

ZANU PF



# Zimbabwe News

## Official Organ of ZANU PF

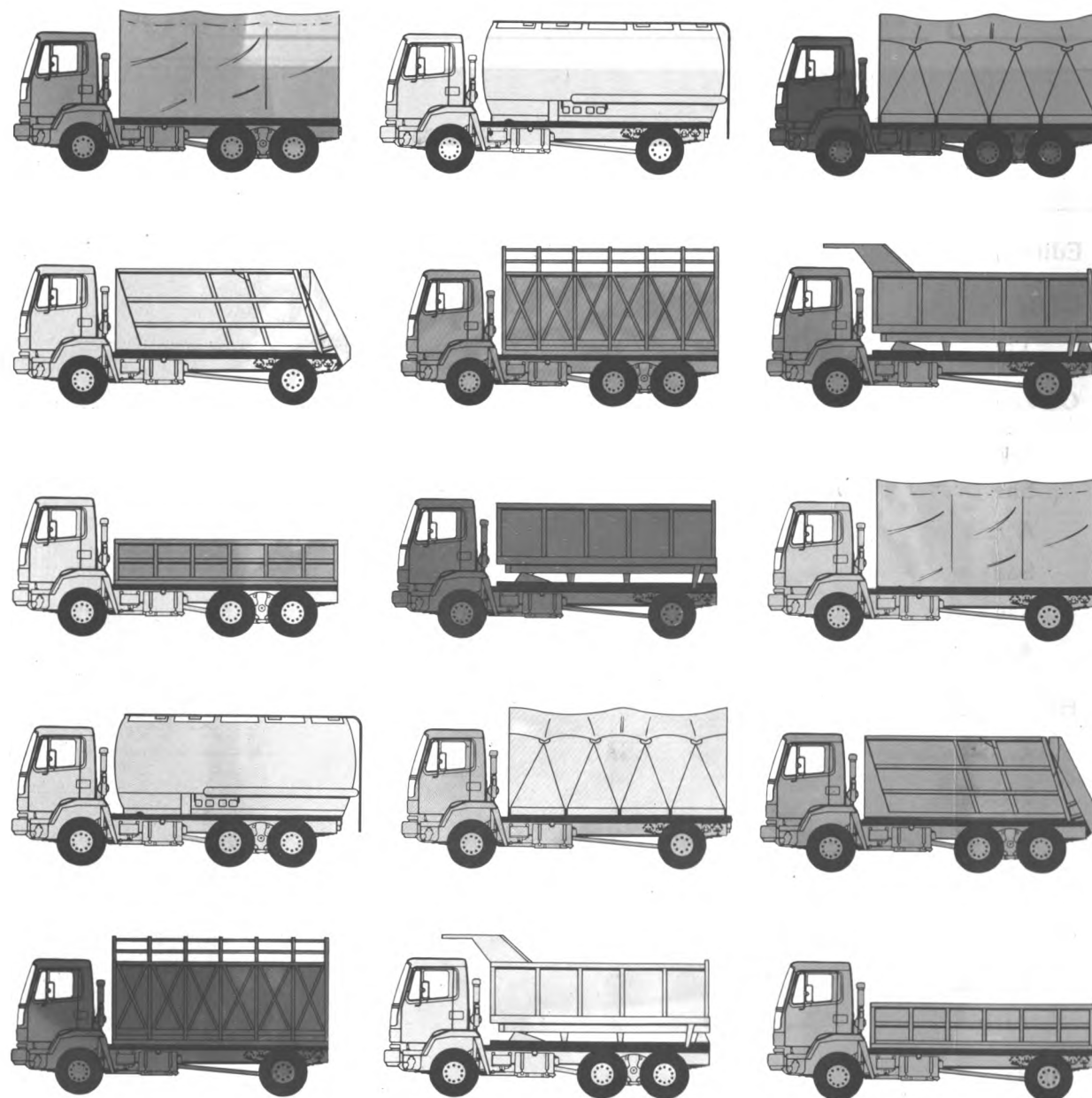
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The nation pays tribute to  
**CDE. AMAI SALLY MUGABE**





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## EDITORIAL

### Sally's work lives on

Although Cde Sally Mugabe is dead, her work and spirit still lives in our Party and our society. The work she did with so much dedication and commitment will remain as a shining beacon before us all. It will now be an important part of the history of ZANU (PF) itself. More importantly, it must be continued and strengthened.

Cde Sally Mugabe's life and work was exemplary in many ways. After working hard for many years for our national independence, she never went to Parliament or to the Cabinet to seek a position of influence. Instead she preferred to go to the Party office, and to devote all her life to building and strengthening Party Organs, and bringing help to the poor and the needy. She worked with ordinary people at the Grassroots and brought them into the Party. For her, Party work was a fulltime occupation. At the office she set a very high standard of administrative efficiency, combined with a quick understanding of people's problems, and relentless efforts to find viable solutions. The link she provided between the Party and the people will be a legacy we must cherish and keep.

Another living example of her work was the mobilisation of the Women's League into the powerful force that it is today. Although the hand that built and nurtured the League is no longer there, it will not be difficult for the National Council of the Women's League to maintain the momentum that has been created. The structures are in existence and the pattern of organisation is already set.

Zimbabweans are thankful for the many friends that Cde Sally brought to us from other countries. We now have a permanent bond with Ghana in particular and other African countries in general. She also had many personal friends in Scandinavia, Europe, America and Asia. Her work with the children of the Frontline States has brought much attention to Zimbabwe and its children. She became internationally recognised as Amai or Mother of all children. We hope that spirit of love for children and motherhood will live on and remain among our women and especially those in the League.

# The "Land Question" re-emerges

By Yash Tandon



The land question is high on the people's agenda

In his State of Nation address the President of the Republic has once again raised the question of Land. For a while, during the middle of the 80s, the land issue had been put on the backburner. Because of the various measures of land acquisition and land reform taken by Government, it looked as if the land question was effectively depoliticised. However, towards the end of the decade, beginning around 1988, it was generally being recognised that the various measures taken had not succeeded, or had only partially succeeded. The "land question" therefore has resurfaced. It has acquired political poignancy once again.

#### An unfulfilled Promise

The liberation movement was founded, at least partly, on the promise that land, which was expropriated by the colonials, would be reacquired for the people by an independent government. A besieged white land-owning class, however, was saved at the last minute through international pressure on the liberation movement to compromise on the land issue. Thus, on the eve of independence a political detente was forced on the new Government in the form of the Lancaster House Agreement which more or less tied the hands of the new Government behind their backs. Government could not expropriate land. It could acquire it only if the white farmers were prepared to sell it. And on purchase, the Government was expected to pay the full market price, and the payment had to be effected promptly.

The policy of "reconciliation" brought peace between the whites and the blacks. Peace enabled

restoration of the war-torn economy. And in this period of rehabilitation, the farming sector benefited just as did the manufacturing sector. Farmers had access to foreign exchange, they could purchase the much needed farm implements (such as tractors), and with the opening of the market they were able to reap profit from the tobacco, cotton, maize, et cetera. Apart therefore from those who were pessimistic about the future of Zimbabwe under black leadership, and who therefore left the country leaving their farms behind, for acquisition by Government, most white farmers stayed behind, and, in the ensuing peace and prosperity, they had less and less reason to sell their farms.

