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Revamp Party Programmes — President



Iraqi Claims to Kuwait

Africa's Refugee Problem



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Student Demonstrations a Disturbing Diary

On 2nd November, 1990 about forty-three (43) students in Form 3 at St. Faith Mission, Rusape went on demonstrations complaining about the termination of field trips by their . . . Page 11

Land Policy Designed to Equate its Distribution — Mangwende

The major thrust of Government efforts in addressing the land question has been conditioned by the need to ensure the creation of an equitable land distribution system without . . . Page 13

The so-called Free Market Forces

Anybody who is born and bred in the Western World and goes through its educational institutions is indoctrinated about how sacred the "Free market economy" is and . . . Page 17

Africa's Refugee problem

Africa today has the largest number of refugees in the world. It has been estimated that between the birth of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in 1963 and the end of 1979 the African refugee population was rising . . . Page 27

President receives highest Award from Historic Town

It gives me great pleasure to be addressing this gathering as a freeman of this most historic and promising municipality. Everyone knows the gallant part played by Chinhoyi in the struggle leading . . . Page 8

The August 2nd Invasion

The August 2nd Iraq invasion of Kuwait is a serious breach of the principle of sovereignty of nations condemning, among other things . . . Page 28



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EDITORIAL

Public Disorder in the School

The newspapers have published many articles describing a disturbing state of public disorder in some of our secondary schools. At Dadaya students set on fire and destroyed many classrooms and the headmaster's house. The property destroyed runs into thousands of dollars. All this vandalism was perpetrated for the purpose of defying authority, and imposing cultural practices that are alien to our culture and totally unacceptable to our society. One of the demands was the removal of school rules restricting contacts between boys and girls in the school. In our view, the wish of the Zimbabwean parents who have seen the many girls returning home with pregnancies is to reduce those contacts between boys and girls on the school premises. Elsewhere in this issue we publish a catalogue of disturbing events in many secondary schools. We hope our readers will show this catalogue to many of the parents.

The time has come for us — the parents — to demand better social order and discipline in our secondary schools. That order should be based on the requirements of our culture and of our society. The basic tenets of our culture should be observed in the schools. The Parents-Teachers Associations should have a direct say in the formulation of school rules and regulations and also in their implementation.

More importantly, the Government

should take drastic measures to eradicate the tendencies of public disorder and indiscipline. The ringleaders of the riotous students should be dealt with very severely, including caning which is now permissible in the law. Those who perpetrate acts of disorder should be given a number of cuts determined by the headmaster of the particular school or the local magistrate. Furthermore, the Government should not hesitate to remove or expel the unruly elements from the schools. It should be made clear that they have denied themselves the opportunity to get skills that would enable them to get good jobs, commanding decent salaries. As a Government of the people, and elected by the people, it should act quickly and decisively in their interests — and one such interest is good order and discipline in the schools. Promiscuity, consumption of drugs, consumption of hard liquors, and smoking in the classrooms, should be firmly prohibited.

District Councils and Local Authorities should not be given licenses for beerhalls and bottlestores in premises that are near large secondary schools, where it is obvious that the target clients are the students. In addition, all persons below the age of 18 should never be allowed to enter public places for purposes of consuming liquors of any kind. In our culture, young people do not drink intoxicating liquors. □

Letters

Tell the People the Truth

Dear Sir,

Many villagers in this area of the country are very worried at the way the public works programme was handled here.

At first the people thought they were going to make the exercise a successful one since they had been promised payment for their efforts but nothing was received for the work done.

Villagers were told to close a very large danga which had formed along the Nyaiye River near the Goredema township bridge but after some weeks at the site, nothing was forthcoming from the responsible authorities. Up to now on-one has been paid. Imagine how demoralised the povo were when this happened. Some even neglected their maize fields for this programme but after the hard work and the poor yields in the fields, they got nothing.

Can someone say whether this was one way of making the villagers work (on the promise of an incentive) or maybe somebody among the officials assigned to this area embezzled the funds intended for the masses? The exercise has since stopped because of that issue as many villagers are not prepared to work for nothing. It would have been better if the officials or those responsible had told the masses the truth that there was nothing to be paid to them for their work. This would have helped them understand that they were only working for the improvement of their land by avoiding siltation on the banks of the Nyaiye River.

This situation can only serve to show that there are some officials within the government who tell a lot of lies to the masses thereby tarnishing the image of the popularly-elected government. Lets have these anomalies put right for the sake of the young generation who are the future leaders. For them to grow in an atmosphere of lies, means disaster for the country.

Yours truly,
Wellington Dikito
Chegutu

Daunting Time at Christmas

Dear Sir,

I think by airing my views through your monthly magazine somebody might be able to help or do something about the following.

At this time of the year, when we are faced with the festive season, some of us are al-

Letters

ready worried about how we will be travelling because the scene that we are going to encounter at the main bus terminus, Mbare Musika is unbearable. Last year many faced the same problem but it seems nothing has been done to rectify the situation. We have been promised many times that that terminus would be moved to much bigger premises but this has not materialised. And somebody was saying the other day that the proposal to move the terminus to a much bigger premises was stopped by councillors who felt that by moving the terminus some of their mates who have business interests at Mbare Musika would lose profits since there would then be no brisk business which has been made possible by the many commuters who use the terminus day in day out.

But surely, if this is the case then why should the majority suffer for a few conceited guys? Please lets have a bigger bus terminus to help curb pickpocketing, the usual congestion and to allow free movement of individuals who use the bus terminus.

With the present situation it is very difficult to tell whether I will make it to my rural home this year. The situation is made even more difficult by the fact that many of us have very large sums of money on our persons at this time of the year. Maybe it is a situation not worth complaining about but one day somebody will see what I mean by this letter and then it would be too late to put the situation straight.

Yours comradely,
Paul Chimankire
(worried Xmas traveller)
Harare

Churches unlimited.

Dear Sir,

I am worried at the alarming rate at which the church is gaining support from the locals. I myself am a member of one denomination but the rate at which more churches are emanating surely leaves a lot to be desired.

Why is it that almost everybody is now keen to form a church of his/her own instead of joining the already established ones in the region? Surely if we are not careful we might end up with a political party formed by these pseudo-christians. In fact I am not saying that all new churches are not genuine but what I am trying to highlight here is that those who join these churches must first of all get to know the background of these churches before jumping onto the bandwagon. After all, what is wrong in joining the

Letters

already established churches, in order to avoid confusion.

And in most cases it is former members of the old established churches who run away from their denominations to form new ones. And why this is so, no-one will ever understand because those who are recruited into the new churches begin just like anybody else did when joining their denominations. But one thing that still has to be established is whether these new churches still perform some traditional church rituals like baptising and the like. I do not think I will ever get the answer to this question because as I said earlier on, these churches' operations are made very secret to an extent where one is left wondering whether the members themselves know what the church is for or against. Anyway time will tell whether these are genuine churches or not but for the sake of everyone concerned with the Word of God, I hope the churches do not tarnish the true image of the Church of the Almighty God.

Yours faithfully,
Martha Kondongwe
(member of the real church)
Masvingo

Drive Sober — Stay alive

Dear Sir

Through your magazine Cde. Editor, may I advise all of your readers not to drive while under the influence of alcohol during this forthcoming festive season. This will not only avoid accidents and sorrow but, save the country's much needed foreign currency used to get those vehicles on the roads.

I am not saying human life comes second to foreign currency but that the nation should not suffer at the expense of unscrupulous drunken drivers. What the country needs today and tomorrow is a careful driver who thinks, cares and loves his family, society and the country at large. In that way, unnecessary incidents might be avoided and make the period, a merry one.

May I also, Cde. Editor, add that those frequenting drinking places or thinking about doing so during this forthcoming festive season, stop and think about the menacing thieves and robbers. I urge them to avoid taking chances. Stay with your families and enjoy your cakes with them. Forget about Joyce, Magie or a seat in that favourite bar of your, SEE your next year!

Yours faithfully
Lovemore Dandara
Unit 'O' Seke
Chitungwiza

Commissariat Must Lead Party Revamp Programme — President



The President and First Secretary of ZANU PF, Cde. R.G. Mugabe

The following is a full text of the speech given by the President and First Secretary of ZANU PF, Cde. R.G. Mugabe at the opening of the ordinary session of the Central Committee of the Party held on Saturday, 22nd September, 1990 in Harare.

We meet in ordinary session, for the third time this year, to address issues that relate to our Party, Government and the Nation. I warmly welcome you to this one-day meeting.

It is now exactly nine months since we held the inaugural National People's Congress to launch our united Party and chart our political way forward. It is also six months since the holding of the last general elections, which gave us the new unicameral Parliament, and following which we also had our new Cabinet and Government. The election victory gave us a mandate to proceed as the Party in Government to implement our policies and programmes. Time is now ripe, as we approach the end of the year, to examine whether our two sets of programmes, that of the Party and that of Government, are indeed on course.

The Party programme, as it appertains to both the organisational and policy implementation thrusts, must be closely and critically examined so we can satisfy ourselves that these thrusts are, in terms of the areas covered, sufficiently positive and mark the amount of progress expected of us at this stage.

Our interest in the national programme(s) must, at present, be very high indeed as we

look forward to the successful operation of both the Trade Liberalisation Programme and the Land Acquisition Programme. Perhaps at some stage of our to-day's meeting we can be briefed by the heads of the relevant Standing Committees of the Central Committee or by Ministers on these two vital programmes.

Party Organisation

It would appear that very little, if any, systematic organisation of the Party is taking place. The organisational momentum that



Delegates during the historic People's Congress of December 1989

was generated during the 1988/89 integration process has ebbed away. You will remember that at the time of the National People's Congress we had not finished our programme of constituting Party organs in the provinces. When we met in ordinary session here in June this year, we emphasized the need for a more vigorous programme of Party re-organisation not only to complete the task of building the structures of the Party, but also to re-invigorate the membership so as to get such greater activity as would demonstrate itself through better attendances at meetings, increased recruitment of fresh membership, and greater flow of subscriptions and donations to the Party.

The Secretary for the Commissariat will no doubt be furnishing us with his own Report, but my view, as I look at the Party situation, is that a lot more needs to be done to get the Party, on the one hand, properly and satisfactorily constituted, and, on the other, to get it, that is, its members moving and actively participating in Party functions.

As we undertake the organisational task, let us remember that the meetings to which we invite our members have to be decidedly purposeful. Every meeting must surely have a well-digested agenda with the items to be covered having been well considered by the leadership of the particular meeting. Even routine meetings need this approach, and speakers at them must know what they are talking about so that there is clarity on all matters and no fumbling occurs. Rallies require proper planning. Proper planning naturally means that we must work out a programme for every rally we hold. The aspects to be taken into account in organising rallies must, in addition to the issue of



Political mobilisation of the masses must be intensified

subject(s) of speeches, include the choice of speakers, the choice of a central venue, the campaign for attendance by the people in their large numbers, proper and adequate transport facilities, motivation and morale boosting songs and dances properly prepared for and rehearsed in advance of the rally, and, where necessary, food and drinks for the people.

These aspects are nothing new, and, indeed, they have often been taken care of in most cases. True, most of them have observably been features of our rallies, and yet some of them have not received as much attention, by way of preparation, as they always deserve.

A rally is not, and should not be an event dominated by slogans, songs and dances. A rally is not a celebration but a forum where a purposeful intellectual interaction between the speaker(s) and the audience takes place. The speaker must have a definite message to deliver to the audience and such message must have a definite meaning and objective which could be informative, educative or emotionally motivating or emotive. The speaker must thus study his topic after choosing it or been instructed by those above him to adopt it. Studying the topic involves some research about it so you can understand it better and discuss it with knowledge. It means sitting down with those people well informed about the subject and listening to them as they give you informa-

tion about it. It also means making notes about such subjects including useful illustrative, but simple, statistics, that is, facts and figures. It further means arranging your facts in a logical order which will make you best understood by the audience, as you move from one point to another in your speech.

I have suggested in the past that subjects for our rallies must come from our Commissariat which on a weekly or monthly basis must provide lists of such subjects for use at all provincial or district rallies.

The Commissariat should also provide, together with such topic lists, an outline of background information on each topic to assist the speakers in preparing for the rallies. Commissars at Provincial and District levels would, then, ensure that the scheduled speakers are not only in possession of the necessary background information but that they have actually studied and mastered it before addressing the rallies. No one can, for example, speak usefully about the progress we have made in education, health, provision of water, roads, electricity or housing, without the necessary facts and figures. Nor can we meaningfully discuss our land acquisition programme without the knowledge of that programme, in terms of the relevant legislation and its application as the programme unfolds. We also need to know the components of such programme or its inputs, if we are to explain it properly to the people.

Only when we have taken the trouble to study our subjects or topics for rallies can our speeches carry any message for our listeners. Only then, can we educate or inform them about certain situations or developments, and be able to move them into action or inspire them to have greater commitment than before.

The present situation, with little political activity, must not be allowed to continue as it can lead to greater apathy and disorganisation. The need, therefore, exists to stimulate our members into positive action within the framework of our overall Party programme. The starting point, as I see it, is the cell, which is much easier to organise and whose members can be turned into organisers of the whole ward or area with a number of cells. It is at the cell or village committee level that we can gauge the feelings of the people towards the Party. It is there also we can informally discuss their own problems and get them to make suggestions and recommendations without arousing high emotions, and proceed to arrange for these to be discussed or attended to by the district leadership. The cell is a vital organ (call it organism!) of the Party. If we allowed it to fall ill, it would affect the whole physical entity of the Party with its ailment. So, let us maintain, not just a constant touch but a definite togetherness with our living organism — the cell. I am sure you agree that we have to keep it alive if we are, as a Party

to remain alive. Apathy in the cells inevitably leads to *apathy in districts* (call it AIDS, if you like!) If, indeed, some of our Party districts are suffering from this political syndrome, I hope we can arrest the disease before it affects other parts of our provinces, and create an irreversible situation in the body-politic of the Party. Therefore, beware of AIDS in the Party!

Outstanding Policy Issues

Our Party is a people's party — a mass party that, by virtue of its democratic origins, recently enhanced and solidified by the bedrock of unity, is also national, non-tribal, non-racial, multi-cultural, multi-lingual, inter-regional, broad-based and all-encompassing. The Party has, in the course of its history, the history of the nationalist movement, developed a political and ideological philosophy of its own, based on the experiences it has acquired within and without the country.

The quest for democracy inevitably led to a nationalist struggle for freedom and democracy, prosecuted, firstly, politically and diplomatically, later, through mass action in various forms, and, finally, through a relentless armed struggle. At no stage of this struggle, lasting from 1957 to 1989, did the masses not constitute a principal factor. Indeed, it was always the dire situation of the people which propelled most of our leaders, living or dead, to organise the struggle for liberation. The people's response to the call to join the struggle was always massive, despite the myriad oppressive, repressive and sup-

pressive measures resorted to by the settler minority regime.

The people's fight, at every stage, was both *political and economic*, because colonial oppression was both political and economic. Because they needed freedom and the right to rule themselves so they could determine their own destiny, the struggle was, in that sense, *political*. But because they had lost their land and economic means, and were subjected to slave labour, denied wages and conditions of service commensurate with their work as employees, the struggle was also truly *economic*. Thus, the double objective of the struggle was, firstly, the attainment of *democracy* in place of minority rule and secondly, the achievement of *democratic control* of the country's economic resources in place of foreign and capitalist control.

The nationalist movement thus embraced, quite early on, the concepts of *democracy and socialism*. In general, it meant that both the political and economic order of the country had to be people-oriented, hence the cry for one-man-one-vote respectively by the ANC, NDP, ZAPU and ZANU, and the nationalist call for destruction of the capitalist system. As time went on and both ZAPU and ZANU became closely associated with eastern and Asian socialist systems based on Marxism-Leninism, the nationalist ideology of socialism became re-inforced by the concepts of this philosophy. This was surely the position as both Parties entered the final phase of the liberation struggle in 1979, and right up to the Lancaster House Confer-

ence. That was also the position, as on 22nd December, 1987, ZANU (PF) and PF (ZAPU) signed the *Unity Accord* that created our integrated Party. Throughout the years, our Nationalist Movement has held the people's interests as paramount over individual interests. *Individualism* has always remained subservient to *collectivism*.

We cannot have it otherwise, whatever the historical realities we have inherited may be. The *people* as a whole must always come first!

There is currently a raging debate on socialism and questions are being asked on whether socialism is the most appropriate philosophy for Zimbabwe. It is suggested that socialism has failed in Eastern Europe and elsewhere and that, therefore, we should drop it as a guiding philosophy for our socio-economic development strategy. Is it not ironic that we, who have not been affected much adversely by socialism but have seen the devastating effects of capitalism on us over a 90-year period, should be invited to join in this evil campaign against socialism? I ask: what was the economic state of our people between 1890 and 1979? What land rights had they? What was their level of wages? What social services (education, health, social welfare and social security) did they enjoy? What was their economic state in a country of rich minerals and fertile soils?

The question, I believe we should begin answering is not whether socialism is good for us, but whether *capitalism* has done us any

good over the ninety-year period when it had an unbridled reign. Even now, after political power has been transferred to the people, we are still groaning under the yoke of capitalism.

Naturally, within and without the Party, we must allow free debate on all these matters. The Party leadership must, however, not lose their political and ideological bearings and embark on selfish adventures as they seek for themselves green pastures in the land of capitalism, where the masses would for ever remain hewers of wood and drawers of water, for even the claim they have to their God-given land would vanish as our socialist approach is dropped.

Then inequity, inequality, injustice and inhumanity would prevail. The masses would undoubtedly have been betrayed and abandoned.

If, however, our Central Committee continue to cherish *Socialism* as our guiding philosophy, then it would remain imperative for us to conclude our long-awaited *Leadership Code* so our leaders could be bound by a code of behaviour consonant with our socialist ethics and reckoning.

Another outstanding matter requiring debates is that of the nature of the democratic system we could ultimately opt for. Our

Constitution and the Unity Accord of December 22, 1987 enjoin us to establish a One-Party State. But as you are aware, some amongst us have expressed an opinion quite different from what our *Constitution* and the *Unity Accord* assert as our basic principle in this regard.

I hope, we shall find time to debate these issues as freely as we can so that at the end of the day we are in a position to conclusively express ourselves on them and hence give clear direction to our members and supporters. Naturally, it is the view of the majority we shall go by, but, where constitutionally necessary, a *special National People's Congress* can be convened to debate the issue or issues and adopt policy.

Concluding Remarks

Our way forward depends greatly on the manner in which we, on the one hand, fulfil our Party objectives, especially in the short and medium term, and, on the other hand, on how our ship of state is being steered along the charted plan-path towards the attainment of our socio-economic goals. Our plans both for the organisation and development of the Party, and for the implementation of our socio-economic projects by the Government, require action, and more and more action. Ideas and theories which tend to take too long to be translated into action

mean nothing to the people who are desperate for more land, more jobs, more and better housing, more roads, more dams, more water, more electricity, better schools and more and better health facilities.

People want to *live better lives now* and not just to be told about better lives tomorrow. Promises that remain unrealised yield disillusionment, disenchantment, disinterest and disappointment. They destroy our credibility.

While the Party has a crucial role to play in organising the people and motivating them, this role in society could very well be negated, neutralised, or even undermined by Government's inaction or slow performance. Let the Land Acquisition Programme deliver the land; and let the Trade Liberalisation Programme and the New Investment Programme create more industries and more jobs and incomes, with such persistent ills as the shortage of transport and housing coming under control, then you will see a resurgence of the people's confidence in the Government and the Party. Similarly, inertia in the Party can adversely affect the Government's role. I want to call upon both our establishment Party and Government to get into full gear and act, act, and act again! ACTION NOW!! ACTION NOW!! ACTION NOW!!

Decent, Affordable Housing for all — National Goal

Message to the nation by the Honourable Minister of Public Construction and National Housing, Cde. E. Chikowore, on World Habitat Day.



