

Zimbabwe News

Official Organ of ZANU PF

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● "Heroes taught us values
of unity . . ."

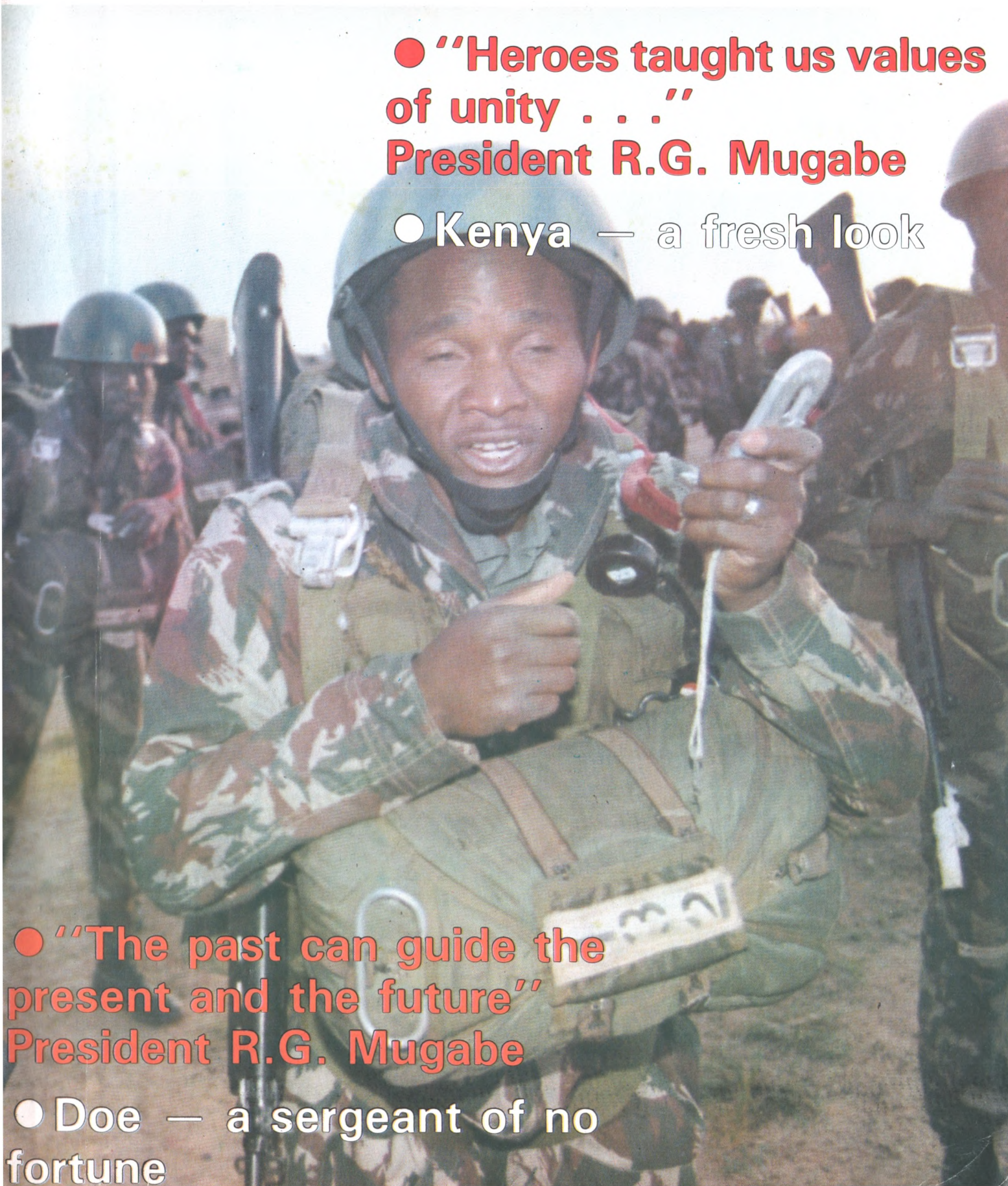
President R.G. Mugabe

● Kenya — a fresh look

● "The past can guide the
present and the future"

President R.G. Mugabe

● Doe — a sergeant of no
fortune



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Doe: A Sergeant of No Fortune

A mere nine months ago a small group of dissidents armed with vintage rifles and knives crossed into Liberia from neighbouring Cote d'Ivoire in a bid to overthrow the regime of Samuel Doe. Three months ago the rebel forces totalled fourteen thousand well armed soldiers and controlled two-thirds of the country. page 25

Evolution of Democracy

'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.' These words rallied the people of Paris to storm the Bastille on July 12th 1789. It is with these words in their mouths that the women marched to Versailles and forced the French King to come back to Paris. A Constituent Assembly had been declared in June 1789. This gave way to the legislative Assembly two years later. page 36

Political Prisoners: A Visit On Death Row

After 10 years in exile, Phyllis Naidoo whom our readers know under the name of Phyllis Davis, returned to South Africa. But before visiting family and friends, she went to visit those whose lives she has learnt so much about in the last few years, from a distance - those condemned to death for their struggle against apartheid. This is her account of her visit to Pretoria's death row. page 42

One-Party State

The debate about the need for a one-party state or a multi-party system continues unabated both at the international and national levels. page 14

People Still Hungry for Land

Just over 10 years ago the gun fell silent, heralding the end of the bloody 14-year old war which had engulfed Zimbabwe. page 13



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EDITORIAL

The Voice of The Leaders

One of the essential requirements of any viable political organisation is the strength and quality of its leadership. A good leadership can make a decisive difference in a political organisation, as well as a country. Many of the problems facing Third World countries can be attributed to poor leadership that is riddled with corruption and inefficiency.

A good leadership must be honest, trustworthy and incorruptible. Dishonesty and corruption demoralises the membership and leads to bitter personal quarrells among those elected or selected to lead. A good leadership must be committed to the welfare and well-being of the broad masses of the people. The main objective of government is and must be to serve the basic interests of the masses. More importantly, a good leadership must be guided by a very clear ideological position. It is the ideology of a Party or a Government that defines the goals and charts the path to be followed. Lack of clarity on this score can lead to confusion and degeneration into tribal squabbles, and civil strife.

The Leadership Cord of ZANU PF, which is an essential part of the unity agreement, was designed to assist the leaders in meeting some of these objectives, and these qualities. Our clear ideological position is to create a socialist society. The workers and peasants of our society who own absolutely nothing at present, have endorsed this policy over the last ten years, and twice in the last nine months, at the

historic unity congress, and at the general elections in March.

The broad masses do not want to be led by men and women who have interests other than those of advancing the best interests of the people as a whole. A leader or leaders who are engaged in business or commerce will be forced to defend the interests of their capital when they are called upon to decide on prices and incomes, the value of the currency, the budget, costs of essential services *et cetera*. The masses want to listen to and obey their leaders. But those leaders must be men and women who speak for them and their interests, and not for their own private financial gains. This is the essence of the Leadership Code.

Those men and women who lead our Party must be adequately rewarded by the Party and the Government. We do not want to see former leaders walking the streets as destitutes. Such a state of affairs discourages the leaders and demoralises the membership. The Government and the Party should meet all their personal needs when they are in office, and even more importantly, when they leave office. An elaborate pension and insurance scheme should be enacted so that our leaders can continue to live well in the days of their retirement. They should not be forced to go into business or commerce as an insurance or pension guarantee for themselves and their families.

Letters Letters Letters Letters

We Want Zimbabwe News

Dear Editor,

I hereby write to enquire about how I can obtain a copy of the Party's monthly magazine, the *Zimbabwe News*. For long I have been at a loss as to how I can get a copy of the *Zimbabwe News* here in Mudzi, Mutoko. One can only find copies of the magazine at provincial offices of the Party and nowhere else.

Could the Editor please enlighten me on whether the *Zimbabwe News* distribution ends at provincial level. We in districts and cells/villages should keep in touch with developments in the Party through this magazine.

What we need is the authentic truth which can either be transmitted to us through the journal or the *People's Voice*. Please Comrade Editor, could you ensure that the magazine gets to the people.

Revai Kambarami
Mudzi



Youths Should Sell Party Papers

Dear Editor,

I wish to suggest that Party publications *The People's Voice* and the *Zimbabwe News* should be sold by Party youths. Instead of engaging newspaper vendors who already sell other papers, party youths at district, provincial and village/cell level should be engaged to sell these publications.

This in turn provides some form of employment to them as they would earn commission from you. I have so written because I have observed (especially in Harare) some vendors who place *The People's Voice* out of sight of prospective buyers while they sell other papers. Such people are dealing a fatal blow to your effort to reach as wide a readership as possible.

We can only enhance your efforts by ensuring that we have vendors for exclusively party publications.

Earnest Nyamapfene
Harare

Stop Inter-tribal Fighting

Dear Editor,

I wish to appeal to black South Africans to desist from the senseless factional fighting that has claimed so many lives. It is a pity that this has had to happen at a time when Cde. Mandela and the ANC are pursuing peace negotiations with the de Klerk regime.

Whoever has investigated the violence and armed some individuals in some of the warring factions should be condemned in the strongest of terms. However, black South Africans should only unite and attack the common enemy.

Fighting amongst themselves will only prolong the life-span of apartheid. If they think they will achieve anything by so doing, then they must think again. If negotiations fail, they only have one alternative — to wage an armed struggle.

Paradzai Mapfumo
Highfield
Harare.



Bring Back "Gwara"

Dear Editor,

I was very glad when the Party brought us the political radio programme "Gwara rakanaka repolitics muZimbabwe". Surprisingly, the programme has gone off the air. I want to find out from the Party what the position is as far as "Gwara" is concerned.

We want it back. It provided us with a forum through which our questions and grievances were addressed. Please Cde. Editor, the Party must bring back "Gwara" especially at such a time when the restructuring and revamping of the Party is getting underway.

Florence Simbarashe

Yellow City
Marondera



Waiting For National Service

Dear Editor,

I am one of those who registered for the na-

tional service but since then nothing has happened.

Could the responsible authorities please enlighten me on this issue. I have waited for too long and my patience is running out.

Edmore Musana
Unit B
Chitungwiza



One Party State

Dear Editor,

My letter is addressed to some miserable voices crying about nothing in the wilderness. They must find a home in ZANU PF. They have continuously been deliberately misquoting the Party and government on the issue of the one-party state.

These misguided elements want to give the wrong impression to the people. They must not be allowed to go unchallenged. The Party has made it clear that it will not impose the one-party state on the people. Instead, these people have come up with 'workshops' and 'seminars' to 'discuss' the one-party state issue in Zimbabwe.

Noone ever said that it will be declared or imposed on the people. The Party should not allow these elements to make an issue out of nothing. The Party's Commissariat department must work hard to make sure that no member answers to such voices.

Tendai Kandengwa
Shamva



NOTE TO READERS

Letters to the Editor should be short and to the point. Although pen-names can be used, all letters should be signed. Readers should also be advised that they are free to contribute articles on social, political, and economic issues for the column TALKING POINT. Articles should be at least four hand-written pages or three typed ones. Contributions should be addressed to:

The Editor
The Zimbabwe News
14 Austin Road
Workington
Harare

Pictorial — Sir Dawda Jawara



President Mugabe meets President Dawda Jawara of Gambia at Harare International Airport.



The two leaders at attention at the Harare International Airport while their respective national anthems were played.



President Jawara being introduced to members of the ZANU PF Women's League by Comrade Mugabe



Sir Dawda Jawara (forefront) at Sans Souci Estates when he toured various projects in Zimbabwe

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MICHAEL HOGG YOUNG & RUBICAM 21012



Following is a complete text of His Excellency, the President, Cde Robert Mugabe's Speech on the commemoration of Heroes' Day, August 11, 1990 at the National Heroes Acre, in Harare.

It is a profound moment for us all as a nation, gathered as we are, once again, at this sacred shrine and at similar places of reverence in our country, to participate in this solemn ceremony. We meet here, on this day, as we have done in the past, to commemorate the legacy of bravery, commitment and solidarity bequeathed upon us by fallen heroes. It is to them, many of whom paid the ultimate price for our independence as well as providing us with an ever-lasting source of inspiration, that we bestow well-deserved honour on this day.

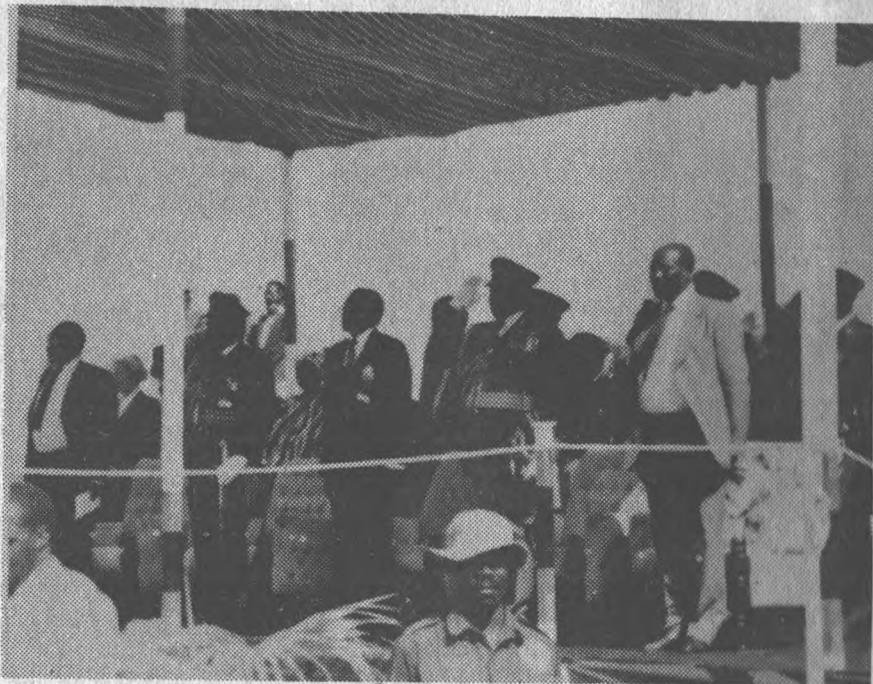
It was their courage and unity of purpose that led to the downfall of the illegal Rhodesian regime, the demise of the colony of Rhodesia and the birth of a free and liberated Zimbabwe.

We will always remember these, our



Cde Mugabe arrives at Heroes Acre accompanied by Vice-President Nkomo and Muzenda

Heroes Way, Our Way



Comrade President Robert Mugabe, flanked by Vice President Muzenda, Army Commander General Tapfumaneyi Mujuru, Air Marshall Josiah Tungamirai, and Senior Minister Bernard Chidzero

heroes, for their sterling qualities and historic contributions in the fight for our freedom and independence. It is they and their comrades-in-arms, living or now departed from our midst, who made us what we are today. We remember and honour them even as we work to create a society shaped in accordance with their deepest yearnings and aspirations.

Recognising the centrality of human resource development in the attainment of

a meaningful development, the Party and my Government have, since independence, carried out programmes to overcome the socio-political constraints found at independence. The emphasis placed on provision of education and health facilities, the removal of political, social and economic barriers to the enjoyment of equal treatment and equal opportunities, have fundamentally changed the life of the average Zimbabwean.

Lest many of us should forget the enormous obstacles and difficulties faced by our party and government at independence in trying to forget the foundation of a new nation and establish people-based political power, let me in brief remind you of some of the obstacles we had to face:

- a constitution which had been designed to entrench settler colonial privileges and racial discrimination, thereby neutralising our political victory and maintaining the status quo;
- the destabilisation strategies of apartheid South Africa working through the agency of former Rhodesian agents;
- the need, in the face of constitutionally entrenched land and property rights, to rehabilitate and resettle over one million refugees and displaced citizens, and
- we had the misfortune of persistent drought and an adverse international economic environment offering markets bedevilled by recession, plus and continuously depressed commodity prices.



Flashback- a reburial of 27 freedom fighters in Mahusekwa

That we overcame all these and other obstacles is a measure of the political maturity of our people and their party and government. Today, we can look back over the last ten years and say that we have managed to establish the conditions necessary for the accelerated development of a harmonious society in the next decade, through the removal of all vestiges of racial representation in our political and constitutional system, the establishment of the Executive Presidency, the creation of a single-chamber Parliament, the political unity achieved through the signing of the Unity Accord between ZANU (PF) and PF-ZAPU in 1987, paving the way to greater national unity, and the establishment of a permanent base for enduring national peace.

We are, therefore, glad and proud that we are meeting here today as a united people, thanks to the efforts of so many of our people and the vision of our heroes.

We are also meeting as a peaceful country, proud of its achievements over the last ten years. We look to a future full of the promise of yet greater achievements because the foundation laid by our heroes and by all our people is so firm and durable.

Both by precept and by example, our heroes taught us the values of unity, selfless commitment to the cause of the masses of our people, dedication to hard-work and discipline. We should always continue to espouse these values within not only the Party and Government but the nation as a whole.

In fulfilment of our socio-economic goals, we have devoted tremendous efforts to improving the delivery of social services to our people in the health, educational and related fields. We have maintained the viability of our economy against tremendous odds, and recently we adopted policies aimed at boosting the country's economic growth and



President R.G. Mugabe

development and herewith the enhancement of the standards of living of our people.

While some mistakes have been made and obstacles encountered, there is no doubt at all that we have made significant strides in all spheres of our national development.

As we remember our heroes and learn from them, we need to look to the future and to the tasks that lie ahead of us. The people's material, social and cultural need must constantly impel us to work hard for their fulfilment. Beyond good education and good health lie areas of material needs still gaping for satisfaction. If the current socio-economic thrust is sustained with vigour and dynamism, then a change in the people's incomes and standard of living will certainly occur, while more and more of our unemployed young men and women will obtain employment.

The national tasks for the next decade must accordingly seek to address the present socio-economic problems facing our nation. The solutions to these problems must include:

- a) the urgent programme of land distribution in order to achieve equity and place the communal population in a situation where more agricultural resources are available for greater agricultural productivity and hence greater incomes;
- b) the acceleration of the capital investment programme and the creation of increased employment opportunities to absorb the thousands of our unemployed people;
- c) the expansion and development of technical institutions to impart technical skills at various levels so as to equip our society with the expertise required for the sustenance of all sectoral productive processes;
- d) increased attention by both the public and private sectors to be improved and increased housing in both urban and rural areas, and the provision of more urban and rural buses and other forms of much needed passenger transport; and
- e) the mobilisation of our entire population for the productive tasks involved in the next development plan — the second Five-year National Development Plan.

The challenges before us are, indeed, multiple and complex. Yet inspired by the example of our heroes, we should be able to muster the courage we need for success. It is incumbent upon us all, especially the leadership, to demonstrate our true identity with the heroes lying here and elsewhere, by living the virtues of honesty, loyalty, dedication, courage, sacrifice, selflessness, industry and uprightness. Their example should be our example, their way our way. □



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 18724

Speech By His Excellency The President And Commander-In-Chief Of The Defence Forces, Comrade R.G. Mugabe, On Defence Forces Day, 12 August 1990

Following is a complete text of His Excellency, the President, Cde Robert Mugabe's Speech on the commemoration of Heroes' Day, August 11, 1990 at the National Heroes Acre, in Harare.



