makombe Way	Harari Road North	Harare Road
Gerrad Drive	Robson Manyika Drive	Forbes Avenue	Robson Manyika Avenue
Independence Way	Magamba Way		Rekayi Tangwena Avenue
Hunyani Close	Mhanyame Close	Sir James McDonald Avenue	
Gadzima Road	Robert Mugabe Road		
Sheffield Road	Josiah Tongogara Road	Beatrice Road/Watts/Stuart/Chandler Way/Beatrice Road/Stuart Chandler Way	Simon Mazorodze Road
Leeds Road	Leopold Takawira Road		
Selous Road	Mukwati Road		
Luton Road	Mateu Zvimba Road	<b>Kadoma</b>	
		Newton Street	Robert Mugabe Street
<b>Gweru</b>		Rhodes Street	Herbert Chitepo Street
Livingstone Avenue	Robert Mugabe Way	Masters Avenue	Mashonganyika Avenue
Allan Wilson Avenue	Leopold Takawira Avenue	Godwin Road	Josiah Tongogara Road
	Josiah Tongogara Avenue	Campbell Road	Kaguvi Road
Rhodes Avenue	Herbert Chitepo Avenue	Cam Road	Mashayamombe Road
Selous Avenue	George Silundika Road	Mornington Road	Leopold Takawira Road
Danziger Road	18 April Avenue	Lydia Road	Simon Mazorodze Road
Van der Molen Avenue	Robson Manyika Road	Princess Street	Mbuya Nehanda Street
Boggie Road	Jairos Jiri Road	Edward Street	Mukwati Street
Antoniadis Road	Shurugwi Road	Brading Street	Robson Manyika Street
Selukwe Road	Mvuma Road	Ford Street	Jason Moyo Street
Umvuma Road	Jason Moyo Avenue	Phelps Road	Samuel Parirenyatwa Road
Lock Avenue	Kaguvi Street		George Silundika Road
King Street	Mbuya Nehanda Street	Caulder Road	Tembwe Street
Queens Street	Mashonganyika Street	Liverpool Street	Chimoio Road
Elm Street	Josiah Chinamano Road	Manchester Road	
Somerset Road	Rekayi Tangwena Road		
Devon Road	Masotsha Ndlovu Road	<b>Kariba</b>	
Ayr Road	Simon Mazorodze Drive	Mucharara Crescent	Muchirara Crescent
Athlone Drive		Kudu Crescent	Nhoro Crescent
		Yellow Tree Ridge	Mushonga Ridge
<b>Harare</b>		Baobab Close	Muuyu Close
North Avenue	Josiah Tongogara Avenue	Eagle Drive	Makondo Drive
	George Silundika Avenue	Elephant Drive	Nzou Drive
Gordon Avenue	Jason Moyo Avenue	Zebra Drive	Mbizi Drive
	Herbert Chitepo Avenue	Duiker Close	Mhembwe Close
Stanley Avenue	Robert Mugabe Road	Sugar Loaf Drive	Magamba Drive
Rhodes Avenue	Bishop Gaul Avenue		
Manica Road West/Manica Road/Umtali Road	Julius Nyerere Crescent	<b>Kwekwe</b>	
Gaul Avenue	Chinhoyi Street	Rhodes Highway	Leopold Takawira Highway
Kings Crescent	Mbuya Nehanda Street	Allan Wilson Avenue	Josiah Tongogara Avenue
Sinoia Street	Leopold Takawira Street	Founders Avenue	Robert Mugabe Avenue
Victoria Street	Kaguvi Street	Starr Jameson Avenue	Herbert Chitepo Avenue
Moffat Street	Chiremba Road	Greenham Avenue	Mbuya Nehanda Avenue
Pioneer Street	Masvingo Road		Jason Moyo Avenue
Widdecombe Road	Airport Road	Marionville Avenue	Simon Mazorodze Street
Harare/Beatrice		Bellany Street	Masotsha Ndlovu Crescent
Queensway North/Queensway Road		Beit Crescent	Kaguvi Drive
From intersection of Stuart Chandler Way/Beatrice Road/Glen High Road to Chitungwiza	Chitungwiza Road	Alamein Drive	George Silundika Crescent
Salisbury Drive	Harare Drive	Stanley Crescent	
Salisbury Way	Harare Way	<b>Marondera</b>	
		Tunmer Close	Shingirayi Close
		Churchill Crescent	Marondera Crescent



Old name	New name	Old name	New name
Jelliman Avenue	Rekayi Tangwena Avenue	Meikle Road	Simon Mazorodze Road
Marshall Way	Magamba Way	Kingsley Fairbridge Street	George Silundika Street
<b>Masvingo</b>		Guide Avenue	Eighth Avenue
Allan Wilson Street	Robert Mugabe Street	Moffat Avenue/Circular Drive	Rekayi Tangwena Drive
Fitzgerald Avenue	Josiah Tongogara Avenue	Crawford Road	Josiah Tongogara Road
	Leopold Takawira Avenue	Allan Wilson Road	Leopold Takawira Road
Dillion Avenue	Simon Mazorodze Avenue	Cecil Avenue	Independence Avenue
Thompson Avenue	Rekayi Tangwena Avenue	Coghlan Avenue	Robson Manyika Avenue
Brown Avenue	Jason Moyo Avenue	Love Road	Batanai Road
Welby Avenue	Jairos Jiri Road	Kitchener Road	Takunda Road
Unnamed Road off Beitbridge Road to main bus terminus	Herbert Chitepo Street	McIntosh Avenue	Tatonga Avenue
Colquhoun Street	George Silundika Avenue	Eickhoff Avenue	Chimoio Avenue
McLead Avenue		Rudland Avenue	Jongwe Avenue
		Selous Avenue	Mutasa Avenue
		Devonshire Road	Makoni Road
		Early Grey Avenue	Gukurahundi Avenue
		Turner Street	Tembwe Street
		Evans Road	Nyadzonya Road
		Jan Smuts Drive	Magamba Drive
		Salisbury Road	Harare Road
		Melsetter Road	Chimanimiani Road
		Lundi Crescent	Runde Crescent
		Vumba Avenue	Bvumba Avenue
		Vumba Road	Bvumba Road
		Cowley Place	Simon Mazorodze Place
		Kingsway	Chaminuka Way
<b>Mutare</b>			
Main Street	Herbert Chitepo Street		
Churchill Road/Milner Avenue	Robert Mugabe Avenue		
Aerodrome Road/Victoria Avenue	Aerodrome Road		
Rhodes Drive	Jason Moyo Drive		

## 21st February Movement and 'Happy Birthday' to Comrade R.G. Mugabe

Staff Reporter



**President Mugabe at the Harare International Conference Centre during the 21st February Movement Celebrations**

On Saturday, February 24, all roads leading to the Harare International Conference Centre were jammed with buses carrying the celebrants of the 21st February Movement.

There were ululations and chanting of 'happy birthday' to Comrade Robert Gabriel Mugabe on his 66th birthday and the 4th Anniversary of the 21st February Movement.

The 21st February Movement which coincides with the birthday of President Comrade Robert Gabriel Mugabe was launched on February 21, 1986. Children aged from 1 to 14 years are the members of the Movement.

In Harare, this year's celebrations were held at the International Conference Centre where ten 21st February Movement delegates were sent from each of the nine provinces to be at the celebrations with Comrade R.G. Mugabe. Gracing the occasion were Comrade Bona Mugabe (the mother of Comrade R.G. Mugabe); The First Lady, Amai Sally Mugabe; Comrade Ernest Rusununguko Kadungure, National Secretary of the Youth League in the Politburo; the Minister of Lands, Agriculture and Rural Resettlement, Comrade David Karimanzira; and the acting Minister of Defence, Comrade Sydney Sekeramayi.

In other parts of the country, celebrations went on smoothly with school children performing different cultural activities and the President's speech was read by Provincial governors.

This year's 21st February Movement theme is 'today's united youth, tomorrow's leaders' which is to an extent centred on the tremendous work which was done by President R.G. Mugabe in uniting the people of Zimbabwe.



In his speech Comrade Mugabe cautioned the youth that they should not indulge in alcoholism, drug abuse and moral depravity. He further emphasized that a good leader is one who puts the nation first, love for all and malice towards none, communicate effectively and shun tribalism, sectionalism, regionalism and racism.

The President mentioned in his speech the importance of education which the government has successfully mastered by establishing more primary, secondary and technical schools with a second university to be built soon.

After delivering his speech, the President was showered with gifts from various provinces and poems were recited for him. The most notable poem was the one which was recited by six school children from Mashonaland Central who sent everyone in the auditorium silent.

The poem was climaxed by abbreviating the name, MUGABE, as follows:-



**Comrade E. Kadungure (left) sharing a joke with the President**



**Comrade Mugabe joins in the march of the 21st February Movement Children**

M...Motherly spirit of leadership  
U...nity, it was brought through his wisdom  
G...generous he is, he cares for everyone irrespective of colour, race and creed.  
A...active, he is always active among other leaders in the development of his country.  
B...best he is, second to none  
E...effective, he is effective in his administering of the government and he should live forever.

Following is a short history of Comrade Mugabe's life and devotion during the struggle for national independence.

1924: Robert Mugabe was born at Kutama Mission. 1941: qualified as a primary school teacher and taught at Kutama Mission until 1943. 1944: Taught at Mapanzura, Shabani and Empandeni Mission until 1945.

1946: Started teaching at Hope Fountain

Mission in Matebeleland and stayed there for four years. He also embarked on private studies for Matriculation Certificate.

1951: He graduated with a Bachelor of Arts degree in English and History at Fort Hare university in South Africa.

1952: Teaching at Driefontein Mission in Matebeleland and studying for a diploma in Education.

1953: Joined Mbizi primary school in Highfield, Harare as a teacher.

1953: Teaching at Mambo School in Gweru and obtained a Bachelor of Education degree by correspondence.

1955: Went to Zambia and taught at Chalimbana Teacher Training College near Lusaka. During this period, he read for a Bachelor of Science Degree in Economics

from the university of London by correspondence.

1958: Arrived in Ghana at St Mary's Teacher Training College in Takoradi. He also met his wife to be, Sally Francesca Hyfron.

1960: Elected Secretary for Information and Publicity of the National Democratic Party. He resigned from teaching to pursue politics on a full-time basis.

1961: NDP is banned and ZAPU is formed with Comrade Mugabe as Publicity Secretary.

1962: ZAPU is banned and Comrade Mugabe is restricted to his birth place for three months.

1963: Comrade Mugabe arrested after making a speech in Highfield but escapes to Dar-es-salaam. ZANU is formed and Comrade Mugabe is made Secretary General.

1964: ZANU is banned and its leaders including Comrade Mugabe are arrested and detained at Wha Wha.

1965: Comrade Mugabe is moved to Salisbury maximum security prison. While in prison, he obtained a Bachelor of Laws and Master of Laws degrees from the university of London and a Bachelor of Administration degree from the university of South Africa. He also studied a Master of Science Degree in Economics as well as Master of Education Degree.

1974: He is released from prison and heads for Mozambique to spearhead the armed struggle and established the headquarters of ZANU.

1976: Alliance between ZANU and ZAPU is formed and it is called the Patriotic Front.

1977: ZANU Congress in Chimoio, Mozambique elects him President.

1979: Comrade Mugabe leads the ZANU delegation to the Lancaster House Conference in London.

1980: ZANU (PF) wins in the general elec-



tion and Comrade Mugabe is elected Prime Minister.

1984: Comrade Mugabe is re-elected party President and First Secretary.

1985: ZANU (PF) wins a landslide victory in the general election.

1986: Comrade Mugabe assumes Chairmanship of the Non-Aligned Movement at the eighth Summit held in Harare.

1987: The unity accord between ZANU PF and PF ZAPU is signed by President Mugabe and Comrade Joshua Nkomo. Zimbabwe adopts the executive presidency and Comrade Mugabe is elected as the country's first Executive President at a colourful ceremony held at the National Sports Stadium in Harare.

1989: The newly united ZANU PF holds its congress and appoints a 160-member Central Committee.

Zimbabwe should take pride in having a dedicated leader who in all brought all races together in order to have a strong and united Zimbabwe.

The youths of the 21st February Movement should emulate the example set by Comrade R.G. Mugabe in promoting peace in the whole world, actively involved in the developmental projects of his country and lastly his love for mankind. □

## For The People and With The People



Comrade Robert Mugabe addressing a mass rally — He has always been with the people

The people of Zimbabwe and ZANU PF are one — the two cannot be separated because from its inception, ZANU PF has been people oriented. For the past 26 years, the two have worked and stuck together in times of triumph and victory as well as defeat.

Over these years, the people have developed confidence in the Party and its leadership, and the Party has stuck deep roots in the hearts and minds of the people.

During the armed struggle for national independence, the alliance of the Party and the

people was severely tested but it endured and triumphed. The enemies tried by all means to separate the two but it was all in vain because the Party and the people had one thing in common — independence for the majority.

The cornerstone of ZANU PF's success and support over the years is that it always championed the interests of the workers and peasants of Zimbabwe. The people know that their Party stood with them and would stand by them.

ZANU PF has never strayed from the people's needs. It has never forgotten that the

worker and the peasant constitute the backbone of its existence. Only politically immature individuals can open their mouths and utter senseless words like, ZANU PF is no longer serving the worker and peasant.

The salient fact to be remembered, understood and boldly underlined today is that ZANU (PF) stood for and with the exploited workers and peasants throughout the difficult period of colonialism.

It never at one time compromised with the political demands of the owners of capital



and those white settlers who were managing the capitalist system.

Now that we are independent, ZANU PF will never abandon the demands of the workers and the peasants. In fact it should be remembered that the success of ZANU PF in the past was achieved because it represented the interest of labour against capital.

The alliance of ZANU PF and people was strengthened during the armed struggle for national independence. The freedom fighters swum in the villages, compounds and the segregated townships like fish in the water.

The masses will always be behind the success of ZANU PF — For the people and with the people.

During times of the struggle some people took a back seat, now that the country is independent, they want to assume the driver's seat. Some of them want to lead the people today but they betrayed them when the white settler tightened his grip on all political activists.

#### **Sithole Betrayed the People**

When ZANU was formed in August 1963, Ndabaningi Sithole was installed as its president but not all members approved of this decision.

The opposition to Sithole was so vehement that some among the hardcore founders of the Party had contemplated initiating a move to choose another leader in Sithole's place.

However, after careful discussions it was finally disapproved in order to avoid division in the Party.

Well, you can never call a spoon a spade. Sithole brought about his own downfall. In 1968 he was charged with plotting to murder Ian Smith and other perpetrators of Unilateral Declaration of Independence, and when he was brought to trial in February 1969, he pleaded guilty.

He was sentenced to six years imprisonment and in mitigation, he declared;

"I wish publicly to disassociate my name in word, thought or deed from any subversive activities, from any terrorists activities and from any form of violence."

He had thus betrayed the people and recanted both the armed struggle and those who were fighting for Zimbabwe. His betrayal did not mean an end to the fight against minority rule. The struggle continued.

The old ZANU (PF) and PF-ZAPU fought jointly militarily to eradicate colonialism. The two parties left no stone unturned in their bid to achieve national independence. Their leaders were arrested, detained, tortured and many went in to exile and their supporters, the masses, were always harassed and some killed by the Rhodesian forces. This did not dishearten the people.

Fighting continued until the Smith regime was no more. In 1979, ceasefire was agreed upon and announced and the Sitholes who earlier on had disassociated themselves from "terrorist activities", hence the struggle for independence re-appeared.

But he had already shown that he lacked leadership qualities. However, he was never given the chance in the general election of 1990, neither did he get it in 1985.

The resounding victory of ZANU PF during the 1980 elections was a clear indication of the people's wishes. The task ahead of the Party was to advance the building of the nation in conditions of peace, harmony, regardless of race, tribe and colour.

ZANU PF as the people's party had the mandate to carry out the will of the people which is to move towards socialism, brotherhood, equality and the growth of our country and nation with equity.

United and vigilant, with a wise and far-sighted leadership, the people and government of Zimbabwe can never be defeated. ZANU PF is proud to serve and lead the nation — it is very aware that it is a mass party.

Because of the mass party character a variety of opportunists and even traitors of the people have clung to the party and some of these even climbed to the top ranks. At the end of the day they think of forming their movements.

Now that independent Zimbabwe has entered a new decade, Sithole and his Ndonga has decided to make another attempt. Has he now fully decided to stand for the people? He betrayed the people and the struggle that brought independence, he wants to lead today. He is a political coward. When he lost in the 1985 elections he left the country because he was not man-enough to face reality.

The true leader of the people of Zimbabwe, Comrade Robert Mugabe was jailed, tortured, tormented and detained for several years but he never looked back. He endured until Zimbabwe became independent. He is a dedicated leader who suffers with and for the people. He sacrificed his time and life together with many others to free the people of Zimbabwe from the colonial bondage.

Today that we are enjoying the fruits of independence, some political opportunists, short-sighted dwarfs, who were rejoicing when others were in sorrow are fighting for leadership now.

It's a shame. Just imagine, the UANC, a party that was representative of the bourgeoisies when the liberation war was at its peak, now talking of being for the worker and the peasant.

Was the UANC ever in alliance with the worker and the peasant during the war of liberation? When, how and where did the alliance start?

Instead of helping ZANLA and ZIPRA forces to fight against the Rhodesian forces, Muzorewa formed his auxiliary forces who fought alongside the enemy to preserve minority rule. They harassed people in rural areas, farms, mines etc. for supporting freedom fighters and today the UANC says it wants to stand for the people whom its forces took as enemies.

The whole leadership of the UANC never suffered for the independence of Zimbabwe.

At Lancaster House, Muzorewa had his own delegation which was backed by the Smith regime. Have they parted ways? Obviously the coming of the UANC into power would mean the returning of minority rule because in 1979 Muzorewa formed a puppet government where he was made a political wind-break by Ian Smith.

They can sing, shout or whatever the case maybe, but all political conscious people know where they belong — their true colours are known. Hyenas in sheep's hides.

#### **Mini-parties**

Of course we have a handful of small or rather mini-parties whose names have been mentioned here and there in books of history of the struggle for independence in Zimbabwe. Lines of their contribution towards the attainment of independence do not go beyond a paragraph.

We need not dwell much on such parties because after the 1985 general election some of them decided to call it a day. However, some of them are still surviving but for what reason, nobody knows.

We have the NDU's, NDP's and the like appealing to the people to vote for them for unity and peace but as far as we understand, the people of Zimbabwe have been united long back under ZANU PF. In fact what they want to bring is division and unrest.

Let us look at the post-independence born movements. They might be very few but the fact is they exist. Movements that materialise from nowhere to 'save' the people while forming alliances with the Conservative Alliance of Zimbabwe and former Rhodesian Front.

While people were busy cementing their relationship some people brought bulldozers and tried to break the bonds of unity. Comrades Mugabe and Nkomo after several discussions brought the two major parties together and the people of Zimbabwe at last saw the long awaited unity.

People rejoiced but someone, somewhere was not pleased at all. That someone, everybody can guess who he is.

He, with the speed of lightning hurried to form his movement and called it the Zimbabwe Unity Movement. The unity he is preaching about is very questionable. I suppose there is an omission or typographical error somewhere. The name should have been Zimbabwe Disunity Movement, because, Tekere, by forming ZUM at the moment when all Zimbabweans were uniting was in no doubt trying to destroy the unity accord. He wanted to see the people divided.

Having failed in his bid to stop the unity process he embarked on mobilising all politically unstable elements and decided to contest the 1990 general elections. He used to shout his lungs out against talks that he was being sponsored by external forces but today there he is, forming an alliance with the CAZ. Whom does ZUM intend to represent?

(continued on page 15)



# Opposition Candidates in the Last Elections

*By our Legal Correspondent*

Elections in this and many countries come around every five years. They present a unique occasion for the public to voice, through the ballot box, their view of the government's performance. Our presidential and general elections ended on March 31, 1990, with a resounding victory for the ZANU PF party. Regular elections give the voter the opportunity to assess the opposition to the governing party and to decide whether to vote for that opposition. In our case, the voters emphatically rejected the opposition parties, and their leaders.

Leaders of government in the past five years will be well known to the electorate. The voter has a yardstick upon which to decide whether the performance of the incumbent candidate merits their vote.

What was much less known to the voter was the history of those challenging ZANU PF at the polls.

Candidates' election manifestos, and this is particularly true in the case of candidates opposing ZANU PF, tend to gloss over their histories. Unwholesome skeletons are deliberately left in the cupboards. But, we want to remove the dust on some of them, and bring them not into the open. This exercise is helpful for the future.

Inevitably the list must begin with Edgar Tekere as he was the only candidate challenging President Robert Mugabe.

Whilst Tekere was involved in the struggle he was stongly criticised for his drinking, lack of work and poor administration. His first known act of "warfare" was that he was in a group who killed a white farmer outside Salisbury well after the Lancaster ceasefire. Around himself Tekere has gathered a caste of players and political alliances whose backgrounds bear closer scrutiny.

First among these, although of little electoral consequence, was the Conservative Alliance of Zimbabwe (CAZ), the heir to the Rhodesian Front.

Members of the CAZ executive objected to the way in which the local press associated them with the RF. But one member of the CAZ executive added: "We support the same principles". Gerald Smith emphasised this fact in his letter to voters.

Those so-called "principles" cost 30 000 lives in the liberation struggle and the CAZ president, Gerald Smith, who was born in South Africa, was one of the Rhodesians fighting in that war against the black majority.

He first ran for Parliament in 1985 winning

the Chegutu seat reserved for whites and became CAZ leader in 1988.

He lives in the Karoi area where he has three farms including a 4 000 acre ranch. Smith is obviously a man who has personal reasons to oppose President Mugabe's policy of equitably distributing land at the end of the first post-Lancaster decade.

Given Gerald Smith's background, South African born, a former Rhodesian soldier, and rich largescale landowner when so many people are land hungry, it must mean that Tekere has recanted on many things he has said in the past.

Then there was Ndabaningi Sithole, the opportunist who now lives in USA daily betraying Zimbabweans in the eyes of Americans and any foreigners willing to listen to his lies, and distortions of Zimbabwe. Sithole's 1969 statement at his trial is a matter of court record: "I wish to publicly disassociate my name in word, thought, or deed, from any subversive activities, from any terrorist activities, and from any form of violence". That was the first of his list of actions betraying the freedom-fighters in particular, and the population of Zimbabwe as a whole.

That statement, in those days a betrayal of the fighters and the nationalist struggle, resulted in his expulsion as ZANU leader.

However, since then, his record has become even murkier. Some months ago he contracted a Johannesburg security company offering \$100 million for the overthrow of our government. Twenty per cent of this staggering sum was to be paid in foreign currency, the remainder in Zimbabwe dollars. The money would come from foreign enemies of Zimbabwe, and its people; but the section in Zimbabwe dollars would come from the poor people of Zimbabwe.

US State Department officials say that Sithole approached them for weapons to overthrow our government. Instead of supplying these they informed the Zimbabwean authorities. What support he has received from the South African Embassy in Washington, with whom he has maintained close contacts, is not known.

All this notwithstanding, and after the death of his daughter in a car accident in Zimbabwe, Sithole was given assurances by the government that he was free to return, would not be prosecuted, and was free to leave. Instead he chose to remain in the US posing as the leader of ZANU (Ndonga), and writing books to denigrate Zimbabwe and the Zimbabwean people. He also signed an anti-people treaty with the renegade RENA-

MO leader: thereby encouraging the murders of our villagers on the eastern borders. Given that Tekere was one of the most vocal members of the ZANU central committee in prison when it was decided to expel Sithole in 1974, this is another very strange, albeit informal, alliance.

The third formal member of the curious ZUM/CAZ alliance is the Zimbabwe Active People's Unity, a name clearly intended to try to take votes from the authentic former ZAPU led by Comrade Joshua Nkomo whose party is now united with ZANU PF.

Its leader, Newman Ndelela, announced his alliance with ZUM before the general elections. Enquiries in Bulawayo as to who he is elicited blank stares or peals of laughter.

Kith and kin, as Rhodesia illustrated, are powerful forces. Masipula Sithole, an Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Zimbabwe and brother of Ndabaningi, for ZUM in the Harare North constituency. He has been one of those lecturers polluting the minds of young Zimbabweans at the local University. He has been teaching Rhodesia Front propaganda all his working life. He attended meetings with Ian Smith to plan strategy on how to hoodwink and deceive Zimbabwean youth.

His manifesto says: "I played my part in the anti-colonial struggle..." But what part? Sitting out the war as a student and then lecturer in American Universities; and collaborating in Ndabaningi Sithole's betrayal of Zimbabwe.

Another ZUM leader is Raphael Hamadziripi. Until the end of February he worked in the Political Section of the US Embassy in Harare. Embassy officials say he was offered the choice of resigning or being sacked after they learned he was involved in ZUM.

His father, Henry, was detained by the Mozambican authorities in 1977 after they obtained evidence that he was planning to overthrow our President and First Secretary, Comrade Mugabe.

Another ZUM/CAZ supporter with an axe to grind is Alexander Bertram, a Harare businessman. In January 1986 his son, David Alexander, then a 25 year old self-employed hairdresser, was convicted of sodomy. He was sentenced to 19 years imprisonment, half of that period suspended.

In February, 1987 Bertram's son was in trouble again, this time sentenced to three months in prison for making abusive statements about our President Mugabe in a Harare nightclub. The magistrate observed that



it was surprising that in this day and age Bertram junior should refer to Africans as "kaffirs".

Now the young Bertram is in prison again for shouting abusive remarks when Comrade President Mugabe was leaving a local hotel after a state banquet. In mitigation he pleaded drunkenness and, with good behaviour, will be released in July this year.

One of the most curious chameleons among ZUM/CAZ supporters was Eddie Cross, who resigned as Managing Director of the Beira Corridor Group (BCG) in March 1989.

As head of the BCG, Cross was a leading advocate of the presence of the Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA) in Mozambique to protect Zimbabwe's vital rail, road and oil routes to and from Beira. Like everyone else who lived here in December 1982 he must vividly remember the fuel crisis of that period after a pumping station was blown up in Mozambique.

That was why Zimbabwean troops were originally committed to Mozambique, fought and died, protecting the nation's lifelines.

Now, having left the BCG, Cross subscribes to ZUM/CAZ "principles" which include withdrawing all ZNA troops from Mozambique and leaving the Corridor vulnerable to sabotage. That is not what the BCG advocates and perhaps Cross has a very limited understanding of the meaning of the word "principle".

Many others involved in the loose opposition alliance to the unified ZANU PF bear grudges, real or imagined. Several have criminal records. At least one had a history of mental disturbance.

Nevertheless, under Schedule 3 of the Zimbabwean constitution, only those committed to mental asylums by the courts and still in such institutions, those declared bankrupt by the courts and still bankrupt, and those sentenced to over six months in prison and still in jail, are barred from running for Parliament.

In many senses this is a very liberal constitution. You can run for public office no matter what you have done, yet a number of countries bar anyone with a criminal record from running for public office.

General elections for the third Parliament of Zimbabwe and for the first direct presidential elections started on March 28 and were supposed to end the following day, but because of the nationwide call for the extension of the period, it was finally passed that polling should be extended to March 30.

Many polling stations had large queues of voters on the first and second days of the elections but the numbers of voters dwindled on the third day, final day of polling. The low turnout during the last day was a clear indication that every Zimbabwean citizen illegible to vote had the opportunity to do so.

Voting which took place in 119 constituencies was done in more than 2 000 polling sta-

Lawyers argue that beyond the constitution and an individual's criminal record there is a moral issue; the right of the electorate to know the history of the person asking for their vote.

This, the same lawyers insist, is the task of the press. Candidates cannot be expected to tell their whole history in manifestos. An investigative press should do this as part of its duty to the public.

Many ZANU PF candidates were convicted by the Rhodesian courts during the Ian Smith years and served periods in prison and detention. These were entirely political offences, not criminal offences. But what the public needs to know is those who have been convicted of criminal offences since independence. The list is long and incomplete. Several other skeletons remain in the cupboards and the courts. Here are some such examples from court and police files and the Parliamentary Hansard of opposition candidates records.

Patrick Kombayi, ZUM, Gweru Central. First Mayor of Gweru after Zimbabwe's independence, later removed, he has had continuous brushes with the law.

In 1981 he was convicted and fined for using obscene, abusive, insulting or threatening language in a public place. Kombayi, now a member of the ZUM alliance with CAZ, called a white police officer "a white pig and a Smith man".

In 1983 he was convicted of assaulting a white Gweru lawyer. Appeals against both convictions and sentences were dismissed by the Supreme Court.

In February 1984 the Chief Justice dismissed another appeal by Kombayi, this time for trying to smuggle goods into Zimbabwe. His appeal against conviction and sentence by a lower court for "hindering, assaulting or abusing" a customs officer was also dismissed.

At the end of March 1983, some two months after the Harare airport incident, the then President, Rev. Canaan Banana, suspended Kombayi as Mayor of Gweru.

The reasons for his suspension were explained to Parliament in June 1983. The House was told he had purchased two vehicles for his personal use while Mayor of Gweru, a Peugeot and a Mercedes imported

at a cost of \$54 625. A total of 29 different incidents of corruption and irregularity involving Kombayi and his councillors costing Gweru many thousands of dollars were detailed in Parliament.

These included buying four gold chains for himself, his deputy and their wives at a cost of \$44 850 when their actual value was only \$15 220.

Lazarus Mutungwazi, ZUM, Makoni South. Convicted in 1978 of receiving stolen property knowing it to have been stolen. Sentenced by a Rusape court to six months with hard labour;

Daniel Sithole, ZUM, Mutare South. Fined \$50 or 50 days in prison in lieu of payment in 1987 for common assault. In 1982 he had been convicted of poaching;

Xavier Chiota, NDU, Highfield East. Sentenced to five years imprisonment by the Supreme court for theft by false pretence;

Tahwineyi Chitongo, NDU, Mbare East. Sentenced to nine years imprisonment by the High Court for the theft of \$30 000 by false pretence.

