

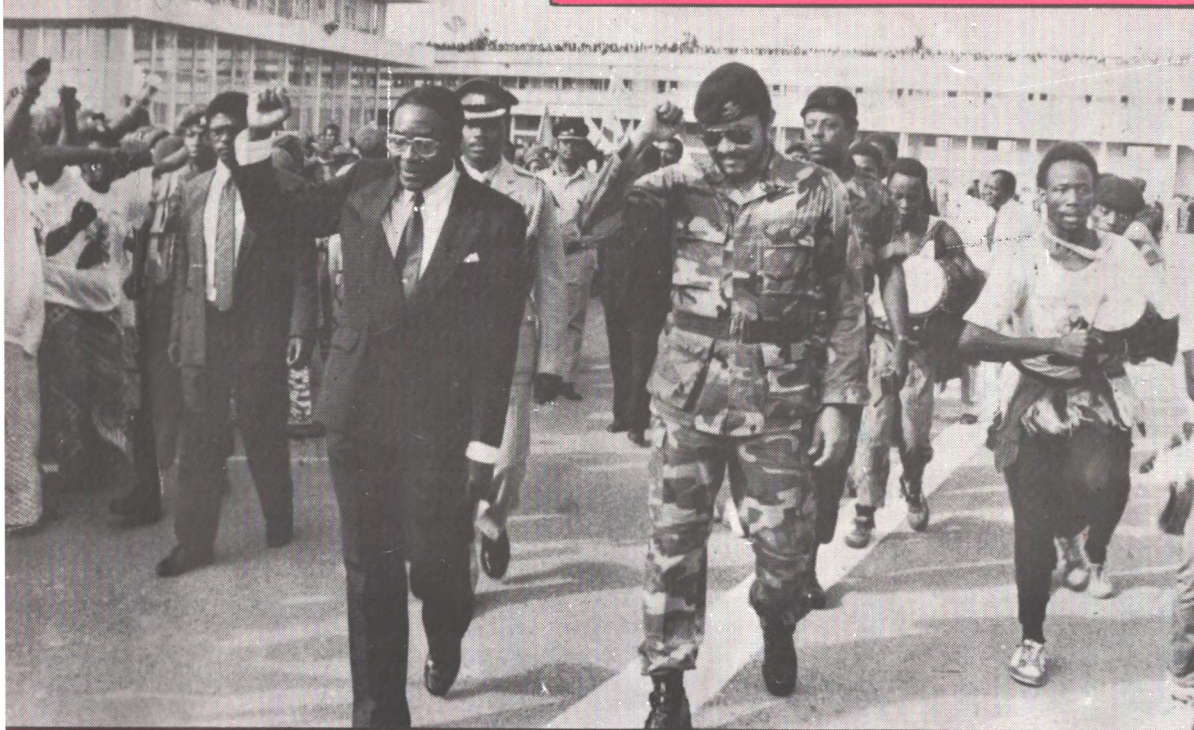
# Zimbabwe News

## Official Organ of ZANU PF

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### President R.G. Mugabe tours West Africa



**21st February:—**

President celebrates 67th birthday

Movement celebrates 5th Anniversary





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## A Century of Wars and Human Suffering

It is a great pleasure for me to welcome you to State House this afternoon. I always look to such occasions, for not only do they afford me the opportunity . . .  
page 4

## One Party or Pluralism

Various articles have appeared this year in our press concerning One Party and Pluralist systems of government. But the various arguments raised did not refer to our local situation but . . .  
page 16

## South African Whites Just Want Money

Sometime this year, representatives of the South African government and the African National Congress, and possibly of other groups as well, will sit down at a table and begin trying to negotiate a new constitution . . .  
page 19

## Changes in South Africa: Opinions and Assessments

A year ago at a session of Parliament in Cape Town, South African President Frederick de Klerk declared the unbanning of the ANC and a number of other political organisations, Nelson Mandela and other opposition leaders were released . . .  
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# EDITORIAL

## Adhere or Resign

**W**hilst spontaneity has at different points in history led to phenomenal social change, it is only organised action that has resulted in lasting beneficial change. Consequently, all purposeful political movements have sought to initiate systematic strategies and tactics to achieve set goals.

Central to this purposeful activity is the role of the political party. It is political parties that articulate and translate the people's aspirations into practical programmes that lead to development. Equally, it is political leaders who shape the form, structures and organs of the Party and ensure the implementation of its programmes.

Leadership is therefore an important element in any practical movement, political or otherwise. Without a consistent, knowledgeable, principled and committed leadership the people will grope in the dark perpetually. A just struggle can fail if it lacks such a leadership.

It is for this reason that genuine people's movements devote a lot of time and effort to the selection of a deserving leadership that meets the demands of its ethics. It is also important that such a leadership continue to display those attributes that are consistent with the character of the Party.

Those, therefore, that put themselves forward for positions of leadership of a party must of necessity accept its principles and consequently remain bound by them at all times.

Even parties that are devoted to the laissez fair or capitalist system also require that their leadership adhere to certain basic codes of conduct. Hence, the provision in Western "democracies" for instance, that all who aspire to public office should declare their assets publicly. The declaration becomes a public document open to the perusal of any citizen.

In this way and on the basis of the ground rules of capitalism, the system precludes corruption and conflict of interest. Often, aspiring politicians have had to resign from the boards of certain enterprises where these come into conflict with a given office. All this is done in a bid to maintain a leadership that is astute and above board according to the mores and values of the existing political and economic culture.

We in Zimbabwe have equally sought standards of

conduct for our leadership consistent with the political and economic culture we believe would redound to the good of the greatest number of our people. We have through ZANU PF sought to establish guidelines and parameters that define what leaders may or may not do and ceilings of how much they can own in material terms.

Like all resolutions the code of such conduct has been open to debate continuously and all, particularly those who would be affected by it, have been and remain free to amend, add or otherwise influence the final document. There has been general "agreement" on the final documents that have been produced after the debates and discussions.

However, it is an open secret that not all in leadership agree with the document both in theory and practice. The result has been a serious discrepancy between the letter and spirit of the code and the actual conduct of certain leaders. Consequently, this contradiction has led to a serious credibility crisis within the ranks of ZANU PF and the nation as a whole.

It becomes patently clear that, first, certain leaders lack the conviction of their beliefs and agree conveniently or, for expediency's sake, remain silent during debate. Second, they wish to remain leaders for the obvious benefits they derive from this, while they also enjoy the benefits they derive from the business ventures that the code seeks to curtail. A duplicity that is infact utter dishonesty.

Such duplicity is evident to the rank and file of the Party. It spurns cynicism and a general culture of dishonesty right through the ranks of the Party. It bankrupts the Party and opens it to legitimate criticism from its political rivals. It must be stopped.

What needs to be done must be addressed frankly and honestly. ZANU PF must discuss openly and frankly the whole question of the leadership code. Those who do not agree with it must stand up and be counted. The outcome of such discussion must be and be seen to be binding on all concerned. If there are dissenters who feel strongly about their positions, they must resign and thus avail themselves to pursue their first love. "Those who cannot stand the heat should get out of the kitchen."

# Letters

## ZIFA should be neutral

Dear Editor,

I am a staunch supporter of Dynamos and I am writing to express my deep concern at the continued dispute that has in one way or the other resulted in the club's poor performance.

Since the beginning of the BAT Super League season, the Glamour Boys only managed to register a single point. The club's performance has obviously been affected by the raging conflict between power hungry individuals.

The conflict which started at the end of last season, should have been solved long back if ZIFA and the Sports Council took quick decisions. I wonder why the two bodies are taking their time in settling the matter.

The time that has elapsed seems to suggest that the country's soccer controlling body is taking sides in the issue. If that happens to be the case, I therefore kindly ask the soccer ruling body to be neutral and let fairness and justice prevail.

It is a sad story to see one of the best football clubs in the country performing so badly simply because of power-hungry individuals. I humbly request the warring factions to come to their senses and settle the dispute before it is too late.

Concerned supporter  
Mutare.

## MNR shows true colours

Dear Editor,

I would like to comment on the war situation in Mozambique and what lessons Zimbabwe may learn therefrom.

Since its formation, the RENAMO bandit movement has tried to convey the image of a patriotic organisation that is fighting to topple "a communist" government in Mozambique. Through its propaganda machine, which is run by racist South Africa, the bandit movement did manage to convince a few people that it was right in its fight. Only the short sighted were convinced.

Today RENAMO has shown us its true colours. It is a bandit movement in every sense of the word. By flouting the ceasefire

agreement and upholding its campaign of terror against civilians in both Mozambique and Zimbabwe, the MNR has shown that it is not interested in peace at all.

The lesson to be learnt from dealings with bandits is loud and clear: never go to the negotiating table with a rebel movement, especially one that is supported by the Pretoria regime. If possible, kill all rebels before they grow!

Yours faithfully  
J. Chidhakwa  
Harare.



## Give ZRP a break

Dear Editor,

Please allow me space in your magazine to say a few words in reply to all those who are eager to find fault with the Zimbabwe Republic Police.

Members of the Police force are working under very difficult conditions. In fact, I think I am not exaggerating if I say that among the Forces, the ZRP is getting the worst deal.

It is such a pity that the bulk of the blame falls on the junior officers whom the public accuses of not reacting promptly to calls of distress. What distresses me is that these officers have inadequate transport, which is hardly their fault. The fault lies largely with the chefs who go home at night with the much needed police cars. What can a junior officer say when the chef wants to take home the only Nissan Patrol at the station?

How many times have we seen policemen and women deployed around town in the back of lorries? One can't help wondering how the poor women manage to climb on the back of these trucks. This is indecent transportation of members of such an esteemed force, to say the least.

When the majority of our policemen finish work they go home to their pathetic lodgings. Those who live in police camps have to share the small three-roomed houses. And some of these houses do not have electricity. Give the ZRP a break.

Yours faithfully,  
Abinel Shoko  
Masvingo.

# Letters

## UN needs complete overhaul

Dear Editor

While I condemn Iraq for invading Kuwait, the dignity and objectives of the United Nations have become questionable. For the first time in the history of mankind and the United Nations, human blood has been spilled under the authority and flag of the world body. Billions of dollars have been lost in the senseless destruction of vital infrastructures in Kuwait, Iraq and to a lesser extent, Saudi Arabia and Israel in the recent Gulf war.

That the UN could stand by and watch the American led coalition of 30 countries ransack Iraq beyond its own resolutions is seriously disturbing. The UN chief himself, supposedly a man of peace, was quoted in the press as saying that the Iraqi President Mr. Saddam Hussein was out of his mind and "should see a psychiatrist".

I have come to conclude that the United Nations is nothing but an extension of the White House. It (the US) seeks to become the global 'policeman' dictating events and making sure all nations dance to the tune of the United States. The White House even reportedly intends to kidnap President Hussein to stand trial in the US. For what?

The organisation needs a complete overhaul. It is as good as the now defunct League of Nations. Developed and militarily strong countries should not have their way in the UN Security Council and General Assembly. The wishes of the majority should prevail.

I also wish to congratulate Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev the President of the Soviet Union, for his tireless efforts in bringing about the end of the war.

Ferdinand Tarasana  
Rusape

## Editor's Note

Readers are advised to keep their letters to the Editor short and to the point. Although pen names can be used on request, all letters should be signed. Address all letters to:

The Editor  
The Zimbabwe News  
14 Austin Road  
Workington  
Harare



# A century of wars and human suffering

Address by the President of the Republic of Zimbabwe, His Excellency Comrade R.G. Mugabe, on the occasion of the President's New Year reception for the diplomatic corps accredited to Zimbabwe, State House, Harare, 25 January 1991.



by the mounting unemployment problem that currently confronts us.

My Party and Government have already shown strong determination in tackling these pressing problems in the year just gone by. As you are aware, Your Excellencies, during the last quarter of 1990, my Government adopted a Structural Adjustment and Trade Liberalization Programme with a view to revitalizing the productive sectors of the economy. Regrettably, the deepening crisis in the Middle East and the Gulf Area, if prolonged, may have some serious repercussions on our Programme. But these difficulties notwithstanding, Government remains committed to the full implementation of the Programme. We trust that the partnership for development that we have enjoyed with many of your governments and organisations in the past year, will continue as we face the economic challenges of 1991 and beyond.

Your Excellencies, the challenges that confront us on the international scene, as we embark on this new year, are no less daunting. As you are aware, a war which should never have been precipitated is raging in the Gulf, putting at risk millions of innocent lives in the area. We deeply regret that months of diplomatic efforts by the Secretary-General of the United Nations and other world leaders to end Iraq's occupation of Kuwait and avert war, did not yield positive results. We, however, continue to urge Iraq to reconsider its position and withdraw from Kuwait, thus avoiding any further loss of life and property.

Equally important is the long-standing need for the international community to find a permanent solution to the question of Palestine if peace is to return to the Middle East. It is our sincere hope that the United Nations Security Council will, this year, speed up its efforts aimed at the convening of an International Conference on the Middle East, under the United Nations auspices, in which the PLO will participate on an equal footing with all other parties concerned.

In our own sub-region, peace remains imperilled as the momentum gained last year towards the dismantlement of the apartheid system in South Africa is slowly being lost. The failure by the de Klerk government to end the incitement of black-against-black violence by white extremists has further complicated the situation. We call upon the de Klerk government to stop reneging on its promises and begin co-operating with the anti-apartheid movements in creating a non-racial and democratic South Africa without further delay.

In the meantime, it is imperative that the international community remains united in exerting all forms of pressure, including sanctions, on the Pretoria government until pro-

(continued on page 5)

It is a great pleasure for me to welcome you to State House this afternoon. I always look forward to such occasions, for not only do they afford me the opportunity to renew acquaintances with you, but they also provide an excellent context for an exchange of views on important developments taking place on the international scene.

Since this is the first time I am meeting you, Your Excellencies, as a group in the new year, may I take this opportunity to wish you and your staff a happy and prosperous 1991. I trust that 1990 has been a good year to you all and that your work here has been most productive.

We in Zimbabwe are appreciative of the very fruitful relations that have existed between your governments and organisations and ourselves in the past year. We certainly look forward to a further expansion and consolidation of these mutually beneficial ties during 1991.

Your Excellencies, the past year has been a very momentous one in the history of our Republic, marking as it did the end of our first decade of independence. For our people, the Party and Government, it was a year for both celebration and reflection as we critically evaluated our endeavours aimed at consolidating our hard-won freedom during the past ten years.

We were naturally pleased that our tenth anniversary celebrations took place in an atmosphere of peace and unity throughout the country. No doubt, a clear manifestation of

His Excellency Comrade President R.G. Mugabe

the success of the policy of national reconciliation adopted by my Government at Independence. We were equally happy that the programme for socio-economic transformation, adopted by the Party and Government in 1980, met with much success in the various economic and social sectors, resulting in a vast improvement of the living and working conditions of our people.

During the past year, Government continued with its efforts to make the Lancaster House Constitution, that ushered in our Independence, more democratic and responsive to the needs of our people. In line with Government's firm commitment to redressing the inequities and imbalances in the land tenure system in the country, Parliament last year unanimously adopted the Constitution Amendment Bill (Number 11) which seeks to enable Government make more land available for resettlement purposes while at the same time providing fair and reasonable compensation to its previous holders. This historic decision by Parliament will, no doubt, speed up the implementation of Government's resettlement programme this year.

Yet, in spite of the successes we have scored in the past ten years, we are the first to admit that much remains to be done. We know only too well what a long way we have to go in ensuring sustainable growth and development in the various sectors of our economy. This task is made even more urgent

## The 21st February Movement — five years on



Children of all races turn out to celebrate the President's birthday

Thousands of people braved the sunny weather on Saturday, February 23 to celebrate the 67th Birthday anniversary of the First Secretary of ZANU PF and President of the Republic of Zimbabwe, Comrade Robert Gabriel Mugabe. As has become the custom of the occasion, the 21st February Movement also celebrated its 5th anniversary in colours all over the country on that memorable day.

To mark this year's celebrations, the First Secretary (in whose honour the Movement was launched) stressed in his address to more than 4 500 delegates and guests at the Harare International Conference Centre, the need for youths to be disciplined and self-conscious. He urged the youths to emulate the courage and discipline of the gallant fighters who participated in the liberation struggle of Zimbabwe "and brought us our freedom and independence."

The 21st February Movement was launched for the Zimbabwean children in recognition of the President's inspiring and selfless leadership during the struggle for and after independence. Our children must therefore, emulate the noble ideas of our leader.