#### "Solutions" since independence

The immediate post-independence strategy on land rested on three pillars:

- Acquiring land as was voluntarily available in the market in order to satisfy at least a section of the landless and the poorest of the peasantry, including a section of the ex-combatants.
- Rectify the historical bias against communal farmers by providing them access to credit, extension service, and the market so that the debate shifted from the "land question" as such to the question of improving the productivity of those who had land — not only in the former so-called "African Purchase Areas" (APAs) but also in the communal areas (CAs).
- A vigorous policy of revitalising the industrial sector so that it could absorb surplus

labour from land. This would also help to shift focus from the land hunger to alternative gainful employment.

In other words, as far as the land question was concerned, the emphasis shifted from land ownership to land use. The focus of debate during most of the 80's (that is, until about 1988) was on how to improve the productivity of land on various land tenures, and the issue of how to acquire land for the land-hungry gradually became a secondary issue. It was argued, for example, that to take away land from large scale commercial farmers was not in the interest of the nation, for they provided not only the forex-earning tobacco, and to a lesser degree cotton, but also the bulk of the marketed maize for the urban population. Instead, what was needed to be done was to improve the productivity of the small-scale African commercial farmers and to help hitherto subsistence farmers in the communal areas to improve their ability to produce for the market.

Land acquired from the departing farmers was placed under the so-called "resettlement scheme". In absolute terms, however, the amount of land acquired for resettlement was not substantial. By mid 80's, the government had acquired approximately 2.5 million hectares of land at a total cost of Z\$52 million. Most of the land acquisition took place between 1981 and 1983 when many white farmers chose to leave the country. The Large Scale Commercial Farms (LSCFs) remained more or less untouched (especially the land owned by large Transnational Corporations, such as Lonrho) whose level of capitalisation could not, in any case, have been matched by black private commercial farmers.

Under the "Resettlement Scheme" about 16 million hectares of the acquired land were placed under "Model A" — which was basically a replication of the communal holdings, with settlers brought in from the poorest and most land-hungry areas. At the same time, to fulfill the "socialist" aspirations, the remaining lands (0.9 million hectares) that were acquired under the "resettlement" programme — some of the best agricultural lands — were turned into collective co-operatives, many of them in the hands of former combatants.

#### Why has the Land Question resurfaced

The Land Question has resurfaced because the assumptions behind the land and agricultural (and industrial) policies of the immediate post-independence period have proved to have been misplaced.

First, although for a while the land-hunger was assuaged by the "resettlement programme", the demand for land continued to remain high on people's agenda. By the mid-80's approximately 40 000 families were resettled, but this, however, was less than a third of the initial target for resettlement. Slightly over 60% of those resettled were from communal lands, the rest being the landless and unemployed persons, as well as those previously displaced from land.



Second, the communal areas remain highly overpopulated, in some areas providing for three to four times their carrying capacity of people and cattle. This has steadily led to degeneration of the soil and the environment. With the incessant cutting down of trees (a feature especially of the resettlement areas), the already stressed lands are further denuded making life difficult for an increasing number of the rural population.

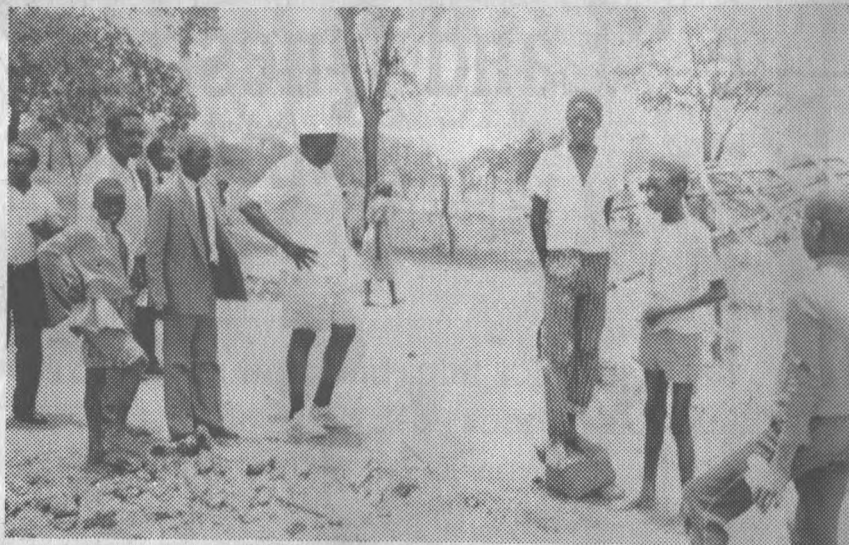
Third, increasing impoverishment of the rural population has forced them into such ventures as stream-bank cultivation and gold-panning, a far more worthwhile enterprise than dry-land farming. This has often brought the people against the law, making them victims of a situation not of their creation.

Five, recurrent droughts have further compounded the problem of increasing productivity. Therefore, in spite of the availability of credit from the Agricultural Finance Corporation (AFC) and extension advice from Agritex, the communal farming communities have found it more and more difficult to keep up productivity. A considerable section of the rural peasantry is now in arrears with the AFC.

Six, the Collective co-operatives have generally not done well either, although most of them occupy good agricultural lands. "Experts" have attributed the relative failure to lack of managerial skills and agricultural know-how, whereas, in fact, whilst lack of skills is a factor, the collectives were badly conceptualised, poorly planned (with a bias towards turning them into "commerce"-like ventures), and inadequately monitored. Most of them have become dependent on foreign donor agencies for their survival.

Seven, the much-vaunted "success" of LSFs has proved to be based on false premises. Everybody talked about their high yields; nobody bothered to look into their high cost structure. During the colonial times and the years of the UDI, the commercial farmers were highly subsidized by the state and given lavish credit terms by the banks. So when the cost of inputs increased, and the prices could not match these increases, the LSFs quit growing maize and shifted to more profitable tobacco, soya beans and oil seeds. This year, 1991, thus the Government has been forced to buy grains from outside.

The point is that the immediate post-independence argument that good lands must be left in the hands of the white commercial farmers for the sake of the national interest has proved to be without



Some white farmers have abandoned growing maize and turned vast areas into either game parks or ostrich ranches

foundation. Under stress the white farmers have abandoned growing maize and turned vast areas into either game parks for tourism, or ostrich ranches to service the delicate tastes of the European market. Hence there is no longer that commitment to leave the lands in those hands any more.

Eight, the industrial sector, after an initial burst of activity, has replaced into slow growth, its problems further compounded by the world-wide recession. The result is that it has not been able to provide alternative job opportunities for the landless.

Hence, people have fallen back on the land. But with the present inequitable distribution of the land, and with communal land being in such stressful condition, there is no question that the Government has to take on the land question much more seriously than hitherto.

#### Conclusion: Thoughts on the Way Forward

The Bill brought to the parliament last year on compulsory acquisition of unutilised lands is a first step in the correct direction.