Noah Bangure, ZUM, Makonde East. Fined in 1988 by Bikita magistrates court for assault causing grievous bodily harm. He had previously been sentenced to 20 months with hard labour for stock theft by the same court;

Peter Munjaranji, ZUM, Kariba. Sentenced by a Bindura court in October 1982 to nine months with labour for forgery and uttering. He had previously received a two year sentence for theft by conversion;

Michael Ndongdo, ZUM, Bubi. Sentenced to three years imprisonment by a Bulawayo Magistrate for fraud and extortion;

Rogers Ndhlovu, ZUM, Nkayi. Sentenced to 12 months by Plumtree magistrates court in 1987 for housebreaking and theft. He had previously been convicted of stock theft.

Of the above nine cases, seven involve ZUM candidates. This provides an insight into the alliance opposing ZANU PF which Tekere heads. The broad masses of Zimbabwe have seen through this lot. They did not vote for them, and will not vote for them in future. □

## Elections Round-up

tions. For Chimanimani, which is the 120th constituency, parliamentary elections have been postponed because it was discovered by the election directorate that the ballot papers did not have the names and symbols of contesting candidates.

The first ever presidential elections in Zimbabwe were contested by the President and First Secretary of ZANU PF, Comrade Robert Mugabe and the ZUM leader, Edgar Tekere.

After three days of polling, the people of Zimbabwe showed their faith and confidence in Comrade Mugabe who won the presidential elections overwhelmingly with 2 026 976 polls against the 413 840 won by ZUM leader E. Tekere.



### Unopposed Candidates

Out of 120 constituencies, parliamentary elections took place in 105 constituencies because 14 ZANU PF candidates were returned unopposed.

Nine of these candidates stood unopposed on nomination day while the other five benefited from the withdrawal of opposition candidates from the Zimbabwe Unity Movement at the last minute.

Those who were duly elected are

Mabel Chinomona	—	Mutoko North-Mashonaland East
Alois Mangwende	—	Murehwa North-Mashonaland East
David Karimanzira	—	Murehwa South-Mashonaland East
Bainos Mupezeni	—	Mudzi-Mashonaland East
Border Gezi	—	Centenary-Mashonaland Central
Chen Chimutengwende	—	Chiweshe-Mashonaland Central
Ephraim Chafesuka	—	Guruve-Mashonaland Central
Donald Nyamaropa	—	Shamva-Mashonaland Central
George Mudukuti	—	Masvingo North-Masvingo
Eddison Zvobgo	—	Masvingo South-Masvingo
Aaroyi Baloyi	—	Chiredzi South-Masvingo
Gabriel Machinga	—	Bikita East-Masvingo
Titus Maluleke	—	Chiredzi/Zaka-Masvingo
Ketina Mudamburi	—	Chivi North-Masvingo

In the light of the above, parliamentary ballot papers in constituencies where ZANU PF candidates were duly elected were withdrawn and people had to vote for the president.

Besides the withdrawal of ZUM election candidates many ZUM supporters resigned to rejoin the ruling party, ZANU PF as we neared the general elections. Many of them confessed that ZUM was not a representative of the black majority and was full of political opportunists.

As the elections started, many voters who had not registered were allowed to vote provided they managed to produce their ID cards or driver's licences, passports and had to produce enough evidence such as listeners' licence, rent book, GMB card with the address on to show the presiding officer that they lived in the constituency.

However, some voters were turned away because they failed to meet the above mentioned requirements. In most cases lodgers had difficulties of convincing the officers that

they lived in the constituencies they would have wanted to vote in.

### Postal votes

Special arrangements were also made to facilitate postal voting for security forces who were on duty outside their constituencies, Zimbabwe High Commissioners to other countries and polling officers. This arrangement was made in such a way that the papers were not tempered with.

With the exception of the 14 constituencies where ZANU PF candidates were duly elected, voters were given two ballot papers. The green ballot paper was for the presidential election as the white ballot paper was for the parliamentary election.

Out of all the contested seats, the opposition parties only managed to win in three constituencies. The rest were won by ZANU PF candidates. The three exceptions are: Mutare Central (ZUM), Chipinge North (ZUM) and Chipinge South (ZUM). This landslide victory shows that ZANU PF is still at the hearts of the people.

One thing which should not go without mentioning is that the 1990 general elections were held in a peaceful atmosphere. There were very few incidents of violence during and after the elections. Violence in a number of places countrywide were only witnessed before the elections.

Having finished the general elections and

the winning candidates declared members of the national House of Assembly, the 120 popularly elected members are going to be combined with other 30 specially elected members to form a single chamber of 150 members.

These other 30 members include 10 chiefs, eight provincial governors and 12 other appointed by the President.

### Problems faced during elections

A number of problems were faced during the elections and some of them contributed to the extension of the voting period. These included among other things transport, weather, which was not favourable in other parts of the country, especially in rural areas. In other areas polling stations opened late because officers had transport problems as well.

The official starting time for voting in all polling stations was supposed to be 7 a.m. and closing time was to be 7 p.m. However, in other stations voting had to begin later than that and this resulted in long queues of voters.

Delays in starting to vote was partly a result of some polling officers and agents arriving late.

Every precaution had to be taken to ensure that there were no elements of cheating during the casting of votes and during the counting.

All ballot boxes had to be inspected in the presence of representatives of all the contesting parties to make sure that there were no papers before voting started on the first day. After voting, the boxes were kept safely with agents of contesting parties present again.

The counting was also done in the presence of representatives of all contesting parties and there was cross-checking of the amount of ballot papers in the box and the stubs.

With such stern measures, the whole process was fair and cheat-free. □

# ZANU PF in Massive Victory as People Reject Forces of Disunity

HARARE (Parliamentary)

**Z**ANU PF polled a resounding 116 seats in the just ended General Elections in which Zimbabweans sent forces of disunity crushing onto their death-bed. However, the Chimanimani constituency did not participate as it was discovered late that names of party candidates did not appear on the ballot papers. The by-election is to be held later. Below we publish the full results of the general elections:-



<b>1. Highfield West</b>	
Richard Nyandoro-ZANU PF	— 18 676
Isaac Manyemba-ZUM	— 10 666
William Chadzuka-UANC	— 3 284
Spoilt papers	— 506
Total votes cast	— 33 132
Registered Voters	— 36 426
<b>2. Highfield East</b>	
Herbert Ushewokunze-ZANU PF	— 8 292



Joseph Dendere-ZUM	—	5 473
Jeremiah Nyamande-(Independent)	—	275
Xavier Chihota-NDU	—	64
Spoilt papers	—	683
Total votes cast	—	14 103
No. of Registered Voters	—	39 258
<b>3. Mufakose</b>		
Patrick Marime-ZANU PF	—	15 144
Everisto Ngweni-ZUM	—	3 544
Edward Mazaiwana-UANC	—	1 087
Spoilt Papers	—	533
Total votes cast	—	20 300
Registered Voters	—	36 808
<b>4. Glen View</b>		
Necasio Mangwira-ZANU PF	—	15 415
George Mugura-ZUM	\$	9 348
Jonias Makadzange-UANC	—	323
Spoilt papers	—	787
Total votes cast	—	25 873
Registered voters	—	43 303
<b>5. Kambuzuma</b>		
Oliver Chidawu-ZANU PF	—	8 740
Xebio Bosha-ZUM	—	5 423
Nicholas Hatidani-(Independent)	—	241
Frederick Mahere-UANC	—	247
Farai Masango-(Independent)	—	77
Spoilt papers ( <i>not confirmed</i> )		
Total votes cast	—	14 728
Registered voters	—	33 728
<b>6. Chitungwiza</b>		
Witness Mangwende-ZANU PF	—	20 217
Dominic Macheke-ZUM	—	6 316
Munyamana Gwavhu-NDU	—	237
Spoilt Papers	—	763
Total Votes Cast	—	27 533
Registered Voters	—	42 378
<b>7. Zengeza</b>		
Benjamin Moyo-ZANU PF	—	16 370
Simon Mapengo-ZUM	—	7 646
Spoilt papers	—	2 139
Total votes cast	—	26 156
Registered Voters	—	42 958
<b>8. St. Mary's</b>		
Joseph Macheke-ZANU PF	—	18 323
Stanley Musonza-ZUM	—	4 905
Spoilt papers	—	994
Total Votes cast	—	23 228
Registered Voters	—	45 595
<b>9. Harare South</b>		
Smith Marara Successful Candidate see page 20		
<b>10. Harare East</b>		
Margaret Dongo-ZANU PF	—	16 390
Morgan Changamire-ZUM	—	9 770
Spoilt papers	—	2 131
Total Votes Cast	—	28 220
Registered Voters	—	40 294
<b>11. Harare Central</b>		
Bernard T.G. Chidzero-ZANU PF	—	9 545
Raphel Hamadziripi-ZUM	—	6 864
Spoilt papers	—	711
Total votes cast	—	17 120
Registered voters	—	45 882
<b>12. Harare West</b>		
Don Chipango-ZANU PF	—	15 675
Stephen Nyoka-ZUM	—	7 323

Spoilt papers	—	1 462
Total votes cast	—	24 460
Registered voters	—	44 344
<b>13. Harare North</b>		
Tirivanhu Mudariki-ZANU PF	—	11 967
Masipula Sithole-ZUM	—	5 055
Spoilt papers	—	1 349
Total votes cast	—	18 371
Registered voters	—	32 366
<b>14. Mabvuku</b>		
Irene Mugabe — ZANU PF — Successful		
Candidate see page 20		
<b>15. Dzivarasekwa</b>		
William Mushonga-ZANU PF	—	24 218
Elijah Manjeya-ZUM	—	11 240
Moses Jiri-UANC	—	477
Spoilt papers	—	2 603
Total votes cast	—	38 538
Registered voters	—	38 938
<b>16. Mbare East</b>		
Tony Gara-ZANU PF	—	12 522
Biston David-ZUM	—	4 420
Tawinei Chitongo-NDU	—	197
Spoilt papers	—	741
Total votes cast	—	17 880
Registered voters	—	34 542
<b>17. Mbare West</b>		
Ephraim Masawi-ZANU PF	—	8 315
Nesbert Mutengezanwa-ZUM	—	4 415
Robert Marowa-UANC	—	339
Spoilt papers	—	424
Total votes cast	—	13 493
Registered voters	—	36 108
<b>18. Manyame</b>		
Joel Mupfudza — ZANU PF	—	14 298
Conrad Mukosera — ZUM	—	5 644
Spoilt papers	—	1 378
Total votes cast	—	21 320
Registered voters	—	46 400

## MASHONALAND CENTRAL

He is now compromising with those people who used to manage the capitalist system, those people who were always at loggerheads with the black majority. Therefore he wants to bring back old days, days of suffering.

A closer analysis of the dozen or so parties existing in this country reveals that, ZANU PF stands as the people's Party. Never has it strayed from the people's needs. There are no elements of cheating in ZANU PF. We proudly say ZANU PF is for the people and with the people. □



20.	<b>Centenary</b> Boda Gezi — ZANU PF — declared elect- ed before the general election.			Percy Chigodora-ZUM	—	2 967
				Spoilt papers	—	1 915
				Total votes cast	—	24 460
				Registered voters	—	47 507
21.	<b>Chiweshe</b> Chen Chimutengwende — ZANU PF — declared elected following the withdrawal of an opposition.			35. <b>Chinamora</b> Kenneth Bute-ZANU PF	—	13 525
				Athanasio Mushimbo-ZUM	—	1 586
				Spoilt papers	—	1 282
22.	<b>Guruve</b> <b>Ephraim Chafesuka — ZANU PF</b>	—	"	Total votes cast	—	16 393
				Registered voters	—	38 955
23.	<b>Mt. Darwin</b> Richard Elliot Mujana — ZANU PF	—	22 892	<b>MASHONALAND WEST</b>		
	Peter Sango — ZUM	—	1 363	36. <b>Kadoma West</b> Enos Chikowore-ZANU PF	—	25 865
	Olis Manyeruke — Ind.	—	570	Luke Bosha-ZUM	—	4 368
	Spoilt papers	—	1 600	Spoilt papers	—	2 008
	Total votes cast	—	26 425	Total votes cast	—	31 663
24.	<b>Mukumbura</b> Joseph Kaparadza — ZANU PF — Success- ful Candidate after withdrawal of opposition.			Registered voters	—	43 278
25.	<b>Shamva</b> Donald Nyamaropa	—	"	37. <b>Kadoma East</b> Edna Madzongwe-ZANU PF	—	18 312
				Leslie Mashayamombe-ZUM	—	2 450
				Spoilt papers	—	1 980
				Total votes cast	—	33 498
				Registered voters	—	35 195
	<b>MASHONALAND EAST</b>			38. <b>Ngezi</b> Frederick Mugwangwavari-ZANU PF	—	8 222
26.	<b>Wedza</b> Stanlake Marwodzi — ZANU PF	—	16 507	Lovemore Tapera-ZUM	—	400
	Joshua Siya —ZUM	—	1 501	Spoilt papers	—	416
	Spoilt papers	—	1 985	Total votes cast	—	9 036
	Total votes cast	—	19 993	Registered voters	—	35 555
	Registered voters	—	39 261	39. <b>Kariba</b> Tongayi Nyikadzino-ZANU PF	—	27 482
27.	<b>Mutoko North</b> Mabel Chinomona — ZANU PF — Stood unopposed			Peter Munjaranji-ZUM	—	3 933
28.	<b>Mutoko South</b> Richard Katsande — ZANU PF	—	19 176	Spoilt papers	—	2 083
	Claudius Magambiwa — Ind.	—	933	Total votes cast	—	33 498
	Spoilt papers	—	1 065	Registered voters	—	43 971
	Total votes cast	—	22 174	40. <b>Hurungwe</b> Kenneth Marombe-ZANU PF	—	25 818
	Registered voters	—	37 761	Clemence Gondo-ZUM	—	3 635
29.	<b>Murehwa North</b> Alois Mangwende — ZANU PF — Stood unopposed			Spoilt papers	—	2 228
30.	<b>Murehwa South</b> David Karimanzira — ZANU PF — Stood unopposed			Total votes cast	—	31 681
31.	<b>Mudzi</b> Bainos Mupezani — ZANU PF — Stood unopposed			Registered voters	—	35 348
32.	<b>Chihota</b> Ernest Chipitiri — ZANU PF	—	10 343	41. <b>Karoi</b> Edgar Kwenda-ZANU PF	—	5 432
	Jackson Muzambi — ZUM	—	1 088	Tommy Charewa-ZUM	—	696
	Zacharia Nyamadzawo — Ind.	—	332	Spoilt papers	—	355
	Spoilt papers	—	836	Total votes cast	—	6 128
	Total votes cast	—	12 599	Registered voters	—	35 823
	Registered voters	—	42 751	42. <b>Makonde North</b> Swithun Mombeshora-ZANU PF	—	13 883
33.	<b>Marondera</b> Sydney Sekeramayi-ZANU PF	—	18 892	Cleopas Watama-ZUM	—	2 125
	Sheila van Reenen-ZUM	—	3 195	Spoilt papers	—	945
	Spoilt papers	—	1 392	Total votes cast	—	16 953
	Total votes cast	—	23 479	Registered voters	—	39 608
	Registered voters	—	35 467	43. <b>Makonde East</b> Mudhomoni Chivende — ZANU PF	—	27 865
34.	<b>Goromonzi</b> Herbert Murerwa-ZANU PF	—	19 678	Noah Bangure — ZUM	—	4 451
				Spoilt papers	—	2 787
				Total votes cast	—	35 103
				Registered voters	—	46 809
				44. <b>Makonde West</b> Sean Hundermark — ZANU PF	—	16 507
				Robert Ruzivo — ZUM	—	1 513
				Spoilt papers	—	1 184



Total votes cast	—	19 204	Spoilt papers	—	1 528
Registered voters	—	42 230	Total votes cast	—	22 536
			Registered voters	—	47 694
45. <b>Makonde Central</b>			56. <b>Bikita East</b>		
Nathan Shamuyarira — ZANU PF	—	23 430	Gabriel Machinga-ZANU PF — stood unopposed		
Sungano Janhi Moyo — ZUM	—	3 171			
William Marumahoko — UANC	—	674	57. <b>Chiredzi/Zaka</b>		
Spoilt papers	—	1 404	Titus Maluleke-ZANU PF — stood unopposed		
Total votes cast	—	28 678			
Registered voters	—	37 589	58. <b>Chivi South</b>		
46. <b>Zvimba</b>			Paradza Mandebvu-ZANU PF	—	18 834
Sabhina Mugabe — ZANU PF	—	8 008	Munashe Chidavashe-ZUM	—	767
Esau Chakupe — ZUM	—	525	Spoilt papers	—	20 368
Spoilt papers	—	325	Registered voters	—	41 606
Total votes cast	—	8 852			
Registered voters	—	42 711	59. <b>Masvingo Central</b>		
47. <b>Chegutu</b>			Dzikamai Mavhaire-ZANU PF	—	26 188
Mashava Mugwagwa — ZANU PF	—	20 420	Naboth Musabayana-ZUM	—	3 905
Edward Hamadziripi Chipape — ZUM	—	3 182	Spoilt papers	—	1 969
Spoilt papers	—	1 699	Total votes cast	—	32 062
Total votes cast	—	25 301	Registered voters	—	41 988
Registered voters	—	33 212			
48. <b>Mhondoro</b>			60. <b>Chivi North</b>		
Brigadier Felix Muchemwa — ZANU PF	—	10 610	Ketina Mudamburi-ZANU PF — stood unopposed		
Douglas Chanakira — ZUM	—	1 488			
Spoilt papers	—	609	61. <b>Masvingo North</b>		
Total votes cast	—	12 707	George Mudukuti-ZANU PF — stood unopposed		
Registered voters	—	36 576			
<b>MASVINGO</b>					
49. <b>Gutu South</b>			62. <b>Gutu North</b>		
Shuvai Mahofa — ZANU PF	—	18 779	Joseph Mandaba-ZANU PF	—	12 409
Isaac Chimwanda — ZUM	—	1 226	Oliver Munyaradzi-ZANU PF	—	7 657
Spoilt papers	—	747	Spoilt papers	—	1 401
Total votes cast	—	20 758	Total votes cast	—	21 467
Registered voters	—	34 562	Registered voters	—	36 138
50. <b>Gutu East</b>			63. <b>Chiredzi Central</b>		
Ephraim Marwizi — ZANU PF	—	8 865	Henry Pote-ZANU PF	—	21 903
Nelson Mawema — ZANU PF	—	5 951	Leo Chanda-ZUM	—	4 420
Spoilt papers	—	551	Spoilt papers	—	2 916
Total votes cast	—	15 367	Total votes cast	—	29 239
Registered voters	—	36 668	Registered voters	—	42 397
51. <b>Bikita West</b>			64. <b>Masvingo South</b>		
Joel Kufandada — ZANU PF	—	10 715	Eddison Zvobgo-ZANU PF — Stood unopposed		
Kenneth Matimba — ZANU PF	—	3 719			
Spoilt papers	—	1 222			
Total votes cast	—	15 656	<b>MANICALAND</b>		
Registered voters	—	37 339	65. <b>Buhera North</b>		
52. <b>Chiredzi South</b>			Nevison Nyashanu — ZANU PF	—	20 260
Aaron Baloyi — Stood unopposed			Gabriel Chaiva —ZUM	—	1 644
			Spoilt papers	—	1 084
53. <b>Mwenezi</b>			Total votes cast	—	22 490
Machaba Zviyedzo Hove-ZANU PF	—	22 547	Registered voters	—	32 307
Philemon Baloyi-ZUM	—	1 105			
Spoilt papers	—	1 264	66. <b>Buhera South</b>		
Total votes cast	—	24 916	Kumbirayi Kangai — ZANU PF — Successful Candidate see page 20		
Registered voters	—	44 426			
54. <b>Zaka East</b>			67. <b>Buhera West</b>		
Wurayayi Chisamba — ZANU PF	—	4 812	Victoria Chitepo — ZANU PF	—	9 988
Simbi Mubako-ZANU PF	—	7 118	Denny Munetsi — ZUM	—	58
Isaac Gwenure-ZUM	—	530	Spoilt papers	—	340
Spoilt papers	—	910	Total votes cast	—	10 386
Total votes cast	—	13 371			
55. <b>Zaka West</b>			68. <b>Chimanimani (postponed)</b>		
Jefta Chindanya-ZANU PF	—	19 803			
Gladman Machakata-ZUM	—	1 205	69. <b>Chipinge North</b>		
			Joseph Muzite — ZANU PF	—	7 065



	Gordon Mashakavanhu — ZUM	—	10 087	80.	Nyanga Tichaendepi Masaya — ZANU PF	—	11 184
	Goodson Sithole — ZANU (Ndonga)	—	5 347		Sylvester Matsapa — ZUM	—	6 025
	Spoilt papers	—	2 059		Spoilt papers —	—	2 080
	Total votes cast	—	24 323		Total voters —	—	19 289
	Registered voters	—	46 323		Registered voters —	—	44 756
70.	<b>Chipinge South</b>				MIDLANDS		
	Henry Moyana — ZANU PF	—	3 616	81.	<b>Gweru Central</b>		
	Wiseman Zengeni — ZANU (Ndonga)	—	8 970		Simon Muzenda — ZANU PF	—	14 083
	Killian Mvududu — ZUM	—	8 721		Patrick Kombayi — ZUM	—	5 235
	Spoilt papers	—	1 002		Benard Kutesera — UANC	—	285
	Total votes cast	—	22 309		Spoilt papers —	—	571
	Registered voters	—	46 848		Total votes cast —	—	20 173
71.	<b>Makoni Central</b>				Registered voters —	—	38 398
	Didymus Mutasa — ZANU PF — Successful Candidate see page 20						
72.	<b>Makoni East</b>			82.	<b>Gweru North</b>		
	Dexterr Chavhunduka — ZANU PF	—	18 755		Cyril Ndebele — ZANU PF — successful candidate		
	Winnie Mwashita — ZUM	—	5 988				
	Spoilt papers	—	2 365	83.	<b>Gweru South</b>		
	Total votes cast	—	27 102		Enerst Tongogara — ZANU PF	—	17 311
	Registered voters	—	33 721		Benard Gwati — ZUM	—	4 863
73.	<b>Makoni South</b>				Onward Manyeruke UANC	—	387
	Gibson Munyero — ZANU PF	—	9 626		Spoilt papers —	—	720
	Lazarus Mtungwazi — ZUM	—	2 525		Total votes cast —	—	23 281
	Spoilt papers	—	1 348		Registered voters —	—	42 116
	Total votes cast	—	13 499				
	Registered voters	—	42 444	84.	<b>Chikomba</b>		
74.	<b>Makoni West</b>				Enerst R. Kadungure — ZANU PF	—	25 929
	Moven Mahachi — ZANU PF — Successful candidate				T. Chakauya — ZUM	—	1 589
75.	<b>Mutare Central</b>				Spoilt papers —	—	1 113
	Zororo Duri — ZANU PF	—	8 700		Total votes cast —	—	28 630
	Daniel Sithole — ZUM	—	9 058		Registered voters —	—	48 050
	Clement Mhlanga — ZANU (Ndonga)	—	411	85.	<b>Silobela</b>		
	Spoilt papers	—	673		Steven Vuma — ZANU PF	—	14 402
	Total votes cast	—	18 842		Kaiza Jackson — ZUM	—	2 479
	Registered voters	—	45 179		Spoilt papers —	—	708
76.	<b>Mutare North</b>				Total votes cast —	—	17 589
	Oppah Muchinguri — ZANU PF	—	14 165		Registered voters —	—	32 478
	Giles Mutsekwa — ZUM	—	13 484	86.	<b>Zvishavane</b>		
	David Mabunyara — ZANU (Ndonga)	—	1 481		Tsungirayi Hungwe — ZANU PF	—	22 438
	Spoilt papers —	—	1 533		Raphael Mudari — ZUM	—	2 823
	Total votes cast	—	30 671		Spoilt papers —	—	1 200
	Registered voters —	—	42 469		Total votes cast —	—	26 461
77.	<b>Mutare South</b>				Registered voters —	—	45 625
	Lazarus Nzarayebani — ZANU PF	—	10 520	87.	<b>Chirumanzi</b>		
	Christopher Zimunya — ZUM	—	3 925		Hlomayi Mangwende — ZANU PF	—	21 468
	Spoilt papers —	—	1 181		Hoinos Machaya — ZUM	—	1 856
	Total votes cast —	—	15 636		Spoilt papers —	—	1 325
	Registered voters —	—	39 201		Total votes cast —	—	24 649
78.	<b>Mutare West</b>				Registered voters —	—	43 965
	Moton Malianga — ZANU PF	—	14 806	88.	<b>Gokwe West</b>		
	Wilson Murwiri — ZUM	—	4 349		George Marange — ZANU PF — successful candidate		
	Spoilt papers —	—	1 610				
	Total votes cast —	—	20 765	89.	<b>Gokwe South</b>		
	Registered voters —	—	44 494		Jaison Machaya — ZANU PF	—	21 785
79.	<b>Mutasa</b>				Nokuthula Ndoka — ZUM	—	2 511
	Misheck Chinamasa — ZANU PF	—	6 864		Spoilt papers —	—	1 576
	Christopher Nyamwanza — ZUM	—	6 007		Total votes cast —	—	25 872
	Spoilt papers —	—	1 363		Registered voters —	—	34 682
	Total votes cast —	—	14 234				
	Registered voters —	—	42 005				



<b>90. Gokwe North</b>			Spoilt papers — 2 189		
Benson Mbowa — ZANU PF	—	20 672	Total votes cast	—	23 790
Patrick Manwende — ZUM	—	2 626	Registered voters	—	47 268
Spoilt papers —	—	1 564			
Total votes cast —	—	24 862			
Registered voters —	—	44 812			
<b>91. Gokwe East</b>			<b>100. Mpopoma</b>		
Titus Marongwe — ZANU PF	—	19 888	Edson Ncube — ZANU PF	—	13 164
Isiah Mucheki — ZUM	—	1 761	Philip Hadebe — ZUM	—	3 042
Spoilt papers —	—	1 340	Grey Bango — Independent	—	359
Total votes cast —	—	22 989	Godfrey Mpezeni — UANC	—	287
Registered voters —	—	34 287	Phineas Sithole — ZANU (Ndonga)	—	234
			Spoilt papers	—	791
			Total votes cast	—	17 877
			Registered voters	—	46 688
<b>92. Kwekwe</b>			<b>101. Nkulumane</b>		
Emmerson Mnangagwa — ZANU PF	—	23 898	Dumiso Dabengwa — ZANU PF	—	15 494
Silvester Chibanda — ZUM	—	7 094	Victor Katsolo — ZUM	—	3 470
Spoilt papers —	—	1 436	Caleb Nyatoti — UANC	—	328
Total votes cast —	—	32 428	Spoilt papers	—	1 558
Registered voters —	—	41 062	Total votes cast	—	20 840
			Registered voters	—	34 028
<b>93. Shurugwi</b>			<b>102. Pelandaba</b>		
David Ruzive — ZANU PF	—	25 575	Joseph Msika — ZANU PF	—	10 902
Peter Msiwa — ZUM	—	1 630	Christopher Mariga — ZUM	—	2 202
Spoilt papers	—	1 138	Spoilt papers	—	696
Total votes cast	—	28 343	Total votes cast	—	13 204
Registered voters	—	44 832	Registered voters	—	35 832
<b>94. Mberengwa West</b>			<b>103. Magwegwe</b>		
Ben Mataga — ZANU PF	—	22 005	Norman Zikhali — ZANU PF	—	19 202
Mathias Munyenyiwa — ZUM	—	1 242	Robert Mutendi — ZUM	—	3 988
Choboro Masarira — Independent	—	1 513	Tongesai Nyandoro — UANC	—	992
Spoilt papers	—	1 411	Spoilt papers	—	992
Total votes cast	—	26 216	Total votes cast	—	24 769
Registered voters	—	47 014	Registered voters	—	45 075
<b>96. Zhombe</b>			<b>MATEBELELAND NORTH</b>		
William Hewlett — ZANU PF	—	15 912	<b>104. Bulawayo North</b>		
Rodger Ross — ZUM	—	1 083	John Nkomo — ZANU PF	—	8 581
Raphael Muroyiwa — Independent	—	380	Chrispen Mwete — ZUM	—	4 550
Spoilt papers	—	904	Spoilt papers	—	612
Total votes cast	—	18 241	Total votes cast	—	13 743
Registered voters	—	33 960	Registered voters	—	35 475
<b>MATEBELELAND NORTH</b>			<b>105. Bulawayo South</b>		
<b>97. Binga</b>			Lot Senda — ZANU PF	—	9 661
Mpande Siachimbo — ZANU PF	—	7 358	Samson Mushore — ZUM	—	5 405
Abraham Chiketo — ZUM	—	2 708	Temba Dhlodhlo — Ind.	—	2 110
Spoilt papers	—	4 811	Zachariah Chigumira — ZANU (Ndonga)	—	830
Unaccounted votes	—	8	Spoilt papers	—	782
Total votes cast	—	14 199	Total votes cast	—	18 789
Registered voters	—	40 762	Registered voters	—	33 218
<b>98. Nkayi</b>			<b>106. Hwange</b>		
Welshman Mabheba — ZANU PF	—	16 313	Crispen Sibanda — ZANU PF	—	19 790
Rogers Ndlovu — ZUM	—	1 182	Elton Muchemwa — ZUM	—	5 847
Spoilt papers	—	2 302	Spoilt papers	—	2 703
Total votes cast	—	19 797	Total votes cast	—	28 340
Registered voters	—	40 477	Registered voters	—	45 731
<b>99. Lupane</b>			<b>MATEBELELAND NORTH</b>		
Nkosembi Khumalo — ZANU PF	—	18 379	<b>107. Tsholotsho</b>		
Thomas Sililo Masuku — ZUM	—	3 222	Amos Mkwanzani — ZANU PF	—	19 993
			Elliot Mlotshwa — ZUM	—	1 936
			Spoilt papers	—	2 099