From page 4

found and irreversible change is achieved in that country.

In Angola and Mozambique, we remain hopeful that the peace efforts initiated in the past year will soon bear fruit, thus putting to an end to the untold suffering being experienced by innocent people in those countries. In the case of Mozambique, you will recall, Your Excellencies, that an agreement on a partial ceasefire was reached in Rome last year restricting Zimbabwean troops to the Beira and Limpopo Corridors in exchange for Renamo's undertaking not to attack these transport routes. But, as you are aware, several Renamo violations of this Accord have been reported in the past few weeks. Be that as it may, Zimbabwe will, for its part, continue to abide by the provisions of the Rome Accord. But, it must be made quite clear to Renamo that our patience is not inexhaustible and that these violations will not be tolerated for ever.

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, as we embark on this new year, I would like to assure you of Zimbabwe's continued firm commitment to the search for peaceful solutions to these and other problems confronting our world today. In this regard, we look forward to cooperating with you, as before, both bilaterally and multilaterally within the context of the OAU, the Commonwealth, the Non-Aligned Movement, the United Nations and other international fora.

Together we can make 1991 a year of peace and prosperity for all mankind. Let us, for the sake of present and future generations, strive to end this century — a century that has seen so many wars and so much



The Gulf War has been one of the worst of this century

human suffering — on a more harmonious and hopeful note. United, we can do it.

On this note, let me once again wish you and your colleagues every success in this new year. May I now invite you to join me

in a toast:

- to unity, friendship and cooperation among nations; and
- to world peace and prosperity



# The 21st February Movement — five years on

(continued from page 5)

Cde. Mugabe, who outlined the aims of the Movement when he said, "The essence of the Movement is to ensure the continuity of ZANU PF's revolutionary tradition, the continuity of its tenacity over matters of principle as demonstrated by thousands of our martyred combatants who preferred death to colonial slavery."

The Movement, a common feature in most Socialist States, aims at organising children

Consequently, the 21st February of each year should not only be an occasion for celebrations but it should be a day on which our children, as future leaders, remind themselves of the aims and objectives of their Movement. For this reason, Comrade Mugabe emphasised, "It is an organisation that transforms ideals and objectives into concrete benefits for it must be an organisational framework for mobilisation and edu-

guided youth Movement will undoubtedly assume greater responsibility to consolidate national economic, political, social and cultural development.

The President, like all other revolutionaries who want to see a free and committed society, mentioned in this speech on the occasion that "the role of the youths is a dynamic one towards the success of national transformation and development."

Consequently, the founding of the 21st February Movement historically dignifies the laying down of a foundation for future leaders of Zimbabwe as it marks the birthday of our galant leader, the President Comrade Robert Mugabe. Thus, his speech on this year's occasion strongly emphasised self-discipline amongst youths — the leader of tomorrow.

Comrade Mugabe is a leader who has shown his uniqueness as a committed scholar and statesman of international stature through dedication (a revolutionary characteristic) by entering the annals of history as one of the greatest revolutionaries Africa has ever produced.

The 21st February Movement is, in this light, a guarantee for a bright future for youths of today and its celebrating should remain an inspiration to the youths and children of all races regardless of creed or religion.

Children born under a democratic social environment such as where the people historically waged armed struggle were born out of the blood of our fallen heroes who have amidst all solemn predicament, selflessly dedicated their lives to create the new social order for these born-free youths. It is therefore the imperative duty of every responsible patriotic and nationalistic parent to assist these young people to develop a deep sense of responsibility full of national pride.

National pride, self-discipline, courage and higher aspirations are characteristics with which our youths should familiarise themselves and possess unreservedly and uncompromisingly. In the end, any internal or external forces of negation will find it impossible to temper with our hard-won independence.

The celebrations of the birthday of His Excellency, the President Comrade Robert Gabriel Mugabe vis-a-vis the 21st February Movement is, and, should always be an appreciable, loveable historical national event. The Youth League together with the National Co-ordination Committee must see to it that the event remains so come-what-may. Hence, the Movement's Constitution should now be sought and approved to give the event the national status it so deserves. □



The Patron of the 21st February Movement, Comrade R.G. Mugabe and Amai Sally

from an early age as an investment of future leaders destined to follow the footsteps of great national revolutionary leaders. It also aims at ensuring that no child is deprived of an education commensurate with his or her capabilities.

cation of the future leaders and cadres of the revolution."

The Movement is meant to give youths wise political ideas via the political leadership thus, in the process, the youths earn great respect from the leadership. A well-

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# We demand our motherland



PLO ambassador to Zimbabwe, Comrade Ali Halimeh

Speech delivered by H.E. Cde. Ali Halimeh, Dean of the Diplomatic Corps accredited to the Republic of Zimbabwe on the occasion of H.E. President Robert Mugabe's New Year's Reception on Friday 25 January 1991 at State House.

Your Excellency President Robert Mugabe  
The Hon. Minister of Foreign Affairs Comrade Nathan Shamuyarira  
Dear Colleagues  
Ladies and Gentlemen

Allow me at the beginning to thank you Comrade President for having once again invited us to this Annual Reception.

I would also like, on behalf of the Heads of all Diplomatic Missions gathered here, to extend to you and through you to the people and government of Zimbabwe, our best wishes in the New Year, wishing you and the people of this country, a happy and prosperous 1991.

Comrade President,  
As we are entering a new year, it is customary to examine the achievements made during the past year.

The last year was a great achievement, taking into consideration, the economical, political and social developments. On the economical scene, Zimbabwe continues to conduct its national economical plans with great determination in order to satisfy the basic needs of the Zimbabwean people.

Zimbabwe, with its infrastructure and the realistic and reasonable economical policies, managed to survive despite the world economic crisis.

Zimbabwe's policies towards trade liberalization and the land issue, reflects clearly the practical and realistic policy adopted by your government towards achieving better life and ensuring equality in sharing the wealth of the country and providing a policy of economical stability.

Comrade President,  
Your country's position in respect to the international political developments and the role played by yourself and Zimbabwe on international level, reflects clearly the principled stand policies adopted by your country.

Zimbabwe's active involvement and participation in the United Nations and its bodies also indicates your interest in promoting peace among all nations.

On the local front, Zimbabwe has managed to maintain a strong political entity with clear political economical objectives.

The successful process which led your government and party to great victory in last year's election, was a clear indication that your proceeding was a reflection of the mature and wise leadership of your cadres and politicians.

Comrade President,  
On the regional front, we fully share with you your concern on the new development in this part of the world. We are fully aware of the nature of the developments in South Africa

The International Community is forcefully demanding the implementation of the resolutions pertaining to the Palestinian question.

Comrade President,  
The prevailing situation in the Gulf is very serious and tragic.

The news emanating daily from the Gulf clearly indicates the nature of the conflict. We are hoping that a realistic solution can be reached to satisfy the needs of the people in that region.

Justice should prevail. International law and legitimacy should be the guideline for issues related to the problems which exist in that region and anywhere else in the world



The struggle for a Palestinian homeland continues

itself and within the frontline states.  
We have witnessed, Comrade President, dramatic political developments. The release of Comrade Mandela and the unbanning of the National Political Parties.

But it is clear that the situation needs more attention, and the apartheid regime still has to recognise the reality of the legitimate national political rights of the black majority and no peace can be achieved without fulfilling the national political aspirations of all the people in South Africa.

Comrade President,  
The new developments which occurred recently in Mozambique is a move in the right direction. We sincerely hope that the situation in Mozambique will lead to a peaceful settlement in which the people of Mozambique will begin to enjoy the freedom of political, economical and social stability.

We also hope that the process in Angola will ensure a settlement in which all the people of that country can determine their destiny and future.

Comrade President,  
In the Middle-East, the denial of the right of the Palestinian people for a homeland continues despite the peace initiatives and the numerous United Nations Resolutions. Israel still continue to reject all the peace initiatives aimed at a peaceful settlement to the conflict.

We are confident that sincere and genuine efforts towards satisfying all the parties concerned could lead to a comprehensive and just settlement to this crisis.

Comrade President,  
Our people need peace. We need dialogue among our nations. The world today is changing dramatically. No doubt we may have different aspirations and objectives, but we are living to determine our own destiny and objectives.

It is time for us to work together towards consolidating a genuine peace for our children and our future generation.

Our people are starving for peace and freedom. Let us work hand-in-hand towards development and prosperity.

Comrade President, Colleagues,  
Let us hope to make the year 1991, as I have always said, a year of love, kindness and forgiveness. A year of peace to all mankind, whoever they are and whatever they are.

Comrade President Mugabe,  
We wish you and the people and government of Zimbabwe, a prosperous 1991. Continue your great efforts towards building a strong Zimbabwe and we shall continue to support you and the people of this country.

Thank you.

## Zimbabwe stand on Palestine unwavering — S. Nkomo

The following is a full text of the speech given by the Zanu PF Secretary for External Affairs, Cde. Stephen Nkomo, on the occasion of the 26th anniversary of the Palestinian National Day

I am greatly honoured to join you, Ambassador Halimeh and your distinguished guests as you celebrate the 26th anniversary of your national day. This is an important occasion for your people. It is a moment for reflection, and rededicating yourselves to the struggle for the achievement of national self-determination for the Palestinian people. For the people of Zimbabwe, it is a time to reaffirm our solidarity with you and to reiterate our continued and unwavering support for your struggle.

Your Excellency, the people of Palestine have made many concrete and irreversible achievements which bring them closer to victory. Of note is the historic declaration of an independent state of Palestine on 15 November, 1988 which marked an important turning point in the Palestinian struggle. Arising from that historic declaration, the PLO committed itself to attaining its objectives by peaceful means and took many positive steps in that direction. However, in spite of



Comrade Stephen Nkomo, ZANU PF Secretary for External Affairs

the PLO's diplomatic initiatives in which it extended an olive branch of peace to Israel, that country has continued to perpetrate acts of brutality against the Palestinian people. We deplore this wanton disregard for human life and call upon Israel to abide by the provisions of the Geneva Conventions with regard to the treatment of civilian popula-

tions under military occupation.

Zimbabwe fully sympathises with the intifadah which is currently raging in the occupied territories. The International Community cannot continue to tolerate the acts of brutality that are daily perpetrated against Palestinian civilians by Israeli troops. The people of Zimbabwe have great admiration for the gallant Palestinians who daily confront heavily armed Israeli troops with nothing but stones, their courage and resolve. If a peaceful solution is to be found, there can be no substitute to the convening of an international conference on the Middle East at which the PLO will participate as the sole and authentic representative of the Palestinian people.

May I take this opportunity to reiterate Zimbabwe's continued and unflinching support for the Palestinian people and to wish them victory in their struggle. On that note may I invite you to join me in a toast to;

- the personal good health of President Yasser Arafat
- to continued friendship between the people of Zimbabwe and the people of Palestine;
- to international peace and security

Thank you

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## CZI Open Letter

You will be aware from the Press that, just before Christmas last year, I issued a Statement on the subject of the Constitutional Amendment Bill.

Much of the Press coverage on the subject, both overseas and locally, was based on speculative and sometimes emotive interpretations and I felt it was necessary to try to dispel the rumour mongering and alarm surrounding the passage of the Bill through Parliament. It was also felt that our Members would expect CZI to clarify the position of the Bill with regard to the compulsory acquisition of property, in particular.



CZI president Mr. John Deary.

We have established the full legal import of the Bill and following consultations with Ministers and Senior Government Officials. I do not believe that there is any intention on the part of Government to 'grab property' whether it be factories, productive commercial farming land or any other property.

There are, without doubt, clauses in the new Act which give rise to concern. They centre primarily around the fact that although the amendment, as in the Constitution, refers to property in its widest sense, including land, it goes on to specify all the acceptable provisions for the acquiring of property, including the provision "for any other purpose". Furthermore, the amendment provides for the exclusion of the right to question in any court the fairness of compensation provided in respect of any land which is to be compulsorily acquired. Doubtless, it is through exploiting the broadest interpretation of these clauses that misunderstandings have arisen.

In interpreting the law, we are informed, all the purport of the law and the prevailing circum-

(continued on page 11)

## "Human resources development an urgent programme"

Speech by His Excellency  
the President of the  
Republic of Zimbabwe,  
Cde. R.G. Mugabe  
on the occasion

of the official opening of the Westgate  
Vocational Training Centre, Bulawayo: 18  
January 1991

I feel greatly honoured to have been invited as guest of honour on this important occasion marking the official opening of Westgate Vocational Training Centre. Since the attainment of our Independence, Government has laid great emphasis on education, recognising that it is the cornerstone of our general development. In this context, we also recognise that the development of human resources is crucial to national development, social and political transformation. None of us here today can deny the urgency we attach to developing our human resources potential. The world we live in, with its economic constraints and vast economic contradictions, political and social dislocations, demands that we equip our citizens with the knowledge and skills necessary for both their own survival and the overall development of Zimbabwe.

However, it is also recognised that knowledge and skills are not in themselves sufficient. A commitment from the people to fully utilise the skills for the good of the nation is vital. But, before we can build a skilled workforce, we must establish centres and institutions where our training, ideas and concepts can take concrete shape and be tested to the full. Westgate is, indeed, one of such vocational centres.

The vocational centres cater for those workers who have a wealth relevant on the job experience in their respective trades but lack the benefit of formal training. In this way, we are able to net all those who can effectively make a contribution to our country's development in given skills areas. The report that has just been given by the head of the centre indicates that our expectations and aspirations are being fulfilled with the passing of each year. I am also informed that we now have 18 200 graded skilled workers waiting for upgrade training through the vocational centres, suggesting a significant pool of as yet unrecognised skilled manpower in our country.

At this stage, allow me to thank very profoundly, the French Government and their agency, MECAFORM for their assistance, which has enabled us to construct beautiful extensions and to equip the centre with the most modern equipment. Their assistance is



Comrade President R.G. Mugabe

a true testimony of strong friendship between France and Zimbabwe.

In 1988, Government, realising the importance of a more coherent approach to tertiary human resources development, amalgamated all tertiary institutions, previously under the Ministries of Education and Labour, Manpower Planning and Social Welfare, into the Ministry of Higher Education and Technology which was tasked with the responsibility to organise vocational, technical and university education.

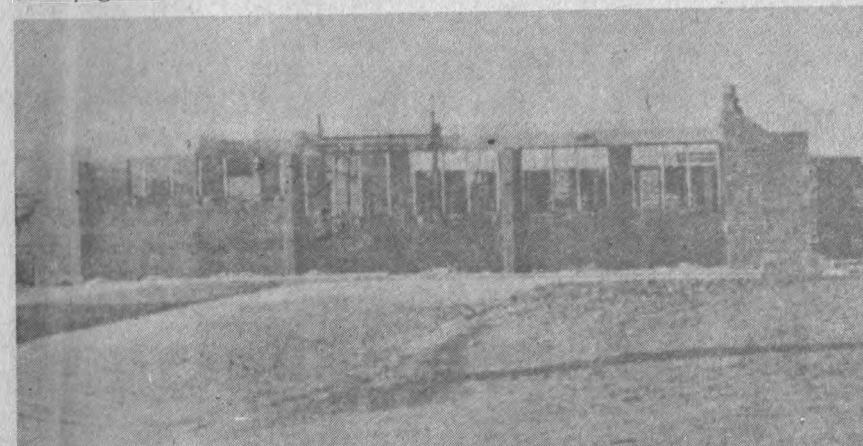
I am happy to announce that the Ministry of Higher Education and Technology has now ensured that all tertiary education is so organized and structured that anyone or any organisation with a training centre/institution, whether public or private, gives nationally recognised courses. Furthermore, legislation to govern and control higher education in Zimbabwe, to establish private universities and to facilitate the establishment of a National Examinations Council and Higher Education Authority, has been passed by parliament. These measures will remove some of the frustrations hitherto experienced by some graduates and private authorities.

In carrying out our rationalization programme, we shall remain sensitive to the needs of the non-formal sector and adult education which do not demand formal academic requirements. These sectors need specially-designed programmes specifically tailored to meet the needs of the relevant target groups. Such programmes can be mounted at the technical/vocational institutions. The measures underway will also ensure that our industrial sectors are continuously supplied with qualified skilled workers who are efficient and dedicated.

