

ZANU PF



Unity, Peace and Development

Zimbabwe News

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Muzenda Launches urban Housing Project

Vice President, Comrade Simon Muzenda recently launched Zimbabwe Urban Sector and regional project which helps local authorities get finance for urban housing projects from government and the World Bank.

Speaking at the launching ceremony, Comrade Muzenda, promised that government would assist those local authorities in desperate need of finance but are seriously and ... page 8

Informal sector's vital role in ESA

With about 32 000 people expected to lose their jobs during the implementation of Zimbabwe's economic structural adjustment programme, the Informal sector of the economy will definitely have to play an important part in providing alternative employment for retrenched workers.

Although the sector has the potential to provide employment to the retrenched and unemployed, so far the Government has not implemented ... page 24

Ceausescu's dying son protests he is revolution "scapegoat"

A year after his fall from grace, Romania's "crown prince", the son of the executed Nicolae Ceausescu, is a broken man. Nicu Ceausescu, aged 40, is serving a 20-year sentence for "incitement to extremely grave murder" for his part in the death of 89 people killed in his freedom, the Transylvanian town of Sibiu, during the 1989 Romanian revolution, in which his parents were ... page 50

Pearce Commission

The road to freedom in Zimbabwe has been a long and winding one, with hundreds of thousands of people perishing along the way. For the record, the people of Zimbabwe, led by the nationalist forces united under the Patriotic Front, only took up arms and fought for their liberation after all efforts to a peacefully negotiated settlement with the colonialists had failed.

Several peace "settlements" were advanced by the settler regime page 21

The Role of Women's Studies to Zimbabwe's Development

In any society (be it slavery, feudalism, capitalist, socialist, communist) it is not possible to conceive meaningful and sustained socio-economic development which excludes women.

Women and gender sensitive men in any community must campaign vigorously to remove all constraints on women's participation in overall development. Hence as an activist in women's issues, one of my tasks would be to look critically at issues such as the concept of Women's Studies as a Social Science, reasons for ... page 28



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Editorial

Prices UP UP UP

Prices of essential and non-essential goods and services have been going up and up in the last few months as the Structural Adjustment Programme has been coming into being. The prices of a large number of items have been decontrolled; that means the new prices of those items will now be set by the producers themselves, without reference to the Government. The hand of the Government, which has been restraining the producers from charging high prices, will no longer be there. The producers now have to compete among themselves.

In general, the main objectives of the producers and employers is to maximise their profits and to improve the cash flow position of their enterprises or companies. If the directors of a particular company do not do that they will most likely be dismissed by their shareholders at the next annual general meeting. As individual men and women, those producers may be very good people, or even patriotic Zimbabweans, but they have to do what their jobs demand of them. It is not a question of charity or good common sense, but simply hard bargaining for survival.

The new situation in Zimbabwe today requires a strong and highly responsible trade union movement that can bargain effectively with the producers and employers in each and every sector of the national economy on behalf of the workers. It will be necessary for the

leadership of the trade unions to be highly educated and knowledgeable in all aspects of industrial production; to have a high sense of personal integrity; and to be totally committed to the welfare and well-being of the workers. In the past, the ZCTU has not demonstrated the qualities of leadership demanded by the new situation. Our party members should work closely with the trade unions and assist them in the hard bargaining processes ahead. Those who are already members of the trade unions should redouble their efforts, and increase their work in those unions.

The Government has continued to set minimum wages for those workers at the lower end of the salary scales, namely the large number of farm workers and domestic service workers. That practice should be continued. These two large worker-groups are not strong enough to bargain for themselves, although their specific trade unions are growing slowly.

Given the recent sharp rises in the prices of several goods and services, the coming wage negotiations are going to be of great importance to every worker. An equally sharp rise in wages and salaries is necessary to offset the impact of prices on the pockets of the workers. As stated above, the producers and employers have received large increases in prices of their products; they should also grant large increases in the rewards to labour. □

Letters Letters Letters Letters Letters Letters Letters Letters

What are we trained for

Dear Editor

I am a member of the Zimbabwe Para-Military. Since I was trained, I was only called up for duty once. Ever since that time, I have never been recalled. When I enquired about when I will be summoned for duty, I was told that I will be informed when my services are needed.

Are we trained to stay at home or we are trained to defend our country? Efforts to find alternative employment have been fruitless with some companies saying they do not employ soldiers.

I am a holder of a Z.P.M. identity card. I want to serve my country. Some people say we are internal soldiers never to go out or patrol the borders. To make it worse, we are not receiving anything. This is not fair.

Yours comradely
Stephen Mataya
Norton.

Councillors, please be serious

Dear Editor,

I could not believe my ears sometime last week when a report over the radio that the

Harare City Council has "identified" certain land for building flats to ease the housing shortage in the city. This statement is not only ridiculous, but is an insult to all city dwellers who have been on the council's accommodation waiting list for more than 10 years.

What's new in the City Council's announcement? As early as 1981, the city fathers made us numerous promises of new accommodation in the form of flats. Nothing, absolutely nothing, has come of it. It is really absurd that in our eleventh year of independence, the City Council is talking of "identifying" land for building flats.

We are tired of the inefficiency. I advise the council not to talk about any building plans until and unless it is ready to deliver. Otherwise we are just becoming more and more frustrated as we are given more and more empty promises. To all councillors I say, please be serious!

Yours faithfully,
A. Maruta
Tafara, Harare

ZRP must be considerate

Dear Editor,

The transport situation is getting worse by

the day. Some of us understand the constraints that the government is facing and we do appreciate that the public and private commuter companies must co-operate with government in finding a lasting solution to this problem.

What we do not understand, however, is why the police is out to arrest private motorists who are helping to alleviate the situation. If the police want to ensure that vehicles on the roads are road-worthy, then that is good. Overloading should also be discouraged. But I honestly do not see the sense in issuing a traffic offense ticket to someone simply because he/she has helped a stranded commuter.

I recall that at the time when fuel prices went up at the onset of the Gulf War, the Minister of Energy, Water Resources and Development, Comrade Herbert Ushewokunze said something to the effect that the police will be persuaded to be lenient with private motorists who ferry the public to and from work. But now we see that the ZRP is out in full force to prohibit private motorists from assisting the poor commuter.

Yours faithfully,
Donald Ngoshi,
Gweru.

* * * * *



The Age of the Green Belt

(This is no Fairy Story)

Once upon a time, in the flourishing sub-tropical Forests between the Zambezi and Limpopo rivers, lived a large and diverse species called (in colloquial terms) the Belt Family or Rubber-and-Alliedensis (in scientific terms).

The Belt Family had many branches and sub-species (industrial drive belts, fan belts, V-belts, wedge belts, big, fat, long and small belts. They lived in great abundance and longevity, spawned from the ideal environment of the Rubber & Allied factory.

But, of late, the Belts have been under siege. The Great Forests on which they fed have been cut down. Foreign invaders have found their way into the fertile region, disturbing the local eco-system and devastating even greater areas of Forests. These exotic late-comers leech the ground of local nutrients such as Import Substitution.

Community leader, Mrs. Vanette Belt has begun a belt-conservation programme as protesting belts are told to tighten up, get in the groove and think of the eco-system.

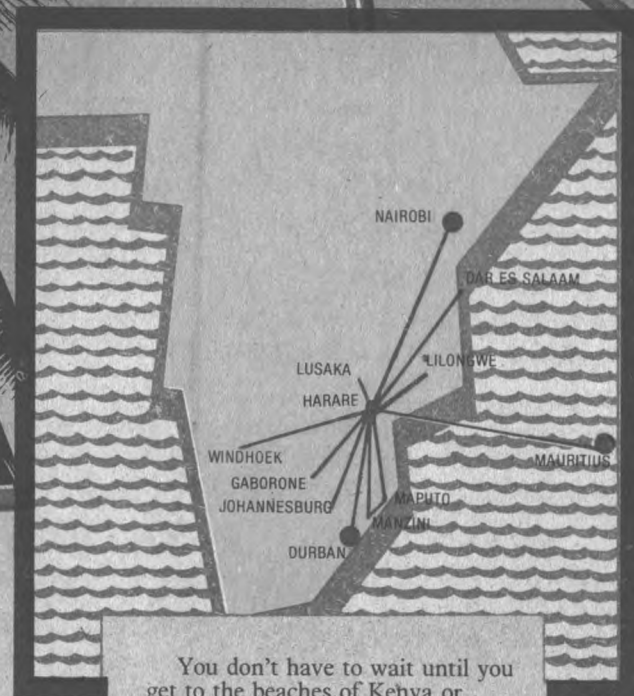


The onslaught of Forest Predators, foreign invaders and rampant viruses that dramatically reduce Belt births, has encouraged Rubber & Allied(ensis) ecologists to appeal for species protection. Militant Miss Fanny Belt is appealing to the populace to help her Belt brothers and sisters. Launching the SAVE THE BELTS Campaign, she said the whole Rubber & Allied species was endangered, and that the povo has to think conservation. "This is the Age of the Green Belt," she declared.



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ZIMBABWE NEWS MARCH/APRIL, 1991

Structural Adjustment: Policy to stimulate growth — President

The decision to implement a Structural Adjustment Reform and Trade Liberalisation programme was taken after a thorough review of the constraints that have faced the Zimbabwean economy since independence. This was stated by the President Comrade R.G. Mugabe, in his wide ranging address marking Zimbabwe's eleventh Independence Anniversary at the National Sports Stadium on Independence day.

The President said that since Independence, Zimbabwe's economic growth rate averaged only 3,2%, "well below our planned targets and barely adequate to meet our population growth rate of 2,9%". Although the economy showed resilience and responded favourably to good rainfall seasons and favourable international market conditions, it is government's intention to minimise the "constraints which have eroded and reversed some of the gains made in the past, and instead, enhance chances for a sustained economic recovery", he said.

Comrade Mugabe said that the poor economic growth, rising unemployment and poor export performance that have characterised the national economy are a direct result of the fall in investment levels from 15,5% of GDP in 1980, to 10,7% in 1989.

As a result, Comrade Mugabe said, the country was faced with a shortage of foreign currency and "consequently drastic reduction in import allocation for raw material inputs machinery vehicles and spare parts which in turn reduced the overall industrial operational capacity."

It is in order to redress these imbalances that government has embarked on "deliberate adjustments to its economic policy so as to stimulate economic growth, investment and employment," he said. The details of the economic reform programme were published recently in a document entitled 'Zimbabwe, A Framework for Economic Reform 1991-1995'.

The President said that the main thrust of the programme would be to transform the economy from one highly regulated to one that is market oriented. "The overall programme will initially be spearheaded by a phased trade liberalisation programme supported by fiscal and monetary policy reforms," he said. Through the reduction of the budget deficit, and subsidies to public enterprises and the introduction of cash recovery in education and health (the second and third largest beneficiaries of the national budget respectively) and reducing the size of the civil service, government hopes to increase capital expenditure in the production sectors and essential services. This will in turn hopefully "stimulate economic recovery and sustained growth" the President said.

ZIC approves projects worth \$1,5m

Comrade Mugabe revealed that to date, the Zimbabwe Investment Centre, which was set up to encourage and facilitate investment, has approved projects worth \$1,5 million with a potential for the creation of over 25 000 jobs. The President said that Zimbabwe's signing of the agreement with the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) and the Convention of the International Centre for the Settlement of Disputes in March 1991 should serve as "adequate assurance for investors"

The President said that the nation had already embarked on negotiations for foreign currency "in order to ensure the success of the restructuring exercise". These include a \$300 million deal with the African Development Bank and a \$200 million agreement with the International Finance Corporation. Both agreements will be utilised to open up lines of credit through local commercial banks. Zimbabwe also stands to benefit from pledges of up to \$700 million for 1991, resulting from the March 1991 donor conference in France. Of this amount, 20% will consist of grants and the balance will be soft loans at concessionary interest rates or tied aid.

In order to expand the indigenous industrial base, Comrade Mugabe said the government has provided the Zimbabwe Development Bank with a \$30 million loan facility to assist emerging entrepreneurs to procure capital for new business ventures. In this regard, SEDCO's equity has been increased from \$5 million to \$36 million and an enterprise, Venture Capital Company, has been established to provide loans and expertise to



His Excellency the President Comrade R.G. Mugabe

small entrepreneurs. Comrade Mugabe said that the government has also lent its support to the establishment of the Indigenous Business Development Council.

Turning to the Transport Sector, the President said that government had taken a number of measures to improve efficiency. He said that negotiations between the National Railways of Zimbabwe and the World Bank and USAID for a five year co-financing loan facility of US\$293 million had been finalised. These funds will be used to procure diesel locomotives and machine tools for technical assistance and management development programmes. The President said that in order to alleviate shortages in road transport and speed up the movement of goods, government had allocated \$1 billion for the procurement of commercial vehicles. The President also addressed the question of labour relations, an area that has been the



Rising unemployment was a direct result of the fall in investment levels

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concern of many potential investors. Comrade Mugabe said that government has now created conditions for workers to "enter into free collective bargaining agreements to fix and review wages, salaries and conditions of employment". Comrade Mugabe said that government will however "continue to stipulate minimum wages in sectors where the machinery for collective bargaining is either weak or non-existent, such as in the agricultural and domestic sectors".

The new labour legislation is now more flexible on hiring and firing, providing for employment councils where both the worker and employer are represented.

Social security programme

The President said that government is aware of the hardships that will befall the poor in the short term as a result of the Structural Adjustment Programme. In order to counter these adverse effects of the programme, "on the poor, low income workers the disabled women and children" the government is preparing a comprehensive social security programme.

Comrade Mugabe said that the agricultural

sector had experienced "far reaching reforms in both production and marketing systems which have enabled the sector to counter persistent droughts and to match economic reform. Consequently, the President said, there is progressive increase in agricultural output from the communal sector. In order to encourage production, government will pay more for agricultural produce, he said. In this regard government had awarded a 25% price increase for beef producers, Comrade Mugabe said. He added that legislation to rationalise the operations of private abattoirs would be tabled before Parliament.

Land

Comrade Mugabe said that government's "concerted efforts to resettle our people" in the last ten years had yielded a situation which "remains totally unacceptable". He said that the Land Acquisition Act will soon be amended to enable government to acquire land more easily for resettlement purpose. The New Land Policy he said, seeks to resettle 110 000 families on five million hectares in agro-ecological regions I and II which have so far remained outside the mainstream of land distribution. "We expect full

cooperation from the Nation in implementing this programme," he said.

The President's address also focused on mining, health, education, construction, housing, communications and the international situation.

Apartheid

Comrade Mugabe welcomed the changes taking place in South Africa spear headed by President de Klerk. "Whilst we welcome Mr. de Klerk's intention, in this regard, it should be stressed that there must be no half measures on this crucial issue. Apartheid must go in its entirety and a truly democratic South Africa must emerge. Until this happens, we will have no option but to press for the maintenance of sanctions and other forms of pressure on the Pretoria regime".

Comrade Mugabe reminded the nation that it would host the next summit of the Commonwealth Heads of State and Government (CHOGM) in October. "May I appeal to you for maximum support and cooperation in order to make the conference a resounding success," he concluded. □

Children meet the President

J oy, love and respect for the President was written all over the faces of the hundreds of school children who attended the pre-independence party held at the City Sports Centre last week, as the President went round greeting them.

The occasion, which is an annual event affords the school-children of Zimbabwe an opportunity to spend a semi-formal afternoon with the Head of State. It is also an opportunity for the President to address the question of children and their education directly.

Addressing the more than 5 000 children from Zimbabwe's nine educational regions, Cde. Mugabe said school children should respect the wishes of their parents and teachers. He urged them to adopt a positive attitude to education and respect learning institutions but warned that government will not tolerate indiscipline at school.

In plays, poems and songs performed by groups representing each of the nine regions, the children showed a qualitative improvement in their appreciation of Zimbabwean culture. They reaffirmed their dedication to unity, peace and love for the nation. Their messages showed a deep-seated awareness that they are masters of their own destiny. The school children acknowledged the tremendous progress made in Education and Health since independence.

Cde. Mugabe said government's main thrust in the field of education will be to improve quality rather than quantity following the country's success in providing education to children.

"Our programme to uplift education has been a tremendous success despite the obstacles... We say this with a sense of pride



Comrade President R.G. Mugabe bids farewell to children at a pre-independence party hosted for them at the National Sports Centre in Harare that every child has access to education and can go to school. True, some schools are not as good as they should be... The task therefore is qualitative." Each region sent 72 children and three teachers.

The President and First Secretary of the Party acknowledged that progress has been made in uplifting the quality of education by developing teacher-education institutions. He expressed hope that in the next five years, there will be a substantial increase in the number of well-trained teachers and that the children-teacher ratio will have improved.

Providing teachers is not a total answer to education, Cde. Mugabe told the children. A good answer to that question cannot be

in the affirmative because a lot depends on the pupils.

Cde. President Mugabe added that the pre-independence celebrations should serve to remind them that independence has brought them new avenues and new chances which never existed. "Independence is more for you than it is for your parents because you will live much longer than them. Take advantage of every opportunity available to you in future and do not allow them to go to waste."

He congratulated those who did well at Junior certificate, Ordinary and Advanced levels of education and looked forward to better results.



Comrade Simon Muzenda

Vice President, Comrade Simon Muzenda recently launched Zimbabwe Urban Sector and Regional Project which helps local authorities get finance for urban housing projects from government and the World Bank.

Speaking at the launching ceremony, Comrade Muzenda, promised that government would assist those local authorities in desperate need of finance but are seriously and tirelessly struggling to put their houses in order.

The Vice-President disclosed that the government has signed loan agreement number 3 079 with the World Bank for the project.

The housing project started with the urban 1 project which was introduced by the Zimbabwe Government with the assistance of the World Bank in 1984 in the four towns of Harare, Bulawayo, Mutare and Masvingo.

The successes of these four project towns made government consider the need for a second urban development project. The World Bank was therefore asked to carry out project identification mission in 1986 which led to the bank preparation mission in November 1987, then the bank pre-appraisal mission in March 1988 and finally bank appraisal mission in October 1988.

However, due to national budgetary constraints and the lack of finance for technical

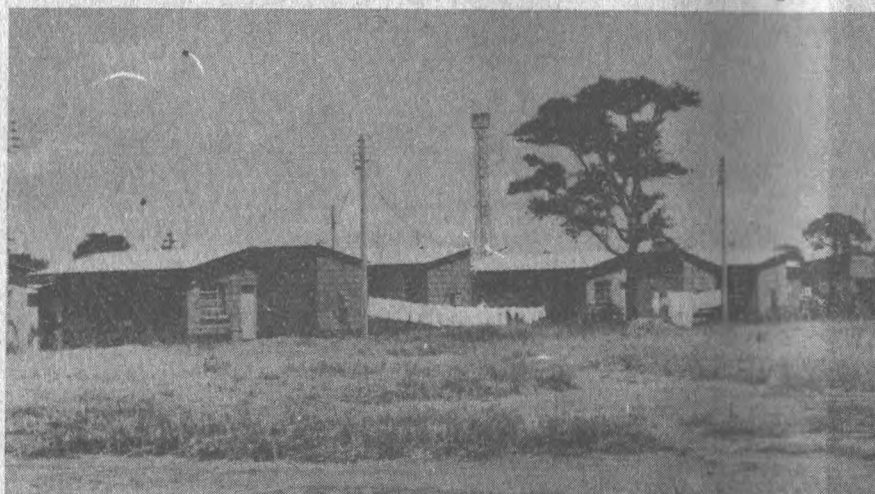
Muzenda launches Urban Housing Project

assistance, the project could not be implemented in 1989 as was planned. Only the Nordic Development Fund was able to provide part of the funds in November 1990.