Total votes cast	—	24 028	118. <b>Bulilimamangwe South</b>		
Registered voters	—	44 818	Simon Moyo — ZANU PF	—	12 151
			Michael Ndawana — ZUM	—	1 502
			Spoilt papers	—	1 579
108. <b>Nyamandlovu</b>			Total votes cast	—	15 233
Mark Rosenfels — ZANU PF	—	10 462	Registered voters	—	33 353
Geoffrey Peterson — ZUM	—	1 796			
Spoilt papers	—	1 512	119. <b>Gwanda North</b>		
Total votes cast	—	13 204	Johnson Ndlovu — ZANU PF	—	15 364
Registered voters	—	36 190	Agrippa Madlela — Ind.	—	1 524
			Clement Khumalo — ZUM	—	1 331
109. <b>Lobengula</b>			Spoilt papers	—	864
Joshua Nkomo — ZANU PF	—	8 706	Total votes cast	—	19 083
Maxwell Nyandoro — ZUM	—	1 420	Registered voters	—	34 658
Stephen Chisimo — UANC	—	205			
Spoilt papers	—	245	120. <b>Gwanda South</b>		
Total votes cast	—	10 576	Elijah Masiyane — ZANU PF — successful		
Registered voters	—	42 959	candidate		
			<b>Presidential election results:</b>		
110. <b>Bubi</b>			Comrade R.G. Mugabe — ZANU PF	—	2 026 976
Micah Bhebhe — ZANU PF	—	14 639	Edgar Tekere — ZUM	—	413 840
Michael Nondo — ZUM	—	2 708			
Spoilt papers	—	1 755			
Total votes cast	—	19 102			
Registered voters	—	34 006			
			<b>ADDITIONAL RESULTS</b>		
111. <b>Luveve</b>			<b>MASHONALAND CENTRAL</b>		
Angeline Masuku — ZANU PF — success-			121. <b>Mukumbura</b>		
ful candidate			Joseph Kaparadza — ZANU PF	—	22 943
			Timothy Mukwengwe — ZANU (Ndonga)	—	427
112. <b>Makokoba</b>			Spoilt papers	—	2 540
Sydney Malunga — ZANU PF	—	11 136	Total votes cast	—	25 910
Ishmael Nyakudarika — ZUM	—	3 238			
Spoilt papers	—	716			
Total votes cast	—	15 090			
Registered voters	—	32 946			
			<b>HARARE DISTRICT</b>		
113. <b>Umzingwane</b>			122. <b>Mabvuku</b>		
Thenjiwe Lesabe — ZANU PF	—	12 122	Irene Mugabe — ZANU PF	—	14 107
Hezikia Hlabangana — ZUM	—	1 740	Edyson Chiwara — ZUM	—	5 290
Aaron Ndabambi — ind.	—	882	Pendeka Stanlake Nyakudya — UANC	—	342
Spoilt papers	—	862	Spoilt papers	—	554
Total votes cast	—	15 606	Total votes cast	—	20 293
Registered voters	—	43 934			
			<b>MANICALAND</b>		
114. <b>Bulilimamangwe North</b>			126. <b>Bikita West</b>		
Richard Ndlovu — ZANU PF	—	16 385	Joel Kufandaba — ZANU PF	—	10 715
Shortie Ncube — ZUM	—	2 172	Kenneth Matimba — ZANU PF	—	3 719
Spoilt papers	—	1 676	Spoilt papers	—	1 222
Total votes cast	—	20 233	Total votes cast	—	15 656
Registered voters	—	35 615			
			<b>MANICALAND</b>		
115. <b>Matobo</b>			123. <b>Buhera South</b>		
Stephen Nkomo — ZANU PF	—	17 346	Kumbirai Kangai — ZANU PF	—	22 423
Reason Nkomazana — ZUM	—	1 323	Lovemore Shoniwa — ZUM	—	1 330
Spoilt papers	—	2 613	Spoilt papers	—	728
Total votes cast	—	21 282	Total votes cast	—	24 481
Registered voters	—	36 485			
			124. <b>Makoni Central</b>		
116. <b>Insiza</b>			Didymus N.E. Mutasa — ZANU PF	—	10 805
Naison Ndlovu — ZANU PF	—	13 660	Godfrey Mandimutsira — ZUM	—	3 644
Newman Ndlela — ZUM	—	2 560	Spoilt papers — Unconfirmed		
Spoilt papers	—	1 628	Total votes cast — Unconfirmed		
Total votes cast	—	17 848			
Registered voters	—	39 153			
			<b>HARARE DISTRICT</b>		
<b>MATEBELELAND SOUTH</b>			125. <b>Harare South</b>		
117. <b>Beitbridge</b>			Smith Marara — ZANU PF	—	15 100
Kembo Mohadi — ZANU PF	—	16 190	Davison T. Gomo — ZUM	—	8 156
Simon Ncube — ZUM	—	2 624	Noah Chifungo — ZANU (Ndonga)	—	1 203
Spoilt papers	—	2 688	Spoilt papers	—	1 303
Total votes cast	—	21 502	Total votes cast	—	25 762
Registered voters	—	41 014			



# "PAS DE SUPERMAN - PLUTOT CLARK KENT"

(Il a dit ça, le Manager)

Notre agency avait une big idea pour un advertisement for Rubber & Allied Products. Alors, je me tire chez le client avec le layout et je me lance, en-tête premier:

**"LA VRAIE FORCE DU CAOUTCHOUC RESTE  
DANS SA FLEXIBILITE"**

Silence. Il baille.

"Le titre va avec this visual d'une torse énorme et tres muscular, qui est en train de plier cette bar of caoutchouc, voyez, comme si c'est une barre de fer".

**"Comme Superman? Pourquoi?"**

"Ben — l'impact, bien sûr. Everyone connaît Superman: Invulnérable, energy, puissance fantastic . . ."

**"Maybe ils se rappelleront de Superman. Mais will they rappeler notre nom?"**

Je souris poliment: "C'est pour ça que nous avons the logo ici en bas, with big lettres: RUBBER & ALLIED PRODUCTS." Ci disant, je mets ma grande cape et je me lance de nouveau au texte, qui va like this:

"Nous pouvons fabriquer sur commande, n'importe quoi en rubber, and le livrer anywhere dans le monde."

**"Non. Pas n'importe quoi. One ne fabrique pas les préservatifs, et je ne veux plus de lettres des types pervers. Alors."**

Je vois que ce job va être difficile. Un task sûrhumaine, même. Mais allez, va. Fiche au force-fields négatifs, je pique à vitesse super sur la ligne suivante:

"Notre production-time, dès l'ordre au livraison, est si vite, c'est célèbre."

**"Sauf quand on doit d'abord fabriquer un new moulage."**

Aaagh! Je me sens faiblir comme sous l'attaque de Kryptonite . . . je lutte héroïquement contre le poison galactique, et je continue:

"Tous nos compounds industriels de caoutchouc sont fabriqués au British Standard Specification."

**"C'est correct. Mais . . ."**

Catfish souffrants. Encore de "mais".

**"Mais ici au Zimbabwe nous avons des fois un manque de matériaux, en bien sometimes the livraisons doivent attendre."**

"Personne sur la planète mettrait ça dans un advertisement! Surtout pas si vous are going for les exports!"

**"Mais si — Clark Kent le dirait. Voyez-vous, les clients veulent la vérité. Combien de temps exactly l'ordre va prendre."**

Je suis écrasé. Superman peut-il survivre? Je me défends faiblement contre ce knock-out blow en murmurant:

"On ne peut pas mettre tout ça dans l'espace donné"

**"Fichez loin l'illustration de Superman."**

O temps. O morès. Avec les directeurs comme lui, qui a besoin de Kryptonite? Sans merci, il donne le coup de grâce:

**"Allez. Ecrivez tout simplement: RUBBER & ALLIED PRODUCTS EST L'UN DES SEULS USINES AU MONDE QUI PEUT FABRIQUER A LA MAIN, LES DRIVE BELTS, HOSES, etc., ET FAIRE DES MOULAGES DE N'IMPORTE QUEL FORME, DANS N'IMPORTE QUELLE RUBBER COMPOUND DESIRÉE, ET EN PLUS ON LE FAIT A TOUTE VITESSE."**

**"Mais nous sommes pas des Superman. Voyez?"**

J'entends seulement: Superman. L'espoir jaillit. Je dis:

"Chouette! Alors on va voir Superman, en plein couleur?"

**"Non, merci. Black and white simplement."**

Je suis accablé. Clark Kent, le reporter honnête, a gagné. Personne a besoin de Superman. Peut-il survivre cette impasse! On verra, mais ça va être bien serré.



**RUBBER & ALLIED  
PRODUCTS (PRIVATE)  
LIMITED**

**Specialists in Rubber Technology**

A member of the worldwide BTR Group.

**P.O. Box 8034, Belmont, Bulawayo, Zimbabwe, Tel: 70680, 72556, 72545,  
72544, 76149, Telex: 33332 RAAP ZW**

GREAVES, KEEGANS



# President Launches Party Manifesto

**P**resident Robert Gabriel Mugabe on March 4, 1990 launched the ZANU PF 1990 Election Manifesto at a star rally at the National Sports Stadium in Harare. The rally was also attended and addressed by Cde. Nelson Mandela.

Launching the Party Manifesto and the election campaign, the President urged the people to rally behind the Party and its candidates with a proven track record.

He said there are parties like the UANC of Bishop Abel Muzorewa, NDP, NDU and many other such minority parties which always show up at elections. "There's NDA, NDE, NDI, NDO, NDU," said Cde. Mugabe to an uproar of laughter and whistling from the thousands who gathered to witness the official launching.

President Mugabe said while genuine unity has come following the signing of the Unity Accord and the historic unifying congress, Tekere and Smith have come up with their own version of a unity accord which brought together the remnants of the defunct Rhodesia Front in the Conservative Alliance of Zimbabwe and ZUM.

"You are the people who have suffered and lost friends. . . I cannot see a person in 1990, voting for the party of Ian Smith. . . We are one in direction. We fought the struggle together. . . Have we forgotten the suffering of those times? Zimbabwe will not look back. We will go forward.

"Today, there is no child who does not go to school regardless of poverty," Comrade Mugabe said.

He said health services have been expanded to all and investment to have many factories to create employment is in the pipeline. There will be more clinics. Land will be redistributed following the expiry of the Lancaster House Constitution when necessary legislative provisions are made. This exercise, he said, will be speedy.

The President and First Secretary of ZANU PF said the party and government adhered to the Lancaster House Constitution because they wanted to show that they are respectable and can adhere to promises.

"People have insufficient land. The next government will see to it that land is distributed faster. We have got means with which we shall acquire land for distribution. . . We want that there be straight forward land redistribution strategy," Comrade Mugabe clarified.

He told thousands of people that there is direction in the leadership of the party following the Unity Accord. People should follow this direction.



**President Mugabe launching the Party election manifesto at the National Sports Stadium**

Turning to Zimbabwe's relationship with other countries, Comrade Mugabe said the country has built its image and it is respected worldwide. Hunger has been eradicated and surplus food is sold not only to regional countries but to external markets.

In order for peace to return to the Southern Africa region, he said, apartheid should be demolished. This calls for the intensification of sanctions. He said Zimbabwean and other voices are being heard in the OAU, NAM, the Frontline States and at the United Nations calling for an end to apartheid and the maintenance of sanctions.

"We refuse to negotiate and exchange visits with them," the President said.

Launching the election campaign he said the 1990 ZANU PF election manifesto shall be translated into Shona and Ndebele. There will be 120 constituencies in which voters will elect Members of Parliament. The electorate has also been given the rare opportunity globally to vote for a state President in a general election.

The theme of the manifesto is unity, peace and development. The Party will use the Great Zimbabwe symbol.

Turning to the primary elections, Comrade Mugabe said they should not destroy the Party. Winners and losers should unite and

work for the Party because losers might turn out victorious. The primary elections should serve to build the Party because it gave the people the opportunity to choose their own candidates.

The manifesto has three sections. The introduction is about the history of the old parties and the united Party. Section one deals with the imperatives of national unity, the second phase of the revolution as from the attainment of independence and burning issues of development like health, education and transport.

The second section summarises the ten-year record of the ZANU PF government as from 1990 and the last part dwells on the way forward. Unlike ZUM which criticises without giving alternatives, ZANU PF, with a proven and incomparable track record, discusses thorny issues and suggests how to tackle national problems.

These range from land resettlement, economic development and investment, emergent businessmen, literacy and education, housing, tourism, health for all, natural resources, self-sufficiency in food, the security of the nation, transport and communications, information, status and role of women, youth, professional organisations, university students, and foreign affairs. □



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All you have to do is ask

## Mandela Gets Tumultuous Welcome

**T**he time was 27 minutes from the tenth-hour of a scorching Sunday morning, March 4, when a Zambian Airways aircraft, ATR 42, carrying Comrade Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, landed at the Harare International Airport.

Famous intellectuals, local ANC sympathisers and ANC exiles thronged the Harare Airport to welcome the world's longest serving prisoner, Comrade Nelson R. Mandela, who spent 27 years in jail.

President Robert Gabriel Mugabe who was accompanied by The First Lady, Comrade Sally Mugabe, government ministers and top ZANU PF officials, embraced Comrade Mandela in a jovial mood when welcoming the gallant fighter who has seen it all, languishing in jail in order to free oppressed South Africans.

In his first address at the airport, which was interrupted most of the time by people calling 'Amandla!! ngawethu; Amandla!! ngawethu', Comrade Mandela told the



**President Mugabe welcomes Comrade Nelson Mandela at the Harare International Airport**





**Comrade Mandela addressing a gathering at the Town House**

gathering that the African National Council (ANC) was in the process of persuading the De Klerk regime to stop killing innocent civilians. People should sit down, talk and settle the problem facing South Africa.

Comrade Mandela praised and congratulated the people of Zimbabwe for waging a successful war against the colonial regime. On the total commitment of Comrade Robert Mugabe and Comrade Joshua Nkomo, to the struggle he said, the two who decided to take up arms and free Zimbabwe from oppression, were a tremendous inspiration to the struggling people of South Africa.

"The duo was referred to by the press of this country and the world at large as terrorists, whose sole concern was to murder, to rape and to burn down. But now you see that the same men are now leading the tremendous task of reconstruction and they have received praise from the entire world", said the deputy ANC president.

The ANC leader said a long time ago, the former Premier of the Federation of Rhode-



**The Mayor of Harare (right) presents an elephant tusk to Comrade Mandela**



**The deputy President of ANC signing for the freedom of the City of Harare**

sia and Nyasaland, Sir Roy Welensky shocked the white minority of the Southern Africa region when he stated that he knew Comrades Mugabe and Nkomo as men with rare qualities and that there shall come a time when the two would work together as the patriots of Zimbabwe.

From the airport, Comrade Mandela proceeded to the Town House where hundreds of cheering Zimbabweans, South Africans and nationalities from various parts of the world were waiting, despite the scorching heat.

He was accompanied by his wife, Comrade Winnie; Comrade Walter Sisulu, a member of the ANC National Executive Council, Comrade Chris Hani; Chief of general Staff of Umkhonto weSizwe and other ANC leaders and former political prisoners, including Comrade Ahmed Kathrada. Also present was the general secretary of the South African Trade Union, Comrade Jay Naidoo.

He was conferred the freedom of the City of Harare in recognition of his gallant and unwavering efforts towards the liberation of South Africa and the African continent as a whole.

The ceremony was witnessed by President Mugabe, his wife, Comrade Sally Mugabe, the Vice President, Comrade Simon Muzenda, Senior Ministers, Comrade Joshua Nkomo, Dr. Bernard Chidzero, other government officials as well as senior members of the ANC.

Comrade Mandela stated that by honouring him, this gave signals to the city councils of South Africa where only whites can be city councillors to emulate the Harare City Council.

Adding on this, Comrade Mandela said that this is also a gesture of honour to the people of South Africa as a whole.

Besides that, Harare hosted the Children's Conference in 1987 "during the darkest days of oppression in South Africa", when



**Comrade Mandela with his wife guided by Comrade N. Shamuyarira (left) and Comrade D. Mutasa (extreme right) tours the Heroes Acre**

hundreds of children had been detained, it should be noted again that Harare has been a target for bombing by the South African agents hunting for ANC members in exile, noted Comrade Mandela.

Comrade Mandela was later presented with an elephant tusk by the Mayor of Ha-

rare, Clr Simon Chikwavaire. His wife, Comrade Winnie Mandela, was given a tea set of silverware.

Councillor Chikwavaire stated that the freedom of Zimbabwe would continue to be jeopardised as long as apartheid existed in South Africa.

He concluded by saying that the city of Harare and its citizens, and the whole Zimbabwean community, hail the release of Comrade Mandela from prison with great joy and pledge further assistance for the struggling masses in South Africa until the apartheid system is dismantled. □

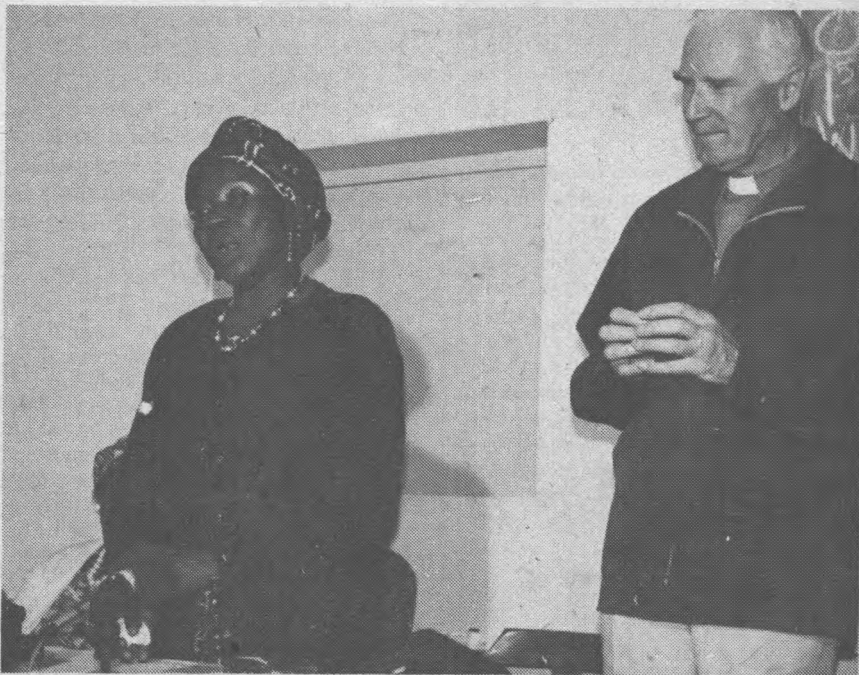
## First Lady Donates Wheelchairs to Mutemwa

**T**he First Lady, Amai Mugabe donated two wheelchairs to Mutemwa Leprosy Centre in Mutoko.

Speaking when she donated the wheelchairs at the centre recently, Comrade Sally Mugabe sternly warned some local people who break in and take away inmates' belongings.

"I want this place to be fortified", she said when she officiated at the same occasion where diplomats' wives and other people presented gifts to the centre.

Among groups and individuals who donated gifts ranging from dolls, foodstuffs and money are Mai Muzenda, the Greek Hellenic Ladies group, Mr and Mrs Sinclair from Scotland, Advocate Adam Kara \$800,00 of which \$400,00 was for Copota School of the Blind, Comrade Richard Katsande who is the



Amai S. Mugabe speaking at Mutemwa Leprosy Centre in Mutoko

### President Robert Gabriel Mugabe comments on the release of Comrade Nelson Mandela

President Robert Gabriel Mugabe welcomed the release of Comrade Nelson Mandela as a step in the right direction but warned people against being deceived in thinking that the release was an end to the system of apartheid.

Comrade Mugabe said that the release of Comrade Mandela was not the real issue being fought for by the majority of South Africans, but the liquidation of the system of apartheid. He pledged Zimbabwe's continued support for the people of South Africa in line with the resolutions of the OAU.

Comrade Mugabe said Zimbabwe would continue to advocate for sanctions against the racist regime and ruled out the possibility of a meeting between Zimbabwe and the Pretoria Regime on the future of South Africa.

The President also disclosed that he had been appointed as one of the members of the Reception Committee to welcome Comrade Mandela but did not elaborate further as he still had to hear from the organisers of the programmes.

member of Parliament for Mutoko \$200,00, the popular reggae group Mist n' Roots \$100,00 and later \$4000,00 for the Child Survival Foundation, workers of BOZIMO in Mutoko \$60,00, Mrs Raftopolos \$100,00 and the Bangladesh Ambassador's wife \$40,00. The total amount of money donated was \$1 170.

The President of the Hellenic Ladies Group Mrs Kiki Divaris pledged to buy all the cups needed by the leprosy centre.

The First Lady also called on friends and well-wishers to buy mattresses and leave them at the Child Survival Offices in Harare for subsequent transportation to Mutemwa Leprosy Centre.

#### The Centre

This centre was founded in 1930 by the colonial government. It caters for people with origins in Mozambique, Zambia, Malawi and Zimbabwe. The centre also houses healed victims whose relatives cannot accept them at home for fear of the disease.

In Zimbabwe, the disease is found normally in poor and outlying communities like the

Zambezi valley and communal lands. People often avoid leprosy patients who are subsequently abandoned.

However, things have dramatically changed today. Since the discovery of the drug called Dabson and related medicines, the treatment of leprosy has been effective.

"Those at Mutemwa, therefore", said the Chairman of the Zimbabwe Leprosy Association, Comrade William Chirambasukwa at the same venue, "need attention in respect of their disabilities, wounds, health care and general rehabilitation. Most of them cannot help themselves and so they have to be fed and cleaned. They have to be provided with accommodation, blankets and bedding. They have long ceased to be leprosy patients. They all have been cured of the disease although the damage to their bodies has been vicious."

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**The First Lady receive a cheque \$800 from advocate Adam Kara (not in picture)**

ation, Comrade William Chirambasukwa at the same venue, "need attention in respect of their disabilities, wounds, health care and general rehabilitation. Most of them cannot help themselves and so they have to be fed and cleaned. They have to be provided with accommodation, blankets and bedding. They have long ceased to be leprosy patients. They all have been cured of the disease although the damage to their bodies has been vicious."

The Zimbabwe Leprosy Association is mainly concerned with the rehabilitation of leprosy victims.

#### **Fair Treatment**

Comrade Chirambasukwa said society must begin to understand that those affected need humane treatment. They need their families,

friends and relations to live as normally as possible. Society should therefore eradicate old attitudes such as fear, negligence and isolation of victims. The victims are, in all respects, normal people with normal expectations.

Such victims, he said, need understanding and all that goes with life. He urged the public to accept them back into families and look after them just as they care for anyone else in normal circumstances because leprosy is not contagious.

"A lot of education is necessary to convince the public that their health cannot be jeopardised by accepting discharged victims of leprosy", clarified Comrade Chirambasukwa.

He said the government provides medical personnel staff, constant inspection and drugs to the Mutemwa. The Chairman expressed satisfaction that Zimbabwe, with about 4 000 lepers, has drastically reduced their numbers. The country is one of the leading nations in the Third World that have effectively and drastically reduced the spread of leprosy.

#### **The Two Man Tale**

Mutemwa Leprosy centre lies at the foot of a big mountain which proudly basks in the Zimbabwean sun carrying a cross. This memorial cross stands as a reminder to people of what local people call the great works of John Brihan.

A staunch believer in the miracles and powers of God, John Brihan set out carrying water for people and doing many forms of jobs for the local community. He also worked for leprosy patients.

At the same time in England, a certain Mr. Miller was doing exactly the same thing, devoting his time and energy to working for the people. Miller, from Suffolk devoted much of his time to collecting money for leprosy in England. But then, John Brihan had fallen



**One of the inmates accommodated at the centre**

blind in the then Southern Rhodesia.

Hearing of this development, Miller reportedly prayed for John Brihan to recover his sight so that he could continue working for leprosy victims. Brihan recovered his sight and when he died a memorial cross was mounted right on the mountain top standing witness to his works. Just below it, Mutemwa Leprosy Centre has continued with great works of rehabilitating leprosy victims.

Before he died, however, father John Brihan received a letter from this Mr. Miller from Suffolk in England. The man said in the letter that he had been cured of blindness through the divine interception of John Brihan. Henceforth, Miller began to work for leprosy victims. □

## **Professional Personnel Practitioners Essential in Black Advancement**

**T**he issue of black advancement is historically rooted in the colonial days of white supremacy. During that time, Zimbabwe race relations were characterised by the promotion of the economic and social welfare of the minority white community and subordination of the interests of the black community.

The resultant economic power structure that evolved consisted of the creation of an unprivileged, abundant and cheap black labour force to facilitate the process of capitalist accumulation. This was done by denying blacks any base of effectively competing with white economic interests in terms of technical and professional training.

This was reinforced by legislative provisions which entrenched the privileged position of whites. There was the Masters and Servants Act, the Land Apportionment Act, both of 1930, and the Industrial Conciliation Act.

Through these legislative provisions, blacks were degraded to a subordinate position. They were just servants who had no voice whatsoever. Land was redistributed according to fertility and productivity. Africans were hence given unfertile and stony lands. With the coming of the Industrial Conciliation Act, White employers were given more authority and rights than is provided for in the present Labour Relations Act.

#### **Negligable Number**

Society at that time was structured such that the bottom pool was made up of unskilled and semi-skilled blacks; the next category occupied by skilled whites, coloureds and a negligible number of blacks with the top being exclusively highly skilled and professional whites.

The architects of this industrial structure did not consider the long term needs of a dynamic economy. This resultant structure came because of the political stand of the times. However, after the 1960s, there was a shortage of skilled professional whites to fill the middle and top parts of the industrial structure. It was then that a few blacks began to be accepted for apprenticeship training with some of them later occupying the middle part of the structure.

This improvement, however, was slowed down by the white authorities' belief that the answer to this shortage lay in the influx of immigrants into the country then known as Rhodesia and not the acceleration of black Rhodesians.

Still, the racist government had nothing at all for blacks in terms of advancement and salaries and wages. With the attainment of independence, the new people's government had to urgently take measures to change the above scenario which was inimical to stability and the long-term economic welfare of Zimbabwe. A Presidential Directive was then issued calling for accelerated advancement of blacks in all economic sectors.

### Redressing

Hence, the party-in-government had to pioneer in redressing this state of affairs. This is shown in the steps taken by government and led by the party. The 1985 ZANU (PF) election manifesto states that the inherited multi-party system which implied the existence of differing development strategies with their attendant political antagonisms and contradictions, gave rise to the need for the party to forge ahead with peace and unity.

It says this was done to create a common development strategy which would lead to the elimination of multiple strategies and thus lay the basis for the creation of a one party state to spearhead a single strategy.

Having formed a government of national unity, the first major task the party had was to gain control of the state machinery. The Presidential Directive, with particular emphasis on African advancement was then issued to allow appointment to senior positions in the army, police, judiciary and civil service of those loyal to the state.

Without this control therefore, there was no way the party could guide government in implementing its policies. For example, there were 10 570 established officers in the Public Service before independence. Of these, only 3 368 (31.86 percent) were black, with the senior administrative officer being about the highest rank held by an African.

By July 1981, the number of black officers had increased to 62.5 percent and 86 percent by 1983. With regard to the upper echelon of the civil service, all 30 permanent secretaries at independence were White.

By July 1981, 13 blacks had been appointed permanent secretaries and three years later, virtually all ministries had black such secretaries.

### Army and Police

The Party and government had also to tackle the issue of black advancement in the uniformed forces. At independence, Zimbabwe had three separate and ideologically different armies. The 77 000 Rhodesian Security forces were committed to the defence of the Rhodesian state against liberation armies.

The task of creating a unified army with a single loyalty to the new state became the most urgent task for the creation of peace. Where it could not have been thought easy to unite such differing armies as ZANLA, ZIPRA, Auxilliary Forces, Selous Scouts and Rhodesian Security forces, Zimbabwe did it. It meant a vast black talent was injected into the army and police.

This provided for the advancement of blacks in the uniformed forces. There has also been some significant changes in the advancement of blacks in the parastatal organisation. However, as was said by Comrade John Nkomo, the Minister of Labour, Manpower Planning and Social Welfare at a black advancement conference in Harare recently, the attitude of some white employers to black advancement is the over-riding factor in the game.

He cited the following reasons as contributors to this sad state of affairs:

- racial attitudes on the part of some whites,
- poor communication and understanding between white and black,
- lack of commitment on the part of some white employers to black managerial advancement, especially to top positions,
- Cosmetic/window dressing appointments,
- unwillingness by companies to train and develop their black employees so as to prepare them for top management positions and the slow rate of growth of the economy.

### Disproportionate

He said it is no secret that the majority of black managers occupy positions of public relations and personnel management but administration, finance, production and purchasing are still disproportionately in the hands of whites.

The confederation of Zimbabwe Industries report in 1989 also said that 65.5 percent of senior management positions are occupied by whites.

The report said that there is a considerable degree of cosmetic managerial appointments in the private sector. It said a lot of people are slotted into management positions because of connections and as fronts for getting preferential treatment from the bureaucracy.

It added that failure of cosmetic appointments to perform leads to the perpetuation of the stereotype dogma that blacks are inherently incapable of managing. Such appointees often act as an effective barrier to the advancement of capable junior black managers.