Comrade Enos Chikowore

Today, the 1st of October, 1990 is World Habitat Day. This accords with the General Assembly of the United Nations resolutions of 17th December, 1985 to designate the first Monday in October of every year as "World Habitat Day." World Habitat Day is intended to highlight the plight of the homeless all over the world. It also provides an opportunity for Governments, non-Governmental Organisations, the Private Sector, International Agencies and community-based Organisations to demonstrate and review national and international efforts to resolve shelter issues.

According to available information from the United Nations centre for Human Settlements more than one billion people live in deplorable shelter conditions. At the beginning of the nineteenth century some 3 per cent of the world's population lived in cities and towns. Yet by the end of this century almost half of the global population will be living in urban areas. Because of the unprecedented large-scale urbanisation, the biggest problem is how to meet this shelter infrastructure and service needs of the populations

Zimbabwe has its own share of this shelter problem. We continue to have inadequate, substandard housing and infrastructure services on some of our mines, commercial farms, and in communal areas. The huge backlog in our urban areas has resulted in overcrowding and the mushrooming of illegal substandard structures. It is becoming more apparent that the success of efforts to improve shelter conditions depends to a large measure on the ability of the public and private sectors to co-operate.



Housing projects have spread to rural areas of the country

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It is in this light that we have decided that this year's theme for World Habitat Day should be "improving the living conditions of the urban and rural people through proper planning and management of human settlements". The theme is intended to provide an opportunity to involve all actors in the shelter sector, including schools and youth groups, in shelter upgrading activities, and to instil in them that the onus is on each one of us to improve the quality of life in this country.

The upgrading should be based on affordable standards that are aimed at improving community life and not at physical changes only. This can be achieved by involving the beneficiaries and giving them more say in the upgrading of their houses and management of their areas.

The provision of decent, affordable and durable housing is the main objective of my Ministry's national housing policy. In furtherance of this policy funds are allocated annually and disbursed to local authorities for housing development. I therefore call upon local authorities to come up with innovative ideas in their endeavour to provide affordable and durable shelter.

Since independence, Government has concentrated on low-cost housing development because the low income people had been more disadvantaged than other groups during the colonial era. The Government has also permitted building societies to issue 9% interest taxfree paid up permanent shares: 25% of the money so generated is applied to low-income housing. In addition the Government has a housing loan guarantee facility which covers all our citizens. This scheme is meant to help people buy or build their own houses.

In rural areas, government provides material loans for house construction for people in the resettlement areas, planned villages and district service centres whereby the houses are constructed through aided self help, co-operatives or brigades. All loans given to beneficiaries are full cost recoverable.

Government is aware of the sprawling nature of the existing low-cost housing schemes in urban areas which has resulted in the under-utilisation of otherwise prime agricultural land in some cases, and high cost in the provision of transport and infrastructure. Hence, I now call upon all local authorities to incorporate walk-up flat development in their housing programmes. In a development



Efforts must be intensified to resolve Zimbabwe's housing problems

with walk-up flats, land can be saved easily, and facilities like markets, shops, schools, clinics, parks and playgrounds, can be provided within walking distance resulting in savings in transport costs.

I also urge local authorities to review their by-laws. The reviewing of standards of building materials so as to adopt stabilized soil bricks, terra blocks and farm-clay bricks for the construction of single-storey low-cost houses in rural and urban centres must be given attention. This can help to alleviate the shortage of bricks which we are currently experiencing.

The government will continue with activities aimed at increasing the supply of serviced plots in urban areas by promoting joint-ventures between building societies, local authorities and employers and by promoting the involvement of non-governmental organisations in the construction of houses. It is therefore important that land must be made available to the potential developers by local authorities.

I appreciate the problems faced by miners and commercial farmers in the provision of decent accommodation for their workers. Chief among the problems are the countrywide shortage of building materials and lack of adequate funds. However, I have ob-

served with delight that on some mines and commercial farms efforts are being made to improve the shelter conditions. I fully support the role being played by this sector in the provision of other shelter related facilities such as water supply points and sanitary facilities. This shows the response by the sector to the government's call to provide decent facilities to their workers who constitute a sizeable proportion of the country's total working population. However a lot still has to be done by this sector to improve the shelter conditions of the employees.

Government fully recognises the important contributions which non-governmental organisations have made to human settlements in Zimbabwe. However, I appeal to non-governmental organisations to enhance the skills and resources of people themselves and community based organisations to do what they are able to do in the content of improving their shelter and supporting services. In this context, they should facilitate access to alternative technologies and financing to appropriate groups. They can also add practical and organisational skills.

I have no doubt that with more commitment from all sectors, Zimbabwe will certainly succeed in resolving its housing problems.

Thank you.

President Receives Highest Award From Historic Town

Address by His Excellency the President of the Republic of Zimbabwe, Comrade R.G. Mugabe, on the occasion of the Conference of the Freedom of the Municipality of Chinhoyi, 13 October, 1990.



Cde. President R.G. Mugabe accepting the honour bestowed upon him at a ceremony in Chinhoyi

It gives me great pleasure to be addressing this gathering as a freeman of this most historic and promising municipality. Everyone knows the gallant part played by Chinhoyi in the struggle leading to our independence. This gallantry dates back to the times of the Chief after whom this district is named, who chose to lay down his life rather than pay tribute to the colonial ruler. The story behind the spook of Alaska, with its roots in the First Chimurenga, further demonstrates the fighting spirit of this district. It is not surprising, therefore, that the first shots of the liberation struggle were fired just a few kilometres from here. This tenacity is also found in the areas' farming, mining and local government development. Farming on a commercial basis was already taking place here as early as 1905. Characteristically, the setbacks suffered by early farmers only fuelled their determination to succeed. That the Makonde district is amongst the most productive farming areas in the country is ample testimony to that perseverance.

Chidzuwi Hill, the site of the modern Alaska Mine, was the largest mine workings even before colonialism. The discovery of farms of copper ingots bear testimony to the abundance of copper in the area and how the mineral was an integral aspect of the area's trade network.

With the completion of the standard gauge railway line to Ayshire Mine in June 1914, came strong representations for the establishment of a Village Management Board in this town, which was, subsequently set up in 1915.

Since then, Chinhoyi has been growing steadily. With Government's policy of decentralisation, Chinhoyi's physical development in all sectors has been appreciable over the last decade. Within the residential sector, the first major project undertaken on a self-help basis was the Chinhoyi stream housing scheme. The project, boasting of nearly one thousand low and medium cost residential stands, ushered in a new era for Chinhoyi.

I am advised that a similar scheme is now in the offing. A plan for 1 100 low-cost residential stands has been prepared in respect of the Brundish area. I look forward to a speedy servicing of the area as has been the case with residential extensions in the Chikonohono suburb.

In the medium and high-cost sectors, considerable infill development has occurred with many stands being developed by either central government or private developers.

More significantly has been the acquisition and replanning of the Umzari smallholding scheme to create 175 half-acre residential

stands and 35 one-and-half acre plots.

I am advised that these are also being title surveyed with a view to servicing them and releasing them for development thereafter.

Although there has been an appreciable lull in respect of industrial expansion, a significant development was the upgrading and refurbishment of the Chinhoyi Cold Storage Commission abattoir to comply with European Economic Community beef export standards.

In anticipation of new industrial initiatives and investment, plans for over 40 light industrial stands have been prepared and duly approved. Within the public sector, progress has been made in the construction of a Government office block and ancillary residential accommodation, the Public Service Provincial Training Centre, a Provincial Teachers Training Centre and the Provincial Hospital, to whose completion we all look forward.

To sustain the above cited developments, the Municipality of Chinhoyi has had to upgrade both its water and sewerage schemes. Chinhoyi Municipality is indeed well positioned to attract investment, situated as it is on the trunk road leading to Zambia and beyond.

The tourist and recreational resorts, like the Chinhoyi Caves and the as yet untapped potential of the Mazvikadei dam, make Chinhoyi a tourist destination in its own right.

Tourist traffic to Kariba and Chirundu must also be harnessed to boost the growth of this town. Chinhoyi is now a fully-fledged municipality providing a full range of services to its citizens and the surrounding population. Its potential for further growth is, therefore, quite considerable and should be fully exploited. I wish you well as you forge ahead in your endeavours to build a prosperous Chinhoyi.

This occasion, Comrade Mayor, invokes deep sentiments in me and I will always cherish this day upon which you, your councillors and the people of Chinhoyi made me a freeman of this beautiful and growing municipality.

Youth Training Centres under-utilized: Zikhali

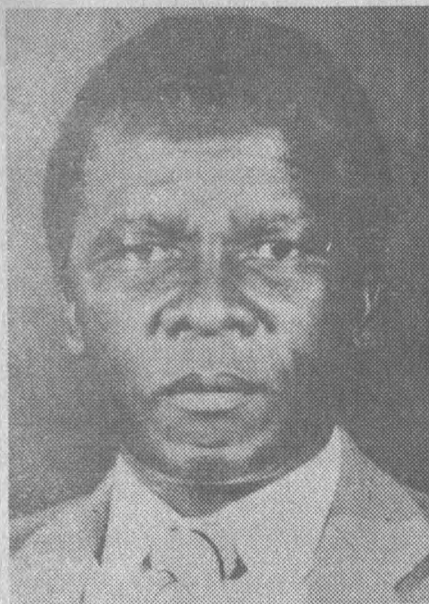
Report of the National Executive Committee of the Youth League to the 2nd Session of the National Youth League Assembly, on 13th October, 1990 at Party Headquarters: presented by the Deputy Secretary Comrade N. Zikhali.

The 2nd session, and last one for this year of the National Assembly of the Youth League convenes at a time when the whole world is experiencing a dynamic transformation in its political, economic and social systems.

It seems Socialism is collapsing in Eastern Europe. Its people are excitedly embracing capitalism in the belief that, it will provide a panacea for their economic ills. We wish them well. For we have no right to sit and pass judgement over their decisions. Because

of such developments we have, here, also opened debate on socialism and One Party State.

On economic ideology, it is damaging to note that some of our youths have become



Cde. Norman Zikhalo

pontiffs of a capitalist Eldorado. They hope to bridge the gap between our majority rural poor and the few urban rich by leaving it to free play of market forces. A strange decision indeed for a revolutionary youth that took up arms against the super — structure of capitalism, barely ten years ago. Comrades, No, this is a contradiction.

It will be recalled that the Party Congress on 22nd December, 1989 unanimously adopted amongst others, two very important resolutions, one on the establishment of a One Party State in Zimbabwe and the other on the implementation of the Leadership code with Socialism as our ideology.

It will further be recalled that the 1st session of the National Assembly of the Youth League, at its meeting in January, 1990 deferred the debate on the two aforementioned resolutions because the Central Committee had not clearly decided on the mechanics to implement the two.

However, on the 22nd September, 1990 the Central Committee, decided that the es-

tablishment of a One Party State in Zimbabwe would, remain a priority and the Party's ultimate objective. However, contrary to prior notions, the Party will strive to establish a *de facto* One Party State and not a *de jure* One Party State.

That means the party will mobilize and politicize the people to join ZANU PF to the exclusion of any other party without legislating against the formation or existence of other parties like ZUM, ZANU (Ndonga) and others.

On the question of the Leadership Code, the decision was deferred pending further debate. Since the code is tied Socialism, the Party must choose which model of socialism first before finalising the restrictions of the code. The outcome of the debate on socialism will therefore guide the party on the question of the Leadership Code.

Coming to the state of the party, it will be recalled that three months after the 1st session of the Assembly we had a general election on which the Party won 147 seats ZUM 2 and ZANU (Ndonga) 1. But our victory was marked by the low total turnout of the voters.

Apart from the so-called 'Protest votes' which went to ZUM and ZANU (Ndonga) the political apathy in the country is a cause for concern.

Looking at the possible reasons why the people have lost enthusiasm in the Party, the land question amongst others takes prominence. When we attained independence ten years ago we promised people land, but to date only a third of the families intended for resettlement have been settled under one or more of the Resettlement Models. Firstly, the Government had no money to buy additional land. Secondly the farmers were reluctant to sell on a willing seller and willing buyer basis a stumbling factor which was inherent in the Lancaster House Agreement.

In Zimbabwe, like anywhere else independence brought with it many promises and great expectations. Truly there was expansion in every field and discipline. Education,

Health, construction etc. made great strides. But job creating industries did not expand as fast. Vagaries of the weather raked havoc in Masvingo, Matabeleland North and South and some parts of the Midlands compounding the unemployment problem. To date we have not been able to put a stop to the rural exodus which in turn has outstretched all the services in the urban centres.

The majority of the unemployed people are youths. The Youth League being the backbone of the Party must prepare itself for tough times ahead. There is no way the Government can create employment for so many people. The informal sector must take the lead. That means, we must engage ourselves in projects that will give us employment taking advantage of the recently inaugurated Trade Liberalization Programme, whose benefits will only be fully felt after ten years.

In order to enhance the performance of the Youth League, the Party has decided to employ on a full time basis the following office — bearers.

1. P.J. Shoniwa — Secretary for Administration
2. K.C.D. Mohadi — Secretary for Finance
3. M. Chiranganyika — Secretary for Commissariat
4. Cde. B. Gezi — Secretary for Production

These Comrades have now moved into offices at the New Party Headquarters. But their presence at Party Headquarters is not on its own a solution to our problems. We must change our working system. Our approach must henceforth be aggressive.

Comrades, a review of our performance reveals some salient weaknesses which need some thorough polishing if we are going to be a force to reckon with.

Firstly the Administration Department which is indeed the nerve centre for all other departments has not functioned to capacity. There was lack of feed-back from the Provinces. Except for Matabeleland South,

Bulawayo Province and some correspondence from Harare Province and Mashonaland West, nothing came from other provinces. The coordinating function of the department of administration must be enhanced by the work-load from other departments.

Secondly the Department of Finance is handicapped by lack of finance. Apart from inheriting a huge debt the provinces have not sent in any subscriptions to the Party Headquarters.

Money is the lubricant for our political machinery. Every effort must therefore be expected towards the collection of subscriptions. In addition, other fund raising activities must be undertaken without any further delay.

Thirdly the Youth League has failed to implement the Programme of Action copies of which were posted to every province. The Department of the Commissariat has not been able to organise meetings and rallies. No information has come vis-a-vis the state of the Party in the provinces. Now, that the Party will not enjoy sole existence resulting from a legislative measure the Commissariat must be revamped to meet the challenge of the new situation.

Fourthly, the existence of so many under-utilised Youth Training Centres throughout the country should be examined. With so much unemployment the party through the Department of Labour and Production must organise youths and train them in various skills offered at these centres.

This report would not be complete without mentioning the very importance of the students at the University, High Schools, Technical and Teachers' Colleges.

We call upon them to join the Youth League and play a positive role in analysing the present in order to shape our future together. This is no time for apathy and complacency. We cannot afford to be apathetic to national issues when, youths in other



Youths demonstrate total support of the ZANU PF

countries are busy analysing, developing and determining the destinies of their nations.

Finally, this Assembly should urge the Central Committee in the absence of Congress to make a pronouncement on the 21st February Movement of which the 1st Secretary and President of the Party Comrade R.G. Mugabe is the patron.

It is not clear, at least to some of us here, whether the Movement is part of the Youth League or not. Each time 21st February draws near, we are expected or called upon to organise the members for the day. And yet once the day is over, the movement becomes dormant or dies until the following February. We call upon the policy making body of the Party to address this question.

There have been several invitations from our counterparts in other countries to visit them as part of our political exchange

programmes. But we have not been able to accept all of them because we do not have the money for our fares. However, one delegation led by Comrade B. Gezi did go to Bulgaria under very trying and difficult circumstances because firstly no adequate preparations had been done for them, secondly no research was done to know the country and thirdly no programme was received from Bulgaria resulting in the poor choice of the members of the delegation.

On the other hand the Chinese Youth delegation visited Zimbabwe on 28th September for a week and were taken to various places of interest including Youth Training Camp at Mushagashe. They gave us foot-balls and uniforms.

Once again I call upon all of you comrades to apply yourselves seriously to the days of deliberations.

Student Demonstrations — A Disturbing Diary

Demonstrations by Students: Rusape

On 2 November, 1990 about forty-three (43) students in Form 3 at St. Faith Mission, Rusape went on demonstration complaining about the termination of field trips by their teacher. The teacher, a Miss Charity MAVHERA, had just revealed to the students that she would not undertake anymore field trips with the students, because of the mischief they had done in previous trips. The students protested against the decision but the teacher stood firm and advised them to report her to Education Officials if they so wished. The students then walked to Rusape Education offices intending to speak to the District Education Officer, Cde. CHAITA. The students



Cde. Fay Chung

however dispersed after they were addressed by the mission headmaster, Mr. Nathan MPHUNYA who promised to look into their grievances. Local police will continue to monitor the situation.

In a related incident one Form 4 student at Makumbe High School phoned police Bulawayo reporting that Forms 4, 5 and 6 boys were boycotting classes and threatening to assault teachers. When police attended they found only 40 form 4 boys gathered outside the school fence and they were demanding from the school authorities an explanation on the use of Practical Fee paid at the beginning of each year by students. The school headmaster promised to explain to the students the use of the money and they dis-



With the support of the youths, our revolution becomes strengthened

persed peacefully. Local police will continue to monitor the situation.

Public Violence: Rusape

Form 3 students at St. Faith Mission, Rusape who demonstrated against their Commerce Teacher, Miss Charity Mavhera on 2nd November, 1990 for banning field trips, mobilised all the other students at the school to partake in another violent demonstration against the same teacher on 4 November, 1990. The students who were approximately 500 in number marched to the teacher's house and stoned it breaking 28 window panes and 8 asbestos sheets all valued at \$300.00. Personal property belonging to Miss Mavhera consisting of a radio, wardrobe and kitchen utensils all valued at \$3 000.00 was also damaged during the attack. Police attended and quelled the disturbances. Investigations are in progress to arrest the ring leaders. Local police will continue to monitor the situation.

In a related incident on 4 November 1990, Forms 1 to 6 students at Fletcher High School in Gweru demonstrated against a meal which was not on the current day's programme. The School Food Programme stipulates that the students will be supplied with chicken every Sunday evening. On this particular day the supplier failed to deliver the chicken and therefore despite the Headmaster's explanation to this effect the students went on a demonstration. The students switched off lights whilst the headmaster was explaining and one of them hit him with a broom stick on the head. He sustained slight injuries. Police were summoned to the school and on their arrival, a barrage of stones were hailed at them by the students. One member of the police was hit on the knee but sustained no injuries. They however managed to put the situation under control. Investigations are underway.

Student unrest: Nyamandlovu

On November 6, 1990 between 2100 hours and 0623 hours unknown number of students suspected to be in Forms 3 and 4 at T.G. Silundika High School in Nyamandlovu went on a rampage of destroying school property. Six Flood lights, electrical appliances, electrical sockets and window panes all valued at approximately \$2 000.00 were destroyed. The culprits were not seen by the school authorities in action since the damage was only discovered the following morning. Judging from numerous anonymous letters which have been found slipped underneath the door of the Headmaster's office, it is evident that the students are disgruntled in the manner the teachers treat female students at the school. Some of the issues raised in the letters were: that teachers at the school are proposing love to female students; that the male students are unhappy with sitting arrangement in the dining hall which separates them from their female counterparts who are allegedly given more food; that male students are unhappy with the studying arrangements in the evening which allow females to remain in the dormitories whilst they go to classes. Police and the Regional Education Director, Mr. Gordon visited the school and held a meeting with



The law-enforcement agents cannot allow hooliganism to dominate our educational institutions

the students but the perpetrators of the malicious injury to property were not found. Investigations continue.

Students demonstration: Kwekwe

The fifty Lower Sixth Students from Rio Tinto High School who were picked up by the police on 8 November, 1990 following a violent demonstration at the school in which school property was destroyed have all been charged for malicious injury to property. They have since been returned to school pending trial. The dockets have since been forwarded to the Attorney General through the local Public Prosecutor. Local Police will continue to monitor the situation.