But that is not enough. Taking over of un or under-utilised lands will relieve pressure from some of the more hard-pressed communal areas, but, let's face it, there just is not enough land to go around. The land reform must also look into a few other important issues, such as:

- 1) The question of land tenure (and land ownership);

- 2) The question of how to improve the productivity of the land without excessive reliance, as at present, on chemically based fertilizers and pesticides; in other words, the need to look into the strategy of Low External Input Agriculture;

- 3) The question of water in a situation where the climatological changes over the last decade or so (partly as a result of the phenomenon of global warming) has rendered dryland agriculture a hazardous exercise;

- 4) The question of forestry and agro-forestry, a relatively ignored areas of government policy;

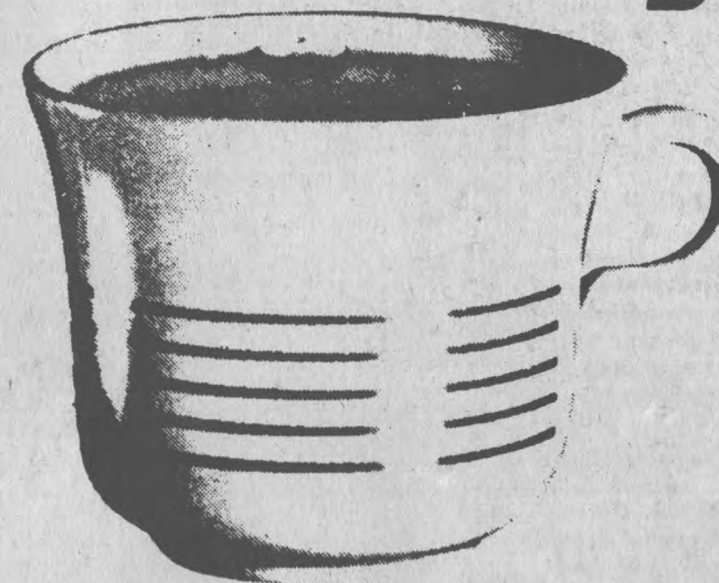
- 5) The economics of arid and semi-arid zones, especially the question of whether ranching may be a more profitable activity compared to beef farming

- 6) And the question of shifting from the "classical" crops of maize, cotton and tobacco to more indigenous crops that have traditionally provided the rural people with the cushion against drought and famine.

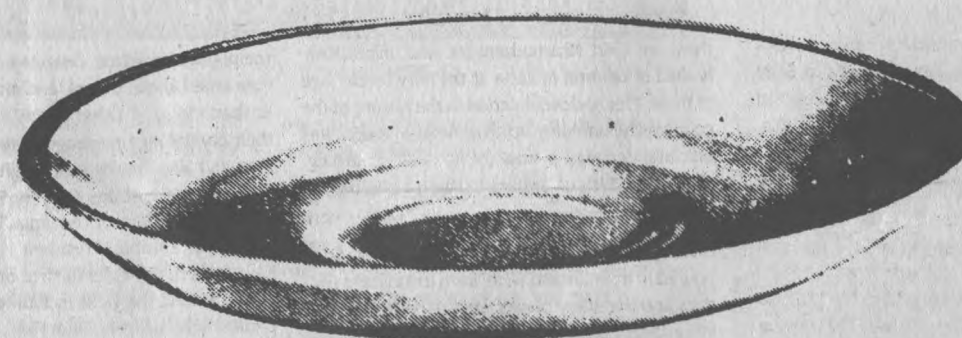
Clearly, the land issue has again become a politically relevant issue. There are, of course, no easy options. What is needed is a more imaginative, a more spirited, approach to the land issue and the connected issues of food security and employment than simple solutions might suggest.

**The Editor and Staff  
of  
Zimbabwe News  
would like to express their condolences to  
Cde. President Robert Mugabe  
on the untimely death of  
Amai Sally Mugabe**

# Bright, Fresh Tanganda



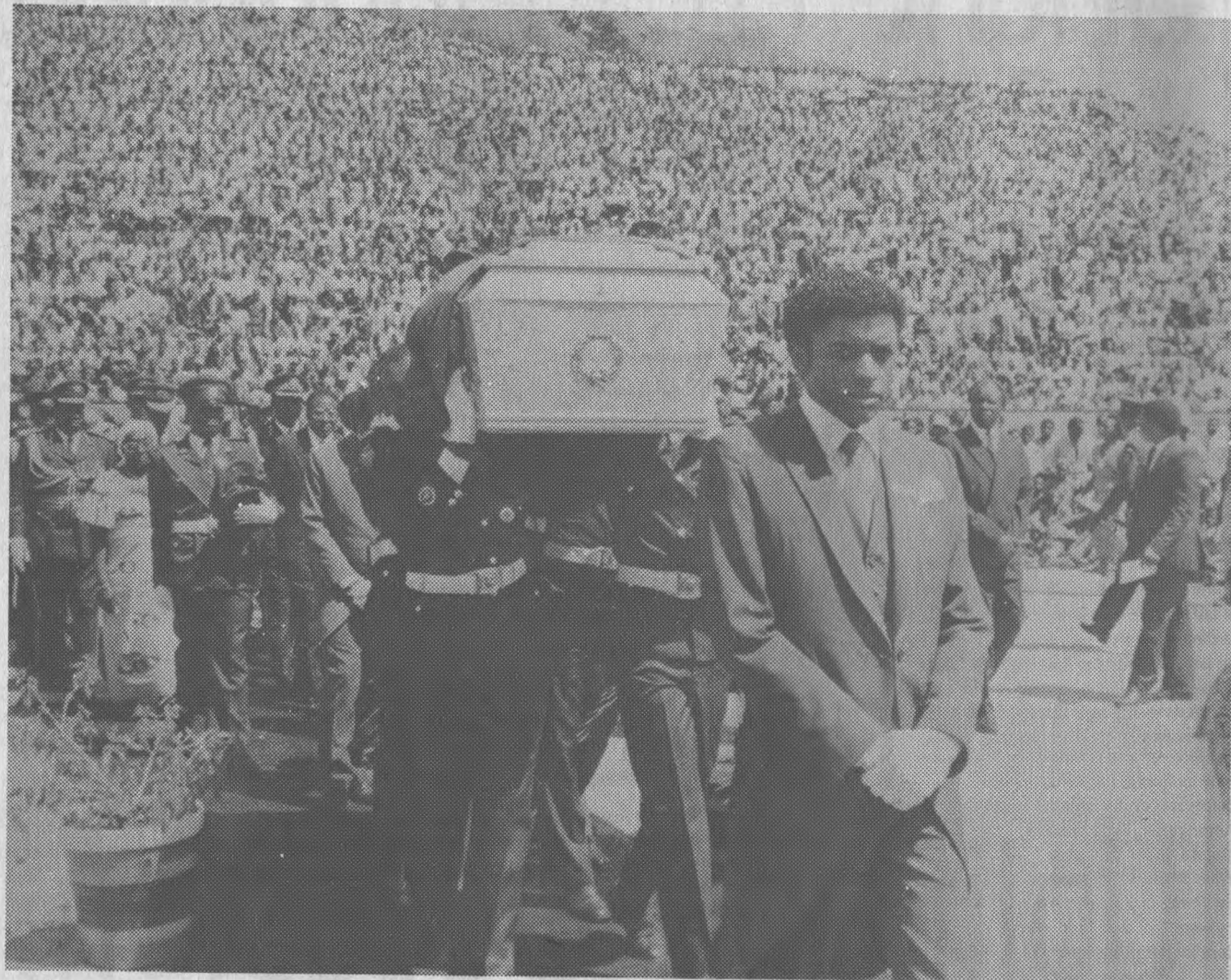
## For Every Uplifting Occasion



## UP UP, IT LIFTS YOU UP



# Amai Sally laid to rest



The full terraces at Heroes' Acre provide an appropriate backdrop as poll bearers of the ZNA carry Amai's casket to the graveside

Shock and horror gripped the nation as news of the death of the First Lady Amai Sally Mugabe was announced to the nation with a heavy and broken heart, by the Vice-President Cde. Joshua Nkomo.