In an effort to deal with the inherited situation, government passed the Labour Relations Act in 1985 which provides for conditions of service, resolution of disputes, payment of minimum wages and procedures for hiring and termination of service.

In more detail, the Labour Relations Act (Act No 16 of 1985) aims to declare and define the fundamental rights of employees, to define unfair labour practices, to regulate conditions of employment, to provide for the control of wages and salaries, to provide for the appointment and functions of workers committees, to provide for the formation, registration, certification and functions of trade unions, employer's organisations, employment councils and employment boards.

It also aims at regulating the negotiation, scope and enforcement of collective bargaining agreements; to provide for the establishment and functions of the Labour Relations Board and the Labour Relations Tribunal, to provide for the prevention of trade disputes and unfair labour practices, among other things.

### Root

The recent conference on black advancement in the economy agreed that this issue is rooted in the socio-economic background where education occupation, income and ownership of the economy were divided along lines of colour. Industry only had to sweep the issue under the carpet following the Presidential Directive.

The conference concluded that there is still a significant amount of racial prejudice.

As stated earlier in this article, there has been progress in advancing blacks which, however, is concentrated in middle and junior management unlike senior posts where whites are dominant. This is so because the means of production is still not owned by black masses so much that blacks have little or no say in the appointment of qualified persons to senior positions. Key positions are still in the hands of whites.

The stereotype dogma that blacks are inherently incapable should go forthwith. The only way therefore to achieve meaningful black advancement, genuine promotion, the practitioners who implement policies and strategies of human resource development which pay attention to the issue of black advancement.

However, in companies with a conscious approach to black advancement and professional human resource management with good personnel systems in operation, notable progress in genuine black managerial advancement based on merit took place.

Therefore, capable and qualified black Zimbabweans must be given the opportunity to develop and gain the necessary skills and experience. Semi-skilled and unskilled labour should be trained for self-sufficiency in skilled and professional manpower.

### Strategy

This drive should not be viewed as a cost but an investment and an improvement of companies: competitiveness and profitability. Employers should know that experience is gained through involvement and exposure because its combination with skills is required to underpin business investment.

It is important to stress that black advancement is a strategy aimed at redressing the serious imbalances between white and black representation in management structures inherited from the colonial period.

It is with this in mind that Comrade John Nkomo made this observation: There is a new political order in Zimbabwe. It is here to stay. It cannot be reversed, nor can it be ignored without negative consequences. Too much has been expected and sometimes asked of this Government to resist the crisis



of expectation in order to protect those who have always been privileged, we can no longer procrastinate. As we enter the new decade, we too add a new resolution.

"... Successful implementation of the poli-

cy of black advancement is in the interest of our prosperity and success of democracy and non-racism in this part of the world. Let us bury once and for all those petty prejudices and get going with the task of development."

This drive is hence in the interest of Zimbabwe that every able Zimbabwean participates and is utilised fully in national development. □

# Seasonal Political Parties, A Common Sight

It has become and has been the practice not only in this country, but worldwide that many political parties come into being towards general elections. In most cases, immediately after the elections and having suffered severe defeats, some of the parties' leaders pretend to have resigned from politics and their gullible supporters, members or sympathisers, whatever they are, also go into hibernation. Thus the parties go into oblivion and are never heard of until the next elections.

Often, one wonders why these political parties and movements exist at all. What do they contribute to the social, economic and political development of the country besides stirring political conflicts among the citizens? They always try to draw people's attention by giving empty promises in most cases trying to drill holes in the ruling party.

In 1980, a handful of political parties contested in the general elections and at the end of the day the people's parties, ZANU (PF) and PF-ZAPU emerged the highest and second highest respectively. This was a clear indication that the majority of the population had faith in these two parties which today have ultimately brought the people of Zimbabwe together.

During the elections that followed, in 1985, ZANU (PF) won overwhelmingly and some leaders of the other political parties announced that they had resigned from politics. At the end of 1987, we saw the two major parties, ZANU (PF) and PF-ZAPU reaching a unity agreement.

While people were celebrating the historic achievement and the task of integrating the people was in process, a 'movement' was born to contest the 1990 elections. The UANC, which since 1985, has never been heard of, crippled back into being from nowhere. Thereafter, other parties and movements started to spring up. Today half a dozen of them or so are existing here and there.

The main question one would want to ask is: What is it that these movements and parties can offer to the people that our government has failed? Will they be capable to run the country for even a day if they are given the chance?

## UANC — Non-starter

One interesting thing is that one of the many

parties have already proved a non-starter. In 1979, Bishop Muzorewa formed a puppet government which was never representative of the people of Zimbabwe. His government was short-lived. While he was preaching about independence for the black majority, some Rhodesian forces were massacring people in the liberated, semi-liberated and contested zones and jet fighters and helicopters were bombarding refugee camps in Mozambique. People started to question the authenticity of the independence which he was talking about. The struggle continued.

This is evidence enough that many of these short-sighted politicians are mouth-pieces of external forces which are trying to disrupt the peaceful atmosphere prevailing in the country.

As we neared the 1990 general elections, so many parties and movements as I have stated before emerged with their leaders trying to mobilise people by painting rosy pictures on their side and trying to tarnish the image of the ruling party as much as possible.

Empty tins make a lot of noise, the saying goes. This is the case with the majority of these movements. They talk, talk and talk, but they have never done anything for the people. Their leaders are mere political opportunists, who always promise that if they come into power, they will do wonders. Remember, these self praises and promises are very dangerous in the long run. Normally they result in the loss of confidence of the people if problems cannot be solved in the short term.

## ZANU PF and the People

ZANU PF has always gained the population's confidence by approaching them and explaining political and economic problems. If the people understand fully the problems facing their economy through adequate explanations from their leaders, they in turn take part in solving them.

This is how, in overall term, a contribution can be made to the democratisation of the country. ZANU PF has always put forward proposals for discussions aimed at solving these problems. By so doing the population and fellow fighters have been won for the cause of development.

The next step ZANU PF always takes after mobilising the people is to discuss in detail

with them the specific solutions and suggestions offered.

It has been the practice that once the people have contributed to the elaboration of solutions and are convinced of their efficacy, they have voted for ZANU PF because they are convinced that this party always helps them to achieve the goals which are to their benefit.

For the past nine years, the ZANU PF government, has gained high credibility in introducing practical programmes. The country has been hit by chronic droughts and the government came up with the drought relief programme. Under this scheme the idea of food for work was introduced in rural areas.

This was aimed at making people participate in the development of their areas and getting food at the same time. Zimbabwe has always managed to keep its population fed and in 1988, the President of the Republic of Zimbabwe, Comrade Robert Gabriel Mugabe won the Africa Prize For Leadership For the Sustainable End of Hunger.

Zimbabwe's success story is hinged on President Mugabe's and Government's active support for the communal farmer by making available credit facilities and a network of extension services and research facilities, hence back-up services to the agricultural industry.

Development projects have been carried out at grassroots level. Many rural areas have been made accessible by the construction of roads and bridges. Dams and boreholes have been constructed to ensure adequate water supply to the rural folk. Grain Marketing Board depots have been established in many districts of the country and this has made the task of marketing easier to communal farmers who for years found it difficult to send their agricultural produce to the markets.

Primary and Secondary education fees have been made affordable by all and the educational base has been expanded.

This is only to mention but a few thing of what the Party, ZANU PF and the Government have done for the people.

Despite these achievements and the achievement of unity in the country, some people still point a cursing finger at ZANU PF alleging that they can improve the sta-

tus of the people better if they were to come into power. This is day-dreaming.

So many shallow minded people have been won by these good-for-nothing politicians. These easily cheated people must be brought to their normal senses so that the people of Zimbabwe become one and fight together against external forces. This is no time for making noises about this and that. Our country has received international praise as a peace loving nation and recently, the President, Comrade Robert Gabriel Mugabe has been voted the best leader in Africa.

Now, one can always wonder how someone can stick his/her head above others and start shouting that this country needs a new leadership. Well, no one is to blame. This is natural, such people are found in every society.

#### Mass mobilisation

In this respect, it is imperative to have good party cadres to represent constituencies. The candidate must be conversant with the views held by the local population on pertinent issues. He/she must regularly hold meetings in the villages /cells of the constituency because this is where mobilisation starts.

Though written material is useful in mobilising the population, in societies where illiteracy is still existing, the candidate must

approach the people directly and tell them to have faith in the Party.

It is impossible to establish democratic structures and achieve economic progress unless all sectors of the population can be mobilised and convinced that they have to work towards these aims. This also implies the realisation and dissemination of political ideologies.

It is therefore necessary to appeal to traditionally disadvantaged population groups, particularly, to mobilise them directly and possibly to create for them special organisational and representational structures of their own.

They should in this way be enabled to participate in and influence the country's development. Only by approaching all groups and by ensuring all sections of the population are able to participate in and influence this development, it's possible to bring about democracy and achieve its objectives.

It is at this stage of bringing about democracy that some political die-hards have decided to preach to the people that multi-party system is the only way to democracy. Wrong!

It must be realised by the people that only parties which are firmly established within the population will be able to realise the so-

cial aims they are striving for.

However, it is only through members that a Party can gain a firm foothold within the population. Hence, a large number of dedicated members is an essential pre-requisite for the party's work to be effective.

ZANU PF boasts of a large number of members who all joined on a willing basis.

To the population, the member represents the mouthpiece of the party's intentions.

At the same time he/she is able to register the wishes and problems of the population and bring them before the party. In this respect members are regarded as the party's ambassadors within the population.

It is through their actions and through their individual activities on behalf of the party that members are to influence their environment, especially if it is known that they are members of the party.

ZANU PF members must assume responsibility for the party. They are integrated into the organisational and decision making process. This sense of integration, this contribution to the party's activities and having an influence on political contents gives rise to a kind of commitment that is totally different from the commitment between anonymous institutions and their sympathisers. □

## Ministries in Strategies to Curb Gold Panning

The Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, in conjunction with the Ministry of Mines, is working out strategies to curb streambank gold panning.

Speaking to farmers at Gwatemba field day in Matebeleland South recently, the Minister of Natural Resources and Tourism, Comrade Victoria Chitepo said it is unacceptable that some farmers in this province have left their farms to go and engage in gold panning along the Insiza River.

She said gold panning along Insiza River has resulted in huge trenches on the banks of the river, some as deep as two metres. This has resulted in the loosening of soil which is eventually washed down the river into Silalabuhwa dam. This, she said, will greatly reduce the lifespan of the dam.

"Other areas of concern are poor sanitation, cutting of fences on private properties, illicit gold dealing, snaring and ... safety of the panners themselves. I wish to inform the farmers and officials gathered here that my ministry, in conjunction with the Ministry of Mines, is working out strategies to curb this destructive activity on our rivers.

"I would welcome your recommendation



Two gold panners pictured sifting gold

on this matter since you are the people on the ground. What I would like to remind you is that short time gains may be very costly tomorrow," said Comrade Chitepo.

Addressing the Gwatemba small scale commercial farmers at the field day, Comrade Chitepo praised the farming communi-

ty for producing the overall winner in the Natural Resources Board Good Farming Competition for natural regions 4 and 5. Comrade Makotse Moyo emerged the winner.

The Minister said her ministry and the Zimbabwe National Farmers' Union are concerned that the majority of farmers have not been able to appreciate the need for sustainable production. She said people should realise the potential of natural resources to furnish them with their basic life requirements of food and shelter. She added that it is only through wise utilisation of these natural resources that they continue to produce food for present and future requirements.

However, the Small Scale Miners Association of Zimbabwe said in our December 1989 issue that these arguments do not warrant a ban on the practice. Its president, Comrade Gilbert Munyoro said an inter-ministerial committee should be set up "to investigate the myths and fiction surrounding panning." His association also demanded figures on the extent of siltation caused.

Comrade Munyoro said gold deposits in Zimbabwe amounted to "tonnes upon tonnes" which could benefit the country





### Streambank gold panning results in huge trenches on the river banks

tremendously as their exploitation does not call for expensive and imported equipment.

He said at a time when unemployment has assumed monumental proportions and agriculture no longer a reliable source of subsistence for rural folk as a result of frequent droughts, panning should be encouraged as it can be a source of income for many people.

"As panning provides employment in the rural areas, it will go a long way towards checking rural-urban migration," Comrade Munyoro said.

The Minister said however that panning and other destructive activities are issues of great concern to her ministry.

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resources that they continue to produce food for present and future requirements.

As the population increases, more pressure is exerted on land causing over exploitation of available resources and resulting in land degradation. Such a situation, she said, calls for optimum land use patterns which are ecologically sound if Zimbabwe is to continue to provide the nation with its basic food requirements.

Land pressures prevailing in the communal areas and inappropriate cropping practices have been responsible for high rates of soil loss, land degradation, overgrazing and deforestation. Comrade Chitepo said if corrective measures are not taken soon, the rate of soil loss and land degradation will continue to increase resulting in diminishing agricultural returns.

She said the question of population has to be viewed in the light of the ability of the available resources, both natural and physical, to sustain a certain level of population adding that national population policies should be directed at striking that balance.

Proceeding, she urged the farming community to be positive about soil conservation if it is to ensure that future generations will depend on the same land for livelihood.

"Let us create posterity and not poverty for future generations," the Minister said.

Comrade Chitepo went on to say that the winner, Comrade Moyo, demonstrated great foresight and wisdom in creating posterity for those who will inherit his land. People should emulate the example demonstrated by him and strive to do the same.

She told the farmers that the judges, in their comments, said farmers participating in the competition neglected farm plans and records, soil conservation works, standard and layout, livestock in handling facilities and veld management, fire and herbicide cover.

Minister Chitepo urged all farmers to pay

specific attention to these factors so that their operations can become profitable. She said more such competitions will be held in different natural regions where there are small scale commercial farming areas. Comrade Chitepo hoped that the competition will serve as an incentive to all small scale farmers to improve their land use practices and in the same vein increase viability.

The Ministry of natural Resources and Tourism endeavours to encourage small scale commercial farmers to improve their yield through good conservation.

"A very sad situation is beginning to prevail in the Gwatemba small scale farming area, and that is the unauthorised subdividing and easing of farms. This is illegal as the Ministry of Lands, Agriculture and Rural Resettlement has to be consulted before any property is subdivided or leased to another individual other than to the registered owner. I am sure the appropriate ministry will elaborate on this matter," the Minister revealed.

Gwatemba small scale farming area is presently administered by Insiza District Council which has a natural resources committee. If the new Rural District Council Act becomes operational, the community will be able, through the Rural District Council, to inform a natural resources sub-committee supervising how natural resources are being used in the area.

Comrade Chitepo appealed to people to jealously guard against those who want to destroy their heritage.

The competition, which is going to be an annual event, was sponsored by Lonrho Zimbabwe. Minister Chitepo concluded by urging private organisations to follow the example set by Lonrho. She thanked the ZNFU, the Department of Natural Resources, the Natural Resources Board and Agritex for their involvement in reviving good farming competition for small scale commercial farming areas. □

# Mandela Praises Zimbabwe for Reconciliation

**Z**imbabwe has been praised for its policy of reconciliation and for uniting its people.

Speaking at the National Sports Stadium in Harare this month, Comrade Nelson Mandela paid tribute to Zimbabwe for reconciling its old enemies for peace, tranquility and development. He said there is peace in Zimbabwe because its people have been united under the new ZANU PF following the signing of the Unity Accord and the historic unifying congress.

Comrade Mandela, who is the ANC deputy president and the movement's effective leader following the hospitalisation of Comrade Oliver Tambo in Sweden said South Africa derives a great lesson from Zimbabwe.

Proceeding, he said Zimbabwe has been the victim of the aggressive apartheid South Africa and has been bombed several times "and yet Comrade Mugabe has never vacillated".

"We admire and praise Zimbabwe for its policy of reconciliation. Many people expected that when Zimbabweans came to power, they would revenge. But one of the striking features of the government is the policy of reconciliation in terms of which they are building a social order. . . We in South Africa are tremendously impressed by the ability of ZANU PF to forget the past and bring about stability," Comrade Mandela said to thousands of people who converged to see him at this rally.

The recently released great son of Africa expressed satisfaction that Namibia has also embarked on the same policy.

"The man," said Comrade Mandela referring to the SWAPO leader Comrade Sam Nujoma, "who yesterday was regarded as a terrorist is the man who today is being praised for reconciliation. His example holds a lesson for South Africa. . . especially the whites."

The deputy ANC president said just as whites in Zimbabwe and Namibia have no reason to fear, "the same as those in South Africa. We have fought against all forms of oppression. The government which we are bringing will accommodate the aspirations of all South Africans. . . We will have a South Africa that will guarantee the rights of every individual. One of our duties is to create an atmosphere through which liberation organisations and anti-apartheid movements come together. We do not know whether this will succeed."

Comrade Mandela, who was accompanied by his wife, Comrade Winnie Mandela and



**Comrade Mandela (middle) was also given the opportunity to address the rally at the National Sports Stadium**

members of the ANC National Executive Council, wished Comrade Mugabe and ZANU PF success in the 1990 general elections saying "their success will ensure that we continue to receive the support of this country".

He said the ZANU PF victory will mean the problems of the people will become easier to attend to. "We have no doubt that under the leadership of Comrade Mugabe, Zimbabwe will continue to have that common destiny".

Earlier, he had opened his address with his now familiar opener: "I greet you in the name

of peace, solidarity and firm friendship."

Soon after his address, President Mugabe announced that the government had set aside Monday 5 March 1990 as a public holiday, Mandela Day, in honour of the veteran politician, Comrade Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela.

At the same occasion, the ZANU PF Harare Province presented Comrade Mandela with a bull, two heifers, three goats and his portrait. Comrade Winnie Mandela received a cake and President Mugabe also received a gift from the same province. □

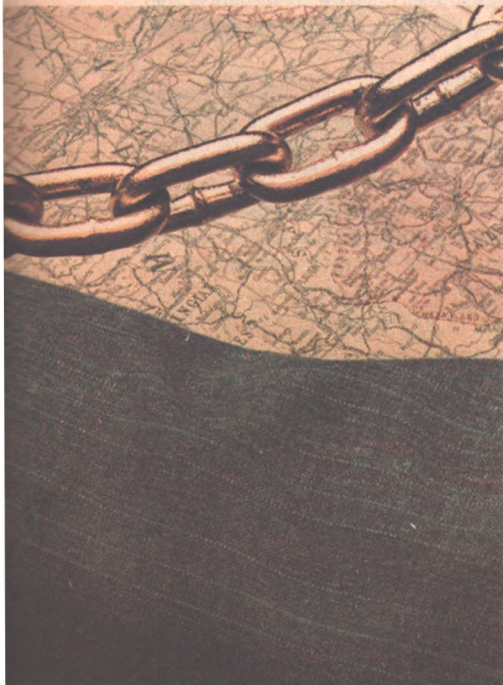






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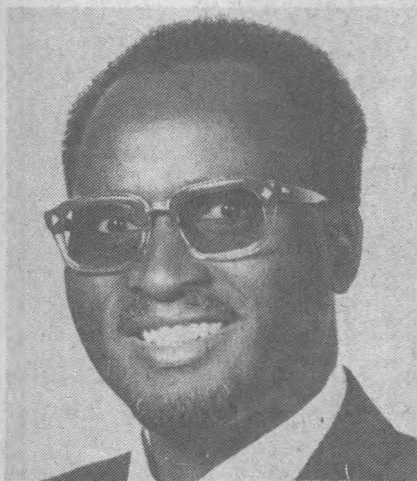


# Anti-Drug Policy Imperative

**T**he abuse of a variety of drugs remains a serious problem internationally despite efforts by the governments, law enforcement agencies and health personnel to combat it, as it continues to threaten all segments of society, in that health hazards are worsened by consumption of drugs.

Drug abuse causes physical, psychological and social problems. It also results in criminal behaviour amongst the abusers, causing undue stress to them and to the community as a whole.

The victim of these nefarious activities is the society, especially the youths, who are the strength of the future growth and development. The cost of drug abuse manifests in lost productivity, escalating health costs, but most profoundly in the senseless waste of lives more especially among the young.



**Comrade John Nkomo called for sensitised drug policies**

In a speech which was read on his behalf by Comrade Samuel Mhiribidi, the Deputy Director of Social Welfare at the official opening of a two day seminar on the rehabilitation of drug and alcohol dependant persons, the Minister of Labour, Manpower Planning and Social Welfare, Comrade John Nkomo, said Zimbabwe is no exception in drug abuse.

"Hardly a day passes without some reference to the press reports on interception of illicit drugs (mbanje) and drug trafficking, that is, mandrax, police arrests, seizures of mbanje and court prosecution connected with alcohol and related cases", he said.

Delegates to the seminar which was organised by the Ministry of Labour, Manpower Planning and Social Welfare in collaboration with the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and held on February 8 and 9 in

Harare were told that the establishment of a comprehensive national anti-drug policy that will ensure that the public is healthy and free from the malady of drug abuse was a pre-requisite.

The need is increasingly felt by all countries that are facing this menace and Zimbabwe is no exception. A number of countries have experienced with a variety of approaches towards eradicating the drug problem such as the supply and demand reduction strategies.

The Minister pointed out that during the past few years, the Zimbabwean government established an investigative committee to examine the problems of drugs and associated difficulties as well as develop a national master plan of action.

A drug section has been created within the police to concentrate on the elimination of illicit drug trafficking. The existing legislation for example "Dangerous Drugs Act" is also under review. It had been anticipated that it would have been approved in 1989. However, this was not done.

Although the drug issue is not a major problem in Zimbabwe, viewing it comparatively, there are some indications pointing to that reality.

The Ministry of Labour, Manpower Planning and Social Welfare is responsible for the development and co-ordination of national action programme against drug abuse, particularly with regard to the identification of users, treatment and their social rehabilitation.

The commitment by all ministries involved and non-governmental organisations is very important and indeed so far encouraging. A united approach to the problems of drug abuse involving the law enforcement agencies, health, social welfare and education cannot be over emphasised if the existing efforts are to be of any impact as a solution to the problem.

The problem calls for the attention of all. It's a community concern.

According to a document which was made available at the seminar, drug abuse can be prevented through various ways, education included, especially among the youth.

## **Prevention Through Education**

It was stated in the document that an important milieu for the education of the young is the family. Programmes should be developed to educate parents about the harmful effects of drug use and about methods to develop the competence skills of their own children.

It also pointed out that the authorities

responsible for public education might formulate a school policy aimed at preventing drug abuse, its implementations to be monitored by school administrators in consultation, as appropriate, with teachers, students and parents.

In particular, student leaders should be encouraged to develop attitudes and activities in their schools and communities aimed at preventing drug abuse.

It is also important that seminars and training courses should be established to help parents recognise the symptoms of drug abuse at the early stages and to enable them to educate their children to recognise the damaging physical and mental effects of drug abuse.

Within the school system, teacher education and motivation are essential to ensure the effective education of children regarding drugs and healthy life-styles.

Therefore it is essential to prepare training materials and to conduct training programmes for teachers and councillors that will enable them to instruct their students in the advantages of drug free life.

The teachers themselves must play an important role in the preparation of these training materials and programmes. This prevention instruction must be provided by the teachers themselves and should in no case become a separate course: on the contrary, it should be made an integral part of as many courses as possible.

It is also important that there should be preparations for training and educational materials for the unemployed and undereducated, especially the young people to assist them in developing vocational and self-employment skills.

In the light of the above, the appropriate authorities could give priority to the training of educational personnel for both school and out-of-school activities. At the level of pre-service training all educational personnel should be familiarised with problems of drug abuse and prevention techniques.

## **Prevention of drug abuse in the workplace**

The consumption of alcohol and use of drugs at work has proved to be hazardous. Alcohol can make a person sleepy, inefficient, and worst of all, a real danger to himself and workmates.

Therefore, with a view to preventing or reducing drug abuse in the workplace, the authority concerned could: publicise information in the work place warning of the risks of drug abuse, set up national training workshops for supervisors, programme development and others.



In addition, the authority after consulting the parties concerned, might issue guidelines drawing attention of employers and workers and of their organisations to the resources, in the form of publicity material, information through the media, that can be made available to them in connection with programmes for preventing or reducing drug abuse in the workplace and for treating and rehabilitating drug addicts.

Special emphasis should be placed on urgent need to prevent abuse of drugs by those persons who are often regarded as role models. Professional and occupational associations should accordingly develop drug abuse prevention programmes for their members and employers' and workers' organisations should develop joint action programmes for their membership with a view to discouraging drug abuse.

Medical authorities and laboratories should design reliable testing methods for the purpose of determining the presence of drugs in the human organism, identifying drug users and ensuring the safety of the public.

#### **Leisure-time and drug abuse**

Leisure time is very important in the service of the continuing campaign against drug abuse. It is suggested that within the resources available, local government authorities should provide facilities, materials and funding to promote drug-free leisure-time activities.

Such leisure time activities, in the service of drug abuse prevention, should reinforce

cultural and familiar values, enhance health, and encourage positive social behaviour.

Community groups and government agencies concerned might review the existing range of leisure-time activities and develop programmes tending to promote wholesome and drug free cultural and sporting activities. They could in addition, make sure that those responsible for organising cultural and sporting activities, and the participants themselves, abstain from any action that might, explicitly, give the public a misleading impression of the nature of drug abuse.

The appropriate authority might develop guidelines and suggested courses of action for use by the public and private travel agencies, operators of transport undertakings and other bodies concerned with passenger travel and tourism urging them to refrain from publishing or disseminating material advertising, overtly or surreptitiously, the easy availability of narcotic or psychotropic drugs in any particular country or area. The authority might also consider posting notices at official points of entry into the country, warning travellers of the penalties applicable in respect of illicit dealing in drugs.

It has been heard now and then that many accidents are caused by driving under the influence of excessive alcohol. The truth is that even one drink reduces one's driving ability. It is always important to play safe and make arrangements so that a person does not have to drive after drinking.

Nobody likes drunken drivers. People will

respect a driver for taking a responsible attitude.

However, it must be remembered that it is not only drivers who get involved in accidents after drinking. Drunken pedestrians fall down and get hit when trying to cross roads.

Alcohol also causes accidents in the home, and plays a part in all kinds of unsocial and unlawful behaviour. Nearly half of violent crimes are committed by people who have been drinking.

So many people have performed badly in examinations, workplaces, sporting activities because they would have had too much the night before.

Alcohol takes time to wear off, so one should still be suffering the affects throughout the following day. It also effects the working of the liver, blood pressure and fitness in general.

Looking at the complexity of the issue of drug abuse and alcoholism, there is need for the whole community to be involved in the fight against the catastrophe. It is a community concern that requires a community response. The problem must be faced in the home, in the stores, public places, schools and workplaces. □

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## **A Message From the National Secretary for Education, Women's League, Comrade Shamiso Nyashanu to all Provincial Secretaries for Education, ZANU PF Women's League**

Congratulations for being elected to this new department in the ZANU PF party, Women's League. You have a very difficult task before you and a workshop will be organised for you soon where the programme of action for the next five years will be outlined.

Colonial legacy did not encourage education for women. That has since changed with both the Party and Government actively involved in promoting education for women. We are very fortunate too, that our President, Comrade Robert Gabriel Mugabe, rallies behind us in promoting education for women.

By education I refer to both formal and informal education: pre-school, primary and secondary education, vocational training,

professional and university education and the individual's interaction with others in society.

It is your task therefore, to assist women and girls at all levels of education so that they begin to emancipate themselves.

You should take the following immediate steps:

(i) liaise with all the organisations and institutions in your province that are associated with education and with your secretaries for education at district, branch and cell levels of the party, the provincial and district education officers, schools, parents, the churches and any other non-governmental organisations.

(ii) inter-act with women and make them see the need to send their children to pre-schools and participate in education for development.

(iii) encourage the few professional, academic and business women to promote education for their fellow women.

(iv) encourage men such as husbands and employers to make it possible for women to pursue education.

(v) then compile a report which you will bring with you to the workshop in the near future. □

FORWARD WITH EDUCATION FOR WOMEN!



**D**rug policies should be adjusted and be sensitive to the history of respective countries, their cultures and their drug use and drinking practices, a paper made available at the Rehabilitation of Drugs and Alcohol dependent persons seminar in Harare has said.

The paper defines a policy as a government statement that expresses a set of intentions which should guide the development of a programme. It says drug/alcohol policies do not drop readily — made from the sky. They have to be stimulated, developed and negotiated for each country.

The paper presented at this seminar held at Courtney Hotel in Harare recently says policies require imagination, tolerance, hard work and a sense of vision. They need to be prepared, formulated and promoted taking into account a wide variety of legitimate but sometimes competing interests.

Before formulating drug policies, the paper proceeds, it is essential to have objectively verifiable assessment data because it is important for policy development, programme planning and implementation. It is also necessary for policy formation to follow a precise course both in devising new policies and abandoning others which no longer can be justified.

The prevailing forms of drug abuse, their problems and change over time should be considered. The population groups involved in drug abuse and the measures to which these groups are most likely to respond should also be taken account of.

Other points are: the programmes designed to modify the phenomenon and their major phases, realistic expectations about the impact of these programmes and the selection of appropriate objective criteria for measuring outcomes of a programme.

## Call To Sensitize Drug Policies

### General Considerations

Proceeding, the paper says the information on which policies and programmes for reducing illicit drug use are based must be current and accurate. Furthermore, expensive materials may not necessarily be needed for such programmes.

"As a first step in policy development and programme planning, an inventory of existing facilities should be prepared. Knowledgeable persons should be consulted to determine how these facilities can be used or adapted to new programme requirements," says the paper.

The functional integration of programmes on reduction of demand for drugs with other programmes like health, welfare and education should also be considered early in the planning process. Account should be taken of problems possibly arising from contact between drug using populations and those not involved with drugs when planning for integration of programmes.