President Mugabe delivering his Defence Forces Day Speech

Today, we are gathered here to celebrate a very important day that marks the end of the first decade and the beginning of a second decade of the existence of the Zimbabwe Defence Forces (ZDF). As the ZDF enters the uncertain world of the 1990s, it is prudent to look back to this first decade and take stock of the achievements and problems so that this vital past can guide the present and the future.

When we attained Independence in 1980, my Government formulated, articulated and

executed a policy of national reconciliation and national unity aimed at ensuring racial harmony so that the country could get on with the task of reconstruction and development without internal strife or disharmony. We still subscribe to this policy.

In the military sphere, this policy found a concrete translation in the integration of erstwhile opposing forces into a common

defence structure. Of necessity, this resulted in the creation of an excessively large organisation vis-a-vis the country's economy.

The logical sequel to this was the demobilisation exercise that saw the forces trimmed from 65 000 to a more manageable, albeit high figure of 40 000. Government would have liked to further reduce this figure but owing to the dictates of our regional as well as domestic situation, that was not possible.

Regionally, war by proxy forces in the form of the South African sponsored MNR bandits destabilised Mozambique thereby gravely threatening Zimbabwe's security and economic interests. Consequently, at the invitation of the Mozambican Government, we deployed the ZDF there to protect these interests. Additionally, South Africa itself had perpetrated destabilisation acts against our young Republic through sabotage of economic and military installations, hostile propaganda and the violation of our territorial integrity.

Against this chequered and turbulent background, the ZDF faced a daunting task of assuring Zimbabwe's economic survival and territorial integrity. Bearing in mind that at that time, the ZDF were still in their formative stages, this was, indeed, a difficult undertaking. I am, however, glad to state that the ZDF rose to the challenge and discharged their duties with dignity and excellence. Today, thanks to the ZDF, we have healthy energy reserves, whilst movement of goods between Malawi and Zimbabwe is guaranteed. We also continue to enjoy relative



Brigadier Edzai Chimonyo (left) giving on the spot orders to troops in Mozambique — 1988



Zimbabwe People's Militia on a march past on Zimbabwe Defence Forces Day

peace in our country. The nation is, indeed, deeply indebted to our national Defence and Security Forces for their gallantry, loyalty and dedication.

Let me now turn on to the factors which have combined to make the Zimbabwe Defence Forces what they are today. Soon after independence, our Government and the Zimbabwe Defence Forces accorded military and non-military training a high priority. To this end, discussions were held with various countries with a view to enlisting their support and assistance in the training and raising the quality of our integrated Force to that of a modern conventional Defence Force. As a result of these discussions, the British Government kindly agreed to the creation of a British Military Advisory and Training Team (BMATT) that would assist mainly with infantry and staff training.

The Great leader, Comrade Kim 11 Sung, and the Korean Government also magnanimously offered equipment and training in the Infantry, Armour and Artillery fields. The Nigerian Government, on its part, assisted with the training of Zimbabwe Defence Forces Infantry, Armour and Signals Cadets and later offered staff training at their staff college. The Pakistani Government came in handy with their offer to train pilots, aviation technicians and some infantry personnel, while our Chinese friends provided training in the field of Air Defence. Tanzania, the USA, Canada, Ghana, India, Egypt, the German Democratic Republic, the Soviet Union, and Libya all played complimentary roles in this endeavour. To all these countries, I say thank you very much. It is, however, important to note that as this assistance was being given, the Zimbabwe Defence Forces strove to expand and upgrade their training infrastructure. Amongst the most important developments were the expansion of the Zimbabwe Military Academy in Gweru to allow for more specialised infantry officer training, the upgrading of the Zimbabwe Staff College

what happier note. Salaries for officers and other ranks have been rationalised and, additionally, new specialist scales comparable with the public service ones have been authorised. New regulations for officers and non-commissioned officers have been promulgated. A special characteristic of the new conditions of service is that service rendered during the armed struggle is now a valid factor in the calculation of pension benefits. The 1990s are now with us and I enumerate matters which, in my view, require attention.

First, the accommodation problem requires maximum attention. In this regard, I call upon the Ministries of Defence and Public Construction and National Housing, together with the Defence Forces, to sit down and map out a common strategy that would ensure the speedy provision of barrack and married officers accommodation to soldiers and airmen. In saying this, I do not disparage the efforts exerted so far but that in view of the changing regional situation our forces shall sooner or later abandon the bush habitat for normal barrack life. Therefore, it is this realisation that lends a sense of urgency to the problem.

Secondly, the problem of manpower planning requires closer examination at two levels, namely, training and retention. I am aware that all essential courses for operational and administrative purposes have been identified and forwarded to Government for action. Since a lot of these courses are to be undertaken outside the country, shortage of foreign currency seems to be a handicap and, as a result, it is becoming increasingly difficult to meet the targets of the manpower plan. Accordingly, I wish to emphasize once again that, in keeping with Government policy, only those courses not available in Zimbabwe should be undertaken externally. For those external courses considered essential, Government will, within the limits of available resources, consider each case on its own merit. Although donor assistance will be most welcome, you are urged to accept only those courses which are not offered locally. We would be happier still if those who wish to assist us were willing to sponsor our members within our national institutions.

Ladies and gentlemen, Comrades and Friends, my address would be incomplete if it ended before I made some reference to the regional and world political environment in so far as that environment impacts upon our security as a sovereign state.

You will recall that our attainment of Independence in 1980 was greeted with mixed reactions both internationally and within our own region. The greatest threat to our being came from some elements of the former colonial settlers who were bent on overthrowing our newly formed Government by force of arms. They were not alone in this as they found ready collaborators and sponsors among a significant section of the reigning South African administration who were equally bent upon reversing the reality of our independence and so turning Zimbabwe into a neo-colonial state. In addition, there were imperialist elements further afield who were

averse to the establishment of a ZANU Government and were only too ready to assist any disaffected persons, mainly former Rhodesians who worked out various ways of destabilising our nation and causing the collapse of our Government. There was, therefore, in the 1980s a serious threat to our existence as a Government and a nation. In response to this threat, we had to direct a large proportion of our human, material and financial resources towards national defence, thereby limiting our capacity to meet in full other national needs. Indeed, peace is always the critical resource needed if we have to re-direct our resources from the demands of national defence to social development.

Today, there appears to be a new regional and world political environment. We are encouraged by the relaxation of tensions in international relations, and in particular the growing mutual sympathy and understanding between the Eastern bloc countries and those of the Western bloc. We take special note of and appreciate the growing openness and dialogue between the Soviet Union and the United States of America. These developments have a significance which goes beyond the interests of the super-powers alone and include the entire world. They not only



Moments of laughter at Casa Banana after returning from a successful operation (Photo: ZNA)

enable the superpowers to work and do business together, but, more than this, they create the possibility of a new world charac-

terised by international understanding, justice and peace.

In the case of Southern Africa, this understanding, mutual trust and cooperation between the East and the West holds much promise as it will create the optimum conditions for this region to resolve its outstanding problems, in particular the dismantling of apartheid and the advent of democracy and social justice in South Africa; and the return to national unity and peace in Mozambique and Angola.

We are equally encouraged by the expressed willingness shared by the principal parties to the Mozambican conflict to tackle their problems as brothers. We wish them well. We see a similar trend in Angola where the MPLA Government and UNITA are moving towards national reconciliation and peace.

In the case of Zimbabwe, our performance and character as a Government over the past ten years, especially in pursuit of our domestic and foreign policies, have demonstrated our total commitment to democracy, national unity, social justice, the rule of law, international cooperation and respect for the independence and sovereignty of other nations. We note with an element of both pride and gratitude that our international standing has risen over the years.

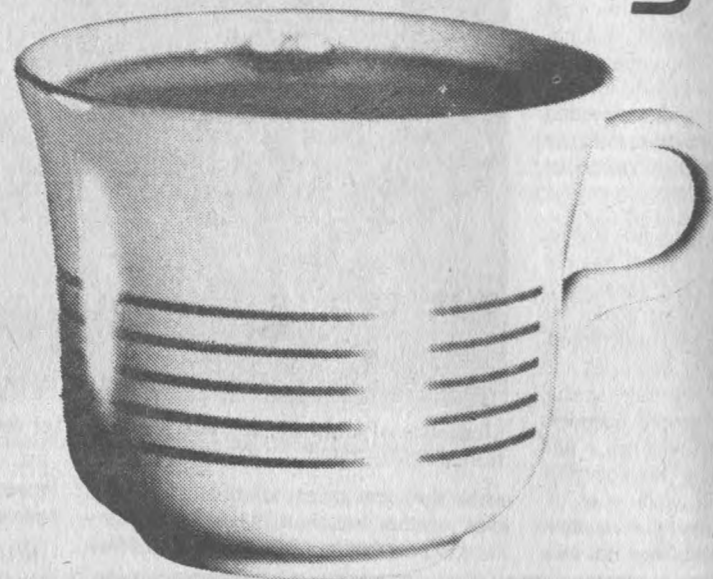
The Zimbabwe Defence Forces, have over the last ten years, acquitted themselves commendably. Now as we enter the next decade with greater prospects of national and regional peace, we should always remember that the best way to maintain peace is to study war. The prospects of peace should not tempt you into complacency, idleness, or obliviousness to the needs of vigilance and combat readiness. Your watchwords, as before, should continue to be vigilance, discipline, loyalty, courage and excellence.

Thank you. □

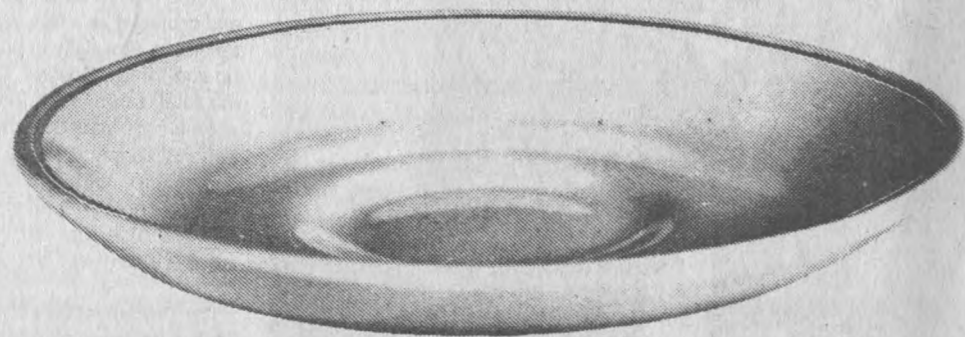


A private soldier being decorated for bravery against MNR bandits (Photo: ZNA)

Bright, Fresh Tanganda



For Every Uplifting Occasion



UP UP, IT LIFTS YOU UP

People Still Hungry For Land



Government expects those allocated land to fully utilise it

Just over 10 years ago the guns fell silent, heralding the end of the bloody 14-year old war which had engulfed Zimbabwe.

The central theme around which blacks rallied — to take up arms against Ian Smith's minority white regime was land — land taken from them by conquest and allocated to white farmers, while they were crowded into dusty and infertile areas which could not adequately sustain them.

Although the guns have been silenced, the war over land continues. But, whereas in the past the war saw guerrillas pitted against the government of the day, today the combatants are different. Ironically, those who prosecuted the liberation war and spearheaded the fight for land sometimes find themselves, now that they are the government, pitted against those whose land hunger has led them to "grab" land.

Buying back land

Following independence, the government an-

nounced a policy of buying back land from the former white farming sector (the constitution insisted such land could only be acquired by being purchased from willing buyers) and resettling people on it. However, the programme has largely been slow and unsuccessful. People have become frustrated and some have taken to allocating themselves land.

This is where they have come into conflict with the government, which insists that resettlement must be carried out in an orderly way and has increasingly shown less and less sympathy towards such people, who it terms squatters.

Sympathy

While showing some sympathy in the early years of independence, the authorities soon increasingly tended to vigorously move in to evict the illegal settlers from the land. A new war had started and continues to this day.

Those onto whose lands the squatters had

moved joined the war, forming anti-squatter committees and demanding the eviction of their unwanted neighbours.

Squatter settlements have been burnt and razed to the ground, while the people have been evicted, thrown into jail, released, forcibly removed to the areas they came from and subject to a host of other measures. But the problem, like a bad penny, has persisted and keeps cropping up. Squatters can be moved but almost always come back.

The problem is not discriminating, as it exists in cities and towns, small-scale and large-scale commercial farming areas and even communal lands. The squatters do not give up without a fight.

Fighting eviction orders

Some 42 kilometres outside Harare, near Chitungwiza, squatters in Mayambara, in the Seke communal lands are locked in a dispute with the Government, as they have decided to fight eviction orders issued by the Ministry of Local Government, Rural and Ur-

ban Development in the High Court. A decision by the court is still pending.

They make no bones about the fact that they are squatters — their fight is being spearheaded by a "squatter committee".

Squatter Committee

A source close to the wrangle told ZIANA recently that the members of the squatter committee also attend meetings between the Mayambara Anti-squatter Committee and government officials.

They are building houses on the land they have "allocated" to themselves at a furious pace but the standards vary. Some are hovels while others are quite good houses.

There is no piped water in the area and people have to drink from untreated wells. There are no proper toilets. Most people use pit latrines or the bush.

To visit clinics the squatters simply cross the Harare-Chitungwiza road and go to Seke Unit B, where they also send their children to school.

The squatter problem is not likely to disappear quickly, despite government's intention to accelerate the rate at which it acquires land and resettles people on it, and the war between illegal settlers and the government is likely to be a prolonged one.

Commercial farmers

The larger issue of land hunger and the virtual war it has generated between the Government and the so-called squatters is probably set to get worse, as commercial farmers, who presently own the bulk of the best land in the country, are expected to jump into the fray soon.

The Government, now that its hands have been untied by the falling away of the Lancaster House Constitution provision, has given notice that it intends acquiring about half the existing commercial farming land in order to resettle thousands of people in need of better land and bring about a more equitable distribution of land. However, the commercial farmers are not likely to give it up without a fight. □



Government will not randomly grab large-scale commercial land



More land to the people

POINT OF VIEW

One-Party State

The debate about the need for a one-party state or a multi-party system continues unabated both at the international and national levels.

Those who advocate for a multi-party system argue that it is more democratic and will result in faster socio-economic development. They do not state in whose interests that kind of democracy is nor can they prove that such a system does bring faster socio-economic development.

They frequently use the current political developments in Eastern Europe as evidence that one-party system does not work. We find this to be totally misleading. Our history and circumstances are completely different from Eastern Europe.

Abstract Debate

The debate is often abstract and irrelevant. It is also heavily championed and influenced by the Western mass media and governments. But these have never been known to be on the side of the democracy for the colonized and oppressed.

They are not known for being promoters of African liberation and against neo-colonialism. Western relations with Third World countries are based mainly on self-interest and not on whether or not the state concerned is democratic.

Many Third World dictatorships which are reliant to western economic interests are highlighted in the western media as models of development. The more pro-west a coun-

try is the more it is considered to be a good model. On this, the interests of the West are paramount and not those of the people of a Third World country.

Human Rights

The fact that they may be no real development relevant to the interests of the majority in such countries is a point of silence. The denial of Human rights in such countries is also ignored.

At the local level, the forces which have always been reactionary and supported Ian Smith against the majority are now clamouring for a multi-party system in the name of "democracy". They dare not even define it in detail for fear of being discovered what their true colours are.

But whom do they want to fool? Their motives are not difficult to unearth. Enemies do not become allies over-night. A true change of attitudes is not so automatic and without explanation. It can not really be so fast if it is genuine.

Change of Tactics

This is simply a change of tactics on the party of the enemy. It is correct that one must always listen and learn to accept good arguments. But seemingly good arguments must only be accepted after thorough investigation of their validity and the motives of the people advancing them.

We should also be careful not to apply lessons from other countries mechanically. What is possible, practical or even good as a solution for one country is not always so for another.

The West has always taught us not to copy from the East because it did not suit its interests. Today it advises us to learn from the East because it is now good for the West.

Scrutinising Oneself

But we must always study for ourselves the objective conditions and all the forces at play before making decisions. Nobody should have the privilege of doing this for us let



President Mugabe — the one-party state will not be imposed on the people.

alone our recent adversaries.

There is a wealth of information about the experience of other countries. Indeed some one party states have done badly in many respects and so have some multi-party states.

Some countries are multi-party systems in form but one party in essence. How a system is implemented is as important as the nature of the system itself.

South Africa

But there is nothing intrinsically democratic about a multi-party system. Look at South Africa as a multi-party state and the plight of black people there. Why have the working class, the women and minorities in UK had to fight so much for their rights in such a well established multi-party system? This oppression was extended to the colonies too.

The US is another great multi-party system. But, the black people there were disenfran-

chised for many generations, until they took to the streets in the civil rights campaign. Racial discrimination was rampant, and political violence used widely to intimidate political opponents. The Ku Klux Klan killed many black people who dared to speak in this state.

ZANU PF's Adoption

When ZANU PF decided to adopt the one party system as its policy it had done a thorough study of the historical circumstances and the current situation in Zimbabwe.

All the objective conditions internally and the international situation were fully taken into account. We found that at the present stage of our history as a country politically and economically, the one party system would consolidate our newly won national unity, safe guard national independence, and create a harmonious society.

Inter-Party Violence

We have a well known history of inter-party violence, ethnic chauvinism and regional conflicts. Much of this was nursed and developed by colonial and settler minority rule "Divide and Rule" was the minority strategy for dominating the majority.

This situation is true of most of the ex-colonial world. It will take time to eradicate and inculcate the true spirit of nationhood and Pan-Africanism.

The multi-party system provides a structure and a facility through which anti-state violence and separatist tendencies can be nourished and consolidated. It is too *laissez faire* and unwieldy as a political system for African countries.

Manipulated

It can be manipulated more easily by separatists, saboteurs, foreign sponsored agent provocateurs and other enemies of African Unity and development.

African countries are states in a socio-



People will decide on the one-party.

economic crisis because of the very nature of their colonial history and the need for a speedy development process.

They need and are indeed in a state of emergency aimed at getting out of this condition. They need maximum national unity in order to be better able to consolidate independence and move forward.

One-Party — the answer

One-party system is the only answer as a strategy for progress. The enemies of African progress will oppose anything that may lead Africa out of being an easy target for exploitation and neo-colonialism.

One-party systems can differ widely from

each other. Some are more democratic than others. In Zimbabwe, our one-party system would allow full freedom of the press and speech, and debate, in the spirit of criticism and self-criticism.

Members of the party would be free to openly differ with each other and with the leadership within defined broad principles.

Absolute freedom

The absolute freedom of the press in western style multi-party system is a myth which we must expose.

Freedom of the press is always freedom under the law, affected by the wishes of the

commercial advertizers and determined by the socio-economic system as a whole.

The media do not operate in a vacuum. They are owned and run by people with certain interests and a particular orientation.

At our level of development our guiding and primary interests and orientation are the consolidation of independence, speedy national development, creation of employment, provision of adequate housing, transport and a fairer land wealth re-distribution.