The late Amai Mugabe, who died of a kidney illness at Parirenyatwa Hospital on the morning of 27th January was officially declared a national heroine, a fitting tribute to the wonderful work she left behind, especially with regard to her political and humanitarian activities. She was the moving soul behind the establishment of the Child Survival and Development Foundation, an autonomous organisation which caters for the under-privileged in society. Cde. Sally was born, Sarah Francesca Hayfron, in Ghana in 1933, into a political family. Her early life was characterised by active involvement in the liberation of the downtrodden of the African continent. She met and fell in love with the President, Cde. Robert Mugabe, at Takoradi Teachers' Training College of Ghana. They later married in the then Southern Rhodesia in Harare (then Salisbury), in April 1961. The marriage gave

them one child, Nhamodzenyika, who unfortunately died of cerebral malaria at the very tender age of three. This sorrowful period in the history of the country, the untimely death of Amai Mugabe, was officially declared a week of national mourning, (that is the 27th of January to the 1st of February 1992).

Messages of condolences on the death of Amai poured in from far and wide: from friends and relatives and the many beneficiaries of her work; from international bodies and non-governmental organisations; and from heads of states, statesmen and states women. Amongst the many condolences was one from the President of the United States of America, Mr. George Bush, who said of Amai Mugabe: "We will miss her contributions to the strong bonds of friendship between our two countries. Her kindness and her dedication to improving the lives of children in Zimbabwe and around the world will always be remembered." Cde. Abigail Vera, Programme Co-ordinator of the Child Survival and Development Foundation, said, "Amai was committed to mobilising the whole nation on

the plight of children. Despite her illness, she was concerned about others, and she seemed so larger than life..." Other heads of state to send in their condolence messages were the OAU Chairman and also President of Nigeria, Ibrahim Babangida, President Abdou Diouf of Senegal, President Ali Hassan Mwinyi of Tanzania, President Fredrick Chiluba of Zambia, President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, President Fidel Castro of Cuba and many others around the globe including many local companies, schools, private organisations and members of the ZANU (PF) Party hierarchy across the country.

Thousands upon thousands of people converged at State House in Harare, from across the country in specially organised transport for the occasion, to pay their respects to the husband of the late Amai. President and First Secretary of ZANU (PF) Cde. Robert Mugabe and family. A delegation from Ghana which was comprised of Mrs Mavis Hayfron, her sisters and relatives including some cousins from the Ghanaian chieftainship, arrived in Harare and joined the funeral procession in



The nation joined hands with the President, Cde. R.G. Mugabe in mourning Amai Sally Mugabe

Zimbabwe, home area of the President, Cde. Mugabe, where the body of Amai Sally Mugabe was flown to, last Friday, as part of the last respects for Amai in African tradition. Her body was flown back to Harare the same day, to Zimbabwe House, where it lay in state the whole night for last viewing by ordinary members of the public who were dear to her. On Saturday morning it was escorted by a colourful funeral cortege to Stodart Hall in Mbare for final viewing before being taken to the National Heroes Acre. The late Amai was laid to rest at Harare's Heroes Acre for burial, 1st February 1992, some few hours before mid-day, where she joined 16 other heroes. Among them which include Josiah Magama Tongogara, Jason Ziyapapa Moyo, Herbert Chitepo, Willie Musarurwa to mention but a few. Among the Heads of State who attended her burial ceremony were President Quett Masire of Botswana, President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique, the form-

er President of Zambia, Dr. Kenneth Kaunda and the First Ladies of Zambia, Nigeria, Ghana, Namibia, and the wife of the President of the ANC Mrs Winnie Mandela and also the PAC's President Cde. Clarence Makwetu. Britain was represented by a high powered delegation which was comprised of the British Secretary for Overseas Development, Mrs Lynda Chalker and a representative of the Queen.

Among the people who gave moving speeches, at her graveside, dedicated to the late Amai's glorious life, were the Vice-President Cde. Joshua Nkomo, President Mugabe, Miss Sabina Mugabe and for the first time in the history of the burial of heroes was a woman and representative of Women's League, Cde. Tenjiwe Lesabe. In her speech Cde. Lesabe said that Amai Mugabe was a tireless worker who had championed the cause of women and children in the country. Another speech was read by the Chairman of the Zimbabwe

Child Survival and Development Foundation, Mr. John Laurie, who said, "the death of Amai Mugabe had left a vacuum that could not be filled". A member of the Ghanaian delegation and sister to the late Amai also read a speech in tribute to her late sister on behalf of the Hayfron family in which they applauded the decision of the people of Zimbabwe to make Sally a National Heroine.

Sunday (the next day) was followed by an inter-denominational church service in tribute to the late Amai Sally Mugabe, at the polo grounds of Zimbabwe House. Addressing the congregation the President and First Secretary of ZANU (PF), said that he was impressed by the unity shown by the churches that had organised the service. As a token of good faith, the Child Survival and Development Foundation would soon be distributing over Z\$4,5 million in recognition of the efforts made by the late Amai to various schools which had started projects to upgrade their respective educational facilities.

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## She lived and stood for development

I feel highly honoured that His Excellency The President Cde. Robert Gabriel Mugabe has assigned me the task to officiate at the burial of the First Lady, the Late Cde. Sally Francesca Mugabe.

This is the first time that since this National Shrine was built a lady has never been laid to rest here, a lady who happens to be a First Lady. It is therefore a task that is of supreme honour to me.

However, it is not my task alone. I am happy that your presence here in large numbers today is of great assistance. For we must in the space of this given time attempt to craft a fitting epitaph to one whose life story will fittingly be written in golden letters.

We gather at this National Shrine to bid farewell to the late First Lady, Cde. SALLY FRANCESCA MUGABE. It is a moment of National grief. The Mugabe family has lost a dear wife. Zimbabwe has

been robbed of a loving mother. Mankind has lost a faithful servant.

The story of Sally Francesca Mugabe, born Sarah Francesca Hayfron, on 6th June 1932 in Ghana, is not a story for one man to tell. She was housewife at the pinnacle of our Nation. A mother sorely tried by the cycles of joy and pain.

A teacher who bore ably the responsibility of shaping minds. A campaigner who held the creed that people must be at the heart of all politics. A humanitarian and philanthropist. An incisive thinker and fighter who reconciled passion and reason to produce results.

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen.

To search for aspects of Amai Mugabe's life that are not memorable is a sorry exercise in futility. Those who were privileged to know her as a child tell us that she was ahead of her times. Truly ahead of her times throughout her life.



Cde. Vice President, Dr. Joshua Nkomo

She was, they say, a child with a passion for beauty and colourful things. With the tenacity that became her hallmark in later life, she clung to those things she considered good baggage for the longer journey. She discarded the perishables that could not last for the long haul. She excelled in whatever





she ventured to undertake. Her Christian upbringing moulded Sally into a solid individual, always concerned about the plight of the suffering and under-privileged.

Always in company of her twin sister, Esther, she became an admirer of the late Dr Kwame Nkrumah — The great Pan-Africanist pioneer, at an early age. As she grew up, heaven, earth, events and people seemed to conspire in confirming that her mission was — service to mankind.

As fate was to determine, a chance meeting at a church reception at Takoradi, Ghana, brought together two young teachers. The two were Robert Gabriel Mugabe and Sally Francesca Hayfron.

Their first meeting made Sally a must for Bob. Indeed love and reason travel together, only part of the way and then destiny takes over.

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen. Ghana sent us Sally. We are grateful to the Hayfron family for giving us such a daughter.

The political path travelled by Sally in the liberation of Zimbabwe is one of pride and courage. She

self at the active centre of the struggle. She actively mobilised young women to be in the forefront of the struggle, until final victory.

Since the attainment of independence in 1980, Cde Sally never looked back. As Prime Minister's wife she remained simple and never put on airs. Throughout her illustrious career as First Lady, Cde Sally Mugabe kept open the doors of State House and private quarters to people of every station of life. Her invitation to "come in" was never wanting. She was a very warm person who loved everyone.