Meanwhile, the situation at Sembelula Primary School in Nkayi whereby the school was closed following a mysterious attack by what are believed to be spooks on students, teachers and school buildings remains the same. The planned meeting between the school parents and the teachers is still outstanding.

In a related incident, following a violent demonstration on 4 November, 1990 by about five hundred (500) students at St. Faith Secondary School, Rusape against their Commerce Teacher whom they accused of unceremoniously terminating field trips, eleven students in Forms 3, 5 and 6 were arrested by Police and charged with public violence. Value of the teacher's property damaged is estimated at more than \$4 500.00. Local police will continue to monitor the situation. Investigations are continuing.

Violent demonstration students:

Esigodini

On 11 November, 1990 students at Mzingwane High School in Esigodini went on a violent demonstration complaining against alleged badly cooked sadza. The students attacked several buildings at the school with stones smashing window panes and roofing sheets. A car belonging to one of the teachers was also moderately damaged. The approximate value of all damaged property is

\$20 000.00. Police attended the scene and quelled the violence. Investigations are in progress.

Violent demonstration by students:

Zvishavane

On November, 1990 about six hundred students at Dadaya High School, Zvishavane went on a violent demonstration in protest against alleged poor diet and entertainment at the school. The demonstrators burnt the whole administration block, the headmaster's house and his car causing extensive damage. A lot of window panes on boys and girls dormitories and the flag mast were broken. Police attended and picked up forty students for questioning. The Zvishavane Regional Director of Education visited the school the following day and announced the closure of the institution. Police are still deployed on the school premises whilst investigations continue.

Students violence: Figtree (Cyrene)

On November 19, 1990 about two hundred Form 4 students went on a demonstration in protest against an alleged badly prepared supper. The headmaster of the school replaced the sadza and vegetables which had been prepared with bread and vegetables. Though the students accepted the meal they nonetheless went on a rampage at the school, breaking utensils in the dining room, window panes on the Staff room and classrooms and badly damaging the Headmaster's Office door. Police were summoned and they restored order at the school. Estimated value of property destroyed is \$1 000.00. Local Police will continue to monitor the situation.

Students violence: Filabusi

On 19 November, 1990 about fifteen Form 4 students at Wenezi Mission attacked teachers' cottages and school offices with stones, breaking five window panes valued at \$25.00 in the process. The reason for the violence is unknown. Four students have since been picked for questioning by Police. Investigations are underway.

Land Policy Designed to Equate Distribution — Mangwende

The major thrust of Government efforts in addressing the land question has been conditioned by the need to ensure the creation of an equitable land distribution system without compromising agricultural production.

The Minister of Lands, Agriculture and Rural Resettlement, Comrade Witness Mangwende said this in a speech to the Association of African Political Science in Harare on October 25.

Following is the text of the Minister's speech:

I would like to begin my address this evening by expressing my appreciation of African Political Science on the important theme of "The Question in Zimbabwe 10 Years After".

As you are aware, the land question was one of the major issues in the struggle for liberation in this country. For the past ten years of independence, the land question has also probably been one of the most critical policy issues that has faced this Government.

The importance of the land question in Zimbabwe, stems from the dualistic land distribution system that we inherited at independence. As a result of deliberately orchestrated policies of previous Governments, the land distribution pattern in this country was highly skewed in favour of about 6 000 large scale commercial farmers who controlled about half of the total agricultural land in this country. This was in direct contrast to the position of 700 000 communal area farmers who controlled the other half of the total agricultural land. The situation in the communal areas was further exacerbated by the fact that as population grew in these often marginal areas, land pressure, coupled with environmental degradation resulted, and was not compensated in any way with any significant input of resources by previous Governments.

This inherited bi-polar structure of the land ownership system has placed severe constraints on the ability of Government to formulate policy options for the development of the whole agricultural sector in this country. In particular, the previous land apportionment system, created a number of inter-related and often inflicting dimensions to the land question which the present Government has to take into account in mapping out any land distribution system.

Some of the key issues include the following:

- (i) over 70 percent of the population in this country live in the rural areas and derive their livelihood directly off the land.
- (ii) the highly inequitable distribution of land between the different races in this



The land issue was a major bone of contention in the struggle for Zimbabwe

country and the urgent need to rectify this anomaly.

- (iii) the general poverty, under development and extreme population pressure in the hitherto neglected communal areas inhabited by the majority of the peasant population.
- (iv) the existence of areas of landlessness and land scarcity juxtaposed to areas of unused and underutilised land.
- (v) the important role played by the commercial farming sector in the national economic fabric.
- (vi) the reality that given the current population growth rate, resettlement alone can never fully solve the problem of land shortage that exists in the communal areas.

For the past ten years, Governments have instituted several programmes which have been designed to effectively tackle the land question. I must however emphasise that the quest to finding solutions to these and other issues involved in the land question has not been an easy task given the fact that some of these problems that I have identified are not easily reconcilable.

Despite these problems, the major thrust of Government efforts in addressing the land question has been conditioned by the need to ensure the creation of an equitable land distribution system without compromising agricultural productivity and general economic growth. In addition to this, it has also been necessary to ensure that the resultant land distribution system that emerges leads to effective and sustainable land utilisation in the agricultural sector.

In line with these central objectives, the major thrust of Government policy measures have consisted of the following:

- (i) Land Resettlement,
- (ii) Redirecting of support services to communal and resettlement areas, and
- (iii) Communal area reorganisation.

Land Resettlement

During the past ten years of programme implementation, significant progress has been made in the distribution of land to the communal area farmers. To date, about 52 000 families have been resettled on 3.3 million hectares of former commercial farm land.

In my previous press statements, I have indicated that the achievement of the resettlement target of resettling 162 000 families has been beset by a number of problems.

These problems ranged from limitations imposed by the Lancaster House Constitution to those involving the inability of Government to raise the necessary financial resources to implement such a large programme.

Further to these constraints, during the past ten years, and as a result of the experience gained in implementing the programme, Government has identified a number of limitations which have hampered the smooth implementation of the programme.

These have included:

- (i) Settler selection criteria,
- (ii) Land Acquisition System,
- (iii) Suitability of Resettlement Models,
- (iv) Implementation of the accelerated

Resettlement Models,
(v) Model B's

Despite the problems and constraints in implementing resettlement that I have indicated above there is not doubt that the implementation of the programme so far has gone a long way in making significant contributions to Government's efforts in redressing the land question in this country.

Some critics of the resettlement programme have argued that one of the limitations of the current programme has been its failure to relieve population pressure in the communal areas. What such critics fail to understand however, is that Government recognised that the implementation of the resettlement programme could not on its own fully address all the problems involved in communal area development. Other Government measures as I will show later were also instituted to address the communal areas situation.

It is also important to recognise the fact that although resettlement has not fully alleviated pressure in the communal areas, the resettlement of over 52 000 families has gone a long way in assisting to solve that problem. Otherwise without resettlement, population pressure in the communal areas could have been worse.

As a result of progress made in the implementation of the programme, resettlement is now making significant contributions to national productivity. It has been noticeable that agricultural production of the resettlement schemes has been increasing gradually since the inception of the programme. This is not simply because more land and more settlers are brought into the programme, but that settlers are also consolidating their agricultural operations through increased management expertise. Resettlement has also registered significant success expanding the portfolio of farmers covered by essential social services such as schools, clinics and roads.

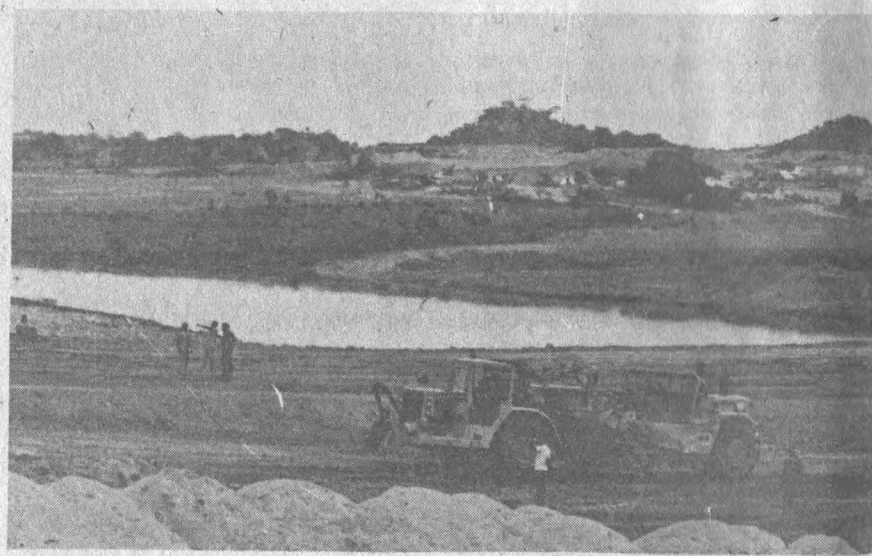
It is common knowledge that Communal areas face numerous socio-economic, infrastructural and ecological problems stemming from the policies of the colonial era. These problems are inseparably linked and conceptually cover unfavourable population/resource ratios, environmental degradation, inadequate delivery system, inadequate rural infrastructure and inadequate land tenure system. In an effort to redress this situation, government has since independence implemented communal area reorganisation and redirection of support services to communal areas concurrently with Land Resettlement Programme.

Communal Area Reorganisation

Given the crisis situation in the communal areas, Government has viewed communal area reorganisation as a pre-requisite for self-sustaining development in these areas. This programme entails the rationalisation of arable, grazing and settlement land uses per village. Several village plans have been developed into bankable projects awaiting implementation throughout the country. These

will be funded in the same manner as resettlement.

Inevitably, it is possible that in certain areas of the country such as in Masvingo, Manicaland, Mashonaland East and so on, the implementation of communal area reorganisation will generate excess population which will need to be resettled. Of course, it may be surprising to some of you to realise the fact that in some parts of the country the reorganisation programme could also result in more land being released instead.



Resettlement areas must have water reservoirs

Having said that I would like however to call upon you, the academics and other professionals to make constructive contribution on how Government can reconcile the vexing issues of land shortage, productivity and sustainable development. Some critics of our reorganisation programme point at experiences of villagisation from countries like Tanzania as signals to the disasters which will emanate from Communal Area Reorganisation in a flexible manner taking cognisance of the varying social economic and physical parameters prevailing in the communal areas.

The issue of what form of land rights, who has what rights and how these rights will be allocated from controversial aspects of the land question also in communal areas. Therefore in drawing up policies in relation to this highly explosive subject of land tenure reforms, there is need to take cognisance of evidence of successes of already implemented land tenure reform policies under similar post colonial conditions.

There is also need to assess the legal, institutional and socio-economic pros and cons of each particular land tenure system. Broad guidelines for an appropriate land tenure system for Zimbabwe are provided in the following statements from the Growth with Equity document of February 1981: "The land is common heritage and no one should enjoy absolute ownership of its Government will therefore entrust certain rights in the use of land to private individuals for as long as such trusteeship best serves the national interest.

Indeed, landowners share their property with the state, which is the sole custodian of the nation's natural assets and the state can restrict the uses and practices that are carried out on that land which are contrary to national interest".

These guidelines need thorough scrutiny interpretation and operationalisation. To this end, government will soon commission a team of experts to recommend the most appropriate tenurial systems for the country.

Re-direction of Support Service Systems to the Peasant Sector

The restructuring of the communal lands into a more productive land use pattern has to be backed by the provision of support services such as extension, credit, marketing and so on. Since independence government has deliberately expanded the provision of support services to the previously neglected communal areas. This has enabled communal farmers to increase their production. Despite these efforts, a lot still has to be done to improve the standards of living in these areas.

Provision of extension services in communal areas need to be increased to enable more peasant farmers to adopt improved farming methods. At independence the ratio of extension worker to farmers was one extension worker to 1 000 farmers but this has now been reduced to about one extension worker to about 800 farmers on average. It is government's hope that this will ultimately be reduced to the ratio of one extension worker to about 400 to 600 farmers.

New strategies for extension in communal areas have also been adopted. Agritex has expanded its services and methods, placing an ever increasing emphasis on group extension and mass extension methods. The department is also currently involved in radio and publications both supporting numerous extension campaigns. Other approaches based on groups and group methods are being expanded and monitored. These include, among others, the training and visit (T and V) system, the group development area ap-

Improvement of marketing facilities in communal areas is needed in order to enable communal farmers to deliver their products without incurring excessive transport costs and disposal problems. In 1980 there were only 33 GMB storage depots but now there are more than 70 marketing depots. Credit to small scale, communal and resettlement farmers has been expanded dramatically since independence. The number of communal and resettlement farmers receiving credit from the AFC now stands at over 49 000.

Similarly, government has accorded small scale irrigation development priority since independence as a vehicle for increasing communal area productivity. Considerable progress has been yielded in small scale irrigation development. To date there are now 66 operational schemes (4 572ha) and a further 14 schemes are under rehabilitation. Government intends to double the area under small scale irrigation schemes by 1995.

It is obviously clear that in its effort to tackle the land question through resettlement and improvement of communal area productivity, government has had to bear astronomical costs. I hereby challenge researchers and other professionals in the academic field to assist government in coming up with feasible alternatives which are cost effective. Undue radicalism whilst it may have some reasoning behind it, may be retrogressive under our present situation.

Future Resettlement Plans

Government is committed to speed up the land redistribution programme. To this end, a comprehensive Land Policy has been drawn up to guide the acceleration of land redistribution. Government has therefore decided that about 15 million hectares of the remaining 11 million hectares under large scale commercial farming will be purchased to resettle the remaining 110 000 families. The large scale commercial sector will therefore remain with about five million hectares.

This land is necessary to ensure continuity in the production of strategic crops. Some criticisms which have been couched in some circles regarding government taking over large scale commercial farming areas, at the same time concerned with the need to reserve the sector for strategic crops are based on misinformation. This is because this country requires only 3,6 million hectares to safeguard the production of strategic crops

and yet government has exceeded this required hectareage by over a million hectares. Provision of the hectareage in excess of what is required for strategic crops is based on the understanding that not all farmers will be in optimum production every year.

Thus, at the end of the resettlement programme, the agricultural sector will be comprised of five major farming sub-sectors as follows: the resettlement (8,3 million ha), large scale commercial (5 million ha), small scale commercial (1,3 million ha), communal (16,4 million ha) and the state farming sector (2,4 million ha). The land policy also stipulates that Government will institute the following measures to speed up the implementation of the programme:

1. Amendment of the Lancaster House Constitution to enable Government to expropriate land and pay the owners in local currency.
2. Amendment of the Land Acquisition Act of 1985 so that restrictive clauses which made it difficult for Government to designate land needed for resettlement are removed.
3. Setting of ceilings on land prices.
4. Setting up of minimum and maximum farm sizes.
5. Imposition of land tax on commercial farming areas to discourage the bad habit of people who just buy and own land for speculative purposes.
6. Land inspection in order to monitor the problems of both underutilisation of land and absentee landlords.
7. Limiting the number of farms owned to one man one farm.
8. Prohibiting absentee landlords to own agricultural land except in exceptional circumstances.
9. Control of land ownership by foreign companies and individuals.

Besides indicating the constraints that need to be overcome in order to speed up the implementation of the programme, the land policy also spells out the measures that Government will take in order to ensure that after resettlement, all the agricultural land in this country is effectively utilised on a sustainable basis. It will be particularly important to make sure that the implementation of the resettlement programme will not only lead to the achievement of an equitable land distribution system in this country but must also contribute to the fulfilment of national

development objectives of increasing employment creation, agricultural production and foreign currency earnings.

In recognition of the need to increase agricultural production nationally, the selection criteria for people to be accommodated in resettlement schemes has been changed to focus on farmers who can efficiently utilise the land. This is a departure from the resettlement of refugees and the landless in general which characterised the period immediately after attaining independence. Government feels that this latter social objective has been satisfied and any continuation for resettlement has to ensure that the land is effectively utilised in order to satisfy the country's requirements for agricultural products. In accordance with this requirement, the settler selection criteria for any future resettlement has been changed to give more emphasis to master farmers or those farmers with a demonstrated potential to fully utilise the land.

Although agricultural production in the resettlement schemes has been steadily increasing since the inception of the programme, the performance could still be improved to match that of commercial farmers that used to farm the now resettlement areas. The idea here is that land in this country be used on a commercial basis.

Another important consideration in the land policy is that Government recognises the need in the short to medium term to retain the large scale commercial sector. However, Government is committed to improving the racial composition of this sector so that it includes a large proportion of black farmers. To this end, Government is in the process of identifying a suitable cadre of potential indigenous large scale commercial farmers and design a suitable financial and training programme to ensure that these farmers succeed.

In this regard, Government has approved in principle the specific recommendations on ways in which the AFC can improve its credit delivery system. CSC is also working out a similar package for emergent farmers as well as for communal and resettlement farmers.

On this note, I conclude by appealing to discussants to endeavour to offer practical solutions to the land question. The land issue is still an unfinished business on our Government's Agenda.

which these were resolved. Compromise and concessions were made across the board; differences were ironed out; and a new strategy was mapped out and agreed upon.

Notwithstanding the above, problems still arose as regards approach and methodology aimed at consolidating the newly-found unity.

Party cadres on both sides found themselves working, in some cases, with complete strangers. In such an environment, suspicions ran high. This was evidenced in October last year when, in Harare Province, a few elements walked out of the provincial execu-

State of the Party

By Our Special Political Correspondent

As this decade comes to a close, the Zimbabwe African National Union, Patriotic Front is justified to review and take stock of the state of the Party with pride and satisfaction. Not only does 1990 signify the 27 long years that ZANU PF has survived as a truly people-based party; it also wraps up the successful ten-year run the ruling party has had in government. But perhaps most important of all, 1990 is the

third successful year for ZANU PF as a united national front, following the signing of the historic Unity Accord of 1987.

The attainment of peace nation-wide as a direct derivative of the Unity Accord was never meant to be passport to laxity within the ruling party. If anything, the problems associated with the unification of ZANU (PF) and PF-ZAPU had long been anticipated, hence the expedient manner in agricultural

Session for Information Secretaries

The completion of documentation of the account of Zimbabwe's national war of liberation is among the major tasks agreed upon for the future by participants at the recent ZANU PF Seminar for Provincial Information and Publicity Secretaries held here from 26 to 28 October.

This year's seminar was well-attended, with only one of the ten provinces (Midlands), not sending participants. In all, 81 people, including invited guests, attended. The three South African liberation movements, ANC, PAC and BCM were also represented, with their delegates actively participating in the proceedings.

Six main tasks were identified as the major undertakings for *The People's Voice* Newspaper and *Zimbabwe News* for the forthcoming year. The tasks include increasing advertising and circulation; improvement of coverage of Party activities; and enhancement of participation by Publicity Secretaries in the content of Party publications.

tive elections crying 'foul' because most seats went to candidates who were members of ZANU (PF). But true to the spirit of national unity, patriotism has triumphed over petty, tribalistic tendencies.

Consolidation of party principles, however, does not end with the eradication of tribalistic tendencies within the ranks of the front. The current Party membership of 3 million is meaningless unless that membership is developed into a well-oiled machinery.

The one sure way of guaranteeing an active party membership of such magnitudes is to re-organise and revamp the Party at grassroots level.

To this end, everyone, from the Party President to a card-carrying member should attend meetings at cell/village level because over and above any district, provincial or national duties one might have, in the final analysis, everyone is a member of a cell/village. Members should therefore attend meetings at this level, and it is here that they should pay their subscriptions.

It might be worthwhile for the Party to consider introducing a differently-coloured membership card every year in order to minimise or eradicate non-payment of subscriptions. A lumpsum payment of annual subscriptions as opposed to monthly instalments could significantly improve the Party's financial situations.

Without mincing words, the financial situation in the Party is bad. No organisation, be it charitable or otherwise, can function without a reliable source of funding. The same goes for the Party. Presently, only a negligible few members have paid their subscriptions. This is a serious issue which must be treated with the urgency it deserves.