"Now that funds are available from the government, the World Bank and the Nordic Development Fund, I would like to call upon the 20 urban councils including the new towns of Bindura, Rusape, Karoi and Gwanda to take urgent steps to qualify and implement the project as a matter of urgency", Comrade Muzenda said.

He added that all urban councils must take urgent steps to clear the existing housing backlog.

Unlike the urban 1 project, the urban 2 project is based on the sector loan approach. The project components are structured as two sub-sector loans under which government will appraise and provide financing for individual projects proposed by local authorities for investments in urban infrastructure and housing respectively.



Government will assist local authorities in providing low-cost housing

The other sub-sector loans will finance the foreign currency requirements of the public sector investment programme.

Comrade Muzenda stated that projects in-

cluded in the public sector investment programme were selected by the local authorities themselves.

Several local authorities have indicated water supply works and sewerages as top priorities.

The housing component, he pointed out will include the provision of serviced residential plots for low, moderate and middle income households.

"Such serviced land will also include local, commercial, industrial and recreational facilities so that those areas will reflect an integrated development pattern", Comrade Muzenda said adding that the housing financing under the project will be provided by the building societies.

\$60 million will be made available for this purpose and the target group for the project is expected to have income ranges of \$450 to \$1 000 per month.

The Vice President said the regional de-

velopment component will concentrate on the development role of small growth centres and the secondary towns in the rural and communal areas, while the institutional development component is aimed to strengthen the management capacity of the local authorities.

Comrade Muzenda said any local authority wishing to participate in the project must satisfy the government and the World Bank that it has its audited accounts up to date and that it has ascertained its present financial position and that it has no accumulated deficits or if it has, a realistic financial recovery plan should be produced to show that it is going to clear the accumulated deficits.

The local authority should also prove that it has no loan arrears to government and that it has the necessary staffing capacity to carry out such a project and where it has no staff it draws up its plan on the matter and do something about the problem.

Zimbabwe Donors Consultation Meeting: Paris, March 27-28, 1991

by our Economic Correspondent

The Zimbabwe Donors Consultation meeting was convened at the European offices of the World Bank in Paris to discuss Zimbabwe's economic reform programme and the financial requirements needed to implement it. The discussions centred on Zimbabwe's own homegrown document — The Framework for Economic Reform, January 1991 which comprehensively outlined the country's needs. The meeting had been targeted to raise US\$700 million in foreign financing for implementing the critical initial programmes to give the whole programme a forward momentum. The general response of the 100 representatives of multilateral and bilateral financial institutions and donor countries was encouraging. There was overall consensus on the magnitude of Zimbabwe's external financial requirements and indications given at the meeting despite some concerns on certain issues confirmed that donors had responded positively with a potential of US\$700 million having been met with about 30% in untied and the rest in tied or concessionary loans.

Presentation of programme and discussion

The Senior Minister of Finance, Economic Planning and Development, Dr. B. Chidzero comprehensively and eloquently presented Zimbabwe's economic reform to the donor community most of whom praised this ambitious programme by Zimbabwe.

Dr. Chidzero's statement began by outlining the reasons behind Zimbabwe's embarkment on the programme of economic reform. The Senior Minister told the donors that the programme's "main thrust is to move away from a highly regulated economy to one in which market forces will play a greater role to stimulate investment, create employment opportunities and promote a sustainable rate



Comrade Bernard Chidzero

of growth of about 5 per cent per year by 1995." He argued that the restructuring process, was intended to correct past mistakes in policy which had contributed to low economic growth and an unacceptable high level of unemployment.

The creation of favourable conditions for attracting foreign investment is a major objective of the programme. In order to achieve this, the programme would embark on the following measures:

- (a) Trade liberalisation,
- (b) Fiscal and monetary policy measures and
- (c) Deregulation of the economy.

Dr. Chidzero admitted right at the beginning of the conference and his sentiments were later echoed by almost all donor representatives present that the structural adjustment programme was bound to adversely affect at least in the initial stages,

those in the lower echelons of society. The adverse effects would be associated with high price rises when controls are removed, increased unemployment and further retrenchment from established posts.

Trade liberalisation

The trade liberalisation programme that was launched in October, 1989, had already become operational although at below capacity because of the shortage of foreign exchange. The Senior Minister envisaged that more products would be brought on the Open General Import Licence (OGIL). By the end of 1991 at least 50 per cent of products would be under OGIL to stimulate industry to work at full capacity while at the same time promoting exports to earn the required foreign currency to sustain the programme.

Representatives of many donor institutions and countries called for a quick opening up of the economy and the United States and the International Monetary Fund seemed to be representative for those who prefer an immediate opening up of the economy, with no phasing of the implementation of the programme. The placing of all products on the Open General Import Licence if done wholesale, could jeopardise Zimbabwean companies in the face of stiff and unfair competition with foreign firms which are generously endowed with huge reserves of both foreign exchange and capital.

While Zimbabwe would manage a flexible exchange rate of the dollar to enhance the competitiveness of our exports, some donor nations particularly France noted that the Zimbabwe dollar was excessively overvalued in relation to the exchange rates of currencies of the donor nations. Dr. Chidzero had earlier on explained that the value of the Zimbabwe dollar had depreciated in recent years in response to the export and import needs

Children meet the President (continued)

Conspicuous by their absence at the function were ZANU PF Politburo and Central Committee members, ZANU PF Women's and Youth Leagues. Present were the Minister of Education and Culture, Cde. Fay Chung, the Secretary for Education Cde. Isaiah Sibanda and officials from the same Ministry which was also responsible for the organisation of the function.

Paul Matavire of *The Jairos Jiri Band*, who performed at the function, told *The People's Voice* that more such gatherings should be organised in future to give children an opportunity to meet and mix with their leaders. The musician urged the chil-

dren to emulate His Excellency Cde. Mugabe. He said it is important for them to use their talents be they footballers, carpenters or musicians.

Earlier on, The President showed his personal interest in children when he took time to talk to young Yvonne Mugochi of North Park School, Mt. Pleasant, Harare.

Although parents were not amongst the guests at the party, the President did mention them in his opening remarks. This has prompted some observers to suggest that it would be appropriate for representatives of parents to be invited to this important occasion.

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of the country and that it would be flexibly managed to cater for any changes in the trend.

Fiscal and monetary policy

Most donors expressed their concern at Zimbabwe's fiscal and monetary policies. The government was called upon to curtail expenditure and with it the budget deficit by instituting various measures. The United Kingdom, the United States, the International Monetary Fund and others asked Zimbabwe to regulate the functions of public enterprises with a view to privatising them. They argued that public enterprises should not be a burden on the taxpayer. Dr. Chidzero informed the meeting that the government was in the process of privatising some of these enterprises and removing subsidies to the extent that those that could not stand on their own would be gradually phased out.

The reduction of government expenditure would also be realised by the rationalisation of the Civil Service and cost recovery mechanisms that were being instituted particularly in the fields of health and education.

The World Bank and representatives of donors have set up a watchdog to monitor our progress in implementing the measures that we have promised. A formalised Consultative Group comprising of the World Bank for Zimbabwe is to hold its meeting after the presentation of our National budget. The timing of the consultative group meeting could be seen as a way of ensuring that we have adhered to the agreed measures on the reduction of expenditure and thereby reducing the budget deficit.

Economic deregulation

The government has embarked on measures to remove economic controls that have been discouraging investments in Zimbabwe. They included the following:-

- bilateral negotiations to sign agreements protecting investments in addition to our signing of MIGA and OPIC,
- local companies are to face competition as barriers to protect them are removed,
- the incomes policy of Zimbabwe was to be based on market conditions, that is, setting of wages and salaries disputes and other conditions were to be determined by collective bargaining between the workers and management, and
- price controls are to be removed with respect to most items. Currently there were only ten basic food items whose prices were controlled to protect the most vulnerable groups.

Scandinavian countries and Japan were agreed that the hardships that were to befall the vulnerable groups were immense and they therefore urged the Zimbabwe government to explain the motives for structural adjustment and its short-term consequences. Japan emphasised the need for the restructuring of the school curriculum in line with the expected changes in the country.

Many delegations, particularly the United Kingdom and the United States expressed their concern on the land issue. In the initial



The people themselves must play a part in employment creation

stages of the conference, there had been some misunderstandings in the minds of donors who assumed that the Zimbabwe government was to forcibly confiscate land from commercial farmers. It was only after the Senior Minister had explained the policy and mechanism of land acquisition that most donors understood the politics of the land issue.

Indications were that there had been considerable lobbying on the donor community by Zimbabwe's commercial farmers. The Commercial Farmers' Union letter that was circulated at the conference showed no real commitment to the overall programme except the benefits that the agricultural related sectors were to benefit from a deregulated economy. In the final analysis, it is the same said farmers who would be the major beneficiaries of the structural adjustment programme.

Provisional pledges

The Zimbabwe Donors Consultation meeting was able to realise the US\$700 million that had been targeted for the first phase of the adjustment programme. Indications were that the US\$3.5 billion required for the entire adjustment period 1991-1995 will be realised on conditions that Zimbabwe adhered to the agreed commitments and that momentum is maintained throughout the whole programme.

Mr. Denning, the Director of the World Bank — Southern Africa called on the community to continue its support to Zimbabwe and to impress on others to do the same. He announced that the World Bank had authorised a loan of US\$125 million to Zimbabwe on the basis of the framework for Economic Reform, January 1991. This loan would be utilised on a fast disbursing basis. He emphasised the urgent need to improve on the quality of "existing commitments through the untying of aid where possible and also by simplifying and harmonising disbursement procedures".

Final emphasis was placed on the long term financial needs of Zimbabwe. It was emphasised that there was need for quick disbursement finances and to release large proportions of financial assistance as grants or cessionary loans and untied aid. To enable the programme to take off quickly, donors were also urged to "frontload" their financial packages, that is, to give the larger portions of their aid during the initial phases.

The majority of donor representatives present whose aid was tied expressed their inability to single-handedly untie the existing financial arrangements as that was the responsibility of their respective parliaments.

Others could not commit themselves to new packages. France was one such country which did not make a pledge during this phase of the structural adjustment programme. The representative of the French government talked at length about the existing Fifth Financial Protocol which was signed in December 1990.

The Japanese did not make any financial pledge arguing that they would like to see Zimbabwe's priority list of projects so that they could select items for project rather than programme financing which is tantamount to tying aid.

* * * * *

President Addresses ZANU PF Central Committee

The Future of socialism in Zimbabwe will depend on its clear definition as a viable system, its acceptance by the leadership and its propagation as a well designed programme that is understood and accepted by the people. This was stated by the First Secretary and President of Zanu PF Comrade Robert Gabriel Mugabe in his opening address to the fifth Ordinary meeting of the ZANU PF Central Committee held in March this year at the Zanu PF Headquarters in Harare.

Following is the full text of the speech.



His Excellency, Comrade R.G. Mugabe

Comrade Members of the Central Committee, welcome to our first meeting this year. We are meeting not only for the first time in 1991, but also some 26 days before celebrating the Eleventh Anniversary of our Independence. I am sure we are all looking forward to this historic event with no less joy and enthusiasm than we have done in the past. Perhaps, for us in this great Party of unity — ZANU PF — our sense of joy and jubilation on such an occasion shall always be in double measure, for, while on the one hand we are the beneficiaries, alongside all other Zimbabweans, of the freedom and independence struggle that was waged, we are at the same time, and more importantly, also our own benefactors.

To attain freedom meant, on our part, nothing less than obedience to, and compliance with, the dictate of our human conscience that we had to wage a protracted, bitter, bloody and relentless struggle for that freedom. The one and only option that lay before us was to take up arms and become our own liberators. On 18th April, 1980, as the Union Jack was lowered and the Zimbabwean Flag hoisted, we became both the liberated and the liberators. And forever behind

us shall lie the long, long trail of blood of our sacrifices, since on the sacred altar of our freedom we had no choice but to offer our own human blood, not just of a few hundred fighters but of tens of thousands of them who perished in the Freedom Struggle. It is this phenomenon of ultimate sacrifice that lends our independence its depth and significance. It is, indeed, that same phenomenon that should continue to invoke greater commitment on our part as the political leadership.

Assessment

But, as we meet today, we are also reminded that it was in March last year that we held our last General Elections, the dates then being 28th, 29th and 30th of March. One year has thus gone by since we constituted our present Parliament, and one year is quite a long period for us to make an assessment of our performance in terms of the rate and extent of the fulfillment of our elections promises and enunciated policies.

Our starting point in any such assessment is, of course, the Party, of which we are the second highest organ after Congress. It is the Party which fielded election candidates in

March last year as we sought a mandate from the electorate on the basis of the principles and policies for which the Party stands and which, if elected to power, would seek to implement through a new Government by way of formulated policies. The Party should, from time to time, thus conduct a systematic examination and evaluation of the extent to which Governmental programmes have been an ongoing process of implementing Party policies and programmes.

For this to be achieved, the relevant and Government-related standing committees of the Central Committee should maintain an active relationship with Government through appropriate ministerial arms. They should, thus, be able to report to this Central Committee on this matter, drawing its attention to any deviations, delays in policy implementation, and to the success or failure in the implementation of the mandate of the Party and people.

Perhaps this session of the Central Committee may not be the most appropriate one for this exercise which needs quite some concerted preparation by our Standing Committees.

What I would, however, wish to emphasize is the need for this Central Committee constantly to realize the full nature of its constitutional responsibilities as the agent of the National People's Congress. We are the custodian of all the policies, principles, resolutions and programmes adopted by Congress in December 1989. More than that we are also the implementers, either directly or indirectly, of the said policies, principles, resolutions and programmes. Where, however, circumstances have become so compelling that implementation of certain policies or their continued espousal might have a seriously detrimental effect on the Party, the Central Committee, no doubt, can suspend the implementation of those policies or even review them subject, of course, to the final accountability to the Congress. If need be, the Central Committee can convene an Extraordinary National People's Congress to deliberate on any important matter and resolve on it. Therefore, policies and resolutions, duly passed by Congress are not issues to be recklessly disregarded, scorned at or treated nonchalantly. We remain bound by and committed to them until they are either validly reviewed or discarded, and this by Congress.

Last year, for example, we had to deal with the controversial issue of whether we should bring about a One-Party democratic system or continue as before upholding the multi-Party nature of our political system. We finally decided to deliberate on this issue as the Central Committee and agreed to con-

tinue with the status quo. That decision would in future have to be reported to our Congress since it ran counter to a Congress Resolution, Article 11 (Section 9) of our Party Constitution, and Article 6 of our Unity Agreement of December 1987.

We shall, today, be debating yet another controversial ideological matter, that of Socialism. Again the nature of socialism we have adopted in theory is clearly stated in our Constitution as well as in the Unity Agreement. Let me dwell on it for a while so as to provide some guidance to our debate.

The ideology of the Party and past performance

Our former parties, ZANU (PF) and PF-ZAPU, were established and developed in an environment which, on the one hand, was national and, on the other, was international. At home, as the parties developed their ideological thought they espoused, in rather a generalised way, the philosophy of socialism. But as the parties established themselves externally and began relating to socialist countries, the Soviet Union and China being the largest and most influential of them, they not only derived from them the many, many thousands of tonnes of weaponry for the national struggle, but their political ideology as well. Both their arms and the ideology of the socialism became our own instruments for fighting settler usurpers and their capitalist exploitative system.

The arms won us the war in 1980, as we became free and independent. There we are

now were as ZANU and ZAPU, both of them victorious parties that had gained their military strength from "Communist" arms. Our two former parties remained at that stage committed to socialism. Intellectually and emotionally very many of us, and I am one of them, had fully accepted socialism as the only ideological mode of fighting what we saw and truly believed as an exploitative capitalist system. The Constitutions of both parties enunciated not just Socialism, but Socialism based on Marxism and Leninism as their ideological identity between PF-ZAPU and ZANU (PF) at the time of our Unity Agreement in 1987, and hence the ready acceptance of that ideology by delegates at the National People's Congress of 1989.

In other words, as the situation, in constitutional terms, stands today our Ideology is that of socialism based on Marxist-Leninist principles. Article II of our Constitution states the relevant object under Section 9 as follows: "To establish and sustain a socialist society guided by Marxist-Leninist principles but firmly based on our historical, cultural and social experience and to create conditions for economic independence, increased productivity and equitable distribution of the wealth of the nation".

Our Unity Agreement of 22nd December, 1987 states the same object rather concisely as follows:

"That ZANU PF shall seek to establish a socialist society in Zimbabwe on the



The December 22 1987 Unity Accord has brought peace and unity to Zimbabwe. Signing the Accord are Comrade President R.G. Mugabe (left) and Co-Vice-President J.M. Nkomo at State House, Harare while former President Comrade Canaan Banana looks on

guidance of Marxist-Leninist principles" (Article 5).

Ideological philosophy

There is, therefore, no denial that the Party's ideological philosophy is that of socialism guided by Marxist-Leninist principles. We have, however, in accepting this philosophy also accepted that its application in our Zimbabwean environment should take cognisance of, or be regulated by "our historical, cultural and social experience". This naturally means that, while the main socio-economic developmental thrust would remain socialist, there should be a recognition of those factors — historical, cultural, and social — which, if taken account of, would make such thrust more easily adaptable to our own politico-socio-economic environment.

However, we have never, as a Party, attempted an exercise of identifying and defining what the "historical, cultural and social" factors are. What this really means is that we have not, in our possession as a Party, a clear definition of Socialism as we would want to see it applied in our society. In practice, however, we have proceeded, as Government in a pragmatic way. Hence, you would be correct in regarding our socialist practice over the last eleven years as "pragmatic socialism". Please bear with me as I proceed to give an account of how we proceeded to apply our socialist thinking in practice.

In 1980, when we achieved our independence, we inherited an economy which not only was heavily capitalistic but one with an in-built system of racial and social imbalances as well. Thus, most of our arable land was not only under the dominant ownership of some 4 000 white settler farmers, for vast hectares, with huge agro-industrial or ranching activities, but also belonged to foreign multi-national companies. The cumulative effect of the Land Apportionment Act, 1930, Land Husbandry Act, 1951 and the Land Tenure Act, 1969, had, by

creating an intolerable imbalance in the allocation of land as between Blacks and Whites, also created through the instrumentality of "native reserves" or "communal areas" a definite condition of social and economic underdevelopment. It was more our nationalism than socialism which impelled us to embark on a policy of land resettlement in order to improve the social and economic condition of the impoverished peasants, at the same time as we also sought to correct the history of dispossession.