In our proposed one-party state, members of the same party can freely stand for election against each other in all elections including parliamentary general elections.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE ZANU-PF NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS

HELD IN HARARE ON 18-22 DECEMBER 1989

(THE THIRD DRAFT)

PREAMBLE

The National People's Congress (hereafter called The Congress) was held in Harare on 18-22 December, 1989, under the Chairmanship of Comrade Joseph Msika, the National Chairman. The theme of the Congress was UNITY, PEACE and DEVELOPMENT. Congress recognized and paid special tribute to the First Secretary and President, Comrade Robert Gabriel Mugabe, for the outstanding qualities he has displayed in leading the Government and the Party and the statesmanship he has displayed in international affairs, especially at the United Nations, in the Organisation of African Unity, and during his chairmanship of the Non-Aligned Movement; expressed its wish that special tribute is equally paid to both Comrade Robert Mugabe and to Comrade Joshua Mqabuko Nkomo, the President of the Patriotic Front ZAPU, for the selflessness, patience and determination they showed in the negotiations leading to the historic act of uniting the two parties on December 22, 1987. The Unity Accord was ratified by two special and separate congresses of both parties in April, 1988; and finally implemented at this historic congress.

1. THE PARTY

Conscious of the overwhelming mass support for the United ZANU-PF Party; also conscious of the Party's vanguard role and cognisant of the Zimbabwe people's desire to consolidate unity, peace and development; Congress resolved that:

- 1.1 The Party should politicise and conscientise the masses towards the development of the country.
- 1.2 The Party should harness the spirit of unity and unreservedly condemn tribalism, regionalism, nepotism and corruption.
- 1.3 The Party should be a people's organisation consisting of workers, peasants, intellectuals, professionals and students; and must endeavour to defend the people's gains in the economic, political, social and cultural fields.
- 1.4 The Party should create a cadreship committed to the theory and practice of socialism, and to that end ensures the establishment of appropriate institutions for political education.
- 1.5 The Party should be supreme over Government in the making of policy and that Government should therefore implement policy decisions and programmes adopted by the Party.
- 1.6 The Party should uphold the principle of democratic centralism and observe intra-Party democracy. Criticism and self-examination should be promoted within all the organs of the Party. Autocratic methods, bossism and other reactionary tendencies should be avoided.
- 1.7 The Party affirms socialism as its ideology guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism, taking into account the culture and the historical background of the Zimbabwean people.

2. PEACE AND NATIONAL SECURITY

Congress applauded the peace prevailing in the country since the signing of the historic unity agreement between the two parties. Therefore, Congress resolved that:

- 2.1 The Party condemns the South African apartheid regime for its destabilisation activities in the Front Line States in general, and in Angola and Mozambique in particular.
- 2.2 The Party applauds the continuing efforts of the Mozambican government to resist the aggression of the Renamo bandits and endorses and supports their diplomatic initiative to bring about a peaceful African solution. In that context, the Party commends the joint efforts of Kenya and Zimbabwe to resolve the conflict in Mozambique.
- 2.3 The Party directs that Government gives full and adequate protection to all Zimbabwean citizens who may be targets of attack by Renamo bandits along our common border with Mozambique.
- 2.4 The Party supports the Government's contribution to current efforts in search of solutions to regional problems as well as to issues of global peace and security.

3. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Congress discussed the economic situation in the country and welcomed the proposed measures for the liberalisation of the economy. Therefore, Congress resolved that:

- 3.1 The Party should continue with efforts to remove economic imbalances and take decisive measures in favour of the masses through people-oriented social and economic schemes and institutions.
- 3.2 The Party directs Government to encourage and support the formation of co-operatives in agriculture, mining, industry and commerce in order to involve the indigenous people in the productive and marketing sectors of the economy. Such co-operatives should be supported financially by the Party and Government and be provided with loans and grants by approved financial institutions.
- 3.3 The public sector of the economy be expanded from time to time to ensure that the people's Government controls the commanding heights of the economy.
- 3.4 The Central Committee should urgently address the following issues:
 - a) the land question;
 - b) the unemployment of thousands of school leavers;
 - c) the transport crisis in urban and rural areas;
 - d) the localisation of the control and management of economic and commercial enterprises;
 - e) provision of adequate housing for both urban dwellers and rural people.
- 3.5 The leadership of the Party should provide strong guidance to the nation in the transformation of the economy and scrupulously observe the Leadership Code affirmed in the Unity Accord. There should be a Disciplinary Code and/or Code of Conduct that is binding on all leaders and enforced by the Central Committee.

4. LAND REFORM AND AGRICULTURE

Congress deplored the inequitable land distribution in our country, and the overgrazing, over-cultivation and degradation of communal lands. Congress, therefore, resolved that:

- 4.1 The Party directs Government to acquire more land for the resettlement of persons who now live in over-crowded communal lands.
- 4.2 The Party notes and applauds the increased production of food crops by peasant farmers; and directs Government to intensify the provision of extension services to these farmers so that they can further improve their yields and undertake better soil management.
- 4.3 The Party directs Government to expand the resettlement programmes and to correct the land degradation that has occurred in some resettlement areas.

5. SOCIAL SERVICES

Congress noted with appreciation the enormous expansion of social services since independence, particularly education, at all levels, health and social welfare. Therefore, Congress resolved that:

Education

- 5.1 The Party should ensure the establishment of a technical bias in education from the primary level in order to prepare the nation for technological advancement.
- 5.2 The Party should mobilise its resources for adult literacy programmes and should establish preschool centres through its own organs, particularly in rural areas.
- 5.3 The Party directs Government to ensure that there are adequate facilities in our nation's schools and that the quality of education is further improved.

Health

- 5.4 The Party directs Government to provide adequate health care for all.

- 5.5 The Party directs Government to establish a national health insurance scheme.
- 5.6 The Party supports the intensification of the Government's Primary Health Care Programme.

Social Welfare

- 5.7 The Party directs Government to review the Age of Majority Act so that it takes further account of our cultural background, with a view in particular to raising the age of majority to 21 years.
- 5.8 The Party directs Government to revise and amend the Maintenance Act to limit the number of children for which mothers can claim maintenance from different fathers.
- 5.9 The Party encourages Government to ensure that Magistrates and Primary Courts should recognize unregistered customary marriages when dealing with cases involving such marriages.
- 5.10 The Party directs the Government to restore the powers of chiefs and headmen so that they can preserve and maintain rural family life, as well as control stock theft, deforestation and other social evils.
- 5.11 The Party directs Government to ensure that the issuing of death/birth certificates be decentralised so that people living in communal areas will have ready access to this important service.

6. NATURAL RESOURCES AND THE ENVIRONMENT

Congress felt strongly that the Party should spearhead and take positive action toward preserving our natural resources and solving environmental problems, and actively participate in global efforts aimed at resolving these problems. Congress, therefore, resolved that:

- 6.1 The Party approves the Government's anti-poaching policy but notes with concern the continuing depletion of our resources.
- 6.2 The Party supports all efforts to continue to improve the management of wildlife and the preservation of our valuable natural resources.
- 6.3 The Party supports the Government's stand on the issue of ivory marketing and the conservation of elephants in Zimbabwe.
- 6.4 The Party supports the Government's commitment to a vigorous reforestation programme and urges the entire nation to join in this exercise.
- 6.5 The Party supports Government's effort to educate the people of the advantages of conserving, maintaining and increasing our natural resources.

7. TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATION

Congress expressed deep concern with the current transport crisis, poor communication systems, and the escalating death toll on our roads. Therefore, Congress resolved that:

- 7.1 The Party directs Government to introduce an effective highway patrol unit in the police force in order to ensure greater safety on the roads; to continue to educate drivers, passengers, and all road users to exercise great restraint when travelling.
- 7.2 The Party directs the Government to ensure that all buses are governed to run up to a maximum speed of 80 km per hour.
- 7.3 The Party directs Government to continue with its programme to install an adequate and efficient telecommunications systems, particularly in the rural areas.
- 7.4 The Party encourages Government to ensure the speedy completion of the railway electrification system.
- 7.5 The Party directs Government to ensure that all our people are provided with adequate buses to take them to and from work, and carry communal farmers and their produce from the rural areas to the cities.
- 7.6 The Party directs Government to give high priority to the improvement and upgrading of all rural roads and bridges.

8. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Congress recognized the historic experience of the people of Zimbabwe in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, racism and the forces of monopoly capitalism. Therefore, Congress resolved that:

- 8.1 The Party supports all progressive liberation movements seeking national self-determination and fighting a just war for a just cause. In particular, the Party expresses its solidarity with the liberation movements and the struggling masses of South Africa. ZANU-PF will continue to fight against apartheid and to support those fighting against it.
- 8.2 The Party congratulates SWAPO on its victory in Namibia and pledges to continue to work closely with SWAPO.
- 8.3 The Party supports the Arias plan and the peace process in Central America, and condemns the continuing practice of the United States to render material and political support to the Contra forces in Nicaragua.

- 8.4 The Party applauds the new state of Palestine and the "intifada" uprising, and supports the convening of an international conference on Palestine as the only way of bringing permanent peace to the Middle East.
- 8.5 The Party supports the Organisation of African Unity and all the efforts it is making to resolve disputes amongst African states, to promote Pan-African unity and co-operation, and to end apartheid.
- 8.6 The Party should closely follow and study current developments and ideological problems being experienced by communist parties and socialist governments of Eastern Europe and analyse the causes of such developments for its own benefit and future direction.
- 8.7 The Party further condemns the armed interventions by the United States of America in the internal affairs of Panama, contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and international law.
- 8.8 The Party salutes Cde Nelson Mandela and his South African compatriots serving long terms in South African prisons and agrees to step up efforts to secure their immediate release and the eradication of the inhuman system of apartheid and the creation of a non-racial, unfragmented, democratic South Africa; and
- 8.9 The Party affirms the total commitment of the Zimbabwe masses to the struggle against imperialism throughout the world and to render our diplomatic and political support to oppressed and disadvantaged peoples everywhere.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE YOUTH CONFERENCE AS APPROVED BY THE NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS

The ZANU-PF Youth League Conference was held in Harare on 28-29th October 1989. The Youth League Conference deliberated on many issues and resolved to:

1. Fully support the Unity Accord signed between ZANU-PF and PF-ZAPU, and work tirelessly for the consolidation of that unity.
2. Reaffirm our loyalty and faith in the leadership of the President and First Secretary of ZANU-PF, Comrade Robert Mugabe.
3. Continue to be guided by Marxist and Leninist principles as we seek to build a socialist state rid of all forms of exploitation of man by man, and all forms of domination of one social class by another.
4. Establish Youth League cells, districts and branches at workplaces as well as schools, technical colleges, universities and other institutions of higher learning.
5. Be committed to the Leadership Code and in the light of the Unity Accord urge that a committee be set up to study the content and mode of implementation of the Code.
6. Work with all progressive, democratic and revolutionary youth organisations in other countries and pledge to give support to all genuine national liberation movements and their youth wings.
7. Condemn racism, tribalism, nepotism, regionalism and discrimination based on sex.
8. Call upon the Government to introduce urgently the national service and urge that all the necessary resources be made available for its success.
9. Expedite the establishment of the Chitepo Ideological College in order to provide facilities for training and political education for Party cadres and organisers.
10. Direct Government to seek a solution to the growing unemployment problems amongst youth.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE WOMEN'S LEAGUE AS APPROVED BY THE NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS

The ZANU-PF Women's League National Conference (hereafter called The League) was held in Harare on 4-5 November, 1989.

The League warmly welcomed and endorsed the Unity Accord between ZANU-PF and PF-ZAPU, signed on December 22, 1987. The League deliberated on many issues of national importance, and pronounced itself on the issues below.

1. WOMEN AND LAW

The League applauded the laws that have been enacted enhancing the status and granting rights to women. The League resolved that:

- 1.1 A law should be enacted to protect women from physical harassment, abuse and battering by their husbands as at the moment wife-beating is not in itself regarded as a criminal offence. This practice is degrading to women.
- 1.2 A thorough research be conducted on the implementation of the Maintenance Act. Women have to go through a lot of inconveniences in trying to get the entitled allowances. The maintenance money should be paid direct to the beneficiary's bank account rather than going through a middleman -- the district community courts.
- 1.3 Thorough research of the effects of the Legal Age of Majority Act be carried out, with a view to amending the law so that parents give consent before their children enter into any marriage. The Act may have contributed to social evils like baby-dumping, prostitution, *ngozi* and suicide.
- 1.4 a) Stiff sentences should be given to proven cases of baby dumping. The law should also punish those men who are responsible for the pregnancy of baby dumpers.
b) Parents should be taught to understand their pregnant daughters' plight and sometimes dilemma. The Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare should look after the unmarried young mothers and their children.
- 1.5 Child labour should be prohibited by law. The Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare should ensure that all people who employ children below the age of 12 years are brought to book.
- 1.6 Severe sentences should be given to rapists especially of children below the age of 12 years and old women.
- 1.7 In order to ease the burden of registering births, especially in rural areas, a regulation be enacted allowing births to be registered at clinics and hospitals.
- 1.8 The system of dual law, i.e. customary and civil law should be abolished to avoid discrimination and unfair practices.
- 1.9 A massive education campaign should be started in order to make women fully aware of their rights, as well as to understand the laws that empower women to overcome exploitation.
- 1.10 Government should pass a law requiring that every institution, organisation or governmental structure should employ more women and that at least one-quarter of the top decision-makers in such institutions or organisations should be women.
- 1.11 A law on inheritance to protect the interests of the surviving spouse and children should be enacted without any further delays.

2. EDUCATION

Because of the discrimination which existed for many decades in the colonial period, most women remain illiterate and uneducated. It is not their fault but that of the system which barred them from this golden opportunity of being educated. This fact cannot be over-emphasised as education is the gateway to development and employment. In order to redress this particular situation in the field of education, the League resolved that:

- 2.1 Women who are illiterate should be encouraged to participate meaningfully in adult literacy classes and that adequate support should be given to adult literacy classes in the form of materials and human resources. Educated women should be encouraged to assist their less fortunate counterparts by voluntarily assisting with giving classes or donating funds towards the literacy campaign.
- 2.2 Women be encouraged to work hard to improve their academic status and to attend course that give them skills that are required on the job market. The emphasis on women education should be on acquiring skills for employment and not just voluntary work. In any case, why is it mainly women and not men, who are encouraged to do voluntary work?
- 2.3 A quota system should be introduced in all educational institutions to ensure that women get places and opportunities for study and education.
- 2.4 A quota system of awarding scholarships to deserving girls should be introduced. A record of possible female candidates for scholarships at different levels and in different areas of specialisation should be kept, and utilised by all sectors of the economy.
- 2.5 The minimum entry point at the University of Zimbabwe is too high. We recommend that the Government opens more tertiary institutions with a bias for practical subjects for young people who have completed sixth form, but may not be able to enter university.
- 2.6 The payment of school fees be required at the end of the month at the beginning of each term so that parents are better able to pay the fees. Many parents cannot pay school fees in the middle of the month.
- 2.7 The education system in both urban and rural areas should stress the philosophy of "education with production" and teach practical subjects that make the school-leavers useful and productive citizens.

3. EMPLOYMENT

It is a fact that women continue to face serious problems in the field of employment. These range from failure to get jobs to sexual harassment by unscrupulous bosses. With these facts in mind, the League resolved that:

- 3.1 Government is directed to enact a law against sexual harassment at work in order to protect women from unscrupulous employers.
- 3.2 A quota system be introduced for the employment of women at all work places, and that there should be a women's desk in every phase of recruitment and representation at interviewing panel level to ensure that equal opportunities are afforded to women.
- 3.3 The Government is directed to accelerate advancement of women in all professions in order to close the gap between men and women.
- 3.4 Provincial projects should be established with Government support to allviate the problem of unemployment and loitering amongst women.
- 3.5 Women should be considered for positions of members of board of directors of companies and/or parastatal bodies.
- 3.6 The coverage of news and dissemination of information can be strengthened by the employment of women information officers.
- 3.7 Women who have undergone training in political ideology should be employed in relevant ministries, e.g. Political Affairs.

4. OTHER GENERAL/SOCIAL ISSUES

The Conference delegates, as mothers, expressed great concern for the poor, the aged, the disabled, and disadvantaged individuals in our society. The mothers urged the Party and Government to take measures to protect and strengthen those who are weak and disadvantaged.

The League resolved that:

- 4.1 Priority on distribution of land be given to the poor and needy instead of opening up to the "haves" of our society. Bearing in mind that the liberation war was fought for land, the Party should pay special attention to the re-distribution of arable and good land. Many people in rural areas still occupy unproductive land.
- 4.2 Government is directed to work out a systematic approach to cater more effectively for the needs of destitutes, the old the handicapped and the disadvantaged in our society.
- 4.3 Foreigners should not be allowed to buy houses.
- 4.4 Veteran women politicians should be honoured in recognition of their contribution to the country's liberation.
- 4.5 The law be amended to enable women to have an independent access to credit.
- 4.6 The League should have and manage its own funds.

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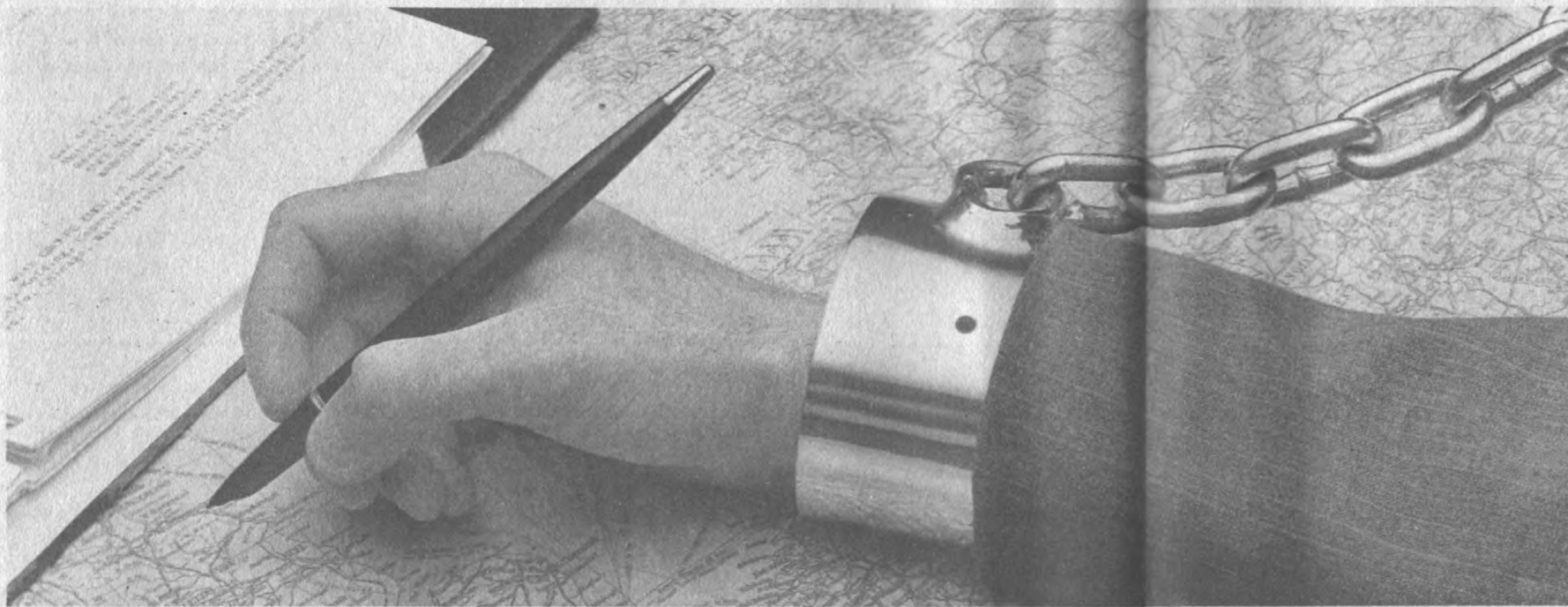
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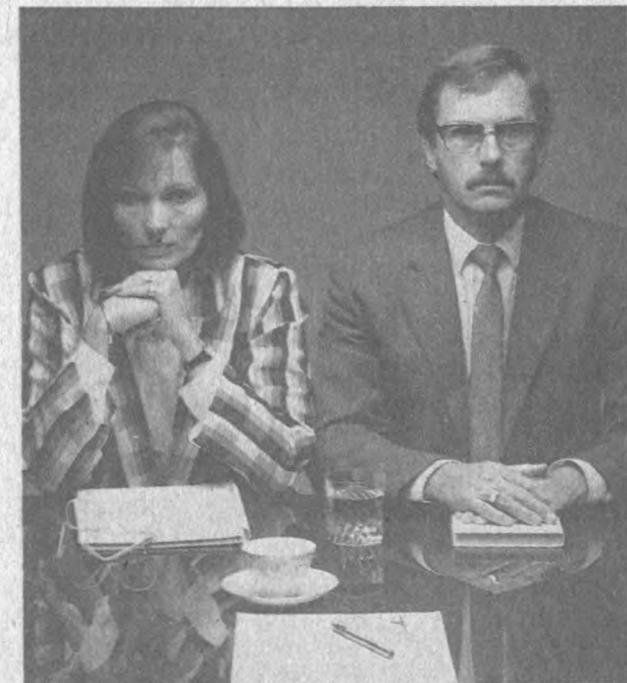
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Unesco and Education in Africa

Zimbabwe's budget statement for 1990 announced by the Senior Minister of Finance, Economic Planning and Development, Dr. B.T.G. Chidzero, on July 26 revealed once again the priority position accorded education by our government.