Ideology

One issue that has long been capitalised upon by enemies of the Party in their criticism of ZANU PF is that concerning ideology. Some people have suggested, rather mis-

The seminar also resolved to continue with the Department's already initiated programmes of compiling the President and First Secretary's biography; and broadcasting of Party-sponsored Radio and TV programmes.

Information and Publicity Secretaries have clear cut duties to follow and it was one of the objectives of the seminar to find out how effectively these tasks were being carried out. These duties include sending monthly reports to the Secretary of Information; receiving and distribution of all Party publication; facilitation in the gathering and dissemination of information by the Party publications.

It also came to light during discussions that Provincial Publicity Secretaries were being hampered by several inadequacies during performance of their duties. Chief among these were lack of adequate transport; lack of co-ordination between the Ministry of Political Affairs field staff and the Party; and the inability of some Publicity Secretaries to understand and explain current issues.

chievously, that Marxist-Leninist philosophy is the wrong ideology for Zimbabwe seeing, they claim, "that it has failed in Eastern Europe". Of late, however, this is one argument that has ceased to hold any water specifically because the Party has clarified its stand concerning ideology.

Article 11 of the constitution of ZANU PF states that the aims and objectives of the Party shall be, among other things, to establish and sustain a socialist society guided by Marxist-Leninist principle but firmly based upon our historical, cultural and social experience....

The past ten years of ZANU PF government have been proof enough that the Party is committed to the Socialist ideology. Hence the type of development achieved in the country over that period — i.e. in the educational, health and economic fields — has been socialist oriented. Be that as it may, the socialist thrust in Zimbabwe has not been characterised (as in other European socialist countries) by mass nationalisation of industrial and other concerns. Rather, the ruling

Party has been successful in its "Zimbabweanisation" programme, means through which private and public companies in the country have been made to carry their business with the interests of Zimbabwe at heart.

The Party has not been silent (as some opponents would suggest) on the unfolding political events in the East. The President and Secretary-General of the Party, Cde R.G. Mugabe has on various fora said that faults of other socialist nations serve as crucial lessons for us. Consequently, Zimbabwe's blend of socialism continues to grow from strength to strength, a thing which the Party's opponents refuse to acknowledge. Instead, anti-ZANU PF elements both within and without the country claim that ZANU PF has deserted the socialist ideology.

As with other main sources of controversy, the Party has now cleared the air by explaining its stand on the issues of the Leadership Code and the one-party state. While it is the ruling party's aim that a one-party state be established in Zimbabwe, ZANU PF does not wish to see the introduction of this system through act of Parliament. Instead, such introduction will be by consensus of the people, and will be gradual.

Concerning the Leadership Code, there will be no retraction on this issue. Presently, a Party-appointed committee is in the process of reviewing the Leadership Code with a view to rationalizing and tightening some of the issues raised therein.

Apathy

The state of the Party has, of late, been characterised by a serious wave of apathy that has particularly crippled the Youth League.

To pretend that the problem of apathy does not exist in the Party is the greatest disservice anyone can render to the Party. Debate has been raging as concerns the possible causes of this apathy, but suggestions on possible remedies have been too few and far between.

The truth of the matter is that the Party, for some reason or other, has failed to create enough job opportunities for the youth.



Unity is power



Government and the Party urges the formation of Co-ops throughout the country

These are indeed hard times, and no amount of sloganeering will ease the unemployment crisis currently facing the nation. To an extent, the Church and various non-governmental organisations have succeeded in creating jobs and other income-generating projects for the youth.

But this is not to say that Party and Government have been obvious to the youths' call for more jobs. Co-operatives, the Party's trump card in job-creation, have been flourishing since their introduction in 1980. Unfortunately, only a handful of these have survived, some of them courtesy of SEDCO. Among the main reasons cited for the failure of co-ops is mismanagement and lack of technical know-how. This, however, no longer holds true because since independence, numerous cadres have received skills-training in various co-op related fields. The problem then shifts from lack of skills to failure to identify viable projects. This is an area in which Party assistance is lacking.

With the advent of Trade Liberalisation, the Party in government should not ignore the up-and-coming grassroots business. The success of this new liberalisation policy will be pre-emptive if it does not involve the masses. It is pleasing to note that the ruling Party has gone to great lengths to involve the indigenous business community in Trade Liberalisation.

Coupled with its policy of openness and acceptance of constructive criticism, the Party is no doubt poised for greater things with the ushering of the Trade Liberalisation era.

General Elections

ZANU PF's landslide victory in the last general election was marred by massive stay-aways and abstentions by legible voters. In the constituencies where the Party lost seats (e.g. in Chipinge North and South), the Party leadership in those areas is as much to blame as the security situation there.



Voters in the last General Elections queueing to cast their votes

Due to MNR banditry and intimidation, many voters were afraid of voting for the ruling Party as they foresaw a possible reprisal from the bandits. But another thing which drove voters to opt for opposition candidates was the leadership's handling of the primary elections. In some instances, the masses' favourites (people who had been chosen by the constituents themselves) were made to stand down in favour of 'imposed' candidates. The voters obviously resented this and they showed it through denying the Party their vote. The lesson was blatantly clear: leaders should never be imposed on a people.

By and large, the Party has scored numerous, crucial victories in times when most other seemingly strong parties have just faded into oblivion. It is commendable, therefore, that the Party is now embarking on a structural revamping programme. Great care should be taken, however, on the public relations side of the campaign to woo back supporters into the Party fold. Sloganeering will definitely not be of much use in the present scenario. Instead, the Party leaders at various levels should catalyse debate of real issues. In fact, the leadership should take advantage of the fact that the Party has now become the most important and effective forum for debate pertaining to national developmental issues.

The present state of the Party depends on the analyses we make today. Consolidation of ZANU PF, however, depends on implementation of recommendations and resolutions arising from these analyses.

The so-called free market forces

By N.C.G. Mathema

Anybody who is born and bred in the Western world and goes through its educational institutions is indoctrinated about how sacred the "free market economy" is and about how good "free en-

terprise" is for himself and the whole of humanity.

With the birth of socialism as a result of the October 1917 socialist revolution in Russia, education on how good the "free mar-

ket economy" was intensified to hysteria. In the early days of capitalism the propaganda for the "free market economy" was aimed at defeating feudal relations in society, it was aimed at freeing the emerging capitalist class

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Part of the strength of Zimbabwe

and its economy from the fetters of feudalism.

With the advent of socialism (both as a theoretical weapon of the working class against capitalist exploitation in the 18th and 19th centuries and as an existing social system), this propaganda changed direction and was aimed at the working class and socialism.

On a daily basis, tons upon tons of written anti-socialist materials are churned out by the West, kilometre after kilometre of anti-socialist films are produced by the West, and air waves are jammed with anti-socialist propaganda produced by the West from the corner of the world to the other.

Defending oppressive system

As a result, even those who are poor, even those who have no jobs, no shelter, no medical care, no land, no transport, and wear nothing but rags, and even those under the yoke of colonialism and neo-colonialism stand up and defend the very system that has never given them anything other than slavery and poverty.

The Western propaganda machine has tranquilised millions upon millions of the capitalist slaves or would-be slaves all over the world — even to the extent of winning support of millions of working people in some socialist countries mainly because the ruling communist and workers' parties there made horrendous and unforgivable mistakes and behaved like any other ruling exploiting class.

The capitalist world is made up of the developed capitalist countries (e.g. the U.S.A., U.K., Japan, West Germany, France, Belgium, Sweden, and Holland) the newly independent countries like India, Malawi, South Korea, Brazil, Zaire, Botswana, Jordan, Malaysia, and Singapore that are following the capitalist road of development; and those few countries that are still colonies or semi-colonies of the imperialist countries (e.g. Puerto Rico and the Canary Islands). In all these countries the majority of people live in fear of the world because they do not know what it has for them today and tomorrow.

Harrowing Poverty

Even most of those former colonies that have decided to follow the non-capitalist road of development are experiencing harrowing poverty and all sorts of economic problems, through not because of the road they have chosen to follow, but mainly because of the same imperialist countries which plundered these former colonies before independence.

Colonial powers left behind serious economic and social problems in the former colonies, we know it very well here in Zimbabwe. In addition, the same Western world imposes economic sanctions, sabotage, blockades and boycott of one form or another (e.g. against Cuba and Nicaragua under the Sandinistas).

Sometimes these countries are subjected to military plots and coups (e.g. Nkrumah's Ghana), military invasions (e.g. of Grenada under Maurice Bishop), assassinations of some of the progressive leaders (e.g. Patrice



The late Cde. Maurice Bishop

Lumumba of the Congo), right-wing parties (e.g. in Nicaragua and in Guyana), and terrorist military bands which are created financed, clothed, fed and armed by the same old countries of "free enterprise" as is the case in Angola, and Mozambique and as was the case in Nicaragua under the Sandinistas, and as was the case in Zimbabwe through the so-called dissidents.

When the Western propaganda machine talks about the economic problems Cuba, Angola and Mozambique are facing, or Nicaragua under the leadership of the Sandinistas faced, the reader or listener is told that it is all because of socialism, it is all because of "central planning", it is all because of the command economy.

Nothing is ever mentioned about the economic blockade or boycotts imposed by the West. Nothing is ever mentioned about the US and South African sponsored bandits. And nothing is said about the fact that even those newly independent countries that have decided to be neo-colonies have serious economic problems.

Upheavals

These days of political, economic and social upheavals in the socialist countries the propaganda for "free enterprise" is high up near the sun.

For instance, Newsweek of June 25, 1990 says: "Turning around the Soviet way of life will be a daunting task. Transforming its rigid, centrally planned economy into a working free market will not involve merely a few simple tweaks and turns here and there, but the creation and acceptance of a wide range of new institutions and financial concepts utterly alien to the typical Soviet citizen."

"For 70 years, the economy has operated by its own peculiar rules, utterly removed from the laws of supply and demand. Now the Soviets must quickly master the science

of allowing prices to be regulated by a market built on freewheeling enterprise and, yes, private capital."

The reader is not even expected to question whether indeed such a market exists in the world, and if it exists, how free it is, and from what it is free; The reader is expected to accept without questioning or qualifying the statement that there is no central planning and control in the capitalist world of today. The reader is meant to take it as proper and natural that "freewheeling enterprise" should not be criticised for forcing workers out of their jobs, with the untold suffering as a result.

Forbes magazine

For instance, Forbes Magazine of August 20, 1990 says: "McDonnell Douglas has been hit by defence department cutbacks and cost overruns on its civilian and military projects. Indeed, the \$15 billion (sales) company announced that it was laying off as many as 17 000 workers to cut expenses and help reduce its mountainous debt load."

"The reader is not expected to ask as to how these 17 000 people will make ends meet after being fired. Let us also bear in mind that McDonnell Douglas is not the only US military industrial monopoly that is affected by the defense department's cutbacks — others too like Boeing, General Dynamics, United Aircraft, Hughes and Lockheed will be affected, and possibly they too will fire some of their workers."

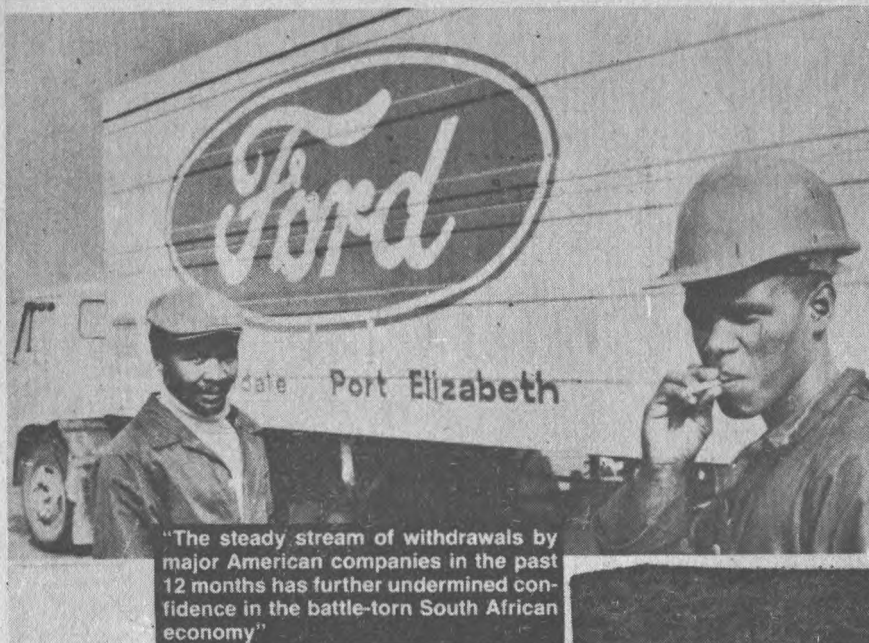
The same issue of Forbes magazine says Victor Aksynchits, Father Gleb Yakunin and Valery Borschov, leaders of the new Christian Democracy Party in the USSR "are fervent believers in democracy and free enterprise and are receptive to bold ideas."

It also says "David Halberstan's bestseller *Summer of '49*, now in paperback, provides an ever-useful lesson: Free markets work." All this is clear propaganda for the so-called free market system, the capitalist system.

The main purpose of this paper is to show that the so-called free market forces operating in capitalism today are not that free. The capitalist economy of today is an economy of monopolies, it is dominated, manipulated and led by capitalist monopolies that dominate the state as well. Through their state, the monopoly bourgeoisie centrally directs (centrally commands, centrally plans) the economy according to its interests.

Central running of economy

This central running of the economy by the monopoly bourgeoisie and its state does not however mean that everything is centrally planned to the smallest grain. Monopoly capitalism. It is still based on thousands of privately owned enterprises ranging from the smallest sole proprietorship to the biggest monopolies that dominate whole sectors of the economy as a whole. Each one of these enterprises therefore still has its own independence and competes with the rest of them as fiercely as ever — but within the confines set by the state of the monopoly bourgeoisie.



Monopoly capitalism of the giants, anything else just has to follow what the monopolies want. At the end of the day, therefore, the companies that really enjoy the liberties of free competition, are the monopolies themselves.

Anything else just tags along and falls or survives as the giants fall or survive. Anything else therefore is in the game really as nothing but a puppet of the giants. Society as a whole is nothing but a giant puppet of the monopolies, families and individuals are nothing but puppets dancing or crying according to the wishes and whims of the monopolies.

Therefore to speak about free market forces as if there is no central planning, no central direction, no central control and no central manipulation by the monopolies and their state is to lie. It is to hide the real role of the monopoly bourgeoisie and its state in the economy of monopoly capitalism.

The central, crucial role played by the state of the monopoly bourgeoisie in economic and business matters (internally and internationally) today proves beyond any doubt the Marxist-Leninist law of the need to plan and run the national economy centrally for the benefit of all. The development of capitalism itself clearly shows that sooner or later the economy has to be run through central planning. The only debate should be on how much central planning and how much autonomy for each enterprise should be there, and who benefits from it.

Experience

Both the experience in monopoly capitalism and the experience in the socialist countries clearly shows that whilst central planning and direction is necessary, each individual enterprise (whether private, cooperative or state-owned) needs to be given that autonomy which will allow it to operate as freely as possible according to the law of supply and demand, pertaining to its product(s).

Experience has shown that rigid military-style central control of the economy and the

business world has more disadvantages than advantages.

However, this has to be qualified by saying that how rigid or flexible central planning in socialism and capitalism is will depend on the situation of each country at any given time.

In Soviet Russia during the civil war years they had what was called war communism — a tightly run economy with the peasants surrendering a lot of their produce to the state for war efforts. Whereas after the civil war, Soviet Russia introduced the New Economic Policy (NEP) which allowed peasants to sell their produce in any quantities to the open market. As a result the country was able to produce enough grain for itself.

However, we need to emphasise one point here, and that is that the central planning of state monopoly capitalism is different from the central planning of socialism because the latter is done on behalf of the population as a whole. It is done on behalf of all the people; whereas the former is done for the benefit of the monopoly bourgeoisie and capitalists in general.

It is done to intensify the exploitation of the working people nationally and internationally. Therefore even the so-called free market forces in socialism work for the benefit of everybody, whereas those of capitalism work for nobody but the exploiters.

Capitalist competition laws

One thing we are saying is that even under monopoly capitalism the laws of capitalist competition and exploitation have not changed. Indeed, both competition and exploitation are intensified in monopoly capitalism. Monopoly competition goes up to the fight as to which monopolies should control the state.

Each group of monopolies sponsors its own person to become the next president or prime minister in the imperialist countries.

Even government ministers and senior civil servants represent particular monopoly groups first and foremost and secondly the monopoly bourgeoisie as a whole against the working people and socialism.

The state of the monopoly bourgeoisie itself is a huge market for the products of the monopolies. For instance, the military industrial monopolies have a ready market in the imperialist state. It makes good sense therefore to have a president, a prime minister and government ministers who will guarantee local market for your products, and will help you strike good business deals outside the country even if it means to militarily invade small countries to open them up for your products.

The other thing we are saying as well is that despite the fact that there is central planning in the imperialist countries, we still see these countries being unable to solve the daily problems of unemployment, poverty, homelessness, lack of medical care, and poor education faced by these countries' working people.

The main reason for this is that the economies of these countries are not meant to satisfy the needs of the working people but those of the bourgeoisie in general and the monopoly bourgeoisie in particular by exploiting the working people. Secondly, the law of capitalist competition also does not allow the state of the monopoly bourgeoisie to do away with capitalist economic crises that force companies to fold. That forces companies to operate at reduced capacities and force millions of workers out of employment every now and then.

Inability to solve problems

No Western economist or government has been able to solve these problems because they can never be solved in capitalism. Everybody knows their causes, but nobody is prepared to use the correct methods because the correct methods mean to do away with the root cause, which is the private ownership of the means of production and the exploitation of the workers.

In other words, Western economists have long ceased to be scientists. They have long ceased to be objective because none of them even prescribes the correct medicines. What they prescribe is meant to preserve the same causes of the ills faced by the economy of capitalism. Medical doctors in the West are fired or sued if they fail to prescribe the correct medicines and doses to their patients.

But Western economists are left alone lying to the whole world on behalf of the bourgeoisie despite the fact that their lies and wrong medicines and wrong doses actually kill people.

Listening and watching Western economists talking about how to solve the problems faced by capitalism one is reminded of Western television series of police stations in any US city. In these series criminals (who are mainly ordinary working people gone crazy because of the crazy world they



The economy still rests in the hands of the minority thus confining the majority to poverty in the land of plenty

live in) police officers arrest and kill offenders twenty four hours a day and all the days of the year but to no avail.

The more they arrest, kill or jail, the more crimes are committed on the streets and everywhere because that is what the system is all about. The system is criminal, the system breeds criminals, the system breeds criminals, the system is run by criminals who will do anything in the world (including invading other countries and toppling their legitimate governments) just for the sake of private profit, just for the sake of luxury at the expense of others who must live in deprivation all the time for them to qualify to be slaves of private owners.

Maintaining capitalism

So, if the economy in monopoly capitalism is not free from the state of the monopoly bourgeoisie (and vice versa), if there is central planning and direction in monopoly capitalism, why should the monopoly bourgeoisie and its state want to do away with the socialist state in centrally planning for and directing the socialist economy? Why

should this bourgeoisie and its state refuse and damn and denigrate central control and central direction in socialism but fight for them and try to perfect them in monopoly capitalism?

The answer is very simple: For one reason only and that is, the monopoly bourgeoisie wants to replace the workers' state with its own, it wants to turn the socialist state into a capitalist one, it wants to turn the socialist economy into a capitalist economy. In Zimbabwe what "free market forces" are there when the transnational corporations and the white bourgeoisie own and control the economy? What "free market forces" are there when one South African transnational corporation was one of the fifteen largest shareholders in 39 of the 53 companies on the Zimbabwe Stock Exchange in 1989?

What "free market forces" do we have when there are so many cross — directorships in the private sector of this country? We find that one person is a director in so many private companies that at the end of the day the person knows what is happening in every companies that is on our stock

exchange and outside the stock exchange.