(continued on page 11)

## "Human resources development an urgent programme"

From page 10



Building of training colleges remains one of government's top priorities

I am informed that the Ministry is encouraging its technical institutions, including Westgate Vocational Training Centre, to establish college advisory councils which will facilitate dialogue and consultations on human resources development matters. It is now up to employers to ensure that those training organs serve their purpose since they will need appropriately trained manpower as businesses expand and as our structural adjustment programme paves the way for them to compete with more and more outsiders both externally and here at home.

At University level, Government has now

authorised the establishment of the National University of Science and Technology (NUST) in Bulawayo. For the time being, however, (i.e. 1991) NUST will be housed in buildings attached to existing local institutions, such as the Bulawayo Polytechnic, United College of Education and other convenient public structures that have been identified. This is obviously only a temporary arrangement. The University should as soon as possible be located and established in all respects at its designated site. It is hoped that the proposed university will go a long way in meeting our scientific and technological needs.

Given Government's plans for the practical realisation of widespread and diversified manpower development and training, the whole nation is called upon to assist us to ensure that all technical colleges produce disciplined, efficient and skilled cadres. The centre we are opening today is expected to contribute to the purposeful skill formation that should eliminate our hitherto excessive dependence on imported skills.

My Government is very concerned about the current school-leaver unemployment problem, and views it as a direct challenge. We have already taken decisions to tackle the problem, including those relating to secondary school curriculum reform, aimed at ensuring that even those who are still at school acquire skills which will turn them into assets to our nation upon leaving school. We are, accordingly, moving rapidly to rationalise technical/vocational education vertically and horizontally so that even technical high schools have a curriculum covering industrial arts and foundation programmes whose elements can be transferred to the upper levels of training. Hence, those of you graduating today have this as a challenge which can impel you to aspire to greater heights of the new structure when this has been fully established.

It is now my pleasure to declare Westgate Vocational Centre officially open.

Thank you.

### CZI open letter — From page 10

stances have to be taken into account to an extent where these place upon the legislation itself structures with regard to interpretation which do not allow for total and liberal interpretation. We are therefore confident the extreme interpretation of the clauses in question should not be an issue. Zimbabwe's track record since independence stands out as an example to the rest of the world of a government's firm adherence to principles and commitments.

The assurances and commitments given by government in respect of its intentions with regard to property are such as to convince CZI that it is not government's wish to displace from property, including land, any productive owner. At the same time, government's need to implement a practicable and workmanlike resettlement programme is fully recognised.

A government which had embarked upon major structural economic adjustment with the intention of redressing its economic and unemployment problems would surely not jeopardise such a programme.

The basic issue at stake here is the economic welfare of the nation and the crisis of unemployment. It is inconceivable that government would in any way jeopardise the adjustment programme through irresponsibility.

ble compulsory property or land acquisition.

For example, the contribution of agriculture to exports, both directly and via the manufacturing sector, where linkages are well developed, is a matter of record and has been widely acknowledged. Zimbabwe's ability not only to feed itself but also to assist in the food programme of the entire SADCC region has earned it an enviable reputation as well as international awards such as that for a sustainable end to hunger. It is beyond belief that government would want to impair this status.

It would certainly have been possible at this time for CZI to stand back from this issue, since industry is not, by our interpretation, primarily affected by the Bill but we are very much concerned with the 'knock-on' effects that the legislation has both in terms of the investment element and the general morale of the private sector as a whole. Not the least of our concern is a desire to ensure that the issue is not seen to be, as a result of interpretation, a conflict between the private enterprise sector, or even elements within the sector as a whole and government.

Yours sincerely

J A Deary  
President

## Marketing Handicrafts

By Phineas Ngarava

(Legal and Statutory Matters)

Marketing means "product promotion, distribution, selling, advertising, product public relations and information services".

Handicrafts are commodities made by hand or with simple basic tools. Handicrafts are items such as basketry, pottery, clothing, knitting, jewellery, leather goods, crochet, stone sculpture and wood carvings. These items have commercial value.

Zimbabwean handicrafts, a result of traditional skills passed from generation to generation, are rich and diverse. They have led to progressive development of the rural communities.

(continued on page 12)



# Marketing Handicrafts

From page 11

Handicraft skills are evident. However a comprehensive marketing strategy of handicraft products is lacking. (Marketing strategy is a technique used to determine consumer demand for goods (handicrafts) and also to determine possible sales and distributions of the same. The desire to market their products led handicraft producers to express an idea of a comprehensive marketing technique.

## Marketing strategy

Marketing principles are universal. They apply to all industries inclusive of handicraft industries. The first step in adopting any marketing technique or strategy for a product, (Such as handicrafts) is to determine the demand for this product, the ways and means of selling and distributing it, bearing in mind competitive prices and product quality.

Below are basics of marketing techniques applicable to handicraft business in Zimbabwe:

- Marketing research
- Promotions
- Distribution
- product development
- quality control and
- pricing

## Market Research

Is the obtaining of facts relating to marketing possibilities and prospects. It is done to collect information about the market and the consumer of handicrafts.

Consumer research involves a process of learning about the preferences of consumers. With handicrafts in mind, market research was recently done. The research was targeted at industrial countries as potential markets of Zimbabwean handicrafts. Printed catalogues with a range of handicraft products, and samples of these, were sent to Japan, Canada, Australia, Western Europe and the United States of America through Zimbabwean Embassies and Trade Missions.

Results of market research indicate a high demand for handicrafts from Zimbabwe which has recently entered the handicraft export business.

## Promotion

Scarcity of resources forced the National Handicraft Centre in Harare to seek financial assistance from foreign donor agencies to enable it to attend international trade fairs in the United Kingdom, Australia and Canada. Exhibitions to promote Zimbabwean handicrafts products were realised. As a result, demand for Zimbabwean pottery, basketry and crochet bags has risen in those countries.

## Distribution

Distribution is a vital part of marketing strategy. It is essential to get the right quality of goods to the market at the right time. However, like many African countries, Zimbabwe has not been able to deliver handicraft products, to overseas importers, in time. This may be attributed to the fact that it is a late entrant to the overseas handicraft market. However a lot still needs to be done in order to establish permanent reputations as an efficient and reliable suppliers of quality handicrafts to overseas importers.

## Product Development

It is necessary to keep up with market trends. Handicraft product development should be



Comrade Phineas Ngarava made part of a marketing strategy to enable handicraft producers to march with



An urgent marketing policy for handicrafts is needed

changing times and knitting, crochet and pottery styles and designs.

## Quality control

is a vital part of any marketing strategy. Shrewd handicraft producers must aim to create good reputation by supplying only good quality products. Over the years, the quality of Zimbabwean handicrafts has been extremely good. However, some producers have recently tried to make quick cash with inferior quality products.

producers competitive prices enabling them to realise a very gross profit margin.

For a successful marketing of handicrafts in Zimbabwe, a comprehensive marketing strategy (technique) encompassing market research, promotion, distribution, product development, quality control and competitive pricing should be developed.

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- 1) *International Code of Marketing of Breast — Milk Substitutes*



Are craftsmen being exploited by foreign traders?

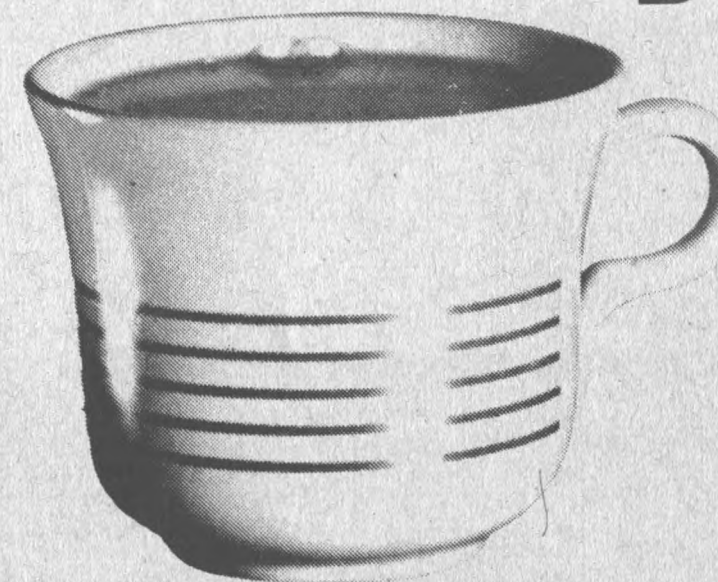
## Pricing

is obviously the most important aspect of marketing techniques. Though profitability is important, handicrafts producers should avoid overpricing their goods to a point where many people will find them too expensive. The National Handicraft Centre in Harare has been able to pay handicraft

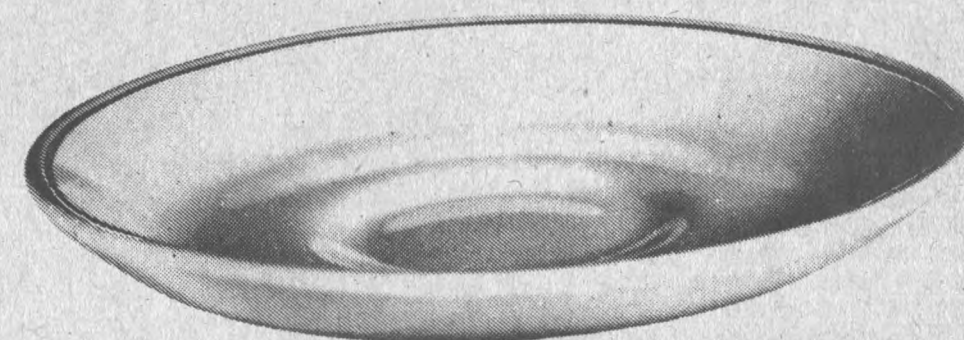
World Health Organisation, Geneva, 1981, page 15.

- 2) *Marketing Techniques — Paper Presented by Mr. S. Chirisa of the National Handicraft Centre at a Seminar for Women National Leaders held at Ruwa Training Centre from 24 — 28 October 1990.*

# Bright, Fresh Tanganda



## For Every Uplifting Occasion



## UP UP, IT LIFTS YOU UP



## ZPSC sends message of Condolence



The Chairman of the Zimbabwe-Palestine Solidarity Committee, Comrade David Karimanzira



Comrade Salah Khalf (Abu Ayad)

The Zimbabwe/Palestine Solidarity Committee has expressed profound sorrow and grief at the recent murder of PLO's Vice President and his colleagues in Tunis.

"It is with profound shock and grief that we received news of the tragedy of brothers Abu Ayad, Abu Al-Houl and brother Al-Omary," read part of the message sent by the Solidarity Committee to the President of the State of Palestine, His Excellency Cde. Yasser Arafat.

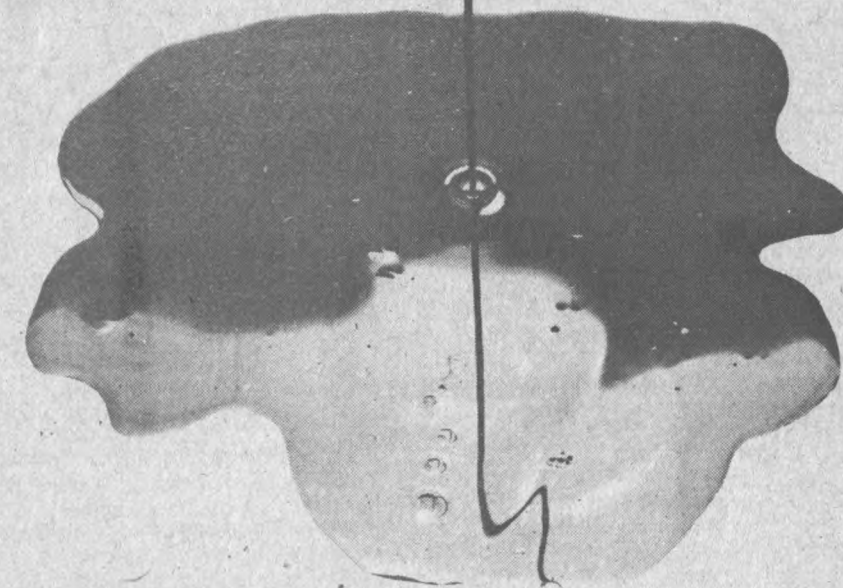
In a separate condolences message signed by Cde. David Karimanzira, Chairman of the Zimbabwe/Palestine Solidarity Committee, a call was made to all peace-loving people of the world to bring about peace and justice to the struggling people of Palestine fighting to free themselves from Zionist Israeli rule. "It remains our unwavering objective to defeat all forces of evil and to press for the withdrawal of Israel from the occupied land of Palestinians," said part of the Chairman's messages.

Cde. Karimanzira also called on all progressive people and forces to unite for a lasting victory of justice for the Palestinian people while the Solidarity Committee concluded by saying that "our martyrs will not shed their precious blood in vain."



Comrade Hayd Abdel Hamid (Abu Al-Hovl), sitting on Comrade Yasser Arafat's right

ZIMBABWE NEWS JANUARY/FEBRUARY 1991



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# One Party or Pluralism

Various articles have appeared this year in our press concerning One Party and Pluralist systems of Government. But the various arguments raised did not refer to our local situation but with reference with what was taking place in Eastern Europe. Europe went through different stages. At the inception of European Nationalism there was a strong feeling for the establishment of strong governments. This was typical during the period of Mercantilism. Hence the advocacy of divine rights and infallibility. The motives for these ideas were to reduce dissent in order that the country moves in one direction to build the nation. Did it pay? Yes, it paid. Europe developed and she outstripped Africa, despite some human weaknesses which necessitate the move towards pluralism but it took quite a long time before the arrival of Pluralism and so did North America — all of them had developed to the stage of National Capitalism.

Africa was colonised when her people were still in the communal stage of development. Unlike colonialism in Asia which took the form of indirect rule with the locals maintaining their own traditions, values and norms. In Africa colonialism largely took the form of direct rule with the aim to suppress the African tradition, values and norms and replace them by colonial values and norms. Instead of Africa extracting those traits that had been motivational in making her move to the communal stage and establish ourselves as a nation we are being preoccupied with events taking place elsewhere. Because Eastern Europe is moving to pluralism, Africa must also move to pluralism. The fact that Eastern Europe has moved from communalism to capitalism and then to socialism is not appreciated and the fact that Africa has not passed through the above stages save from communalism to dependence syndrome under colonialism.

When Africa was colonized there were no parties. Parties have only existed in Africa within the last 60 years or less. Can Africa be able to handle the luxury of pluralism with less than 10 per cent her population desiring pluralism whereas over 90 per cent of her population is concerned with the basic needs and nor does the 90 per cent understand the politics of today riddled with opportunism and double standards. Africa at this stage needed a genuine committed leadership under the influence of a peoples' one-party state. By the peoples one party, I mean a one party that emerges as a result of consensus. Consensus can be arrived at when there is a general agreement of opinions and establish common goals in terms of what the majority wants, that is food, shelter, clothing, security, transport et cetera. Most of one-party states in Africa were not by consensus but by imposition instigated largely by former colonial powers to thwart out any future progressive opposition groups for the



The plight of the homeless needs urgent redress

continuation of dependence syndrome.