Following the introduction of free primary education the numbers of pupils increased from 1 636 million in 1980 to 2 267 million in 1989, while in secondary education the numbers were 74 966 and 695 612 respectively. As a result, said Dr. Chidzero, the education budget, as a proportion of recurrent expenditure rose from 14.8 percent in 1980/81 to an estimated 23.1 percent in 1989/90 — a remarkable demonstration of commitment.

However, although education represents a long-term investment in human resources, its provision always has to be balanced with investment in immediately productive areas, if the economy is to sustain the cost-implied. In Zimbabwe the trend so far has been for social sectors such as education to grow at the expense of productive sectors — and our government is actively seeking ways of achieving balance in this area.

UNESCO assistance

In this effort the government of Zimbabwe and other governments in Africa will find a powerful and willing ally in UNESCO. For some decades now UNESCO has been making considerable efforts to "accompany" its African member states along the path of development. These efforts and their results were fully described in the publication entitled "UNESCO and Africa."

UNESCO's commitment to Africa's development was recently spelt out in "Priority Africa" — a programme of action proposed by the organisation's Director-General, Mr. Federico Mayor, covering the period 1990—1995.

Priority Africa, which was drawn within the framework of United Nations — Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development (UNAAERD) — is rooted in the Lagos Plan of Action. It is UNESCO Director-General's personal commitment to Africa expressed in the first press conference he held following his election as the Organisation's Director-General. The programme was put together after many meetings with African leaders.

Outline programme

Priority Africa is an outline programme which sets out the main lines of what is intended to be a multifaceted programme of action for the duration of UNESCO's Third Medium-Term Plan, 1990-1995.

It is a framework within which member states can express their special needs in the field of competence of UNESCO: education,

science and technology, culture and communication, social and human sciences. As an additional effort to what has been budget-

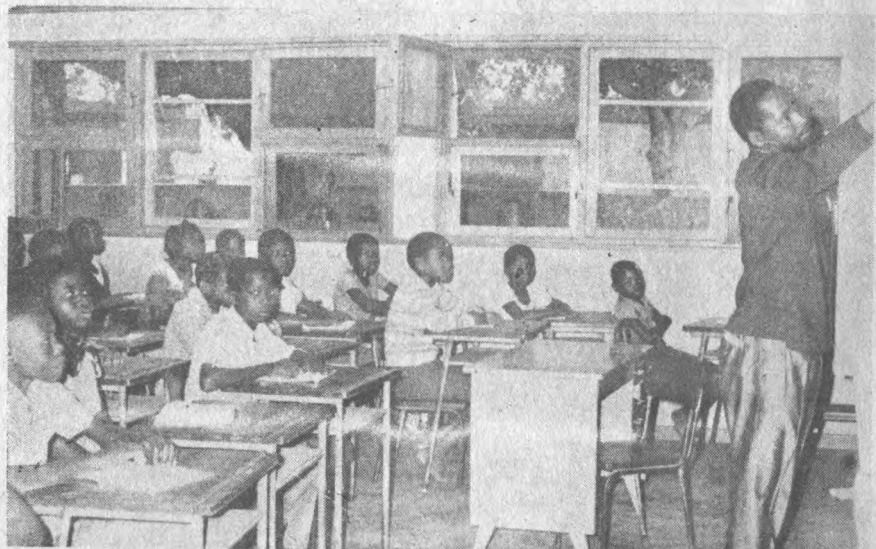


Pre-school children at a graduation ceremony

ed for in the Regular Programme, Priority Africa is intended to give fresh impetus to UNESCO's action in Africa.

The primary aim behind Priority Africa is to tackle major problems in an integrated manner, based on people's participation, and to help build up Africa's capacity through identification of needs (human and material) of national, sub-region and regional character: through intersectoral missions engaged in direct dialogue with national experts.

Its objective is, ultimately, to widen the score through brain-storming, knowledgeable process, bringing experts from as many African countries as possible together, to exchange views and experiences, co-operate and avoid duplication and wastage of resources.



UNESCO has supported the African war against illiteracy

Priority Africa is an international programme of action to contribute to Africa's development. When the programme was

presented in November 1989 at the UNESCO twenty-fifth General Conference, it was adopted unanimously by all the (world) Ministers of Education.

The programme has identified the main areas of action which are summarised in the margin of the document. Some of the main areas are:

- Revision and adaptation of educational content;
- Introducing environmental literacy;
- Population dynamics in school programmes;
- Education geared to productive work;
- Literacy training geared to development;
- Textbooks adapted to African needs;
- Education that banishes distance;
- Teacher training for a better education system;

- Helping African universities;
- Ensuring that Africa retains its brain power;
- Combating drought and desertification; Starting environmental protection education at schools;
- Promoting scientific research centres;
- Exchange of scientific and technological information;
- Strengthening intra-African co-operation in science and technology;
- Strengthening scientific endogenous capabilities;
- Inculcating the cultural dimension in development;
- Action for peace and against apartheid.

Guidelines

To implement the guidelines contained in the resolution adopted by the General Confer-

ence, UNESCO is undertaking two types of activities at the national level and at the sub-regional level.

At the national level, the UNESCO secretariat is sending to its Member States, which so request, intersectoral missions responsible, on the one hand, for organising information seminars and training workshops for National Cadres in techniques of identification, preparation, management and evaluation of development projects within the fields of UNESCO's competence; and on the other hand, for drawing up a list of needs and identifying innovative projects likely to attract supplementary extrabudgetary resources.

At the same time, at the national and sub-regional levels, the secretariat is making every effort to reinforce the organisation's participation in the fields of education and cul-

ture, the sciences, and communication. Projects proposals received at UNESCO Headquarters include, so far, the following topics;

- 1) The introduction of informatics into general teaching (INFORMAFRICA);
- 2) Distance education — for reaching the largest number of people with the least cost possible;
- 3) Improvement of the planning, administration and management of higher education;
- 4) Promotion of learning teaching materials in engineering education;
- 5) Action to combat drought and desertification for achieving food production self-sufficiency.

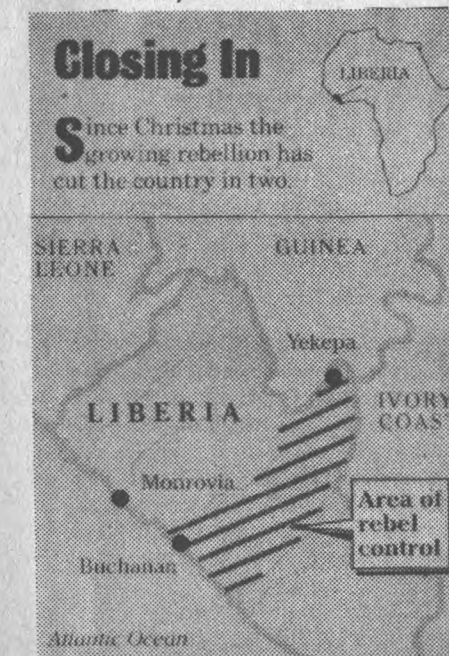
Priority Africa is an important initiative which countries like Zimbabwe should participate in and utilize to the maximum. □

Doe: A Sergeant Of No Fortune

Amere nine months ago a small group of dissidents armed with vintage rifles and knives crossed into Liberia from neighbouring Cote d'Ivoire in a bid to overthrow the regime of Samuel Doe. Three months ago the rebel forces totalled fourteen-thousand well armed soldiers and controlled two-thirds of the country.

Today, fighting has reached Monrovia, the capital city; Samuel Doe is dead; the rebels who were under the leadership of Charles Taylor split and Prince Johnson became commander of the other faction and the 7,000 strong Economic Community of west African States army is there to enforce peace.

The republic of Liberia emerged in 1847. It was founded by American blacks liberated from slavery. For that reason Liberia is called a country with an "American heart".



Map of Liberia

For more than one hundred and forty-three-years the United States rendered financial and military assistance to Liberia. In exchange, Washington enjoyed total freedom in using airforce bases in the country and established a network of telecommunication stations.

The repatriants from America formed an isolated group of American Liberians and seized power for many years. All the leading posts in the country were taken by representatives of the American elite.

Although the country is far from being poor (it has considerable deposits of iron ore, gold, diamonds, and bauxites), unemployment was high and corruption flourished. The health service was in disastrous condition. Naturally, all that caused anger on the part of Liberia's indigenous residents. A group of ambitious sergeants led by Samuel Doe took advantage of the situation. In April 1980 they overthrew and killed President Tolbert. However, the authoritarian regime that came to power has failed to tackle the problems of national development.

Liberia's subsequent history is a succession of military coup attempts Doe has so far managed to put down. In 1985, when General Thomas Quiwonkpa staged a coup attempt, the sergeant had a narrow escape. After the victory over the plotters Doe promoted himself and victimized not only the rebel military but also the leaders of opposition parties. The non-governmental law-enforcement organisation Africa Watch says that Samuel Doe's presidency is marked by corruption, gross human rights abuse, arbitrary arrests, torture, imprisonment without inquest or trial and executions of civilians and military without trial. Washington advised Doe to facelift his regime to make it look more democratic. The dictator held "general elections" and became president. However, the opposition exposed election rigging. It was then that Taylor appeared



National Patriotic Front Leader Charles Taylor

on the horizon.

Charles Taylor, a businessman, 42, son of an American black and a Liberian woman, received his education at a college in Massachusetts in the United States. In the Doe government he was chief of the appropriations department. In 1983 he was accused of embezzling one million dollars. Taylor fled to the United States where he formed a National Patriotic Front. The front demanded Doe's resignation and general free and democratic elections in Liberia. When Doe rejected the ultimatum the rebels crossed the border and began their fast advance towards Monrovia.

The NPF does not have a definite political programme. The rebels' main goal is to overthrow the Doe regime. However, the leader of the front says he is not a leftist activist and is not supported by Libya, contrary to accusations by the authorities.

The developments in Liberia have been increasingly influenced by the interethnic fac-



Rival rebel leader Prince Yealu Johnson

tor. The reason is that the Liberian army consists mostly of members of the Krahn tribe to which Samuel Doe himself belonged, while most of the rebels are from the Gio and Mano tribes. Both sides have been accusing each other of genocide.

The Liberian Council of Churches tried to act as mediator in negotiations between the government and the NPF. There has been meetings of delegates representing the parties to the conflict at the US embassy in Freetown, the capital of Sierra Leone. However, the talks have so far ended in failure. The chief government delegate Tambakai Jangaba accused the rebels of destabilizing the country and the front's

representative has said that Liberia's problems cannot be solved as long as President Doe remains in office.

Doe, the seargent of no fortune is no more. The question is: will the four would be rulers, Charles Taylor, Prince Johnson, David Nimley and Amos Sawyer stop fighting and cooperate for the establishment of peace and democracy in Liberia, or will the situation deteriorate and more people die as each faction fights for military and political supremacy?

The Western Sahara

A Dragged Out Conflict

Relations between North West African States are strained on account of the fourteen-year old conflict in that region. Scores and even hundreds of combatants have died in bloody battles. But this struggle is not confined to the battlefields, it also extends to the diplomatic arena. The African efforts to mediate have yielded no positive results so far.

The fight is over sparsely populated area of 266 000 square kilometre. This territory which borders on Morocco, Algeria and Mauritania includes Sekia el-Hamra and Rio de Oro...historical regions which make up Western Sahara, with a population of close to 150 000.

Active development of the territory began in the mid-20th century after the discovery of rich phosphorite deposits there. Experts estimate them at about 10 billion metric tonnes, which is approximately a quarter of the world's prospected reserves. They are concentrated on an area of 1,200 square kilometre, with the unique Bucraa deposit of some 700 square kilometres. An 110-km conveyor belt in the early 1970's. Apart from this mineral, Western Sahara is rich in copper, zinc, manganese ore, mercury, titanium, vanadium, potassium and uranium. Limited deposit of iron ore have also been found there. Petroleum was recently prospected in Cap-Bojodor. Coastal fishing has assumed appreciable dimensions of late.

Now rent by a regional conflict Western Sahara has been a Spanish colony from the end of the 19th Century. Then known as Spanish Sahara. The national liberation movement gained momentum on the territory when the independence of Morocco was proclaimed in 1956. The question of terminating Spanish colonial rule was repeatedly raised in the United Nations. Since 1966 the UN General Assembly has been stressing in its resolutions the need for the indigenous populations of Western Sahara to express their will through a referendum.

There was no unanimity on self-determination within the local national liberation forces in the early 1970's. For instance, the MOREHOB resistance movement, the Liberation and Unity Front and several other organisations regarded self-determination merely as reunification with Morocco. Active in the Southern part of Western Sahara were insurgent organisations backed by Mauritanian. The pro-Moroccan and pro-Mauritanian leanings of the leaderships of some liberation movements are explained by close tribal ties within the traditional communities that existed during pre-colonial and colonial periods and which have remained to date. They are also explained by the substantial material assistance given to them both by Morocco and Mauritania.

Morocco and Mauritania demanded at the United Nations that the entire territory of Western Sahara be transferred to them after Spain had pledged in August 1974 to hold a referendum on the territory's self-determination.

The Franco dictatorial regime resorted to

various manoeuvres, made repeated attempts to find a compromise solution that would ensure Spain's presence in Western Sahara after officially withdrawing from the territory, so as to hold on to her economic interests there. For this purpose the Spanish Foreign Minister Pedro Cortina Mauri had a meeting in September 1975 with Mustafa Seyid Wali, the founder and General Secretary of POLISARIO. The Saharans were initially under the impression that the Spanish government really intended to co-operate with the national liberation forces in the territory's decolonisation. These illusions were dispelled by subsequent events.

On October 16th, 1975 the International Court of Justice in the Hague passed a consultative judgement, acknowledging that in pre-colonial times this territory was not terra nullius (nobody's land), that there were relations in the past between the Sultan of Morocco and the chieftains of some Saharan tribes, which at times assumed the character of vassal dependence, that some tribes had similar relations with Mauritania.



Where life goes on; makeshift tent-houses are frequently blown down in sandstorms

However, in the court's opinion, those relations did not mean "territorial sovereignty" and, therefore, could not be considered as an obstacle to the application of the General Assembly's Resolution 1514 on decolonisation to Western Sahara; they could not in any way affect its population's right to self determination.

Exploiting the precarious position of the Spanish ruling echelons in connections with Franco's ill health, Morocco and Mauritania went out of their way to pressurise the Spanish government. All the principal political forces of Morocco were unanimous in their desire to annex Western Sahara and gave unreserved support to all the King's demarches. In October 1975 King Hassan 11 massed some 350 000 Moroccan volunteers on the borders with Western Sahara, poised for the green march. He threatened they would be ordered to cross the border if Spain did not relinquish her colonial possession to him.

Thousands of men from the regular Moroccan army were also concentrated on the border with Western Sahara. On November 6 the "marchers" crossed the border and advanced ten kilometres into Western Sahara.

In response to the Security Council's emphatic appeal, the "marchers" were returned to their initial positions. On November 14, 1975, an agreement was signed in Madrid between Spain, Morocco, and Mauritania providing for the transfer of Western Sahara to joint Moroccan and Mauritanian jurisdiction. Morocco and Mauritania moved their troops into Western Sahara in December 1975 and divided it into two occupational zones.

POLISARIO opposed the partition of their country and firmly insisted on Western Sahara's independence and territorial integrity.

On February 27, 1976 the POLISARIO Front proclaimed an independent Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) on the territory of former Western Sahara. By January 1989, it had been officially recognised by 70 countries.

Neighbouring Algeria strongly opposed the division of a Western SAHARA and rendered both military and political assistance to POLISARIO. Houari Boume-dienne, who was then President of Algeria, was among the first African heads of states to recognise SADR after its government was formed on March 6, 1976. Morocco and Mauritania retaliated by breaking off diplomatic relations with Algeria.

The Spanish colonial empire collapsed on the African continent shortly after the deal struck by the last government of Franco's agonising dictatorial regime with the ruling quarters of Morocco and Mauritania behind the backs of POLISARIO and other national liberation forces of the country. Moreover, the parties to the Madrid negotiations failed to arrange the democratic expression of the Western Saharan people's will provide for in the relevant UN resolutions. The violence, perpetrated by the rulers of Morocco and Mauritania in splitting Western Sahara evoked vigorous Polisario resistance.

Agravation of the Conflict

The essentially political problem of Western Sahara acquired a distinctly regional character against the background of political discord and rivalry which rent the Magreb. President Boumediene declared that Algeria was sincerely interested in a just solution of the issue. Together with Libya the Algerian People's Democratic Republic gave POLISARIO substantial material assistance. More than 100 000 Saharan refugees found assylum in the Algerian wilaya of Tindouf. POLISARIO detachments launched active operations.



Saharawi elders in POLISARIO camps near Tindouf

The hostilities in Western Sahara involved huge military expenditure. The war proved to be an unbearable burden for the Mauritanian economy. It aggravated the country's economic situation, distressing as it was. A coup d'etat was staged there in July 1978. On August 6, 1979 Mauritania signed an agreement with POLISARIO at Algiers and pulled out of its occupation zone in Western Sahara which was immediately taken over by Moroccan troops. On February 21, 1984 Mauritania officially recognised the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic.