What "free market forces" do we have in Zimbabwe when 36 companies that had their financial statement or notices to shareholders published in the local press from January to August, 1990 had 29 (81%) white chairmen and only 7 (19%) black chairmen, and out of 304 directors 237 (78%) were white and only 67 (22%) were black? Are the "free market forces" in Zimbabwe between the black majority and the white minority?

Is the competition between the black majority and the state on the one hand, and the transnational corporations and the local white bourgeoisie on the other? In Zimbabwe the economy is owned, controlled, and planned by a handful, by the transnationals and the local white bourgeoisie, their networking is such that these two groups know virtually everything about our economy and (since the days of Rhodes) do not compete against each other.

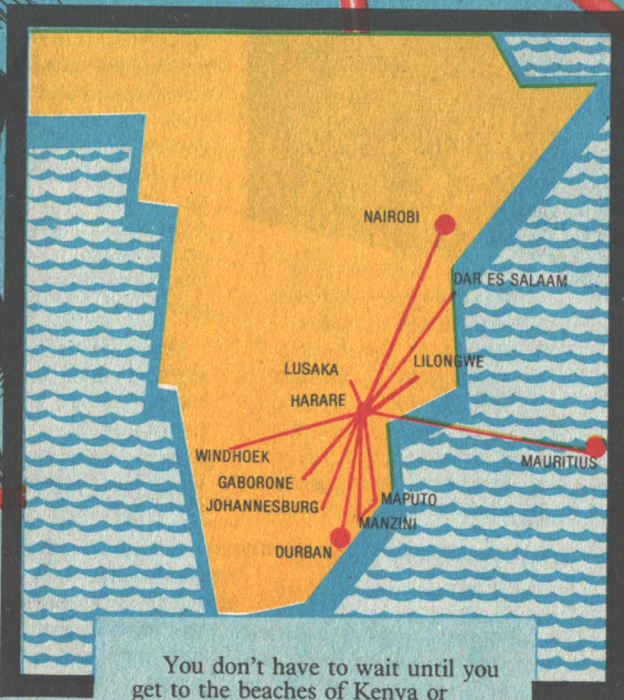
They live side by side in symbiosis, helping each other in making as much profits as possible out of the economy exploiting the black worker and using the ever-emerging black businessman and the independence government, which they have condemned and damned as bureaucratic and corrupt and mean on foreign exchange when in fact it is they who supply the corruption goods and money to those who are corrupt and use forex for things only better known to themselves.

Those who have been found corrupt (being paid under the table) in government, in the civil service, in local authorities and in parastatals have also been found to have been instigated by the "free market forces" which dangle all sorts of goodies in front of the selfish fools.

In Zimbabwe we need a centrally planned and directed economy for the benefit of our majority, but our central plans must have that flexibility that allows each company and each parastatal the autonomy it needs on a day to day basis in a business world of stiff competition and swift changes locally and internationally. This central planning and control must be that of our patriotic and revolutionary government, not that of transnationals and the local white bourgeoisie.

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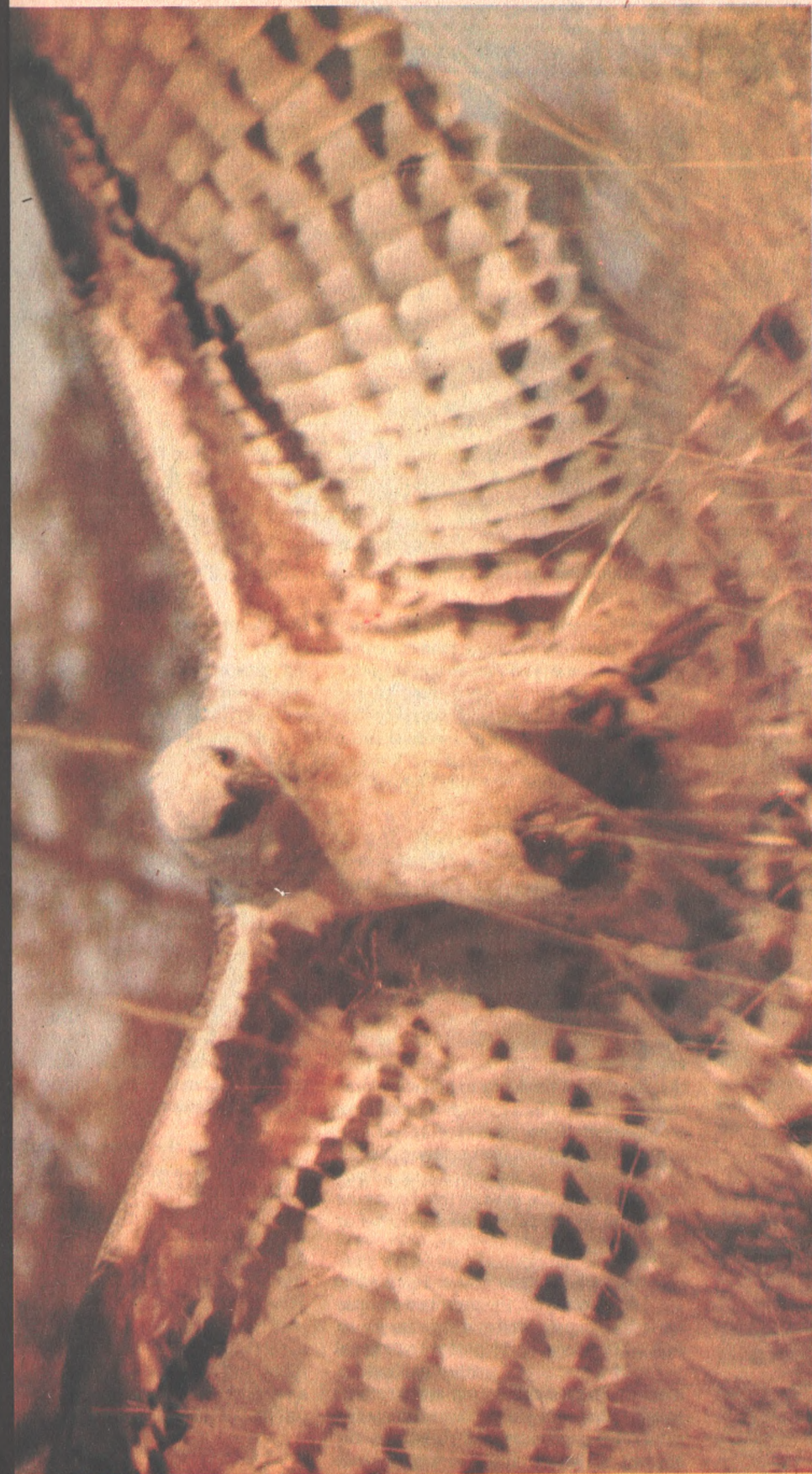
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ZIMBABWE NEWS OCTOBER/NOVEMBER 1990

Multi-party System Under Fire

By *Gandi Mudzingwa*

Current events in Eastern Europe by the day continue to provide new material for political debate as well as scientific analysis. They have provoked and fueled outcries against (1) unitary systems as a whole and a (2) the planned economies.

The opponents of the unitary political systems have declared a crusade of PAX Britannica of multi-party systems declaring in the process unitary political systems a failure. In the ensuing, however, Africa's current economic problems have surrealistically been misconstrued for the current misery of Eastern Europe and its prosperity amplified in the western style of governance.

True, chauvinists, the cynical, the sceptical, the myopic, the vulgar, all have joined in the near hysterical cannonade on unitary political systems. Their solution — the multi-party.

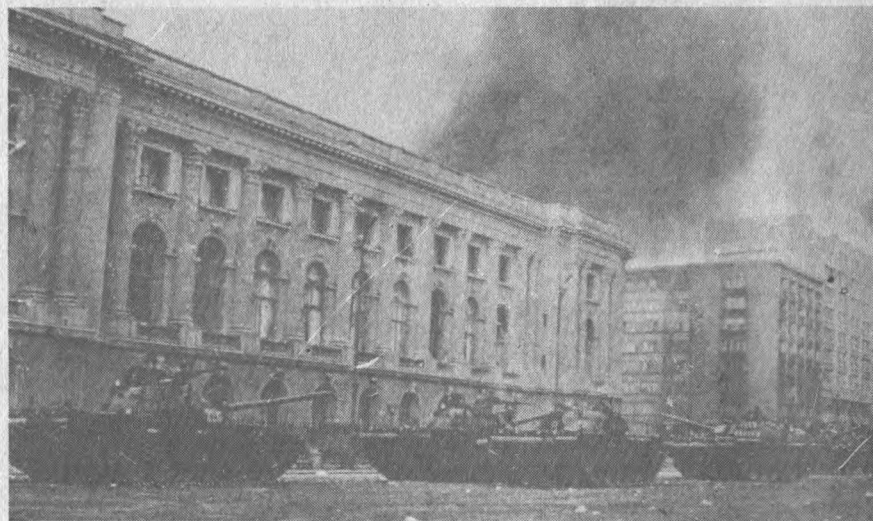
In Zimbabwe too for a long while debate has been on the "ailing" unitary systems. Here the declared intention of the merged ZANU PF to see the country a One-Party State has made the fur fly. Exponents of the multi-party have subsequently embarked on an educational drive — The theme of their drive — disadvantages of a unitary system and the advantages of the western type political system.

Enhanced Economic Development

In one article that appeared in the Herald of 26th June, 1990 the author writes — "Would a unitary system really bring about the peace, the democracy, the environment, where people can concentrate on development and rid the nation of division along ethnic or tribal lines; as envisaged by the President's arguments? (The problem here as can be clearly seen is the interdependence of the political and the economic.)

Drawing on a multitude of empirical data from African sovereignties author could only answer his posed question in the negative. Further, he fumbles and falls on to a "solution" — the multi-party. The unitary system is declared a failure.

But would a multi-party system of government provide the peace, the tribal harmony and indeed the environment conducive to the much desired enhanced economic development for Africa, as preferred by the author? It takes little effort to see that the period preceding the establishment, through constitutional arrangement or otherwise, of unitary systems on the continent was, in the vast majority of these countries, a period of multi-party, — political pluralism. It was only these multi-party systems that, but to use a more opportune term, degenerated into unitary systems. Political pluralism, in post independent Africa, therefore delivered unitary political systems, but to use the author's logic.



Revolutionaries against dictatorship in Eastern Europe call for the establishment of multi-party systems

Further, even when masses have seemed to be consciously pursuing political pluralism, like in some west African sovereignties, the unitary system, as be of necessity, has resurfaced. It has occur and reoccured that one could, from it alone and without being cynical, conclude that African political systems lack that which is required for political pluralism.

A characteristic feature of all the derisory contributions to the debate on unitary systems has been an apparent oversight of the ways those unitary systems have come by. For a strange reason they all seem to depart from the constitutional premise. That Africa is full of military unitary systems that have consulted not the people is a matter they choose to ignore. Constitutional integuments stand not in the way of these. Even without any further proof one may point out here that the current tendency to political pluralism discerned in Africa through constitutional arrangement is no guarantee to political pluralism. Indeed this phenomenon can not be explained in the legislation that follows but, in the objective realities that constitute the causal origins of the political matter at play.

Further still, a look at Kenya, South Korea and Libya shows not the prescribed and parrot fashion regurgitated prerequisite for enhanced economic development but instead suggests a potency of unitary political formations. To the contrary our author seems to subscribe to the concept that unitary systems discourage external investments. The amount of rhetoric and tautology that we allow ourselves at times is self destructive. Of course happy the nation to whom it is granted free debate but sad that nation to whom that free debate delivers not.

It is these sober facts, more than anything else, which appeal to the mind reminding

that harping on the failures of the unitary system in Africa and amplifying the "impending" prosperity in political pluralism is to proceed from the sublime to the ridiculous. Worse still it is insincere and irresponsible, for between then and now is a whole historical phase whose task shall be practice.

"Political systems have a role to play in the enhanced development of society alright, but has it ever occurred to you that not a single government in the world has ever aspired to fail?", summarised one designated agent whilst we enjoy our routine inspections in Mutoko recently. So we come to the conclusion that it is not the political system alone that matters in Africa's current predicament but, the economic contradictions too. However, in 'today's' world ideological considerations too can not be ignored. Political systems are but an element of national systems and its only in that context that they should be viewed.

Harare on the ashes of Salisbury

A revolution is qualitative change marked by its short duration as opposed to the gradual. A revolution has two distinct aspects. On the one hand a revolution has the short term destructive aspect whilst on the other hand the long term constructive aspect. The two aspects of a revolution occur, more often than not, concurrently, with the constructive aspect outliving the destructive in both duration and magnitude. These two aspects of a revolution are inevitable and connote development and historical progress itself.

The post independence sovereignties of the African continent were born out of an inevitable political revolution. This political revolution was, like any other revolution, destructive in that it sought to destroy the colonial political system. This is the one side that exists in a revolution to antiquated classes: All privileges all the democracies, the liberties

and indeed the rights. All their laments seek that the wheels of history be reversed in their favour.

That was on the one hand. On the other hand the revolution sought to replace the vanguard political system with its own-one corresponding to its needs as defined by its means. In doing all this it could not go without the partial destruction of the economic bases on which nurtured the vanguard political system.

On the ground we get that the revolution sought to destroy among other things the systems of (1) income distribution based on race, (2) colonial appropriation and (3) artificial impediments placed on the growth of native bourgeois, the proletarian and spiritual and other institutions. This noble task could be accomplished by the revolutionary destruction of the colonial superstructure and its replacement by a superstructure that could facilitate the crumble of the old economic systems and create conditions conducive for the pursuit of hitherto impended interests. The extent to which this could be done depended much on the tasks that the political formation so constituting the force of revolutionary destruction had set itself.



Striking miners in the Soviet Union

So therefore we come to the conclusion that attainment of political independence is immediately followed by the pursuit of the partial destruction or realignment of the old economic system. But this realignment of the old economic base spells with it the birth of another profound contradiction within the society of the liberated by revolution mass. In here begins the whole history of independent Africa sovereignties, all post independence patriotism at mass level et cetera. It is by contradiction that their sovereign histories may be told.

Further, it was the artificial impendments, the racial income distribution colonial appropriation et cetera that constituted an issue for agitation and provided a common grievance and therefore a common rallying point. The immediate task displayed itself as the revolutionary destruction of the former.

This task constituted a common interest to all progressive — progressive in relation to the colonial system — forces. So therefore the colonial political system could be fought on the basis of African nationalism anchored on mass patriotism of colour. However, the colonial legacy of national boundaries and the development of capitalism itself within these sovereignties had made an indelible impression on the geographical confines of that patriotism.

The task of revolutionary destruction, this accomplishment, political struggle, the struggle for democracy, — is progressive. In these African revolutions, however, it was an accomplishment, a task, that belonged to any of the forces that constituted the noble forces of revolutionary destruction. And so Salisbury could be put to ashes on the ticket of African nationalism and mass patriotism. But here some of our colleagues err. They declare this mass patriotism eternal and hence their dogmatism sticks out like a sore thumb. That this mass patriotism is a historical phenomenon they choose to ignore. They ignore too that history is a process of development, a negation of the negation. The reconciliation of one major social political or economic con-

ing from petty aristocracy, (the peasantry and the old traditional institutions), through the two bourgeois to proletarian. However, to only bourgeois and proletarian are granted the future in these revolutions for the predominant mode of production is already commodity production. Yet among others the peculiarities of these revolutions were not bourgeois in general but native bourgeois and further that the forces of revolutionary destruction organised at mass level — (often with retrogressive classes) — for common grievance.

Of the two classes to whom the future is granted in these revolutions not one has matured enough, in numbers nor in resources, to assume power without falling back on the other classes for support. The mass revolutionary force at independence therefore retains an objective premise for continued existence; thus the economic struggle against the colonial bourgeois for the establishment of native bourgeois and proletarian. Politically this continued marriage within the mass organisation entails the total preclusion of colonial bourgeois from political power. It entails the dictatorship by the mass revolutionary organisation on the vanguard colonial bourgeois.

That was on the one hand. On the other hand, the removal of the artificial impendments to the growth of the native bourgeois and proletarian delivers another profound contradiction. Native bourgeois established and consolidates on the ruination or expropriation of other propertied classes. Under the conditions of an already predominantly commodity production setting native bourgeois (1) can only consolidate on the limited ruination of the colonial bourgeois in view of this former struggle. These limits are but practice.

It shall not be denied however that in social development the process of negation of the negation manifests more like a zig zag than a straight line. So therefore the vanguard system may persist in its dominated form, as per principle, complementing the birth and consolidation of the new but at times overshadowing it. But this later is more of an exception than a rule.

(1) establishes on the partial ruination of the extant colonial bourgeois; thus local or international. However, native bourgeois.

So the revolution came and Salisbury was, in the main destroyed. As the removal of the colonial vestiges progress each class of the revolutionary force, to the extent possible, makes strides towards the advancement and realization of its interests. A wedge develops within these interests resulting in a struggle. Petty aristocracy, the peasantry cries out in desperation — land, the two bourgeois — private property and "all bourgeois liberties and freedoms" whilst the rudimentary proletarian — better wages and bourgeois reform. Extent bourgeois on the order hand cries out — halt to all extent bourgeois partial ruination; equality of bourgeois. The political manifestation of all this would be found in the corresponding representative political organisation which in turn depend on the lev-

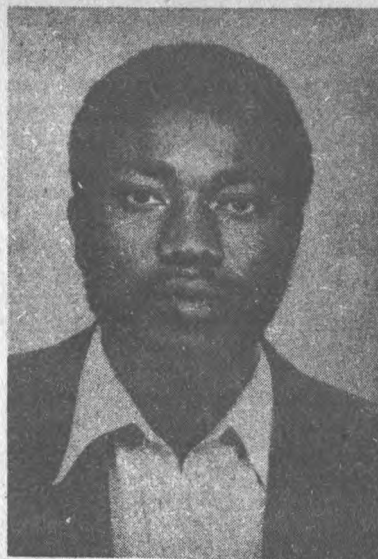
el of maturity of this contradiction. In view of the prevailing level of development of world productive forces and the attendant superstructures, capitalist or socialist respectively, here the intellectual representatives may precede the current level of development of the internal contradiction. The development of capitalism of indeed socialism by passing other intermediate social formations or indeed stages moves form a remote possibility to, at times, a necessity.

Further, to a considerable extent pre-independent mass patriotism flourished on the need for the destruction of the then extant socio-political system and its economic base and the subsequent creation, on its death bed, of a basis for the pursuit of the advancement and realization of impended interests. Post independence mass patriotism, on the contrary, enched on the extent of the development of the internal contradiction, — the advancement and realization of vested interests.

It is not difficult to see that the birth of independent African sovereignties spelt the beginning of the crumble of the cradle of pre-independence mass patriotism. An oversight of this often leads to anachronistic calls for mass patriotism.

Native bourgeois needs mass patriotism for the expropriation and partial ruination of the mass and extant bourgeois respectively. Native bourgeois needs mass patriotism in order to oppress the proletariat, — to suppress any competition for power from him. Multi-party in a bourgeois setting renders bourgeois divided. Division of bourgeois at a time when there is no distinct inheritor of political power has the effect of increasing the opportunity of an alternative inheritor of power in the proletariat or his ideological representative. But primitive accumulation is nothing but forcible subjugation, — political strife. Until such a time that bourgeois has consolidated by the expropriation and is able to reform the alternative is real and shall always need dictatorship, "unity".

Native bourgeois strives for the abolition of all hitherto artificial impediments and as such his progressiveness is limited. He does not fight against capitalism but for equal opportunity to exploit the proletariat and the ruination of the mass. The subsequent struggle for power requires that he embarks on reform. Reform in turn entails resources, a level of development, a level of "congealing". Thus those who call for multi-party, those who call for reform of the bourgeois, those who criticise the 'failure' of bourgeois and the attendant fall in 'standards', reformists are truly blind to the cause of native bourgeois. Such are ignorant of the cause of the revolution, such lack appreciation for the revolution that brought them 'independence' and worse still lack appreciation for political struggle. They are the bourgeois political cowards. They look upon the monopoly capital to save them from the proletariat and other classes in the ensuing grapple for political power. Multi-party, plurality, in a bourgeois setting in bourgeois reform. Multi-party therefore entails the reign of mo-



Cde. Gandhi Mudzingwa

nopoly foreign capital.