Turning to national governments themselves, the paper says national governments should focus on broader aspects of programming. National planning should therefore be broad and flexible and take account of the wide range of drug abuse situations and responses to them.

Policy and programme planning should thereafter be responsible for the findings of

evaluations which should then be realistically integrated.

The whole exercise should be geared at improving drug systems by the achievement of a balance between demand for and supply of narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances of legitimate purposes, eradication of supply of drugs from illicit sources and the reduction of the illicit drug traffic.

The paper also outlined the factors which can influence the policy and organisation of demand reduction programmes. These can influence the choices open to administrators when forming policies and designing organisational structures.

These factors are: the availability and quality of information about both drugs related problems and the social responses to them, the current state of the problem (e.g. nature, extent and seriousness of drug abuse); the dynamics of the decision-making process by government and governmental agencies; jurisdictions; the availability of economic resources and, international assistance; the availability of trained manpower to administer programmes on resources to train them and cooperation with other countries particularly for purposes of participation in international programmes like training for programme of prevention, treatment and rehabilitation of drug abusers.

The seminar was also attended by an ILO Representative. □

## Zimbabwe and Development Strategies

**W**ith all the changes taking place in the East, what steps are necessary to be taken by Zimbabwe in its pursuit of socialist goals and has it managed to escape from the neo-colonial pattern that other post-colonial societies have fallen prey to?

Comrade Donald P. Chimanikire of the department of Southern Africa and International Relations (ZIDS) answers the following questions in an exclusive interview with *The Zimbabwe News*.

N.B. These responses are personal views of the interviewee and do not necessarily reflect the opinions of the institute.

**QUESTION:** Has Zimbabwe conformed to the neo-colonial pattern that other post-colonial societies have been unable to escape?



Dr. Donald P. Chimanikire of ZIDS

**ANSWER:** To most post colonial African states, the economic emancipation that was expected to follow closely on the heels of political independence as expected in the early 1960 still remains only a hope. Final analysis shows that the cause of this is closely linked with the strategy of development adopted in the past. In the majority of cases, the very strategies of development the African Governments have been pursuing since independence have come from outside, derived, as they were from theories of economic development that were developed during the colonial and neo-colonial periods to rationalise the colonial pattern of production in Africa. The cumulative result is that, today, neither high rates of growth or diversification nor increasing measure of self-reliance and self-sustainment has been achieved in most African economies.

As regards Zimbabwe Government, in the



formation of its development strategy, it absorbed both the positive and negative experience of other countries, especially the lesson of too rapid transformation of production relations. It based its strategy on the concrete conditions of the country by giving full play to the strong points of the country and making up for its shortcomings. Though the Zimbabwe Government emphasized the importance of the reformation of the original lopsided economic structure, it did not neglect the importance of retaining the good old infrastructure. It stressed the implementation of the strategy to meet the needs of the people, but also emphasized that it must be done gradually and realistically.

Again on the first part of your question, I must add that few Third World leaders have examined the existing Western oriented development patterns with any real objectivity. The result is that Third World socialists have concurred with the conventional model of development based on the cultivation of cash crops for export market, increased industrial capital formation and an inflow of foreign capital. Thus while Third World socialists have stressed the evils of colonialism and advocated modernisation without loss of their respective traditions, they failed to evaluate Western development models. This has led to the position where Third World countries have become increasingly tied to the international economic system, and further that they have bred a privileged middle class, mainly concentrated in the cities and contributing to heightened urban consumption at the expense of rural areas.

**QUESTION:** *How does the domination by imperialism and international finance capital hinder Third World economic progress?*

**ANSWER:** The deformation of the economic structures that foreign domination has been imposed throughout history on the Third World has meant that people in these countries have been faced with the impossibility of generating, on their own, the financial resources that are indispensable for overcoming backwardness. For some years now, it has been evident to the international community that the only way to overcome underdevelopment is by obtaining foreign financial resources under fair conditions. That has not, however been the main motivation for the flow of financial resources to the underdeveloped countries in recent years. The sharp worsening of the Third world's international economic relations while an appreciable volume of surplus capital was available in the developed capitalist world created the conditions for turning flows of financing into a generator of even greater indebtedness, dependence and domination for the Third World's poorest countries.

**QUESTION:** *How do indigenous class forces exacerbate the situation with their involvement in this? How and why is capitalism sustained in post-colonial situations?*

**ANSWER:** Once you don't have a committed national bourgeoisie, it's easy for TNCs to penetrate the vital organs of a country's economy. Also after independence there is

always a danger that a comprador bourgeoisie class with no property of its own can develop. This class can easily destroy the nation by aligning itself with the TNCs in the exploitation of the country.

Also, Third World countries increased involvement in the international economic system and their efforts to attract foreign capital, has led to an increasing hold of multinational corporations over their national economies. In their efforts to confront these multinational giants, Third World governments, especially African, have adopted state interventionist policies such as the nationalization of a majority of shares in mining and manufacturing enterprises. Although they have proclaimed these policies as cants of African socialism, in reality they are typically little more than thinly disguised state capital measures which have led to increased dependence on transnational corporate and financial institutions.

As I mentioned before, capitalism can easily be sustained where strategies of development come from the western developed countries. Not unexpected, the policies, programmes and projects that are formulated on the basis of theories and strategies from these countries simply reinforce the existing patterns of production. The fundamental basis to work out a proper development strategy for a region or a country is the concrete condition of the region or the country.

**QUESTION:** *How do you assess Zimbabwe's potential and capacity in socialist construction?*

**ANSWER:** The transit to socialism in Zimbabwe like elsewhere requires a certain high degree of capital and technology and the preparation of the people for the new social system through political and educational work. The present economic structure of Zimbabwe has a dualist structure of advanced manufacturing and mining industries with backward African agriculture. This is unreasonable and must be changed. The production of the rural areas must be given more support and the life of the peasants must be bettered.

I believe that with the achievement of Unity in the country prospects are brighter than before. I am also happy to note that the National Congress of ZANU PF re-confirmed its commitment to the establishment of socialism in this country.

**QUESTION:** *Do national liberation struggles guarantee that a nation is on the path to socialism?*

**ANSWER:** Sometimes socialist orientation is treated as if it were identical with socialism. Such a viewpoint is erroneous and leads to an incorrect evaluation of the national-democratic stage of development, a disregard for its national limits and internal contradiction, an uncritical attitude to socialist phraseology and a failure to draw a distinction between subjective socialism and scientific socialism. On the other hand, setbacks on the difficult path of socialist orientation have led to the equally erroneous view that denies the revolutionary potential of national

democracy and the possibility for socialism under its leadership. I should stress that a turn to capitalism is always possible as shown by the example of a number of states which initially entered the path of non-capitalist development. Nationalist liberation struggles do not per-se guarantee that a nation is on the path to socialism. However, the fact that a revolutionary-democratic force might turn to capitalism does not in any way mean that socialist orientation under the leadership of revolutionary democracy is in principle impossible.

**QUESTION:** *How do you compare and contrast Zimbabwe with other African countries, especially Southern Africa, in terms of aspiration, fertility, potential, seriosity to the achievement of socialism?*

**ANSWER:** 'Socialism' is a protean concept describing an even more protean reality. The debate about the nature of socialist societies and transition is complex, and I would prefer to avoid entanglement. However, it is important to be clear at the outset about how one is using the term socialist given the vast amount of ambiguity and contention surrounding it. Though many people do not share a common view, one can approach the problem by making a distinction between 'socialist society' as a current reality and as a desired end-state. Zimbabwe like many Southern African states is a young nation. It does not, to my mind, have a monopoly of socialist construction in the region. To compare these states against each other in terms of what I think is socialist construction would require writing thick volumes. At the moment I can only say that the basic idea of Zimbabwe's overall development strategy can be understood by analyzing the economic plans, policies and measures already proclaimed by our Government. I am happy to say that the recent historic Congress of the united ZANU PF announced that socialism was its objective. But at the same time the Congress expressed that the application of the principle of Marxism-Leninism is to be done according to the history and culture and surroundings of Zimbabwe. Without taking into account this important aspect, we might end up with socialist ideas which are impossible to implement democratically in Zimbabwe.

**QUESTION:** *Some people have said the differences (in the above question) are of degrees rather than kind. What would you say to that?*

**ANSWER:** Each country has got its own specific characteristics, and therefore far-fetched comparisons can sometimes lead one to erroneous conclusions.

**QUESTION:** *How do you think Zimbabwe's good economic infrastructure can be used to a good advantage to achieve socialism?*

**ANSWER:** Zimbabwe has a good economic foundation, but there are also quite a number of difficult tasks to reform in order to develop the Zimbabwean national economy. The advantageous conditions are as follows:

- 1) Zimbabwe owns rather modern technique and infrastructure and it has the



information organ and the feed back network that are coordinated with the world market;

- 2) With an all-round development of manufacturing and mining industries and agriculture, it can regulate the, even development of the entire national economy by its own means;
- 3) the country has the experience to deal with international sanctions and by carrying out certain state controlling measures under economic sanctions, it provided some useful experiences for the state to regulate its economic development after independence.

So all these factors and others not mentioned here offer a favourable base for the construction of socialism.

**QUESTION:** *How do you think Zimbabwe can disengage from domination by international finance capital if at all?*

**ANSWER:** Zimbabwe is still faced with major problems, which need to be seriously tackled at the moment in order to meet the objectives which were mapped-out in the First-Five-Year National Development Plan and also to objectively plan for the future. In so doing the Government has realised that it needs financial injections from outside. That is why we have a new *Investment Code*. It is hoped that this will stimulate investment from outside, as well as from inside the country. There is no way we can carry out some of our projects without Aid. The most important thing is to make sure that we are in control of this assistance from outside.

**QUESTION:** *What is the model upon which Zimbabwe is proceeding?*

**ANSWER:** Zimbabwe has a mixed economy. Of course the Government's aim and objective is to realise a socialist society with the transformation of all means of production and all resources into the hands of the people. But the existence of capitalism is a historical reality that cannot be changed overnight.

**QUESTION:** *What place does aid take in this?*

**ANSWER:** Aid from outside will continue to play a major role in our economy. Again, Aid must be channelled to sectors considered relevant by our own people as opposed to the donors themselves.

**QUESTION:** *Zimbabweans' lives have improved tremendously since 1980. How would you view this improvement?*

**ANSWER:** In order to improve the lives of Zimbabweans, the Government, in my own opinion, has done many great things. The Government has tried, for example, to improve the status of many people through improvement of the conditions of education and health of the Africans. After independence, the expenses of education and health topped the Government's other expenses. It made primary school education compulsory and secondary school education universal. It also proclaimed that people whose monthly wages were under Z\$150 would enjoy free medical care. From independence to date, the lowest wages of workers have been raised

several times. Also many progressive laws have been passed in order to bring women into the normal socio-economic and political mainstream of the country.

**QUESTION:** *What place do co-operatives take in the fight for socialism and how far successful or otherwise have they been?*

**ANSWER:** Co-operatives play a major role in any socialist project because collective production is a fundamental way to eliminate the exploitation of man by man. However, I get the impression that the co-operative movement in Zimbabwe has had numerous problems, partly financial and also managerial etc. But I think the Government is seriously working at the whole issue again to see how they can be viable.

**QUESTION:** *Some people have said Zimbabwe has institutionalised aid as part of our society thus reinforcing dependency. Can you comment on this statement.*

**ANSWER:** In view of the fact that foreign capital accounted for about 70% of the total capital of the country before independence and national private capital accounted for more than half of domestic capital, the Zimbabwe Government encouraged foreign capital and private capital investments. The Government convened several international conferences and sent officers abroad to seek for external assistance. Personally, aid is not a bad thing in itself. Most young nations need aid in order to develop their economies. Zimbabwe is no exception. But must be given without strings.

**QUESTION:** *What do you think of the maintenance and dominance of whites on high level and managerial positions of the economy?*

**ANSWER:** The private sector should aim to catch up with the public sector in black advancement. The attitude of some white employers to black advancement is the overriding factor of the issue. Racial attitudes, slow economic growth and unwillingness by some companies to train and develop black employees, are some of the reasons for slow progress in black advancement. The majority of black managers occupy positions of public relations, personnel management and administration, sales and marketing. The real strategic positions of general administration, finance and production are still in the hands of whites.

Zimbabwe gained independence in 1980 with only a handful of black people with the necessary experience in middle management to be groomed for higher posts. But instead of actively redressing this situation immediately through wide-ranging training programmes and responding to the spirit of black advancement contained in the Presidential Directive to the Public Service, the private sector hung back for reasons mentioned above. However, people should not be accorded top managerial positions because of black skin, but because of their ability. What might follow is quite obvious to be mentioned here.

**QUESTION:** *How can the momentum for socialism be speeded up?*

**ANSWER:** The newly elected leadership of the United ZANU PF should come up with a viable programme for the nation. And for any programme to work, it must have the full blessing of the people. This way, one can hope to speed up the construction of socialism in Zimbabwe. I have no doubt, though, that the united ZANU PF leadership is already aware of this.

**QUESTION:** *How does Zimbabwe's tribal politics come into this?*

**ANSWER:** Ethnic politics in Zimbabwe is not a major factor in our developmental strategies, as far as I am concerned. It is becoming more and more irrelevant with creation of the united ZANU PF to talk of tribalism in Zimbabwe.

**QUESTION:** *What is the effect of the scarcity of foreign currency on the drive for socialism? What role do you think whites can play in this drive?*

**ANSWER:** The problem of foreign exchange shortage is, I think, a big one. That is why the Government has taken the important policy decisions directed towards encouraging investment. In doing so, the Government recognized the inter-dependence between public investment, local private investment, and foreign investment. I suppose our local whites and blacks can take a leading role in investment, providing the base for economic development. Obviously some popular socialist projects will have to suffer because of lack of foreign exchange.

**QUESTION:** *The Lancaster House constitution, what has been its consequences on the drive for socialism and economic stability?*

**ANSWER:** In the Constitution signed at Lancaster House of London on the eve of Zimbabwe's independence it was stipulated that after independence the property of the white people in the country can only be redeemed, and not be expropriated. Therefore, the Zimbabwe Government had to consider this point in its transformation of the original economic structure. Therefore, up to now the Government has been very careful not to violate the original agreement.

**QUESTION:** *Due to the fact that internal contradictions (dialectics) result in a new form of social system etc, what can you say about the changes that are taking place in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe?*

**ANSWER:** Dramatic reforms in the USSR and Eastern Europe are receiving considerable media coverage in the Western media. These are, obviously, the assessments of Western journalists and political commentators who see the tumultuous and critical events in Eastern European Socialist countries as the agony of socialism. But, I would say personally, that it is not socialism that is in agony, but its totalitarian and Stalinist model. For instance, the perestroika forces in the USSR oriented towards the opposite model — democratic socialism — are ultimately interested in the downfall of Stalinism once and for all, with all the inevitable setbacks of this revolution. It is a revolution since the point at issue is not to improve socialism but to



radically transform it. The revolutionary nature of the present changes also lies in departure from the essentially utopian aim of building a certain, ideal society and in concentrating on the improvement of life today and tomorrow on the day-to-day interests of citizens. But the point is that this shift does not mean the end of socialism, on the contrary it should be seen as its beginning, or rather its resumption broken off by the totalitarian Stalinist model. Even if non-communist forces come to power in one or two countries in Eastern Europe, that doesn't mean that they will discard the primary socialist ideas as fundamental values though they may disown socialism altogether — naturally meaning its Stalinist administrative model.

**QUESTION:** *Casper Weineberger (US) once said, advising African governments on economic development, "The only way for African economies to develop is to cut down imports and increase exports." Can you comment on this statement?*

**ANSWER:** My reaction to that is that as long as we continue as we have done for centuries, to produce for the so-called 'world market' which was founded on the hard rock of slavery and colonialism, our economies will remain colonial. Any development will be entirely incidental, leaving the vast majority of the population wholly uninvolved in the economic activity. The more we invest in the export branches in order to capture the 'world market' the more we divert away from investing for people's development and, consequently, the least effective our development effort. And since this type of investment does not contribute much towards the development of the material and technical base internally, our economies are rendered always responsive only to what the Western world is prepared to buy and sell, and hardly responsive to our internal development needs. I think this is what Mr. Casper Weineberger wants African economies to be.

**QUESTION:** *The bleak economic situation of Africa and the Third World is attributed to colonial history, present economic order, the structures of African economies and political upheavals. How do you view this and what approach can best be effected for a better future so that an atmosphere conducive to the establishment of socialism is created?*

**ANSWER:** The developing countries represent the most extensive part of the world economy. However, the gaining by developing countries of political freedom did not mean their automatic winning of economic in-

dependence. Moreover, colonial oppression for most of these countries gave way to neo-colonialism, which is a system of inequitable economic and political relations externally imposed by imperialist states. Unlike colonialism, neo-colonialism does not include measures of direct, undisguised domination and the suppression of national interests in development, but uses the focus of indirect control over it through shackling financial agreements or granting loans and credits, the establishment of monopoly prices for raw and manufactured products and the repatriation of huge super profits. Under neo-colonialism, the newly-independent countries have become the main target of super-exploitation by the monopolies. Since the disintegration of the colonial system, industrialised capitalist states on a "partnership" basis have pumped out more values from these countries than did the former metropolises for some 300 years.

I think in order for Third World countries to create an atmosphere conducive to the establishment of socialism, they have to work for economic independence. In doing so developing countries must oppose neo-colonialism internationally and domestically. It is essential to prevent neo-colonialist efforts to impose on such countries economic policies running counter to their national interests. Among other top priorities is sovereignty over natural resources and basic economic branches, and a stop to transnational monopolies' sway in the Third World. Genuine economic independence requires internal conditions for growth rates in the economy and labour productivity to exceed those in developed countries. Extensive democratic reforms and mobilisation of all monetary and economic resources are, therefore, necessary for that.

**QUESTION:** *Economically, the Third World position is a no-win posture. What do you say to this?*

**ANSWER:** The Third World cannot just wait for impulses from without, from developed capitalist countries to overcome the serious economic and social crisis in which it is caught. International cooperation is needed today more than ever; but its determination and its energetic and joint actions are the key and hope to transform the present hopeless situation. Where can the resources the Third World needs for its development be found? One might ask. They must come, in the first place, from the enormous capital transfers it is making to the developing capitalist world through debt servicing and the brutal deterioration in terms of trade they have imposed on it. This calls for completely eliminating a foreign debt already paid

many times over throughout centuries of slavery, colonialism and neo-colonialism, but it also requires the establishment of the New International Economic Order adopted almost unanimously by the United Nations. The debt could be written off tomorrow and, under present international relations the situation would be the same or even worse in a short time. Not only the debt, but its pillars and main causes must disappear. Unequal terms of trade, protectionism, dumping, and the financial and monetary manipulations to which it is constantly subjected.

**QUESTION:** *Developing countries have got 'advisers' from 'abroad'. What is your opinion of these advisers?*

**ANSWER:** There are numerous foreign "advisers or experts" in developing countries. Some of them have produced reports on social and economic issues facing developing countries. Some of these reports have been hailed by developing countries as ushering a new era, a sort of turning point, in international co-operation for development. But one has to understand that even if these recommendations by "experts" from abroad were to be implemented *in toto* it is doubtful if they would make impact on the ever-widening gap between the developed and the developing countries. This is because in many cases the recommendations avoid tackling the most fundamental question, namely — can development take place when Third World production strategy is influenced by the world market which is determined almost exclusively by the pattern of production and consumption within capitalist Europe and America? We should also note that some of these "advisers" are imposed on Third World countries by Aid or Donor Agencies.

**QUESTION:** *What are Zimbabwe's prospects for the achievement of socialism?*

**ANSWER:** Zimbabwe should build on the success of the National People's Congress and the unity it has brought, strengthening the national fibre and ZANU PF in all areas and which can now realise the people's wishes and aspirations with confidence. Without unity, building socialism would be a dream. But that now we have achieved this important cornerstone in order to construct a socialist society, Zimbabwe prospects seem brighter than before. It's a difficult task but one that is necessary for our survival. It is important also to realise that our future course must be guided dialectically. Our action must be related to our concrete experience and we must not give way to metaphysical hopes and wishes. □





# Mandela Personifies the Spirit and Form of the South African Struggle

The world has now seen the man whose spirit, personality, influence and firmness shattered the inauspicious South African prisons to direct the struggle against apartheid. Nelson Mandela in prison and Nelson Mandela out of prison are no different. He is still unwavering and alive with the spirit that characterised him since the early 1930s.

This is truly a great son of Africa, the beacon that cannot be ignored in the struggle against apartheid. Comrade Mandela is arguably the most famous political prisoner in the world who was imprisoned for 27 years for plotting to overthrow white minority rule.

He was born on July 18, 1918 at Qunu near Umtata in South Africa. He is the son of Nonqaphi Nosekeni and Henry Mgadla Mandela, chief councillor to the Paramount Chief of the Thembu, the largest single social grouping in the Transkei. Comrade Mandela, who has now been elected deputy president of the ANC, spent his childhood at his home in Transkei near Bashee River.

Soon after the death of his father in 1930, his cousin, David Dalindyebo looked after him. He matriculated and attended Fort Hare University College where he was involved in student politics. While at Fort Hare, Comrade Mandela met the ANC president, Comrade Oliver Tambo. They were together expelled in 1940 for participating in a student strike.

Soon after this, the ANC deputy president who has now become the effective leader of his organisation while Comrade Tambo is in hospital in Sweden, moved to Johannesburg. He became a mine policeman and met Comrade Walter Sisulu who assisted him in obtaining articles with a legal firm.

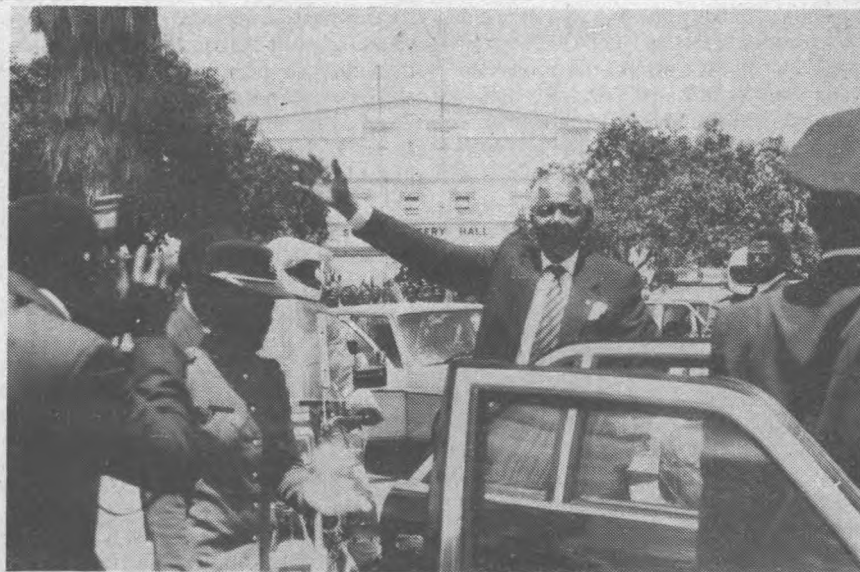
## Legal partnership

Comrade Mandela did not look back. He worked tirelessly to further his education. He obtained a BA degree by correspondence in 1941 and then studied for an LLB with the university of Witwatersrand.

It is not surprising that Comrade Mandela and Comrade Tambo opened the first African legal partnership in white-ruled South Africa in 1952. They were based at Chancellor House in Fox Street, Johannesburg. Before that, in 1944, they and Comrade Walter Sisulu founded the ANC National Youth League whose national secretary was Comrade Mandela.

From then on, he was in the thick of the struggle against oppression.

While they practised at Chancellor House, Comrade Mandela, now national youth league president, travelled extensively



**The great son of Africa, Comrade Mandela arriving at the Town House (Harare) after his release during his visit to Zimbabwe**

around South Africa enlisting volunteers who were prepared to fight against apartheid. He did this in his capacity as national Volunteer-in-Chief of the Defiance Campaign.

The Defiance Campaign began on June 26, 1952 when the campaign chief and 51 others broke curfew regulations. Six months later, Comrade Mandela, Comrade Sisulu and others were arrested and charged under the Suppression of Communism Act. He was sentenced to nine months' imprisonment with hard labour wholly suspended for two years.

In addition to this sentence, Comrade Mandela was prohibited from attending gatherings for six months and was not to leave the magisterial district of Johannesburg. These banning orders were to be renewed yearly until 1961. However, he still managed to work with select small congress groupings. He also broke down the party into cells which necessitated the organisation to go underground.

Comrade Mandela's troubles with the regime continued when in 1963 bans were renewed, requiring him to officially resign from the ANC. This forced him to carry out his leadership duties secretly. The veteran politician was among 156 political leaders who were arrested in December 1956 and charged with high treason but were released on March 29, 1961 when Justice Rumpff found them not guilty.

During their trial, their defence lawyers withdrew during the 1960 state of emergency. Comrade Mandela and Comrade Duma Nokwe then played a pivotal role in the marathon trial.

## Banned

Then came the Sharpeville shootings which led to the banning of both the ANC and PAC. The ANC had organised an anti-pass campaign but were pre-empted by the PAC which called for mass anti-pass protests on March 21, 1960. About 1 800 political prisoners plus Comrade Mandela were imprisoned without trial.

Amid these events the Republic of South Africa was proclaimed. An ad hoc committee of black political leaders inclusive of Comrade Duma Nokwe, Comrade Govan Mbeki and Comrade Alfred Nzo, called an All-in-Africa conference in March 1961 in Petermaritzburg and was attended by 40 black political leaders. The conferences made Comrade Mandela honorary secretary of the All-in-National Action Council set up to organise demonstrations against the proclamation of the Republic of South Africa.

Comrade Mandela then disappeared into hiding as he anticipated a renewal of a banning order.

After being made honorary secretary of the above action group, he was supposed to campaign for the calling of a national convention and thereafter a three-day stay at home on May 29, 30 and 31 in 1961. Still, he escaped arrest by going underground while at the same time travelling secretary with Comrade Sisulu around South Africa organising strikes.

His secret travels did not end inside South Africa alone. He slipped out of the country in 1962 for Addis Ababa, Ethiopia where he



addressed a Pan-Africanist Freedom Movement conference.

Upon his return, he was sentenced to five years in prison for illegally crossing the border and incitement. During this period, underground ANC headquarter based at Liliesleaf Farm, Rivonia, were raided. Many, including Comrades Dennis Goldberg, Lionel Bernstein, Raymond Mahlaba, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki and Ahmed Kathrada were arrested.

Following the raids, documents on the manufacture of explosives, Comrade Mandela's diary on his African tour and copies of a draft memorandum known as Operation Mayibuye outlining a possible strategy of the war of liberation were ceased.

Then came the eleven month trial popularly known as the Rivonia Trial at which eight of the accused plus Comrade Mandela were sentenced to life imprisonment at Rob-

ben Island Prison. The versatile Comrade Mandela remained in prison until February 11, 1990. He received a tumultuous and hero's welcome upon his release inside and outside South Africa. He has now finished his tour which took him to Zambia, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Ethiopia and Sweden where he met the hospitalised ANC President Comrade Oliver Tambo. □

# USSR-China: Let Bygones Be Bygones

**T**his is an interview given by Prof. Lev Delyusin, head of the China department of the Soviet Academy of Sciences' Institute of Oriental Studies.

**QUESTION:** How did the Soviet-Chinese relations develop after the founding of the Chinese People's republic in 1949?

**ANSWER:** The late forties and the early fifties were one of the most dynamic periods in Chinese history. The peak of our relations with China fell on that time. As soon as the revolution was won in China and the agrarian reform was launched Soviet specialists came to China to help it rehabilitate her industry and reorganise the Chinese Red Army. Every Soviet who came to China was given a hero's welcome. It was a shining example of what is now called "public diplomacy". Later I learned, however, that the relations between the leaders of our two countries were not as good as they seemed then.

**QUESTION:** What do you mean?

**ANSWER:** In 1949 when the revolution won in China and Mao Zedong came to Moscow, Stalin received him not as the leader of the largest state in Asia where a socialist revolution had just been accomplished, but as a vassal who could be left waiting in the ante-room. Mao was shocked and hurt, the more so since Stalin studiously avoided discussing any serious matters. When a serious discussion began at last, the Soviet side put very heavy pressure on the Chinese delegation to force it in all sorts of concessions.

As a result, a number of Soviet-Chinese trade and economic agreements of that time were unfair for China. Although the Chinese leaders well realised that, they nevertheless had to comply because they had no one else to help them. It was many years later that we learned how bad they felt about it.

**QUESTION:** Could China receive aid from any other source?

**ANSWER:** No. As a historian I am convinced that Soviet aid was the only salvation for China at that time. The Chinese agree with this.

American experts on China also say that no country in the world could give as much aid as the Soviet Union did at that time. For all its flaws, Soviet aid helped China build the foundations of her industry.

**QUESTION:** What is your overall assessment of the Stalinist-Maoist period of Soviet-Chinese relations?

**ANSWER:** Outwardly, everything looked fine then. Chinese consumer goods were sold in Soviet shops and Chinese students studied at Soviet institutions of higher education. An opera called "Great Friendship" was staged in Leningrad and schoolchildren sang a song called "Moscow-Peking". But that was just outward appearance. The ill-feeling against Stalin who offended and humiliated the Chinese leaders accumulated, although the latter did everything to hide it.

**QUESTION:** How did Soviet-Chinese relations develop after Khrushchev came to power?

**ANSWER:** From the very start Khrushchev did a great deal to right the injustices committed under Stalin, strengthen friendship with China and build Soviet-Chinese relations on an equal basis. When we discuss the Khrushchev time today we usually remember his errors. Few people know that he had good intentions. The Chinese said that Khrushchev's visit to China in 1954 and his meetings with Mao opened up a new era in Soviet-Chinese relations.