At the moment there is a world of difference between what the 10 per cent of the population desires and the 90 percent. 90

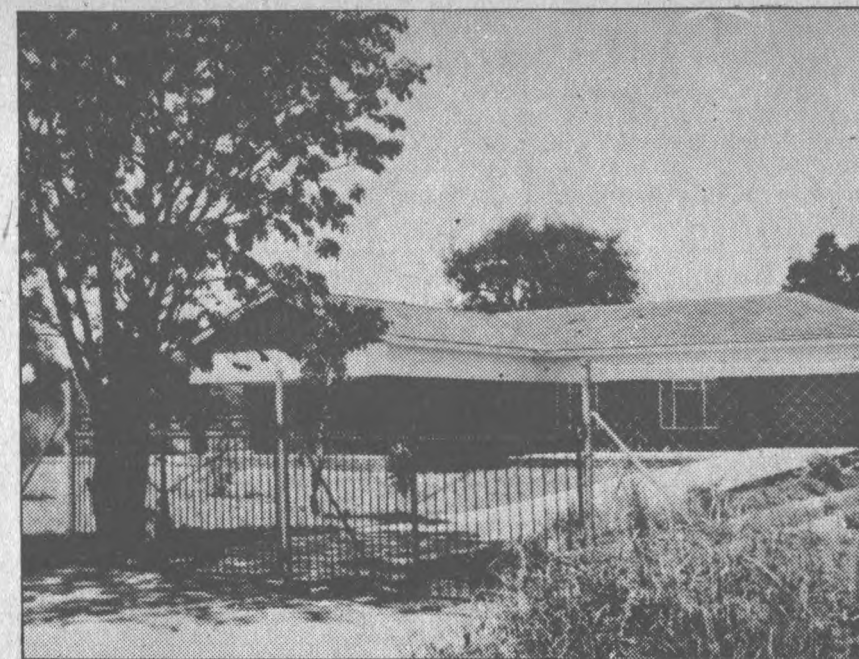
per cent of the population do not understand the politics of today but are merely being used as objects of manipulation by the 10 per cent of the population. The two groups objectives in life can be analysed as follows:-

Item	Objectives of 10%	Objectives of 90%
Land	To acquire land as a symbol of success & speculation.	To acquire land for ploughing to feed their families.
House	To acquire a big house for social functions	To acquire a house to shelter him & family
Clothing	To acquire most expensive suits and dresses.	To acquire necessary clothes for him and family
Food	To feed with expensive taste	To acquire food for survival
Transport	To own a car of latest model	To embark on buses to & from work at reasonable prices at the right time without long queues.
Politics	To exercise his brain on new and borrowed ideas	Bread and butter politics
Culture	Confused with foreign culture	Simple and basic
Decision	Makes decision within the framework of internationalism.	Makes decision based on local environment
Security	Needs peace to enjoy.	Needs peace for survival.
Share of National cake	60% of wealth in hands of 10% e.g. 60 bags of maize are in the hands of 10 people.	40% of wealth in hands of 90% e.g. 40 bags of maize are in the hands of 90 people.

From the above objectives, the interests of 90% of the population are down to earth and are based on local environment and therefore can easily be satisfied through a committed one party or a national Government which is preoccupied with the satisfaction of the basic needs. The interests of the 10 percent of the population are based both on local and external factors and are disposed to pluralism. If pluralism is allowed to operate in the absence of national capital, it means that the various parties will have to dance to the tune of foreign capital; thus reinforcing the dependence syndrome of the colonial era.

## Conclusion

Africa still needs all her manpower, brains et cetera in one basket in order to build unity and revamping her national identity and heritage. A national approach is needed at the moment without resorting to legislation for a one-party state. The decision by ZANU PF not to legislate for a one-party state is welcome.



The rich are getting richer

## No retreat to capitalism

By G.P. Chanetsa

I would like to begin on the premise that every society, country or political party in the world must reserve the right to alter its ideological position when it sees it fit and necessary particularly as it has to take into consideration certain concrete conditions and realities that are peculiar to it. This has always been ZANU (PF)'s position which is founded on historical reasons that we should now not lose sight of.

When Marshall Tito opted for his brand of socialism in Yugoslavia, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union branded him a heretic and as you know this soured the relations between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. The same trend happened in the case of China and you are well aware of the contradictions that have characterised the relations of the two countries up until President Gorbachev came onto the scene. In our case, ZANU (PF) was excluded from the group of the "Authentic Six" by the Soviet Union precisely because of what the CPSU perceived as the revisionist tendencies of our party when we adopted Maoism and proclaimed the independence of the party by stating that the application of Marxism, Leninism and Maoism in Zimbabwe would be done in the context of our economic, social, cultural and political realities. Taking such an independent position was to sour our relations with the Soviet Union and in many ways can help to explain the difficulties we experienced in establishing normal political and diplomatic relations with the USSR.

Perestroika to me is an antithesis of the rigid ideological position that has characterised the Soviet Union in the past seventy

years. Underpinning this ideological shift is the acknowledgement that scientific socialism based on Marxism-Leninism was developed in a theoretical framework that explained the social realities of the times of its authors. So much has happened since those times and there are many questions and demands being put to us (societies) by life that such a framework now fails to answer. I believe that ZANU (PF) has been right in emphasizing the need for each society to consider certain social realities when applying any sort of ideology. This was heresy as far as the CPSU of the yester-year was concerned.

But Perestroika, far from separating us from the Soviet Union, brings our positions even closer. We can applaud ourselves as a party for winning the struggle against ideological rigidity as exemplified by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Perestroika is not an abandonment of socialism. It represents in my view what our Party has always stood for; that is the principle that each society must have the right to have its own brand of socialism which leaves room for certain variations that suit its own conditions. Such a position leaves each society with a door open for it to borrow ideas from others which are a requisite for its own progress.

Zimbabwe has so far done admirably in this regard. We have resisted being cornered into an ideological quagmire from which it would have been embarrassing to come out of. Our comrades in Mozambique and Angola, just as an example, must feel awful by the 360 degrees they have had to move from

their acclaimed ideological beliefs.

I believe that history creates opportunities and that it's up to politicians to seize these opportunities. What has happened in the world, that is the ending of the cold war, as a result of perestroika is indeed historical. We have indeed played our part by taking the principled position that we did. The Soviet Union has accepted our reality and is it not foolhardy to criticise them for this? Isn't this new understanding in the Soviet Union what we have always said! Should we not be informing our followers about the wisdom of our leadership? By dwelling on the past particularly engaging in cold war rhetoric about the pros and cons of capitalism or socialism, are we not in danger of being left behind by a world that is changing at a dizzying speed.

We have to adjust to the realities of a new world that has come into being because of perestroika. These realities assert themselves largely irrespective of our will. We may be making mistakes by underestimating the depth and scale of these changes. The picture of the future world has been put together by the changes of 1990 and we have the duty to future generations to seize the opportunities and be part of this new world.

A lot has been done in Zimbabwe through the application of our own brand of socialism. A lot more has still to be done. Perhaps the reason for the slow pace in implementing our socialist objectives is because up to this point the party has still to provide the theoretical framework for the kind of socialism



we would like to see in Zimbabwe.

It is imperative therefore that the party should at every stage of development of not only our society but the world at large, reappraise its position on important matters. Such a practice would put the party in a better position to make correct and realistic

analysis of the changes that are taking place, thus ensuring that it avoids the dangerous tendency of applying archaic explanations or solutions to current problems.

The party should also begin to make serious efforts of building confidence of our people about the future particularly in an entirely

new world. To achieve this necessarily demands that the party becomes much more forward looking and should call for greater creativity among the people as it seeks to build together with them a socio-economic system that is peculiar to Zimbabweans and which they can all understand and be proud of.

## Alternatives to SAPs could alleviate suffering

By Rebecca Kutumba

*An international coalition concerned with the promotion of economic justice in the Third World has called for viable alternatives to the Structural Adjustment Programmes, which could lessen the present human suffering in debt-ridden countries. The group urges Third World Nations to adopt the African Alternative Framework to Structural Adjustment Programmes, because unlike SAPs, it is interested in the long term economic development in the interests of the majority*

The Ecumenical Coalition for Economic Justice (ECEJ) has appealed to the debt-ridden Third World countries and indeed Canada and Eastern Europe, to adopt viable alternatives to the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank in order to alleviate all the human suffering they entail.

In its latest report 'Recolonisation or Liberation', ECEJ contends that an understanding of these alternatives, and the common challenges posed by SAPs, establishes a base for solidarity between Canadians struggling for justice in their own country and partner groups overseas seeking liberation from recolonisation.

ECEJ is a national project of five Canadian churches (Anglican, Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Presbyterian and United) mandated to assist popular groups and progressive church organisations struggling for economic justice in Canada and the Third World. It advances its objectives through research, popular education and political action.

The 89-page report discusses frankly what it calls 'the bonds of structural adjustment and struggles for emancipation' without any kind word for IMF or World Bank. It examines SAPs from the perspective of those who are made to bear the burden of adjustment. It dwells at length on problems of sub-Saharan Africa.

Tracing the origins of SAPs to the high interest rate the United States imposed on the world in the early 1980s, triggering off the debt crisis, the report describes IMF's role as that of the principal police officer enforcing conditions on debtor countries.

Originally, the report points out that IMF programmes focus on a narrow range of policies aimed at reducing current account deficits. IMF saw the problem as excessive demand in the domestic economy and so it prescribed currency devaluations and cuts in government spending hoping that this will reduce imports and expand exports efficiently to cover external payments over a short period.

When the traditional methods failed, the IMF came out with austerity measures which include: reducing the size of the public sec-

tor through privatisation; eliminating subsidies and other non-market 'price distortion'; and removal of tariffs and non-tariff trade barriers such as quotas.

ECEJ points out that the 1980's are being labeled a 'lost decade' because it saw the greatest transfer of wealth ever from the developing world to external creditors.

"Thanks to IMF policies, the Third World handed over US\$52 billion in debt payments than it received in new credits in 1989 alone, but the total figure from 1982 is US\$240 billion. SAPs facilitated this drain of wealth from south to north," laments the report.

The document regrets that instead of developing their own resources to meet pressing human needs, many Third World economies are literally being 'sapped' — gradually exhausted of their wealth — through conditions imposed by their creditors.

"SAPs have enabled transactional corporations enjoy greater access to cheap raw materials, cheap labour and foreign markets which are the goals of new colonialism. But at what cost have people paid?" poses the report.

SAPs have adversely affected women, children, the disabled and the aged. For example, sub-Saharan Africa spending on health care has declined by 50 percent and 25 percent on education over the last decade. Since 1980, per capita consumption in the region has fallen by one-fifth and employment has declined by 16 percent.

Today, over 30 million Africans are unemployed and 95 million are underemployed. Real wages have fallen by a quarter and over 26 percent of the African children die daily because of malnutrition or lack of rudimentary health care.

After wrecking havoc to human lives, the report declares that SAPs will never succeed as "human capital is a more important factor for achieving economic growth than physical capital."

After dismissing SAPs as a non-starter, ECEJ recommends that the Third World turns to the Economic Commission for Africa's self-reliance strategy contained in the document 'The African Alternative Framework to Structural Adjustment Programmes for Socio-Economic Recovery and Transformation

(AAP). ECEJ emphasizes that AAP is applicable to all debt-ridden nations of Asia, Latin America and Africa.

The report says that unlike the SAPs, the AAP is interested in long-term economic development in the interests of the majority. Servicing the foreign debt is not an end in itself to which other policies are subordinated. AAP sees foreign borrowing as a supplement to the mobilisation of domestic resources.

The report enumerates the specific goals of AAP for economic reliance to include:

- Enabling people to feed themselves by achieving proper balance between production of food for domestic consumption and the production of agricultural exports;
- Lessening import dependence, moving away from the present situation in which too many essential needs, intermediate inputs and capital goods are imported;
- Re-alignment of production patterns with consumption so that people consume more of what is domestically produced in the areas of food, clothing, housing and basic services; and
- Managing debt and debt servicing in order to allocate scarce foreign exchange to development.

The report adds that AAP promotes the idea of popular participation in the programmes which as an instrument of development, provides the impetus to collective commitment for the determination of the people-based development processes and willingness by the people to undertake sacrifices and expand their social energies for its execution.

The report quotes the Arusha declaration of the AAP conference on popular participation: "As an end in itself, popular participation is the fundamental right of the people to fully effectively participate in the determination of the decisions which affect their lives at all levels and at all times."

The report ends by endorsing the statement of the National Council of Christian Churches in Brazil: "The external debt is not just an economic or political problem; it is a question of life or death and therefore, a question of faith in the God of Life." □

# South African whites just want money

By Adam Hochschild

*Adam Hochschild, founder and former Editor of Mother Jones is the author of "The Mirror at Midnight: A South African Journey"*

Sometime this year, representatives of the South African government and the African National Congress, and possibly of other groups as well, will sit down at a table and begin trying to negotiate a new constitution for South Africa.

As these talks approach, South African President F.W. de Klerk loudly proclaims that a new day has dawned, it's time for equal rights for all, every South African will get to vote, and so forth. The rhetoric is marvelous, and it played well at the White House a few weeks ago. But what do white South Africans really want?

The answer is simple, I think. The government ultimately wants to share political power with people of all races, but to keep economic power solidly in white hands. After all the speechmaking is over, this is the shape of the bargain de Klerk will offer the ANC.

The government needs to share political power with blacks because it's the only way to get the world off South Africa's back. The country's economy has been stagnant for 10 years; if the United States, Europe and the Commonwealth remove their economic sanctions, it will be a shot in the arm worth tens of billions of dollars. To satisfy the rest of the world and get those sanctions removed, South Africa needs a new, color-blind constitution.

But this still leaves the problem of the country's wildly unequal distribution of wealth, which is so extreme it makes feudal Europe look like a welfare state. Consider the numbers: White South Africans, who are 13 percent of the population, own 86 percent of the country's land. Still more important, white investors, domestic and foreign, own an estimated 98 percent of it's industry.

When I was last in South Africa some months ago, a newspaper report noted that even the carts from which African vendors sell hot dogs on Johannesburg's sidewalks



South African president F.W. de Klerk

are mostly white-owned. The average white person has an income 10 times that of the average African — and the African is likely to be supporting many more jobless relatives with that wage.

The tree-lined streets and swimming pools of South Africa's white suburbs are often just a mile or two away from the horrendous tin and tarpaper shanty-towns where millions of black people live. A recent, definitive Carnegie study found South Africa to have the most unequal distribution of wealth of the 57 nations of the world for which statistics are available.

Even if South Africa adopted the entire U.S. Constitution tomorrow, it would do little to change all this. President de Klerk has promised to get rid of the law that forbids blacks from owning 86 percent of the land. But that means nothing if they do not have the money to buy it. To even begin to deal with that particular inequity demands much more: a land-reform program that would buy white land and transfer it to black ownership, either private or (as used to be the cus-

tom) communal. For factories, mines and the like something similar is needed: Can South Africa really be called free if whites continue to own 98 percent of it's vast industrial wealth?

It is this kind of redistribution, even in a gradual, measured and moderate way, that white South Africans will resist most strongly.

**The government seems willing to share political power, but not economic power**

Allowing blacks to be cabinet ministers, majors and ambassadors is one thing; turning over to them a farm where a white family has lived for six or seven generations, or a mine that a corporation has owned for 100 years, is quite another.

The most bitter fight in the negotiations over South Africa's new constitution, I predict, will not be over guarantees of votes, free speech and the like. It will be over a clause saying that any government expropriation of property must be at market value. That's the single easiest way for white South Africans to ensure that, no matter who's in parliament, they still own the economy.