The combat tactics of Moroccan troops in Western Saharan, numbering more than 80 000 officers and men, changed drastically in the mid-1980s. In 1986 the Moroccans completed the construction of the so-called security walls, — a 2 500-kilometre stretched of defensive fortification consisting of four and five metre high rock and a sand mounds the approaches to which are interdicted by mine fields.

By resorting to the "wall tactics", the Moroccan troops were able to cut Saharan detachments off maor populated localities and key mineral deposits. In spite of this, POLISARIO combatants carried out a successful operation in the area of Umm-Dreig in September 1988, putting out of action some 200 Moroccan officers and men. The guerilla warfare by POLISARIO armed detachments is seen by the Front's leadership as "a factor of pressuring the Moroccan government to accept a just solution to the Western Sahara problem".

Notable changes have occurred in the Morocco occupied part of Western Sahara.

The territory's administrative centre El-Aioun was a small town with a population of only 20 000 in 1976. The nearby Bucraa mines lay idle Rebel raids brought to a stand still the 100 kilometres conveyor belt for transporting phosphorites. But then more than six billion dirhams were injected into the economy of Western Sahara between 1976 and 1985. El-Aioun's population grew to about 110 000 and it is now a relatively large town. Work was resumed at the Bucraa mines early in 1983. More than one million metric tonnes of phosphates were produced there in 1987.

The Moroccans are exploring the ethnic aspect of the Saharan problem for propaganda purposes, stressing particularly the blood relationship and tribal ties of the local population with the inhabitants of Southern Morocco. Today, like fifteen years ago, King Hassan's policy in Western Sahara is backed practically by all the political parties and public organisations of Morocco including the Party of Progress and Socialism.

Having achieved tangible successes in the battlefield, the Moroccan ruling circles are actively pursuing in Western Sahara their policy of "Morocconisation", which is primarily facilitated by encouraged migration of Moroccans to Saharan towns and other populated localities as well as financial privileges and social guarantees to the local people. Rapid urbanisation and growing commodity-money relations tend to certify the Saharan community. Many Saharans, above all the young ones, are attracted to towns by urban comforts and employment prospects. Frequent draughts and locusts swarms plague the Saharan nomads and force them to settle down.

For Western Sahara's self-determination
The conflict in Western Sahara, which has strained relations among Maghreb nations, primarily between Morocco and Algeria, is closely followed by international organisations. Since 1976 the United Nations has passed several resolutions on Western Sahara confirming the inalienable right of the Sahara people to self-determination — resolutions asserting the lawfulness of POLISARIO's struggle for the country's in



Moroccan troops with King Hassan (centre with goggles)

dependence and territorial integrity.

However, neither the good offices missions, mediation efforts nor other steps taken by the United Nations Organisation of African Unity, were of any avail.

In June 1983 the 19th Session of the OAU Assembly, meeting at Addis-Ababa, adopted by consensus Resolution 104 which recommended that the sides involved in the conflict — the Kingdom of Morocco and POLISARIO — start direct negotiations for the purpose of achieving a ceasefire and creating the necessary conditions for a referendum on the Saharan people's self-determination without any administrative or military restrictions.

Despite the fact that the settlement plan outlined in the resolution was approved by the belligerents, and supported by the United Nations and the Non-aligned movement, the situation did not improve. This was due to Morocco's refusal to enter into direct negotiations with POLISARIO. The Moroccan government took a sharply negative stance in the question of SADR's admission to the OAU (the 38th Session of the OAU Ministerial Council passed a decision granting SADR membership in the Organisation of African Unity).

The Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic became the 51st member of this Pan African organisation after the decision had been legalised in November 1984 at the 20th session on the OAU Assembly.

Morocco responded by withdrawing from the OAU. This put the political solution of the Saharan issue far back, indeed. The positive tendencies on solving regional conflicts, which appeared in international relations at the close of the 1980s, have created a favourable background for new joint UN and OAU initiatives to secure a political settlement of the Western Sahara conflict. This was helped in many ways by the resumption of diplomatic relations between Morocco and Algeria on May 16, 1988 and also by the Maghreb consultations on a broad range of issues, held in the summer and autumn of 1988.

At the end of 1987 a technical commission of the United Nations visited Western Sahara, Morocco, Algeria and Mauritania to

study the feasibility of a referendum. It submitted the appropriate report to the UN Secretary-General and he had separate consultations with the Moroccan side and the POLISARIO representatives at New York in the summer of 1988. On August 30, 1988 representatives of the two conflicting parties



POLISARIO Front leader Mohamed Abdelaziz (right) receives a UN special envoy, Mr Manz in an underground bunker

accepted in Geneva a settlement plan drawn up with the personal participation of the UN Secretary-General. The UN Security Council on September 20, 1988, adopted Resolution 621 which repeated the text of OAU resolution 104 and authorised the UN Secretary-General to appoint his special representative for the practical decolonisation of Western Sahara. Perez de Cuellar's plan envisages holding a referendum not later than the beginning of 1990.

Both Morocco and POLISARIO welcomed the latest UN decisions and expressed confidence in the mission of the Uruguayan lawyer Gros Espiella special envoy of the UN Secretary-General. The latter first paid a visit to Morocco, where he was received by Has-

san II, and then to Western Sahara where he had talks with Mohammed Abdelaziz. He discussed with them the possibility of UN and OAU observers taking part in the holding of a referendum.

UN representatives are to monitor the voting and handle legislative and administrative matters during the so-called "transition period". In the mean-time, a team of UN and OAU military experts observers will monitor the withdrawal of Moroccan troops and POLISARIO armed detachments to specially assigned bases.

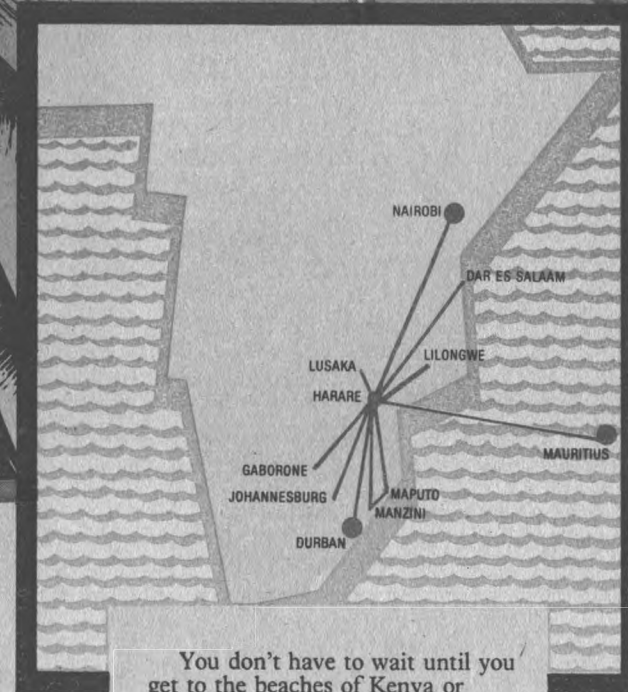
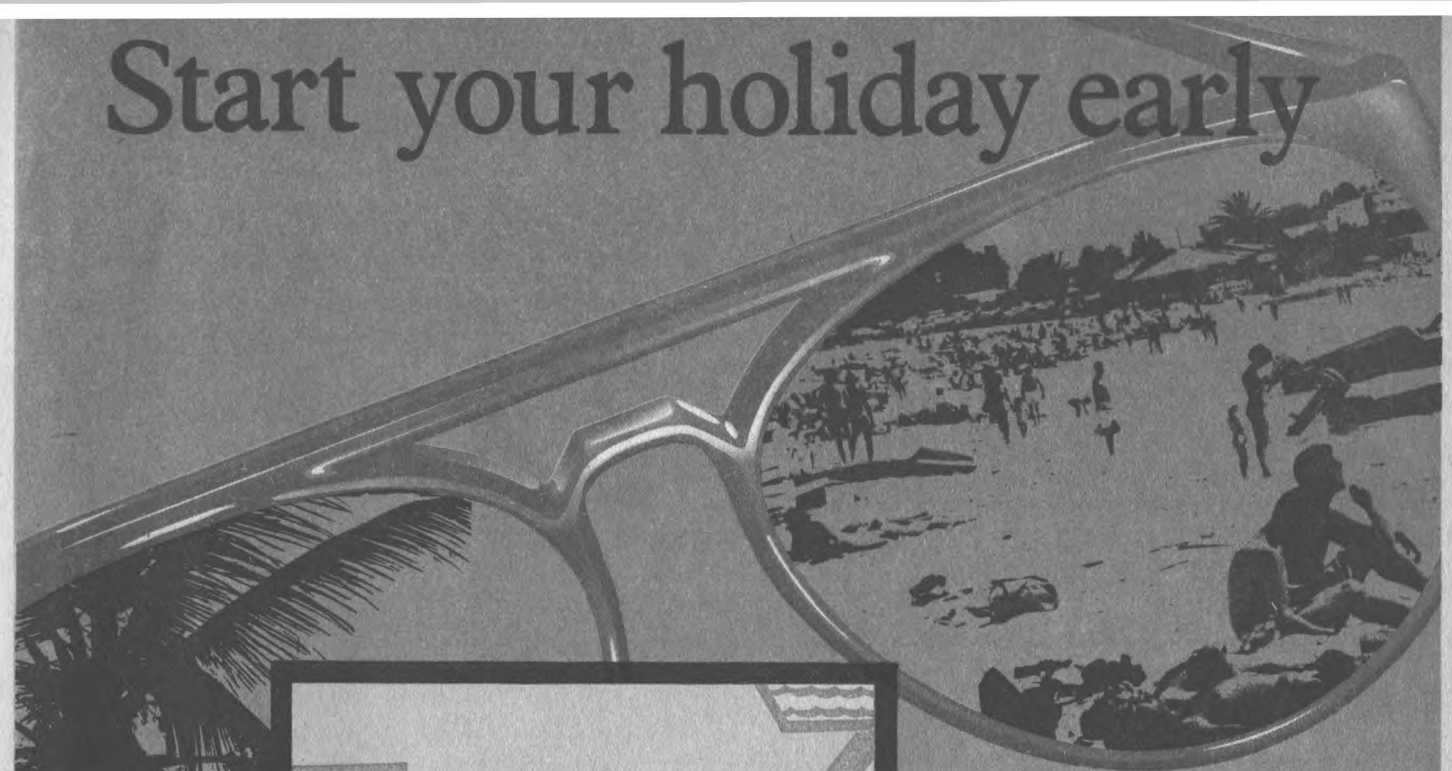
The main difficulty of the referendums is that the Moroccan government having given its consent, refuses to pull its troops and civilian administration out of the occupied territory before the voting begins. POLISARIO in turn, has certain reservations concerning the UN and OAU initiatives due to the intransigent stand of the Moroccan government in this matter of principle.

At present, the armed conflict in Western Saharan is of a less acute, essentially local character. The problem is being switched over increasingly to political lines, due in part to Algerian diplomacy.

On February 17, 1989 Algeria, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco and Tunisia signed a declaration on the formations of an Arab Maghreb Union. This alignment as believed by its members, is called upon to "promote the socio-economic development of Maghreb nations through rational use of their material, natural and manpower resources". The process of economic integration, which is just beginning to involve these countries, has created prerequisites for lowering the level of confrontation in Northwest Africa.

Considering the character and dynamism of the efforts being made, it may be presumed that the dragged-out Saharan conflict will be resolved politically in the near future. □

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MiGs And Perestroika

By Novosti's V. Nikitin

Back in 1984, the American Popular Mechanics magazine published drawings of Soviet warplanes, showing the Su-24, 25 and 27, the MiG-27 and 29 and the Tu-160. Apart from that, the magazine also gave an artist's conception of the little-known MiG-31.

In the fall of 1985, a Norwegian air force pilot flying in his F-16, spotted that top-secret Soviet supersonic fighter-interceptor over neutral waters for the first time ever and snapped a photo. Some time later, Jane's All The World's Aircraft published that shot.

And now a few words about its specifications: maximum mass, 41,150 kg; speed, 2,550 km/hr; maximum range, 2,100 km. Jane's and other foreign publications carried all this information at a time when the Soviets made no mention of it.

Now the situation is changing for the better. The Soviet Defence Ministry has published the first-ever press report, in which it informed the public at large on the total strength of the Soviet armed forces and the amount of different nuclear and conventional weapons. More details have been given on the MiG-31, as well. This aircraft is a modified version of the MiG-25 all-weather supersonic fighter-interceptor developed by the MiG design office named after Artem Mikoyan.

"The MiG-25 had revolutionised aviation," said Anatoli Belosvet, chief designer of the MiG office. "It had a speed exceeding Mach 2. But we had to solve a number of problems. You see, at such speeds (up to 3,000 km/hr), the aircraft heats up to 300 degrees centigrade. In order to avoid complications, we have used relatively cheap super-strong and heat-resistant materials on the MiG-25.



Soviet Troops during exercises in Germany

"The MiG-25 is a unique high-performance aircraft, which can outfly foreign aerodynamically-streamlined planes in its class. The MiG-25 has set 24 world records over the 1965-1973 period.

"Alexander Fedotov, a well-known MiG test pilot, flew the MiG-25 to set the absolute height record (37,650 m), and it's going to take many years to break it.

"That outstanding plane served as the MiG-31 prototype. Our experts installed a more dependable and fuel-efficient powerplant on the MiG-plant on the MiG-25's magnificent fuselage, fitted it with more rugged landing gear and stuffed the new airplane with state-of-the-art equipment, making the MiG-31 one of the best AD fighters.

Nobody Won The Cold War

Speaking at Stanford University, President Gorbachev condemned the arms race as futile and raised the prospects of converting the military industries now made possible by disarmament and the new spirit in Soviet-American relations. Below are excerpts from his speech.



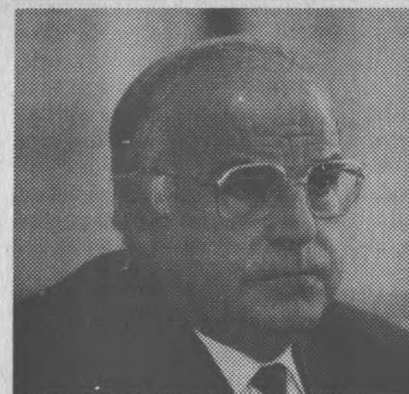
Cde Mikhail Gorbachev of USSR

Let's think about the future. Our two countries have more than enough reason to become partners in building this future and in building new structures of security in Europe and in the Asia-Pacific region, in creating a truly global economy or even a new civilization. I have no illusions concerning the possibility of a rapid rapprochement and convergence of our two societies. They are too different and have been developing in different directions for too long. I think that they will never be alike. In fact, they should not necessarily be alike. The important thing is that we should see the main trend towards a world without wars, a world of equality and freedom, and I think that the end of the Cold War may be regarded as the beginning of cooperation between states and peoples in the name of the future. Furthermore, it is pointless to argue about who won that war.

There can be no victors in the Cold War, just as there can be no victors in a nuclear war. This is something that both nations now realize. All the rest — speculation about who

gained from the Cold War — is political deception and irresponsibility. Our two nations, which have carried the burden of the arms race all those years, know this particularly well. This realization has nurtured our political thinking, debate and political analysis, and has finally resulted in the political choice that has led us to this new summit and new unprecedented decisions, which are opening up broad prospects for cooperation between our two great peoples and our two great nations. Each of our two countries bears its share of responsibility for shaping the post-war period of history into a period of exhausting and dangerous confrontation. So now, it would be just as logical to declare that we are largely responsible for dismantling the mechanisms of East-West military confrontation as soon as possible.

There was a time when military orders were considered the best stimulus for economic and technological progress (there are still places where that belief is still maintained). I should say that the Californians also



Chancellor Helmut Kohl of West Germany

thought so at one time. However, as I have been told, they began to realize, sooner than others, that the military economy ultimately leads to an impasse even from the viewpoint of practical advantages. It is symbolic that in the 1970s the authorities of Santa Clara county, which led the other counties in the size of military contracts per capita, began to look for ways to demilitarise the local economy. I hope that further improvements in Soviet-US relations will make military orders and the arms race a thing of the past not only for your beautiful state but also for both great powers.

Scientists from Stanford made a tangible contribution to the beginning of contacts between Soviet and American representatives of the military industry in the field of conversion. This is a very promising area

of our relations, which can prove very helpful to all. New developments in the field of disarmament would mean drastic restraints on the creation of new systems of weapons. Soviet and American scientists can work together in this field, too, determining where the admissible limits of modernization end and a new round of the arms race begins. We should know this so that nuclear weapons will not be replaced with outwardly conventional weapons which, however, would represent a means of mass destruction.

I am convinced that warnings about this are already necessary and important. I wish that in the elaboration of these questions, like other disarmament questions connect-



Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain



President George Bush of US

ed, in particular, with the prohibition of chemical weapons, with the Vienna talks and the problems of tactical nuclear weapons, scientists and engineers displayed a no less innovative approach than that in the development of modern armaments. President Bush and I had to admit that it is not that easy to part with these weapons even after an appropriate decision is made. There should be a technology for the elimination of these dangerous weapons. I think that we should cooperate in this field with a view to avoiding any damage to the environment and people's health. It is a difficult problem. But I am sure that we will be able to cope with it by pulling our efforts together.

Nigeria And Tanzania To Help Chernobyl Victims

Nigeria and Tanzania have been the first countries in Africa to agree to take part in the international charity action coconut. Launched by the Soviet newspaper Pravda, the action aims to develop a special medical preparation for victims of the Chernobyl nuclear station accident.

The drug, developed by Ukrainian scientists, cannot be launched into regular production, since it is made from husks of coconuts which do not grow in the Soviet Union.

Nigerian companies said they were ready to supply a few tonnes of husk free of charge. They would also take part in setting up a joint venture for the manufacture of the drug. Business proposals have also been submitted by Tanzania.

The method, suggested by Scientists from

the Ukrainian Consortium Ecosorb and protected by 40 authorship certificates consists in special thermal treatment of a mature coconut husk. Granules so obtained have the ability to absorb harmful substances three to four times more quickly than hitherto known sorbents.

The use of the preparation reduces the amounts of radioactive substances in the human body by 500 to 1 000 times. In three out of four cases it improved the condition of those suffering from radiation disease.

Trial batches of raw materials have already arrived from Indonesia and Vietnam. The first thirty tonnes of the drug will be dispatched to treat children affected by the Chernobyl disaster.

All who wish to join in the international charity action may contact its organisers in Kiev, Fax 2291456, Telex 131119.

South African Briefs

Disgraceful Exit for Boesak

Rev. Allan Boesak has given up all his church positions following his involvement in a second love scandal in five years. The cleric has however said that he would still help bring about a non-racial and democratic South Africa. Rev. Boesak and his wife, Dorothy are to divorce following the breakdown of their marriage.

Ramushwana seeks talks role

Venda's new military leader, Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana will join negotiations for a new constitution as an "independent" representative of the Venda people rather than in an alliance with the ANC. He appears to be embarking on a course of pre-emptive politics aimed at stunting planned radical or protest action. The bantustan leader has outlined a negotiations perspective closer to the Pretoria regime than to the ANC.