Despite her heavy responsibilities as Secretary for ZANU-PF Women's League and Executive Chairperson of the Child Survival and Development Fundation, Cde Sally Mugabe never showed any signs of exhaustion.

In spite of failing health Cde Sally continued to initiate and involve herself in programmes to ensure the survival of children in Zimbabwe and the Southern African Region.

refrain "Children must live and not die" must remain a guiding motto to all progressive mankind.

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen.

We have indeed come here today to bury a true heroine.

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen.

What is happening today is not merely history in the making. It is a dynamic phenomenon. We have listened for the whole week and before on Cde Sally's deeds. Positive deeds. These were not deeds to assist only the disadvantaged and under privileged people but deeds to stand Zimbabwe, Africa and the world at large in good stead.

We are not only here to mourn her deeds but accept and carry forward the responsibilities she ably shouldered. She has left us a lesson. She was a crusader to ensure the future prosperity and stability of this country aimed at its transformation. Her developmental trails will remain a challenge to future generations.

Cde Sally Mugabe hated greed, laziness, selfish-

*Amai Sally Mugabe the First Lady was given a heroes funeral on Saturday, 1st February, 1992 at the National Heroes Acre. Amongst the graveside speeches, we have selected two. The first reproduced here in full was delivered by Vice President Joshua Nkomo*

stood by her husband to the bitter end. She was never a spectator. She was a gifted political organiser, an inspirer of admirable courage.

As soon as she set her foot on the Zimbabwean soil in 1961, she mobilised women to claim Zimbabwe's birthright, alongside their menfolk.

She led with her other colleagues defiant protest demonstrations in many parts of the country. She was imprisoned on a number of occasions but never succumbed. For her a prison sentence of six weeks, even when threatened with more years of imprisonment was a small investment. The future of the Nation was a more important dividend.

Her inner resources of strength and courage were to be tested by the difficult experiences that lay ahead. Many hard years in exile, loneliness and bereavement were to follow. With her husband she was to suffer later, the many discomforts of political exile.

Imagine the compounding of grief and loneliness she must have felt when their only son, little Nhamodzenyika died of cerebral malaria. The Rhodesian authorities would not allow her husband to be by her side in that dark hour. But then Sally, was not just a woman, she was Sally of the indomitable spirit.

We know that our President is modest where his academic accomplishment are concerned. We must however, mention Comrade Sally's meticulous notetaking and research for the various degree programmes that Comrade Mugabe pursued and accomplished, while in prison.

When her husband fled to Mozambique to direct the armed struggle, Cde Sally shared the challenges of the armed struggle with him. She placed her-

#### She lived and stood for development

What does this mean? She stated at various fora that:

- (a) Development means the uplifting of the standards of living of all our people.
- (b) Development cannot come about without a fair distribution of land. With no land ownership we cannot talk of development. Land ownership is the basis for development. History has placed us in a position of inequality, especially on the land issue.
- (c) In addition to land, we need human resources — trained manpower, selfless, dedicated and committed to duty.
- (d) We also need finance and technology.
- (e) To use these resources, the people themselves must be positive. They must work together. Without togetherness there can be no progress.
- (f) In order to develop, people must be prepared to work and avoid beer drinking as a programme.
- (g) The Land Bill will give us land, but the land must be worked upon.

This is what Cde Sally stood for. Hardwork, uprightness, diligence and unity of purpose. She hated liars. The President hates liars as well. Building upon her efforts in aid of leper colonies, she adopted such causes as the home for orphaned children i.e. Emerald Hill children's home and Rudo Nyamuswa Centre, which cares for the mentally ill.

Indeed Cde Sally was always a woman for whom the promise of the future was a driving force. Her

ness and all negative factors among the people of this country and the world at large. As W. Key said earlier she hated liars. People who pretend, when they cannot perform. Pretenders of no shame.

She stood for positiveness in whatever she undertook in order to carry our country forward.

As we share with you, Cde President, the Mugabe and Hayfron families, this moment of grief and bereavement, we pray to Almighty God to give all of you strength and staying power.

Indeed the First Lady has not died, she has merely departed. Cde Sally lives on, her determination and courage, the institutions she built, the people whose lives she changed, her faith, the latent and manifest goodness she imprinted in all of us, will live for ever.

Rest  
in  
Peace  
First Lady

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# A rare gem of womanhood. . .

A short tribute by the family of the late Mrs Sally Francesca Mugabe: Heroes Acre, 1st February, 1992

Your Excellency, the President of the Republic of Zimbabwe, your Excellencies, distinguished guests and the countless millions of mourners assembled here and, indeed, around the world, we, the members of the family of the late Mrs Sally Francesca Mugabe, are here to join the people of the country in paying our last sad tribute to the memory of a great lady. Our grief knows no bounds, but we know that the grief which her husband, the revered President of this country, now bears is so deep that he cannot be easily consoled. Fortunately, we know him to be a great fighter — a great freedom fighter — and we hope that this sterling quality will sustain him during this period of his travail. We are therefore at loss to find adequate words to console him. We can however say with Euripedes, the ancient dramatist, that Mr President, "You are not the first nor will you be the last to lose a virtuous wife". Sally was indeed a virtuous lady and that rare gem of womanhood, who assisted by a loving husband, such as Mr President, was enabled in the life span allotted to her by the Almighty to hold the world's stage and to command the respect of the great, the famous, the rich and the poor of the day and generation.

Respected mourners, there will be many expressions of sympathy and grief made at the loss of this great daughter of ours. Suffice it to say that we are here to bury our daughter and not to praise her. But honour must be done to the great to whom honour is due.

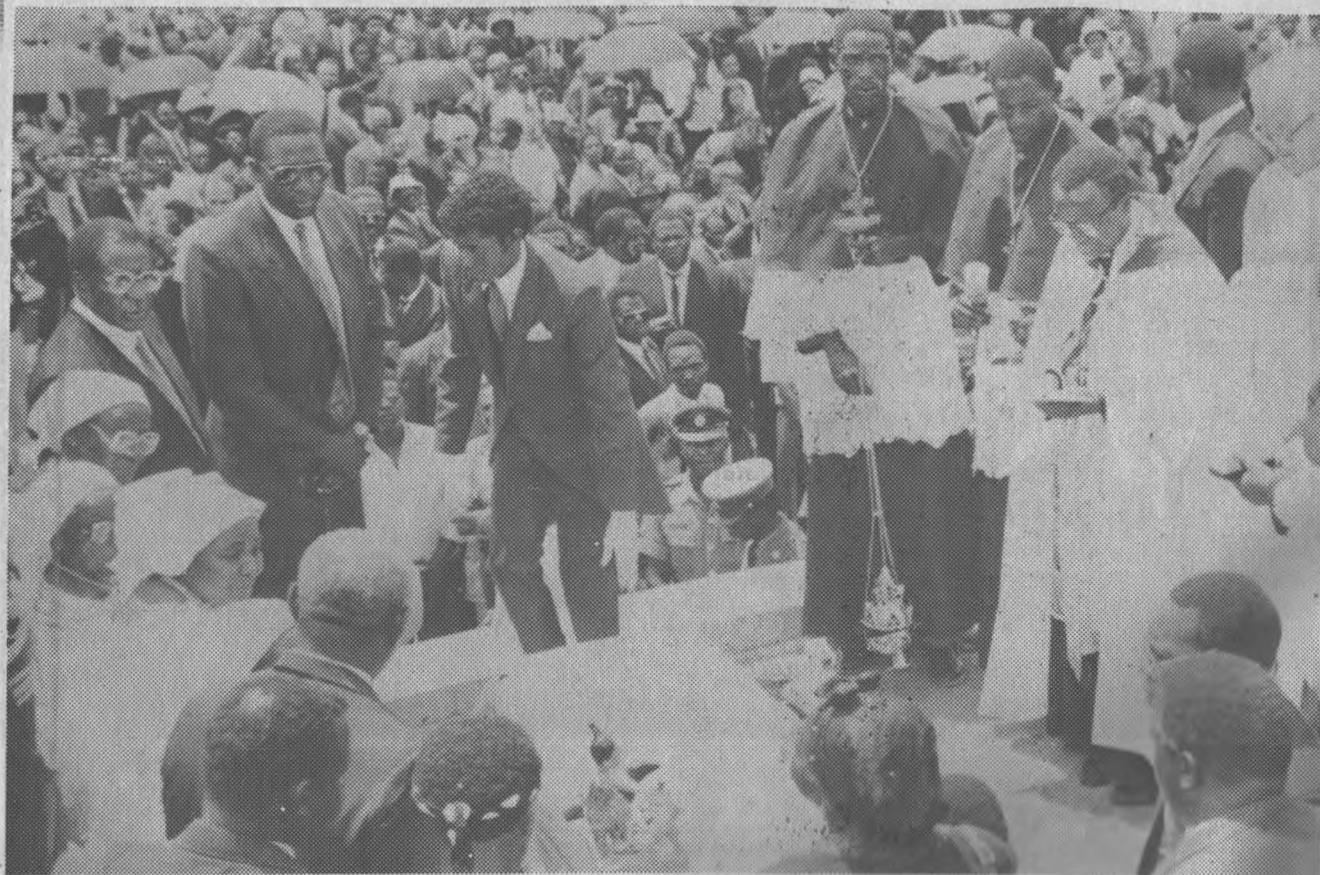
*"Entreat me not not to leave you, or turn back from following after you; for wherever you will go, I will go; and wherever you lodge, I will lodge; your people shall be my people, and your God my God. Where you die I will die, and there will I be buried. The Lord do so to me, and more also if anything but death parts you from me."* The Book of Ruth