But while we were, and are still, thus moved by our nationalism as "true sons of the soil" ("vana vevhu", "abantwana benhlabathi"), our socialist persuasion also bids us to begin the socialist organisation of our peasant agricultural communities for production purposes. Hence, the establishment of a ministry to undertake socialist co-operative development. Our co-operative thrust was based on the voluntary principle that only those who could be persuaded to join a co-operative as members could do so. The policy of regimentation, followed elsewhere, we rejected from the very beginning.

The imbalance in the ownership of our economic resources, although more sorely felt in the sphere of land, is equally glaring in the manufacturing, mining and commercial sectors. In all these sectors, African or indigenous ownership of substantial productive or distributive enterprises is negligible. At independence, this position was clearly realised, and the Government felt that there were roughly the following three ways in which a pragmatic socialist thrust could be made:

A. By state or governmental action

1. Government participation was to occur in well-identified enterprises of a crucial nature to the country. The policy of participation was thus preferred to that of nationalisation, for it is more acceptable to the parties involved and thus avoids their alienation and

the adverse consequences that usually accompany nationalisation. It was on this basis that Government acquired equity in the Hwange Colliery, Mhangura, Zimbank, BCCZ, Heinz, Caps, etc. But Government also pursued the policy of establishing its own enterprises, through such existing arms as ARDA and IDC, both of which have established an excellent record of profitable productive expansion. It was also the deliberate policy of Government to continue the functions the parastatals found in existence at Independence such as AMA, CSC, CMB, GMB and DMB in agriculture, while at the same time, establishing appropriate new ones, even as companies. Some of the new ones were the Minerals Marketing Authority, the Zimbabwe Mining Development Corporation, the Small Enterprises Development Corporation, the State Trading Corporation, Zimbabwe Re-Insurance, Noczim, Zimbabwe Development Bank, the Zimbabwe Development Corporation and others. The operations of these parastatals, though subject to various criticisms, have helped to ameliorate the tough capitalist grip of our economy.

2. Government decided to give emphasis to Social Service Development. Because the history of colonialism was also the history of blatant racial discrimination in the spheres of Education and Health, Government decided, as far back as 1980, to devote huge budgetary expenditure to these crucial social services. Both our nationalist feeling and socialist persuasion had combined here in impelling us, in a determined way to rectify the historical racial imbalances, at the same time as we eradicated the "apartheid" we found in the social service systems by opening the educational and health institutions to all regardless of race or colour. The results have been so stunningly successful that many First World countries have expressed full praise of our educational and health programmes. Unlike in the spheres of material production (agriculture, mining, manufacturing and commerce) where, because of ra-

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cial discrimination, imbalances and inequities have remained to this day, our public sector spheres have been completely rid of similar imbalances.

3. *Government's Policy of African Advancement in the Public Service.* It will be remembered that at the beginning of our Independence, we issued a constitutionally permissible *Presidential Directive*, authorising African advancement in the Public Service by way of promoting African civil servants and superceding white civil servants. Through this measure we achieved a racial composition of the Public Service which, in general, reflected the racial proportions of our society. This way, the Public Service, within a few years, was transformed from being white-dominated to being black-dominated. At the same time, differential salary scales were abolished, even as between men and women of equal training and experience, employed on the same or comparable posts.

4. *Government adopted the Policy of the Advancement of Women.* As socialists and democrats, we could not brook for too long the social, legal or customary systems of discrimination against women. If girls were, at the age of 18, able to exercise their vote, why should they, at that age, not legally become majors?

Accordingly, we enacted the Age of Majority Act which provides that status and also recognises the major's right to sue and be sued independently of her parents or guardians. Whatever other socially undesirable consequences might have flowed from this piece of legislation, the principal idea behind it was none other than to raise the status of our women. In other spheres affecting women, we have proceeded to provide mar-

ried women with the right of inheritance. Thus, in the event of a husband's death, the widow now has the right to a share of the property of the marital estate alongside the children.

In the event of divorce, the divorced woman also has the right to an equal share of the marital estate with the former husband. Recently, as you are aware, our law has made provision for the separate taxation of married women, again to raise her status in wedlock.

You will also admit, I am sure, that we have not done badly in both the Party and in Government in the area of electing and appointing women to posts in the Central Committee, in Parliament and Government as Ministers.

There is obviously still much room for improvement.

Without socialist motivation, I doubt whether the achievements made by Government, across the gamut of all our sectors, would have been possible within so short a time.

Party and State action in promoting co-operative development

The second way of establishing socialism has been through co-operative development. The Party and Government are on record as having striven assiduously over the last ten years to promote the establishment of co-operatives in all our economic sectors. Indeed, co-operatives exist in every one of our sectors. There are agricultural co-operatives, manufacturing co-operatives, commercial co-operatives, mining co-operatives and co-operatives in the transport sector.

The number of co-operatives established so far is colossal, but most of them are in the agricultural field. Some have been a success, others a failure for various reasons, which include inadequate financial resources, lack of administrative and management skills, strained relations among co-operators, corruption, etc, etc. The Ministry of Community and Co-operative Development which is tasked to promote co-operative development has, to date, been the most poorly financed Ministry, a sorry reflection of the importance that is attached to our socialist thrust through co-operative development as one of its arms. It is clear that the cooperative as an enterprise of socio-economic development has had a low rating in the minds of some of us. The fact, however, must be accepted that where a number of people come together to constitute themselves into a co-operative enterprise of a socialist nature, the morality of equal sharing and common belonging is enhanced. Apart from this moral side, there is the aspect of self-reliance which is promoted as, indeed, there is also the opening of a considerable scope for employment.

Perhaps as we move into the future, there will be a greater realisation on our part that we need to do much more, indeed very much more, to produce viable cooperatives. Firstly, we have to create a *substantial fund* as a viable resource to which ready access can be had by co-operatives seeking loans. Secondly, we should rapidly establish adequate *training facilities*, by way of an institution devoted to the training of a co-operators in various skills. Thirdly, *consultancy service* must be provided for all would-be co-operators including management and ac-



Members of the Presidium of the National Congress (from left to right) Comrade Joseph Msika, Vice President Comrade Simon Muzenda, The First Secretary and President of the Party Comrade R.G. Mugabe, Vice President Comrade Joshua Nkomo. Invited guests at the 1989 People's Congress included Comrade President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and President Quet Masire of Botswana

counting services. Fourthly, the fields in which the co-operators are to engage themselves must not be capital-intensive but rather those which are labour intensive, it would be more encouraging for co-operators if their co-operative was one geared to yield results in the short or medium term rather than in the long term.

Development of Workers as Producers

The third way in which we have tried to ensure the future of socialism has been by way of promoting the role and welfare of workers. The policy in this regard has had three facets. Firstly, we recognise as far back as 1980 that it was important that the worker be properly organised in his work place through the establishment of workers' committee and works councils so his interests could be taken care of by himself. Secondly, it was also our belief that the country's trade union movement be well organised, and to this effect, the then Ministry of Labour and Social Services was empowered to provide assistance to the then existing several disparate and antagonistic labour movements so they could be integrated and united. This task was soon happily achieved and now we have the ZCTU as the national worker's movement. Thirdly, we sought to address the incomes and welfare of the workers themselves. To do so effectively, we established the Riddell Commission to enquire into the whole question of the incomes and wages with a view to providing us with guidelines as to a possible minimum wage. It will be remembered that it was after the Report of that Commission that we started the policy, now of course modified, of establishing minimum and other levels of wages of workers across the sectors. I believe that that policy went a long way in improving the incomes and workers and reducing the degree of exploitation to which they had been subjected. We further also adopted regulations protecting the workers against arbitrary dismissals, which regulations, as you know, have been controversial among employers. To further improve the situation of the worker, we have recently introduced a social security scheme with food prospects of being improved in the future.

These measures, while they did not provide workers with an equity in the enterprises in which they worked, were meant primarily to improve their status and function, as well as the welfare of their families.

There were, however, a number of cases of enterprises, employing a substantial number of workers, suddenly collapsing, but being propped again by workers themselves as they took over the enterprise on a co-operative basis. A case in point is the much published Lancashire Steel Company in Kwekwe which is now owned by the workers.

III Socialism in the future

Although our socialist thrust over the last eleven years has been, in some areas of development, pragmatically successful, it has not been comprehensive enough, partly for lack of a clear and thorough definition of our

nature of Socialism, and partly for historical reasons. If, as we do, we recognise the phenomenon of capitalism as a historical reality we cannot reverse at all or reverse now, then our Socialism would be limited in its application. The sheer weight of capitalism could very well set us off-course, even though our socialist commitment might in theory continue.

In 1980, as we went to our first General Elections, the ZANU (PF) Election Manifesto addressed itself to the issue of Socialism as follows:

"We believe that the achievement of political power by the People will remain hollow in terms of their material development unless it can translate itself into quantitative and qualitative benefits deriving from their economy. Such translation of political power must necessarily be by way of economic power in social form. ZANU (PF) thus believes in the development of a Socialistic Economy

"In working towards the socialist transformation of Zimbabwean society, a ZANU PF Government will, nevertheless, recognise historical, social and other existing practical realities of Zimbabwe. One of these existing practical realities is the capitalist system which cannot be transformed overnight. Hence, while a socialist transformation process will be brought underway in many areas of the existing economic sectors, it is recognised that private enterprise will have to continue until circumstances are ripe for socialist change."

The PF-ZAPU Election Manifesto (1980), although it is very cleverly silent on the issue of Socialism, implies the practical thrust of socialism in many sections such as those relating to Land and Natural Resources, on and, the Manifesto clearly states:

"A Patriotic Front Government shall maintain the principle — Land belongs to the People. It will implement it in such a way that the distribution and use of the land is fair to all". (page 3)

On the Economy and Natural Resources, the Manifesto has this to say:

"All the natural resources of Zimbabwe belong to the people and must be retained and shared by them all. Under a Patriotic Front Government the State shall ensure their use in accordance with the growing needs of the people". (page 14).

It is clear from these quotations that our two former parties had, as already stated elsewhere above, an early commitment to Socialism, but what seems to have run counter to the theory of that Socialism is the practical way of implementing it.

There have, over the last two or three years, emerged political circumstances in Socialist Europe in which whole communities are rejecting, not just Communism, but socialism lock, stock and barrel. This development has had some influence on many political systems in the Third World, including Africa. Perhaps we also, or some of us, have been influenced by these East European trends to a greater or less extent. It is against this background that we are now called upon to debate our version of socialism based on Marxism-Leninism with a view to emerge with a consolidated Central Committee thinking on the issue. I am sure we are not for the abandonment of our Ideology of Socialism. I think it is more its adaptability or modification that we should consider. Whatever form of Socialism the Party finally adopts would have to be sufficiently effective in scope and nature to merit the name.

The future of our Socialism will depend on a number of factors, which include its clear definition and elaboration as a viable politico-socio-economic programme; the full commitment of the Party leadership and Government to it; the propagation of a well-designed programme, its full understanding by the people, and its progressive and effective implementation, yielding such positive results as will enhance its popular acceptance in preference to Capitalism.

We, thus, have an immense task before us, one which, if well executed, will help to shape the destiny of our Nation. Let us not be found lacking in our resolve to execute it. I thank you!

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J. Nkomo addresses International Women's Day

Speech delivered by His Excellency the Vice President of Zimbabwe Cde. J.M. Nkomo on the occasion of the International Women's Day held in Harare at the City Sports Centre on 8th March 1991

I am greatly honoured to have been asked to participate in the celebration of the International Women's Day because the women are the pillars upon which our society and government rest; the salt of our community; and the bedrock upon which the edifice of our nation is built.

Distinguished guests, I would like to welcome you all to this important occasion, the International Women's Day. It is an occasion which has its origins in the women's movements for equality of the early 20th century. The 8th of March is a day which has been set aside by progressive and democratic forces of the world, since 1910, to promote international women's action towards the promotion of peace, equality, justice and human rights. It not only gives us a forum to share and exchange views on issues currently concerning women but it also provides us with an opportunity to review and take stock of what has so far been achieved to promote women's issues in our society. Furthermore it reinforces our determination to effectively integrate women in the mainstream of national development as equal participants and beneficiaries at all levels.

To set the tone for the international activities and concerted effort during the celebrations, the United Nations, which coordinates the International Women's Day, comes up with a theme on an annual basis. The 1991 theme is "Women and Economic Development".

Ladies and gentlemen, you must surely agree that the theme could not have been more apt considering our current developmental concerns in Zimbabwe and indeed throughout the developing world. The rapid changes that have taken place in Eastern Europe and the current crisis in the Gulf all have serious economic repercussions which will adversely affect the economies of most developing countries.

Congratulations

I therefore wish to congratulate the women of the world for focusing international attention on the critical theme of "economic development", for a woman without financial independence in today's society is at the mercy of unscrupulous exploiters just as a country without a sound economy is a potential victim to the manipulations of the rich countries.

At independence my Government inherited an economy which was geared first and foremost to meet the needs of a minority.

The first task of Government was thus to correct the inherited imbalances by directing resources to education and the social services. The Government also initiated programmes to promote the productive forces of our people by providing credit fa-

cilities and making it generally attractive for our largely rural population to engage in agricultural activities.

I am glad to report that in the agricultural sector our people fulfilled in large measure the expectations we had of them, by surpassing production records year after year, and many of these farms are managed by women.

Within the other sectors of our economy, we have seen in the last ten years our entrepreneurs struggling to participate in the economy, and facing many difficulties in the process. The institutions created to assist our people in this regard have achieved much

to be acquired. But to acquire land, we must if justice is to be done.

Unemployment

Because of land pressure and high unemployment rate we have seen many of our people, particularly women become engaged in the informal sector, as vendors, craft producers and so on.

This area of our economic life is an area where many of our women are engaged, and provides a vital service to our people and income to many families.

My Government is looking at ways in which this sector can be used as springboard for nurturing indigenous entrepreneurs capable of sustaining our economy.

In recognition of the importance of the informal sector my Government is currently assisting this sector in the following manner:-

- provision of funds
- provision of training, especially in business matters
- technical advisory services
- people's markets

Government is encouraged by the way in which women have begun to organise themselves so that they can fight for their rights both at national and local levels. This is a very healthy development which should be encouraged by both Government agencies and the Party, because only through organised pressure groups can women hope to have their voices heard.

Turning more specifically to the role of women in our development I would like to emphasise the importance attached by the Party and Government to the greater involvement of women in development. It was in recognition of the importance of women's involvement in the struggle that my Government created a national machinery for women, which is now in the Ministry of Political Affairs and whose major task is to ensure meaningful involvement of women in development.

To achieve this, the national machinery for women, better known to you as the Department of Women's Affairs works closely with relevant organisations whose objectives are to improve the quality of life of our women. I would suggest that if success is going to be achieved women must identify agencies whose work benefit women and work closely with them in order to ensure that opportunities are created for women. I also urge women to identify the social, psychological, cultural and religious practices that hinder women from fully participating in development. In this regard participation in the economic world demands new skills and attitudes from women which must be consciously learnt if success is to be achieved.



Co-Vice-President Comrade Joshua Nkomo

success but need to be much more attuned to the obstacles faced by our people, so that the assistance given achieves results.

Our room for manoeuvre within the economic sector has been partly constrained by the Lancaster House Agreement which qualified and constricted for a period of at least ten years after independence, our sovereign right over our natural resources. For that reason, it was difficult for my Government to address effectively the pressing issue of land redistribution. In spite of the distortions and hysterical fabrications being banded about in some circles both locally and internationally, my Government will not allow itself to be pushed to adopt a vengeful and dishonourable posture in its determination to rectify the injustice of the past. We stand by our word, and our record is our witness that in our programme to acquire land for settlement there shall be no arbitrariness, Government will have in place a mechanism to establish just and fair compensation for land

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In order to assist and promote greater participation of women in economic life, my Government has passed various pieces of legislations which now enable a woman to enter into a legal contract in her own right, and so start a business without first approaching a male relative for support.

Allow me to refer to some of these important pieces of legislation.

In 1982 we enacted the Legal Age of Majority Act, which was aimed at enabling men and women to attain the adult status at 18. This improved the women's status from that of a perpetual minor to a major. It has in some cases sadly been abused by our youths to mean freedom to do as they please. I would however venture to say a child who adopts that attitude has had no proper foundation in their upbringing and is doomed to come to a sad end.

In 1985 we enacted the Matrimonial Causes Act which was aimed at recognising the direct and indirect contribution of women to family wealth in the event of the marriage failing as well as ordering the payment of maintenance for minor children. How much use has been made of this law by women? We would like you, the women's organisations to identify constraints, at using this and any other laws, faced by women and recommend solutions.

Various amendments to the Labour Relations Act 1985 have been made to protect the interests of the labour force in general and women in particular. These amendments have enabled women and men to get equal pay for equal work, and unskilled men and women to benefit from minimum wage (women being the majority here). Women have been able to receive pay during their maternity leave.

In 1988 we enacted the Separate Taxation Act.

We have now come up with the Land Reform Act which is aimed at enabling us to obtain or acquire more land. We would like to see you organise yourselves into farming cooperatives whose major aim is to grow crops on a commercial basis in order to feed the local market as well as export. Subsistence farming must be a thing of the past.



Women must acquire basic skills to enable them to establish their own businesses

and should not be encouraged.

Identifying problems

The past ten years have, I hope, been a period when women identified their problems and strategies to resolve their problems. You have been able to isolate who you should work with, in Government and within both the NGO and donor community. Now is the time for implementation of your strategies.

Historically the skills required for women to participate in clubs were very basic and tailor made to make you better mothers, wives or domestic workers: what is required now is for women to participate fully in development by acquiring skills and expertise that make them able to establish their own businesses and come up with manufacturing companies that will provide the badly needed commodities for women, instead of going to Botswana and South Africa to import them and sell them at exorbitant prices at the same time contributing to a drain of badly needed foreign currency.

Constraints such as the lack of education and skills must continue to be addressed, restrictive laws and regulations, lack of representation in certain decision making bodies, inaccessibility to credit, to name a few must be looked into by the women themselves and solutions proposed through the normal channels for action at various levels.

Turning to the economic strategies of

Government during the next ten years.

My Government has embarked on a programme of structural adjustment which will see as a necessary strategy, the greater liberalisation of the economy.

It is hoped that this strategy will in the long term generate greater investment by both the local and international business community and lead to the creation of more goods and services and generate greater employment.

Diversion of policy

In the short term it is however envisaged that this policy will require diversion of Government finances to the productive sectors of the economy. Government has strategies to minimise the negative social consequences of this programme. But I would be less than candid if I did not tell you that there will be some belt tightening by everybody during this period.