Khrushchev did a great deal to strengthen our ties with China, but some of his proposals were ill-considered and unacceptable for the Chinese. Eventually Khrushchev began to overestimate the extent of friendliness of our relations.

He put forward the thesis about "common interests" of the two great and equal socialist powers, the USSR and China, but by "common interests" Khrushchev meant chiefly the Soviet interests, which were formulated in Moscow. The Soviet Policy created the impression that China was a Soviet republic: Soviet specialist went to Chinese without entry visas and Moscow issued "joint state-

ments" without asking whether the Chinese agreed with them or not. It was a sort of familiarity at state level.

**QUESTION:** What was China's reaction to the condemnation of Stalin's personality cult?

**ANSWER:** They were particularly hurt because it was constantly emphasised that there were "special" relations between Stalin and Mao. That is why after the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party China did not remove Stalin's portraits and the Chinese continued studying Stalin's teachings and quoting from them. They did so to some extent to emphasise China's independence from Moscow and the independence of the Chinese Communist Party in the world communist movement. By defending Stalin's cult, Mao defended himself.

**QUESTION:** When did the differences between the Soviet and Chinese leaders become public?

**ANSWER:** They became public when China embarked upon the "Big Leap" policy and started creating people's communes in 1958. China began to criticise Soviet experience and some Chinese leaders gleefully declared that the Soviet Union had got stuck at the stage of socialism, whereas China was pushing to communism. The Chinese put forward the slogan "several years of hard work will bring about 10 000 years of happiness". Soviet specialists in China came under fire for "technical backwardness and conservatism".

However, criticism of Soviet specialists was neither widespread nor harsh. In many cases it was not even criticism: the language barrier created misunderstanding. Meanwhile, Moscow received information that "the Chinese are disgruntled". Misled by such occasional signals, Khrushchev in 1960 took a surprise decision to recall Soviet specialists from China. It was one of the ill-conceived decisions Khrushchev took without consulting anyone. No wonder it came as a total surprise for all.

Soviet and Chinese mass media began to



criticise each other's mistakes and that exchange of accusations, mild and tactful at first, eventually turned into a fierce campaign. The era of "great friendship" ended and an era of "great enmity" began.

**QUESTION:** *In October 1964 Khrushchev was ousted and Brezhnev took over. How did that change affect Soviet-Chinese relations?*

**ANSWER:** Change of leadership in any country is always a possibility for rectifying mistakes of the past and making a complete or partial break with the past. The Soviet government did take some steps to normalise relations with China, but they failed to bring about any improvement.

**QUESTION:** *What can you say about the polemics that began in the Soviet and Chinese press in the early sixties?*

**ANSWER:** It's difficult to be objective in the heat of mutual accusations. Yet, objectivity was necessary, especially between such countries as ours. Unfortunately, neither we nor the Chinese were particularly honest in that polemic. One of the sins the Chinese accused us of was revision of Marxism and reconciliation with international imperialism. We, for our part, tried to prove that China was sliding down onto the capitalist path. It was a deeply flawed thesis. The Soviet leaders believed that if they managed to convince the world that the Chinese Communist Party was becoming a petty bourgeois party, we would gain some ideological advantage. In actuality, in spite of all its serious theoretical mistakes and vacillations (who was flawless?), the Chinese Communist Party was building socialism in China. However, the methods by which it was doing so were far from being scientifically sound.

As for the Soviet side, it frequently distorted facts and documents and that added fuel to mutual strife. A typical example was Pyotr Vladimirov's book "A Special Region of China", which was published in 1973. Its author stayed for long periods in China between 1938 and 1951, holding different positions, including that of the Comintern's liaison officer at the Central committee of the communist Party of China.

His book is a compilation based on different sources. In some cases the author used British sources, in other Chinese ones.

**QUESTION:** *Yet, it appears that the Soviet-Chinese polemics of the sixties was a Party affair.*

**ANSWER:** Taking into consideration that communist parties are the ruling parties in the

Soviet Union and China, that polemics could not fail to affect state relations.

The question of a correlation between the policy of a ruling party and state policy is very important and requires in-depth analysis. Eventually, ideological differences between the Soviet and Chinese communist parties brought our two countries to the brink of a complete break-off of all relations, including diplomatic relations, and war.

**QUESTION:** *Do you mean the events on Damansky Island in 1969?*

**ANSWER:** Border clashes began earlier, in the beginning of the sixties, and the events on Damansky Island were the climax of the entire Soviet-Chinese conflict.

One of the factors that contributed to the escalation of the anti-Soviet campaign was the difficulties faced by the Chinese leaders, especially Defence Minister Lin Biao, in the course of the Cultural Revolution, who sought to resolve them by inciting nationalism. It is a ploy often used by politicians whose policy has failed.

**QUESTION:** *How did the conflict on Damansky Island influence further developments?*

**ANSWER:** When the duel of words turned into a duel of bullets and artillery shells, both sides sobered up: they realised that the border and ideological conflict might become something worse. Then diplomatic efforts were made to normalise the situation. In 1969 Alexei Kosygin met with Premier Zhou Enlai and the relations between the two countries somewhat stabilised.

**QUESTION:** *Yet our fear of a big war with China did not disappear for a long time.*

**ANSWER:** That was the result of our propaganda, which depicted China as a more dangerous enemy than the United States. Chinese propaganda constantly tooted its horns about "a threat from the north". Bomb shelters were built in Beijing and other Chinese cities and no one could say for sure that war with China could be avoided, though those who watched the developments in China (it was the peak of the Cultural Revolution) and knew about the state of the Chinese army with its barely literate soldiers armed with rifles and the scale of dislocation in Chinese industry and agriculture should have concluded that the Chinese would hardly unleash a more serious armed conflict than the border clash. The occasional provocations the Chinese staged on

the Soviet border pursued internal rather than external political objectives.

However, Brezhnev and other Soviet leaders overestimated the threat and began to mass troops and arms in the Far East. One of the reasons for Soviet fears was the size of the Chinese population, which came close to one billion. To some extent the Soviet leadership was scared by Chinese rhetoric and to some extent it was scared by its own rhetoric.

**QUESTION:** *One should bear in mind that China had an atomic bomb and Mao's geopolitical strategy did not rule out China's involvement in a nuclear conflict.*

**ANSWER:** The bomb could not win a war. It was not the bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki but the combined efforts of the Soviet and American armies that defeated Japan. Besides the bomb you should have an army well equipped with conventional arms and China had no such an army then.

**QUESTION:** *Why did China spend so much effort and money on the creation of the bomb?*

**ANSWER:** Mao needed the bomb mainly for prestige. We are prepared to stay without knickers but have an atomic bomb, he said. The present Chinese leaders have a totally different philosophy. It is far more important for them to keep the Chinese well fed and clad rather than armed. China's main goal today is to modernise the economy. And peace is the indispensable condition for this. This is yet another difference between the philosophies of Mao and, say, Deng Xiaoping. Mao was sure that, war was inevitable, while Deng believes that war can and must be averted. It is wasteful and futile for China to try to catch up with the United States and the Soviet Union in arms modernisation.

**QUESTION:** *"People's communes", the "Great Leap Forward" and the "Cultural Revolution" were theoretical mistakes above all, for which the Chinese people paid a high price. Are such mistakes possible in the future?*

**ANSWER:** This question is topical for the entire socialist system. The cult of a personality, whether it is Mao, Stalin or someone else, makes such mistakes unavoidable. Since no one dares to criticise them, there is no one to correct them even when they make obvious mistakes. That is why democratisation of society is the only guarantee against such mistakes.

To avoid mistakes in the future China is now carefully working out a concept of the initial stage of socialism. China believes that socialism is just beginning. □

## New Initiatives on Unification of Korean Peninsula

In order to overcome the obstacles and difficulties in the way of national unification and effect a fundamental change in setting the reunification question, it is imperative to take a decisive save-the-nation step to make the cause of national reunification truly the cause of the entire nation. This was said by the Great Leader, Comrade Kim IL Sung, Democratic People's Republic of Korea when he delivered a New Year's message.

Representing the desire of the entire nation for unification and its urgent requirements, Comrade Sung held the opinion of the Koreans (DPRK) in that the North and the South should remove the barrier between them, ensure free travel and open all their doors.

Firstly, it is to the feelings of DPRK that the concrete wall built in the area South of the





**The barrier that divides North and South Korea**



**The leader of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, The Great Comrade Kim IL Sung**

military demarcation line must be pulled down.

According to Comrade Sung's Address, the concrete wall is a symbol of national division and of North-South confrontation. Keeping the barrier the like of which cannot be found in any other country of the world is a disgrace to the nation.

"If they truly want reunification, the South Korean authorities must show it in deed. Whatever they may preach for 'open door' or 'reunification', the world people will not believe them so long as they keep the concrete barrier. . . now that the United States

and South Korean authorities welcome the opening of the barrier of division in another country, there is no reason why the concrete wall in Korea should not be destroyed", said Comrade Sung.

In the area north of the military demarcation line there is no barrier except barbed wires which mark a boundary. . . this could be removed at any time.

After removing the concrete wall, free travel must be realised between North and South. Workers, peasants, youths and students, politicians, business people, cultural workers, religious people and other people from all walks of life of the North and the South should be allowed to visit the area of the other side freely, having contact with each other and working without restraint.

The North and the South should not confine their efforts to guaranteeing a free travel, but proceed to opening their doors fully in all spheres including politics, the economy and culture.

In order to remove the barrier of national division and materialise free travel between the North and the South and full-scale open door negotiations between them must be held without delay.

#### **Wall, Symbol of Division**

Along the military demarcation line which had been just a line separating Korea into the north and the south a concrete wall tighter than a borderline was built. Being a symbol of national division and north-south confrontation, it is the greatest disgrace to our nation.

The wall which was built in the area south of the MDL cutting across the country at its waist extends 240 kilometres from east to west. It is five to eight metres high, 10 to 19 metres wide at the bottom and three to seven metres wide in the upper part.

Trucks, armoured vehicles and new-type ranks are running on the wall on the heels of the other and the dark muzzles of the heavy weapons of the pill boxes at intervals of 70 to 90 metres threaten to spit fire at our side any moment.

This disgraceful wall without an equal in any other country of the world was built by the United States who is trying to freeze the division of Korea and create 'two Koreas' and by the South Korean group which is trying to remain in power indefinitely with their backing.

It is a product of the U.S.'s divisive policy towards Korea and a legacy of the South Korean authorities' treacherous policy.

For this purpose, the DPRK propose a North-South top-level conference in which the heads of the authorities and the leaders of political parties will take part.

When the barrier between the North and the South is removed and free travel and a full-scale open door are realised, it will be possible to achieve the consensus of the will and united efforts of the Korean nation . . . repel foreign intervention and win the independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

This year, DPRK has vowed that they will actively promote sided talks including the



talk between the authorities of North and South and the Parliamentary talk now under way, "we will also continue to make sincere efforts to convene a consultative meeting for national reunification to be attended by representatives of the authorities, political parties and organisations from North and South... with a view to deciding on the nation's common way to reunification through extensive consultative", put it The Great Leader.

All Koreans in North and South and abroad must work hard in closer unity under the banner of national reunification, so as to make 1990 a historic year of turning-point in destroying the wall of division and in opening the door to reunification.

#### **Socialism construction in DPRK**

Today on the international arena a fierce struggle is going on between socialism and imperialism, between progress and reaction and the people's cause of independence has encountered a grave challenge of the imperialists.

The imperialists are making frantic efforts to undermine socialism, the bulwark of peace and progress and to reimpose the yoke of exploitation and subjugation upon the people who are following the road of independence. In the guise of 'peace' and 'detente', the imperialists are disarming people and stepping up their aggression against those countries which are taking the path to independence and progress. Under the cloak of 'aid' and 'co-operation' they are resorting to open intervention in other countries and overt moves to subjugate them. The imperialists are employing a variety of disguise. All this is nothing but a cunning trick to blur the reason of people of the world and achieve their aggression and predatory ambition.

Recently the US imperialists declared before the world the end of cold war and the advent of an era of peace, but this was immediately followed by their open invasion against Panama, a sovereign state. This shows clearly that "peace" and "detente" claimed by the imperialists is a big deception and that they are outrageous aggres-

sors. The progressive people the world over are ashamed of coexisting on the globe with such a shameless and despicable gang of imperialists and are indignantly denouncing their act of aggression.

The imperialists, doomed to collapse, are now blustering and fooling about in an attempt to hide their acute crisis and turn back the trend of history, but they will not be able to check the people from following an independent road. The future of mankind will never belong to imperialism. It is an inexorable law of history that imperialism will go to ruin and socialism will win.

The only way to achieve the century-old desire of the popular masses to put an end to exploitation and oppression of man by man and to live independently as the masters of the world, the masters of their own destiny, is to break with the exploiter society and follow the road to socialism. In order to find a blaze this path mankind has undergone painful turns and twists for a long time and continued an arduous and grim struggle. Socialism is the greatest achievement of mankind it is the ideal of mankind that gives them vivacity and hopes.

The road to socialism is an untrodden path. Therefore, in the course of advance one may encounter unexpected incidents and undergo trials and tribulations. The way of building socialism should also be steadily improved and perfected in keeping with the change in the situation. But there can be no change in the truth of history that mankind must follow the road of socialism.

No matter what may happen, the popular masses, the subject of history, must not deviate from the fundamental principle that they must oppose imperialism and advance towards socialism.

#### **Peace Policy**

That principles always emerge victorious is the truth vindicated by history. The revolutionary people of the world must steadfastly adhere to the principles of anti-imperialism and independence, the principle of socialism in order to counter the imperialist manoeuvres, and must fight to the end, by

displaying an indomitable fighting spirit and with confidence, in order to shape the future of mankind.

Our party and the Government of our Republic will, this year, too, consistently pursue the foreign policy of independence, peace and friendship.

We will invariably hold fast to an independent stand in any complicated conditions and circumstances, and will reliably defend peace and the eastern post of socialism.

The Korean peninsula still remains a dangerous hotbed of nuclear war, which causes the apprehension of the peace loving people throughout the world. We will fight more dynamically to eliminate the danger of nuclear war and ease tension in our country and to turn the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free, peace zone.

Our Party and the Government of our Republic will develop the relations of friendship and cooperation with the progressive people of the world including those of socialist and non-aligned countries, and will give active support and encouragement to the peoples of all countries in their struggle for independence, peace, national sovereignty and social progress.

The way for the developing countries to realize complete sovereignty and independence from neo-colonialist yoke is to strengthen unity and cooperation on the principle of collective self-reliance. We will work hard to develop South-South cooperation in all fields of politics, the economy and culture by displaying a spirit of disinterested cooperation and on the basis of genuine equality and mutual benefit.

Our magnificent fighting objectives for the 90s call on all the people to fresh heroic exploits, and the Juche idea of our Party illuminates our road to victory.

Let all of us fight for the complete victory of socialism, for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country and for an independent world, holding aloft the banner of the Juche idea, the banner of socialism under the leadership of the Party. □



**Comrade N. Mandela during his days of imprisonment at Roben Island**

**T**he world's most famous political prisoner emerged from his Cape Town jail into brilliant sunshine and

international jubilation and immediately told hundreds of thousands of his supporters that the armed struggle against apartheid must continue.

Nelson Mandela, a tall, fit, grey-haired man

walked out of Victor Verster prison farm at 4:15 p.m. on Sunday, 11 February after almost 27 years in jail. He was 71 and since his imprisonment in 1963 he has been a symbol of the struggle against oppression in his beloved South Africa.

## **From the Inner Prison to the Wider outer Prison**

*By A Correspondent*

As he walked hand-in-hand with his wife, Winnie, through the gates of the prison he raised his right fist in a triumphant power salute.

But, as President Robert Mugabe said the day after Comrade Mandela's release, his freedom was from a smaller "inner prison" to the "wider outer prison" that is apartheid South Africa today.

In his first speech at Cape Town he told cheering supporters that there could be no negotiations with the government of President F.W. de Klerk until the state of emergency was lifted, all political prisoners freed and political exiles allowed to return home unconditionally. Mr. de Klerk has yet to meet these basic conditions nor has met the minimum demands of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) Harare Declaration.

Mandela's first message was one of peace. He called on all opponents of apartheid at home and internationally to redouble their efforts and intensify the struggle against apartheid. He urged the world community to continue sanctions against the Nationalist Party's regime.

The man who describes himself as simply a member of the African National Congress (ANC) says that most South Africans, black and white, recognize that apartheid has no future: "It has to be ended by our decisive mass action. We have waited too long for freedom."

#### Irreversible march

"Our struggle has reached a decisive moment. Our march to freedom is irreversible. Now is the time to intensify the struggle on all fronts. To relax now would be a mistake which future generations would not forgive."

He described the armed struggle, of which he was one of the founders — he formed the military wing of ANC, "Umkhonto we Sizwe", Zulu for "Spear of Nation" after the Sharpeville massacre of 1960 — as a "defensive action against the violence of apartheid. We have no option but to continue," he said.

Since his release he has emphasized the need for face-to-face negotiations with the minority white government to discuss a truce. It is a key element to setting a climate for negotiations to abolish apartheid and developing a new constitution for South Africa that would be democratic and non-racial.

One of Mandela's closest associates, lawyer Dullah Omar says that the insistence on sanctions and continuing the armed struggle is essential to the ANC's strategy. He said these two pressures must continue until there is a "normalization" of political life.

These negotiations would take place simultaneously with longer term moves towards a broader solution. According to Omar, Mandela envisages a meeting with de Klerk which would end the "civil war" in return for which Mandela would "expect the freeing of all political prisoners, the lifting of the state of emergency, an end to all political trials and the abolition of the international Security Act."

This would be in line with the Harare Declaration of August, 1989.

Mandela has carried out a punishing round

of public rallies, media interviews and private meetings since his release. He was scheduled to meet, at press time, with the National Executive of the ANC at their exile headquarters in Lusaka, Zambia, then travel to Zimbabwe, Tanzania and Sweden where he will meet ailing ANC president Oliver Tambo.

In all his statements Mandela has steadfastly refused to commit the ANC to a specific negotiating stance, except to say that until the conditions of the Harare Declaration are met he would never recommend starting negotiations. He will continue to speak out against the repressive laws of South Africa known as the "pillars" of apartheid.

#### International reaction

International reaction to Mandela's release has been universally acclaimed within the United Nations, the Commonwealth, the European Community (EC) and the OAU. But few governments believe that international pressure through sanctions should be relaxed. The notable exception to this has been Britain's Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, who isolated herself within the EC by ending the minimal sanctions her government had in place. Mandela was not pleased. Other governments are waiting to see what concrete steps de Klerk will take to create a positive climate for talks with the ANC and other organisations. So far his unbanning of many political groups and Mandela's release plus suspension of capital punishment for political crimes are as far as he's been willing to go.

There is almost a sense of mythology around this magnificent man who very few people would have even recognized a few weeks ago. He is now one of the most famous men in the world and symbol of black South African sacrifice and struggle in resisting oppression. His liberation from the "inner" prison symbolizes the liberation his people are longing for from the "outer" prison.

Reports from those who have met him portray a man of unusual vigour, intelligence, discipline and dignity. Rev. Allan Boesak, a church leader who visited him in prison calls him a statesman. "He is a man of real intelligence, a great political strategic, but also a genial man, thoughtful and composed."

One of the unique tributes to Mandela has come from the many white jailers who have guarded him over the years. Several of his wardens said the guards accorded him the respect of addressing him as "Mr." Mandela, an unusual courtesy for a prisoner.

Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela was born on July 18, 1918, a member of the royal house of Tambuland in the Transkei homeland. He was raised by his uncle, Paramount Chief David Dalindyebo and educated to a level where he could attend the black university of Fort Hare where he studied law.

It was at Fort Hare that he met Tambo who became his close friend and comrade. They joined the ANC and were expelled together from Fort Hare when they participated in a student boycott. Tambo later went into exile and has been leader of the ANC for the 30 years it has been banned. He is now in a Swedish hospital recovering from a stroke.

After his expulsion, Mandela worked as a mine guard near Johannesburg. He and Tambo came in contact with Walter Sisulu through the ANC. Sisulu, who was released last year from prison just a few months before Mandela, got the two friends into a law firm and paid their tuition to study law part-time. Later they started their own law practice and remained active in the ANC which at the time was politely asking for a better life for blacks but without any real hope for anything like majority rule, now a non-negotiable demand.

After 1948 when the apartheid ideology of racial separation became entrenched in South African law, ANC became more militant, but it was not until the killing of 69 blacks during a rally at Sharpeville that the ANC decided its non-violent methods of trying to obtain equality would no longer work. It was then that Mandela began the armed struggle and went underground.

His first marriage had ended in separation and divorce and in 1957 he met a young social worker 16 years his junior. Winnie Madikizela and Nelson Mandela were married in 1958.

In 1962, disguised as a chauffeur and after having been underground for 17 months, he was arrested when authorities were tipped off by an informer, generally believed to have been connected with the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). He was convicted of incitement to strike and leaving the country without a passport. He got five years on Robben Island, described as one of the toughest prisons in the world.

Mandela's long-time friend and mentor, Sisulu, got six years but was released on bail. In October 1963 Mandela and Sisulu were brought to trial again, along with seven others on charges of sabotage and attempting to overthrow the state. The trial, at which Mandela defended himself, was a showcase for the power of the Afrikaner doctrine of apartheid. The charges carried the death penalty.

Mandela's defence was described as almost regal and crowds turned out each day for one of the most important events in South African history. He and his colleagues were convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment. He spent the next 10 years breaking rocks on Robben Island.

At the conclusion of his defence, Mandela spoke the words which have become a rallying cry for justice around the world, and especially in South Africa:

"During my lifetime I have dedicated my life to the struggle of the African people. I have fought against white domination and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for, and to see realized. But, if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die."

Twenty-seven years later, he stood on the balcony of Cape Town's City hall and repeated the same words to his people with the same clarity and commitment. □



# The Newest Independent Nation

*By the Southern African Research and Documentation Centre*

**I**t has a new flag, a Constitution and Government in the wings. At midnight on March 20, Namibia became Africa's and the world's newest independent nation.

Since winning a substantial majority in the United Nations — supervised elections last November, the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) has moved almost flawlessly towards independence under a theme of national unity and harmony.

After more than 23 years of direct, and illegal rule by South Africa, Namibia has, in less than three months, adopted a constitution that could be the envy of any country and it did it by consensus within the 72-member Constitutional Assembly elected late last year.

SWAPO head Sam Nujoma, the elected president, has named a 16-ministry shadow cabinet which took control of the administration as soon as the South African flag was lowered late in March and the Administrator General went home.

Although the elections last year, in which 97 percent of Namibia's eligible voters cast their ballot, were for a Constitutional Assembly, it has decided not to hold another election and will, instead become the legal government. Since SWAPO won a clear majority, this decision saves the country the uncertainty of another — this time likely unsupervised election within a short period.

In achieving such harmony in a few months after years of bitter fighting between SWAPO and South Africa, the fledgling government has shown political and administrative skills far beyond what many would have believed. Since SWAPO leaders only returned home or came out of the bush after April 1989, many predicted it would lack the abilities to govern.

But Nujoma has played his cards deftly, dealing fairly with his opponents, mainly the pro-South Africa Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) and listening to the voices of the various factions within Namibian society.

He has been pragmatic towards the largely white business community, worried about nationalization. He has assured large land-holding farmers that their land is safe. He has crossed party lines in naming his cabinet (some key portfolios like agriculture are still to be filled).

Nujoma has reached out to bridge the gap between his traditional support base in northern Ovamboland and minority groups in the south by naming Heroes and others



**Comrade Sam Nujoma; President of Namibia**

to the cabinet. SWAPO has even maintained cordial relations with the out-going South African-appointed administrators.

It is reminiscent of Zimbabwe's post-independence era when reconciliation with former Rhodesians was a key-component of the Mugabe government.

## **Constitution**

Centrepiece of this pragmatic approach is the Constitution. The Assembly under the chairmanship of prime minister Hage Geingob, moved swiftly to adopt the 1982 UN principles, allaying fears that legislators would be tied up for years debating basics. An assembly committee began its work, finished most of it before the end of the year and over the Christmas recess handed the detailed draft to three white South African lawyers.

Legal experts claim the constitution has one of the strongest human rights provisions in Africa. Unlike its former colonial master which has one of the highest rates of executions in the world, Namibia has abolished the death penalty, one of the few African countries to do so completely.

Of course, apartheid is outlawed and equality for all assured. One of the early sticking points was a preventive detention clause which SWAPO had wanted but eventually withdrew. However, on another contentious

issue, that of an executive president, SWAPO's views prevailed.

The unanimity among the seven parties in the final document was seen as a major political accomplishment. Key provisions are:—

- Namibia will be a sovereign, independent and secular republic which will include Walvis Bay and nearby offshore islands which South Africa now illegally claims for itself.
- A bill of fundamental rights and freedoms guarantees the right to freedom from torture and forced labour and out-laws discrimination on racial, sexual, religious or economic grounds;
- No one can be held without charge for more than 48 hours and everyone is guaranteed a fair, public hearing in the courts. Property cannot be expropriated without just compensation;
- In times of "war, national disaster or public emergency", the president may declare a State of Emergency but any laws made in that regard must be approved by the National Assembly within 14 days;
- The president is elected in secret ballot by the National Assembly by a simple majority and executive powers include heading the cabinet. Term of office is restricted to two five-year terms;
- Legislative power lies with the



## Time waits for no-one

Time goes by quickly. Most of us live for the present and worry about the future when the time comes. By then, it is often too late.

Old Mutual understands your need for financial security and can advise you now. When you become an Old Mutual policyholder you make sure that your money is safe, that your own future and that of your family is secure, and that your money is working for you and for Zimbabwe. Time is money. Make the most of it and invest in an Old Mutual policy. We take the time to put your future first.



MICHAEL HOGG Y&R 18324



72-member assembly elected in secret proportional representation elections;

- Within five years of independence a second chamber — the House of Review — is to be established consisting of representatives of regional councils and municipalities. It is empowered to review legislation and reflect it or send it back to the National Assembly;
- Ownership and control of "material resources are distributed to serve the common good" but property ownership will include state and private enterprise;
- There will be separate police and defence forces, the heads of which are appointed by the president. Military service will be compulsory, however with a clause of conscientious objection;
- The right to hold peaceful protest demonstrations is assured with a clause that states participation in "peaceful political activity intended to influence the government" is a right.

#### **SWAPO and Other Organisations**

SWAPO has joined the Organization of African Unity, it will likely become the 50th member of the Commonwealth, it was joined SADCC (Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference), the Non-Aligned Movement and the UN.

Outside support and interest in Namibia is high thus far and diplomats are looking to its future as a model for South Africa, given the fact that since 1966 Namibia was treated like a fifth province of South Africa.

Britain has agreed to provide a military training team to help start the new army and integrate members of PLAN (the Peoples' Liberation Army of Namibia) and the South African-dominated SWATF (South West African Territorial Force).

The European Community (EC) has made a preliminary offer to provide US\$330 million for Namibia under the Lomé Treaty. It will also take 10 000 head of cattle annually and help cushion the crucial mining sector against falls in international prices and market demands. The European Investment Bank has sent a team of experts to Namibia to identify projects. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are actively seeking projects in every sector from agriculture to education to health.

But, Namibia's independence path, successful as it has been so far, faces rocky times ahead.

Despite independence politically, South Africa still maintains an economic stranglehold on its former colony. External pressures and the high cost of waging the Namibian war forced South Africa to reluctantly and belatedly allow independence. SWAPO leaders know that South Africa is quite prepared to use its economic muscle to destabilise Namibia just as it has done to other countries in the region to the tune of US\$60 billion in damages.

While Namibia's economy is potentially one of the most productive in sub-Saharan Africa, it is extremely vulnerable to external pressures from its big neighbour to the south. There has been almost no foreign investment since 1975 and there has been significant divestment which reinforces the dominance of South Africa in the private sector, especially in transport, mining, fisheries and agriculture where almost 90 percent of exports occur. There is almost no manufacturing sector.

The vast country has a tiny population, just over 1.5 million. But whites own 60 percent of the land and 65 percent of all private property but comprise only six percent of the population. They earn 25 times more than blacks.

All communications flow south and the country imports 80 percent of its manufactured products. But, in the short term Namibia has little room to manoeuvre since it loses South African budgetary support which used to amount to about 25 percent of its annual budget. This ends with independence although the annual deficit has been reduced to manageable proportions. Some further savings will come from the dismantling of 11 ethnic administrations.

#### **Namibia Government and Debts**

Namibia's new government will also be saddled with debts incurred by the Pretoria government of nearly US\$200 million, money which SWAPO suspects went largely to fund the war against it. However it dare not repudiate the debt for fear of alienating foreign bankers. South Africa in recent years has refused to back commercial borrowing for Namibia.

When Nujoma named his shadow cabinet, he told the 40 men and women to examine all existing government services with a view to consolidating them into the 16 ministries but to go easy on upsetting business and the civil service.

"The business community and civil service, too, are anxiously awaiting some indications of the policy directions of the incoming government," he said.

A donor conference is expected to be convened by the UN despite fears that the present preoccupation of the West with Eastern Europe will increase the struggle for an ever-shorter supply of development funds.

Like Zimbabwe, the new government will not nationalize white commercial farms desiring, as it does, food self-sufficiency but its large peasant constituency, especially in the north will demand its share of growth.

The mining sector, too, will not be nationalized although SWAPO will seek participation in those ventures.

New minimum wage laws and workers's rights will increase production costs in all sectors.

The fishing industry needs to be renewed and Walvis Bay, the country's only deep-water port, remains in South African hands. SWAPO remains committed to getting it back for the time-being may opt for a guaranteed use of the port's facilities. This obviously leaves Namibia open to pressures from South Africa to remain in the South African Customs Union like Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana.