Sarah Francesca Hayfron — later to be known throughout the civilised world as Sally — was born on the 21st June, 1933 at Accra. Her father was Mr Robert Hayfron, a trained agriculturalist then based at Aburi in the Eastern Region of Ghana. Her mother is Mrs Mavis Hayfron (nee Renner). Her father hailed from the famous Hayfron family and her mother was the daughter of Captain Peter Renner Barrister-at-Law and sometime leader of the Gold Coast Bar. Sally — more popularly known as Mamma — was the elder of twin sisters — her junior twin sister being Esther, a reputable medical practitioner. Twins, according to Ghanaian belief, are presumed to possess special powers of perception. Sally was also the third born daughter of her parents. By Ghanaian custom the third born of three daughters in succession is called Mansa. Mansas are also believed to be strong-willed and tenacious. These attributes early in

Sally's life, manifested themselves in her dealings with all whom she came into contact. Therefore, it came as no surprise to the family when Sally threw herself into our nation's struggle for independence under the dynamic leadership of Osagyefo Dr Kwame Nkrumah and at an early stage emerged as a leader of the women's wing of the formidable Convention People's Party which won political independence for Ghana.

Sally received her primary school education in Accra and Sekondi. By dint of hard work she and her twin sister gained admission to the leading co-educational secondary school — Achimota School. In that school the girls were encouraged to compete with the boys both in the classroom and in social and other activities. Sally obviously benefited immensely from the social contact which laid the foundations for the special self-confidence which was to become the distinguishing characteristic of her whole life.

After completing Achimota School, she enrolled at the Holy Child College, a Roman Catholic institution for the training of female teachers. It appears that it was at this college that she came under the influence of the Roman Catholic religion. On completion of her teacher training course, she taught in the Sekondi-Takoradi area. It was at this time that a young man from Southern Africa came to teach at St. Mary's Catholic Teacher Training College situated on the outskirts of the twin city of Sekondi — Takoradi. His name was Robert Gabriel Mugabe.



Archbishop Chakaipa leads mourners who included the President, Vice Presidents and Senior government officials in the last rites



Thousands of mourners gathered at the National Heroes' Acre to pay their last tributes to Amai

Mr. President, please permit us — even in this hour of grief — to invite you in retrospect to cast a glance at the incidents of your life in Sekondi. These must have been sweet, memorable and unforgettable days when you courted our daughter and she lost her heart to you. It was a union of love. Your engagement to Sally received the warm approbation of all the members of our family. When the call to duty came for you to return to your

native land and assist in the independence struggle, Sally did not for a moment hesitate to join you in facing the challenge of the independence struggle to which you had committed yourself. Your cause was Sally's and your goals were Sally's goals. To you she was like the biblical Ruth. Our family is certain that if, Mr President, you had your life to live again, you would always want to share it fully with Sally and our family would always en-

dorse the union. Our family and Ghana lost a daughter and women's leader in the political and social life of Ghana, but we gained a dutiful son, a political giant and a great leader on the African continent in particular and the world at large.

Our family has reports of Sally's role in the political struggle of her adopted country — Zimbabwe — and the major role she played in the emancipation of the women of Zimbabwe and Africa. Sally believed that the quality of life was adjudged not by the duration but by its donative content. In spite of the state of her health, she exhibited a sense of accomplishment and fulfilment, ever determined to give more to life than she could ever expect from it. Our family is indeed grateful that the Good Lord gave her the strength to accomplish so much in life. Her charming smile and a ready wit were always her greatest assets.

In her final years, our family learnt with pride the work she had been doing bringing the problems of the mother and child to the notice of the world by the institution of the Child Survival Programme. It is our fervent prayer that the Child survival Programme in which Sally put her heart and her soul will grow from strength to strength and become a fitting memorial to our little girl who set out to conquer the world and make it a better place for all women and children. To Mr President, therefore, be the glory that was Sally. Our family came to Zimbabwe to join the people of this country in giving a heroine's burial to our beloved daughter, sister and the mother of all the disadvantaged children of Zimbabwe and the world. We applaud the decision of the people of Zimbabwe to make Sally a National Heroine.

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# Sally worked with the poor and the under-privileged

By Our Correspondent

On Saturday, February 1, 1992, the body of Cde. Sally Mugabe was buried at the National Heroes Acre in Harare with full military honours. She was the first woman to be buried there, but clearly not the last. There are many women who have contributed to the liberation and the development of our country.

Thousands of people came from all districts of Zimbabwe to pay their last respects to a woman whose life and work they all admired and esteemed most highly. Those who could not travel to Harare prayed and mourned in their villages and houses. She was revered and mourned by all Zimbabweans from the depth of their hearts. She was also known and respected far beyond the borders of Zimbabwe. Two hundred and fifty foreign guests from thirty countries travelled to Harare to attend the funeral.

What was most impressive among the thousands of mourners was the presence of so many cripples, lepers, the blind, the physically handicapped, and the poor. Persons who were sick or on wheelchairs travelled long distances to be present at the grave side. She worked hard to help those who were handicapped or disadvantaged in any way. She was a frequent visitor and provider of food and goods to the Leper colony at Mtoko.

## Children's Welfare

In the last 4 years of her life, Cde Sally paid particular attention to the problems and development of children. She formed the Child Survival and Development Foundation which collected goods and funds for distribution to those young and old people in need. It is estimated that last year alone it distributed goods worth \$6 million dollars. It supported creches, clinics, sporting and health facilities for children. A major thrust of the Foundation was to reduce or eliminate the high death rate among children in developing countries, because of diseases that can be controlled.