But ruination in view of world capitalist development, government, monopoly, capitalism, centralised funds, the victories of the world proletariat and reform of the bourgeois, the presence of a socialist camp entails new forms of it. The difference between bourgeois nationalization and proletarian nationalization reveals itself ten to fifteen years after independence when native bourgeois had gorged his tummy to distension and the proletariat has not yet they seemed to feed from the same national weal. (This perfidy has often invited disenchantment to coup d'etat etc.)

But indeed it was this common weal, its ability to momentarily quell the thirst of many classes together, that provided a lapse of time for the mass movement to loose its relevance in a class struggle. However, its resources are too limited to last too long. Its depletion opens the penstocks to mass penury. And indeed it does not last. So the internal contradiction breaks out again, but this time it is native bourgeois versus native proletariat. All other contradictions can only compliment henceforth.

Coups upon coups revolve and resolve. The grievance — the common weal. The land questions come upon again and so do bourgeois reform and economic demands of the emerging proletariat. The common weal can no longer satisfy everybody. Its use is reserved for that special purpose that the masses distates — its exploitation.

Proletariat emergent as he may be, needs not the dictatorship of native bourgeois for that delivers his own penury. Native bourgeois has no right to call for patriotism from proletariat. Only proletariat has a noble task. He therefore has the universal right to call for patriotism of the world proletariat. "Proletarians of the world unite!"

A Historical Period

In the Herald August 5 1990 another article appeared. It was the one-party al-right. Its author — the venerable M.M.B. Madimutsa, an ardent solialist, a scholar of

substance. Of the many contributions that have seen publications recently this one stands out as one with scientific basis. Of the others it has been a lot difficult to separate objectivity from wishful thinking.

Madimutsa writes, "Africa is at a phase of nation state building: it takes not decades, not generations but a whole historical period to complete the process of nation state building." This becomes his basis of analysis, — his point of departure. A historical period — a distinct period whose major tasks are peculiar to itself.

Indeed, Africa is at stage the nation state building. However, it is this point of departure that ushers in immobility, inertia or what they call an element of dogma, for nation state building as a process has phases. When this premise is taken without its historical content, When taken in abstracts postpones all class political struggle.

So further we read, "A political party is a grouping whose members are tied together by a common bond of interests. When these common interests are congealed into a solidified ideological, social philosophy, they find their expression in a political party. But the process of congealing is a historical period corresponding to the phase of nation state building, these former exhypothesis do not have an objective basis yet in Africa. A conclusion derives that until the historical period has accomplished its objectives there should not be plurality. But surely M.M.B. Madimutsa is a socialist. He knows that the great October revolution was led by representatives of a proletariat in the absence of a proletariat as such. But such a representative was organised in a political part, long before the great revolution."

Further we read, "Thus those who advocate for a multi-party system during this phase of nation state building in Zimbabwe are rightly accused of seeking the disintegration of this fledging nation." His conclusion was based on two assumptions; (1) that the major motivating, for political organisation contradiction remains that between colonies and the metropol and (2) that African post independence governments are the true representative of the people. But above all the stifling effects that such a conclusion has on class struggle are primary. Africa revolutions can be bourgeois from the mass revolutionary nature they derive.

Further, emphasis was placed on irredentism and communalism totally overshadowing any elitism. But history has shown that of the many post independence violent changes of power the major factor was not the former but the later. Its agreed of course that these have not been clearly articulated. Over 100,000 school leavers per year, 26% unemployment, the resurgence of the land question at the last election — only such is the political mater here. To conclude that all this should be over ruled by a complimentary contradiction of the metropol and the colony is to turn this whole matter into a jest, further still it is grossly erroneous.

Nation state building starts, for the majority of African countries, there where the

colonial era began; thus the period of the infamous scramble for Africa or the advent of imperialism. Imperialism is, among other things and especially so for Africa, the export of capitalist production relations. Even against the background of the concomitant racial and other distortion of the colonial system the metropol created three fundamental premises for nation state building; (1) the economic base, (2) the institutions of that nation state and (3) its geographical physical configuration. That this nation state building is brought about by imperialism entails that the period of nation state building in the colonies shall be shorter than in the metropol. For one thing in the metropol these had to evolve from within — a process that takes "not decades, not generations but a whole historical period."

We again have to quote, "when the call

for a multi-party system is advocated for, at a time when a country is in the process of nation state building the aim is to effect the division of the mass base into warring factions. The division of the grassroots during the period of nation state building is the paralysis". Further, author cites UK, USA and Japan as examples. But his examples have a serious defect of incompatibility. Capitalism in UK, USA and Japan — that period belongs not to imperialism. The development of capitalism here was a pitched class struggle between bourgeois and proletariat. It was only the reforms of the bourgeois that made plurality a reality by temporarily suffocating class struggle. In Africa, especially so independent Africa, we come to inherit the fruits of that struggle.

It is true that plurality has the effect of division. However the division here is not of

the mass base but that of the class. Such a situation is undesirable in view of the ensuing battle presenting alternatives in the form of class.

Bourgeois, native or otherwise, has no right to call for patriotism for such patriotism entails only the creation of propitious conditions for expropriation and attendant exploitation of the mass. To call therefore for patriotism in general at a time of such alternatives is but to call for the postponement of the struggle for political power; giving bourgeois the chance to reform. (Yet it is about this class struggle that debate is).

Only a proletariat has the right to call for patriotism at mass level for his tasks are noble. Only a proletarian representative organisation has the right to call for a one-party system for such would create a classless society. □

Africa's refugee problem



Distribution of clothes at a Mozambican refugee camp near the eastern border of Zimbabwe

Africa today has the largest number of refugees in the world. It has been estimated that between the birth of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in 1963 and the end of 1979 the African refugee population was rising at the rate of 100 percent every five years. The continent currently hosts an estimated five million refugees or close to one half of the world's total refugee population of whom about 20 000 emanate from South Africa.

This refugee problem, coupled with over 12 million persons internally displaced by human conflicts, casts a shadow on Africa's avowed search for unity enshrined in the preamble of the OAU Charter.

Africa's major refugee concentrations by order of their magnitude were in 1989 Eastern Africa (2 823 300), Southern Africa (1 084 600), and Central Africa (664 900); with some countries within the Eastern and

Southern Africa regions accommodating close to one million refugees each, in addition to their millions of internally displaced persons. The majority of refugees in Africa are concentrated in about 22 member states of the OAU but in physical terms many of the refugees are also located in some of the poorest or remotest areas within the asylum countries.

In terms of magnitude and complexity African refugees are increasingly becoming a nationality in magnitude, because their number of five million exceeds the total population of more than ten African states with at least one African state having close to one third of its population in exile; in complexity because even the traditionally asylum countries have also begun to play the role of countries of origin.

In the face of this disturbing problem the questions which must be asked are: What

are the causes of this problem? What is Africa doing to correct the situation?

Refugees are people who have left the protective walls of their countries for other lands driven by wars, oppression, famine and the need to survive.

In Southern Africa one of the main causes of refugees has been apartheid and the South African government's aggressive policy of destabilization. The Southern Africa problem is more acute for Mozambique and Angola.

Angola has been in a state of war since 1961: from that year until 1975, the independence struggle against the Portuguese; and from 1975 until the present, a war between the MPLA Government and the UNITA bandit movement.

Mozambique has been in a state of war since 1963: from 1963 to 1975, a war of independence and from 1975 till now, a blood-



Many refugees are dying every day because of hunger

dy war between Government forces of Mozambique and the armed bandits financed by racist South Africa. This South African sponsored conflict has not only driven more than a million people into exile in the countries further afield, but has also led to massive displacement of persons within national borders.

The war and destabilization in Angola and Mozambique led to the death of 140 000 children in the course of 1986, while another 147 000 young Angolans and Mozambicans died in 1988 alone, according to UNICEF estimates.

UNICEF estimates that since 1980, 1.5 million people have been killed either directly or indirectly by South Africa's sponsored destabilization activities and war in Angola and Mozambique.

In Southern Africa, there is a double burden since both the countries which have been direct targets of South African destabilization and their neighbours have had to bear the cost and pain of the destabilization.

Malawi is a case in point. Recent reports attest to the huge and rapid increase in the number of refugees from Mozambique into Malawi. The number has grown from 70 000 in 1986 to around 822 500 now.

But Malawi is not the only Southern African country which has a huge refugee population. Zimbabwe, Zambia, Tanzania, Kenya, Botswana and Lesotho are all affected.

In Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia and Djibouti civil conflicts accompanied by adverse weather have given rise to the largest number of refugees in Africa. The Chad conflict and the war in the Sahara and Liberia have also contributed to increasing Africa's recent refugee population.

Since its inception in 1963 the OAU has taken an active interest in the continent's.



Refugees are becoming a nationality

refugee problem. In February 1964, the council of Ministers of the OAU, meeting in its second-ordinary session, decided to establish a Special Commission now known as OAU Commission of Fifteen on Refugees, from within itself to study the refugee problem on the continent with a view to reporting back to Council. The work of the Commission culminated in the identification of the guiding principles to govern OAU's action in favour of refugees.

Since 1969, Africa's generosity towards refugees has not been found wanting. Member states have continued to provide large tracts of land for the settlement of refugees and have put in place means to ensure their protection. They have allowed refugees to have access to social services in the form of education, transportation, employment and medical care.

Furthermore, they have convened international conferences such as the Arusha Pan-African Conference on Refugees in 1979, the Geneva first and second International Conference on Assistance to refugees in Africa, and most recently the Oslo International Conference on the Plight of Refugees, Returnees and Displaced Persons in Southern Africa. Quite apart from these Conferences to mobilize resources for refugees. Member States have actively facilitated massive repatriation exercises of refugees since independence.

Sudanese, Angolans, Mozambicans, Zimbabweans, Ugandas, Ethiopians, Rwandese, and most recently Namibians have, in hundreds of thousands, returned home after varying periods of time in exile. Yet, the refugee question continues to persist on the African scene!

The August 2nd Invasion

By Gandi Mudzingwa

The August 2nd Iraq invasion of Kuwait is a serious breach of the principle of sovereignty of nations condemning, among other things, invasion of weaker nations by stronger ones. Little wonder that the rest of the civilized world, in concert, wholesale condemned Iraq's barbaric act.

Further, the rest of the world demanded an immediate withdrawal of Iraq's occupation forces. Iraq's effrontery to this demand provoked a further consensus on the option of forced withdrawal. The height of this consensus was the United Nations. So here it was agreed that sanctions would force Iraq to withdraw out of Kuwait: thus international division of labour other than military force. It looked like the world was ready to beat swords into plough shares, more so that the basis was objective. In unison, like never before in the history of the UN, the organisation

resolved to act. However, the happy scenario has been punctuated by the incidence of a few "mbimbindogas" who opted for unilateral action against Iraq. They, with impunity from the rest of the world, are resorting back to the condemned principle of equality on the basis of military strength. In their preparations for a Gulf war they are demanding, blackmail fashion, billions of dollars from the little Saudi Arabia, Kuwait et cetera to finance their military industries. The rest of the world is unable to in concert, register their protest against this 21st century barbarism, — a daylight robbery. The cause of the Iraq invasion is but inequality.

An Illegal Consensus

The nature of United Nations resolutions is such that they are subject to the power of the veto of the "big powers". The use of the power of veto has often led to the de facto

suspension of the United Nations and its replacement by 20th century barbarism of military strength. This time honoured integument allowed the U.S.A. and its military might to escape world condemnation when its forces invaded among others Grenada and recently Panama. Indeed such a double standard renders the UN resolutions condemning the Iraq invasion illegal.

The permanent member status retained authenticity only when the issue was on how to equally appropriate amongst the permanent members the spoils from third world countries. But the development of world productive forces, the concomitant development of international division of labour and indeed that of resources and political strife has changed all that. Permanent member status lies, at present, on false ground. Japan, West Germany, the Third World can no longer be

pawns in the game. We can not run away from the conclusion that the permanent member status within the organisation has become antiquated. Political and military hegemony have together with it been nature condemned.

Yet Capital hill and Downing Street are at their heights in war rhetoric. Iraq barbarism should be replaced by Washington's bar-

Kuwait and what after

An overall view will reveal the motives of the crusaders of "Pan Britannia" in the Gulf. "We will then be able to understand better how much charity there was in their moves and how much pity in their hearts."

Over 320 000 US rallied troops are already policing that Gulf. A million more are doing battle exercises in preparation for the im-



Foreign Kuwaitis demonstrating in solidarity with their ousted leaders

barism they cry out. They are calling for the rest of the world to support them in their second Vietnam. That the impending war threatens the very existence of only a few of their soldiers and millions of Arabs in an issue of none significance to them. Iraq or Kuwait must be pushed because they belong to the third world plunderous U.S.A. and UK reason. No mas! Americans must be stopped.

pending American led strike. They are armed to the teeth with the latest NATO military hardware: a product of the NATO military industry. The U.S.A. then demands that Saudi Arabia and Kuwait foot the bills among others: thus millions into NATO military industry. If war erupts billions of dollars will eventually find themselves into NATO military industry.

After Kuwait, Americans anticipate brisk business as every Arab country strives to update its military hardware — another arms race. That apart after a successful U.S. led offensive they hope to install direct U.S. control on the Gulf oil resources out manoeuvring Japan, West Germany et cetera. U.S.A. stance in the Gulf is a reflection of its imperilled position of economic hegemony. A loss of the gulf is no doubt the last tango as world economic leader for both U.K. and U.S.A. The U.S.A. is rallying nations for their inequality in the Gulf. But the United Nations must all be about equality of nations.

Conclusions

In the fight against the illegal Iraq invasion of Kuwait the world must demand:

- 1) Iraq withdraw unconditionally.
- 2) That the entire effort be financed by the most industrialised nations together through the UN.
- 3) The power of veto and permanent member status to the Security Council be revoked.
- 4) That UN resolutions, the will of the majority, in future be binding on all.
- 5) That U.S.A. withdraws all its forces from the Gulf and they be immediately replaced by third world forces.
- 6) that third world debts be written off.
- 7) A prohibition of all regional wars and their external funding.

Only such demands are realistic. Only such demands reflect the objective international setting. Failure, on the other hand, to advance such demands now would be tantamount to furtherance of the U.S.A.'s exploitation of the third world. Failure would be a betrayal of the third world cause. Iraq's invasion of Kuwait is for plunder and so is U.S.A.'s intended offensive in the Gulf.

Iraqi claims to Kuwait — Summary

Iraq invaded Kuwait on 2 August 1990, ostensibly in response to a request from "the democratic government of Kuwait" which had overthrown the Al Sabar government. By 8 August Iraq had announced the "unification" of Iraq and Kuwait, and abandoned the pretence of dealing with a revolutionary government. It then claimed sovereignty over Kuwait on the basis of an alleged right of succession to that part of the old Ottoman Empire. Although the Turks exercised suzerainty over Kuwait from 1871 until at least 1899, they did not achieve sovereignty. Under the Treaty of Lausanne (1923), Turkey abandoned any rights to areas outside its present-day frontiers. In 1932, the Prime Minister of Iraq and the Shaikh of Kuwait agreed on a definition of the frontiers of the two States. Although Abdul Karim Qasim reopened the issue in 1961 with a new claim to Kuwait, the Iraqi Government signed an Agreed Minute in 1963 recognis-

ing the independence of Kuwait within boundaries defined in 1932.

Iraq has further claimed that agreement over the frontier between Kuwait and Iraq reached in 1932 and 1963 are invalid because they were not ratified by the Iraqi legislature. Such an argument is irrelevant in international law, since a State cannot escape from an international obligation to which its government has agreed because its legislature has failed to pass it into national law.

Since 1963 successive Iraqi Governments have recognised Kuwait's sovereignty, independence and international frontiers formally and through the conduct of bilateral relations.

The History of Kuwait

Kuwait was founded in the early 18th century: records indicate that it was in about 1716 that the Utub tribe — who are thought

to have migrated from the Najd to escape drought — founded Kuwait town. Over the next 50 years the town grew rapidly, and when the Persians occupied Basra between 1776 and 1779, much of Basra's trade was redirected to Kuwait. As a sign of its growing importance, between 1793 and 1795 the British East India Company's Factory in Basra withdrew to Kuwait in order distance themselves from the Turkish officials in Basra who had been causing them trouble. In the winter of 1821/22, it was the turn of the British Residency in Basra to move to Kuwait territory to avoid difficulties with Turkish officials. During the early part of the 19th century, the inhabitants of Kuwait successfully resisted the efforts of the Amir (Ruler) of the Wahabi sect in what is now Saudi Arabia to incorporate Kuwait into his dominions. By 1831, a Kuwaiti fleet was able to blockade Basra in support of Daud Pasha, who was threatened with being ousted from the gover-

A Turkish Suzerain

In 1840, Egyptian forces which had long been present in Eastern Arabia withdrew, and over the following 30 years Kuwait worked to develop its relations with Turkish Iraq. At the same time, it maintained friendly intercourse with the British and developed its relations with the rulers of central Arabia. Records show that in 1863 the Turks sent the Shaikh of Kuwait a gift, not only as thanks for the protection afforded by him to the mouth of the Shatt al Arab, but also as a token of Turkish suzerainty established to afford Kuwait some protection against larger powers in the region. But by 1866 it seems the Turkish governor of Iraq was thinking of converting the nominal suzerainty that the Sublime Porte (the Ottoman Government) exercised over Kuwait and Eastern Arabia into real control. However, the Shaikh who ruled Kuwait from that year until 1882, Abdullah bin Sabah, fostered close relations with the Turks, helping them to conquer Hasa and to extend their influence further along the Gulf. As a result, in 1871 Shaikh Abdullah accepted the title of Qaim Maqam (district officer) of Kuwait in return for an Ottoman pledge that Kuwait would retain administrative autonomy.

The British and Kuwait

During the reign of Shaikh Abdullah the British regarded much of the western Gulf Coast as being firmly under the influence of the Sublime Porte, but by the time Shaikh Mubarak had succeeded (1886) it had become clear that the connection with Kuwait at least was much more distant than had been supposed. In 1897 the Shaikh, fearing that the Turks would not honour their pledge, asked for British protection. At first the British Government hesitated, but reports of increased Turkish pressure on the ruler, and evidence of Russian and German interest in the area, induced it to agree and an Exclusive Agreement with Kuwait was signed in January 1899. This bound the Ruler, and his heirs and successors, not to receive any foreign representative or cede any of his territory without Britain's prior sanction. In return, the British Government pledged its good offices and support for the Ruler. Over the next nine months, the Turkish authorities in Basra tried unsuccessfully to assert their authority in Kuwait, where a tense situation was only eased after the British Ambassador in Constantinople made representations to the Sublime Porte.

The Shaikh called the Exclusive Agreement with the British into play again in January 1890, when an attempt was made by the Turks (and frustrated by the Shaikh) to arrange for the construction in the shaykhdom of the terminus on the Gulf of the Baghdad railway. This time the British Ambassador to the Porte, while making it clear that the British Government did not wish to interfere with the authority of the Sultan in the Gulf, explained that it wished to maintain the status quo, and could not agree with action which might alter it or give another power rights or privileges over territory belonging to the Shaikh of Kuwait. Turkish efforts to



Iraqi President—Saddam Hussein

increase their control over Kuwait and to dislodge Shaikh Mubarak from "foreign powers" continued throughout 1900. This led the Shaikh to ask the British to declare Kuwait their protectorate. While the British were considering this request the Turks despatched troops to Kuwait and attempted, again unsuccessfully, to get Shaikh Mubarak to agree to Turkish sovereignty. Although the first response of the British was to turn down the request to make Kuwait their protectorate, their gunboats effectively discouraged an invasion of the town by the Ruler of Najd.