Unfortunately, one need look no further than across the border into neighbouring Zimbabwe to see such a bargain in practice. In Zimbabwe today, more than a decade after independence, the government is almost entirely black. But the 1 percent of the population that is white owns roughly half the country's farmland, including most of the best land, and (along with foreign investors) roughly 75 percent of it's industry and commerce. It is the black government, however, that gets blamed by a population disappointed that liberation brought no improvement to its standard of living. When a democratically elected government finally takes over in South Africa, it would be unfortunate if it suffered the same fate. □





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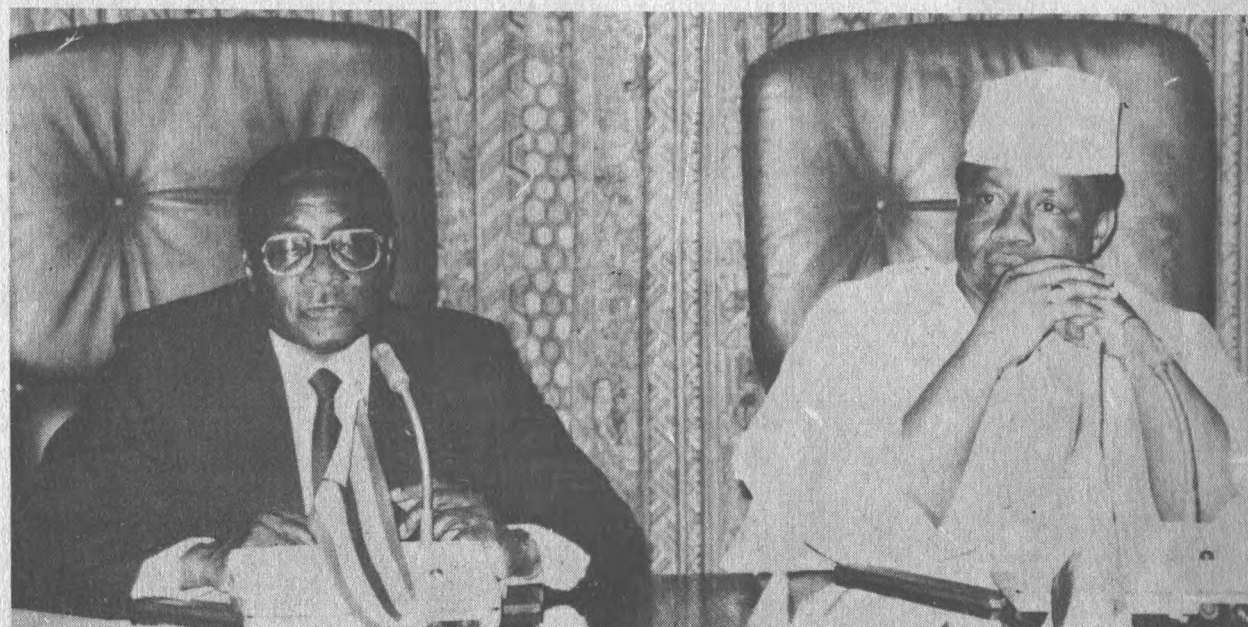
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On arrival in Nigeria, the President, Cde. R.G. Mugabe held a press conference in Lagos. Right is President Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria



Later the two Presidents on behalf of their countries signed a bilateral agreement for cooperation in trade and technical fields



From Nigeria, the President and Amai Sally Mugabe visited Senegal, (left to right): Amai Sally Mugabe, Madame Diouf, Comrade President Mugabe and Comrade President Abdou Diouf of Senegal, at Goree Island, where African slaves were held before being "exported" to Europe and the Americas

## President's tour of West Africa



Comrade President Mugabe and Cde. President Diouf toasting at a banquet hosted by the latter



Comrade President Jerry Rawlings of Ghana welcomes Amai Sally Mugabe and Comrade President Mugabe on their arrival in Ghana



Comrade R.G. 'Mugabe receiving gifts after addressing a public forum at the Teacher's Hall in Accra



# Changes in South Africa: opinions and assessments



ANC deputy president Comrade Nelson Mandela

A year ago at a session of Parliament in Cape Town South African President Frederic de Klerk declared the unbanning of the ANC and a number of other political organisations. Nelson Mandela and other opposition leaders were released from prison. "Talks about talks" began, which should in the long term lead to a fruitful dialogue over the country's political future.

And yet no radical shift towards the democratisation of South Africa has occurred. Why? Vasily Solodovnikov, Vice-Chairman of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, Dr. Andrei Pokrovsky, head of the South Africa sector, Institute of Africa, USSR Academy of Sciences, and Vitaly Churkin, head of the Information Department, USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, answer this question of a Novosti correspondent.

Solodovnikov: "There is clear evidence of the achievements of the policy of Mr. De Klerk's government aimed at liberalising political life in South Africa. But the changes

cannot be described as radical because they have never affected the foundations of the political system of apartheid".

Vasily Solodovnikov expressed concern at the slow pace of the changes in South Africa. "The programme of de Klerk", he said, "has not justified the world community's hopes for a quick dismantling of the obsolete political system".

In his opinion, the slowness of the "reformers" can be understood. They have been facing strong pressure from a significant part of the white community that favours the preservation of apartheid. "But this slowness may ultimately lead to a disruption of the dialogue between the white and black communities", warns Solodovnikov. "And this will signify the beginning of a civil war in South Africa".

And if President and his team really want to avoid such a course of events, they have no option but to abolish the remaining principal laws of apartheid. The abolition of petty apartheid, carried out during the year, can satisfy neither the world public nor the African majority, who insist on creating a non-racial and democratic South Africa in which the "one man, one vote" principle will be observed.

Vasily Solodovnikov does not believe that the year's political changes in South Africa are sufficient for lifting the existing sanctions against Pretoria.

Dr. Andrei Pokrovsky was also very cautious in commenting on the results of the liberation of internal political life in South Africa. "During the past year", he said, "only a number of small steps have been taken which have not led to a radical change of the situation. It is too early to say that the liquidation of apartheid has begun in full in South Africa".

The racial conflict in South Africa remains acute. Negotiations still have not begun between the white and black communities, although consultations are under way between the Government and the ANC. It cannot but make one cautious that they have never got to the essence of the question. The lack of unity in the opposition groups also hinders progress. A tough confrontation between ANC and Inkatha is continuing.

"But at the same time they do harm the South African economy, slowing it down. And this inevitably leads to the growth of unemployment among Africans and a worsening of living standards among non-whites". The Soviet scholar also stressed that many sanctions have long ago become purely formal and therefore they should be lifted.

Vitaly Churkin: "Positive changes have occurred in South Africa during the past year and Moscow welcomes them as a step in the right direction". He recalled that the Soviet

Union had been coming out for a political resolution to the South African conflict, for a dialogue between the government and the black community.

"I must note", the spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry went on to say, "that the USSR has been using its contacts with Pretoria, maintained within the framework of the commission to monitor the settlement of the conflict in South West Africa, to facilitate a political resolution of the problem." Mr. Churkin expressed the hope that the government of de Klerk will not stop at what has been achieved and will continue the pursuit of political reforms, which will ultimately lead to the liquidation of the apartheid system. At the same time Vitaly Churkin reaffirmed Moscow's solidarity with the ANC and other anti-racist organisations, now operating legally as political opposition to the government.

As a result of the unstable domestic situation and de Klerk's clear indecision, our hopes for sweeping political changes in South Africa have not materialised.

But unlike Vasily Solodovnikov, Andrei



Flashback: The massacre at Sharphville in March 1960 led to the banning of the African National Congress of South Africa

Pokrovsky favoured the lifting of the sanctions imposed by the International Community against South Africa. "The sanctions

may have induced the Government of de Klerk to hope vigorous actions to end apartheid," he says.

## Proposals for a South West Indian Ocean and Southern Africa Nuclear Free Zone Treaty

By Paul Berenger, Secretary General of the Mauritius Militant Movement

Mr. P. Berenger, General Secretary of the MMM in Mauritius, and adviser to the Prime Minister, taking note of Article VI of the 1968 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), which recognises the right of any group of states to conclude regional treaties so as to assure the total absence of nuclear weapons in their respective territories, suggests that the idea of an Indian Ocean Nuclear Free Zone Treaty incorporating all the Indian Ocean States would be a non-starter because of the rivalry between India and Pakistan, China's privileged status as a Nuclear weapon state and because Israel is not a party to the NPT.

Following international press reports that South Africa and the Frontline States would be signing the NPT in the near future, he proposes that what should be aimed at is a South West Indian Ocean and Southern Africa Nuclear Free Zone Treaty which would consist of the Sovereign States of the Indian Ocean Commission of which comprise Mauritius, Madagascar Seychelles (which are already parties to the 1968 NPT) and Comoros and the Southern African States of Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana, (which are also parties to the 1968 NPT) and Mozambique, Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa.

Attached to this Treaty, prohibiting the acquisition, control, manufacture, stationing and testing nuclear weapons and devices by any signatory as well as the dumping of ra-

dio active waste in the seas of the zone, would be Protocols which would:

- i) invite France to key provisions of the Treaty to its territories within the zone.
- ii) seek undertakings from the five Nuclear Weapon States not to use or threaten the use of nuclear weapons against a party to the Treaty and
- iii) get assurances from the Nuclear Weapon states that they will not station nuclear weapons or test nuclear explosive devices within the zone.

The Zone covered by the Treaty would extend from the frontiers of Namibia and South Africa to the Chagos Archipelago and the Islands of Rodrigues, Mauritius and Reunion and the issue of the UK Sovereignty over the Chagos Archipelago and the French sovereignty over Tromelin, the iles eparses and Mayotte would not be raised in the Treaty.

He suggests that the States of the Indian Ocean Commission should take the first step towards such a treaty. This would be followed by getting South Africa's neighbours to join the initiative and then getting South Africa itself on board and then the setting up of a working group to prepare the treaty itself. The final step would be a meeting of Heads of State or Government which would endorse the text of the Treaty and open it and its Protocols for signature.

## Frank discussion of Arab-African relations by Ethiopian leader

On November 9, 1990, the Ethiopian President, Mengistu Haile-Mariam, gave an interview to a correspondent of an Israeli newspaper, Micha Odenheimer of the Jerusalem Post. Earlier in the year Ethiopia established diplomatic relationships with Israel. The interview covered a wide range of issues on the relations between Arabs and Africans. The questions and answers are published below:



President Mengistu Haile Mariam of Ethiopia

QUESTION: What kind of relationship would you like with Israel?

ANSWER: There have been long-standing relations between Ethiopia and Israel. Diplomatic relations between the two countries were interrupted for 17 years — not as a result of any problem that arose between Ethiopia and Israel.

The source of the problem between our two countries always springs from a third country, from other forces. The chronic problem between Israel and the Arab nations has been an unfortunate element which has contributed to this.

At present, the situation has changed. One important change is the African countries decision to restore their diplomatic relations with Israel. Personally, I see no reason why we should inhibit African countries from doing so. The other positive development was the effect of glasnost and perestroika, this has changed the attitude of the socialist countries themselves to Israel.

Having said that, I can't say that there are no problems. (Restored relations) have made the anti-Israel forces even more vociferous against us. Though Israel has restored its relations with many African countries, that

Ethiopia has relations with Israel is regarded as unprecedented and has put us under undue pressure from these forces.

These forces define this relationship with Israel as very dangerous and one that portends great danger for the Arab countries. Since the restoration of relations with Israel this has been evidenced by their clear support for our enemies — particularly by Iraq and Libya.

QUESTION: Did Israel make a commitment to stand by you and help you if there was such a negative response?



**ANSWER:** Throughout the years when diplomatic relations between the two countries were broken, links were maintained between Ethiopia and Israel, and pressure was brought to bear by Israel for the restoration of this.

Our response was that the problem did not lie between our two countries — there was no question that we wanted each other. But there were problems that must be taken into account. The Arab factor, in particular. The response of Israel was that the hostility of the Arab countries would always be there, against Ethiopia and Israel, regardless of whether we had diplomatic ties, and that this common factor, which was hostile to both of us, would be tackled in common by Israel and Ethiopia. This was the signal that was consistently given to us by Israel.

**QUESTION:** Has Israel failed to respond adequately?

**ANSWER:** Not only has Israel failed to help but we wonder whether Israel has a clear concept of the problem we are facing.

**QUESTION:** What kind of relationship between Ethiopia and Israel do you want?

**ANSWER:** It is quite clear that if we want to live peacefully in the region, we have to work together with our friends, and align ourselves against our common enemies.

This is not my personal vision, this is something that everybody in Ethiopia expects to happen — the Party, the Government, the people — everybody wants to see this alliance.

Wild allegations are already circulating about the restored relations between Ethiopia and Israel. Some Arab countries alleged that the Israeli army is already in Ethiopia fighting alongside the Ethiopian army, that host of Israeli Engineers is already on Ethiopian soil, to construct a huge dam on the Blue Nile and stop the Nile from flowing into Egypt and Sudan and so on.

There isn't a single Israeli soldier in Ethiopia: in fact, (The Israeli Embassy does not even have a Military Attache).

If we were the recipients of all that the Arabs imagine, we would not mind, they could say what they want. But since we do not stand to benefit, why should we suffer? We wonder whether the Israeli leadership is really sensitive to our situation.

**QUESTION:** Many people see the Gulf Crisis as the first test of a new world order. What do you feel the stakes are in the Crisis?

**ANSWER:** It appears quite clear that Iraq, obsessed with its idea of national renaissance, has entirely overlooked the realities in neighbouring countries and in the whole world.

If we analyze the policy and path pursued by the Bath Path, it clearly underlines three important aspects — Arab Nationalism, Religion and Expansionism. They are drawing a map, an Arab World Map.

This new Arab world includes some parts of Africa, and parts of Ethiopia. Israel does not figure in this map. It has been the

professed objective of the Bath Party to turn this map into reality.

Of the leaders that have emerged in that part of the world, Saddam Hussein is clearly characterized by undue adventurism and ambition. Iraq is one of the countries — perhaps the country — that is responsible for all the problems we have in terms of national unity. The truth is that we have been fighting a war or a proxy war here for the past 30 years, and Iraq has the entire time, been present on the side of our enemies.

It does not appear to us that the objectives of the Iraqi invasion would be limited to Kuwait. It is quite clear that it has plans to invade countries beyond that. As a matter of fact, Kuwait may be taken as a stepping stone in this adventurist campaign. The whole objective of course, is to make the Arab dream the Arab map a reality.

If Iraqi expansionism is not checked, the situation will further deteriorate. The objective in checking Iraqi expansionism is not only forcing Iraq to disgorge Kuwait. The last-



The Sudanese People's Liberation Army leader, Cde. John Garang — fighting domination

ing solution lies in forcing Iraq to abandon its expansionist and adventurist plan regarding its neighbours and the world.

**QUESTION:** Has the Gulf Crisis affected your battle against the rebel forces within Ethiopia?

**ANSWER:** The present crisis may be said to have a beneficial effect for Ethiopia because Iraq has been the traditional supplier of arms, or the mainstay of the supply for the insurgents. Now, with the UN embargo, they are not in a position to supply arms generously to the insurgents. But that is not the question. In the long run, the situation with Iraq must be checked.

**QUESTION:** Will the embargo on Iraq help bring the rebel forces to the negotiating table?

**ANSWER:** Yes, this can be helpful.

**QUESTION:** What will it take to bring peace?

**ANSWER:** (The rebels) are nothing but merce-

naries. What must be realized is that Egypt, Sudan and some of the countries of East Africa are entirely dependent on Ethiopia for their water. And they know very well that one day, when this country sets itself to the task of developing its economy, it will harness this water. Eighty-four percent of the water resources of our neighbouring countries comes from Ethiopia. They owe their life to Ethiopia. Their agriculture, their industry, their energy comes from the water of Ethiopia.

So they see to it that Ethiopia does not emerge as a strong country: money, resources, are pumped into perpetually debilitating Ethiopia. As long as we remain in the world, hydropolitics will stay a constant factor. As therefore, of necessity, war will remain a constant factor.

Our enemies in the past have conducted over 100 invasions of Ethiopia in efforts to control our resources — the rivers of Ethiopia. They have failed. Now they have introduced a proxy war. These bandits are rich. A bandit chief, I am sure, lives a much better life than I do, because they are all on an Arab payroll.

And besides the permanent issue of hydropolitics and the Arab drive and desire to control resources, there is also the constant factor of the Islamization of Africa. The one country which has effectively blocked this for centuries is Ethiopia, and so they are very angry about this.

They would like to see Ethiopia cleared out of the way of the Arab sweep. And the other thing is that the Arabs have openly said that the Red Sea is an Arab Lake, and Ethiopia has over 1 000 nautical miles of the Red Sea coast.

In order to realize this objective it is in their interest to create, on Ethiopia's littoral, an Arab state, which will let them realize their objective of making the Red Sea an Arab Lake.

The idea to keep up the military pressure on Ethiopia. It's not only that. The Arabs have considerable leverage on world financial institutions. For example, when we apply for credit to build a minor dam for one of our rivers, they have the force to stop that project by lobbying at the financial institution, and carrying with them the Europeans and the Americans.

We will surely overcome (These problems) at the end of the day, not because of the amount of arms, or money which is at our disposal but because of the awareness of our people. And with this we will overcome the situation, as Israel did.

Incidentally, without trying to embarrass you, I have great respect for what Israel has achieved in forcing the enemy to recognize its existence. I know what it takes for a tiny country such as Israel, entirely surrounded, to force the enemy to accept the reality of the existence of Israel: We have great respect and admiration for what you have achieved. And our wish is incidentally, to benefit from this solid experience that you have accumulated in the course of decades of defending

yourself. That is exactly what I mean by cooperation between our two countries, because this is, so to speak, a virgin land, a promised land, which we can develop by our cooperation.

We have not totally neglected the development of our economy. We have identified our weak and strong points. It is exactly because we have completed this phase of identification and were about to move into the stage of implementation that the heavy enemy pressure came. It was coordinated and synchronized. The Soviet Union and the Socialist countries are not in Ethiopia anymore. The western world is not providing Ethiopia with assistance. Ethiopia is entirely alone. This was the golden opportunity to strike.

**QUESTION:** Is Ethiopia moving away from Marxism and towards more western economic and political systems?

**ANSWER:** We were convinced that the introduction of socialism would bring about rapid development in the country, and this would force all nationalists to work together. We were convinced that religious and ethnic aspirations would no longer be the overriding concern. The measure we took at the time — introducing socialism, has helped our country hold together, it has helped avert the danger of disintegration.