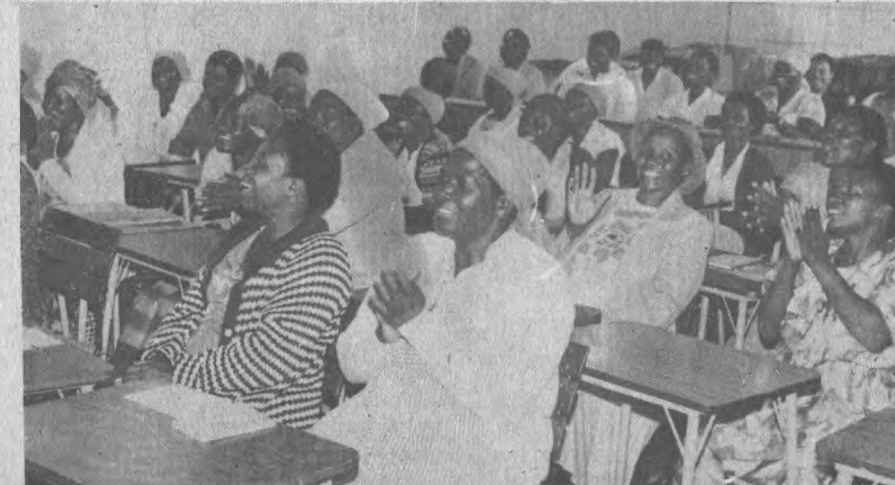
We ask that you who represent the most vulnerable groups in our society continue to keep Government apprised of the social consequences of our policies as they unfold.

But be assured that because of my Government's commitment to the protection of the most vulnerable groups in our society, namely, our women and children, we will work hard to cushion the impact of this programme on these groups through targeted subsidies and other initiatives.

The success of this economic strategy will rest on the relative organisation of our people at various levels and in various sectors. Thus you must use your trade unions, organs of the Party and organised women's groups to ensure that your concerns are addressed.

Lasting peace

Lastly turning to events within the region, and internationally we are happy to note that Women's Day comes in the wake of the cessation of hostilities in the Gulf. We now ask the international community that there be a just and lasting peace to all the problems of the Middle East, including and especially the Palestinian question. The women and children of Palestine need peace and a motherland if they are to have economic development.



Government continues to address lack of skills and education among women

Turning closer to home we are encouraged by the events taking place in Angola, Mozambique and South Africa.

We hope that the results of these talks will see the greater stability of the region.

We would however urge our brothers and sisters to ensure that a lasting solution is found to apartheid, because economic de-

velopment of the Frontline States can only come as a result of lasting peace in the region.

In conclusion, I call on all women to fight against prejudices that continue to divide our nations, our countries and our communities.

I thank you, continue with your good

work.

Forward with women of Zimbabwe!
Forward with the unity of all progressive women!

Forward with the economic emancipation of our economy!

Forward with all women engaged in the just struggle for freedom and justice! □

Diplomats not having it easy abroad *By our Correspondent*

The MPs always imply that the life of our Diplomats abroad is an easy one — receptions, parties, posh cars, luxury villas, and awash with foreign currency. That is not the true situation. Zimbabweans in our external missions abroad live in modest housing, and have as many problems as we have back at home.

The head of one of our external missions had this to say about life at his station:-

1. Nothing is reported of the role played by some Missions in raising the much needed foreign currency by promoting trade and liaising with host governments as far as loans/grants to Zimbabwe are concerned. It is implied that the Missions just squander foreign currency without raising any. It is hoped that this ignorance will be eradicated in future.

2. In this mission, which is regarded as a hardship post internationally and within the Ministry, the following situation is obtainable there:-

(a) Most offices at the Missions have no curtains, furniture and carpets, to name but a few circumstances. The toilet in the High Commissioner's office has no curtains. Lack of curtains enable passers-by to see or snoop into what is in the offices.

(b) Most of the doors, locks and filing cabinets have been condemned by Government Protective Security Inspectorate, but no funds have been made available to buy new ones.

(c) The situation at the official residence and residence of all home-based staff is appalling and shameful to say the least:-

(i) The furniture at the official residence is

very old, having been bought in 1984 when the Mission opened. Before entertaining guests there, the wife of the High Commissioner has to sew and patch up most of the furniture. They are shy each time they entertain. They fare badly in comparison with other countries like Tanzania, Zambia, West Africa, Asia and Latin America.

(ii) Houses of home-based staff need curtains and furniture as well, for the same reasons. Officers and visitors have had their clothes pierced/pricked by protruding metal/springs as they sit on some of this dilapidated furniture.

(iii) At temperatures sometimes reaching 40° — 47 degrees our home-based staff continue to work very hard, and to be hospitable to Zimbabweans who might pass by, be they on official business or otherwise. □

Hazardous wastes dumping in the Third World deplored

The dumping of hazardous wastes from the developed world into the Third World countries has been a subject of concern to the developing countries generally and Africa in particular.

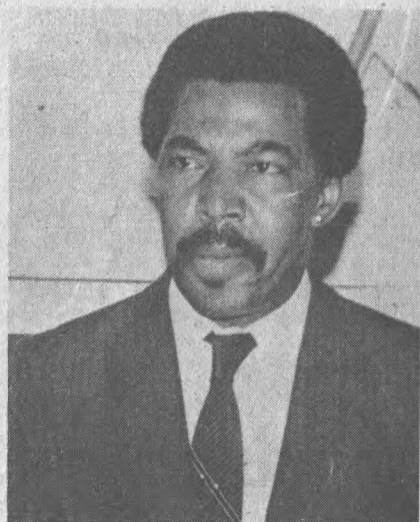
This was said by the Minister of Environment and Tourism, Comrade Herbert Murerwa, at a press conference after returning from the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) Pan African conference on Environment and Sustainable Development.

The conference which was held in Mali strongly deplored the disastrous environmental consequences in the Gulf as a result of the war in that region.

The Mali conference is one to the several meetings convened to establish an international legal framework to control the transboundary movement and disposal of hazardous wastes. Other meetings to that end were held in Caracas, Venezuela, Geneva, Luxembourg, Dakar and Basle.

"The Basle, Switzerland, meeting of March 1989 saw the finalisation on the Basle Convention of the control of transboundary movement of hazardous wastes" which most developing countries felt to have not adequately covered the questions of compensation, liability and flags of convenience in the event of breaches of the Convention, the Minister said.

He told the press conference that the Afri-



The Minister of the Environment and Tourism, Comrade Herbert Murerwa can region denied to sign or ratify the Basle Convention until these concerns were discussed and a position taken within the framework of the OAU.

"The OAU then decided to start negotiations for an African Convention on transboundary movement and disposal of hazardous waste within Africa", Comrade Murerwa said.

He stated that the African Environment Ministers' meeting in Bamako, Mali was aimed at adopting the final draft of the African Convention.

The main provisions of the Convention as adopted in Bamako include: — a total ban on import from outside Africa, of hazardous wastes by the contracting parties to the Convention; for hazardous wastes generated in Africa, to import strict liability on hazardous waste generators; encouraging the precautionary approach to pollution problems, as far as possible to discourage technologies which may result in the generation of hazardous wastes; the need for the state exporting hazardous wastes to give full information on the nature of such wastes to both the state importing the wastes as well as the transit states; encouragement of Inter-Africa co-operation in the improvement and achievement of environmentally sound management of hazardous wastes and the establishment of an arbitration procedure in the event of disagreement between contracting parties.

Comrade Murerwa said details relating to the questions of liability and compensation will be subject of a protocol, under the Convention, to be drafted by an ad hoc expert organ to be set up by the contracting parties.

The Bamako meeting also considered the Africa regional preparations for the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development scheduled for June 1992 in Brazil.

The Minister said an African regional meeting will be held in Cairo, Egypt, in the middle of this year to come up with an African position, for the 1992 conference, on the basis of subregional priorities. □

Pearce Commission

The road to freedom in Zimbabwe has been a long and winding one, with hundreds of thousands of people perishing along the way. For the record, the people of Zimbabwe, led by the nationalist forces united under the Patriotic Front, only took up arms and fought for their liberation after all efforts to a peacefully negotiated settlement with the colonialists had failed.

Several peace "settlements" were advanced by the settler regime and its British masters. These were repeatedly rejected by the masses, on the basis that they (the settlements) did not, in essence, seek to establish majority rule in the country, but were aimed at creating the impression that the white minority government was generous enough to allow blacks a measure of "self-governance". There was no intention whatsoever on the part of the settler regime to cede power to the rightful owners of Zimbabwe.

Of the various settlements that were attempted, one had the unexpected result (for the colonialists) of intensifying, rather than slowing down, the pace of the war of national liberation. This was the Pearce Commission of 1972.

The Conservative Party came to power (under the leadership of Edward Heath) in Britain in June, 1970, after defeating the Labour Party government in a general election. In accordance with the Conservatives' election manifesto, another attempt at settlement of the Rhodesian issue was launched.

On 24th November 1971, Home and Smith signed a draft settlement agreement. There would be three changes to the 1969 Constitution: removing the income-tax qualification which governed the increase in black representation, entrenching a blocking mechanism to stop whites tinkering with the Constitution, and replacing the provision forbidding progress beyond parity with a firm commitment to majority rule. There would be a House of Assembly in which the number of African MPs, elected on a new higher African roll, would grow in direct proportion to the increase in Africa representation on that roll until parity was reached; then, through a general election, referendum and test of acceptability, power would be transferred from the minority to the majority.

The African Higher Roll would demand the same qualifications as those for the existing European Roll. When the number of Africans registered equalled six per cent of the voters on the European Roll, two additional African parliamentary seats would be created. Further African seats would become due, two at a time, for each subsequent six per cent increase, until a total of 34 African Higher Roll representative seats in the Assembly was reached, giving — together with the 16 existing African Lower Roll members (eight elected directly, eight indirectly) half the

places in Parliament to blacks. The first two additional African seats would be filled by indirect election, the next two by a direct election.

Once parity was achieved, a general election and then a referendum would take place, in which all enrolled African voters would de-

however, the Smith Government was prepared to release immediately only 31 of the 93 in detention; the remainder would be scrutinised by the existing Review Tribunal.

At the heart of it all lay the determining factor as to whether the people of Rhodesia as a whole found the agreement proposals



Harold Wilson, the man who assured the UDI regime that Britain would never use force to quell the rebellion

cide whether or not the seats filled by indirect election should be abolished and replaced by an equal number of directly elected seats. Assuming that Africans were in favour of the replacement, a further election would be held on the new basis, and Rhodesia would then proceed to the final stage: a test of acceptability as regards majority rule. This would be carried out by an independent Commission, asking the people if they approved of the creation of 10 Common Roll seats, to be directly elected by black and white voting together. For this, the entire country would form a single constituency returning all 10 Common Roll members, each voter having 10 votes. Were the Commission to find that this system was unacceptable to the people of Rhodesia, then it would "ascertain" whether any alternative arrangements would command genuine support.

Detainees were to be released at once;

acceptable. Britain undertook to appoint a Commission which would travel throughout Rhodesia, explaining the proposals, listening to opinions and assessing reactions. In the period before and during the test of acceptability, normal political activities would be permitted to the satisfaction of the Commission.

The nationalists (having no political party in the eyes of the minority Government) were denied time on radio and television. On the other hand, the Rhodesian Front, the Centre Party and the Rhodesian Electoral Union (representatives of the chiefs) were able to put forward compelling arguments in their individual favour.

It was decided by the nationalists to form an umbrella organisation to fight the agreement.

The British Commission was chaired by

CITY OF MUTARE



His Worship the Mayor of Mutare,
Councillor Msabaeka,
on behalf of the Council and the residents of Mutare,
extends warm congratulations to the Government of the Republic of Zimbabwe,
under the Statesman leadership of His Excellency the President,
Cde. Robert Mugabe,
on the occasion of the nation's 11th Independence Anniversary.

With the prevailing political stability and unity,
the nation should face the task of economic development
with confidence and dedication.

**Long Live His Excellency the President,
Cde. Robert Gabriel Mugabe!!**

Long Live Peace, Unity and Progress.



The people's response to the Pearce Commission was an unequivocal NO!

Lord Pearce, assisted by three deputy chairmen, and 18 ordinary Commissioners, drawn mostly from the British civil service. In twos and threes they toured the seven provinces, and met with a vehement "No" wherever they went. Riots broke out: there was a strike in Shabani, following the dismissal of 12 African workers by the mining company, and during a subsequent demonstration, armed police shot dead one man and wounded nine others. The following week, demonstrations in Gweru culminated in the police again opening fire, this time injuring many and killing one. Fort Victoria (now Masvingo) and Salisbury were the next scenes for unrest and police reprisals, with three killed and 24 wounded in Salisbury's Harare township. When in Umtali (now Mutare) demonstrators prepared to march on the city, police fire killed eight and wounded 24.

Former Premier Garfield Todd and his daughter Judith, who had been holding anti-settlement meetings, were arrested and detained, as were Josiah Chinamano and his

wife Ruth, both veteran nationalists.

The President, Comrade Robert Mugabe, Comrades Enos Nkala, the late Maurice Nyagumbo and Edgar Tekere were still behind bars.

On the 23rd May 1972, the Report was released — "NO" — and there's no doubt" read the banner headlines in the *Rhodesian Herald*. Its subheads contained quotations from the Report.

"In our opinion the people of Rhodesia as a whole do not regard the proposals as acceptable as a basis for Independence," and "... we do not accept that there was ever a moment when the majority of Africans on reflection and with some understanding of the proposals would have answered 'yes'"

Of the 100 300 blacks who had attended large gatherings to meet with the Commissioners, 97 800 had rejected the proposals. A total of 14 234 had talked to the commis-

sion in private; of this number, only 2 264 had signified their approval. The Council of Chiefs as a whole had endorsed the settlement, yet the majority of individual chiefs had rejected it. The Report added that black people felt that the proposals did not accord with dignity or equal recognition, which were as important as equal political representation.

"Mistrust of all the intentions and motives of the Government transcended all other considerations. Apprehension for the future stemmed from resentment of what they felt to be the humiliations of the past, and at the limitations on policies of land, education and personal advancement. One summed it up by saying: 'We do not reject the proposals, we reject the Government'."

This comment, based on the unbiased reporting of impartial civil servants from a far-off land, probably sums up more accurately than all else the reason why the liberation war intensified from then onwards. □

Informal sector's vital role in ESAP

With about 32 000 people expected to lose their jobs during the implementation of Zimbabwe's economic structural adjustment programme, the Informal sector of the economy will definitely have to play an important part in providing alternative employment for retrenched workers.

Although the sector has the potential to provide employment to the retrenched and unemployed, so far the Government has not implemented enough moves to boost and integrate it into the country's economy.

About 10 000 civil servants will gradually be made pensioners to reduce the size of the civil service. In the private sector about 20 000 workers are expected to be retrenched and 2 000 people are expected to be laid off by parastatals.

These people will have to find alternative employment and the only obvious option is the informal sector, where they may be able to invest their small pensions.

The country's five-year economic reform policy document for the period 1991 to 1995 indicates that the small-scale and informal sector has suffered in the past because of an over-regulated business environment and lack of supportive Government policies.

The Government has not said much about the issue in the past and the poor and less educated members of the society, who mainly constitute this sector, have been left to struggle on their own.

With the announcement of the economic reform programme, the Government seems to have realised the importance of the informal sector of the economy.

The economic reform policy document says that, although the small-scale enterprises and the informal sector will generally

benefit from the economic reforms, additional measures may have to be taken to provide a more supportive environment.

By the end of this year, the Government expects to have implemented new financial policies to help the small-scale and informal sector and to facilitate employment in the sector by relaxing regulations and procedures.

Licensing restrictions on hawking and street vending will also be relaxed and a commission will be established to review other local authority by-laws and regulations which tend to hinder the economic activities of people in the informal sector, according to the Government document, although in Harare the authorities recently indicated they intend tightening up on illegal street hawking.

The informal sector's potential to create jobs is enormous. According to a consultant with IMANI Development, Comrade Emmanuel Ushe, the sector employs more than 300 000 people.

IMANI Development is a consultancy firm which conducts research on trade and development projects, including small businesses.

Comrade Ushe said more than seven per cent of Zimbabwe's labour force find employment in this sector and 64 per cent of these are women.

These people engage in various activities, including sewing and crocheting, arts and crafts, bakeries, vegetable and food vending, retailing, hair salons, shoe repairs, electrical and vehicle repairs, light manufacturing, market gardening, livestock breeding, cash crop farming, small-scale mining and construction.

Comrade Ushe said in the past most of the

people involved in the sector had only slight exposure to formal education. However, this is changing. With the increasing number of children receiving formal education right through secondary school and the consequent increase in the number of school-leavers over the past few years, job opportunities have become scarce and some of



Comrade Bernard Chidzero, the Senior Minister for Finance, Economic Planning and Development

these school leavers are joining the informal sector, either as employees or as self-employed individuals.

Zimbabwe churns out about 200 000 school-leavers into the already saturated job market each year and to date, more than one million people are unemployed. This constitutes 30 per cent of the country's labour force.

"There is no recorded or published quantitative information on the contribution of the small-scale sector in Zimbabwe to economic indicators like gross domestic product, gross fixed capital formation, foreign exchange earnings.

"However, it is an accepted fact that this sector is generating employment and income for many persons who have no alternative employment opportunities or income sources," Comrade Ushe said.

He said even if investment levels in Zimbabwe doubled as a result of recent investment initiatives and the trade liberalisation developments, formal sector job creation will still be far too low to meet the unemployment crisis.

"Recent figures released by the Zimbabwe Investment Centre reveal that, by January 1991, the Centre had approved foreign investment projects worth Z\$1 500 million which are expected to create about 25 000 new jobs.

"Considering the growing unemployment level of over one million people, such developments only scratch the surface of the unemployment problem," he said.

The Development of the informal sector would help to create more jobs with much lower investment.

"The ZIC figures indicate that the investment cost of creating one job is about Z\$60 000. However, Z\$60 000 targeted to the informal sector can create 50 or even 100 jobs, depending on the nature of the business," said Comrade Ushe.

The development of the sector appears attractive for the following reasons:

- It does not require complex and expensive infrastructure
- The sector has a very high potential for creating jobs
- It tends to use mostly locally produced resources or raw materials
- It can be a major source of income-generation both for rural and non-agricultural informal sections of the economy
- It creates a platform for the exchange of locally-produced goods and services.
- It provides a strong base for the development of local entrepreneurs, and
- As many informal enterprises develop into formal business ventures through registration and licensing, there will be increased government revenue in the form of taxes and fees.

Informal enterprises can only grow if they become registered but some local and central government regulations and laws have been hindering this development.

The procedures and time spent in obtaining licences and project approvals discourage a lot of people from formalising their work.

In urban areas, many informal enterprises are expected to pay high rents in designated industrial commercial areas, despite the fact that many of them cannot afford these charges.

In terms of the income tax Act, all registered companies in Zimbabwe are required to pay a corporate tax of 50 per cent of taxable income.

Many informal sector enterprises cannot afford these high taxes without running into financial problems and would rather remain unregistered and evade paying taxes.

Labour regulations, which have been criticised by employers as giving excessive protection and immunity to workers, are also among the factors inhibiting the development of the sector.

Cde. Ushe said many informal sector people consider the government's stipulated minimum wage of between Z\$100 and Z\$253 to be too high and beyond their means, considering the small profits they claim to be earning.