Tutu and Mkhathshwa disagree

Two of South Africa's leading church-political leaders have disagreed on the role the church should play in a "new South Africa". This follows the call by the Anglicans, led by Archbishop Tutu, that the church should now assume a politically neutral role. Father Mkhathshwa of the Catholic Church maintains that for the church to take such a stance would be "less than helpful".

ANC Shelves Armed Struggle

With an African National Congress (ANC) ceasefire now in place, along with agreement on the return of exiles and release of political prisoners, the South African peace process has entered a new stage.

But the intense political and propaganda offensive by Pretoria against the ANC's longest and strongest ally, the South African Communist Party (SACP), which preceded the latest round of talks, was a sharp reminder that negotiations will undoubtedly be tough.

On August 6 President F.W. de Klerk's team held for the second time formal talks with a highpowered ANC delegation led by the organisation's deputy president Comrade Nelson Mandela. But the days before the talks saw Comrade Mandela shuttling between meetings of his own national executive committee (NEC) and de Klerk's Union Building office as carefully planned government leaks exposed to the public ANC military activities under the guise of an SACP conspiracy.

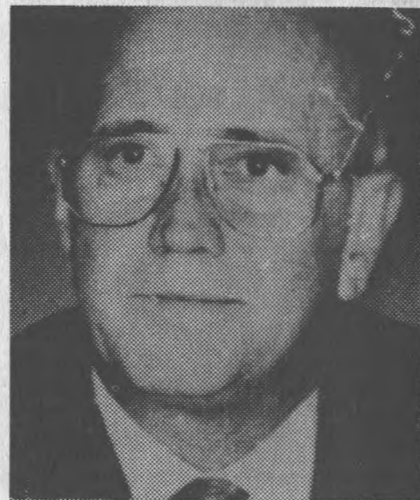
were named as leading party members and the masterminds behind the project.

And to give backing to the contention of an SACP conspiracy bent on sabotaging the peace process and planning instead for an insurrection, the security also leaked the alleged minutes of a recent SACP meeting.

The government, it seemed, hoped to drive a wedge between the ANC and the SACP. As usual, its intense anti-communist feelings clouded a realistic understanding of the ANC-SACP relationship. Instead, its propaganda hype misfired. First, the SACP was able to prove that the leaks on its Tongaat meeting were inaccurate, thus casting doubt on all security claims about not just the meeting, but the quite unrelated Operation Vula. As a result, de Klerk had to back down on his insistence that SACP general secretary, Comrade Joe Slovo was not welcome at the August 6 meeting.

Second Comrade Mandela joined the

also using them to nudge the ANC towards declaring a unilateral suspension of violence. However, all indications were that the ANC had already accepted in principle a ceasefire. In an interview with the *Johannesburg New Nation* newspaper, ANC foreign affairs chief Comrade Thabo Mbeki — and a key architect of the liberation movement's negotiations approach had suggested an understanding of Pretoria's reservations about military cadres being allowed to return from exile and be released from prison when a ceasefire was not in place.



President F.W de Klerk

As it was, the August 6 meeting closed with agreement on an immediate cessation of violence by the ANC. The agreement does not cover the other former exiled liberation movement, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC).

Categories

On Pretoria's side, a mechanism was agreed to facilitate the return of exiles and release of political prisoners. By August 31, the bodies necessary for this would be established. The release of political prisoners would begin from September 1. Cases around which there is some dispute would go before one of these bodies established on August 31.

The return of exiles is envisaged to span the period October to the end of the year. Exiles would be divided into categories and indemnity would be granted in terms of those categories. The first category is likely to cover "soft" exiles such as children and older people, with the second including activists with non-military involvement, and the third including military combatants.

In addition, de Klerk agreed to "give immediate consideration" to repealing some provisions of the notorious Internal Security Act, and to lifting the state of emergency in the war-torn Natal province. The regime would also continue to review the security legislation. — EDISCESA □



Cde Nelson Mandela spearheading negotiations with the Pretoria regime

In short, the South African security forces had uncovered a large underground project, Operation Vula, which had been initiated as long ago as 1987. Widespread detentions saw NEC member Comrade Mac Maharaj and former Robben Island prisoner Comrade Billy Nair taken in just days before the talks.

According to South African security, Operation Vula had involved bringing in large quantities of weapons and the infiltration of cadres even after the first agreement between the ANC and Pretoria in May this year.

While an ANC operation, sensational media coverage based on largely unsourced information of a kind that could only have been leaked by South African security-laid the blame at the feet of the SACP. Comrade Maharaj, Comrade Nair, NEC member Comrade Ronnie Kasrils — who went into hiding after police indicated they were after him —

launch rally on July 29 of the SACP. Not billed before as a speaker, Comrade Mandela took the platform with a strong statement of support for the party.

Third, the propaganda advantages were one directional towards the white community. The vociferous attack on the Party by Pretoria only pushed the party's esteem up in the black community. Attendance at the Soweto rally exceeded expectations, with some 50 000 supporters delighted to see ANC military chief Comrade Chris Hani announced as a member of the SACP's Interim Leadership Group and Comrade Kasrils emerge from hiding to attend the historic occasion.

The talks therefore kicked off with de Klerk apparently having gained no extra leverage from the previous week's exposes. There was speculation that de Klerk's government was

GLOBAL MIRROR



Grim days for Kuwait's ousted Emir who is now in Saudi Arabia



A National Patriotic Front of Liberia rebel questions a suspected Kranh before shooting him dead.



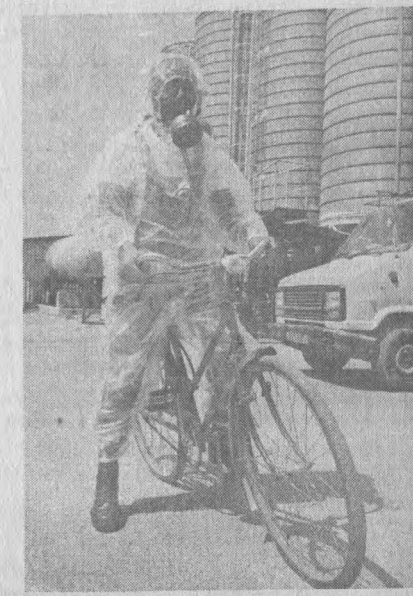
Miss Bernazir Bhutto now in the cold after being dismissed by President Khan of Pakistan. She, together with her husband and mother will stand in the forthcoming national elections



Omnious counterpoint: South African riot police arrest a black youth in Port Elizabeth



Egypt's President Mubarak and Saudi Arabia's King Fahd arrive in Cairo for an emergency meeting soon after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait

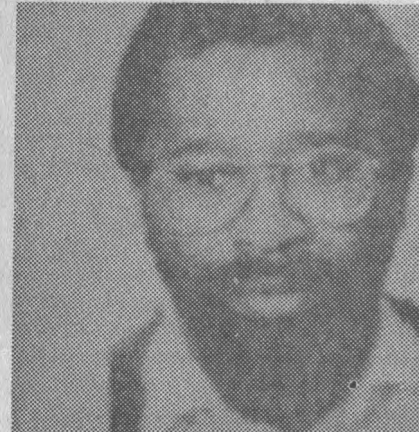


Kibbutznik wears a disposable chemical-warfare suit in Kuwait

Moletsi Mbeki Visits South Africa

Talking Point

Comrade Moeletsi Mbeki, visited South Africa on July 4-21, 1990 for the first time since going to exile in 1964. The following are his impressions of the country, its people and its politics.



Comrade Moeletsi Mbeki

What most strikes one about seeing South Africa from the air while coming to land at Jan Smuts Airport in Johannesburg is the extent of its infrastructure. South Africa is probably the only country in Eastern and Southern Africa that has motorways.

The only other road in this region that could conceivably be called a motorway is the short stretch of highway that connects Mauritius's capital Port Louis to the town of Curepipe. South African cities on the other hand are criss-crossed and connected by four-lane motorways, some of them flyovers with two or three level.

Another extensive aspect of the South African infrastructure that should be of interest to Zimbabwe are the harbours and docks. Again viewed from the air, the port facilities at East London and Port Elizabeth looked extensive. They seem well serviced by a network of roads and railway lines. Both ports seemed busy with several ships loading and unloading and a few riding anchor on the horizon.

Besides the extensive ground transportation infrastructure, there is also an extensive civil air transport system. There is for example an hourly flight that connects Johannesburg with Durban and five to six flights a day connecting smaller coastal cities such as East London and Port Elizabeth with Johannesburg, the commercial and industrial hub of South Africa.

In striking contrast to Zimbabwe, is how few blacks operate and use South African Airways, SAA. All the staff that operate SAA are white from check in clerks, maintenance crews through to the pilots and captains.

Similarly, most of the passengers who use SAA are also white.

In one early morning flight from Port Elizabeth to Johannesburg there were only two blacks, myself and a 'coloured' woman out of probably a hundred passengers. While the petty apartheid of old which stipulated what entrance which race should use etc. has gone, there is no doubt that the whites have entrenched themselves in all the key, decision-making positions in the South African economy.

For the independent Southern African states, especially those that use the South African transport infrastructure, it would be in their interest to help train South African blacks so they can begin to play an important role in the management of these facilities. If this does not happen it will take many years for the blacks to gain effective control of the transport system. Thus the whites will continue to manipulate the region's transport system as they have been doing for some years to the detriment of the rest of the region irrespective of the nature of the new government in South Africa.

Balance of Forces

Politically, the most striking thing about South Africa today is the lack of fear for the white government on the part of the black population. People talk freely on just about every subject under the sun — the days when black people lived in terror of informers are gone. The security apparatus of course is still very much alive but the people have lost the fear for it. This was probably the single most important factor that persuaded the white regime that its old repressive ways would only lead to a racial conflagration in South Africa.

Another striking feature about black South Africa today is the strength of the mass grassroots movements. Black people belong to an extensive network of organisations which they firmly control from below. Undoubtedly the strongest of these organisations are trade unions which besides grouping hundreds of thousands of workers together — paid up membership of the congress of South African Trade Unions, Cosatu, now stands at about a million — also control huge sums of monies raised through membership subscriptions, strike funds, pension funds, etc.

The result of the strength of grassroots movements is that today, the trade unions, residents associations, professional organisations, youth and women's movements etc. are probably more powerful than the recently unbanned political parties — ANC, PAC, SACP etc., that are seen by these mass organisations as their political representatives. This obviously greatly constrains the kind of

settlement that the black politicians can arrive at.

If a settlement is not acceptable to these grassroots movements it is unlikely to hold unless the present considerable physical muscle of the white regime is used to underwrite such a settlement. This is in marked contrast to the situation in Zimbabwe in the 1970s where there were no legitimate alternative mass forces to contest a decision of the Patriotic Front.



Sanctions must be implemented until a majority rule is realised

The impression I got however was that while the unions did not expect the current negotiations will produce a particularly favourable settlement to them in the economic field, they appeared resigned to this. They are however pressing with their drive to build up their strength to continue their struggle for economic justice in the future.

Black Parties

The ANC seems to be by far the most widely supported organisation in South Africa. There is a wide network of grassroots organisations that see themselves as allies of the ANC. As far as I could make out, support for the PAC seems to be in pockets of the country rather than nation-wide. The same probably applies to the Azanian Peoples Organisation, Azapo.

In terms of the negotiation process, the ANC is clearly the key player from the side of opposition forces. At present however the main pre-occupation of the ANC appears to be to establish its organisational infrastructure presumably in order to strengthen its position in relation to the white regime as well as to try to gain some control over its supporters.

The progress of the negotiations themselves appears to be secondary to the ANC leadership. Presumably this is because emphasis is on building the ANC organisationally inside the country. This is proving to be a slow process partly because South Africa is a large country, because the ANC does not have the requisite financial and manpower resources to undertake such a massive project.

Whether the ANC has the time to organise

itself is difficult to tell. As long as the relative peace that obtains in the country at present continues and there are no major confrontations between the state and the black masses, then perhaps there is some breathing space for the liberation movements to organise themselves. If this relative peace brakes down, then there would be pressure internally and internationally for the liberation movements and the government to arrive at a constitutional settlement sooner.

it plans to do with the support of radical sections of the black community is something of a mystery.

The PAC on the other hand is making a great effort to try and exploit what it considers to be emotional demands of the youth, the peasants and the petty bourgeois such as land and the issue of "Africanness". It is also happening on the issue of armed struggle which was never its strong point.

On the right wing of the political spectrum,



The withdrawals of major American companies from South Africa have undermined confidence in the troubled economy

On the side of the government, it is not clear what their strategy is at present. The government is clearly anxious that it should not lose control of law and order during this rather dangerous transition period. It is doubtful if it would be able to regain control if a popular insurrection of the scale 1984-86 uprising recurred. This may partly account for the government's extreme sensitivity to inflammatory statements that are being made by some of the Communist Party and ANC military leaders.

Wild Cards

It is difficult to assess from a short visit how stable the situation is overall. The relative weakness of the ANC, PAC, Azapo and Communist Party clearly creates an element of instability in that these organisations are competing for members. Speaking in a general way, one could say there are several wild cards in the present environment. On the left the South African Communist Party, SACP, and the Pan African Congress, PAC, are unpredictable forces. They are both trying to muscle-in on the space occupied by the ANC and its allies but it is not clear that they have a different message from that of the ANC.

There is a great deal of demagoguery on the part of both SACP and the PAC at present. The SACP clearly is trying to get the support of trade union leaders and presumably also gain access to the resources of the trade unions. It is also trying to get the allegiance of the black youth. These are the most radical sections of the black community which in general perceive socialism as the answer to South Africa's problems.

Historically however the South African Communist Party was never really a revolutionary movement. On many occasions in the past the Russians tried to breathe some fire into the SACP without success. What then

the wild cards are the many neo-fascist groups amongst the whites as well as the vigilante groups amongst the blacks who have been collaborating with the apartheid



Its not wise to invest or re-invest in a society that exclude the majority

system. This is where Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha belongs.

To what extent the wild cards of the left and the right will be able to impact on developments as the situation evolves in the coming months is a difficult question to answer. For one thing it is not clear that the white government is not encouraging some of these forces.

Zimbabwe

There appears to be a great deal of interest by the black community in developments in Zimbabwe. Events in Zimbabwe are widely covered in the press. There is however noticeable concern at least from political activists about what is perceived as an anti-working class stance on the part of the Zimbabwe government. There were numerous questions about what was perceived to be negative lessons — one party state, control of the press, detention without trial, etc. — that it was said the liberation movement in South Africa should learn from Zimbabwe.

There are many things about the present situation in South Africa that are positive. On balance it is probably fair to say these outweigh the negative factors. South Africa however has a considerable potential for an explosion. The levels of relative deprivation of the urban population is significant. The expectations on the other hand are high. In a society with a long history of polarisation and violence this could be an extremely volatile mixture.

Kenya — Liberia, Is A Parrallel Relevant?

By Alexander Kobelyatsky

The murderous developments in Liberia, where dictator Samuel Doe has to defend himself against rebel detachments, while hostilities are quite often developing into a massacre of civilians, make one ponder over the destiny of a state on the opposite side of the continent. I mean Kenya.

Is a repetition of what is happening in Liberia possible in that prosperous country boasting one of the highest levels of economic development in Africa? I venture to presume that similar events are likely to occur there too.

The political situation in Kenya has been fast deteriorating in the last few months. The crisis has arisen as a result of the authoritarian regime established by President Daniel Arap Moi, who does not tolerate the slightest manifestations of disagreement. Last July, the country was swept over by a wave of popular unrest in protest of the ruling KANU Party. Earlier, the opposition to the Moyo regime has consisted of a limited group of intellectuals and petty office employees united in Mwakenya, an underground organisation, whereas this time broad sections of the populations were seized with discontent.

Daniel Arap Moi belonging to Kalenjin, a small tribe, who became president in 1978, was not originally perceived by the Kenyans as a serious political figure. People predicted that he would not hold the post for a long time. A former school teacher, however, surpassed his rivals in political manoeuvring, gradually concentrating enormous power in his hands. There were constant personnel reshuffles by order to the President in the state apparatus, the army and security services, with Moi's fellow-tribesmen coming to hold key positions. The ruling KANU Party gradually crushed Parliament and the other democratic institutions.

The Moi regime, fenced off the mass of the people with the bastions of secret services, won notoriety for the numerous violations of human rights. Those who disagreed with his policy were arrested, exiled from the country and accused in public of committing crimes of various kinds, of being in collusion, for example, with South Africa, Libya or Uganda, depending on the situation shaping at home and beyond the country's confines.

There were serious infringements upon freedom of speech. Some newspapers were suppressed, while a number of journalists, including foreigners, were arrested for trying to give truthful coverage of events.

Emulating the example of the President, who in his innumerable speeches branded with ignominy, "traitors and saboteurs," the local Party princes hurled threats upon opponents of the regime.

The matter was not limited to threats alone. Last February, Foreign Minister Robert Ouko, who was viewed as Moi's potential successor, was assassinated in mysterious circumstances. The news of Anglican Bishop Alexander Muge, who came out against violations of human rights and corruption which spread to all echelons of power, dying in a road accident, was no less shocking for the Kenyans. It was he who said in one of his sermons: "The people of this country live under threats, fear and tyranny... what is the point of protesting against injustices in South Africa when there are violations of human rights at home."

The country's economy steadily developing all through those years remained Moi's trump-card. The symptoms of a crisis, however, have lately appeared even here. The outflow of foreign capital investments was the first disturbing sign. Nowadays, western investors fear to invest funds in the economy of the country, where there is the real danger of a domestic conflict.

The high population growth rate also creates a serious problem. To guarantee full employment of the able-bodied population, Kenya need to create about 600 000 jobs a year. According to a report from the central Bank, however, a mere 86 000 jobs were created all throughout the 1988 fiscal year.

Parallels with Liberia suggest themselves. For a long period of time, both countries have regimes isolated from the people and relying on dictatorship in domestic policy. Their social basis is very small. As a rule, it is closely intertwined with interests of the ruling tribe (The Kran people, in the case of Doe).

But is there Kenya's Charles Taylor ready to pave the way for himself to power with bayonets? Thank God, there is none so far. Many observers fear that Taylor's victory in Liberia would only provoke a protracted internecine war between tribes developing into a merciless massacre of civilians.

Evidently, the struggle for democracy in Kenya will be persistent and of long duration. It is perfectly obvious that the activity of broad sections of the population will grow in the near future, leaving Moi ever smaller room for manoeuvring.

The current attempts of the regime, which are not very successful, to ease the atmosphere, including the setting up of the commission to review the policy of the ruling Party, and also the repeal of unpopular payments for medical services, help to gain time but fail to remove the basic cause of tension in the country. But it lies in that in the perimo of a universal striving for democracy the authoritarian regimes, instead of uniting nations, provoke their disunity, thereby preparing the ground for their own collapse. Doe has proved unable to make a realistic assessment of this tendency. Will Moi be able to do so? □

Evolution Of Democracy

By Karrim Essack

Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.' These words rallied the people of Paris to storm the Bastille on July 12th 1789. It is with these words in their mouths that the women marched to Versailles and forced the French King to come back to Paris. A Constituent Assembly had been declared in June 1789. This gave way to the legislative Assembly two years later.

In all this, the people who made the revolution, that is the *sans-culottes* (without breeches) and the *branus* (bare hands), that is the working poor found that they had been left out of the new political system for the qualification for the right to vote was based on ownership of property and income. This disqualified them.