Had we not taken that step, the situation in Ethiopia would have been quite different. Because at the time we did not have the military resources to ward off the combined attack on Ethiopia of Somalia, Sudan, and the secessionist forces.

But now of course, situations have developed quite differently.

In the first place, the cold war is coming to an end, the superpowers have found ways and means to bridge their traditional differences. And the other important development is what has happened within the socialist countries. We had to take these dramatic developments into account.

It was on the basis of the assessment we have made of these developments that we have introduced a mixed economy in our country and restructured our party into a nonideological party. This is not just empty rhetoric. We have taken already concrete steps.

In fact, I could say that the measures we have taken are more far-reaching than any country has taken. And yet it is unfortunate to note that in spite of our widespread liberalizations, in spite of the efforts we have taken to come closer to the world than we even have in the past, the response (from the West) has not been satisfactory.

**QUESTION:** Can you give an example of this liberalization?

**ANSWER:** In our country, the economy is predominantly private. The state and cooperative sectors have been throughout the revolutionary period, of insignificant percentage in comparison with the private sector. But there was one element that was lacking. There was no legal protection for the private sector, which endangered its standing. So

now a whole array of legal protection and benefits have been given to the private sector... the example, the credit facilities, financial assistance and technical assistance to the private sector and above all tax incentives and also generous investment laws.

Another important landmark in our liberalization is what we have done in improving our international image. There is an unfortunate misperception of developments in Ethiopia, projected by our enemies in the western countries, that we were against the West. That was not the case. Particularly with the United States, we have left no stone unturned to restore our traditional link with the United States. In a certain way, we had all these enemies arrayed against us because of the United States itself, which was maintaining a base and a communications centre in our country.

**QUESTION:** One of the reasons frequently cited by the US for distancing itself from Ethiopia is Ethiopia's record on human rights.

**ANSWER:** There has been some allegation of human rights abuse in our country. There is some truth to that, I must frankly confess, but not to the extent that it is perceived in the United States.

We are not interested in going against the interest of people. We were fighting against forces that are bent on fragmenting the country. We were fighting to maintain the security of this country and its very existence. And we are not fighting to achieve expansionist objectives. In the process, some human rights abuse is bound to take place. But one has to be very careful in defining what human rights abuse is.

When the revolution triumphed in our country, disgruntled elements went to neighbouring countries and returned with arms to invade the country and to terrorize the ordinary civilian population. The steps I have taken to protect the people against these marauders, these terrorists, are wrongly described as human rights abuse. The excess that is alleged to have taken place is not to the extent of the excesses of the industrial revolution in Europe or the civil war in America or in many places in Europe today. For example, our prisons are not teeming with prisoners as in any European Country.

**QUESTION:** Do you foresee a multiparty system for Ethiopia sometime in the future?

**ANSWER:** Sure, we want to introduce a multiparty system, as reflecting the will of the people of Ethiopia. We are ready for a multiparty system. But we don't want the parties to be set up on lines of ethnic or religious interest, but on broadly-based issues of national interests.

**QUESTION:** How can this be encouraged?

**ANSWER:** In the first place, the people have not yet requested it. They did not demand the setting up of a multiparty system in our country. There is no question that the idea of a multiparty system is in the limelight now. If the people think that such a system is in their interest and they endorse it in a referendum, naturally, we will approve it.

**QUESTION:** As a young man you went to the US for military training.

**ANSWER:** That was a long time ago, and the America of those days was quite different from contemporary America. It was a time when Blacks and Jews were discriminated against in America. I well remember a bus ride I had from Chicago to Davenport where the bus driver said, "There is a back seat for the Blacks and the Jews." Still, in spite of this, I can say that America is a great society. I learned so much from Americans. I don't at all have a pathologically — negative attitude towards America of Americans.

**QUESTION:** Were you influenced by the radical ideas of the 1960s in America?

**ANSWER:** Of course I was, and in the course of expressing my feelings, I must have antagonized some people.

**QUESTION:** Is there famine now in Ethiopia?

**ANSWER:** Yes, there is still drought and famine in Ethiopia. By African standards this is a huge country — 1.2 million square kilometres, and it is generally fertile country, endowed with huge water sources. In the past, it has been an exporter of food. It is only recently that this drought situation became cyclical and persistent, even chronic, exclusively in the northern part of our country.

This is the only part of our country burdened with excess population and which uses primitive agricultural techniques. This has led to widespread denudation of our country and it has become a devastated area. This situation could have been remedied very easily if we had peace, by relocating people, by exporting food from other areas of the country to that area and rehabilitating this denuded and proded area.

**QUESTION:** Are the secessionist forces now allowing relief supplies to be brought into drought areas?

**ANSWER:** No, they do not allow it. We started relocating people elsewhere, to suitable areas of the country. In one scheme, we relocated some half million people. But this was viewed by the world as human rights violation, there was an uproar and we were forced to abandon it.

What the secessionists and the bandits do is to force the hungry people into joining their ranks. Famine helps the secessionists because it creates a social base from which to recruit.

**QUESTION:** What is your ambition for Ethiopia?

**ANSWER:** Forty percent of our budget goes towards the preservation of national unity. You can figure out what that means. We could have built two huge industrial plants annually, or railways and many hospitals with this money. So what I would like to see is peace, and the preservation of national unity. If we had peace, we could divert this money and transform this country, dramatically and in a brief period.

**QUESTION:** Why is the family reunification of Ethiopian Jews taking so long?



**ANSWER:** I think we have some kind of (background). There has been some unnecessary confusion created about this concept of family reunification. Before the introduction of Christianity, the beliefs of people in Ethiopia and also Southern Arabia were anchored in the Tora. Then Christianity and Islam became the dominant faiths in Ethiopia and Judaism was marginalized.

Later on, the question of the Jews in Ethiopia was raised again, because someone had the idea that the Jews in Ethiopia were actually the children of a lost son of Israel. Until very recently, no Israeli experts and no Ethiopia experts accepted the Falashas as being Jews. The belief was that the Falashas were the remnants of the pre-Christian era in Ethiopia, that these were ethnic Ethiopians who had once adopted Judaism, so they were not ethnically Jews. If we subscribe to this concept, it means that the entire Northern Ethiopia were once Jews.

One common element among Ethiopians is the positive attitude and affection that Ethiopians have for Israel. All the Christians in our country are absolutely sympathetic to Judaism and Israel, and in fact say the two communities have the same God — the God of Israel, Yisrael Amlaa in Amharic.

So as the result of research done by some individual, suddenly one has come to believe that the Falashas are ethnically Jews. And the Jewish community accepted them as there was the movement to locate the Falashas back to Israel.

When we first came to power, this problem was discussed at a high level. We said we really do not care if Israel considers the Falashas as ethnic Jews. And we said then the Ethiopians are free to settle where they want — after all, there are 80 000 Ethiopians in Saudi Arabia and tens of thousands in western countries. As a matter of fact, this could strengthen or cement relations between Ethiopia and Israel.

So we gave our Israeli brothers a signal. They requested whether they could come over and pay the Falashas a visit and we told them, yes, they could. They wanted to be allowed to provide some assistance in setting up some economic and cultural facilities in Falasha country. Well, we told them yes, you could. They came, and at that time they inculcated in the mind of the Falashas that they were in fact ethnic Jews. And this led to a serious problem between the Falashas and the local Government. We asked them to please refrain from such acts.

Even then, we did not slam the door against the idea of immigration for these people who believed that they were Jews — they are free to do so. In fact we facilitated their relocation to Israel, without making much noise, on the basis of contacts and cooperation between our security service and its Israeli counterparts. And it was actually we who started this idea. Many Falashas made it to Israel.

In the meantime, fighting in the North assumed very threatening proportions, and this was coupled with a serious drought, and the

bandits lured many people from the border communities to go to Sudan under the pretext that there were relief goods waiting for them in Sudan. The whole objective of the bandits was to create a social base in the Sudan from which to recruit fighters. And then as a result of the Israeli, Sudanese and secret services, the notorious operation Moses was mounted to relocate the Falashas forcefully.

It was the very first time that the Ethiopian people were angry at the Israelis. Why on earth would Israel, in collusion with some Arab country, mount operation and smuggle Ethiopians out of their country to Israel. In particular, we were angry about the timing, when we were grappling and not harbor feelings about it, because neither Ethiopia nor Israel would stand to benefit from the situation. We decided to let bygones be bygones.

So you see, the question of family reunification is intimately linked with operation Moses, who was the first to have wrenched people away from their families? It was operation Moses. The American Jews say "We have to encourage Ethiopian Jews to go to Israel, as we are encouraging Jews from the Soviet Union and other parts of the world." Well, whether these people are Jews or not it is an entirely different question.

So in order not to whip up the thing, to make it convenient raw material for the Arab media, we thought that we should play it cool, proceed very calmly. It was we who suggested that we should give the whole thing the cover of family reunification. So it was no accord or agreement, but there was an understanding and consensus between us and Israel on this issue.

Then we requested that the Israeli officials give us a list of the prospective immigrants

to Israel. And we also worked out the formality by which the exit of these people could be facilitated both by our security people and their Israeli counterparts. It was working quite smoothly, an unprecedented number of Falashas were going to Israel without any difficulty.

In the meantime, American Jews came to Ethiopia and changed this concept of family reunification. They came here with money, and they hired people of dubious standing in our country who would go to Falasha country and recruit people who would like to go to Israel without going into the real specifics. And in the process they recruited people who were both Falashas and non-Falashas.

This led to the huge influx of people from the North to Addis Ababa. Many of them were peasants who simply abandoned their work and abandoned their families; they were people who were given money to come over here. This has led to a strained situation. At last we had to send people to Israel to find out exactly what the Israelis want.

If they really want to have Falashas or Ethiopians, non-Falashas — what exactly did they want to have in their country in terms of immigrants.

The Israeli officials told us that this was not for their making, it was the American Jews who created this confusion. What we decided was to urge the American Jews not to interfere. Through our discussions on several occasions, a mechanism has been set up to facilitate the migration. So now a process has been set up to implement the program. What we are doing in concrete terms is the screening of the people who are considered as Falashas, to determine who in Falasha, and which of these would like to go to Israel, and which to some other country.



The EPLF are fighting for a separate 'Arab' homeland

**QUESTION:** The Ethiopian government itself is doing that?

**ANSWER:** We have set up a national screening committee, and when Mr. Lubrani (Uri Lubrani, the Prime Minister's special emissary to Ethiopia) came here, we extensively exchanged views on this.

There is one question, that remains unanswered: whether the Israelis want exclusively Falashas or Ethiopians as such? We asked this; no clear answer has yet been forthcoming.

We are not clear as to what the American Jews want, what their interests in this is. It is tragic to note that in spite of the good attitude and the positive steps we have taken to facilitate the migration of the Falashas, we have become the target of scathing criticism of the American Jewish media and the Israeli media.

The other important question is what is the situation of the Falashas in Israel now as compared to the Jews who came from the Soviet Union and from other European countries?

We note that there are Falashas who came from Ethiopia years ago; still they find themselves in camps... and are unemployed and now we are swelling that number. We warn you that this will bring a great social upheaval to Israeli society, and the repercussion might be that it could destroy the positive attitude that Ethiopians traditionally have had towards Israel.

**QUESTION:** But you know how important family is for Ethiopians. Right now in Israel, every family is split. Israel feels that it would be easier to absorb 5 000 complete families than to deal with families that are broken.

**ANSWER:** The Israelis do not seem to have a clear concept of which members of the family they want. So far, they have given us forms for only 300 people. Those 300 people are already in Israel, and they do not have another list. But still, there is this unchecked uproar.

As far as we are concerned, if they want people, we are ready, even outside the parameters of family reunification. But under its umbrella, to encourage as many people as they want to go to Israel. But I am afraid we do not have a counterpart in Israel to work with us towards this deal.

**QUESTION:** Wasn't progress made during meetings with the Lubrani delegation?

**ANSWER:** The response to that is still pending. There is no Ambassador here at present in the Israeli Embassy. When we were in the wilderness, before we renewed relations with Israel, there was pressure from Israel, "Why don't we set up an Embassy?"

We were almost pestered by telephone calls — sometimes, when I was visiting foreign countries, we would receive telephone calls from Israelis.

So, after 18 years we did restore diplomatic relations. We have an Embassy in Tel Aviv... but there is no Israeli (Ambassador) here in Addis Ababa.

We are at our wit's end. I am afraid that the Israelis we are dealing with now are not the same as the Israelis we dealt with in the past. In those days, together, we achieved so many things. So I feel there is some problem particularly with your Foreign Office. We doubt if there is a full comprehension among the Israelis of the positive attitude which Ethiopia has towards Israel. We are 52 million Ethiopians, and all of us are ready to work together with Israel. There is a psychological preparedness on the part of the Ethiopian people to stand side by side with Israel. The fact that some 15 000 Falashas leave for Israel does not affect the demographics of Ethiopia; we do not have a population shortage. So in this we see an unnecessary and artificial problem.

**QUESTION:** Was the stoppage of immigration caused by a specific demand which Israel failed to meet?

**ANSWER:** There is an ugly allegation made by the American media that Ethiopia had held up the Falashas from going to Israel because Israel has not been forthcoming with arms, and is holding them hostage. This is utterly absurd. My Government has seen to it that as many Falashas that wanted to go to Israel could go, even in those days when we did not have diplomatic relations.

The Israeli-Ethiopian cooperation must be viewed not only within the parameters of this single issue. In this regard, we exchanged a series of views with Israel on the Government level to bring about economic cooperation and trade links, and cooperation in the field of science and technology, and to bring about cooperation on our common security, and to identify exactly items or areas Israel wants from Ethiopia and what Israel can send to Ethiopia in exchange.

We feel that this is the time for the two countries to join hands, and perhaps also for the Israelis scientific and technological know-how and finance to come here, and if that is not forthcoming from Israel, perhaps from Jewish sources — for Jewish know-how and capital to come here and develop this country together for our common interest.

It is sad to note that the West provided arms to Iraq, which is now challenging it. It is not in the interest of Israel to see Ethiopia fall or break up. This is a time when the Islamic world is being swept by fundamentalism, which is the ultimate danger. And now there is the new danger emerging from the Gulf Crisis. Which of the countries on the Red Sea would take the brunt end of this? What the Israelis should realize is that we are not requesting any favours from Israel. What we are doing is urging Israel to wake up.

## The legacy of Martin Luther King, Junior: Human rights, a challenge for the nineties

By Reverend Professor Dr. Canaan Banana

Is it not one of the painful ironies of history that the deadline between peace and war in the Gulf was set on the birthday of a great man who dedicated his entire life to the cause of peace. I am certain that Dr. King must feel betrayed by this act.

In every generation, history seems to produce a special breed of individuals to address a particular issue of great concern to humankind. There is often a larger-than-life who springs forth in different fields of man's endeavour: be it in science and technology, in medicine, in economics, in the political field, or in the cause for human justice and fair rights for all. The 1960's saw the emergence of such a unique individual in the person of Martin Luther King Jr.; an individual who stands as a colossus in the area of human rights — a giant who not strode the American stage but straddles continents as well.

Who is this Martin Luther King Junior, anyway? Martin Luther King, Junior, was born in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1929. He came from a long line of Baptist ministers and activists for a better social and economic status for African-Americans.