Government has recognised the role of the small scale businessmen in national environment development

Other problems include lack of adequate transport and infrastructure to facilitate the delivery of products to target markets; lack of technological support and access to technological developments; lack of managerial, technical and marketing skills; and lack of project planning and implementation.

To compound these problems, informal sector people find it difficult to source funds from financial institutions.

"The lending policies of commercial banks and other development banks in Zimbabwe

are largely inhibitive to the development of micro-enterprises.

"Their over-emphasis on collateral security for example, automatically eliminates over 90 per cent of the micro-enterprises from receiving financial assistance," Cde. Ushe said.

The development and support for this sector could reap great benefits in terms of employment-creation and income-generation, which are desperately needed in Zimbabwe.



More than one million people are unemployed in Zimbabwe



200 drivers scramble for only five posts at the Herald House last year — with the expected retrenchment of about 32 000 people, the ranks of the unemployed are set to swell



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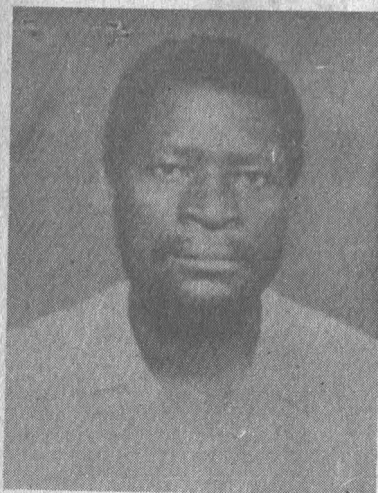
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The Role of Women's Studies to Zimbabwe's Development

By Phinias Ngarava



Comrade Phinias Ngarava

In any society (be it slavery, feudalism, capitalist, socialist, communist) it is not possible to conceive meaningful and sustained socio-economic development which excludes women.

Women and gender sensitive men in any

community must campaign vigorously to remove all constraints on women's participation in overall development. Hence as an activist in women's issues, one of my tasks would be to look critically at issues such as the concept of Women's Studies as a Social Science, reasons for research on women, application of this discipline, its relevance and role in socio-economic development.

It is hoped that this article will assist in mobilising Parliamentarians, politicians, professionals and education authorities in Zimbabwe to consider the proposal of introducing Women's Studies as a course at schools, colleges and universities.

Women's Studies: Definition

Women's Studies refers to research on women. It is a social science, a social concept, a science of the nature and growth of women and their social behaviour. Women's Studies means, giving time, resources and attention to learning or discovering something about women. Women and Development Studies:

"... provide concrete strategies towards understanding women's recognised and un-

recognised contributions to society in different social, economic, political and cultural contexts within a historical perspective."

Studying women may involve research/investigation undertaken with a purpose to discover new facts and get additional information on women. It also involves looking at issues of gender, a concept which refers to social roles of both men and women. Being the social concept that it is, gender covers the differences between males and females in thought and behaviour.

A researcher in Women's issues gives care and consideration to women in order to become an expert in this area. He/she examines in detail the problems of women in the areas of law, politics, economics, culture; their socio-economic and historical origins and suggest possible solutions to those problems.

To that extent;

"Women's Studies is a mechanism for validating Women's intentions", to be knowledgeable about their problems. Women's Studies also offers women an opportu-

nity to examine themselves as females and their role in patriarchal societies.

Material Questions for Women's Studies

A social researcher adopts a pragmatic and systematic approach towards Women's Studies, covering such basic questions as:

- What is the study trying to achieve?
- Why is Women's Study or research being done?
- Has Women's Studies or research sufficient value? Is it feasible, given its aims?
- What important issues should be covered by the study?
- Who is affected by the study or research?
- Who benefits from the results of the study?

Courses of Women's Studies are those general things under the umbrella of Women, for instance:

- Women and Media
- Women and Law
- Women and Health
- Women and Education
- Women and Economic Policies
- Women and Politics
- Women in Agriculture
- Women in Industry and Commerce
- Women and the Planning processes and so on.

All these courses indicate that Women's Studies is multifaceted and should be seen as the sum total of other disciplines such as psychology, sociology, literature, economics, politics and others. These courses help male and female students in learning about the political and ideological contexts which have shaped women throughout the various socio-economic and historical epochs.

Justification for Women's Studies

There are various reasons as to why Women's Studies should be carried out. Some of these reasons are: the need for information on women, setting development objectives and solving social problems.

These three reasons are relevant in any society and constitute the basis for the application of Women's Studies.

Information required on women

There is need for information on women in modern society which is characterised by economic and trade liberalisation and structural adjustment policies.

Information on women is vital and essential in assisting politicians, Parliamentarians, the Government and non-governmental organisations to make better and informed decisions that affect women. This reduces the danger of making assumptions in formulating socio-economic policies which, to a large extent, affect the development processes and the lives of women.

Women's Studies itself does not nor will it make any decisions at all, but it provides the best possible information/data bank enabling appropriate decisions to be made. Thus



Women's studies aim at, among other things their social, economic, political and cultural emancipation

information on women allows decision or policy makers to test the viability of an idea on gender and steers them towards the most suitable options.

In Zimbabwe the Department of Women's Affairs is the Women's National Machinery, which together with Government and non-governmental organisations such as the Women's Action Group, Zimbabwe Women's Bureau, the Legal Project Centre, the Women in Law and Development in Southern Africa, the Ministry of Community and Cooperative Development (Community Publications Unit) and others; continues to advocate for the enjoyment, by all women of equal opportunities in education, employment, agriculture and the national economy.

The Women's National machinery with the assistance of various organisations finds out, through research say by WLD Research Project or by WAG, how far women have gained from the concept of equal opportunities, which is in the context of the Government and the ruling Party policies means having the same chances in the national socio-economic activities and the national "cake". (Whether or not these policies are implemented effectively is another issue!) But where women are found to be lagging behind as far as the enjoyment of equal opportunities is concerned, the Department of Women's Affairs in the Ministry of Political Affairs and various Women's organisations recommend, through the correct legal channels, ways to redress the situation, for example, meeting with Women Parliamentarians to lobby for the reform of the African Marriages Act.

However, it should be pointed out that through information and Women's Studies, it is possible for the Women's National Machinery to be able to compare the situation of Zimbabwean Women with the experiences of other countries, and also to use these experiences, where applicable, not in a tyrannical but progressive manner.

Whatever research is done on Women, it must necessarily focus on the realisation of the cherished concept of equal opportunities for all. Women's studies should be done to

find out what the Government has done so far to ensure that women have equal opportunities in real economic, political, social and legal terms. How have women, to date, benefited from the various sectors of the economy in Zimbabwe? This kind of question should be answered by Women's Studies as a social science.

Concrete research has to come up with accurate information and data that actually show the gains and achievements of women. Information and data provide a vital base for future planning. Planners depend on research findings and not on simple guess work.

A case in point is where one would want to find out, through research on Women's Studies, what has happened to all girls who have gone through the post-independence expanded education system and also, what happened to dropout girls and to those who have passed academically and professionally.

It is through Women's Studies that one can establish the problems and hitches affecting women in the areas of Commerce and Industry. Once these difficulties that women encounter in those fields are identified, then it becomes imperative to formulate a strategy to rectify the situation.

Training women

Women should not be "pushed" into management positions simply to become window-dressers or mere figure heads, but genuine efforts should be made both at local, national and international levels to train more women in various skills so that they qualify academically and professionally for those posts/jobs. This is a possible strategy to gear women for the possible challenges to be generated by the current trade liberalisation and economic adjustment exercise. Employment opportunities will periodically open. Women and girls should always be prepared like the Biblical "ten virgins", they should be qualified for those equal opportunities — in other words, they should be marketable like their male counterparts in a free-enterprise market system where the survival of the fittest is the norm.



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PEUGEOT SPECIALISTS

Management and Staff wish to Congratulate

CDE R.G. MUGABE

and all the People of Zimbabwe on the attainment of our 11th year of Independence

Setting Development Objectives

Women's Studies assists in setting development objectives in a variety of ways: it helps policy-makers in decision-making processes and legislators in debating and passing progressive laws recognising women's contributions in society and the economy.

It can also be used to assess the needs and requirements of women (from the consumer perspective) and determine the relationships between them and their male counterparts.

Women's Studies is a useful analytical tool that explains why there is discrimination against women in the decision-making circles and in formal employment; and why the Women can be used by the existing political structures to further the currently male-dominated economic system. This tool also explains why there are few business women as compared to men in Zimbabwe (and the world over) and why many girls fail science subjects at school. It also points to what can be done to improve the situation of the feminist movement and raise the women's economic status.

As an analytical tool, Women's Studies places the policy-maker and the legislature in a better position to arrive at a possible solution to various social problems affecting the community.

Educative and Emancipatory Role

Women's Studies can play a vital educative role in helping women exercise rights accorded them by the existing legal system. Women's Studies can also educate women and policy-makers in determining effective strategies for women's emancipation and advancement to decision-making levels.

Relevance of Women's Studies

Women's Studies has great importance attached to it in that it assists the Community (Society) and the individual to:

- view women as an integral part to national development;
- understand a wide range of roles and contributions of women to national and international economic development;
- explore ways affecting women's lives and concerns;
- look at the effect(s) of economies on women's lives; and
- suggest and recommend legal reform and economic policies beneficial to women as equal participants in development.

Women's problems are important national and international issues so that results of Women's studies should enable Governments and States to understand the relevance of Women's Studies and the situation of women in reality.

Women themselves are empowered to understand themselves, their needs and aspirations, and what their governments should do as a matter of priority to enhance their socio-economic status.

"... Women at all levels of society are male-dominated. We need to understand the manifestations of patriarchy cross-culturally in order to develop a trans-cultural strategy

for confronting it."

In conducting research on Women, one has to make use of one's theoretical and professional knowledge and experience. As women's interests are important national "treasures" the results of Women's Studies must be transmitted at a relatively high level as governmental groups, in developing countries, capable of absorbing the results of social science research are relatively small. However, the successful putting of scientific proposals into practice depends upon the level of development of the political public opinion since the communication between the politician and the expert must relate to the population's interests. This is an important social issue that Women's Studies should attempt to solve at all levels. Hence the relevance of Women's Studies as a Social Science in Zimbabwe.

Another aspect showing the importance of Women's Studies is the fact that development policy-makers expect assistance from social science to enable them to make decisions at three levels such as:

- (i) preparation of scientific analysis;
- (ii) problem-oriented intergration summary of results; and
- (iii) assistance in preparation of conceptual designs.

The problem lies in that scientific research is often confined to level (i), and to solve the other problem posed by point (ii) (above), the planning staff could be tasked to summarise

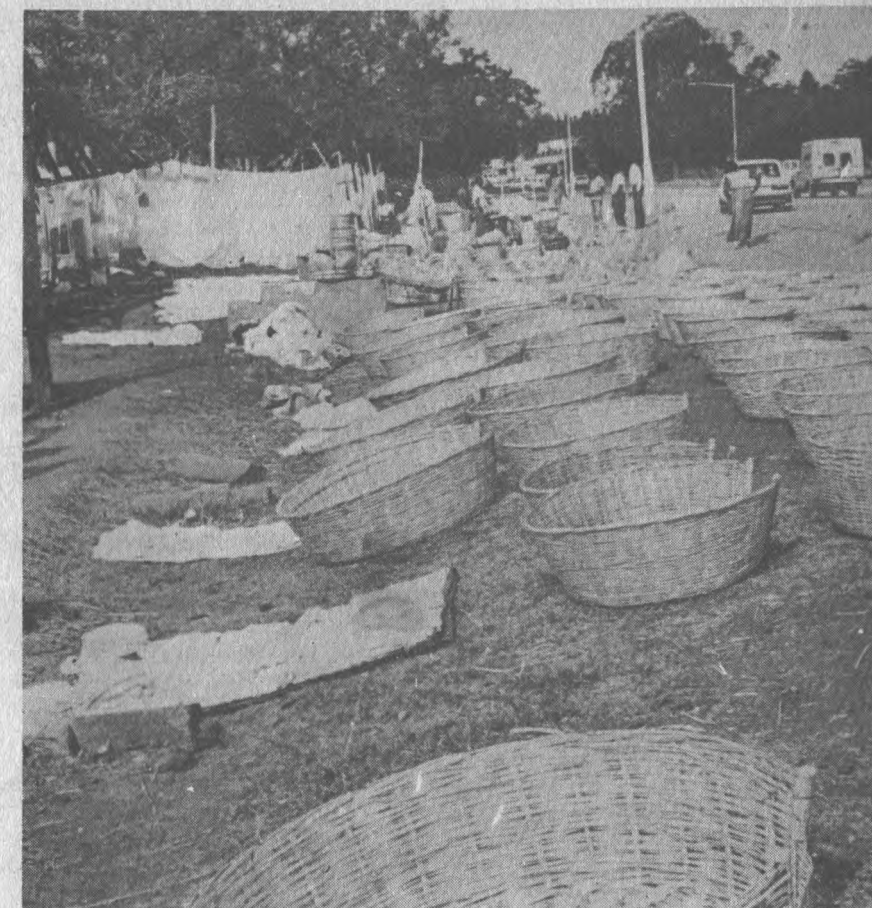
the results of research in specialised scientific field such as Women's Studies and Development. Interdisciplinary research however represents the basic solution, and it is imperative to do whatever is practically possible and feasible.

Conclusion

The concept of Women's Studies, the justification for its introduction in the mainstream of our education system, and its importance, relevance and application in the socio-economic development constitute the essential mobilizing factors for its adoption in Zimbabwe. What should be done to institutionalise and accelerate Women's Studies in this country should be and hopefully is the concern of every citizen, the Government and non-governmental organizations.

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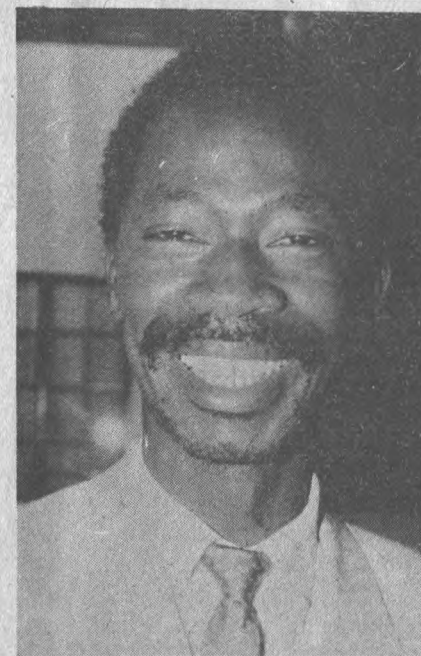
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'Israel distorting Bible to justify objectives'

The following are excerpts of a paper presented by Comrade Gift Musarurwa, Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation Assistant Director (News) to the African Theologians Emergency Meeting on the Middle East on April 5, 1991. The paper argues that Zionist Israel has distorted the Bible (or parts of the Bible) to justify the existence of the State of Israel, its colonialist character, expansionism and occupation of territories. Israel makes use of selective and tribal reading of The Bible, a revivable version of God's purpose, in order to provide a disguise and camouflage for its political objectives.



Comrade Gift Musarurwa

The right of Israel to exist (which the Palestinians and Arabs are being called upon to recognise) is based on a gigantic fraud. It possesses no legitimacy, historical, biblical or juridical, in the place where it was established.

Political Zionism which was born barely a century ago with Theodor Herzl (A man of Germanic education) and his book *Der Judenstaat*, is both a perversion and a betrayal of religion and the true spiritual mission of Judaism.

There are differences between Judaism and Zionism and between the Israel of the Bible and the Zionist State of Israel. There can be no confusing the two perfectly distinct aims namely that of Judaism and that of Zionism.

Zionism was often professed by Jewish mystics. It was connected with the great Messianic hope of Judaism according to which, with the coming of the Messiah at the end of Time, the Kingdom of God, to which would be summoned "all families on the earth" (Genesis, 12,3) would be accomplished for mankind "and in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed; because thou hast obeyed my Voice": Genesis 22,18, and it would be centred in the places where the Bible sets the stories of Abraham and Moses.

Judaism gave rise to a tradition of Jewish pilgrimage to the "Holy Land" and even the establishment of spiritual communities. That was when the persecutions by the "Most Catholic Kings" of Spain — after a long and

happy co-existence of Muslims and Jews in that country — led some pious men to go to Palestine in order to live in accordance with their faith.

Spiritual Centre

In the 19th century, the "Lovers of Zion" — Choveve Zion in Hebrew, pursued the aim of creating in that land of Zion, a spiritual centre from which Jewish culture and faith would spread. This Judaism, which affected only relatively small groups, never encountered opposition from Muslims who regard themselves as belonging to the posterity of Abraham and his faith.

This Judaism, alien to any political programme for creating a state and any domination over Palestine, never led to clashes between Palestinians and Jewish pilgrims visiting Palestine. The Muslims, Jewish and Christian communities who all have holy places in Palestine lived in harmony.

First of all, in contrast to religious Judaism, Herzl was radically agnostic in his views, and even opposed those who defined Judaism as a religion. From the standpoint of Zionism "the Jews" are above all "a People".

Distorting the Bible

From his book and his philosophy one can draw the conclusions that:

1. The Jews, everywhere in the world, whatever country they live in, constitute a single "people".

2. They have always (and everywhere) been subjected to persecution.

3. They are not part of and cannot be assimilated by the nations in which they live.

The above assumptions by the Zionists are made by all anti-semites and racists.

Apartheid in South Africa is based on the Dutch Reformed Church distorting the Bible to make the white Afrikaner a superior race in that country.

Zionists always ruthlessly oppress the indigenous population. Hence the United Nations rightly equated Zionism to apartheid in 1975. Similarly the Afrikaners also claim that South Africa is the "Land of their Fathers" and the Black person their slaves.

Zionism here was talking about the creation of a "Jewish State" in which all the Jews in the world would be brought together.

This state was to be established in a "vacant area". This idea characteristic of the Colonialism that predominated at the time, meant that there was no need to take account of the indigenous population.

Hence the Afrikaners settled on "uninhabited" land "given" to their fathers by God. David Livingstone "discovered" the "Victoria Falls" which none knew about.



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Future "vacant area"

The Jews' area to be chosen was a matter of no importance to Herzl, who contemplated as the site of operations of his "chartered company", the embryo of the future state, either Argentina — suggested by Baron Hirsch — or Uganda and the Highlands of Kenya proposed by British Foreign Secretary Joseph Chamberlain in 1903.

It is significant that Herzl sought advice from Cecil John Rhodes who was then carrying on his colonising enterprise in Zimbabwe. The state of Israel would have been on Zimbabwe today had it not been found unstrategic.

Among the territories where the Jewish state might be planted Herzl gave preference, however to Palestine, because he wanted to make use of the "Lovers of Zion" tendency and strengthen the movement he was creating by channelling into support of it a religious tradition of pilgrimage to Palestine in which he himself did not believe.

For the implementation of his policy there was every reason to foster this ambiguity. The most typical example of the clever use made of the confusion between Judaism and Zionism appeared long after Herzl's death.