And, adding to the nation's woes is the spectre of severe drought, especially in the densely populated northern region. The possibility of famine is a major crisis facing the already fragile economy.

Nujoma, once painted by the Western media as a terrorist and communist, has defied all predictions and made pragmatism and national reconciliation his hallmarks. There's little doubt of his successes in bringing together his badly fractured nation. If he shows the same skills in negotiating the economic minefields ahead and if the West continues its support, there is good reason to be hopeful about Namibia's future. □

## **South Africa Opening the Door to Dialogue**

*By Boris Asoyan*

**T**he release of Nelson Mandela in South Africa has started a new stage in the country's development, characterized by both a growing striving for dialogue and a more complex alignment of forces.

On the one hand, the conditions exist for a peaceful transition from apartheid to a democratic, non-racial society, but, on the other hand, new factors have appeared in the political struggle which can break the frail hopes of the present day and plunge the

country into violence. A reserved sense of optimism cannot help but be felt when analysing the current situation.

Among the encouraging factors is the basic political forces intention to start talks. In his first public statement upon his release, Mandela acknowledged the whites contribution to the cause and added that a settlement has to meet the interests of all South Africans whatever the colour of their skin. President de Klerk said that he regarded such talks as the number one aim of the national party and promised to lift the state of emergency a few weeks later.

It is also encouraging that the political leaders of the white and black communities treat

each other with respect. Mandela has noted that de Klerk can be dealt with, while de Klerk has said that Mandela can be trusted.

Both sides have made public their programmes of action, which in spite of substantial differences, have one common aim. A democratic South Africa free from racism and apartheid.

Both Mandela and de Klerk also declared that talks could be held in the near future and all disputes discussed in the interests of all parties concerned.

The present situation has its pluses and minuses. Any success will primarily depend on the political forces' agreement on key issues. A refusal to participate in the talks or an irreconcilable position taken by either side may jeopardise the whole process. What is

really needed is a maximum of patience and responsibility.

Naturally, stability has become the common aim in the new conditions. Will the government manage to neutralize the militant ultra-right groups which demand that the country be divided on racial grounds and threaten to use force? Will the democratic opposition be able to contain the young people's revolutionary enthusiasm and channel it into political struggle? Will the clashes which in the past two years have taken over 1 000 lives in Pietermaritzburg alone be stopped and differences settled for the sake of a lofty goal?

It is difficult to say whether de Klerk is pragmatic, resolved and influential enough to convince the white community of the need to give up its privileges and to continue the

reforms. In any case, he cannot afford to beat about the bush as his predecessors used to do.

There is a direct link between the success of the emerging dialogue in South Africa and the image of that dialogue in the eyes of world public opinion. South Africa's advance towards internal consensus will inevitably influence the world community's attitude to it. This primarily concerns the issue of sanctions, which will be solved in the course of negotiations in South Africa.

No one harbours any illusions concerning the difficult path South Africans must travel. They must display political maturity and responsibility in this crucial period to take their country out of the impasse without bloodshed. □

# Withdrawal of Soviet Troops Restored No Peace in Afghanistan

On February 15, 1989 the last Soviet Troops withdrew from the soil of Afghanistan and everyone thought that there would be a political settlement and that peace would be restored in that country, however, contrary to this belief peace has not returned and the war escalates.

The United States and Pakistan signator and guarantor of the Geneva agreements read the terms as implying only the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan, they have ignored the essential parts of the agreements, and continue to equip, finance and train the extremist oppositions of the Republic of Afghanistan.

Parallel to the withdrawal of the Soviet troops, under the supervision of the military intelligence of Pakistan, I.S.I. the so called "Interim government of Mujaheddin" was formed in Rawalpindi.

Following the creation of this government and under the command of the Pakistan generals and United States advisors, I.S.I. Co-ordinated a joint attack of the oppositions with Pakistan's army and Saudi's mercenaries and Jalalabad. They planned to capture the city within 48 hours and transfer the interim government to Jalalabad, but they were faced with the heroic defence of the army, militias and the people of Afghanistan.

The defeat of the opposition in Jalalabad, Khost, Kandahar and other places in Af-

ghanistan, proved the propaganda of the collapse of the government of the republic of Afghanistan is totally baseless.

The opposition in retaliation of their defeat and for the covering of their miscalculations in connection with the Islamabad, Riyadh and Washington plans, escalated their terrorist activities against innocent people. In the last seven months they fired 1468 rockets on the residential areas of Kabul killing more than 2700 and injuring 5700 civilians, including women and children.

The so-called "interim government of Mujaheddin" was not recognised internationally as originally calculated by America and Pakistan, even most of their field commanders, parties based in Iran, and Afghans in Europe and America, rejected this Government as an instrument of an expansionist policy of Pakistan, the war between the opposition escalates day by day and hundreds of their own people are killed.

## Pakistan and Geneva Agreements

The Government of Pakistan openly violates the Geneva agreements and other acceptable norms of international law, the flow of arms continue from Pakistan into the territory of Afghanistan, more than 180 military training camps for the extremist opposition exist in Pakistan territory, Pakistan's army and intelligence officers directly participate in military operations in Afghanistan.

More than 8 389 instances of violations by Pakistan of the Geneva agreements were submitted through 1084 note verbals from the ministry of foreign affairs to the UNGOMAP (United Nations Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan).

Contrary to the propaganda and predictions of the western countries, the government of the Republic of Afghanistan did not collapse after the withdrawal of Soviet troops but gained more strength and esteem, thus proving its viability not only among its own people but also internationally.

Without doubt the army of the Republic of Afghanistan has proved its independent combat defence ability of their homeland.

More than 22 000 armed oppositions came over to join the government, despite the obstacles created by the Pakistan government and oppositions, more than 131 301 refugees from Pakistan, 97 384 from Iran and 2 695 from other countries returned to Afghanistan, contact and negotiations are continuing between the government and most of the internal field commanders of oppositions and social and political personalities.

Proof of the consistently growing strength of the government of the republic of Afghanistan is the fact that, after closing their embassies upon the eve of the withdrawal of the Soviet troops a number of the western countries have re-opened them and others will follow.



# What Should the CPSU Be Like? Ways of Renewal in Conditions of pluralism

*By Prof. Vyacheslav Shostakovsky (rector of the Moscow Higher Party School)*

**I**s the transition to a multi-party system necessary in the USSR today? What should be the functions and place of the CPSU in pluralist Soviet society? Hasn't the Party's traditional demand for unity of purpose and action become obsolete now that there are different ideological trends co-existing within it? Is the formation of factions due to divergence of opinion between some

*(from page 49)*

The policy of national reconciliation which was proclaimed four years ago by the government of Afghanistan became the main objective for all patriotic Afghans.

The developments in Afghanistan prove that there can be no other alternative to a political solution of the Afghan problem. The government of the republic of Afghanistan has proved its strength, steadfastness and its ability to survive. The new military-political situation shows the dire efforts of Pakistan and the United States aimed at toppling the R.A. government and replacing it by an extremist, anti-democratic regime have failed.

The Republic of Afghanistan is of the opinion that a political solution of the internal aspects of the situation in Afghanistan can be achieved through different ways. However, the main elements of any political solution should include a ceasefire, dialogue between Afghans, creation of a broad-based government and democratic elections.

Moreover, the political solution should be just, lasting and comprehensive and based on the present realities of Afghan society. Afghan will not submit to any threat or coercion and will not accept the monopoly of power by any of the forces involved. The idea of ignoring this or that political force from the coalition, including the people's democratic party of Afghanistan, its allies and the government of the republic of Afghanistan which consists of the most powerful and organised political force in the country today, does not conform to the realities of Afghanistan. □

or other groups of Communists really out of the question? Such are only some of the questions which are widely and actively raised in discussions on the CPSU and ways of renewing it.

## **Results from people's views**

The answers given to them are most diverse and at times contradictory. They are thoroughly analysed before the 28th Congress of the CPSU slated for October 1990. A contribution to this challenging and important work has been made by the extensive public opinion poll taken among Muscovites on the initiative of the Moscow City CPSU Committee by the Moscow Higher Party and the editorial board of Moskovskaya Pravda to get their views on progress in, and ways of, perestroika within the Party and in the country as a whole. More than 18 000 questionnaires have been received from Communists (75 per cent), non-Party people (23 per cent) and members of the Young Communist League (2 per cent).

Here are some of the results. For one in every six pollees, the CPSU, just as recorded in Article 6 of the 1977 Constitution of the USSR, remains the leading and guiding force of society, the nucleus of the Soviet political system. Fifty-two percent of the pollees consider the CPSU's leadership natural, while specifying that remaining the only party in the USSR, it should be society's political leader basing its relations with the other organisations, associations and movements on the principles of equal partnership and pursue its policy relying on intellectual and moral prestige. The following views were also expressed: approximately six percent of pollees are confident that the country does not need any political parties at all, and more than 30 per cent are convinced that, on the contrary, most diverse parties are needed alongside the CPSU. I personally favour the preservation of Article 6 of the Constitution of the USSR, but with substantial amendments. For instance, it is reasonable to describe the Soviets of People's Deputies — bodies of local power in the USSR, not the CPSU, as the nucleus of the political system. The CPSU should be spoken of as society's leading force. It is not out of place to remind one

of the fact, as pointed out in the Fundamental Law of the USSR, that it "serves the people" and that all of its organisations shall "function within the framework of the Constitution". I think it to be of principled importance that this provision concerning the Party's Constitutional responsibility should be preserved and amplified in the Fundamental Law.

## **Inner-Party Restructuring**

How can one then visualise the CPSU's renewal? In my view, the Party's more perfect inner structures and its contacts with society, which should be closer, more stable and effective, hold out promising shifts in this direction.

What is needed here in the first place? It is essential above all to more precisely identify and consider the objective requirements and interests of the various social strata and groups, the economic and social, cultural and intellectual, ideological and political tendencies within society and contradictions in its development for the CPSU to be able to take into account all this in its activity for the people's benefit. It is also very important for the Party to establish contacts and to promote mutual understanding with other organisations, particularly unofficial groups.

Much is to be restructured within the CPSU itself. The more meaningful inner-Party life, the better the Party embodies democratic centralism, the more effectively it can influence social processes. But there are still quite a few obstacles here. Over the past decades, democratic centralism would degenerate into a bureaucratic and command-style administration. The Party's theoretical thought would lose the former sources of creative impulses, which fuelled it at the early stage of the Party's development, when pluralism of opinion was not suppressed. At present, the Party has activated itself. It is both possible and necessary to make it more efficient at every level from top to bottom. The best way of its further emancipation is free competition between different platforms (not claiming statutory independence and exclusiveness).

The CPSU's renewal would accelerate, if horizontal structures emerge in the form of

groups with their own platforms to offset the strict centralism of vertical links. Of course, exchange of ideas even with "higher echelons of authority" today do not preclude either heated discussion, or scathing criticism from below, which is, however, paralysed by the requirements of subordination and finally degenerates into docile submission. Dialogue on equal terms between comrades adhering to differing ideas is just another thing.

M.V. Malyutin, lecturer at the Moscow Higher Party School, has singled out eight trends within the CPSU.

1. Liberals styling themselves as Social-Democrats. Their programme: a mixed economy, a Parliamentary law-based state, Swedish or Austrian model. The social base: the intelligentsia, part of which stands for an elite party allied with the progressive wing of the working-class movement.

2. Socialists. They favour a bloc of the mass-scale working-class, intellectual and left-populist movements led by a non-Bolshevik party or parties allied with the radical section of the CPSU. Objectives: dismantling of nomenklatura, a mixed economy, cooperatives, self-government, emphasis on

problems of municipal and ecological socialism.

3. The renewal-minded wing of Marxist-Leninists. Basic views: NEP, socialist as a system of civilised cooperators. Major objectives: going through with the democratisation of the CPSU, placing the apparatus under the control of primary and elective bodies, and ensuring the leading role of the renewed CPSU in the political arena.

4. Champions of reviving the CPSU as the workers' party and leader. They do not trust intellectuals, admitting them only as advisers, are opposed to cooperatives and leaseholding and favour making enterprises the property of their work collectives.

5. The united working people's front. It is opposed to the restoration of capitalism, which, according to them, the large-scale introduction of leaseholding, market relations and so on facilitate, favours and production (instead of territorial) principle of elections to Soviets, which will help increase the proportion of workers and farmers among People's Deputies.

6. and 7. The Patriotic Front of Russia, Yedinstvo (Unity) and other organisations of

conservatives opposed to Left Radicals and Liberals.

8. The silent majority.

The classification is not faultless, but nothing better is so far available. What is needed are more objective criteria to identify every category of views. The question arises: what for? To provide scientific backing, justify and legalise factionalism fraught with a split? No, on the contrary, to prevent a split. There are the most reliable preventive measures here: not so much bans as glasnost, as it shows and thus helps overcome the dangers of clique-formation and confrontation.

Factionalists not merely adhere to a special position. They usually gravitate to special discipline, secrecy, unscrupulous struggle. This was the reason for the collapse of many a political party. Indeed, any party should above all be an alliance of like-minded persons brought together by the community of purpose and action, programme and rules. The CPSU is such a party. Open and free competition of platforms, I am convinced, will only benefit, not harm, it. It will help it to speed up renewal along the lines of democratisation, raising the prestige of Soviet society's political leader. □



## Najibullah's Proposals

**H**E. Dr. Najibullah, President of the Republic of Afghanistan in the Ninth Summit of the heads of States or Governments of the non-aligned countries in Belgrade, set forth the following proposals for putting an end to internal and external aspects of war and tension in Afghanistan.

He has proposed broad negotiations to be held between the government of the republic of Afghanistan and all the Afghan political forces inside and outside the country who opt for an end to the war and wish to work for the realization of peace.

These negotiations should be aimed at holding a nationwide peace conference which will encompass all forces involved.

This conference should agree on the establishment of a leadership council representing the ideas and opinions of all political

forces. Furthermore, this conference should declare a six month long ceasefire during which a broad-based coalition government will be set up by the leadership council, under its guidance a commission for drafting of a new constitution and the law for elections to National Assembly should be established.

Following the approval of the draft constitution and the law for elections, the council should call the traditional Loya Jirgah (Grand Assembly). Consequently, after the adoption of the constitution and the law for elections by the Loya Jirgah, free, direct, equal and general elections based on secret ballot should be held. First, a new Government should be formed by a political party or a coalition of parties holding the majority of seats in the parliament, which in turn will overtake the administration of the country in accordance with the new constitution. In

order to remove any distrust and to ensure legality and the process of the election, the Government of the republic of Afghanistan stands ready to accept the supervision and control of the elections by any international commission.

For the settlement of the external aspects of the issue, the republic of Afghanistan proposes the convening of an international conference with the participation of Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iran, India, China, the United States of America, the Soviet Union, the Chairman of the non-aligned movement and other interested parties. This conference will, at the very outset, agree upon putting an end to the delivery of all types of weapons to the warring factions in order to support the ceasefire, and will protect and guarantee the permanent neutral and demilitarization of the legal status of Afghanistan, which will be enshrined in the new constitution. □





## Zimbabwe Made History At The Commonwealth Games

**Tracy Cox won a silver medal**

**F**or the first time in the history of independent Zimbabwe our representatives to international games have brought glory to this country after amassing three medals at the Commonwealth Games (XIV).

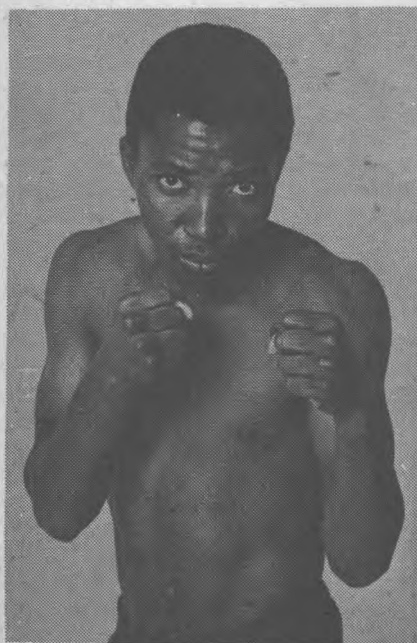
This was the first time Zimbabwe has performed excellently in international sporting activities/ competitions. It should not go without mention that high credit should be given to the three medalists, Tracy Cox, who won a silver medal in the women's one metre spring board event, Nokuthula Tshabangu, who clinched a silver medal in the fly-weight boxing division and Duke Chinyadza, who brought home a bronze after fighting in the light-welterweight boxing division.

The commonwealth games which were held in Auckland, New Zealand in January, 1990, saw two Zimbabweans reaching finals in two disciplines.

The first person to go on the medal winners' list for Zimbabwe was diver, Tracy Cox, who performed miraculously in the women's one-metre spring board event. However, Cox

himself a seat in the semi-finals at the Logan Campbell Centre.

The 24 year old boxer who had little international exposure met Siwakwi (Zambian born) in the semi-finals whom he defeated to proceed to the finals. He, however, like Tracy Cox, lost in the finals after a closely contested fight and won a silver medal.



**Nokuthula Tshabangu, lost in the finals**



**Duke Chinyadza also lost in the semis**

lost in the final after putting on an excellent performance and managed to win the silver medal.

Nokuthula Tshabangu outboxed Zoran Thanga of India in the quarter-finals of the fly-weight boxing competition and booked

Another boxer, Duke Chinyadza (28) outboxed Godfrey Wakabu of Uganda in the quarter-finals. He qualified for the semi-finals of light-welterweight division where he was defeated by Nicodemus Odore of Kenya who won by unanimous points decision.

Therefore, Chinyadza managed to bring home a bronze medal.

The third boxer at the games, Trust Ndhlovu was defeated by David Gakua of Kenya in the quarter-finals in the feather weight division.

The 46 member Zimbabwean team was accompanied by the Minister of Sport, Comrade David Kwidini and his wife and Comrade Zuva Makoni, the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Sport, was the team commandant.

Even though some of the athletes did not do well, it was good for them because they got experience and ideas by competing with top athletes in the world.

However, the performance of Cox, Tshabangu and Chinyadza was so marvellous that the Zimbabwe Olympic Committee awarded cash prizes to the three Zimbabwean medal winners at the Commonwealth Games in Auckland.

Tracy Cox and Nokuthula Tshabangu, who both hold silver medals, each received NZ\$750 (Z\$1050) and Duke Chinyadza, bronze medalist, was given NA\$500 (Z\$700).

In an interview with this magazine, the Minister of Sport, Comrade David Kwidini said the performance of Zimbabwe at these games was excellent as compared to their performance in previous competitions. The Minister, who attended all competitions, save for the shottists was thrilled by the profound improvement by Zimbabwean competitors.

He mentioned that credit should be given to coaches and those who selected the participants because their choice was very careful as proved by the performance. The selection of participants, he said, should not be based on their reputation but on their level of performance and ability.

Comrade Kwidini also pointed out that its very important in the future to put more concentration on the disciplines we have higher abilities.

For instance, he explained, Zimbabwe had three boxers and out of them two were successful.

"It is good for us that two brought home medals. Hence, in future, we should stick to those disciplines which we are confident of doing well than entering into areas where we

get away without anything".

He gave an example of Kenya which he said concentrated more on athletes and their achievement was extraordinarily good.

On the question of possible factors which might have attributed to the failure of some of Zimbabwe's athletes, the minister could not give any reasons but only emphasised the need to reduce the number of disciplines in order to have enough resources and full preparations on few that might be selected. He also said that there was overall support whereby spectators cheered at anyone who was doing well.

Comrade Kwidini revealed that plans are in the pipeline to give incentives to participants by the National Sports Council.

He thanked the Cox family for providing Tracy with training and time which resulted in her bringing prestige to the nation.

He felt that preparation should not be completely left to individuals but the government must give assistance to such people. However, presently the government does not have adequate funds. □

## Misty in Roots

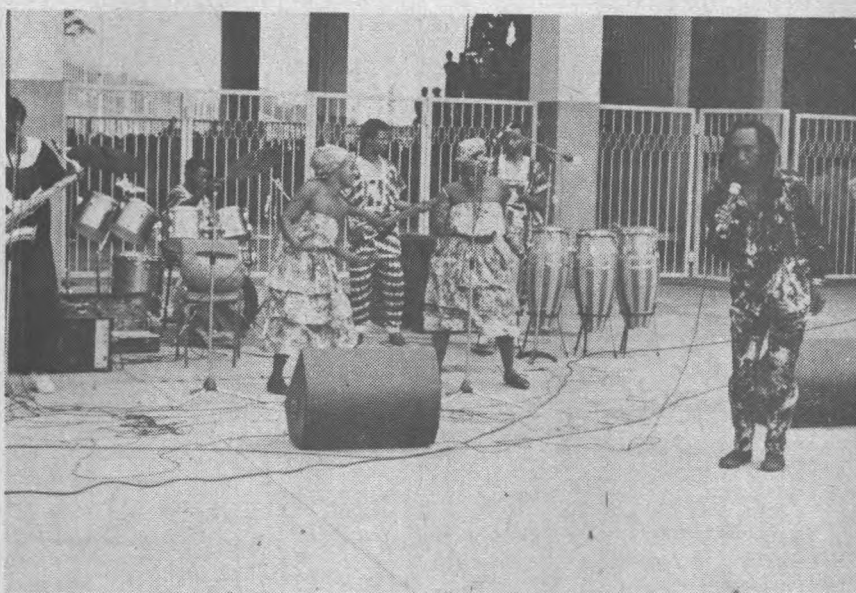
### Band With a Helping Rhythm

A band which rocked Zimbabwe with classical vibrants of reggae music in 1982 is coming again in May, this time, not only to entertain the music lovers in Zimbabwe but to raise funds for the less privileged.

Misty in Roots, a London based reggae group is going to tour West, East and Southern Africa in early May. This was revealed by two members of the group, Ngoni and Themba during an interview with the *Zimbabwe News*.

They will be touring Zimbabwe, Zambia, Tanzania, Kenya and Ghana. During these tours they will be staging concerts to raise money for welfare organisations in need of financial aid.

On their first tour, in Zimbabwe, they will stage a concert to raise funds for the Jairos Jiri and later embark on a similar programme for the Child Survival and Development Foundation.



Thomas 'Mukanya' Mapfumo at one of his performances

According to Comrade Ngoni, this would be one of their extensive tours aimed at helping the poor people of the world. The long bearded musician added that as a group, Misty in Roots is often available to render help where it is needed. "Wherever we should help, we come to the helm", said Ngoni.

Asked by the *Zimbabwe News* what music should be like in order to be of a high class, the duo said that music should carry a message which should be of significance to the society. It should shed light to the people and encourage them to work towards development through its gospels.

They also commended the music of Zimbabwe

adding that since independence, Zimbabwean musicians have matured well enough to reach the international standard which has been eluding them during the reign of the colonisers.

During their first tour to Zimbabwe in 1982, they asked Thomas 'Mukanya' Mapfumo if he was prepared in future to tour Europe... an idea which was welcomed by Mapfumo who recently had a successful tour of the United States of America.

Ngoni and Themba (as they are known by Zimbabwean fans) commended Comrade Mapfumo's brand of music which they said is typically traditional and depicts the culture of Zimbabwe.





**Misty in Roots; (left to right) Fungai, Poko, Ngoni, Tsungirai, Tendai, Kaziwai (as they are known in Zimbabwe)**

What the people in Africa do not understand about Western music is that it originated from Africa although it is based on Western lyrics, said the Misty in Roots duo.

Adding their comments on local musicians, they again praised Comrade Mapfumo for putting traditional music on the international chart.

They attributed the slow rising of our musicians to lack of instruments of high standards. Their word of blessing was that if the local musicians get instruments like those used by their South African counterparts, a worldwide recognition would easily and quickly embrace our musical industry.

When asked by the *Zimbabwe News* about

their views on South African musicians; they said most of the South African musicians are doing well despite that they are being suppressed by the racist regime.

On the issue of singing revolutionary songs depicting the armed struggle in South Africa; Ngoni said that because of so much censorship by the apartheid regime, those who are doing well, singing the gospel according to the struggle, are musicians who are in exile, like Hugh Masekela and Miriam Makeba.

Meanwhile, the Gramma Records Company who are sponsoring the tour has confirmed that the tour is in the pipeline. Comrade Mike Munyati (Gramma Records Promotions officer) told our reporter that it is going to be a big event and that prepara-

tions were intensive. The ten-member band will have an entourage of 16 people. The tour is being promoted by JJ Promotions Company.

They will first perform in Bulawayo on May 27, Sakubva stadium in Mutare on June 1 and Rufaro stadium in Harare on June 2, 1990.

With such an intensive tour to help the less fortunate people of the world, we hope a lot of music fans, even those who do not love reggae music will rally behind such a noble cause to support some members of our society who were born with some disabilities or later had disabilities not of their liking but due to misfortunes. □

# Caps Crumble to Spirited Aces in Rosebowl Final

Staff Reporter

**C**aps United crumbled to a spirited Blue Line Aces when the latter ended their 13 year old cup drought in the B.A.T. Rosebowl Football Gala at the National Sports Stadium last month.

Stanley 'Jaws' Mashezha converted from the spot after Aces' dribbling wizard Wilfred Mugeyi was brought down by Tobias Sibanda in a tussle for the ball in the box. Referee Nkosana Majoni pointed to the spot.

Aces came close to increasing their tally in the 62nd minute when Wilfred Mugeyi received a neat pass, chested the ball and packed a shot that Caps goalkeeper Brenna Msiska tipped over the bar for a corner.

Three minutes later, Msiska was summoned to parry the ball for a corner after Aces' John Mbidzo packed a brilliant shot from about 20 metres.

However, 24 minutes into the second half, the pharmaceutical side came into the game more purposefully but goals could not just come their way. They swarmed the Aces goal area but each time they were forced to back-paddle by the laundry side's back line.

In a bid to get goals, Aces substituted 'Boxer' Francis Paketh for Edwell 'Disco' Masaraure in the 54th minute. This paid dividends as five minutes later the only goal of the afternoon came their way.

In the 55th minute, Never Chiku of Caps United had to use his hand to score after Aces' keeper, Emmanuel Nyahuma's spill following a tremendous save. The goal was justifiably disallowed by referee Majoni.

In the 50th minute, the former Cup Kings, Caps United made a questionable substitution bringing in George Nechironga for hard-running Ephraim Mwale, a move which triggered an uproar from the crowd.

However, the Highfield-based (Harare) side would not allow the Manchester road boys' front runners to pass through them. Still, Caps United managed to force five corners against Aces' three.

With eight minutes of the game gone, Friday 'Amayenge' Phiri bulldozed his way past two Aces defenders and unleashed a shot at an acute angle. Emmanuel Nyahuma of the



**Aces' Captain, John Mbidzo is seen above lifting high the BAT Rosebowl Football gala trophy**

laundry side was always superb in dealing with these balls.

The game took almost 20 minutes to liven up as both teams took a cautious approach to it with Blue Line Aces being more aggressive than Caps United. From then on the Mugeyi brothers, William and Wilfred, ransacked the Caps back four with their menacing frontal attacks.

Aces, popularly known as Shaisa Mufaro, maintained the pressure in search of the decisive goal. They could have scored 23 minutes into the first half but their effort was cleared in a goal-mouth melee. Three minutes later, Wilfred Mugeyi made a solo run, crossed the centre line as he zig-zagged past a number of Caps players. He could not pack a nice shot on the water-logged pitch. The youngster repeated his dangerous moves in the 27th minute with a diving header which just missed the left upright in the southern goal post.

It was in the terraces that Aces carpet soccer kept the spectators on their toes. The laundry side played with purpose from the preliminary stages of the tournament and their effort was accordingly rewarded when they lifted the B.A.T. Rosebowl Trophy, their first Cup since 1977.

To qualify for the finals in the new format B.A.T. Rosebowl Football Gala, Aces played a goalless match with Darryn Tornados before trouncing Highlanders 3-0 in the second match. They topped Group C with three points and qualified for the semi-finals the following day in the two-day football gala.

The losing finalists, Caps United led Group D with three points from one win and a draw. They featured in a goalless draw with newly promoted army side, Tongogara who scared seasoned Makepekepe with their short and crisp passes. Caps United were just lucky to salvage a draw. Caps went on to



humiliate Mhangura 4-0 before edging highriding Dynamos 1-0 in the semi-finals.

Blue Line Aces outclassed highly rated Zimbabwe Saints 3-1 in a penalty shoot-out after a full-time deadlock.

The preliminary matches were played over 40 minute and the semi-finals and the finals over 80 minutes. Each team played two matches in the four groups on the first day with respective log leaders Dynamos Group A, Zimbabwe Saints Group B, Blue Line Aces Group C, and Caps United Group D appearing in the semi-finals the following day. The log standings in the four groups were as follows:

P	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
2	1	1	0	3	0	3
2	1	1	0	2	0	3
2	0	0	2	1	5	0

Group D						
P	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
2	1	1	0	4	0	3
2	1	0	1	3	4	2
2	0	1	1	0	3	1

Speaking after the match, Aces coach Steven Kwashi said he was very happy with the gala. It was the only shortest possible way to get a cup, he said. John Mbidzo, the club's captain said, "It was one of our toughest cup finals. We however, met stiff competition in the early stages of the tournament. I am also happy since this is our first cup since 1977. I am particularly happy with the determination and fighting spirit shown by the Mugeyi brothers."

However, Caps United team manager, Obediah Sarupinda queried the referee's decision to award a penalty adding that "the same referee was married" to Caps United when the club played in the Zifa Cup tournament last year. He argued that it was not supposed to be a penalty "because noone was brought down in the box". He however, expressed pleasure at the way the gala was staged despite the water-logged pitch.

Reacting to Comrade Sarupinda's statement, the Zifa referees committee chairman, Comrade Felix Sanyika said there are no grounds for the allegations. Because referees of the tournament were appointed on Febru-

referees committee would have changed match officials had it been the Zifa Cup.