He started to the ministry and was ordained at his father's church in 1947, and received a Bachelor of Arts degree in Sociol-

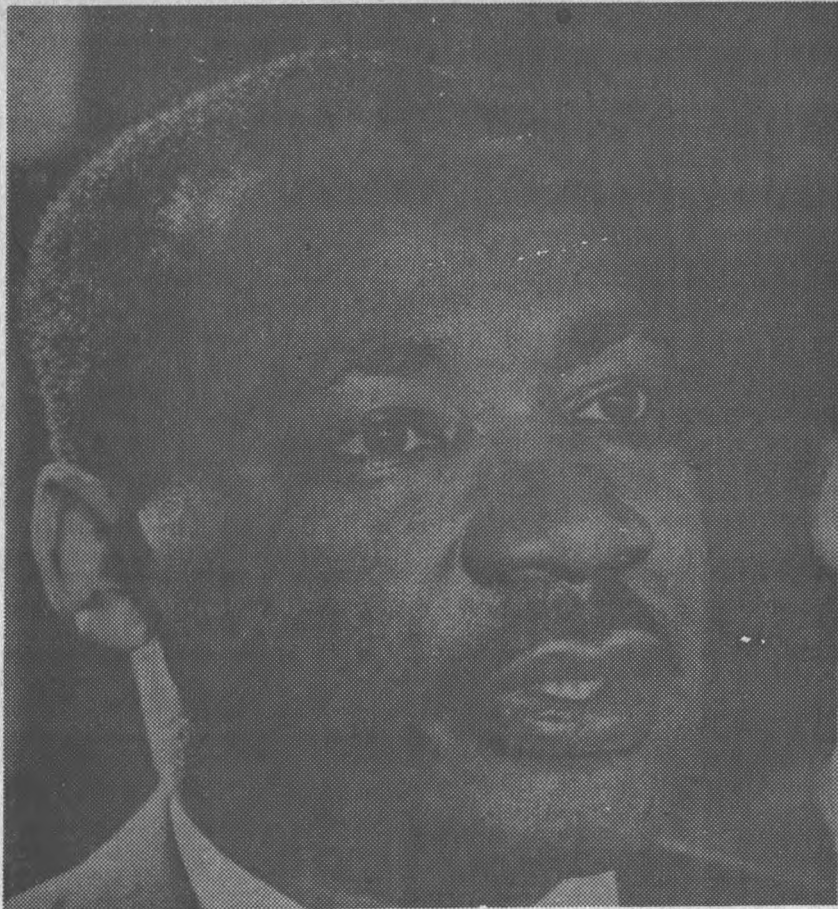
ogy from Morehouse in 1948. He then entered Crozer Theological Seminary in Pennsylvania. An outstanding student, he went to Boston University, where he obtained a Ph.D. While in Boston he met and married Coretta Scott.

In 1954, King became pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery,



Professor Canaan Banana





The late Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

Alabama. During his first year as pastor, he completed his doctoral dissertation entitled "A Comparison of the Conceptions of God in the Thinking of Paul Tillich and Henry Nelson Wieman", and received his Ph.D in 1955.

At this point in his life, he had been influenced by several ideas and scholars. At Morehouse he had been fascinated by Thoreau's "Essey on Civil Disobedience". "I was so deeply moved," he wrote, "that I read the work several times. This was my first intellectual contact with the theory of nonviolence and resistance."

While at Crozer, he also heard a sermon on the life and teachings of Mahatma Gandhi, and he began to study all of Gandhi's works on nonviolence. Ghandhi's teachings helped King to formulate his philosophy on the power of love and its potential usefulness in the area of social reform.

The Montgomery bus boycott, which began on December 1, 1955, with the arrest of Rosa Parks, a Black seamstress who refused to give up her bus seat to a white person, forced King to merge the divergent intellectual influences that he had acquired into a positive social philosophy.

King joined the protest and subsequently became the voice on the growing non-violent civil rights movement. As the African — American author Louis Lomax said "Montgomery was the launching pad for Martin Luther King."

"At the end of the Montgomery bus boycott, King had gained international fame, the

applause of the world was ringing in his ears, 18 million Negroes were calling him "Saviour" and the world ethicists were comparing him to Gandhi and Thoreau," Lomax said.

King was one of the principals in the spectacular "March on Washington" that drew some 250 000 people to demonstrate on behalf of the pending civil rights bill. It was at the Lincoln memorial that he delivered his famous "I have a Dream" speech.

In 1964 he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his adherence to the principles of nonviolence and for setting an example for others who sought to change things peacefully in other areas of the world.

King denounced the Vietnam War in 1967, because in his view, the war drained away the country's resources that could have been used to eliminate some of the misery, poverty and disease at home.

He was assassinated on April 4, 1968 in Memphis Tennessee, where he had come to help local sanitation workers in their strike for higher wages, allegedly by James Earl Ray. The prophet of non-violence's death caused riots, looting and killing in more than 120 US cities, with the worst destruction taking place in Washington, DC, only 10 blocks from the White House.

In his ardent championing of the cause of the oppressed, Martin Luther King Jr., knew no boundaries and his message transcended all artificial barriers of geography, race, colour and creed; his message ignored and

traversed the physical frontiers of states, countries and continents. His message reverberated throughout the African continent; it was heard on the Asian continent; it stirred the hearts of men and women of goodwill on the European continent; it shook the consciences of many in the Americas — it became the clarion call of the racially oppressed and the poverty-stricken of the entire world. Martin Luther King strove for the betterment of humankind in its totality.

He was committed to the economic, social, political, cultural and spiritual well-being of all. His message is relevant to both individuals and communities, to peoples and all mankind, so that all can live with honour and dignity, with love and respect for each other, individually and collectively. This is the legacy he left us: this is the challenge we face: to pick up the torch and carry it farther and bring light to a world groping under the shadow of death and darkness.

In the words of his biographers, Schulke & McPhee (P.xiii); King believe in the goodness of man; he believed in human dignity, in individuality, and in community. His concern was not only for the rights of the blacks, but also for women, for the poor and for all the disadvantaged."

The achievement of equitable human rights is still a far fetched cry in our world today. Our world is replete with massive violations of human rights at all levels: at individual level where abject poverty co-exists with suffocating affluence; at nations level where tyrannical and despotic regimes masquerading as governments trample to death in dehumanising misery the poor and the weak they are supposed to protect; at international level where the rule of might, and not right, appears to be the order of the day, in a world where there is inequitable balance of trade, wealth and power. Thus, the issue of human rights is a multi-dimensional and multi-faceted one. It manifests itself at the individual, national and international levels — and it therefore needs a multi-pronged attack if it is to be adequately and properly addressed.

Ironically in a world that abounds with limitless resources millions of God's children born, live and die in dire straits of dehumanised and marginalised existence. Indeed, we live today in a world of unrealised possibilities but quite realisable humanity. If only we could care: as individuals and citizens, as nations and governments, and as members of the universal one family of humankind, we need to create a world where all should live in peace and joy, in a world free from want, free from depression, and free from ignorance and disease.

And again if I may quote Schulke and McPhee: "Martin Luther King's dream is not yet a reality... But King believed we as people could change. He left us a vision of what we and our society might be and a means of achieving that vision. He showed us the best way we can" (p.xiii).

Man's dignity is daily compromised and ultimately diminished and extinguished as

long as we continue to deny the oneness of the human race and the equal dignity of all human beings. As long as we selfishly pursue the obnoxious and heretical dogma of racial superiority, or the narrow and divisive practice of religious bigotry, as well as the "them" and "us" attitude in international trade as evidenced by the erection of trade barriers and unfair and inequitable balance of trade between the rich and poor, we will forever remain infants and stultified dwarfs in the area of virtue and sacred human values. The violation of human rights goes far beyond the scope of individual violators, far beyond national oppression, right into our international relations, which, sometimes directly and at other times indirectly succours, aids and abets the individual tyrant, the racial bigot and the national oppressor. We are, each and all, responsible individually and collectively for the sorry state some of God's children are living in today.

In a few spots of the world, some people are still suffering from colonial and racial oppression, or experiencing the painful denial of self-determination. The world has an inseparable duty and responsibility to ensure that these people attain universal suffrage, self-determination and sovereign status on the basis of one person one vote, where neither colour nor station in life is the criterion as to who governs.

South Africa perhaps remains the classical example today where millions are denied basic human rights on no basis other than a person's skin colour. For quite sometime now concerted international pressure, together with the fierce struggle by the oppressed South Africans themselves, has exerted tremendous influence on the course of events in that sorry country. It is because of these efforts that the South African government is beginning to face up to the realities of its misdeeds. Men and women of goodwill everywhere ought to step up their collective will and fight against the primitive philosophy and practice of racial supremacy, the major cause of racial strife in South Africa. The unbanning of political organisations and the release of Nelson Mandela and other political detainees are steps in the right direction towards resolving the problems created by the abhorrent doctrine of apartheid. Let us make no mistake the road ahead

is a long and arduous one; the goal of universal adult suffrage is still far away. The international community has a continuous responsibility towards South Africa.

The best way forward is to continue to apply pressure in consultation with the black majority in that country to ensure that the process of change gathers an irreversible momentum.

We must not let the people of South Africa down now that they have reached this crucial stage. We must struggle with them, until they achieve for themselves that splendid vision which Martin Luther King had for the American people. We have an obligation to assist them realise for themselves Martin Luther King's dream: a dream that their little children will one day live in a nation where they will be judged not by the colours of their skin, but by the content of their character. A dream that one day in Pretoria, in Johannesburg, in Durban, in Cape Town, in Bloemfontein and in all the towns and cities of that beleaguered land — little black boys and girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and girls as sisters and brothers. Indeed, through love for humankind, through prayers and through a steadfast vision and through lofty ideals, all oppressed of God's peoples, including the people of South Africa, can be freed, have to be free and will be free. We all must not lose that dream for them — and that way, we can help them achieve it.

Yet there is need to revisit and to scrutinise many independent and sovereign states in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. In most of these countries, the workers and peasantry chafed and groaned under the colonial yoke, and they helped their leaders to ultimately overthrow the hated colonial masters. The attainment of independence was expected to herald the advent of a new dawn of a better life for all. But alas! This freedom and a better life was still born for the greater majority — their lot hardly ever improved, and in some cases it became worse: a nightmare of severe want, brutal oppression and debilitating misery. Both as a citizen of the Third World and a Christian I feel saddened, ashamed and pained by the betrayal of the expectations of the greatest majority of our people.

Our people's lot will not improve unless and until there is a concerted effort to eradicate the evil of greed, avarice, unbridled dictatorship and exploitation of man by man. Some of the new rulers in the Third World have become ardent allies and supporters of the eastwhile colonisers and imperialists in the expropriation of national wealth and the exploitation of their own people. The Third World's debt burden is overwhelming, but without the corresponding fruits of development. The international lenders and financiers bear a responsibility for the grinding poverty they have helped to create for the majority poor of the Third World, and for creating individual millionaires whose external accounts are fatter than these individual impoverished exchequers. Is it too much to ask the rich North to desist from propping up unpopular and brutal regimes that plunder and pillage the masses in developing countries?

What would Martin Luther King, the champion of human rights, say to such blatant and flagrant violations of what was dear to his heart?

He would, surely, be shocked at the numbness of our consciences which, because of vested interests, have been lulled into uncomfortable acquiescence and silent partnership with some of the most heinous regimes of our times. The reasons are unashamedly obvious — all pious pronouncements on human rights are often sacrificed on the altar of national self-interests, and the professed champions of human rights against certain countries are silent against some regimes who serve as puppets of their interests or surrogates in the world power-game — but are swift in punishing those who choose to assert their independence.

Yet human rights should not be sacrificed on the altar of expediency — violations of human rights should not be tolerated even if the perpetrators are our friends. We ought to condemn such acts wherever, only show up without reservations and without prevarication; only that way do we send a deep and unequivocal message to the world as to where we stand. There should be no room for selective morality where human rights are at stake — no place for situational ethics.

## Profile of new AZAPO President

By Gilbert Makoena

The Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) recently elected a former trade unionist, with a long history of struggle, as its new President. 44 year old Pandelani Nefolovhodwe became the 7th president of the South African Students' Organisation (SASO) after Steve Biko when he was elected in July 1974. Comrade Biko was the founder president of SASO, and the father of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM). On 23 December 1990, Comrade Nefolovhodwe was elected to lead AZAPO at the organisation's Congress in Cape Town.

AZAPO and the BCM stress the need for the oppressed people in Azania to break from dependence and from slave mentalities, to rally together against oppression and to seek liberation throughout their own efforts. This

approach shuns the method of taking complaints and requests to the oppressive regime. It is not the view of the BCM, of which AZAPO is a part, that liberation can be achieved in that manner. One of the first achievements of the BCM was that it changed the way the oppressed had accepted their division by the regime into Bantu, Coloureds and Indians, with different levels of oppression, and some petty privileges in some cases. Instead, members of these groupings began to see themselves as a single oppressed BLACK community. Up to that period, the early 1970s, most people were content to be referred to as "non-whites" — as if the settler minority had to be the main point of reference — in an African country with a Black majority.

Nefolovhodwe, or Comrade Nef, as he is





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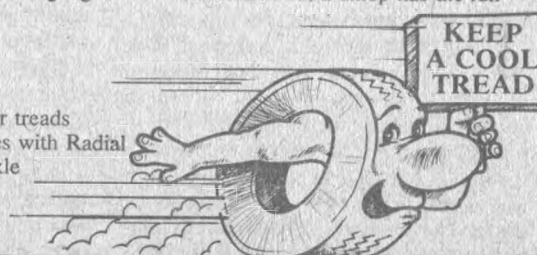
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popularly known, was born of peasant parents, at Folovhodwe, a short distance from the border with Zimbabwe, in February 1947. He became a student activist at the University of the North near Pietersburg, where he enrolled for a Science degree. He served as Publicity Secretary on the Students Representative Council in 1972. He was expelled during the same year during the unrest on that campus, which was set off by the expulsion of SRC President Ongkopotse Tiro. Comrade Tiro later became the first exile from Azania to be assassinated by agents of the regime. He was sent a parcel bomb which blew him up in Gaborone, Botswana on February 1, 1974.

Comrade Nefolovhodwe returned to the college at the beginning of 1974, during which he was elected national President of SASO. After the victory of FRELIMO in Mozambique independence struggle, Comrade Nef, and several of those now serving with him on the current Central Committee of AZAPO, launched preparations for a series of "Viva FRELIMO" Rallies around the country. Even when the regime prohibited these, SASO under Comrade Nef, and other components of the BCM went ahead with the rallies regardless. After a nationwide swap on BCM cadres Nefolovhodwe, and others were detained and brought to trial. In the famous case which became known as the SASO-BPC trial, Steve Biko, then under house arrest, was called as the leading witness for the defence. His court testimony is portrayed as the court scene in the film *Cry Freedom*. Comrade Biko was cross-examined for five days towards the end of May 1976. His statements were published in newspapers for an entire week, for the first time since his house-arrest in March 1973.

At the end of the Trial, the nine accused, including Comrade Nef, current AZAPO deputy president Nchaupe Mokoupe, and current Publicity Secretary Strini Moodley, were sentenced to periods of 5 to 6 years on Robben Island maximum security prison. Thus they became the second lot of BCM cadres to arrive at the main centre for political prisoners in Azania. The other two colleagues who had preceded them, and whom they found on the island were Mosibudi Mangena, now Chairman of the external wing of the BCM and Commander-in-Chief of the Azanian National Liberation Army (AZANLA) and Nkutsou Motsau, presently the Secretary for Defence in the BCM of Azania. Soon after their arrival on Robben Island, in December 1976, hundreds of other younger BCM activists responsible for the SOWETO Uprisings of June 1976 arrived on the island. Thus Comrade Nef was one of those who were able to give guidance to the younger comrades, and to intervene in conflicts due to attempts by some of the prisoners from older movements to force the June 1976 generation to abandon the BCM policies and join the older forces. This experience has stood the New Azapo president in good stead recently. When feuding broke out early in 1990 between supporters of the BCM and those of one of the older forces near Kroonstad, Nefolovhodwe, and a senior activist from one of the other organisations, Com-

rade Walter Sisulu were sent to intervene. The joint rally which the two addressed led to the signing of the Maokeng Accord, which aims at the establishment of political tolerance, and the acceptance that the people have the right to belong to different liberation movements. The other target of the Accord was to contain political hooliganism, which showed itself in the form of the disruption of the activities of other organisations. At the time Nefolovhodwe was serving as the Secretary General of AZAPO, having been elected shortly after de Klerk's lifting of the State of Emergency early in 1990.

Comrade Nef came out of prison in December 1982. Including his six year sentence, the trial period, and the pre-trial detention, he had spent 8 years and three months in the hands of the regime. Two incidents during the trial made Nefolovhodwe stand out as a character. Firstly, while in remand, he was charged and sentenced for biting the hand of a member of the security forces. There had been extensive torture of both the trialists and those the regime wanted to use as state witnesses. Many BCM cadres did not submit humbly to police brutality. Again Steve Biko gave the lead in this direction. Speaking to a correspondent of an American journal, The New Republican about exchanges with the police while he was in detention, Comrade Biko said, "If you guys want to do this your way, you have got to handcuff me and bind my feet together, so that I can not respond. If you allow me to respond, I will respond. And I am afraid you may have to kill me in the process, even if it's not your intention".