It is this Colonist character of Zionism, that constitutes a challenge for the rest of peace-loving mankind.

Criminal ideology

The unadmitted confusion between Zionism

and Judaism makes it possible to utilise religion in the service of politics, and to sanctify a certain sort of politics and turn it into a taboo. Play is also made with identification of Zionism and Judaism so as to accuse of antisemitism anyone who criticises the Zionist policies of the Israeli leaders. Zionism constitutes a nationalist and colonialist distortion which owes its bent to the European nationalism and colonialism of the 19th century. It makes use of selective and tribal reading of the Bible, a veritable version of God's purpose, in order to provide a disguise and camouflage for its political objectives.

At no time over the centuries did Palestine (a multi-religious nation) have a majority of Jews. At no time either was Palestine ever devoid of Jews although their number varied from era to era. During the Turkish rule over Palestine, which began in the 16th century the few Jewish residents of Jerusalem were zealously religious men. Apart from them Jerusalem (the Holy Land) was populated largely by Palestinian Arabs.

Palestine as Jewish land

As Herzl's Zionist movement became more active despite criticism, Palestine was chosen as a home for the Jews and a Jewish Fund was started to purchase land in Palestine as the property of the entire "Jewish People". Many Orthodox Jews objected strongly to Herzl's proposal since they believed only with the coming of the Messiah would the Jews be called together again. Herzl's writings appealed to the mass of Jews in Eastern



Comrade Yasser Arafat, the President of the State of Palestine

Europe and Lithuania. A large number of them had already started immigrating even to Southern Africa, where a large number of Jews mostly from Lithuania came to Zimbabwe and South Africa.

The resumption of pogroms in Russia and the failure of the "Democratic Movement" there helped to produce 50 thousand Euro-



Three quarters of Palestinians, including children, fled their homes in the fighting that accompanied the creation of Israel

pean Jews who came to Palestine. This is termed the second Aliyah. The first Aliyah is several hundred members of the Lovers of Zion movement who went ashore at Jaffa by bribing Turkish officials to let them in. Aliyah is the Hebrew term for immigration but the Palestinian called them "Children of Death — Awlad al Mut" because the conditions in Palestine, climatic and failure to fit in socially sent many of them to death or back to Russia.

Early in World War I when the allies were suffering catastrophic military reverses, Britain had given the Arabs sweeping but un-specific promises of a unified independent Arab state if they would help to defeat the Turkish Empire which was allied with Germany. Then on November 2, 1917, in a letter from the foreign secretary, Arthur Balfour, to Lord Rothschild, a leader of the Anglo-Jewish community Britain came whole heartedly for the Zionist aims.

"His Majesty's government", the letter read, "view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish People, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this objective, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

British mandate

A few weeks after the issuance of the Declaration, the British general, Sir Edmund Allenby, defeated the Turks at Jerusalem. Almost a year later the Turks were driven from

Galilee as well. There Britain was assigned the mandate for Palestine by the League of Nations. The Balfour pledge was incorporated in the terms of the mandate which recognised the setting up of a so-called home for Jews in Palestine.

Britain was to facilitate immigration and encourage settlement of Jews on the land. A Jewish agency was set up to cooperate with and assist the British in building the Zionist state.

In the 1930's the persecution of Jews in Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia and the unwillingness of Australia or other possible countries to accept them, these Jews fleeing Europe made many Jews turn to Palestine. The Palestinians reacted with a full scale revolt which started in the spring of 1936. First in Jaffa then wherever the Jews tried to displace Palestinians. The British rushed in military units from Egypt, Malta and England.

It was in these years that British policy towards the Jewish people was on the surface hardened in order to befriend the Arabs.

Confronted by Adolf Hitler's alarming rise in Germany and fearful that a great war was imminent, Britain began making extraordinary attempts to befriend the Arab nations whose lands sheltered many British economic interests especially oil and military bases particularly around the Suez Canal. In 1939 the British issued a White paper technically called 6019 providing for 15 thousand Jewish immigrants to be admitted to Palestine each year for five years.

The Jews would not be allowed to buy land except in certain limited areas. The British government would do everything in its power to enable an independent Palestinian state to come into being. Jews were also being smuggled into Palestine on ships.

Special Committee

By September, 1945 the Americans began taking a hand in the situation and President Harry Truman requested the British to admit 100 000 Jews to Palestine.

When the situation was ripe for their schemes, the British requested the United Nations General Assembly to meet in special session in 1947. An eleven men special committee was appointed. The committee recommended the partition of Palestine into an

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Arab state, a Jewish state and an internationally administered Jerusalem and the three parts to be linked into a Union.

On November 29th, 1947 the Assembly approved the partition by 33 votes to 13. The assembly asked Britain to leave Palestine within eight months.

From Africa only Liberia, where freed slaves had been dumped, voted for the partition of Palestine.

This was only the beginning of a terrorist state which can be called a militarist Zionist state using Biblical pretexts. This was to be followed by the massacre, expulsion of Palestinians and extension of borders.

One of the requirements for membership to the United Nations is that the country must have recognised borders. Right now Israel is occupying Lebanon up to the Litani river, the Gaza Strip, the Golan Heights of Syria, the West Bank of Jordan, the Safir Islands of Saudi Arabia and the Israeli map which appears on their coin, the Shekel, shows a map which covers Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, all of Jordan and two thirds of Iraq up to the Euphrates and Tigris rivers.

According to the World Bank more than fifty percent of Israel budget is spent on its war machine. This is not for the defence of Israel but for the disintegration of Arab states of the region. Bible passages are invoked to "justify" the permanent extension of frontiers and also the methods of massacre and state terrorism.



Palestinians are prisoners in their own homeland

Justifying wars of expansion

The very principle of Zionism to make Jewry no longer a religion but a nation and a state, to consider all Jews in the world as belonging to the nation of Israel and to struggle to

bring them into that state is what has inevitably committed the Zionist state to a series of wars of expansion in order to conquer "living space" or what Hitler called "Lebensraum". The entire history of aggressions and annexations by the state of Israel has followed from this inexorable logic of Zionism.

The only difference between militarist and expansionist thrust of Israel and that of Nazis is that, where Israel is concerned, in the ideology and mythology of justification that accompanies it, the emphasis is laid not only on the myth of race but also and more particularly on the pseudo Biblical myth of a 'promise' interpreted in a purely tribal sense — not the spiritual sense of the Messianic Kingdom of God but the Materialist, territorial sense of the "Land".

The verse in Genesis 15,18: "Unto thy seed have I given this land, from the river of Egypt unto the Great river, the river Euphrates", is seen as constituting a military and political programme as if it were an historical reality and a deed of ownership — as if the seed of Abraham were to be defined by continuity of blood and not by community of faith. As if too from this "seed" even understood in the fleshly sense, were to be excluded the Arabs who are the descendants, according to Genesis, of Abraham's eldest son Ishmael, as well as all that part of mankind who see in the sacrifices of Abraham the archetypal image of their faith. As if furthermore, we are to take as genuine the mythical genealogy of the Jews of today as descendants of the

ancient inhabitants of Canaan, whereas, even on the absurd basis of biology, and according to the evidence of history, the Jews of today issued, like everybody else from the mixing of many different peoples, from the Crete to Yemen and from Ethiopia to Spain — have no right to claim the heritage of "ancestors" who are not theirs and to exclude the indigenous population of Muslim and Christian Arabs who are much more certainly bearers of the ethnic and territorial heritage of the inhabitants of David's Kingdom than are the Polish, Russian, Romanian, Hungarian, Yemeni or North African immigrants whom only the most hideous Nazi could make out as a single unit, recognisable according to Nazi racists by features either physical shape of skull or nose or physiological.

It is with this myth of the "Greater Israel" that they claim was promised to their alleged ancestors and by means of selective reading of the Bible that the Zionist leaders continually justify their expansionist policy, the aggressions and annexations and massacring of Palestinian people they carry out in the name of these fairy tales.

Zimbabweans have also been massacred

in Zambia and Mozambique during the liberation struggle. But this is only the external aspect of the story. What is important is to grasp its inner meaning, as one moment among others in the realisation of the plan of Zionism.

Zionist programme

Driving the Arabs out of Palestine and destabilising and disintegrating the other Arab countries — those are the two tablets of the Zionist Programme. The policy of Israeli Zionism corresponds so closely to aims of the world policy of the United States which gives unlimited support to Israel.

Pinhas Sapir who was Israel's Finance Minister revealed at a Press conference of Jewish millionaires in Jerusalem on 9 and 10 August 1967 that between 1948 and 1966 Israel received \$7 billion from the United States. To appreciate this figure it is enough to recall that the aid given to Western Europe under the Marshall plan between 1948 and 1954 amounted to \$13 billion. The state of Israel received for less than two million inhabitants more than half of what was given to the hundred million Europeans. In other words a hundred times as much per head

of population.

American Jewish organisations send an average of a billion dollars a year to Israel. But the main contribution is nevertheless made directly by the American state whose aid, both financial and military, is used in the Zionist programme to eliminate Palestinians and to neutralise other Arab states in the region. The current and most recent events in the Gulf reveal even more closely that an imperialist and Zionist programme is underway.

Crippling Iraqi military strength

First of all the United States, Britain and their allies started a campaign in February last year aimed at crippling Iraq's military strength. Iraq came out of an eight year war against Iran unscathed militarily. The bombing by Israel of the Iraq nuclear plant had made no difference to its strength. In the campaign they objected to Iraq possessing nuclear power and aiming to match the superpowers. Sanctions were implemented and by around March trade between Iraq and the United States which is put at one billion dollars annually was halved.

An Arab state stronger than Israel cannot be tolerated since this would strengthen the Palestinian struggle. The invasion of Kuwait by Iraq in August last year presented a good opportunity first for getting other countries to join the boycott of Iraq and secondly in destroying Iraq's war machine. This is despite the fact that the United States had through its ambassador to Baghdad assured President Saddam Hussein that America 'would not intervene in Arab-Arab affairs and if Iraq moved into Kuwait Washington will not take action'.

This was not true. We all saw what happened. The Foreign Minister of Zimbabwe Comrade Nathan Shamuyarira was quoted by the *Sunday Mail* after the United States started bombing Baghdad, saying that the "aims of the United States on Iraq are not the aims of the United Nations".

The Palestinian Liberation Organisation disapproved the invasion of Kuwait but denounced the allied attacks on Iraq. PLO leader, Comrade Yasser Arafat came to Zimbabwe earlier this year and told a press conference that the Gulf problem was not American but must be solved by the United Nations with the United States participating as



Ethiopian Jews want their relatives brought from Jerusalem to Ethiopia

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At the same time Israel which is occupying not only Palestine but other Arab countries in defiance of all United Nations resolu-

tions, which were not vetoed by the American administration, possess, thanks to Washington, the means of striking within 48 hours at Damascus, Baghdad, Amman and Cairo. Just as it has done.

The PLO is being punished for "supporting Iraq" and the United States is calling for a new leadership for the PLO. American administrations have all along been refusing to deal with the PLO and in 1978 during the Camp David talks, United States proposed that an American Professor of Palestinian ori-

gin could be acceptable as representing the Palestinians by the PLO. The idea here is to delay the calling of an international conference on the Middle East.

The assassination of Abu Hol and Abu Iyad, President Arafat's right hand men earlier this year, was part of that programme and not that the leadership must change because the PLO supported Saddam Hussein. They want to deny Palestinians their right to choose their leadership. Even after dispossessing them of their land. The world must act now! □

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ZUM has no future

By Cde. R. Gwama

Talking Point



Comrade Reginald R. Gwama

Zimbabwe was won after a long and bitter struggle against the forces of oppression embodied in colonialism, capitalism and racism. The broad masses, united under the Patriotic Front, fought the enemy right up to the bitter end. The lessons that were learnt about unity and its preservation are numerous; these lessons have been embedded in the minds of the povo to such an extent that they (the povo) will not allow any dubious persons or organisations to emerge from our midst and destroy this hard-won freedom and unity.

Hostilities, cruelties, genocide, brutalities and all sorts of atrocities were experienced by the masses across the country. No one can now stand up and say "I am more Zimbabwean than you because I suffered dur-

ing the war," or "I am more entitled to rule than those who are ruling now because I suffered most during the struggle." This is exactly the situation Mr. Edgar Tekere, leader of ZUM, wants to create.

There he is, Tekere, the killer of an unarmed civilian whiteman after the war had ended, attempting to magnify his importance by being unnecessarily "controversial". The man is trying hard to create for himself an image he very well knows he does not deserve, nor can he live up to. To put it plainly: Tekere is a drunkard and dictator. Those of us who know him can never be deceived as to Tekere's real aims and ambitions.

The ruling Party is doing well in giving Mr. Tekere enough rope to hang himself. In fact, it is this policy of the Party that led Tekere to day-dream on the Land Acquisition Bill.

The majority, the progressive-minded Zimbabweans, know what the Lands Bill is aimed at. It is a Bill that seeks to rectify past inequalities in land distribution. Any fool knows that this is essential for the consolidation of our freedom and independence. For Tekere and his cronies to say that the land Bill is "racist" leaves one wondering as to whose side his sympathies lie. We know some whites are against this Bill because they are afraid of losing the large tracts of land that they stole, over the years, from the people of Zimbabwe. But on whose pay-roll is Tekere when he says that land should not be redistributed?

We thank our progressive Members of Parliament for voting in favour of the Bill. It however came as a surprise to those of us who fought the bitter war of national liberation that ZANU Ndonga voted against the Bill. This means that ZUM and ZANU Ndonga are convinced that the landless people in Zimbabwe do not matter; they are content with the current state of affairs in which a handful of whites control more than 70 percent of arable land in the country.

ZUM is a peculiar mixture of arrogance (we know everything) and benevolence (we will save you). To ZUM I say, sorry, we are well aware of such tactics, the tactics of anti-socialists. Tekere and his beer-hall supporters want Zimbabwe to establish a department of public opinion which he (Tekere) will then lead.

I now appeal to all progressive Zimbabweans to rally behind ZANU PF so that together we can seek solutions to our problems that accept neither hunger nor terror. We should take a fresh look at many of the problems that plague our country today. Comrades and well-respected friends, let us all join our efforts, in spirit, mind, flesh and mood, and go out in full force to re-educate our 0,02 percent politically hoodwinked Comrades who support ZUM. They should be made to see Tekere for what he is: promoter of sordid acts, anti-socialist, a divisionist and a liar.

Long live the people of Zimbabwe, long live the Party, ZANU PF! □



ZUM leader Comrade Edgar Tekere — wants to magnify his importance by being unnecessarily "Controversial".



Farai Masango — right from its inception, ZUM was congested with people of dubious political aspirations.

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Sanctions — irreversibility: at what point?



Comrade N. Mandela

Over the years there has developed a reference to what people call "the pillars of apartheid". This has not been necessarily the language of the ANC. But it has taken root. And today, because de Klerk promises to repeal laws that are identified as the pillars of apartheid, his actions are read as a signal demonstrating commitment on the part of the regime to move away from apartheid.

There is also the problem relating to the removal of obstacles to negotiations. This has been identified as an issue to be addressed prior to the constitution-making process. To the extent that some people see and apparent commitment to address these issues, they read that as an important step away from apartheid. They also assume from statements made by the NP, that it is now committed to a democratic future.

As a result of the above, it seems that all those who say that sanctions are collapsing or should be lifted are confronted by two thorny questions. One is why they should continue to punish people who they perceive as progressing towards the non-racial democracy that all of us have been demanding. The other is whether the steps that have been taken are not sufficient to indicate irreversibility.

This is the area around which the real discussion about sanctions is taking place.

Promises not enough

Our position is that whatever steps are taken to relax or remove sanctions must not be based on promises. The fact that an undertaking has been made — be it on the release of political prisoners or the repeal of the Group Areas Act — should not mean that the undertaking has been carried out.

The issue of irreversibility must also not revolve around what the NP says. It may very well be true that the commitment of the NP to the process of change is irreversible.

But that does not guarantee that there cannot be any intervention by other forces to stop the process.

There could also arise a situation where the violence in the country escalates to a level where it would be impossible to move forward to a new constitution. For these reasons; the ANC has been urging caution to all those confronted by these questions. Apartheid is still in place and it is necessary not to move with precipitate speed to remove sanctions simply because promises have been made.

Sports and culture

It was the view of the National Consultative Conference with regard to the sports boycott, that one of the basic issues to be attended to is the creation of non-racial sports bodies. In the meantime, a moratorium on tours would be maintained. Besides, at the time of the Conference we still had — as we still have now — the Group Areas Act which impacts on sport.

Once the Group Areas and the Separate Amenities Acts, which were a problem in this regard, are gone and non-racial sports bod-



F.W. de Klerk

ies created, we cannot then call for the boycott of the non-racial sports movement.

The cultural and academic boycott should also be dealt with in detail. It has never been the intention of the sanctions campaign to isolate democratic South Africa.

It has been to isolate apartheid South Africa. The international community must con-

tinue to boycott those institutions, whether academic or cultural, that are still committed to racial segregation. The same cannot



Apartheid must be totally liquidated in every aspect of life in South Africa

apply to anti-apartheid cultural activities.

Direction of de-escalation

In the same vein, there is for instance the decision of the European Community to drop all sanctions, excepting the arms embargo. New investments are to be encouraged. The view taken at the Consultative Conference was that if, at whatever point, new investments start flowing into the country, we should intervene in such a way that such investments help the process of ending apartheid.

The same consideration would apply to removing trade sanctions. It would be an important part of the continuing struggle against apartheid if trade sanctions were removed in the context, for instance, of an agreement between the trade unions and the industry involved. There would be a specific definite agreement to end apartheid within the sector of industry so that when the rest of the world is lifting trade sanctions, it would then not be trading with what are apartheid institutions within themselves.

The bottom line as it were, should be that pressures must be sustained until we reach the point of irreversibility. One of the main elements indicating such a point would be the installation of an Interim Government. □

Ranks of homeless swell in USA

By Gail Fitzer

Margaret Pugh has been sleeping in subway stations since she left home 18 months ago to escape a husband who slashed her with a knife and raped her 13-year-old daughter.

Begging New Yorkers for their spare change for something to eat in her ragged, soiled clothes, Margaret is furious that the US government has abandoned her and three million other homeless Americans while it eagerly spent billions of dollars on the Gulf War.

"They could help everybody if they wanted to. They've got enough money for everything else, all they care about is the oil and their own bank accounts," said Margaret, 37, who is separated from her three children.

"They should clean their own backyard before they do anything else," she said.

While the Bush administration poured resources into the Gulf War, on the home front a recession has exacerbated the predicament of the homeless and is expected to swell their ranks.

New research to be published in May by Martha Burt of the private, non-profit urban

institute in Washington shows that for every one percent rise in unemployment, the number of homeless increases by 11 percent.

Burt says her research shows unemployment and homelessness are directly related. Advocates for the homeless warn that the recession is starting to reach beyond the poverty line, claiming victims from the middle class.