*Amai Sally Mugabe held the welfare of children dearest to her heart*

ties for children. A major thrust of the Foundation was to reduce or eliminate the high death rate among children in developing countries, because of diseases that can be controlled.

Cde Sally also directed assistance and much of her attention to the poor and the under-privileged in our society. She was determined that they get equal opportunities in education, health, housing and social welfare. Much of the Foundation's resources were directed at helping and uplifting the poor. But, she wanted the poor to help themselves also by setting up cooperatives or projects that involved a number of persons or families. She

believed that the Party and the Government should help those who help themselves.

She was particularly concerned by the plight and special concerns of ex-combatants. Although many ex-combatants have been employed in the Army, the Police Force, the Civil Service, and in Local Government, there are a few who have not been employed. She was insistent that their children should receive health services, and go to school. She organised several co-operatives for ex-combatants to make it possible for them to earn a living on their own. She secured scholarships for several ex-combatants to go to school and learn skills.



*Amai Sally Mugabe mobilised international support for the well being of children in the region*

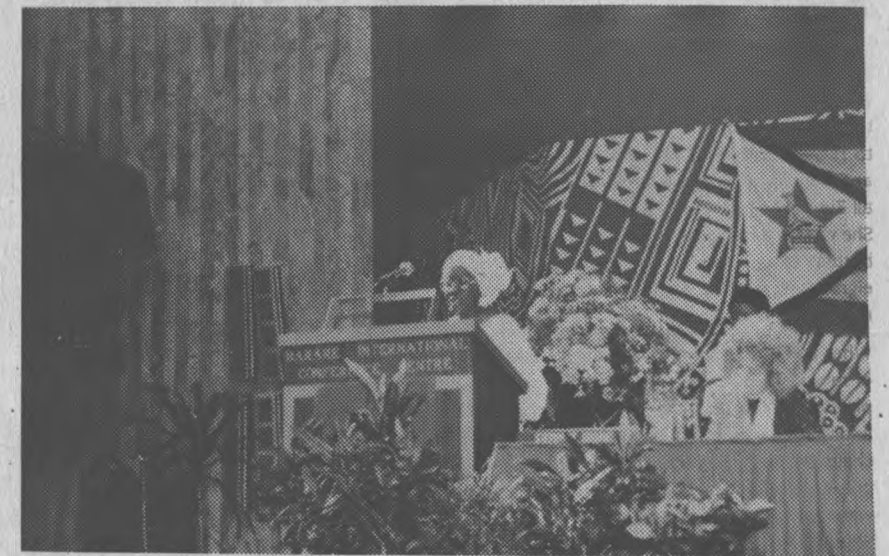
# A dynamic leader of the Women's League

The late Cde Sally Mugabe, the Secretary for Women's Affairs in the Central Committee, was a very dynamic and forceful leader of the ZANU (PF) Women's League. Within the two short years of the Secretaryship she built the League into a strong and powerful force within the ruling party.

Sally started organising and mobilising women as far back as 1961 when she first came to Harare to marry President Mugabe. She led a demonstration against colonial and racist practices of the Government, ending up in jail several times. When her husband was detained and she was forced to go into exile, she continued the anti-colonial struggle in West Africa, Europe, Americas, and Scandinavia. She travelled widely in the world, campaigning against Smith's unilateral declaration of independence, and for national independence. She was a thorn in the flesh of the Rhodesian Government.

In 1974 when the President was released from detention she joined him in Mozambique. Sally started organising the women within ZANLA (The Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army) the armed wing of ZANU — and in refugee camps.

Four years later (in 1978) the Women's League was beginning to take shape. A Women's Conference was held at Xai Xai in Mozambique to map out a strategy of stepping up the armed struggle. At the Xai Xai Congress, Cde Teurai Ropa Mujuru was elected Secretary for Women's Affairs, and Cde Sally Mugabe, as Deputy Secretary. More and more women combatants joined ZANLA and began to contribute significantly to the armed struggle. They carried heavy ammunition on their backs, and



*Zimbabweans are thankful for the many friends that Amai Sally Mugabe introduced to us*

some distinguished themselves in several battles. In one well known incident a woman fighter opened fire with a machine gun and managed to silence and kill two Rhodesian soldiers. She then slapped a wounded ZANLA man on her shoulder and carried him to safety. Heroic acts of that nature earned a place of honour and respect for women, even from the male chauvinists.

At independence in 1980, the women were geared to play their full part in developing the country. ZANU (PF) put rural development and equality for

women as high priorities in its programme. The women were clamouring for their rights and earning them in society and in Government. Cde Sally was in the fore front of the clamour and the demand for the rights of Zimbabwe women.

In the era of independence women took several bold steps forward. The Government decreed that women would earn the same amount of money with men, for the same work and qualifications in the civil service. Parliament passed laws giving women the right to own property (or a savings account); and granting them an equal share to property and savings in the event of a divorce. Intense discussion is still going on about the much more complex issue of inheritance and succession. In the organs of the Party and the Government Cde Sally fought relentless for the rights of women.

At the joined party congress in 1989, Sally was appointed as Secretary for Women's Affairs. Although she was ill at the times, she plunged herself into the work of organising the League with energy and enthusiasm. She made sure that the structures of cells, branches, districts, and provinces were completed and were functioning properly. She then held several seminars to conscientise and galvanise the women into a political force and to develop the much-needed local leadership. She spared no efforts, working day and night, even endangering her own life. She also made brightly-coloured uniforms from beautiful pieces of cloth she had designed herself. More importantly, she generated a spirit of togetherness and solidarity among all women of all classes. That spirit became the bedrock on which the League and ZANU (PF) itself was built.



*Amai Sally Mugabe took the lead in promoting developmental projects thus strengthening the Party's resolve in fighting for economic independence*



# Amai Mugabe

By Simomo Mubi



Amai with Makeba and other international musicians at Meikles Hotel during the Children on the Frontline concert

Enraged in Anger in defence of the weaker and more vulnerable, the petit Amai Sally Mugabe, Nee Hayfron Brown, Metaphorically, was like a bull in a china shop. She was capable of unleashing an unlimited warfare which was only bridled by an innate kindness and humility.

Forgiving more than just from the intent of experience of a dexterous politician versed in the art of gerrymandering, but much more from the heart of a very good person.

Sally Mugabe who died on Monday morning January 27, 1992 at the age of 60 after a long and painful illness became the 17th National hero and the first Heroine to be buried at the Heroes Acre.

Undubitably it was in esteem not only to her as the stalwart companion of the President of the Republic of Zimbabwe. Sally Mugabe earned her own special right carved from the sweat of her dedication to the cause of the Zimbabwean people.

It was a generation of Commitment spanning over 30 years from the colonial period, right through to the liberation struggle and after in the post independence years ensuring that the hard won liberty was not compromised. Her death signifies the end of an Era.

From the point of meeting Robert in her native Ghana a teacher who had been drawn like a mag-

nate to this bright new shining symbol of African Independence in the 50's the first African state to attain sovereignty in 1957, Sally also a teacher was enthralled by his political zeal.

The attraction was from the perspective of her own political heritage. Her maternal and paternal grandfathers having been political activists. The former in his capacity as the first leader of the bar of the Gold Coast and ADC to the Governor of the Gold Coast, and the latter as the first Editor of the Gold Coast Newspaper, "The Observer".

Sally and her twin sister Esther were ensconced by politics. She reached out to the young Mugabe to understand, from him the nature and the extent of Settler Colonial oppression in Southern Africa. "I could only listen to him and learn, he became my inspiration."

On his return to Zimbabwe in 1960 Robert Mugabe as it was never doubted his destiny would become embroiled in politics. On joining him in Rhodesia and from their marriage in April 1961 Sally was consumed by the same fire.