John Garatso, Aces assistant coach, expressed joy with the new format which he said is characterised by stiff competition unlike in previous years where only big guns took part. "We were looking forward to this trophy," he said, "we have been rewarded."

Blue Line Aces received a cheque of \$10 000 with Caps United getting \$4 000. The losing semi-finalists got \$1 500 each with all teams getting \$250 for participating. The match was handled by referee Nkosana Majoni assisted by linesmen Anthony Mandiwanza and Dunmore Matinya.

Group A									
P	W	D	L	F	A	Pts			
Blue Line Aces	2	1	0	1	2	1	2	Dynamos	
Darryn Tornados	2	1	0	1	1	1	2	Black Rhinos	
Highlanders	2	1	0	1	1	2	2	Ziscosteel	

Group B									
P	W	D	L	F	A	Pts			
Caps United	2	1	1	0	3	1	3	Zimbabwe Saints	
Mhangura	2	1	1	0	2	1	3	Hwange	
Tongogara	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	Tanganda	

ary 2, 1990. Therefore, they did not know which of the twelve super league teams would feature in the finals.

He added that a referee who handled a Group A match in the gala would be a linesman in Group B matches. The same applied to other groups.

He said it is irresponsible to base an allegation on past tournaments since the

All in all, the gala proved a success despite the rains which caused the poor attendance of about 4 000 the first day and below 10 000 the following day. It enables fans to see all the country's top teams in action. Many people praised Zifa and BAT for living up to their promises but suggested that an improvement on the gala is imperative. They said the gala should stay. □



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# The B.A.T. Rosebowl Football Gala Brought Players Together

Staff Reporter

If it was not the 'Act of God' that rain fell in Harare for the whole of the weekend, February 3 and 4, the newly inaugurated B.A.T. Rosebowl Football Gala would have a fatherly tournament which brought the 1990 Super league teams together for familiarisation.

The persistent drizzle which ended on Sunday afternoon made the whole pitch of the National Sports Stadium waterlogged. This made the style of play very difficult for the 131 Super league players.

The Gala was something new since all 12 Super league teams competed for the trophy unlike some previous years when only four Super League teams were drawn out according to their cup and log standings of the previous year.

Last year the trophy came out with a difference when it was named the B.A.T. Champion of Champion trophy and was only competed by two teams, Dynamos and Zimbabwe Saints which were judged from their cup and league superiorities of the previous year.

For this newly introduced Gala, teams were put in four groups which battled it out in the 20 minutes aside preliminary rounds, 30 minutes each half and semi-finals and the remaining two featured in the final which was 80 minutes for the fulltime.

The Zimbabwe Football Association (ZIFA) lined up some entertainments of boxing and soccer shown on the video screen and the entertainments were wound up by featuring Thomas 'Mukanya' Mapfumo who sent tremors to the terraces with the booming sounds of the Blacks Unlimited.

Besides the rains which disrupted the overall success of the tournament, all went on smoothly with all the players familiarising with each other besides playing soccer.

According to soccer administrators and players — it was a sea-saw of thoughts according to a brief survey conducted by the *Zimbabwe News* soon after the tournament.

Blueline Aces Captain, John Mbidzo was very pleased with the introduction of the Gala and he thanked ZIFA for successfully



Thomas Mapfumo and the Blacks Unlimited band entertaining soccer fans at the National Sports Stadium

grouping all the Super league teams in a single tournament. He hoped that the tournament should be an ongoing event which should be regarded as an eye-opener for every season.

For Comrade Obediah 'Wasu' Sarupinda, CAPS United team Manager, the tournament was a very good one only that it was not financially sound. He was taking into consideration the amount of money spent on travelling and accommodating the teams from outside Harare which he said did not proportionate with the gate takings from the fans attending the Gala.

Comrade Sarupinda suggested that if possible, in future clubs should play at different venues where they would attract a large attendance of their respective supporters. "It is very unwise to make 12 teams play in the same ground judging from the short time of 20, 30 and 40 minutes", reiterated Comrade Sarupinda. According to Comrade Sarupinda's views, the Gala was non-starter which needs some adjustments for it to be an ongoing thing.

Although the Gala was welcomed with mixed reactions from all football circles, the *Zimbabwe News* viewed that the tournament was a good achievement by ZIFA towards its impartial programmes of soccer. We also agree with the opinion that the preliminary rounds should be played at

different venues with the semis and final played at the same ground on one day supported by a lot of entertainments.

In the previous issue of *Zimbabwe News* (January Edition) we carried out an interview with Comrade Felix Sanyika (Chairman of ZIFA referees Committee) when we discussed at length about soccer hooliganism. We thought that the fans would have benefited a lot as we have crept into the new season but surprisingly, the message was like the biblical seeds which were sown on rocks and thorns — it was not needed.

Just after the match, outside the main arena, an unruly fan wanted to 'work on' Comrade Nelson Chirwa (ZIFA Chairman) for allegations he (the fan) was ushering to Comrade Chirwa which were utter rubbish... — according to the state of fans behaviour. This was done in the view of this writer, thanks to the intervention of the Zimbabwe Republic Police members who lawfully dealt with the case by cordoning Comrade Chirwa's car and taking away the suspect in question.

ZIFA has shown that staging such a Gala together with the sponsors, B.A.T., they have done it with a mind of non-selectivity on teams but to facilitate all the teams irrespective of their size to compete in the gala. We hope that in future new ideas will crop up to improve or maintain the existing structures of this wonderful Gala. □



# Africa Cup of Nations Preview

*By Evans Mambara*



**Ethiopian National team; the nation hosted the tournament in 1968**

The African Cup of Nations had a humble beginning, only three nations took part in the first tournament in Khartoum in 1957, with Egypt beating their Sudanese hosts into second place and Ethiopia third.

Egypt hosted the next competition in 1959 and again beat Sudan in the final. In 1962, Tunisia (with a team weakened by a malaria epidemic) and Uganda had joined in with Ethiopia this time beating the Egyptians 4-2 after extra time in the final.

In 1963, there were six teams and Ghana won the first of their four African Cup of Nations victories by beating Sudan 4-0 in the final.

The finals were organised in two groups for the first time in 1965, with Ivory Coast making their first appearance as the final tournament was held in Tunisia. Ghana retained the trophy with a 3-2 win over the host country after extra time.

Ethiopia whose participation was constantly inspired by Confederation Football of Africa (CAF) President Ydnekatchew Tessema, at last hosted the tournament in 1968 but the home team were beaten in the semi-finals by Congo-Kinshasa who went on to beat Ghana in the final after the first final tournament to involve eight teams.

Ghana were the losers again in 1970 losing to the host nation in Sudan, while in 1972 it was Congo who beat Mali (making their first appearance in the final round) 3-2 in Cameroon.

The 1974 tournament saw the first ever replay, with Zaire, the team which went on to the world Cup finals in West Germany, beating Zambia at the second attempt in Egypt. Two years later, Morocco were awarded the Cup after 1-1 draw with Guinea because of their better performance from the final pool matches.

Ghana asserted themselves when they hosted the 1978 tournament, beating Uganda 2-0 in the final and in 1980 it was again the host nation Nigeria, who emerged victors on home ground by beating Algeria 3-0 in Lagos.

At the 1982 tournament in Libya, it required a dramatic penalty shoot-out to decide the eventual champion. Ghana took the title, beating the host nation in the finals after the match ended at 1-1.

In 1982, when the Ivory Coast was host to matches in Abidjan and Bonake, Cameroun won the Cup for the first time, beating Nigeria 3-1 in the final and confirming their excellent form from the 1982 World Cup.

In 1986, Egypt utilised their home advantage and bruised past a powerful Cameroun 5-4 after a penalty shoot-out in Cairo. Two

years later the losing finalists, Cameroun recaptured the trophy in Casablanca by beating Nigeria's 'Green Eagles' 1-0.

World Cup finalists Cameroun and Egypt are on paper, obvious favourites for the 17th African champions which will be decided this month (March) in Algeria.

The count down begins... with Algeria playing host to the Nations Cup and attempt as well to lift the continent's prestigious trophy for... the first time, but although Zimbabwe will not be among the finalists after having been ousted by Nigeria, focus however could be on another Southern African Nation, Zambia.

#### The Finalists

Algeria; The Algerians last reached the final of the Nations Cup in 1980 in Lagos but lost Nigeria 3-0 at Suruhre Stadium. So can Algeria surprise their own fans and take the title that has eluded them for the last 11 years? There are three main problems; firstly, the fans themselves who are going to be so hard to please.

If Algeria go a goal down they are not going to receive encouragement but whistles and jeers. As a result they are going to find it extremely difficult to settle down and play good football. Lastly, and this might prove vital, Algeria has developed basically a defensive attitude and this probably could upset their ambitions.

Tactically Algerians are dangerous on lighting counter attacks and their strike force totally banking on their professionals such as Djamel Menad and Rabah Mujaer. They must again be advised to guard against their violent supporters and secondly temperamental, two weapons that played a part in their elimination in the World Cup qualifying rounds. On paper the Algerians should succeed aided by their gifted players, support at home, financial incentives and lastly their determination to win.

Cameroun: Cameroun's form over the last couple of years has not been completely impressive. When the European based stars are available they have put together some good results which might suggest optimism for this competition. For the records, Cameroun were champions in 1984 beating Nigeria 3-1 at the Hamphouet Bolguy Stadium in Abidjan.

Losing finalists in 1986 to Egypt on a 5-4 penalty shoot-out in Cairo and made up for all those mishaps by recapturing the trophy in 1988, beating Nigeria 1-0 in Casablanca. The indomitable lions, as they are popularly known, are bound to provide the usual mixture of muscle, stamina, team spirit and skill.

Cameroun base their play upon the French formation and heavily rely on their physically built players. Over the years, the West African nation has produced several talented players such as Emmanuel Knele, Thomas Nkono, Antino Bell and the retired Roger Milla.

Their champion club, Canon de Yaounde, will no doubt supply the bulk of the players



The Algerian players with Madger in the centre (1989)



One of Cameroun's top Clubs, Canon Yaounde in their match against Dynamos at the National Sports Stadium

travelling to Algeria but whether the Camerouns against the odds will be able to keep with the mental and tactical demands of this tough eight nation is open to doubt.

Zambia: Back in the finals for the first time since the legendary 1974 finals held in Egypt. Zambia reached the final and held much fancied Zaire Leopards to a 2-2 draw. The replay





**Flashback; Egyptian players being introduced to the former President of Zimbabwe, Comrade Canaan Banana (the lethal khatib doing the introduction)**



**Zambian players with Wisdom Chensa standing on the left**

saw a gallant Zambian side go down 2-0. Since that period, almost all the players that participated have retired including Goalkeeper, Emmanuel Murape, who was voted the best keeper at that tournament.

The KK XI were unlucky not to qualify to represent the continent in Italy after a brilliant run in the early and late stages. It will be the galaxy of eight Europe based players that the Zambians will be banking on. This includes former African footballer of the year and PSV Endihoven winger Kalusha Bwalya, hero of the 1988 Seoul Olympics.

Others include Belgium based Stone Nyirenda, Charles Musonda, Lucky Msiska, Wisdom Chensa, Swiss professional Johnson Bwalya and Soviet based Zambian footballer of the year, Derby Makinka. Tactically, the Zambians have their strongest ever assem-

bled side should all these professional report for duty.

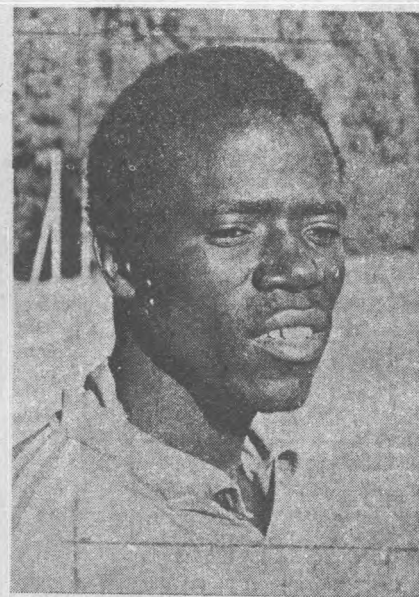
**Egypt:** Egypt had not won the competition since 1959 and only captured it in 1986 when they beat Cameroun on a penalty shoot-out. Though Egypt has attained success at club level where their clubs, Zamalek and National have won the continental championships a record times in between themselves, their national team has been going through a lean period qualifying for the World Cup had been one of its greatest achievements.

Again, the fast running Egyptians will be banking on its locally groomed talent in Ibrahim Youssef, midfielder Maydi Abdul Ghani, winger Tereq Yehia and goalkeeper Thabat.

Al-Battal. The Egyptians could tilt the form book upside down if underated.

**Ivory Coast:** The 'Elephant' of Cote 'd' Ivoire as they are known have had ups and downs. The Warriors can be a delight to watch and lethal in front of goal. Their dangerous striker, Youssef Fofana has matured into an exciting forward and his partnership with young Mate Abdoulaya Traore has caused nightmares for defenders and goal keepers alike. Ivory Coast should start off as underdogs but an upset looks likely.

**Kenya:** The surprise team from East Africa obtained its ticket to the finals enroute brushing off the challenge of Malawi in a



**Stix Mtizwa**

major upset. The Kenyans base their play on total attack and prefer the 4-2-4 formation, but have never been impressive, while their midfield needs attention into the front line which could let them down.



**The Kenyan National team being introduced to Comrade Banana**

In addition, the tendency to relax in defence played a major role in its shock elimination in the 1989 East and Central Africa Senior Challenge Cup in Nairobi. This defeat not only angered their fans, but led to resignation of coach Mohammed Kheri. Now the Harambee Stars have a chance to bury the reputation as also runs in this tough competition.

Senegal: Senegal are enjoying a soccer renaissance and are making a second appearance in the finals, so they should be outsiders. There are however so many French

based players in the side that they will not lack experience. The slick moving Senegalese could set the stage alight with their polished and skillful football. Senegal can be a toy to watch especially with the deadly Bocande in form.

Other professionals include defender Roger Mandy, Amadou and Paris Saint-Germain star Sene. The team looks nicely balanced and must be with a reasonable chance of causing an upset.

Nigeria: Nigeria should be the team to watch, the 1990 champions appear tactically

and mentally ready to accept the challenge in Algeria. For sure the "Green Eagles" would include in its line-up a bunch of talented youngsters from its under 18 world Youth Squad.

The Nigerians are a fantastic side whose play is very much unpredictable and can match any side in Africa. But the Nigerians might not get support because of their robust play and unnecessary delaying tactics when they are in the lead. Yet, the fact remains that despite all this, Nigeria will be a difficult side to beat. □

## Success of the All-Black Eradicators Hockey Club

**W**hy has Eradicators hockey club succeeded when all the other black hockey clubs such as Old Wanderers, Mabvuku, Hurricanes, Highfield, Belvedere Teachers' College and the Boycottos of Shepherd Manganzo have failed. Sydney Bonzo, a freelance sports writer, looks at the reasons behind the formation of Eradicators and Custom Kachambwa, the founder and coach of the all-black club.

A mission to eradicate racial prejudice was the main reason behind the formation of the much talked about all-black Mufakose based Eradicators Hockey Club.

The 1990 Mashonaland Indoor Hockey knockout tournament champions and the first black club in the country to play top flight hockey's success story is attributed to the founder and coach, Custom Kachambwa's dedication, hardwork, administrative acumen and business like approach.

Kachambwa, a Legal Practitioner in the Attorney-General's Office, is a father of two, a girl and boy, Rufaro Fortune (6) and Mafadzo Keith (3). He comes from a big family of 25 children, enough to build two field hockey teams!

Custom Kachambwa's early involvement in the sport dates back to 1975 at the age of 15 years when he got a bursary for Form One at Bernard Mizeki College outside Marondera.

The College was equipped with a lot of minority sport equipment and hockey was one.

One afternoon in mid 1975 the young Custom stayed in the school grounds and came to the under-15s who were playing hockey. Whilst watching, he was invited to play because one team was playing one player short.

This marked the beginning of Kachambwa's hockey life and his sweat and huddles resulted in the birth of Eradicators, what some people doubted he could accomplish

and others even advised him to abandon the whole idea.

That afternoon Kachambwa joined the other school boys and played so impressively that he was selected to play that weekend against another school, Springvale. Naturally his selection made some veterans in the school team complain.



**Custom Kachambwa; the founder and coach of the all-black club**

But Custom never looked back. In 1976 he played for the senior 'B' team and the following year he was promoted in the school's 'A' team. A lot of players did not like this because he was having an even bigger meteoric rise in basketball where he was eventually chosen to captain for the school team during the 1978 season.

In 1978 he became a very valuable player in hockey and it was his peak year and during the same year at a tournament at

Peterhouse it was pointed out that he had great potential. Before he left Bernard Mizeki for the University of Zimbabwe in 1981 where he was enrolled to do a Bachelor of Laws Degree Course, he assumed the coach's position and also organised matches and he did the same in basketball and athletics.

At UZ he joined the hockey section where he was the only black player. A while later Time Mswaka who used to play for Harare Sports Club joined and also brought a friend. Two brothers, Augustine and Vincent Musewe came to the club. Chinembiri Tanyongana and a John also joined and stayed longer than the rest, until the club disbanded.

With the Varsity club he discovered to his horror that his schoolboy hockey was far off the mark. He could not even secure a place in the 'C' team. It was a complete embarrassment. And in any quest for improvement he borrowed a coaching manual from Gerald Brown who was the Director of Sports at UZ then. With the book he learnt the proper techniques. His hockey improved with each year but from 1981-84 he only played for the first team twice. Some white schoolboys who could hardly dribble and stop the ball would be selected before him. The sourest experience was when he was dropped to 'C' team when he thought he was even better than a couple of the first team players. He refused to play for the team.

Among the people who liked to 'coach' him at the Varsity were the Harrington brothers, Billy Birkert (now with OH), R. Brown who plays for Country Club and Kevin Terry who also joined Country Club but is no longer playing.

Brown gave him the greatest support and hope. Brown seemed to be the only one who appreciated Kachambwa's ability. Unfortunately he (Brown) had no say in the selection of the teams.

Thus for four years Kachambwa suffered from non recognition. It was a bitter ex-



perience. He remembers very well when in 1984, Kevin Terry invited him to go for the national under-21 trials when he was over age then.

But how could he play for under-21 when he was not good enough for their 'A' team?

When Kachambwa left Varsity in 1984 he resolved not to play for a white club at all. He resolved to form a club based in the township. He had accumulated 14 hockey sticks which were in all kinds of condition.

Kachambwa went to inspect Mbare Stodart grounds to see if they could be used as training grounds. There he met John Chipungu and William Madakureva both members of Old Wanderers Hockey Club then in limbo. They discussed and agreed to start a club and training was to start immediately. Kachambwa soon discovered that the two were not very keen. They did not want to do the basics of the game. They only wanted to play the game and did not want to teach the new players.

Thus Kachambwa found himself working with the beginners while the Old Wanderers players played on their own. Kachambwa had no control on anything. There was no progress, so he left together with Charles Chidyausayi who had come all the way from Mufakose to join the group in Mbare.

Back in Mufakose, Kachambwa started recruiting and started sessions on the open fields, Malapula and Yamuranayi grounds. Soon he was joined by people who had ideas of the game. Amongst these were Dick Marisa, Moses Kaluza and Shepherd Manganzo, a Zimbabwe schools goalkeeper and a couple of girls joined. Kachambwa was happy to have Shepherd around because he thought he (Shepherd) could be helpful in coaching and was nominated vice-coach but Shepherd proved extremely irresponsible.

Kachambwa drafted the club's constitution and at elections he was appointed chairman and coach, while Willie (Tendai) Ruzane was vice-chairman and captain. Samson Madziva was elected treasurer and Charles Chidyausayi became secretary.

Because of his behaviour Shepherd did not get a post. He was disappointed and as he later confessed he left the club.

Mufakose Eradicators Hockey Club was born on that day of the elections late in 1984. Ironically this was Shepherd Manganzo's name. Kachambwa wanted the club named 'The Missionaries'. He had a mission to eradicate racial prejudice.

In 1985 the club secured sponsorship from Conte Shoes, received a set of uniform from Mark Manolios and entered two teams to play in the Mashonaland men's hockey board league for field. Before they played league hockey, the club played in the Prunitians tournament at Postals. They clashed with such teams as Universals.

Eradicators were at this stage well regimented. Players like Tendayi Ruzane, Daniel Nyamurova and Charles 'Giant' Chidyausayi were performing miracles in defending short corners. Goalkeeper Harold

Abrahams was equally good. It was a good beginning.

In June 1985 Kachambwa was selected to attend a training course in Holland for two weeks. The club gained a lot of experience that year and Kachambwa started coaching at primary schools in Mufakose soon after his Holland trip. The schools coaching extremely strengthened his recruiting base. Today the team is built from boys who are products of his coaching programme. Unfortunately, like with today, the teachers did not want to take a leading role. In most cases they would not even be there. Thus his plan of seeing these schools compete against established hockey schools failed.

In that same year the club received equipment from the Sports Council through Mark Manolios and Albert Nhamoyebonde. These were 36 hockey balls, 50 hockey sticks and



**Themba Khumalo; leader of the non-playing executive committee**

goalkeeper's kit. Fourteen hockey sticks also came from the Ministry of Sport and Culture but were later retrieved.

In 1986 the 'A' team won promotion into second league indoor hockey and the same year the club secured healthy sponsorship in the name of Blue Line Dry Cleaners. Abudular Wholesalers and their manufacturing department donated three sets of uniforms for boys and two sets for girls. In addition the club got 24 skirts for girls for training from Igbal Abudular who as a sponsor who wanted also to remain anonymous also bailed the club out on a couple of occasions.

The performance of the girls' team was very encouraging. However, the timing of their games was disheartening. 5.30 p.m. and after 9 p.m. were not the best of times. As a result they sometimes played a player or two short. Winnie Manyikwi (Muswe) was most promising. Other very good players were Naomi Bonzo, Florence Kachambwa, Louisa Rinda, Shungu the GK, Hazvinei Matambo and Rudo Manyukwi.

In 1987 the boys 'A' team had a total onslaught in the second league for indoor winning all seven games to gain promotion to first league for 1989 and history was made — for the first time in the country an all-black club qualified to play first league hockey, causing a great furore from other quarters.

In 1988 the club also qualified to play first league field hockey. In October 1988 the club went to Malawi as a replacement team for the Africa Champion of Champions Club Tournament. Although the boys played extremely well they found themselves at the bottom. However, the spirit of oneness was fostered.

A non-playing executive committee led by Themba Khumalo was elected for the 1990 season. A hard battle is in store for this new committee as it has to fight hard against the politics of frustration and sabotage being waged strongly against the club by forces who will never ever want to see the succession of the all-black club.

Why has Eradicators Hockey Club succeeded when all the other black clubs such as Old Wanderers, Mabvuku, Hurricanes, Highfield, Belvedere Teachers' College and the Boycotts of Shepherd Manganzo have failed?

Eradicators was basically run as a one man band by the coach. He ran it like a family business. He put a lot of his time, money and equipment into developing the club. The coach was selfless and hated losing. He had suffered against racial prejudice and wanted to prove that hockey is everybody's sport.

Such is the degree of ambition. The other clubs generally lacked such a leader.

Without sponsorship the new clubs would not exist. The other clubs have not had the drive to go out and look for sponsorship and prove that they too can succeed.

Dictators Hockey club has been encouraging so far but they suffer from a perage problem. The leader, Emmanuel Mbirimi, is too scarce and this is not helpful. There is great potential in the club waiting to be developed. The club needs a dedicated leader to run it. Initially this leader has to be an Eradicators dictatorial character to get the momentum.

On results and statistics alone Eradicators as a team is successful. But more important than results, and here I refer to the future of the sport, is the contact which should be established with the officialdom of not only the hockey controlling board but also for the challenges to the Government to act positively.

Locally made equipment is not good enough and also expensive. Imported equipment is scarce and out of reach making it difficult for a person who is still starting the sport to buy it. The traditional players can afford to get the equipment either through relatives but it leaves the new generation stranded.

Attitudes of some of the administrators in the sport is such that they do not see that there is unfairness done to young black players. An unhealthy situation is caused when

the umpires are not fair, when young players are mistreated by senior players from the opposition. Some Eradicators players have now grown up with the game such that when they also "flex their muscles" they are sent off. But when it comes to Eradicators under-15 (when rough play is applied on them) the umpires say "zvanakira mbudzi kutunga imbwa."

Says Custom Kachambwa "This kind of situation makes it very difficult to convince my players that there is any fairness".

Training and match facilities are other major problems for black clubs.

Most good facilities are in low-density suburbs only. It is difficult to recruit in these areas because the majority of keen hockey players stay in high density areas. This is also an area that the ruling party together with the Government should work with city councils and those clubs involved to improve. The

Ministry of Education should take a big lead and come out with a programme for schools country wide.

Despite the success of Eradicators in Mufakose not even one school in that suburb has taken hockey as one of its sporting disciplines. Those who are playing hockey at school are only doing so because of the New Winners programme.

So far this programme does not involve competition with the traditional hockey playing schools like Prince Edward, St Georges and Hartman House.

As a result the New Winners players are not chosen to play for the schools select. Unless they go to Eradicators, they have no chance to play representative hockey.

Eradicators as a club has therefore approached the teacher-in-charge of schools hockey for permission to have Eradicators schoolboy players to play for some of these

traditional hockey playing schools. Some of these boys now play for Allan Wilson and for the first time in their history Allan Wilson won the Secondary Schools indoor hockey knockout this year. They broke the tradition for Prince Edward (P.E.) and St. Georges being the winners for a long time.

From the player's point of view, wide horizons are so variable such that there is something new for everybody. Young players are performing well, gaining confidence with each outing and proving that there is some strength in depth which will benefit Zimbabwean hockey in years to come.

The success to hockey itself in Zimbabwe and the impressive showing of Eradicators guarantees a resurgence of the sport in the country but the Government should realise that it can only keep up by moving into the future with more pitches, more international competition and better training techniques. □

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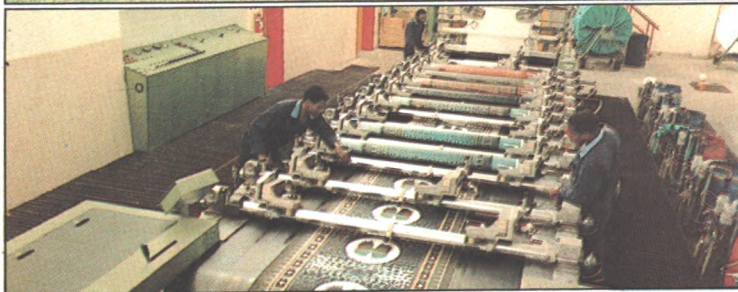
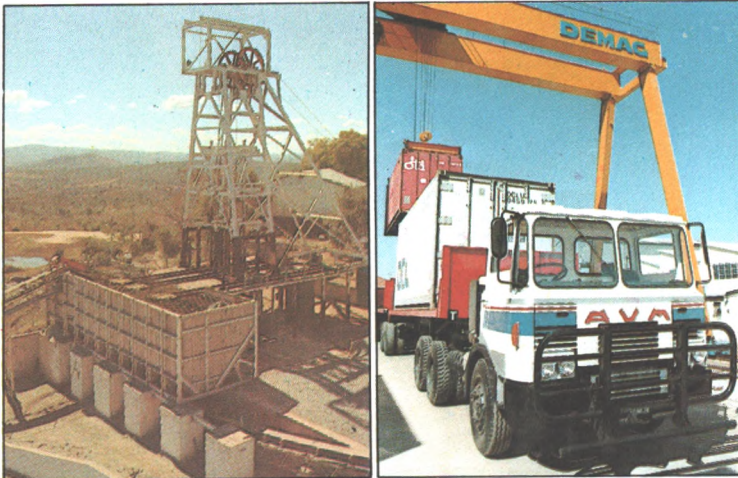
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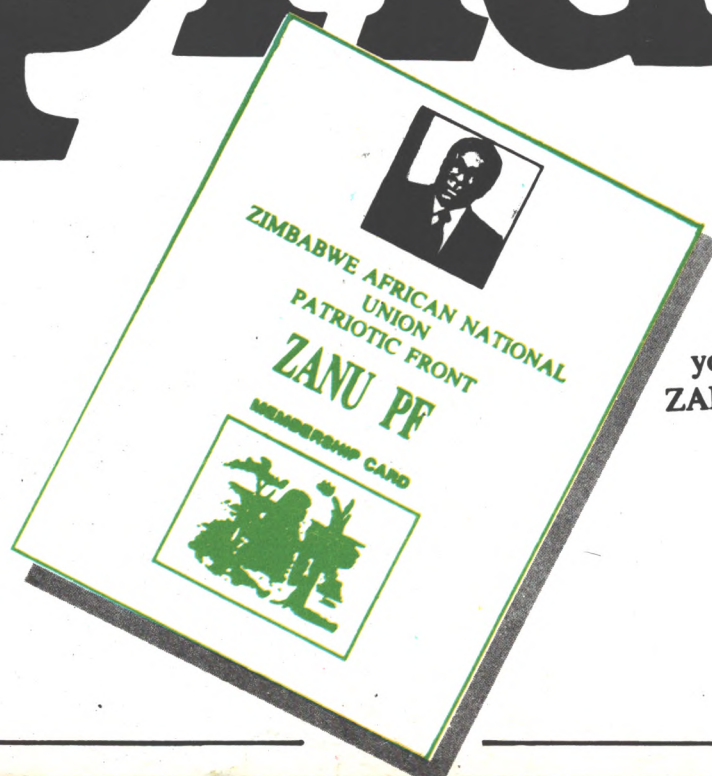
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