"The housing crunch has really affected the middle class and we are trying to make them realise that they are not that much different than the person on the street," said Mary Brosnahan, Executive Director of the Coalition for the Homeless.

Brosnahan says a significant portion of the homeless are drug abusers or mentally ill, but adds that most of the homeless simply cannot afford rent in America's cities.

It would cost some 35 billion dollars to build low-income housing for nearly all of the country's homeless.

"Certainly all the reports we get back indicate the numbers are continuing to rise," said Joan Alker, assistant director of the Na-

tional Coalition for the Homeless in Washington.

She added that opinion polls had shown that a majority of people were willing to pay more taxes to help solve the problem.

The Bush administration trying to cut a huge budget deficit, has said that it is cash-strapped and under pressure to provide funds to fight Aids, drugs, and a host of other domestic problems.

Lydia Williams, a policy analyst for the National Coalition for the Homeless, said the biggest problem caused by the recession was that states were hoping to reduce their deficits by cutting welfare benefits. In addition, there were more people turning to welfare because fewer were receiving unemployment benefits.

"Down the road... people are going to start falling out of their housing," she said.

Lobby groups for the homeless are also concerned about the spread of Aids. In New York City, there are about 13 000 of some 80 000 homeless people infected with the Aids virus.

Family Planning targets critical for development and survival

The cost of meeting international targets in fertility and family planning will double in the next ten years, but the cost of missing them will be far higher, says this year's State of World Population Report from United Nations Population Fund, United Nations Family Planning Association. "Reaching the targets will be critical for development — and even human survival in the next century," says the report.

The target is to increase the number of couples in developing countries using modern, voluntary family planning methods from 381 million in 1990 to 567 million by the end of the century, a net increase of about 50 percent. The actual number of men and women choosing to plan their families for the first time or moving from one method of contraception to another will be about 2 billion.

Reaching the target will raise the proportion using modern contraceptive methods from 51 per cent to 59 per cent of married women of reproductive age in developing countries. The report describes this as a "realistic" and "modest" target, but with "profound implications for programmes and policies". It was first adopted in 1989 by the International Forum on Population in the 21st Century, and is reflected in the International Development Strategy for the fourth United Nations Development Decade.

Providing these services will increase the cost of population programmes from \$4,5 billion (thousand million) in 1990 to \$9 billion annually by the year 2000. The bulk of



Strong Family Planning Programmes are the key to balanced rates of population growth

resources for population programmes are found by developing countries themselves. Total development assistance for population is about \$675 million. The report envisages that international assistance will rise to \$4,5 billion (including \$1 billion from UNFPA) with \$3,5 billion from governments in developing countries and \$1 billion from users.

The targets are based on the United Nations "medium" or "most likely" projection for future population growth. Keeping on this

track implies that world population will rise from 5,4 billion in mid-1991 to 6,4 billion in 2001 and 8,5 billion in 2025. This last figure has just been revised upwards by 38 million, "a small but significant increase," according to the report.

Projections for the more distant future may have to be revised drastically. Expectations that population would stabilise at about 10,2 billion in about 2075 are being questioned; some analysts suggest that 10 billion may be reached by 2050, and that population growth will continue for a century after that, levelling off at about 11,6 billion. Such possibilities "underscore the need for action," says the report.

The medium projection implies that total fertility — a notional measure of births per woman — will fall from 3,8 to 3,3 between now and the end of the century. The main route to lower fertility, says the report, is voluntary contraception.

"The urgency of meeting the targets is further underscored by the extent of urban growth; the extent of environmental damage; the impending food crisis in many developing countries; the extent of infant and maternal mortality; the number of girls out of school; the continuing low status of women; and the mounting pressures of migration within and between countries," says the report.

There are signs of hope, according to the report. "Compared with any previous generation women are saying that they want fewer children; although actual fertility is much higher than 'wanted' fertility in many countries, it is now falling in all regions of the developing world. In some countries it has fallen very rapidly. The voluntary use of contraception in developing countries has grown

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Rank of the homeless swell in USA (continued)

"The homeless population is disproportionately affected by the disease. In a lot of situations, people become homeless because of the illness. They are in and out of the hospital and cannot hold down their jobs," revealed Williams.

While most large cities around the country provide some type of shelter for singles and families, many people choose to remain on the streets, fearing what they say are overcrowded, dirty, rat-infested and dangerous shelters rampant with crime and drugs.

The massive city bureaucracies that have to be approached to receive help also keep many people on the streets.

"I have been sleeping down in the subway for at least eight months." "It is safer, put it that way. I have seen people die in shelter," said 28-year-old Denise, who left home at 11 to escape a stepfather who raped and abused her.

She lived with her uncle until he died last year, but her eight-year-old son was put into foster care four years ago.

Other children are not so lucky. Twenty-

five per cent of the homeless are children and six to eight million American children are homeless over the course of a year.

Margaret, taking some change from one of her regular contributors outside a delicatessen, said: "They make rent so high you cannot even get an apartment and then they put you through hell, making you live in a shelter for months before you can get an apartment. I want help."

Many of the homeless say they want to work, but that they cannot find jobs without a home address, others do work, but still cannot afford housing.

The problem of America's homelessness dates back to the early 1980s, when President Ronald Reagan turned over fiscal responsibility for housing to state and city governments, experts say.

Eighty-five per cent of the homeless are members of minorities, mostly blacks and hispanics, but the lobby groups say that every American is vulnerable.

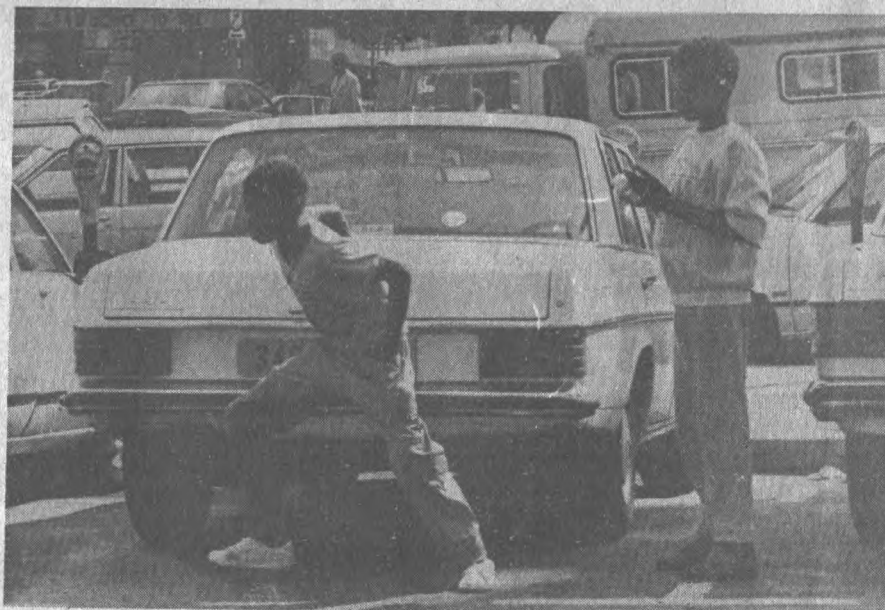
"There is not a big jump between you and that person on the street," Brosnahan said.

from 10 per cent of couples in the 1960s to 51 per cent today."

The report points out the importance of strong programmes: "The experience of the last 20 years shows that strong, well-managed family planning programmes are highly effective. By purely voluntary means, they have achieved smaller family size, healthier mothers and children and more balanced rates of population growth in developing countries in many different parts of the world and in a wide variety of social and economic settings."

Development and successful family planning efforts go together, says the report. "Strong programmes are most effective in more advanced stages of social and economic development; but they have a significant effect even in poorly developed economies, and among poor people. Low-income countries such as Sri Lanka and the states of Kerala and Tamil Nadu in India have shown that it is the quality of the services offered, and the ability of women and men to take advantage of them, which determines programmes success. Human development may be as important as economic development for the success of family planning programmes."

But, the report warns, "Family planning is far more than merely contraception. It is part of an environment in which everyone has opportunities and choices. Building these opportunities begins at birth, and depends among other things on the position of girls and women in their societies. Higher status for women brings more ability to choose; where the choice is available, women will take advantage of it."



The inability of some parents to cater for large families have forced children to venture into the streets and try and make ends meet

"Countries which have achieved lower fertility despite modest economic performance share an attitude to development which emphasizes participation and community involvement. They emphasise equality between girls and boys in education and health care, and the full participation of women in society. Men are encouraged to play a full and responsible part in family planning."

More and better contraceptives will be needed, says the report. "Commercial research and development is poorly funded; in some industrialized countries, it has virtually ceased. The burden has been partly

taken up by developing countries and by international and non-governmental organisations." The report welcomes new methods such as the long-lasting Norplant implant. But, it goes on, "special attention will be needed to develop better methods for men, to encourage them to take more responsibility for family planning."

Better family planning programmes are not the responsibility of one group of countries or individuals, the report concludes. "As an essential part of the mechanism of development, responsibility for family planning belongs to everyone. The future depends on it."

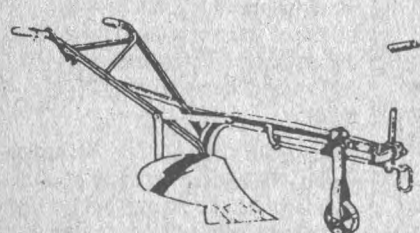
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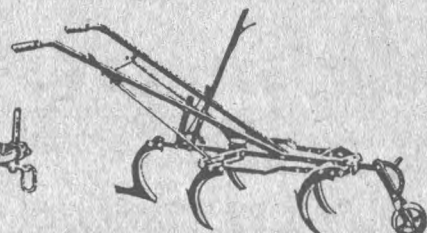


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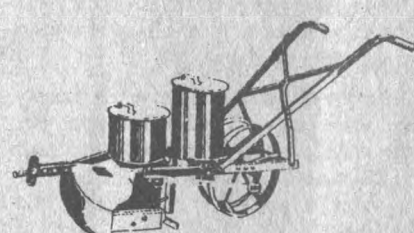
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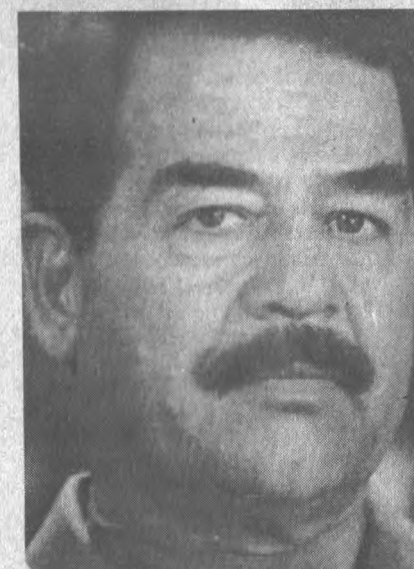
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Excerpts of Security Council Ceasefire Resolution

The following are key excerpts from a Security Council resolution passed on April 3, 1991 declaring a ceasefire in the Gulf War.

The Security Council, recalling its resolutions 660 (1990), 661, (1990), 662 (1990), 664 (1990), 665 (1990), 666 (1990), 667 (1990), 669 (1990), 670 (1990), 674 (1990), 677 (1990), 678 (1990) and 686 (1991), welcoming the restoration of Kuwait of its sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity and the return of its legitimate Government.

1. Affirms all 13 resolutions noted above, except, as expressly changed below to achieve the goals of this resolution, including a formal cease-fire:
2. Demands that Iraq and Kuwait respect the inviolability of the international boundary and the allocation of islands set out in the "agreement minutes between the state of Kuwait and the Republic of Iraq regarding the restoration of friendly relations, recognition and related matters," signed by them in exercise of their sovereignty at Baghdad on 4 October, 1963 and registered with the United Nations and published by the United Nations in document 7063, United Nations treaty series, 1964.
3. Calls on the Secretary-General to lend his assistance to make arrangements with Iraq and Kuwait to demarcate the boundary between Iraq and Kuwait, drawing on appropriate material including the map transmitted by Security Council document S/22412 and to report back to the Security Council within one month.
4. Decides to guarantee the inviolability of the above mentioned international boundary and to take as appropriate all necessary measures to that end in accordance with the charter.
5. Requests the Secretary-General, after consulting with Iraq and Kuwait, to submit within three days to the Security Council for its approval a plan for the immediate deployment of a United Nations observer unit to monitor the Khor Abdullah of a demilitarised zone, which is hereby established, extending ten kilometres into Iraq and five kilometres into Kuwait from the boundary referred to in the "agreed minutes between the states of Kuwait and the Republic of Iraq regarding the restoration of friendly relations, recognition and related matters" of 4 October 1963 to deter violations of the boundary through its presence in and surveillance of the demilitarized zone to observe any hostile or potentially hostile action mounted from the territory of one state to the other and for the Secretary-General to report regularly to the council



iraqi President Saddam Hussein

cil on the operations of the unit, and immediately if there are serious violations of the zone or potential threats to peace.

6. Notes that as soon as the Secretary-General notifies the council of the completion of the deployment of the United Nations observer unit, the conditions will be established for the member states cooperating with Kuwait in accordance with Resolution 768 (1990) to bring their military presence in Iraq to an end consistent with Resolution 686 (1991).

Invites Iraq to reaffirm unconditionally its obligations under the Geneva protocol for the prohibition of the use in the war of asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases, and of bacteriological methods of warfare, signed at Geneva on 17 June 1925, and to rectify the convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of bacteriological (Biological) and toxic weapons and on their destruction, of 10 April 1972.

8. Decides that Iraq shall unconditionally accept the destruction, removal, or rendering harmless, under international supervision, of:
 - (A) All chemical and biological weapons and all stocks of agents and all related subsystems and components and all research, development, support and manufacturing facilities.
 - (B) All ballistic missiles with a range greater than 150 kilometres and related major parts, and repair and production facilities.
9. Decides, for the implementation of paragraph 8 above, the following:
 - (A) Iraq shall submit to the Secretary-

General, within 15 days of the adoption of this resolution, a declaration of the locations, amounts and types of all items specified in paragraph 8 and agree to urgent on-site inspection as specified below:

- (B) The Secretary-General, in consultation with the Director General of the World Health Organisation (WHO), within 45 days of the passage of this resolution, shall develop and submit to the council for approval, a plan calling for the completion of the following acts within 45 days of such approval:
 - (I) The forming of a special commission, which shall carry out immediate on-site inspection of Iraq's biological, chemical and missile capabilities, based on Iraq's declarations and the designation of any additional locations by the special commission itself.
 - (II) The yielding by Iraq of possession to the special commission for destruction, removal of rendering harmless, taking into account the requirements of public safety, of all items specified under paragraph 8(A) above including items at the additional locations designated by the special commission under paragraph 9 (B) (I) above and the destruction by Iraq, under supervision of the special commission, of all its missile capabilities including launchers as specified under paragraph 8(B) above.
 - (III) The provision by the special commission of the assistance and cooperation



The Emir of Kuwait, Sheikh Ahmed A1 Sabar

to the director general of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) required in paragraphs 12 and 13 below.

10. Decides that Iraq shall unconditionally undertake not United Nations, Reuter — to use, develop, construct or acquire any of the items specified in paragraphs 8 and 9 above and requests the secretary-general, in consultation with the special commission, to develop a plan for the future ongoing monitoring and verification of Iraq's compliance with this paragraph, to be submitted to the council for approval within 120 days of the passage of this resolution.
11. Invites Iraq to reaffirm unconditionally its obligations under the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, of 1 July 1968.
12. Decides that Iraq shall unconditionally agree not to acquire or develop nuclear weapons or nuclear-weapons-usable material or any subsystems or components or any research, development, support or manufacturing facilities related to the above. To submit to the Secretary-General and the Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) within 15 days of the adoption of this resolution a declaration of the locations, amounts, and types of all items specified above. To place all of its nuclear-weapons-usable materials under the exclusive control, for custody and removal, or the IAEA, with the assistance and cooperation of the special commission as provided for in the plan of the Secretary-General discussed in paragraph 9(B) above. To accept, in accordance with the arrangements provided for in paragraph 13 below, urgent on-site inspection and the destruction, removal, or rendering harmless as appropriate of all items specified above. To accept the plan discussed in paragraph 13 below for the future ongoing monitoring and verification of its compliance with these undertakings.
13. Requests the Director-General of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) through the Secretary-General, with the assistance and cooperation of the special commission as provided for in the plan of the Secretary-General in paragraph 9(b) above, to carry out immediate on-site inspection of Iraq's nuclear capabilities based on Iraq's declarations and the designation of any additional locations by the special commission. To develop a plan for submission to the Security Council within 45 days calling for the destruction, removal, or rendering harmless as appropriate of all items listed in paragraph 12 above. To carry out the plan within 45 days following approval by the Security Council. And to develop a plan, taking into account the rights and obligations of Iraq under the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, of 1 July 1968, for the future ongoing monitoring and verification of Iraq's

compliance with paragraph 12 above, including an inventory of all nuclear material in Iraq subject to the Agency's verification and inspections to confirm that IAEA safeguards cover all relevant nuclear activities in Iraq, to be submitted to the Council for approval within 120 days of the passage of this resolution.

14. Takes note that the actions to be taken by Iraq in paragraphs 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13 of this resolution represent steps towards the goal of establishing in the Middle East a zone free from weapons of mass destruction and all missiles for their delivery and the objective of a global ban on chemical weapons.
15. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on the steps taken to facilitate the return of all Kuwaiti property seized by Iraq, including a list of any property which Kuwait claims has not been returned or which has not been returned intact.
16. Reaffirms that Iraq, without prejudice to the debts and obligations of Iraq arising prior to 2 August 1990, which will be addressed through the normal mechanisms, is liable under International

law for any direct loss, damage, including environmental damage and the depletion of natural resources, or injury to foreign governments, nationals and corporations, as a result of Iraq's unlawful invasion and occupation of Kuwait.

17. Decides that all Iraqi statements made since 2 August 1990, repudiating its foreign debt are null and void, and demands that Iraq scrupulously adhere to all of its obligations concerning servicing and repayment of its foreign debt.
18. Decides to create a fund to pay compensation for claims that fall within paragraph 16 above and to establish a commission that will administer the fund.
19. Directs the Secretary-General to develop and present to the Council for decision, no later than 30 days following the adoption of this resolution, recommendations for the fund to meet the requirement for the payment of claims established in accordance with paragraph 18 above and for a programme to implement the decisions in paragraphs 16, 17 and 18 above, including: administration of the fund — mechanisms for

determining the appropriate level of Iraq's contribution to the fund based on a percentage of the value of the exports of petroleum and petroleum products from Iraq not to exceed a figure to be suggested to the Council by the Secretary-General, taking into account the requirements of the people of Iraq, Iraq's payment capacity as assessed in conjunction with the international financial institutions taking into consideration external debt services, and the needs of the Iraqi economy — arrangements for ensuring that payments are made to the fund — the process by which funds will be allocated and claims paid — appropriate procedures for evaluating losses, listing claims and verifying their validity and resolving disputed claims in respect of Iraq's liability as specified in paragraph 16 above — and the composition of the commission designed above.