Equality, liberty and Fraternity are the



Comrade Robert Gabriel Mugabe — an international statesman

hallmarks of democracy. The first taste of this was very bitter, for those without property in France.

People's Democracy in Action during the French Revolution

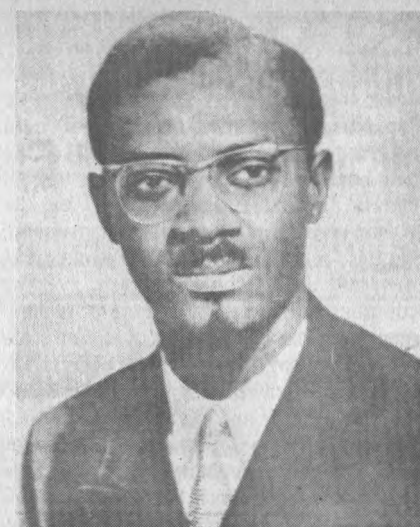
The legislative Assembly and later with the execution of the King the National Convention, there were parties, like the Jacobins, the Girondists. The independents who sat in the convention were called the "Marsh". He saw in operation a multi-party system which excluded the majority of the French people.

In opposition to a legislative system that favoured the few, the people set up their own organisations or gave new content to existing ones like the communes. The section Assemblies admitted all citizens, for the property qualifications was abolished. It was the same with the commune. A feature of this was that a member so elected could be recalled at any time by his constituents. The same was also followed by the communes. While the Legislative Assembly limited the composition of the parties to those who supported the bourgeoisie, the section assemblies and communes had those who had anti-bourgeois platforms like Jacques Roux and Utopian socialists like Babeuf of the society of Equals. It was small wonder then that the latter discussed matters which could well be described as economic democracy like hoarding, employment and most important of all the fixing of maximum prices. Their conception of democracy went beyond the narrow confines of parliamentary democracy. Equality, liberty and Fraternity meant not only the right to vote, but the right to a decent livelihood, that is freedom from starvation.

The revolutionary section of the French bourgeoisie headed by Nobespierre working through the Jacobin party passed the maximum law that fixed maximum prices. It also passed a law that gave universal suffrage to all French citizens. It also abolished slavery. The important lesson stands out. Universal suffrage was not given to the propertyless on a platter. It was worn on the anvil of struggle. However their eventual participation did not alter the functions of these political institutions. They still remained organs of the bourgeoisie.

Democracy in England

What happened in France in 1789 was repeated again though on a smaller and less dramatic scale in England. The rising industrial bourgeoisie in England used the workers against the parliament dominated by the landlords. The result was the Reform Act of 1832. This too based on property qualifications excluded the workers. They too were to form their own independent workers organisation with a programme that called for universal suffrage. The other demands included freedom of association. The mass of the people, the workers, tenants and small farmers were excluded. Yet in the second decade of the nineteenth century there were two parties, the Tories and the Whigs, the former representing landlords while the latter stood for the bourgeoisie. As in Athens in the times of Pericles, where Athenian democracy stood on the bellies of voteless slaves so too Brit-



The late Comrade Patrice Lumumba (of former Belgian Congo). His death fueled the fire of Pan-Africanism

ish democracy now standing on the backs of the voteless workers and tenants.

It was through the struggle that the vote was gradually extended to those who produced the wealth of society. And with this went their right to organise their own party.

The British bourgeoisie allowed it because by that time they had won over a strata of the working class, and in particular the trade union bureaucracy. When the Labour party was formed it was a reformist party aimed at not overthrowing the bourgeoisie, but reforming capitalism and winning concessions for the workers. The Labour Party thus became a bourgeoisie party for the workers, while the Liberal and Conservative Parties stood to attract the voters with property and high income. Multiparty system became a reality in Britain only when the bourgeoisie had absolute control of the economic, cultural and social life of English society and when its values became the dominant values in society. It is on the basis of this dominance that it allowed itself the luxury of small parties to flourish that stood for socialism and communism on condition that they did not engage in armed struggle.

Today under British parliamentary system the workers and the poor ?????? years the freedom to elect one of the bourgeois parties to rule over them. They could elect the Labour Party. But this has to operate within a framework of other organs of the state machinery like the army, police, civil service and the judiciary all which are geared to promote bourgeois rule. Outside the state machinery there are institutions like the press, radio and television which stand for capitalism. The labour Party in power with six million voters backing it is not in a position to have its own independent daily newspaper. And there was the case of Harold Wilson, Labour prime minister being spied upon by the M15.

There are other instances where the Labour Party leaders are impressed upon to know their places and not step beyond the boundaries laid out by the bourgeoisie. That is why in the fifties, sixties and seventies the Labour Party leaders were found to be more bid in

their anti-communism than the Conservative Party members. The real power in Britain and other Western countries lies in the British parliament but in the board rooms of the international monopolies and exclusive clubs. Under the facade of elected representatives ruling, lies the dictatorship by a minority of monopoly capitalists who own not only the factories, mines, farms but also the mass media.

However within this, and as long as activity does not endanger this dictatorship, there are rights like that of association, movement, speech as well as freedom from arbitrary arrest. However, when this security is threatened then these are dispensed with. The opening of the Macguire case in England where IRA supporters were imprisoned for certain incidents. After serving years in prison, it has now been admitted that they were convicted on "doctored" evidence. There are many such political convictions based on false evidence relating to IRA members.



Comrade Julius Nyerere of Tanzania

Democracy in England, Dictatorship in the Colonies

While Britain in the early twenties began to grant political rights to its citizens, it as a colonial power continued to maintain a system of despotism and dictatorship over those which it ruled in Africa, and Asia. In the colonies all power and judicial was in the hands of a single person — governor. Despite the fact that there was a judiciary and sometimes a council, all effective executive, legislative power was in his hands. The colonised could not form associations. The workers could not strike. They had to carry passes which prevented their freedom of movement. Absent from work was a criminal offence. Everywhere there was discrimination based on colour — housing, schooling and transport. There was one system of justice for a white man and another for the colonised. For the oppressed people, Britain took the laws prevailing in feudal and slave societies, modified them and then applied them to the colonies.

The conclusion then was that the question of democracy was not one of principle that must be applicable to all people. Rather its application was based on the relative balance of forces in that society. Like the *sans culottes and bras nus* in France, the workers in Britain, the colonial people had to fight, and sacrifice their lives if necessary for the limited democratic rights within the capitalist system.

The political structure from which the bourgeoisie exercise its dictatorship takes many forms. The ideal would be a republican form of government. However, in England you have two houses of parliament with a constitutional monarch at the head. Bourgeois rule operated openly as a dictatorship under colonialism. However, when bourgeois rule is threatened it takes two other forms. One is Fascism as in Nazi Germany and Mussolini's Italy in the thirties and military dictatorships as has been the case of South America, Africa and parts of Asia. Nkrumah's path to socialism threatened British business and hence an elected civilian government was overthrown by the military trained in Britain. It was not averse to these military dictators later establishing one party rule as in the case of Zaire. All these were permitted as long as they advanced the interests of the bourgeoisie.

Offensive by international finance capital

Today global production of not only essential manufactured goods but high technology is being concentrated in fewer and fewer hands. Not only economic but also political power is in their hands. These monopolies becoming bigger and bigger as a result of mergers and takeovers have become international in operation as well as in outlook. Their companies are all over the world. Though western in origin, now their profits come from outside. They have turnovers more than the GDP of many medium size states like Belgium. The IMB boasted of a turnover of 50 billion US dollars in 1986. They in fact have become states without territories. While this has an advantage that they can evade crippling taxation from their base countries, they also become vulnerable. Hence they have devised a global strategy to weak political states all over the world. They don't like a centralised state and in particular a one party state. As the monopolies became more and more centralised with decisions now in fewer hands they are against such in political sphere. At one stage of the development of the bourgeoisie, the building of a nation state was the principal aim, so as to establish hegemony all over the country, with the internationalisation of their operations and their assets this is no longer so. So undemocratic are these monopolies that no one knows their real assets and profits each year. They hide them in Swiss vaults, in Luxembourg or in the various states that provide for tax havens. The states from which they operate like Luxembourg are weak politically and therefore no questions are asked about what they do, what they have and where. The demands of some trade unions that they open their books for inspection is never complied with. They want to have governments who will never ask

such questions.

Onslaught On Africa

African states which were colonised were never able to develop a national bourgeoisie like India. The colonial powers were able to rule through chiefs and certain strata of the petit bourgeoisie. With independence they left certain political structures based on the Westminster model without the corresponding base of a class that was dominant economically in the whole of society. In some countries the one party system of government arose to fill in this vacuum. The state of this one party government began to fulfill the role of developing industry, promoting foreign trade and developing the economy in general. Some of the one party states were socialist in orientation like Tanzania. Others like Zaire which has a public sector is not. With the call for multiparty states, the forces that divide the nation state like tribalism, linguistic and ethnic differences will come to the fore. The national party will give way to tribal and religious parties. And if the trend of the economies of Africa sinking these differences could lead to open rebellion with civil war for autonomy and secession.



The late Mr. Churchill of Britain — his country colonised the greater part of Africa

Further Partition of Africa

At the Berlin Conference of 1884, the colonial powers partitioned Africa and drew up boundaries irrespective of the wishes of the people. Independence did not improve the material well being of the people. The statistics cited below cannot bring to the full the increasing poverty and misery of the people.

Thus between 1980 to 1988 the per capita income declined 2.6% annually to fall to 565 US dollars in 1988.

Investment as proportion of the CDP was 25.2% in the seventies. It fell to 15.8 percent in 1988.

Balance of payment deficit was 3.9 billion in 1980. It rose to 20.3 billion in 1988.

The effect of the gradual decline was seen in the following.

In 1960 there were only 124 million illiterates. 1985 these had jumped to 164 million.

Public spending on health and education declined from 26 percent in 1980 to 19 percent in 1988.

All these manifest themselves in the shortage of desks in schools and medicines in hospitals.

The African leaders steeped in national reconstruction did not grasp the changes that were taking place in the international arena with greater concentration of capital in fewer hands because they thought it did not concern them. But it is these economic giants which manipulate prices of their products and decide on the prices of imported commodities. In a global economy dominated by monopolies they found themselves more and more squeezed.

It is small wonder then that the people in Africa have turned against their leaders. The

demand for multi-party state as well as market economy finds willing listeners in certain quarters because they believe that any change could only be for the better. What adds fuel is that within one party states there have been instances of corruption. In some cases public institutions are running at a loss because of bad management and failure to make correct evaluation of world market trends. Those then who support the idea of multi-party system become unwitting allies of the international monopolies who would like to see further partition of Africa into a 100 or more mini states. The monopolies would like to wipe out Africa as a united po-

litical and economic entity and remain a mere geographic expression.

The starting point of Africa's own emancipation must begin with an analysis of these international monopolies — *states without territories and boundaries*. They are deciding the future of mankind in their boardrooms. They are the economic dictators of the world and it is their organs which are preaching democracy, multi-party system

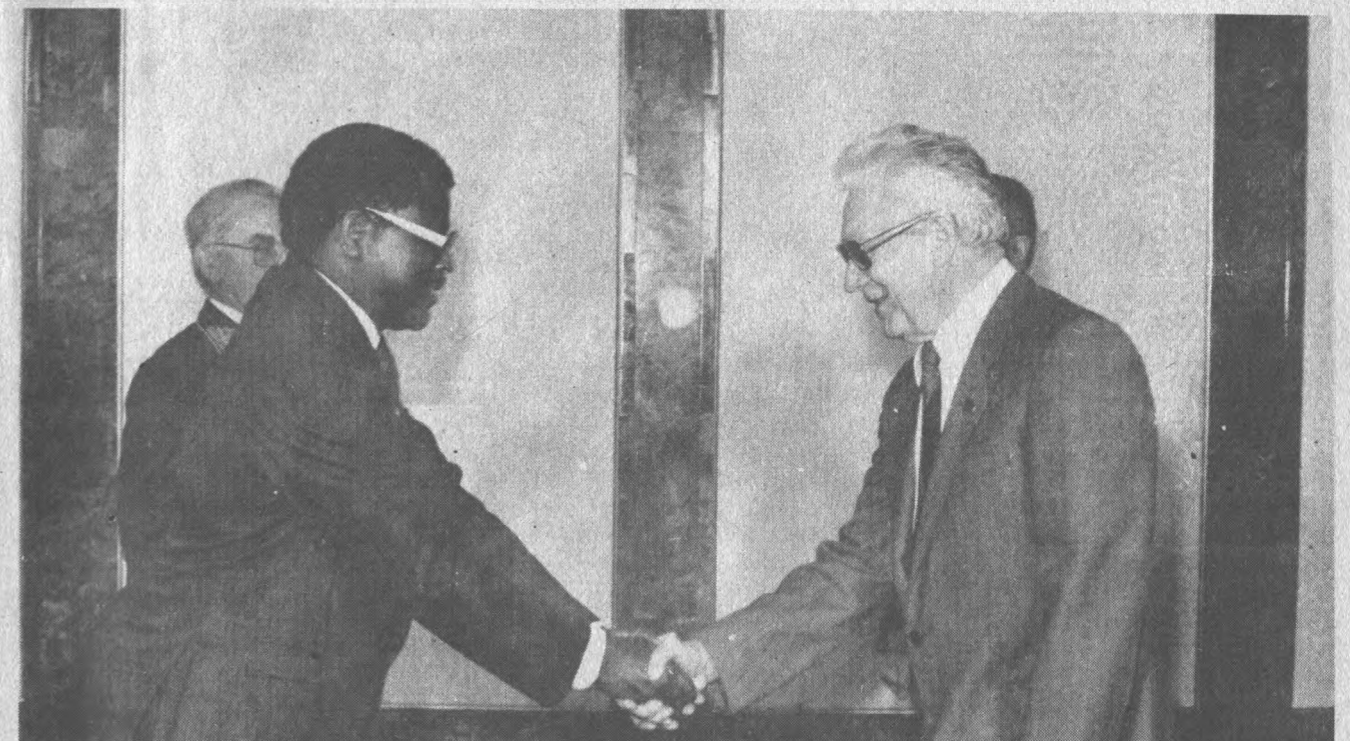
and market economy. And if they are to be challenged they can be only on an international and continental plane. They must be challenged economically, politically, organisationally for its global strategy, tactically manifested in the theory of multi-party system is an attack on African unity and further partition of the African continent.

Africa needs democracy — but it must be democracy that stems from the people and

which involves the creation of structures and policies that uplifts them economically, socially and educationally. It is a democracy that produces healthy human beings. This democracy is beginning to sprout in parts of Africa. Within such democracy there could also arise multi-party system not like the western model but one where all are united in a government aimed at uplifting the people from their sinking poverty to steady growth in prosperity. □

The USSR And The Third World: Dogmas And Life

By Dimitrio Volsky



Zimbabwe's ambassador to USSR, Comrade Misheck Sibanda (left) greets the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet Comrade P Damichev

Even in the early eighties attempts were made to squeeze the diverse relations between the socialist and developing countries into a kind of dogmatic formula. The two groups of states were viewed exclusively as "natural allies".

Therefore the choice of the peoples of the Third World was arbitrarily limited and their place in the struggle between the socio-political systems pre-determined.

For the sake of objectivity one should point out that a confrontational approach was equally typical of the West. The late William Casey, CIA's former Director, referred to developing countries as the main battlefield and not just between the two systems but directly between the USSR and the USA.

It is not hard to imagine what the escalation of hostilities on that battlefield might

have eventuated in if the new thinking based on the concept of interdependence and integrity of the contemporary world hadn't prevailed in Soviet policy.

The new thinking

Today concrete results of its translation into life are already in evidence. While improving its relations with the traditional friends in the Third World, the USSR has extended the range of its partners to include states of pro-Western orientation. The USSR has furthered its cooperation with developing nations in the UN, which until recently was hindered by differences over the Afghan and Cambodian issues.

The withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan was a strong impetus to the difficult process of settlement of other regional conflicts. The Iran-Iraq war that had last-

ed eight years was brought to an end through a negotiated settlement.

Another important point here is that the doubts of those who feared that the new political thinking would hamper the process of national and social liberation failed to materialize.

Had that been so, would it have been possible to make a significant advance towards Namibia's independence or achieve the disarmament of the Nicaraguan contras? And hardly could the Palestine intifada have acquired its present scope.

In this situation one cannot see as objective and corresponding to reality the view that the concept of the integrity of the world and deideologization of interstate relations represents a "concession to the imperialist policy for weakening the world revolution-

ary process and undermining the mass struggle for justice, cooperation and peace". This is no answer to the difficult questions mankind, including the vast numbers of people belonging to the Third World, is confronting today.

New problems

Indisputably, many realities in the Third World countries give more cause for concern than for optimism. Evermore complicated and acute problems emerge there, requiring non-standard approaches. There is an intensive search for such approaches at conferences and meetings.

An international conference on The Developing Countries in the Contemporary World was held in Moscow in November, 1989. Along with overcoming backwardness, the matter of ending discrimination and arbitrariness, and the assurance of human rights, is of increasing concern to the public in the developing countries.

Gone are the times when much was writ-

they pay in interest on their foreign debts.

Needless to say, the arms race hampers their economic growth, on the one hand, and a relaxation of tension on the other. Further, this aggravates the situation in the regions close to the Soviet southern borders which is tense as it is.

Therefore it would seem expedient to invigorate Soviet policy vis-a-vis the developing countries, and especially intensify peaced making efforts in different regions of the Third World. By no means should we slacken such efforts as some people recommend, worried by the expenditures of the Soviet state but failing to realize the consequences of such self-isolation.

Prospects for Partnership

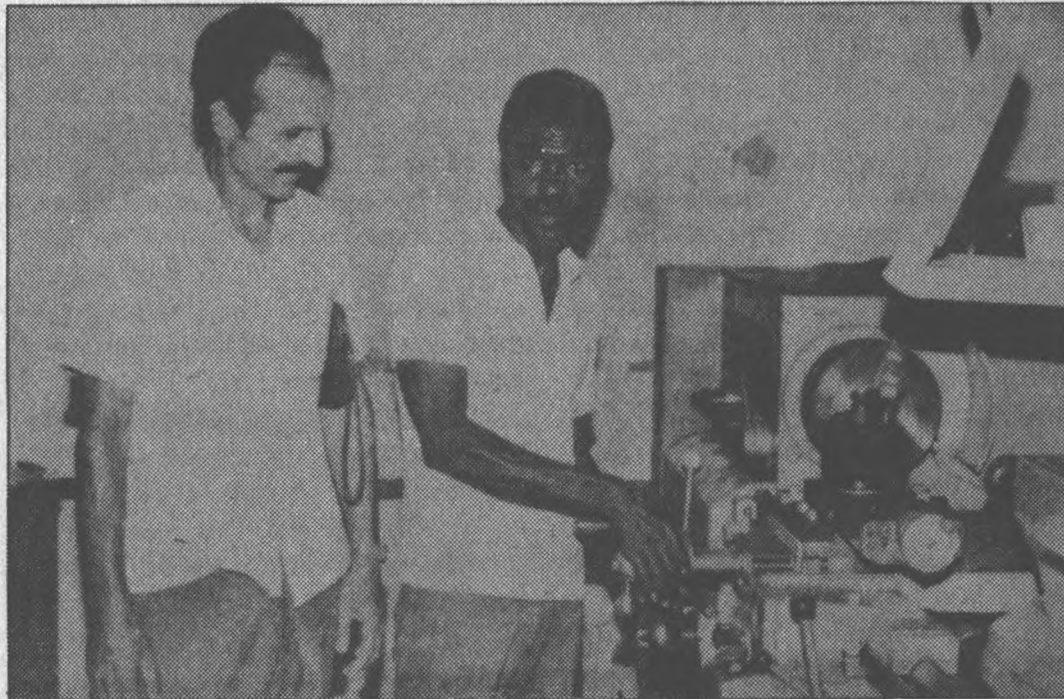
From the economic standpoint it is profitable for us to maintain ties with the Third World. As was pointed out at the Moscow meeting mentioned above, the USSR is one of the few countries faithfully abiding by the

full only when it is interpreted broadly with due cognizance of different factors, and is not reduced to pure mercantilism. True, to achieve this we should restructure cooperation with the developing world.