In 1902, the Turks established military posts on the border of Kuwait at Safwan, Umm Qasr and the eastern side of the Island of Bubyah, and by 1907 it was becoming apparent that the Germans — who were heavily involved in the project — were pushing the Turks to adopt a more aggressive policy in Kuwait in order to ensure that the Baghdad railway should terminate on the Gulf at

Kuwait. At the same time, the British were attempting to consolidate their influence in the shaykhdom to prevent such an outcome, which they regarded as a threat to their position in the Gulf. Further Turkish manoeuvring between 1909 and 1911, and British objections to it, were overtaken by discussion of the situation of Kuwait in the context of Anglo-Turkish negotiations which took place between 1911 and 1913. These led to an agreement which was enshrined in the Convention of 29 July 1913, in which Kuwait was recognised as an autonomous caza (district) of the Ottoman Empire. The full administrative autonomy of the Shaikh and his successors, as Qaim Maqams, was recognised within Kuwait proper, and they were to continue to levy tribute and to perform the administrative duties of Qaim Maqam in the surrounding area occupied by tribes dependent on them. The Turks undertook to abstain from interference in both areas, but were free to appoint a Commissioner in Kuwait to protect the interests and subjects of other parts of the Empire. The Ottoman Government recognised the existing agreements between the Shaikh and British Government, while the latter undertook not to alter its relations with the Government of Kuwait so long as the status quo was maintained. The outbreak of war in August 1914 prevented the ratification of the Agreement. In the same year, Britain recognised Kuwait as an independent State under British protection; the final decision as to Kuwait's status had to be delayed until the end of the war with Turkey.

Independent Kuwait

In April 1923, the British Government informed the Shaikh that they recognised the frontier between Kuwait and Iraq as that defined in the Anglo-Turkish Agreement of 29 July 1913. The Treaty of Lausanne was signed in the autumn of 1923; under its terms Turkey abandoned any rights to areas outside the frontiers of modern-day Turkey. Any rights its successors might eventually have had to such areas accordingly disappeared at the same time. After the signature of the Treaty of Lausanne the British recog-

nised Kuwait as an independent Arab State under British protection, though not a Protectorate.

In 1932 the Prime Minister of Iraq and the Shaikh of Kuwait agreed on the following definition of the frontier between the two States, in accordance with the line indicated in the 1913 Agreement:

"From the intersection of the Wadi al Audja with the Batin and thence Northwards along the Batin to a point just South of the latitude of Safwan; thence Eastwards passing South of Safwan wells, Jebel Sanam and Umm Qasr, leaving them to Iraq and so on to the junction of the Khor Zubeir with the Khor Abdullah."

In spite of this agreement the Iraqi Government claimed, in 1938, that since they were the successors of the Turkish Government in the Basra Vilayet, Kuwait ought to be incorporated into Iraq. Alternatively they urged that the northern frontier of Kuwait should run from west to east at about Lat 29° 30' N instead of about 30° N, in order to make it easier to prevent smuggling. In October 1940, the British Government delivered a note to the Iraqi Government clarifying the frontier definition of 1932, and proposed that in addition the frontier should follow the thalweg of the Khor Abdullah from the junction of that khor with the Khor Zubair to the open sea. The Iraqi Ministry of Defence wanted the question of the cession of Bubyah and Warbah settled before demarcation of the frontier, and the Iraqi Government therefore suggested that discussion of the British proposals be delayed.

No further progress was made in settling the demarcation question, and in 1952 the Iraqis repeated that, in view of their desire to construct a port at Umm Qasr, the question of the cession to them of Warbah Island should take precedence over frontier demarcation. They alleged that Lord Halifax had, in 1938, agreed orally on a cession of the island in return for compensation for Kuwait. In 1954, Iraq offered to provide Kuwait with piped sweet water from the Shatt al Arab, on condition that Kuwait would agree to transfer Warbah and a strip of territory on

the coast to a distance of four kilometres south of Umm Qasr to Iraq to enable them to develop the port. However, no concrete results were reached in discussions which followed between 1954 and 1956, and in 1957 the Ruler of Kuwait formally told the Iraqi authorities that the settlement of the Kuwait-Iraqi boundary was a pre-requisite for any agreement on the water supply to Kuwait.

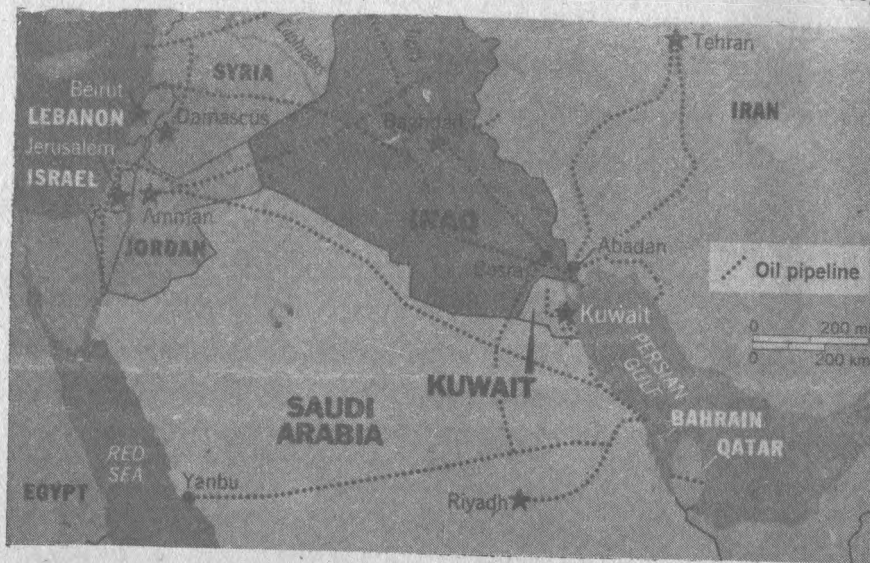
By an Exchange of Notes in June 1961, the British Government terminated the Exclusive Agreement of 1899 with the Kuwaiti Government and recognised Kuwait as a sovereign independent State. The Government of Kuwait then applied for membership of the Arab League. Within three days Abdul Karim Qasim, President of Iraq, had laid claim to Kuwait as an integral part of Iraq. Iraq maintained that the British had recognised the sovereignty of the Ottoman State over Kuwait, and that the 1899 agreement was invalid because it had been concluded in defiance of the authority of the Ottoman Sultan. The Iraqis also maintained that the new Exchange of Notes was invalid as it aimed at maintaining imperialist influence in the Shaikhdom under the cloak of independence. The Amir of Kuwait rejected the Iraqi claim and following reports of the movements of Iraqi troops to the Kuwaiti borders, asked the British Government for military assistance, as he was entitled to do under the recent Exchange of Notes. Between 1961 and 1963 a Kuwaiti application for membership of the United Nations was blocked by a Russian veto. But by the end of July 1961, Kuwait had been admitted, in the face of Iraqi opposition, to membership of the Arab League, and an Arab League force was then despatched to the Shaikhdom to replace the British troops.

In February 1963 Qasim was overthrown in Iraq, and as the new regime in Baghdad took steps to ease tension the claim to Kuwait was abandoned. On 7 May 1963, Kuwait was admitted to membership of the UN. Then in October 1963, a Kuwaiti delegation visited Baghdad and signed an Agreed Minute with the Iraqi Government which ex-

pressly recognised the independence of Kuwait on the basis of the boundaries agreed in the 1932 concord. The first operative paragraph of the Agreed Minute reads: "Firstly, the Iraqi Republic recognises the independence and complete sovereignty of the State of Kuwait within its frontiers as specified in the letter of the Prime Minister of Iraq dated July 21, 1932, which was agreed to by the Ruler of Kuwait in his letter of August 10, 1932."

The signatory on the Iraqi side was the Prime Minister, Brigadier Ahmed Hassan al Bakr. He was the leader of the Ba'athist faction in the government at the time, and became President of Iraq following the 1968 coup which brought the present Ba'athist regime to power. Following the 1963 agreement a series of meetings was held between the Kuwaiti and Iraqi authorities with the aim of solving technical difficulties connected with the demarcation of the boundaries; no useful results were achieved. In February 1973 a Kuwaiti delegation led by the Foreign Minister visited Iraq, and during the discussions that followed the Iraqis renewed their claims to the islands of Warbah and Bubyah and the coastal strip opposite them, despite the fact that the Iraqi signatory of the 1963 Agreed Minute, Ahmed Hassan al Bakr, had by that time become the President of Iraq. The Kuwaiti delegation rejected the claim but agreed that discussions on the problem should be held in the near future. It was understood that an Iraqi delegation would visit Kuwait for that purpose during March 1973. However, on 20 March, action taken by the Iraqi military against the Kuwaiti police post at Samitah made it impossible for negotiations to take place.

Since 1973 the dispute over claims to the islands of Warbah and Bubyah has remained unsolved between the two States. In that period Iraq has maintained normal relations with Kuwait, bilaterally and internationally: the two States have worked together in the Arab League and taken part in OPEC in discussions on oil quotas; Iraq has accepted Kuwaiti loans; and throughout the Iran-Iraq war the Iraqi government readily accepted assistance from Kuwait.



A map of the ailing Gulf region

What Sparked the Al-Aqsa Massacre?

Eyewitnesses offered differing accounts of the sequence of events that led to Monday's bloodbath at Jerusalem's al-Aqsa mosque in which Israeli forces shot dead 21 Palestinians and wounded hundreds.

The bloodiest carnage since Israel occupied the city in 1967 followed Palestinian protests at attempts by Israeli zealots to enter the Haram al-Sharif, the compound housing al-Aqsa and the Dome of the Rock mosques — Islam's holiest shrines outside Mecca and Medina.

Attempted incursions of this sort by members of the Temple Mount Faithful — whose credo is the destruction of the mosques and

the rebuilding of the Jewish temple believed to have stood there two millennia ago — are regular events.

Normally, when the zealots' plans are announced, Palestinians gather in the al-Aqsa compound to prevent them entering.

On a number of occasions in the past, Israeli paramilitary Border Police have refused them entry, while escorting them to and from the site under heavy guard.

Usually several hundred Israeli policemen and soldiers accompany a small group of zealots through the Bab al-Magharbeh gate, and escort them out again about ten minutes later.

These gatherings always provoke heightened tension, raising the possibility of an explosion erupting every year.

To many Palestinians, it looks in retrospect like a miracle that prior to Monday's carnage, no killings had occurred in relation to these events in the past.

While Monday's Temple Mount faithful excursion largely followed the pattern of previous attempts, the potential for a flareup was clearly greater — a fact evidently not missed on the Israeli authorities.

The Jewish group, for one, was not planning simply to enter, or even pray in the Har-



Palestinians in the occupied areas live under permanent threat of death

am al-Sharif compound. It had stated publicly its intention of laying a cornerstone for the Third Jewish Temple it hopes to see built on the site of the Moslem shrines. Earlier this year, a less publicized attempt to do so was stopped by police.

News of the group's plans was published in the local press, and on Friday October 5 al-Aqsa preacher Sheikh Fathallah Sildawi warned about the attempt in his weekly sermon.

He urged his congregation and other believers to gather at al-Aqsa from dawn on Monday October 8 to thwart the attempt.

Aware

Israeli police seemed well aware of what was happening. Well before the zealots arrived, Palestinians resident outside Jerusalem were turned back when they tried to drive to the city.

Even the U.S. government seemed to expect trouble, as a travel advisory warning Americans to stay away from the Occupied Territories, including East Jerusalem, was issued just two days before the bloodbath.

Another important difference this year was the political atmosphere generated by the Gulf crisis.

Heightened tension and bitterness among Palestinians about the international blind eye turned to the Israeli occupation of their homeland was combining with a mood of renewed determination and unity, strengthened by the recent agreement by the mainstream PLO Fateh movement and the Islamist Hamas group to coordinate activities and set aside earlier rivalries.

The runup to Monday's massacre was marked by daily demonstrations by Palestinians in and around Jerusalem.

Virtually every neighbourhood witnessed clashes between unarmed Palestinian Intifadists and Israeli forces.

For the first time, the Israelis introduced a regime of sealing off entire roads as a form of collective punishment.

Adding to the tension was Sunday's declaration by Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir that more "big" Jewish settlements would be built in the annexed Palestinian sector of the city.

Monday's bloodbath also came during the Jewish holiday week of Succot, when thousands of additional Israeli police converged on the city.

On previous occasions when Palestinians have demonstrated against the zealots, police used tear-gas. But suddenly, Palestinians present at the scene reported, police began opening fire with live ammunition. Demonstrators responded with a hail of stones and a fierce confrontation ensued.

Protesters hurled rocks, many landing on the square opposite the Wailing Wall — by which time most of the crowd of Jewish worshippers gathered there had dispersed because of the tear-gas.

Palestinians also attacked a small Israeli police post located just inside the Haram's Bab al-Majlis — the gate normally reserved for access by tourists.

*IGNITE: What precise incident or combination of incidents actually ignited the bloodbath remains unclear.

One version of events maintains that after the first round of stone-throwing and tear-gas, an Israeli border policeman's gun fell to



Israeli soldiers towering over wounded Palestians at the Dome of the Rock

the ground as he was running away. Palestinians grabbed the weapon, reportedly smashing it apart. Israeli troops, apparently fearing the gun would be used against them, then opened fire, causing chaos.

Other eyewitnesses reported that Israeli sharpshooters positioned on rooftops around al-Aqsa singled out a young Palestinian waving a flag 19-year-old Burham Kashour — and shot him dead. The killing enraged the Palestinian crowd which surged forward and was met by an indiscriminate hail of Israeli bullets, they say.

A third account holds that the shot that sparked the orgy of gunshots was fired by a civilian Israeli settler, who felled a young Palestinian. Film crews at the scene have in fact recorded footage of several Israeli civilians joining in the shooting using their personal guns or pistols.

After the initial round of shooting, Palestinian religious and nationalist leaders used megaphones to appeal to the troops in Hebrew to back off, and to Palestinians to retreat into the al-Aqsa mosque itself to defuse the confrontation. The Israeli forces paid no heed and the firing continued.

From late morning ambulances were rushed to Jerusalem. Jerusalem's Makassed and Augusta Victoria hospitals were flooded with casualties. Both issued appeals for blood, but donors were barred by Israeli forces from reaching Makassed, the city's biggest Palestinian hospital.

At one stage, troops with dogs stormed Makassed to make arrests, firing tear-gas to clear their way.

After an Israeli Knesset member and an International Red Cross representative intervened, blood donors were allowed through.

*JURISTS: The Geneva-based International Commission of Jurists said in a statement that Israeli forces "used excessive force and showed no regard to human life in what can only be described as a massacre."

It said in the Old City near al-Aqsa, an American psychologist, Dr. Allen Henson, witnessed the outbreak of shooting by Israeli soldiers at unarmed Palestinians "without provocation and in the absence of any disturbance."

It said at least one of the 21 deaths was caused because Israeli forces obstructed am-

bulances transporting wounded Palestinians.

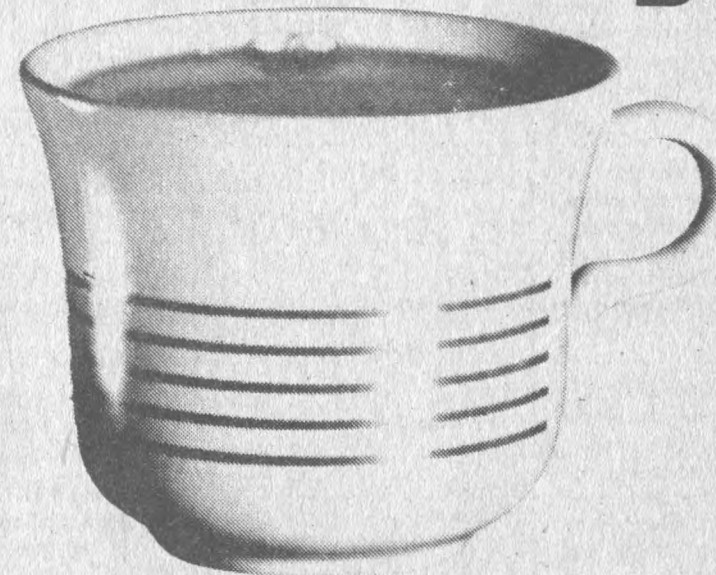
The commission said personnel and vehicles of the International Committee of the Red Cross were also physically prevented from approaching the area by Israeli forces. It said tear-gas was dropped by helicopter at the entrance of Makassed hospital, and was fired by troops into the hospital's pediatrics and obstetrics wards.

*VICTIMS: Palestinian sources confirmed that the Palestinian death toll during Monday's bloodbath totalled 21, with around 300 people injured by gunfire or hospitalised after being beaten or gassed by Israeli forces.

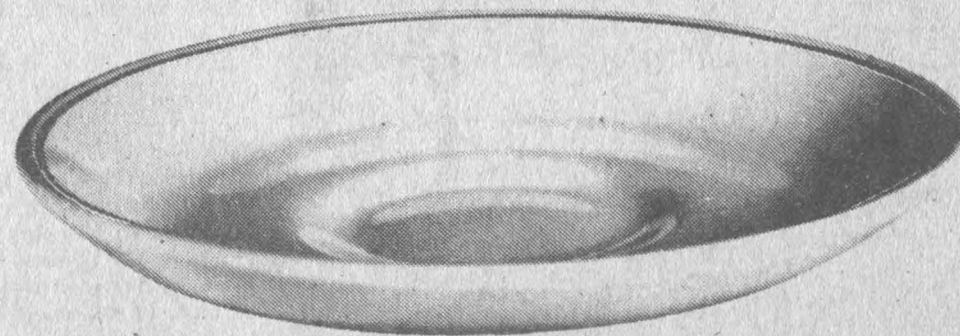
Several of the wounded are reported to be in critical condition.

The victims range from a boy of 14 to an elderly woman aged 70, and include a Palestinian holding Israeli citizenship from Galilee within the Green Line. ●

Bright, Fresh Tanganda



For Every Uplifting Occasion



UP UP, IT LIFTS YOU UP

UN: A World Parliament?

October 24 marks United Nations Day. On this day, in 1945 the UN Charter went into effect.

Over the 45 years, the UN has traversed a long path from the split and confrontation of the cold-war epoch to the present day, when the UN stands a good chance of becoming at least the world parliament, if not the government of the earth.

All this has become possible after common sense and the principles of the new political thinking triumphed in the foreign policies of the majority of the states. On the basis of these principles rapprochement between the USSR and the US began, and the east-west confrontation weakened.

Whereas previously, the UN buildings in New York were a scene of ideological and political battles, with the parties involved cynically using the voting mechanism and the arms-twisting tactics, now they have evolved into the headquarters where mutually acceptable resolutions are drafted and adopted on the consensus basis.

The UN is becoming the collective reason of our planet. Many analysts believe that much credit for this must be given to the Soviet President, Nobel Peace Prize Winner, Mikhail Gorbachev, who is well aware that the times when the world political affairs were run by an +elitist club+ are gone forever and that in order to solve global

List of United Nations Security Council Resolutions passed in connection with Iraq's invasion of Kuwait

The following table shows the voting on each of the Security Council Resolutions so far adopted on Iraq and Kuwait:

Resolution No.	Subject	Voting
SCR 660 (Adopted 2 August)	Condemned invasion and called for immediate and unconditional Iraqi withdrawal	14 votes for 0 abstentions 0 against Yemen absent
SCR 661 (6 August)	Imposed sanctions	13: 2: 0 Yemen & Cuba abstained
SCR 662 (9 August)	Decided annexation of Kuwait by Iraq null and void	15: 0: 0
SCR 664 (18 August)	Reaffirmed rights of Third State Nationals, including the right to leave	15: 0: 0
SCR 665 (25 August)	Authorised measures to halt shipping in order to inspect & verify cargoes	13: 2: 0 Yemen and Cuba abstained
SCR 666 (13 September)	Established system to permit food imports to Iraq & Kuwait in humanitarian circumstances	13: 0: 2 Yemen & Cuba voted against
SCR 667 (16 September)	Condemned Iraqi attacks against diplomatic premises & personnel	15: 0: 0
SCR 669 (24 September)	Called on sanctions committee to consider requests for economic assistance under article 50 of UN Charter	15: 0: 0
SCR 670 (25 September)	Measures to tighten air embargo and detain or deny entry to Iraq-registered ships breaching sanctions	14: 0: 1 Cuba voted against

problems, one should not create new structures, but make more efficient use of the available ones, first of all the UN.