20. Decides, effective immediately, that the prohibitions against the sale or supply to Iraq of commodities or products, other than medicine and health supplies, and prohibitions against financial transactions related thereto, contained in resolution 661 (1990) shall not apply to foodstuffs notified to the committee established by Resolution 661 (1990) or, with the approval of that committee, under the simplified and accelerated "no — objection" procedure, to materials and supplies for essential

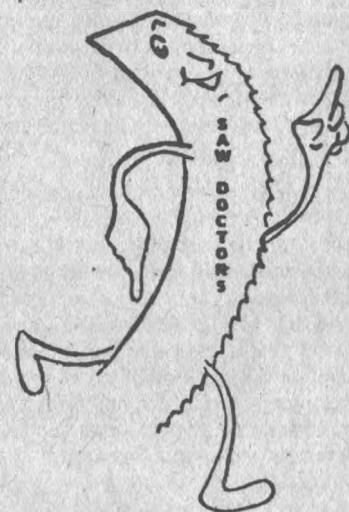
civilian needs as identified in the report of the Secretary-General dated 20 March 1991 (S/22366), and in any further findings of humanitarian need by the committee.

21. Decides that the Council shall review the provisions of paragraph 20 above every 60 days in light of the policies and practices of the Government of Iraq, including the implementation of all relevant resolutions of the Security Council, for the purpose of determining whether to reduce or lift the prohibitions referred to therein.
22. Decides that upon that approval by the Council of the programme called for in paragraph 19 above and upon Council agreement that Iraq has completed all actions contemplated in paragraphs 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13 above, the prohibitions against the import of commodities and products originating in Iraq and the prohibitions against financial transactions related thereto contained in resolution 661 (1990) shall have no further force or effect.
23. Decides that, pending action by the Council under paragraph 22 above, the committee established under resolution 661 (1990) shall be empowered to approve, when required to assure adequate financial resources on the part of Iraq to carry out the activities under paragraph 20 above, exceptions to the prohibition against the import of com-

modities and products originating in Iraq.

24. Decides that, in accordance with resolution 661 (1990) and subsequent related resolutions and until a further decision is taken by the Council, all states shall continue to prevent the sale or supply, or promotion or facilitation of such sale or supply, to Iraq by their national, or from their territories or using their flag vessels or aircraft, of:
 - (A) Arms and related material of all types, specially including the sale or transfer through other means of all forms of conventional military equipment, including for paramilitary forces, and spare parts and components and their means of production, for such equipment.
 - (B) Items specified and defined in paragraph 8 and paragraph 12 above not otherwise covered above.
 - (C) Technology under licensing or other transfer arrangements used in the production, utilization of stockpiling of items specified in subparagraphs (A) and (B) above.
 - (D) Personnel or materials for training or technical support services relating to the design, development, manufacture, use, maintenance or support of items specified in subparagraphs (A) and (B) above.
25. Calls upon all states and international organisations to act strictly in accor-

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In Andover, Mass (USA), President George Bush thanked Raytheon Company employees for their efforts in producing the Patriot antimissile system. Will the American adhere to the terms of the resolution?

dance with paragraph 24 above, Notwithstanding the existence of any contracts, agreements, licenses, or any other arrangements.

26. Requests the Secretary-General, in consultation with appropriate governments, to develop within 60 days, for approval of the Council, guidelines to facilitate full international implementation of paragraphs 24 and 25 above and paragraph 27 below, and to make them available to all states and to establish a procedure for updating these guidelines periodically.
27. Calls upon all states to maintain such national controls and procedures and to make such other actions consistent with the guidelines to be established by the Security Council under paragraph 26 above as may be necessary to ensure compliance with the terms of paragraph 24 above, and calls upon international organisations to take all appropriate steps to assist in ensuring such full compliance.
28. Agrees to review its decisions in paragraphs 22, 23, 24 and 25 above, except for the items specified and defined in paragraphs 8 and 12 above, on a regular basis and in any case 120 days fol-

lowing passage of this resolution, taking into account Iraq's compliance with this resolution and general progress towards the control of armaments in the region.

29. Decides that all states, including Iraq, shall take the necessary measures to ensure that no claim shall lie at the instance of the Government of Iraq or of any person or body in Iraq, or any person claiming through or for the benefit of any such person or body, in connection with any contract or other transaction where its performance was affected by reason of the measures taken by the Security Council in resolution 661 (1990) and related resolutions.
30. Decides that, in furtherance of its commitment to facilitate the repatriation of all Kuwaiti and third country nationals, Iraq shall extend all necessary cooperation to the International Committee of the Red Cross, providing lists of such persons, facilitating the access of the International Committee of the Red Cross to all such persons wherever located or detained and facilitating the search by the International Committee of the Red Cross for those Kuwaiti and other third country nationals still unaccounted for.

31. Invites the International Committee of the Red Cross to keep the Secretary-General apprised as appropriate of all activities undertaken in connection with facilitating the repatriation or return of Kuwaiti and third country nationals or their remains present in Iraq on or after 2 August 1990.
32. Requires Iraq to inform the Council that it will not commit or support any act of international terrorism or allow any organisation directed towards commission of such acts to operate within its territory and to condemn unequivocally and renounce all acts, methods, and practices of terrorism.
33. Declares that, upon official notification by Iraq to the secretary-general and to the security council of its acceptance of the provisions above, a formal ceasefire is effective between Iraq and Kuwait and the member states cooperating with Kuwait in accordance with resolution 678 (1990).
34. Decides to remain seized of the matter and to take such further steps as may be required for the implementation of this resolution and to secure peace and security in the area. □

Bedbugs transmit Aids

Bedbugs and household pests have emerged as the latest mode of transmission of the Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (Aids).

The revelation is contained in a report of a study carried out on the Epidemiology of Aids in the Kagera Region of Tanzania by five doctors between 1988-89.

The report was presented at the 12th Annual Medical Scientific Conference held here between February 4-8 1991 and attended by about 600 scientists from Zimbabwe, Zambia, Tanzania, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Britain, US, Japan, Germany and Kenya.

Bedbugs are also known to have the potential for the mechanical transmission of Hepatitis B virus which has similar characteristics to Aids. Both diseases have no known cure.

The two viruses have the same transmission routes including sexual intercourse, blood transfusion and skin penetrating injections. Bedbugs were therefore considered to have the potential for intra-household transmission of Aids.

The study carried out in the north western region of Tanzania bordering Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi, the doctors from the National Institute for Medical Research Centre, Mwanza, found out that illicit injections accounted for 8,7 per cent of Aids infection among the 4 078 people studied.

Bedbugs, hitherto unknown to be a transmitter of the deadly virus, account for 5,2 per cent higher than maternal infection of 3,5 per cent, blood transfusion 2,8 per cent and others 2,5 per cent.

Kagera was the first region in this East African country to experience the Aids epidemic in 1983, and was also second to Dar es Salaam.

Then, of the 9 126 patients throughout the country, 2 139, that is, 23 per cent, were from the region. Kagera was therefore selected for the study for seroprevalence by suspected risk factors to guide a national health education control programme.

Among several recommendations the experts suggest health education to mobilise community participation in controlling household pests inclusive of bedbugs. The control of household pests would promote the general public health of the community.

In another Aids-related report, KEMRON or the Low Dose Human Interferon-Alpha, which Kenyan researchers claimed to have discovered about two years ago, has been declared to be a viable drug for the management of Aids.

This announcement was made by the World Health Organisation (WHO) here last February during the medical congress organised by the Kenya Medical Research Institute (KEMRI) which pioneered the development of KEMRON.

According to Dr. Peter Tukei, a Ugandan WHO virologist attached to the KEMRI, the drug "offers us something — KEMRON has

promise." The study was conducted under the auspices of the Africa regional offices of WHO based in Brazzaville, Congo, and involved five centres in Yaounde, Cameroon, Nairobi, Abidjan, Cote d'Ivoire, Harare, Zimbabwe and Brazzaville where a total of 108 Aids patients suffering varied degrees of deterioration of their immune systems were tested. — APS □

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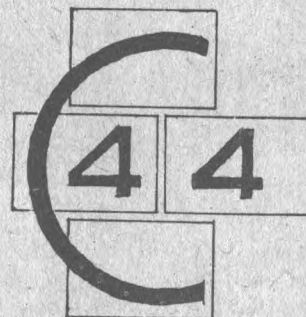
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Ceausescu's dying son protests he is revolution "scapegoat"

By Tim Judah



The late President's son, Nicu Ceausescu

A year after his fall from grace, Romania's "crown prince", the son of the executed Nicolae Ceausescu, is a broken man. Nicu Ceausescu, aged 40, is serving a 20-year sentence for "incitement to extremely grave murder" for his part in the death of 89 people killed in his fiefdom, the Transylvanian town of Sibiu, during the 1989 Romanian revolution, in which his parents were summarily tried and shot on Christmas Day.

Terminally ill, slurring his words and chain-smoking, Nicu Ceausescu claimed in an interview recently in the hospital wing of the infamous Jilava Jail, just south of Bucharest, that he had a great regret: "I will die here." The interview was conducted in the presence of his lawyer, his doctor and the chief guard of the prison medical wing.

Ceausescu asserted he was not guilty of ordering anyone to fire on civilians during the revolution, that he had been made a scapegoat, and that he had long opposed his

parents' policies. "What is certain is that I had to be convicted," he said. "The authorities are afraid of me ... but I'm left here, an innocent man in prison, wondering why."

He claimed that, before fleeing Sibiu, he gave orders for army and Securitate troops not to fire on revolutionary demonstrators but these had been countermanded. He would not say by whom.

From his teens, Ceausescu gained the reputation of being a tearaway and petty tyrant, and later a womaniser and drunkard. In an interview earlier this year, the mother of Nadia Comaneci, the former Romanian Olympic gymnast, claimed that her daughter had been dominated "body and soul" by Ceausescu and that he had one of her fingernails pulled out after she refused to go along with one of his sexual demands. Throughout the interview, Ceausescu refused to be drawn on the details of his "personal life", saying that there were "a lot of legends" about him.

Ceausescu, who had been head of the Communist Youth League and was party first secretary in Sibiu, 160 miles north-west of Bucharest, at the time of the revolution, was apprehended on December 22 two years ago. He vigorously denies that he was trying to escape. If that had been the case, "I would not have been driving to Bucharest but across the border. It would have been easy to leave". He said he had known President Iliescu in the past and thought it would be a good idea to try to meet him and the new government.

Ceausescu claimed that for at least a decade he had opposed his father's policies and because he criticised his parents' actions had effectively been exiled to provincial Sibiu. He said that there had been a "family rupture" in 1980 and a "political rupture" in 1984. "I told my parents that people were suffering as far back as 1970. From a political point of view, it was a generation struggle."

Because he had disagreed with his parents, Ceausescu denied that Sibiu had been the training ground to groom a successor. Rather, he claimed he had never discussed the matter with his parents and that he had been "pushed away to Sibiu". He declared: "Who wants to leave their homes and friends?" Also he denied that he had been preparing to succeed his parents, as "I did not want this".

Citing an example of opposition to their policies, he said he had been against their destruction of much of old Bucharest and putting in its place the city's gargantuan, still unfinished House of the People and the two and half mile Boulevard of the Victory of Socialism which leads to it.

He said that the idea of demolishing much of the old city had been that of a fawning politician who had suggested that the Ceausescu's political careers would be incomplete without a lasting memorial in stone. Ceausescu recounted that he had taken a stand against the demolition of a particular

ly beautiful and historic church. He said: "I told them that if they knocked it down I would turn cannon on the House of the People." He said that his parents had responded to this by calling him an "enemy of the people". He mused: "An enemy of the people then as now."

Ceausescu said his father knew only about 50-60 per cent, "maybe less", of what had been happening in the Romania he ruled. He said: "He was surrounded by sycophants. In order to maintain their privileges and power, they told my father that everything he did was good and they agreed with everything he said. No one told him the truth, so from this point of view it was a dictatorship."

Ceausescu claimed, however, that with his brother Valentin and sister Zoia he had tried to "explain that things were not always as he had been told ... but he (his father) could

not believe me ... after all he was hearing these things from ministers".

He would not comment on his emotions concerning his parents' executions. However, he did say: "It is one thing to be part of the family, but another to make policies. They should have been made to explain what they did and why ... not shot. I say this not just because they were my parents. Romania has now been deprived of this opportunity."

Ceausescu said he was "somewhat surprised" by the revolution that ended his father's 24-year rule, but it was "logical" that he should have been replaced. He was a convinced communist and he was stubborn. All the others from the old guard in the former socialist countries had been replaced.

"It was probably a matter of conflicting ambitions between my father and Gorbachev. My father wanted to show that

Romania would not do just what Gorbachev wanted." The consequence was that the Soviet role in the revolution was "instrumental" and he described measures, such as troop movements taken by the Kremlin at the time of the revolution, to back his claim.

"Changes there should have been, but they should and could have happened peacefully." Asked whose fault it was that they had not, Ceausescu said forcefully: "Not mine." Asked if he thought it was his parents' fault, he replied: "Maybe so."

Ceausescu has appealed against his sentence. It was legally "not correct" that the charge of "complicity to genocide" was changed at the moment of sentencing. But he was not particularly hopeful that his appeal would succeed. Was he prepared to fight his diseases and his legal case? Laughing, he said: "I shall have to think about it." □

Obituary Mashonaland East province mourns again

Barely a year since two leading members of ZANU PF Mashonaland East Provincial Council passed away, the people of that province have once again been put to tears by the untimely and sudden death of Comrade Francis Chawapiwa.

Comrade Chawapiwa, who was up to the time of his death Secretary for Education in the provincial Youth League, passed away in the early hours of Sunday, February 24, 1991, after a short illness. He had complained of a mere headache only four days prior to his death and had been hospitalised for two days at Mount St. Marys Hospital in Hwedza. He was buried at his home in the Mukarati Village in Hwedza.

At his graveside speech, the governor of Mashonaland East, Comrade

Abraham Kabasa said Comrade Chawapiwa was a hero who had stood steadfast in mobilising support for the Party over the years. Also present at the funeral was the Deputy Minister for Political Affairs, Comrade Norman Zikali, who also spoke highly of Comrade Chawapiwa.

At the time of his death Comrade Chawapiwa was actively involved in the Party restructuring exercise taking place in the district.

Comrade Francis Chawapiwa, a school headmaster by profession, always spared his leisure time in mobilising support for the Party and often did this at his personal expenses. His untimely death has robbed us of an ardent Party activist who will not be easy to replace.

Aluta continua! □

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by Maxwell Maioio



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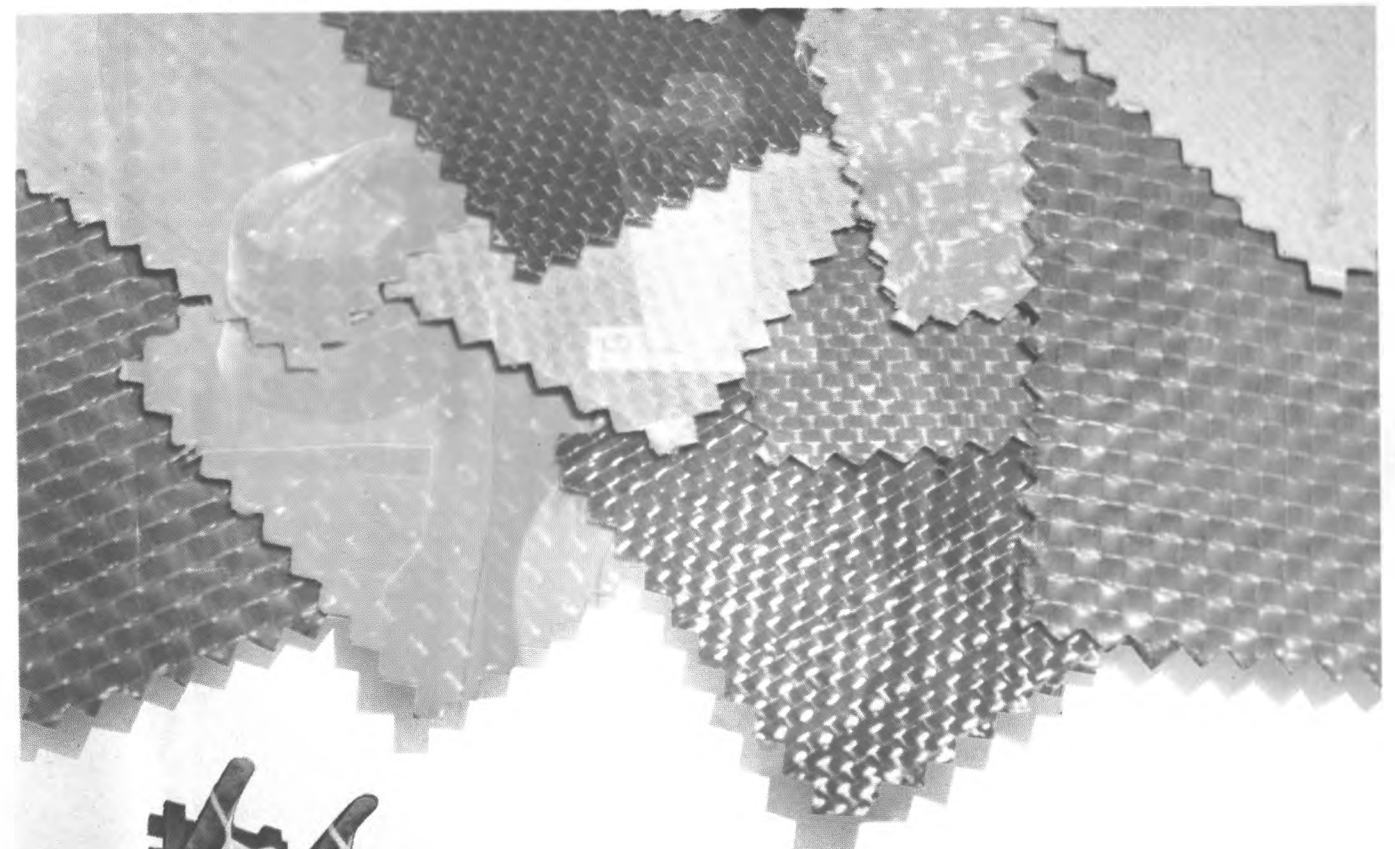
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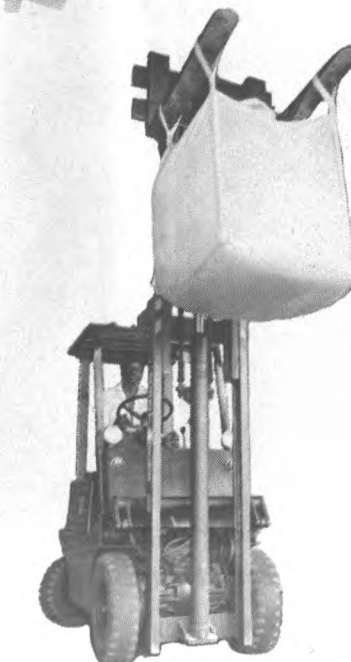
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