But the caused is worth the effort and possibilities for this exist. Thus, our involvement in international economic programmes helps open new markets where we can purchase goods at prices lower than elsewhere and where we can gain access to "high technologies". There are already joint ventures involving firms from developing countries.

One should bear in mind that along with about forty states permanently in need of assistance in the Third World.

There are first and second "echelons" already, and a third "echelon" is on the horizon. Let's face it, some of them have left us far behind in the intensity and scale of their computer, robot and microprocessor technology. It would not be a bad idea to draw upon their experience in this field to



Symbol of cooperation — an African student being trained in the Soviet Union

ten off as being due to the "youth" of the states that had liberated themselves from colonialism, and when their leaders could count on all kinds of moral indulgence. Let us recall the crimes of "Emperor" Bokassa and Amin in Uganda and Amin in Afghanistan. Today it is absolutely clear that all states should enjoy equal rights and bear equal responsibility both to their own people and to international public opinion.

Disarmament

It was also tacitly assumed that the all-important problem of disarmament exclusively concerned the developed countries, NATO and the WTO above all. Meanwhile the arms race in a number of Third World countries significantly outpaced the world average buildup.

Today the developing nations spend and annual average of 200 — 300 billion dollars on military need, according to some estimates. This is roughly equivalent to what

UN recommendations to allocate not less than 0.7 per cent of the gross national product for development. Clearly, this money not easy to find.

But no matter how difficult the conditions we live under, to deny assistance to those who face much worse and who cannot cope with mass hunger and epidemics would be tantamount to forgetting our long-standing traditions.

A country's reputation (including financial reputation) around the world depends to a great extent on its readiness to come to the aid of poor countries. Support for the demands made in the developing countries to establish a new international economic is our interest too. For, like these countries, the USSR would stand to gain if and end is put to sundry discriminatory barriers and fair prices, including those on raw materials, are established.

The principle of mutual benefit operates in

say nothing of thier marketing and management knowhow.

It stands to reason that by far not all developing nations have managed to keep up with the technological revolution. The lag of many of them behind the advanced states that were the first to partake of its fruits, has even increased.

On the other hand, one cannot ignore fresh vistas opening up before the former colonial world. Economic developments in East Asia and in some Arab countries show that they are by no means condemned to backwardness. They may very well overcome it.

Political Equality

But for that process to assume a global scope, novel technologies and foreign investment will not suffice. What is needed is economic and political equality, a secure peace, and the emancipation of human energy, ie. all that contributes to the new political thinking, free of dogmas. □

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Political Prisoners A Visit On Death Row

By Phyllis Naidoo

After 10 years in exile, Phyllis Naidoo whom our readers know under the name of Phyllis Davis, returned to South Africa. But before visiting family and friends, she went to visit those whose lives she has learnt so much about in the last few years, from a distance — those condemned to death for their struggle against apartheid. This is her account of her visits to Pretoria's death row.

Thirteen years of exile came to an end on June 24, when I flew into my home town Durban from Zimbabwe. During these painful years both my mother and younger brother had died. So had my exiled son Sahdhan, murdered by South African agent "Tex", who today is also dead. Three painful voids and the last Sahdhan's unbearably so.

On our Freedom Day, June 26 1990, Mrs Paula McBride met me in Johannesburg. The wife of death row prisoner Mr. Robert McBride, Paula immediately took me to her husband and the other comrades sentenced to death for their struggle against apartheid, some had been on death row since December 1986. I visited my precious comrades until July 3.

I questioned again and again, who was the visitor and who the visited?

They questioned and discussed so many subjects. The moratorium granted by President F.W. de Klerk on February 2, 1990 freed all on death row from immediacy of executions and perhaps this contributed to the atmosphere that pervaded death row.

The political comrades had been briefed by (ANC) leader Comrade Nelson Mandela after the May meeting between the ANC and Pretoria — and many fears were allayed.

They were assured that as political prisoners their release was on the cards. Naturally, they were impatient at the delay.

Coming from exile I knew only too well what that meant: impatient to be involved in the new political life of the country.

Mzondeleli Nondula had lost his mother and had shaven his head as custom required. How do you deal with the death of your mother on death row? I certainly could not ask. I conveyed the sympathies of my Zimbabwean comrades, and he brushed me aside with a question on conditions in Zimbabwe. He asked why the exiles were trickling back into the country and not returning in droves. We discussed the delays.

All on death row spoke most supportively of negotiations. They thought the choice

of the team was a wise one.

All were thrilled with the independence of Namibia and extremely proud that our national union body, COSATU, had provided assistance to SWAPO in the shape of 300 vehicles. But mostly they were delighted that Comrade Nelson Mandela was able to attend the celebrations on behalf of all of us, after his long years of incarceration.

All without exception asked about CHIEF. Whose that? None other than Oliver Tambo — "OR" as he is known to all of us. How was his health? Can he walk? Can he talk? Is he being briefed regularly about events in the country? Has Nelson met him? Like the rest of the membership they felt cheated that OR was not part of the negotiating team when all his energies have been given to the struggle for a non-racial democratic South Africa. Oh yes they love OR on death row.

Ting Ting Masango and others thanked the people of Zimbabwe for campaigning for the release of comrades on death row. They spoke of the work of the churches, drama groups, anti-apartheid organisations, the OAU, the UN, Amnesty and others who have called for an end to the death penalty in SA. On release all, without exception wanted to work for the abolition of the death penalty.

Some discussed the problems that had arisen since the unbanning of the ANC. The promise of release of political prisoners on death row had unleashed divisions between "ordinary criminals" and "politics" with pain-

ful consequences to some of us. However they assured me they were attending to these problems.

My most memorable visit was with Leonard Sheehama, the Namibian comrade who failed to qualify as a "political prisoner" in the settlement between South Africa and SWAPO. I dreaded the visit as I had no explanations for this omission. He greeted me with such pleasure that I was disarmed. He had prepared for days for my visit. He speaks Afrikaans and I English. But with McBride as tutor, he mastered some English phrases in anticipation of my coming. I was ashamed that I had not treated the visit with the same diligence.

However, we managed and were rudely surprised when we were called to terminate our visit. He informed me that he awaited the result of his appeal. He was confident that even if the appeal failed, as a political prisoner he would not be executed in the present political climate.

All were appalled at the murder of Nkosinathi Zuma who was freed from death row on May 18, 1990 and within a month thereof he was killed by alleged Inkatha impsis.

Lucky Nomganga, a NUM trade unionist sentenced to death on the "common purpose" doctrine, thanked Transport and General and other trade unions who have campaigned for his release from death row.

Some asked about Mozambique and Angola and the peace process these countries are involved in. What role Zimbabwe was playing? What role Kenya? Why had the USA messed up the peace process in Angola? Why was Zaire such a slave to the US administration?

Last but not least, I must mention the courtesy of the officers on death row. Despite their miserable job description they were extremely courteous. Perhaps the moratorium had lent support to their courtesy. Warders appeared to be mostly Black with Whites in key positions. But all were proper and a few friendly. □

**GET YOUR
PEOPLE'S VOICE
EVERY WEEK
AT YOUR
NEWS STAND**

OBITUARY



The late American Jazz pianist, Joe Turner

Joe Turner, American jazz pianist, died in Paris aged 82 on July 21. He was born in Baltimore on November 3, 1907.

Jazz pianists of the 1920s and 1930s were inclined to be self contained, playing entirely solo, disdaining the support of guitar or bass or drums, relying on their own left hands for all the rhythm and harmony they needed. Pianists of that sort — James P. Johnson, Fats Waller, Willie "The Lion" Smith, all classed as "stride" players — were the musicians the 17 year-old Joe Turner admired most when he arrived in New York in 1925.

During the earlier part of his career he played in various bands, yet rarely mixed with the other instrumentalists. "We didn't become personal buddies and hang out together after the job was done," he explained, "I'd rather hurry over to some place where the hours were long and an interesting pianist was holding forth. I can't learn much from a trombone player or a guitarist, but many pianists

knew a few tricks I might be eager to adopt — performing them, of course, in my very own way."

He owed his musical beginnings to his mother, who started teaching him the piano at the age of five. From his father he inherited what he always regarded as an iron constitution. ("He was as strong as an ox, a furniture mover who could carry a grand piano on his back without any help.") Soon after arriving in New York Turner found himself working — for \$30 a week — at Baron Wilkin's club in Harlem. He went on to play successfully with bands led by the trumpeter June Clark, Benny Carter and in 1930 Louis Armstrong. He also claimed to have worked around New York with one of King Oliver's later bands.

Meanwhile he had become part of Harlem's piano-playing fraternity, competing with his heroes at "rent parties" and other late-night functions. In 1931 he became one of two pianists (the other was first Alex Hill, then Francis Carter) who accompanied the singer Adelaide Hall. It was while touring with her that Turner first encountered Art Tatum, still a teenager. Turner was taken aback when Tatum responded to his bravura version of "Liza" with just two words: "pretty good"; but after listening to Tatum perform he realised that was praise enough. Tatum's virtuosity had an effect on Turner, especially his use of a more clipped and brisk left hand.

Turner visited Europe with Adelaide Hall in 1931. He returned soon afterwards and worked on his own in France,

Czechoslovakia, Hungary and other European countries. When the second world war broke out he was in Paris on his way to play in Istanbul. Instead, he took a boat back to the United States, where he was called up for the US army in 1944 and played in a service band led by Sy Oliver. In 1949 he was in Switzerland trying, and eventually succeeding, in arranging the release from Hungary of his wife, Lonci, and daughter Rita, neither of whom he had seen for 10 years.

At this time another pianist influenced Turner, the recently arrived Erroll Garner. Johnny Simmen, the Swiss jazz writer, remembered how Turner became fascinated by Thelonious Monk's early recordings. "Thelonious", "Well You Needn't" and "Ruby My Dear" were pieces Turner adapted to his own style. Joe Turner worked all over Europe in the 1950s, then settled down in Paris in 1962, becoming something of an institution during the two decades he spent at La Calvados, a nightclub on the Champs Elysees.

He was in his way a very considerable all rounder — he sang, and back in 1936 he appeared for a while as half of a tap dancing act. But he had, after all, grown up at a time when jazz musicians were expected to be entertainers as well as artists. Everything he did reflected a distinct musical personality, one that worked within a tradition but was always open to fresh ideas. Perhaps the handiest epitaph is something Willy "The Lion" Smith, one of Turner's early heroes, said about him: "A fine man and a great piano tickler." □

A Nationalist Dies

Comrade Eric Nhau Guzha, a veteran politician in Zimbabwe's Liberation Struggle, died on Thursday, April 12, 1990 after a long illness. He was buried at his home near Mahusekwa Township in Chihota Communal Area on Saturday, April 14, 1990.

Thousands of residents gathered to pay their last respects to a man who was well-known and well-respected.

Comrade Guzha was identified with the Nationalist Movement from the very beginning. He joined the ANC in 1957 when it was started and became one of the leaders in Chihota Communal area. During the colonial era he was detained and/or restricted on many occasions for his public activities against the colonial system and racial discrimination.

Born on March 18, 1912, Comrade Guzha was a Zimbabwean patriot who was totally opposed to the system of racial discrimination practiced by the white settler government. For that reason he joined the African National Congress at its inception in 1957. He was arrested and detained up to 1961. He spent several months at Khami Prison near Bulawayo, and at the Gokwe restriction area. His first wife, Pamidza Peregia Guzha was with him all the time of detention and restriction.

Later he was restricted at home in the Chihota Communal area. His freedom after release from prison in 1961 was short-lived. In 1964 he was back in prison again, this time in Marondera. He was charged for inciting the youth to sabotage dipping tanks. He served a three-year jail sentence which ended in 1967. In 1974 he was back again in prison for opposing the detente exercise. He was detained at Hwa Hwa Camp near Gweru until 1978.

During the Lancaster House Conference in 1979, he was restricted to his home area again. Although his business enterprise at Mahusekwa Township collapsed, and his own family suffered hardships, Comrade Guzha never gave up the struggle for justice and human dignity.

For many years he was a ZAPU Central Committee Member. Although he was dropped at the Party's Congress in 1984, he continued to be active in the movement. After the Unity Accord he played a major role in the integra-

tion exercise. He also served in the Provincial Task Force. At the time of his death, he was active in the National Council of the united ZANU PF.

Comrade Guzha received primary education only at Chivizhe School in Chihota. He then worked in Harare for a few years before taking up full-time farming and starting a small business. He became a master farmer and an influential member of the village community at Chivizhe. He built a modern brick house and adopted modern methods of farming. He also became a preacher of the Methodist Church. For three years he was appointed leader of the Men's Christian Union (MCU), an organization of lay preachers in the Methodist Church.

When the ANC was revived in 1957, Cde Guzha was already an influential member of the community in Chihota. The Guzha family itself is a large extended family which he influenced and shaped.

As a Master Farmer, he was confronted by the injustices of the colonial system in the maladministration of the land. He could not farm more than eight acres or keep more than five herd of cattle in Chihota communal area. He was quick to see the heart of the problem — minority white settler rule. When the Vice President, Comrade Joshua Nkomo, Comrade James Chikerema, and Comrade George Nyandoro resuscitated the Southern Rhodesia African National Congress in 1957, Cde Guzha joined and devoted his enormous energy to organize branches in Chihota.

He joined the late Comrade Stansilus Marembo, Comrade Mhondiwa Mudokwani, and the late Comrade Chiriseri, in mobilising the masses against the implementation of the Native Land Husbandry Act. They succeeded and put the whole of Chihota on political fire. Detention and restriction did not deter him from continuing the struggle for a just society.

Comrade Eric Guzha is survived by his two wives, 19 children, and several grandchildren. The eldest son, L.T. Guzha, has announced that the tombstone will be unveiled in April 1991. Party and Government officials who where not able to attend the funeral will be invited to the unveiling ceremony. □

Comrades Chipitiri and Juru We Mourn You

By Stembile Gezi

We mourn you Comrades
We miss you
You left us
Without a word, no goodbye
Why dear Comrades

In tears we mourn
In memory we mourn you
Who shall Replace the
everloving
Comrades

You left us a wound Comrade
Chipitiri and Comrade Juru
which no physical
Will ever heal
Almight father, what sin did we
commit, sons and daughters of
Mashonaland East, to deserve
such whipping?

Oh dear Father, although the Bi-
ble says, "There is a time for
everything on earth; Time to
laugh, A time to weep, A time
to be born and time to die but
Lord that's not the way to treat
your sons and daughters.

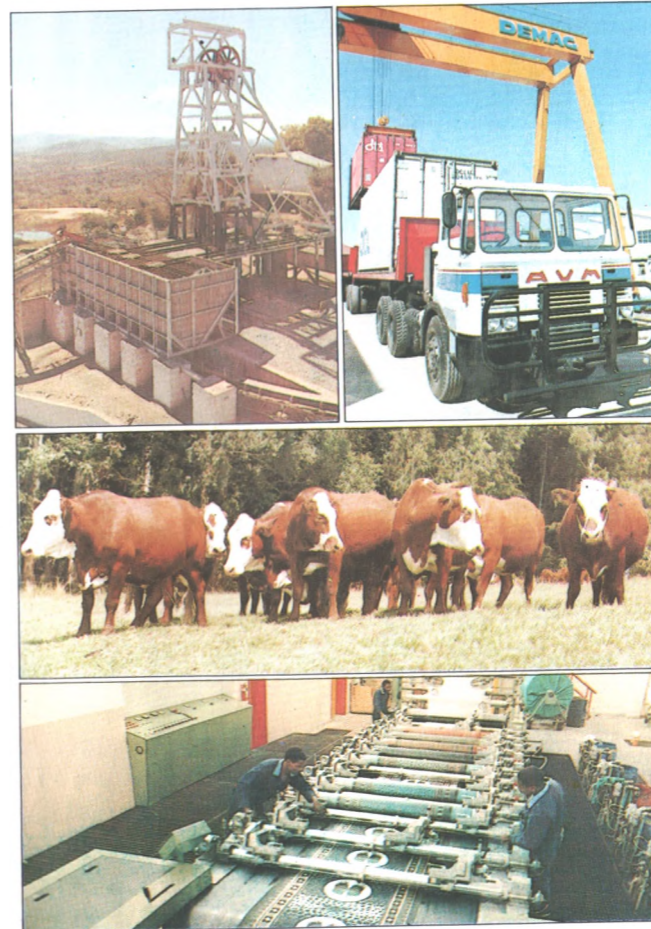
We shall mourn you forever
dear comrades Chipitiri and Juru

Your deeds and words of wis-
dom forever may they be a
reminder, that freedom and In-
dependence called. Let your
departure not be the end but
rather, the reason for us to be
resolute all the more.

We mourn you Comrade
Chipitiri
We mourn you Comrade Juru.
In tears we shall remember
your good work.
In tears we bid you farewell
People may forget but not
Mashonaland East

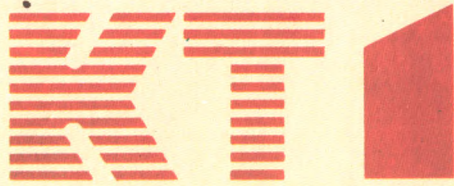
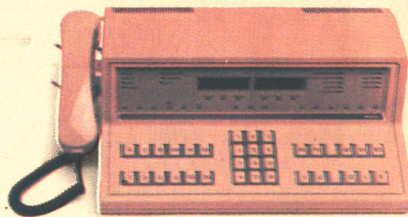
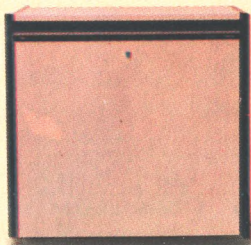
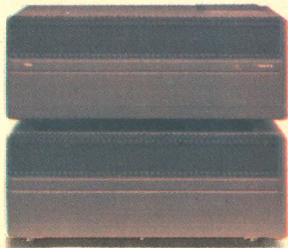
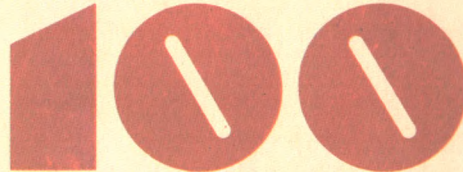
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