The first result of the change that has occurred in the sky-scraper in east river are obvious. The United Nations' efforts give mankind hope for peaceful settlement of the conflicts in Afghanistan, Cambodia and Central America.

The new role of the UN in Africa is very illustrative in this respect. Undoubtedly, it has played the main role in eliminating the last African colony and in creating the independent Republic of Namibia. This organization has also played an important role in promoting the settlement in Angola and Mozambique, and in eliminating Apartheid in South Africa. Special credit must be given to the UN Special Committee against Apartheid.

Of course, this is only the beginning, but perseverance will overcome the journey. The United Nations, first-priority task is to settle the Gulf Crisis. Will this organization succeed in ending the Iraqi aggression peacefully? If it does, it will demonstrate once again its growing constructive role. The resolute and unanimous measures, already taken by the

Security Council in order to settle the Gulf crisis by political means, speak volumes.

There are many other problems the UN is to tackle. Among them is that of promoting global disarmament, of dealing with the crisis facing the developing nations and of combating international terrorism and drug addiction.

There are problems of a different sort, too. Some say, for instance, that the UN — an organisation which was set up at a time when most of the developing countries were colonies or dependent states, does not fully reflect their interests and that its charter needs to be improved.

However, the goal of the UN is to seek global compromise solutions and not to meet the specific interests of individual groups of states. Besides that, over the past 45 years, the world has seen the emergence of such organisations as the organisation of African Unity, whose members account for one third of the UN, and the Non-Aligned Movement, whose member-states make up two thirds of the UN. Their activity determines to what extent the UN takes the interests of the developing nations into account how seriously the developing countries are influencing the world parliament.

A number of the United Nations' internal

problems have not been solved yet among them is the member-states' debts (the US alone owes it 675 million dollars), the bureaucratic ways of the apparatus, the imperfect system of appointing people to the leading posts, and the actual inactivity of the military staff committee which narrows the possibilities of implementing the resolutions of the UN and its Security Council.

However, for all the flaws, one should admit that 45 years ago, the UN charter was developed wisely enough, all of which helps the United Nations Act as efficiently as the member-states' contribution to the common effort allows.●

"UN Won't Serve Interests of Individual States"

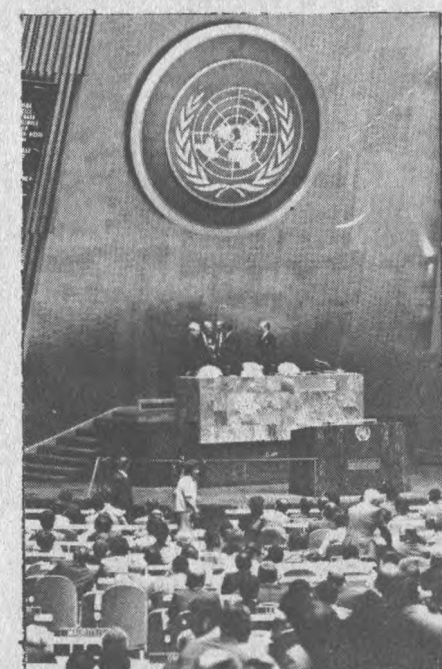
Following is the text of the message by Secretary General Javier Perez De Cuellar on the occasion of the United Nations Day, 24 October

United Nations Day comes this year after possibly the most historic 12-month period of solid accomplishment.

The success of the complex operations in Namibia and Central America have shown the ability of the United Nations to manage transitions from conditions of conflict and upheaval to those of peace. At the same time, the notable advances made in the settlement of several other major international disputes have brought home sterling lessons about the crucial role of the United Nations. It can, and does, deliver on its promises.

This series of positive developments has had as its backdrop of the termination of the cold war and the end of the paralysis that had seized peace-making over four decades. With the lucidity thus regained, the value of multilateral effort can no longer be in question. We are entitled to a measure of pride that, through the difficult and daunting years of the recent past, we did not let our conviction be weakened that the procedures of our organization are eminently practical and there is no substitute for them.

It is, however, the very nature of our vocation that we can never be permitted to rest on our laurels. A restless, rapidly changing



A session in progress on the occasion of the United Nations Day, October 24

world situation permits no complacent simplifications. Then, again, the persistence of

some old conflicts that gravely threaten peace and the eruption of the crisis resulting from the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, with its incalculable consequences, subject the organization to a severe test. What is being tested is nothing less than the organization's capacity to establish the rule of law in international relations and its consistence in applying its principles.

Moreover, we cannot forget that while the iron curtain has been brought down, the poverty curtain still separates two parts of the world community. A new Global Dispensation will remain more a hope than a reality as long as the anxieties and strains caused by the disparity between the rich and the poor societies remains unremedied. Nor is such an order compatible with frequent and often massive violations of human rights.

What we have to bear in mind is that the more the United Nations is moved to the centre of the stage in the conduct of world affairs, the higher is the level of our responsibility and the more exacting will be the tasks laid on us. Given the dedication of all who work for the United Nations, I have no doubt that this thought will act as a spur rather than a brake on our efforts. □

The Party and masses

The development of socialism is hampered by subjectivism and bureaucratism. In a socialist society bureaucratism is like venom. It does harm to a society as poison does, but the constant contact with the popular masses is as good as tonic.

The opening statements were said by the President of The Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), Cde Kim Il Sung when

he hosted some visiting political dignitaries in Pyongyang.

In socialist society, if a working-class party goes among the popular masses, it becomes as strong as tonic and if it is separated from them, it becomes as lethargic as poison.

The use of a tonic will always keep a man energetic. If the Party goes among the popu-

lar masses, the correct policies which enjoy their support will be worked out, the masses' trust in the Party deepened and the unity of the people strengthened, thus activating the whole society.

The present-day Korea, which is building socialism dynamically, can be likened to a tree which is deeply nourished.

Under the guidance of the Workers' Party of Korea, the Korean people are marching forward in high spirits under the slogan "When the Party is determined, we do anything" overcoming all hardships.

What is the secret of its Charisma?



United Nations Secretary-General Dr. Javier Perez de Cuellar during his visit to Zimbabwe

It is explained by the fact that the Party always goes among the popular masses like a man using a tonic.

This is a simple idea, but it implies deeper things.

To serve the people and work among them — this is the cure-all the WPK takes. Herein lies the secret of its victorious socialism.

When a tree puts down firm roots, it can withstand the most violent storms. When a tree fails to strike its roots deep into the ground, it will fall even in a weak wind.

The WPK puts down firm roots among the masses, so that there has been no wavering even in the severest adversity. It remained unshaken in the face of all storms — during the arduous Korean war in the 1950s, during the period of postwar rehabilitation, in the period of the 50s and 60s when the alien element tried to sow disruption within the Party, and in the present day when the imperialists have been launching an anti-socialist campaign according to their "peaceful transition" strategy.

The masses are the teacher and the strength. Going among the people and listening to their voices to work out the line and policies and enlist their inexhaustible strength to carry them out — this is the leadership method of the WPK.

Since its foundation the WPK has devoted primary attention to wiping out subjectivism and bureaucracy which might arise within the ruling party. In the 1960s this guidance method took the form of the Chongsanri spirit and Chongsanri method, that is, to go



The Great Leader, Cde. Kim Il Sung

among the people in keeping with the new circumstances in which the socialist system was established.

The Chongsanri spirit requires that Party and state guidance should be given on the principle of taking the full responsibility for

the national economy and the people's livelihood and of rallying all members of society around the Party by reeducating them and of leading them to the communist society. It also requires that all work should be made the undertaking of the masses themselves.

The Chongsanri method requires that the higher and the lower bodies should cooperate with each other to carry out the Party's line and policies, that the former know always how matters stand in the latter to find a solution, that priority be given to political work in all activities and the enthusiasm and creativeness of the masses be enlisted to implement the revolutionary task, that general direction and specific guidance be combined correctly, that the proper order of priority for work be determined and efforts be concentrated on the main link and that all work should be planned and pushed ahead forcefully.

The whole country will become a hive of activity when Chongsanri becomes activated.

Dear Secretary Kim Jong Il always urges Party officials not to issue commands to the masses, but to be commanded by the masses.

"Let the whole Party go among the masses!" "Serve the people!" These are the slogans of the WPK and its solemn oath to accomplish the cause of socialism to the end by relying on the strength of the people.

The greatest joy of the WPK is to enjoy the love and support of the people. The whole Party going among the masses — this is the principle of the WPK's activity.

Meet the saviour of Boxing

By Evans Mambara

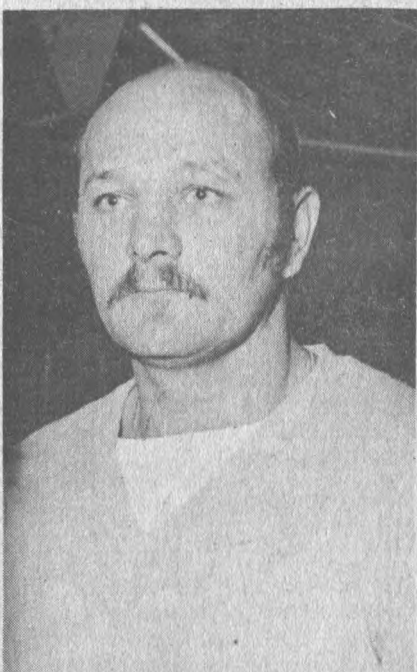
Ed Hammond set himself many targets in his life but he never thought he would bring Zimbabwe to victory in the Commonwealth Games... a triumph he met at the Olympic Games in 1992.

Hammond played a Pirate's role as he guided flyweight Nokuthula Tshabangu and welterweight Duke Chinyadza for a Silver and Bronze medal respectively the highest medal count Zimbabwe attained in one particular discipline.

Blue-eyed Hammond is the National Amateur Boxing Coach and has groomed several boxers who have made their mark in professional boxing today such as national Bantamweight Champion Ndaba Dube and Ambrose Mililo.

In preparation for the commonwealth Games, the Raylton Sports Club based trainer had to make his final three selections from the best of all international competitions and with funds permitting would have made a far wider choice, but due to lack of money chose Tshabangu, Trust Ndlovu and Duke Chinyadza only.

The three boxers were then put on an intensive training schedule. Besides insisting



Ed Hammond — National Amateur Boxing Coach

on fitness, Hammond stressed defence combined with attack, counter-attack and reaction for the barriers.

With this type of technique, the Zimbabwean trio proved hard to beat at the Games, although 20 years old Ndlovu was eliminated in the earliest rounds, he fought an excellent fight falling on the wayside in the quarter finals of the Featherweight Division against David Gakua of Kenya.

Just like many of the World's top boxers did, Tshabangu's love for boxing was actually initiated by a friend, Zenzo Ndlovu. Ndlovu encouraged him to join a local boxing Club Matshemhlophe.

Tshabangu is a product of the disciplined Six Brigade under the then command of Colonel Lionel Dyke. The talented boxer underwent a strenuous and intensive training schedule... Very much the motto of the Brigade.

With selfless determination and dedication to a sport he cherishes, young Tshabangu has once again lifted the flag through boxing in Zimbabwe and internationally.

One would simply sum it up 'As a pilot of a ship of state in the stormy waters of the brawling game of boxing, Tshabangu has proved just how hard work can be rewarded in the end. □

GLOBAL MIRROR



V.P. Singh: The former Indian Prime Minister who resigned recently over incessant ethnic violence



An Iranian mother weeps in desperation during a devastating earthquake which left 1 500 dead and 3,7 million homeless



Chiet Anyaoku: The first black to be appointed Commonwealth Secretary-General



Children of the war: Two young boys assembling an AK rifle in war-torn Afghanistan



Jessie Jackson: The first African-American to seriously challenge for Presidential nomination



The Rt. Hon. Sir Geoffrey Howe's resignation as the British Secretary for Foreign Affairs was later followed by the resignation of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher

Tribute to Comrade Malandu

Comrade Enos Malandu, the former second Deputy Secretary for Information and Publicity in the then PF-ZAPU passed away recently.

Cde. Malandu attended Wanezi Brethren Primary and Tegwani Secondary Schools. He later went to the United States of America for further studies. His original intention was to study theology and become a priest.

Cde. Malandu then left for Britain where he briefly worked before joining the armed struggle in 1974. On arrival in Zambia from London, he was appointed Deputy National and Foreign Affairs Secretary.

A few months later, he was included in the Commissariat Committee which was headed by the late Cde. George T. Silundika. Other members of this committee were Comrades Isaac Nyati, Amos Ngwenya, the late Philemon Makonese, Mtshana Ncube and the late Lookout Masuku.

The Commissariat Committee was responsible for the party's ideology. Cde. Malandu played a significant role in this committee which was later headed by the late Cde. Samuel Munodawafa. This committee produced the PF-ZAPU political programmes which were later adopted by the party's Central Committee in August, 1981.

In 1975, Cde Malandu went to Morogoro, in Tanzania for military training. He later received advanced military training in the Soviet Union. This was because the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Council of PF-ZAPU wanted all its political leaders to be militarily trained.

Under the direction of the late Cde. George T. Silundika, Cde. Malandu was responsible for the production of party documents on meetings and international conferences. These included the International Conference on Solidarity with the Peoples of Southern Africa held in Lusaka in April, 1979. The conference was organised by AAPSOL (Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organisation). Cde. Malandu represented ZAPU at many international conferences held in support of the struggle in Southern Africa.

The late Cde. Malandu also attended the Lancaster House Constitutional Conference held in London, Britain in 1979. At this conference, he worked alongside comrades Reg Austin, Daniel Madzimbamuto, Callistus Ndllovu and Cyril Ndebele.

Following the attainment of independence in 1980, PF-ZAPU held its congress in 1984 and Cde. Malandu was elected to the Party's Central Committee. This is when he was appointed second Deputy Secretary for Publicity and Information.

Cde. Malandu was one of those Zimbabweans who subscribed to the Marxist-Leninist philosophy. He died firmly convinced that socialism is the best system for Zimbabwe.

For three years since 1985, he operated a supermarket in one of the eastern suburbs of Harare. When asked whether by going into business, he had abandoned his socialist ideas, he replied: "Not at all. You see, we are in a capitalist system, and in order to survive, one has to play the game according to its rules." □

ORBITUARY

Harare-Mbare ward 33 councillor, Comrade Misheck Matambo who passed away recently in the city was born in 1952 in Buhera district, Chief Nyashanu village. He attended his primary education at Murambinda primary in Buhera and attained his secondary education at St. Mary's Mission. He had been working for Negondo Chemicals until his death.

An active politician, Comrade Matambo started his career in 1979. In 1980, he was elected branch deputy political commissar of Shawasha flats in Mbare district. From then on, he rose through the Party ranks to be elected District Secretary for Administration in 1982. He was returned unopposed in the 1984 Party elections. In 1988, Cde. Matambo was elected Secretary for Mbare 5 District. When he died, he was the councillor of ward 33 Mbare, a post he won unopposed.

He is survived by his wife and four children. □



The late Chimurenga hero Cde. Mapondera, father of the late reverend

The late Rev. Enock Magwasha Mapondera was born in 1905 in Dande. The former Methodist Church Minister, teacher and Prison Chaplain who passed away on 11 October 1990 after a long illness, was the son of the late Cde. Kadungure Chivaura Mapondera, one of the most distinguished fighters against colonialism, during the first Chimurenga.

The late Comrade Kadungure Mapondera died in Fort Salisbury prison in 1906, after going on a hunger strike. Before his death, Mapondera Kadungure had attempted but in vain to flee to Malawi because he resented colonial rule and was against paying pole-tax.

Rev. Enock Magwasha Mapondera was one of the 29 sons and 15 daughters from the several wives of his father. Born in a family of three, two brothers and one sister, the late Rev. Mapondera was one of the youngest sons of the late Cde. Kadungure Mapondera.

The late Cde. Mapondera Kadungure's spirit to fight against injustice and work for the good of mankind did not die with him. This spirit and self-determination guided the late Rev. Mapondera to the status of church Minister.

Background

Following the death of his father, the late Rev. Mapondera was brought up at his uncle's kraal in Zvimba after the union (nhaka) between his mother and his half-brother had failed.

At the age of 15, he left his uncle's kraal for Kadoma where he first worked as a kitch-

Son of a hero dies

en 'boy' and later secured a job as a bedroom cleaner at Kadoma Hotel (Grand Hotel).

When he left Kadoma, the late Rev. Mapondera found a job at the Farmers' Co-op Oil and Soap Factory in Harare. The late Methodist Church Minister, who had left school at Muchera after passing Standard Two, resumed his studies up to Standard Five with the encouragement of the factory supervisor who had noticed his interest in learning.

While working in Harare, he got married to Dorcas Maveve in 1924 and they got their first child, Esnat, a year later. The late Rev. Mapondera, however sacrificed to leave his wife and baby in order to resume his studies. Using the little money he had saved, he went to Waddilove where he did Standard Five and Six and underwent training as a teacher as well as an Evangelist. Subjects covered during the course included Building, Carpentry and Agriculture.

Upon completion of his two-year course at Waddilove Training Institute, Rev. Mapon-

der was posted to Zambia where he worked as an Evangelist for three years in Kabwe. When he returned to Zimbabwe, he started work in the newly established Chibero Circuit where he worked at Nyatsanga School and later at Maruma.

The late Reverend, who retired from active ministry work at the age of 61 (after serving the church for 37 years as a teacher and Evangelist), started to preach in prisons in 1968. He was one of the first full-time black Prison Chaplains in the country.

He worked at both Central and Khami Prisons. This was the time when many nationalists including the President, Cde. Robert Mugabe, were in detention. The Chaplains used to recommend private studies to many detainees and prisoners.

The hardworking Rev. Mapondera finally downed tools for the prison services in 1984 at the age of 79. His wife, Dorcas, had passed away two years earlier.



Rev. Mapondera seated together with family members and colleagues

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Minister

The late Rev. Mapondera started his Ministerial work in 1940 on completion of

He was a person who loved people. His life's concern was people, and he helped many of them improve themselves. This was evidenced by his help in building churches at Nyatsanga, Makwavarara, Dondoshava and Gurugwa.

The late Rev. Mapondera is survived by seven children, three sons and four daughters. He had 21 grandchildren and nine great grandchildren. □

A Son of the African Soil

Let me be
In my world of
Fantasy
And you may remain
In your world of
Reality

Your world of Reality
Brings me nothing
But pain and misery
It tells me
To accept as a reality
of life
That Afrika is
fragmented

My world of Fantasy
Brings me happiness
at least
Because it tells me
That Afrika is one and
indivisible

I do not accept as
Reality
The language
That makes me an
alien
A foreigner, if you
like
In Afrika, my own
home

I am that I am
And proud to be

What I am
By any definition, I
am an African
A son of the African
Soil

I am that I am
A son of the African
Soil
I have been brought
up
Taught that man dies
not But simply goes to
a spiritual world
And joins those that
went before him
But you choose to
denigrate
The African values of
life

As pagan and
superstitious

But here I come
As a son of Afrika
A son of the soil
To write in order to
right the wrong

I uphold ancestral
communication
Because it is an
Attribute
To the Loving God
That he reigns over
death

By Simphiwe Sesanti

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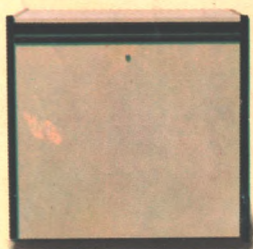


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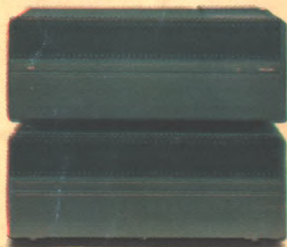
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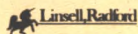
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