The other highlight of the trial was when the nine were asked by the judge whether they regretted their position. The other eight pointed out that they had no regrets. When Comrade Nef was asked, he said, "Yes, I regret... that I was not able to be out of here, to help my mother... Mother Africa. I regret that I have not been able to do more... Certainly not the type of regret the racist judge had in mind. So off to jail went the comrades.

Three months after his return from Prison Comrade Pandelani Nefolovhodwe became regional organiser for the Black Allied Mining and Construction Union (BAMCWU), in the Northern Transvaal. He was a key figure in the 1983 strike by workers at Penge Asbestos Mine, in which 1 700 workers fought for healthy working conditions and for compensation for victims of asbestos related lung diseases. The strike led to a world-wide campaign against the mine operators. The following year he was elected Secretary General of the Union, and co-ordinator of the Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions, which has since merged with the Council of Unions of South Africa, to form the present day National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU). At the launch of NACTU, Comrade Nefolovhodwe was elected deputy Secretary General. After he left that position, in 1988, he became the Co-ordinator of Labour Studies for the church sponsored Ubuntu Social Development Institute at Willesburg, near Johannesburg, a post he still occupies.



AZAPO president, Comrade Pandelani Nefolovhodwe

Nefolovhodwe was part of the AZAPO Central Committee delegation which met with the Central Committee of the external wing on the BCM to formulate the position of the Movement on negotiations and a response to de Klerk's invitation to the BCM to take part in talks-about-talks. The position adopted by the BCM on 30 September 1990, has started being accepted by freedom fighters across the political spectrum in Azania. Basically it points out that in all situations of conflict around the world, when negotiations are conducted, they are held on neutral territory, to ensure the safety of all parties to a conflict. An impartial mediator is needed to resolve disputes during the process. This has happened, and is happening in all the conflicts in Southern Africa, and on the whole continent. This is what the BCM expects to happen in Azania when true negotiations come about. At that point, the liberation movement should impose no preconditions on de Klerk and his regime, and should accept none to be imposed on it. The regime should not demand the suspension of any aspect of the struggle by the forces of liberation before there is a full agreement on the mechanics of a process leading to democracy. The above position is one which would permit the liberation movement a position to fall back on, if negotiations failed to produce an agreement which would advance the standing of the oppressed Black people in Azania. The BCM found the process of talks about talks quite unnecessary and saw it as a device which de Klerk has used to weaken the struggle, to break out of international isolation, and to divide the oppressed. The BCM rejected the invitation.

In his New Year message, the AZAPO president raised caution about the intentions behind de Klerk's reforms. His view was that the reforms were meant "to replace naked racism and exploitation with subtle forms of racism and exploitation". AZAPO and other structures of Biko's Movement such as Im-



beleko Women's Organisation, the Azanian Youth Organisation (AZAYO) and the AZAN-LA forces see a constitution for post liberation society being drawn up by a constituent assembly elected on the basis of one person-one vote on a common voters' roll. This would guarantee the voice of the majority in the development of a new order. Increasingly, the international community has ap-

peared to seek a position where the liberation movement must strive to make de Klerk's reform programme work. Comrade Nef is one of those who have seen the priority as securing a settlement which will remove the oppression, poverty and degradation of the oppressed Black majority. The BCM in general will not bargain its priorities away in exchange for acceptance by diplo-

matic forces which have not traditionally sided with the struggle.

The other issue closest to the heart of the New President of AZAPO is the prospect of a United Front of the three main liberation movements in Azania. He has met with all the leading figures of the older movements towards that goal.

## Statement by the Arab Head of Missions in Zimbabwe

Comrade Ministers  
Your Excellencies  
Dear Colleagues  
Comrades and friends,

On behalf of our Arab Palestinian People, the independent State of Palestine and on my own behalf, I would like to extend to you all gathered here tonight our sincere thanks and appreciation for having accepted our invitation and for your kind support and solidarity.

I would also like to take this opportunity to convey to you Comrade Minister and through you to His Excellency the President of the Republic of Zimbabwe, and to the people and the Government, our heartfelt thanks and gratitude for the firm support and solidarity accorded to our people and our just struggle.

Comrades and friends,

After 26 years of armed struggle, our Palestinian people, and despite the hardship and problems they are facing, are more determined than at any time before to continue this struggle until we achieve our objectives and freedom. It is a just cause we are fighting and we shall never abandon our right and determination to achieve our Independence.

Our People have made a great sacrifice for the last 26 years, inside and outside the occupied homeland. The Palestinian Political Identity has become a reality more than ever before.

The great and popular uprising waged by our heroic people inside the occupied territories is a manifestation and a reflection of the nature of our struggle. The daily military confrontations which our people are engaged in is clear evidence of our peoples determination to fight and bring an end to the Zionist occupation of our land.

Comrades and friends,

It is the right of every Palestinian to live in his land. Our children, women and elderly people are entitled to live in their home in Palestine like anyone else in this civilised world. So why not the Palestinians? Why do we have to live all our life in refugee camps, scattered all over the world, deprived of freedom and Independence?

What we demand is our homeland . . . only in Palestine, we have lived there and we want to continue to live there.

Comrades and friends,

Israel for the last 26 years has embarked on a genocidal campaign against our Palestinian People. It has killed children, women and hundreds and thousands of our pioneers. It is aiming at physically eliminating the Palestinians. It is trying all kinds of torture and murderous methods. It is attempting to eliminate the Palestinian political reality

It has refused to comply with all the United Nations resolutions adopted by its members.

The Israeli authorities continue to reject all the peace initiatives by the International Community and despite all these acts, Israel still continues to enjoy the support of the United States of America. Israel still continues to receive arms and financial support from what is called the most civilized nation on this earth.

Where is the justice, Comrades and friends?

Where is the democracy which they are proud of?

Where is the human rights which they are defending every day?

Is their justice to pretend to defend the human rights of the Kuwaiti people and deny the Palestinian people's rights?

Is it justice to send hundreds of thousands of soldiers to defend Kuwait yet allow the Israeli soldiers to daily slaughter innocent civilians in Palestine?

Comrades and friends,

The United States of America has sent all its military infrastructure to the Gulf today to free and protect democracy, freedom and self determination in Kuwait. Why have the United States not sent their soldiers to defend the people of Egypt, Syria and Lebanon from Israeli aggression? Why has it refused all the United Nations and I repeat, the United Nations to send a team to investigate the killings of hundreds of Palestinians at the hands of the Israeli soldiers? Why is it still refusing to recognize the right of the four million Palestinians for self determination.

Comrades and friends,

The United States Administration is taking a side in this conflict and we call upon the United Nations to play its natural role in intervening to put an end to the United States unbalanced role.

We call upon the Non-Aligned Movement to play a more effective role.

We call upon our Arab nations to remain united at this particular point in time in order to face these challenges.

Once again, Comrades and friends,

I would like to extend our deep thanks and appreciation for your continued support.

We promise our friends in this part of the world to continue the armed struggle until Palestine is liberated, until our people return to free Palestine.

The Struggle Continues.

Thank You

ZIMBABWE NEWS JANUARY/FEBRUARY 1991

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# Socialism and Perestroika

The political and social studies in the Soviet Union under the perestroika asserted in the Marxist Theory a new, up-to-date concept of socialism on the basis of a modern vision of new society.

Nowadays the politologists examining the experience gained by the countries building socialism, study the theories of both proponents and opponents of socialism and forecast about the evolution of human civilisation.

The historical socialist background has shown convincingly that the common principles of building and advancing socialist society are implemented in different ways, manifest themselves in various forms and take effect within different periods of time which is due to the historical features of the socio-economic, political and cultural advancement of different countries and nations.

As Karl Max pointed out: "Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past".

In this sense the different models of development stems from the variety of objective economic, political and intellectual prerequisites in individual countries, the different perceptions of the aims, substance and functions of this new system with historical subjects.

The history of socialism indicates that the principal features of those models should include the level of the masses's democratic involvement in public activity, forms of socialist socialisation of production, the extent of implementing the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work", guarantees of the individual's rights and freedoms, and the level of economic and social protection of the working person. A high level of productive forces is essential for a socialist society.

Having accepted here basic ideas Lenin in his last works (1921-1923) also admitted the following:

- use of the Law of value and commodity — money relations within the framework of a state plan and in the interest of working people;
- payment according to the quantity and quality of work;
- admission of pluralism in socialist forms of ownership;
- recognition of the cooperative as a form of socialist production;
- existence of a "strong but flexible" state apparatus and preventing bureaucracy



Comrade Nikolai N. Stoliarski

from converting it into a self-sufficing force, and people's control over bureaucracy;

- introduction of direct, horizontal, not necessarily state-mediated, producer-customers; first steps towards forming a socialist civic society;
- consistent expansion of democracy.

Perestroika is not only the introduction of basically new forms of economic and social relations but also a restoration of some long-forgotten forms.



Workers holidays in the Soviet Union often end up with demonstrators demanding more reform

At the same time many seem to think that democratization is a return to the early 1920's when in the last years of Lenin's life the first steps were being taken in restructuring the economy and society, so that everything could be done all over again, but better.

However, nothing like that happens in history: the past is always gone for good.

The Soviet people's progress in restructuring their society is designed to lead to a

renaissance of the suppressed institution of the civic society which is possible only through a pluralism of economic structures.

One can get an idea of the basic features of renewal socialism from the CPSU documents published from 1988 to 1990. It is a society based on the principles of humanism, socialist democracy and social justice, diverse forms of social property, and self-regulation of economic life, with a coordinating role for the economic centre.

It should be noted in this context that present return to Lenin's concept of socialism is far from being only a "clearing" process freeing socialism from the Stalinist vulgarisations. It is a very profound revolutionary transformation in the Soviet Union, expected to give socialism a new dimension, deeply renovating all social areas, both material and cultural.

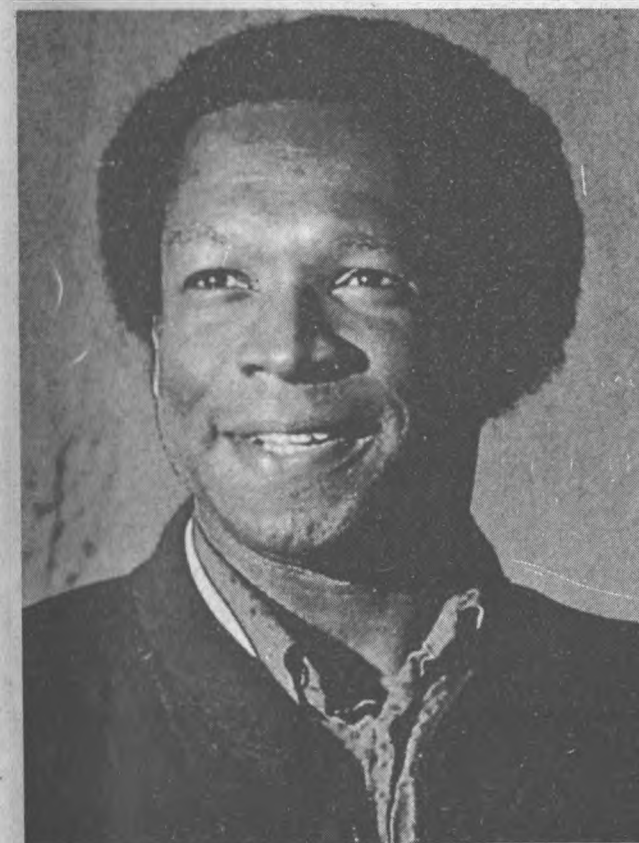
The Society's Liberation is a big challenge to the previous vision of socialism which was chiefly conceived as a system with two forms of ownership (state and collective farm-cooperative), with strict centralised planning, with command and administrative management, with little cost-accounting and poor development of commodity-money relations.

Over the last few decades certain countries have been searching for new, alternative paths of socialist development. They sought to build a multistructure economy (state, cooperative, private and mixed economies), to form market regulators, to open themselves to world economic influences, promote democracy and political pluralism up to recognition of a multi-party system, and secure intellectual and ideological freedom.

Practice has shown that this path is far from being simple too, but it leads to higher living standards and a broader creative initiative and activity of the masses. At the

**Continued  
next  
Issue**

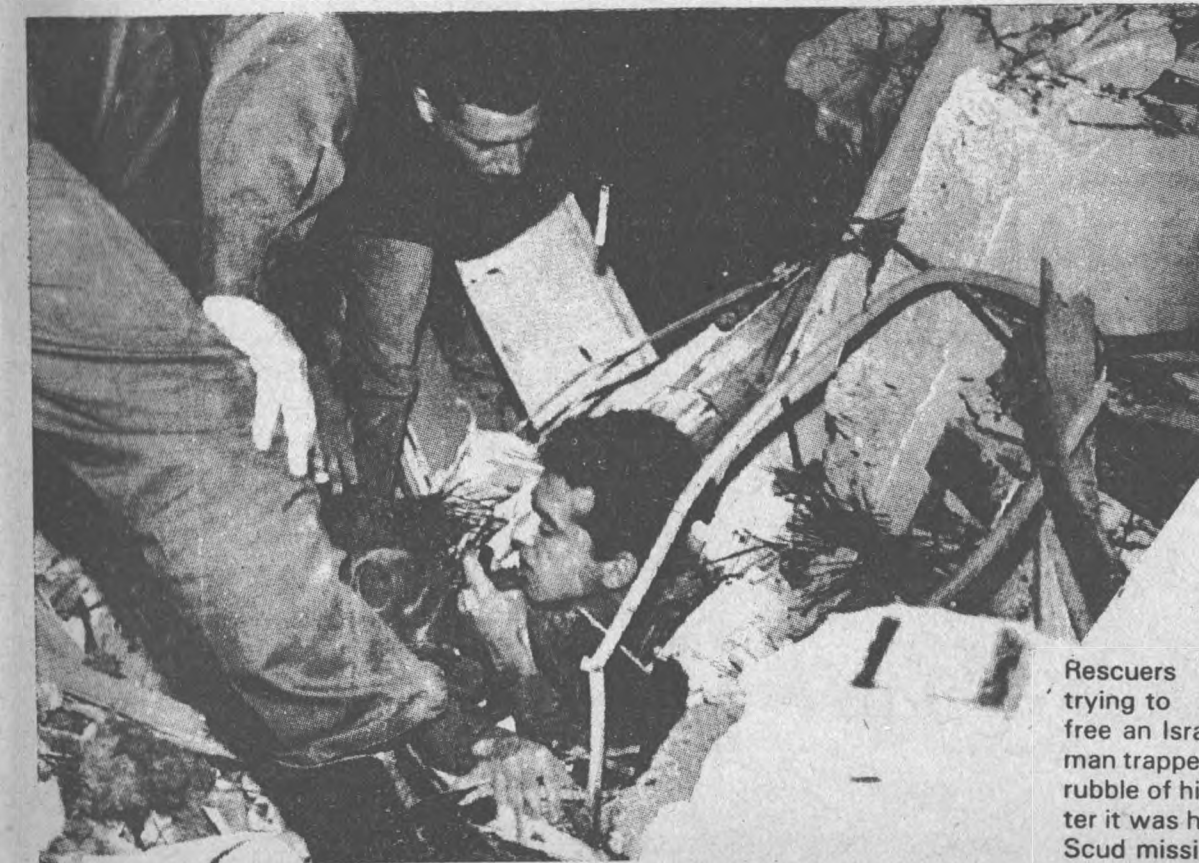
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Mr. John Taylor, the first black Conservative Party Parliamentary candidate in Britain



A Spanish policeman and a demonstrator struggling outside the American Torrejon base near Madrid. The demonstrators are demanding an end to American use of Spanish military bases



Rescuers trying to free an Israeli man trapped in the rubble of his home after it was hit by an Iraqi Scud missile





Comrade Nelson Mandela guiding his wife Comrade Winnie on arrival at the Supreme Court in Johannesburg recently. She is facing kidnapping and assault charges



The Wreckage of a USA air Boeing 737 which collided on the Los Angeles Airport runway with a smaller aircraft killing at least 35 people

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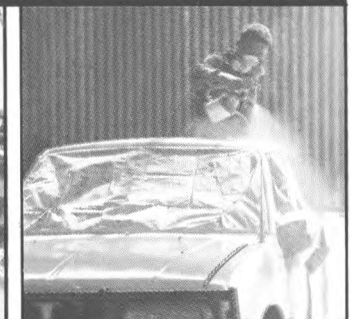
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