She assumed the fight for African Sovereignty as her own defying apartheid segregation that festered in Rhodesia. Finally her protest led to sentencing and subsequent imprisonment. Fleeing the repressive colonial authorities to join her husband Sally miscarried their first child.

The concept of Pan Africanism, Africa's unity, has been since the days of Dubious striving for articulation a concrete expression theorised in OAU Charters, but it found its most profound realisation in the marriage of Sally.

In symmetry they defied the narrow prejudices against their union by a myopic Africa then stunted by and so cleverly played game of divide and rule by the colonialists.

Having deliberately made a conscious decision to be with Robert and in Zimbabwean struggle she forgo the comfort of her well to do parents' home. The price was high. Apart from the anguish of her earlier miscarriage, she buried a son living the harsh life of an exile while her husband was detained in 1964.

They were apart when her child died in Ghana in December 1966, and he was denied permission to come to bury Nhamodzenyika by the authorities that incarcerated him. A child he hardly saw except for the brief period in his young life.

"Why?" the tormented Mugabe cried out in the hollowness of his prison cell.

Sally later moved to London in 1967 to enhance her studies, initially taking a Secretarial course and then a Post Graduate Diploma in Home economics.

With thoughts of her husband deep in her soul,

knowing his unquenchable thirst for education, she copied by hand important books and texts for his law studies, that the regime denied him.

It was a labour of love, 'Love letters of learning.' The Supreme effort that no doubt has helped to make Robert Mugabe one of Africa's most illustrious scholars.

She also campaigned to bring the attention of the British authorities to fight for Independence, she collected clothes for war refugees while working to maintain a subsistence existence.

When they were finally reunited in Zambia, she fainted, the couple had been wrenched apart for most of their 19 years of marriage.

"I saw him it was like an apparition."

Her next memory was in a clinic in Lusaka.

For the couple it was another experience in their heroic book relationship, "We had to rework the ties," said Sally.

Striding along side in an effort to attain Independence for Zimbabwe in the last leg of their exiled status in Mozambique, the Mugabes with their identical dedication, and sincerity, had the same world of view.

With a passion for the rights of women and children after the 1977 Xhai Xhai conference, Sally emerged as ZANU PF's Deputy Secretary for Women's Affairs.

She held to the helm of this position with an intense rigour, and immune to regionalism and tribal

consideration, she helped mould the Zimbabwean women into a uniformed quest for equal, opportunities, participation and fundamentally legal emancipation.

At independence the winds of change were swift and sweeping and almost overnight transfigured the position of women in society. Amai's participation in this transformation close to the ear of the chief executive was centerpetal.

A security headache Amai disregarded her own personal safety to be in touch with the people. She was totally intent on sharing the grief sorrow and joy of all humanity. If anyone whatever creed colour, scent or race needed to see her it was possible. She was a people's person, listening and arbitrating.

Her position courted deception by some around her, but with an instinctive sixth sense, she would eventually unearth the truth of a person. Using her own high standards of honesty and sincerity as a reference point, she never judged any person guilty until proven. If she had misplaced a trust it was not pique that was displayed but hurt. Nevertheless she could forgive remorse and bad judgement.

Sally's personal loss of her children gave her a ferocious materialism for the well being of all children, she cared for them with her being. It was this leaping concern that propelled her to help create an environment that would perpetuate their development and survival.

Despite failing health and a terminal condition that caused her intense and excruciating pain, she as-

sumed the role of chairing the 1988 Child Survival and Development International symposium that has since translated into the perpetuity of the Child Survival and Development Foundation. Not only has the foundation worked to alleviate the suffering of thousands of children, in Zimbabwe, regionally and internationally but has helped bring awareness of their plights, on UN platforms and OAU forums. With the participation of Amai, the Rights and Protection of Children have become a political agenda.

The consequences of an agonising consciousness came Amai to assuming many positions. In 1990 Sally Mugabe assumed the helm of the Women's movement as Secretary of the integrated ZAPU/ZANU PF's Women's League. She managed to hold together an executive that hitherto had been characterised by dissention and fragmentation, successfully balancing the movement to be devoid of regionalism and class considerations. She was a formidable woman when inspired.

It was her body that finally failed Sally Mugabe, her indomitable spirit refusing to be cowered.

The doctors had told him that he should go home and rest, she was out of the woods on the Road to recovery and that he should see her the next morning.

As she watched her husband's back walking away from her for the last time with human eyes from her hospital bed, she called out, "Robert", he turned, "Remember I love you." He replied "Sally, you know I love you too." It was the last parting. □



The link that Amai Sally Mugabe provided between the Party and the People will be a legacy we must cherish and keep





  
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# Social Assistance to the poor in ESAP

Zimbabwe's Economic Reform Programme (ERP), popularly known as ESAP, has a provision for assisting the poor families in urban and rural areas. ESAP's objective is to raise overall levels of economic activity, create employment, and raise standards of living. During the transition, however, certain population groups will be adversely affected by the economic reforms.

A recent Government publication explained in some detail the actions that will be taken to assist the poor people. The publication says three adverse influences have been identified —

- Budgetary constraints and cost recovery effects;
- price and income effects; and,
- transitional employment effects. The publication then says:—

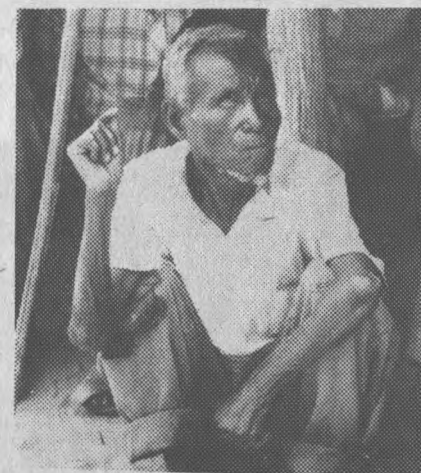
- Government has resolved in the transition to cushion the vulnerable groups from these adverse effects through a Social Dimensions of Adjustment (SDA) Programme. Intervention will be targeted at the disadvantaged and will only be of a short — to medium-term nature.

- The SDA Programme incorporates policy measures:

— promoting readjustment for groups most adversely affected by the changing economic environment, mainly in the areas of employment and training;

— aimed at minimising the impact on incomes of vulnerable groups.

- SDA's action strategy consequently has four



*With drought almost assured, The Social Dimensions of Adjustment Programme will have to seriously address the welfare of the rural poor*

targeted areas of action:

- Employment and Training
- Targeting of Food Subsidies
- Cost Recovery in Social Services
- Monitoring & Evaluation.

- In implementing the SDA strategy, Government has three objectives:

— To effectively target and design programmes for disadvantaged groups over the economic reform period.

— To minimize costs to the fiscus.

— To maximize participation from third parties, notably NGO's, Employee Organisations, employer Organisations and Local Authorities.

- To co-ordinate and implement three of the identified areas of action under the SDF programme, Government is setting up a Social Development Fund (SDF). Monitoring and Evaluation will be co-ordinated by the overall ESAP Monitoring and Implementation Unit.

- The SDF has two main programmes, namely the Employment and Training Programme (ETP), and the Social Welfare Programme (SWP).

- The Employment and Training Programme's main activities are in the following areas: Public Works, Institutional Support for Placement, Guidance and Counselling, Non-Formal Small Scale Enterprises, Rural Resettlement & Training.

- The Social Welfare Programme's main activities will be in the areas of Food Subsidies, Health Subsidies and Education Subsidies.

- The SDF will be administered by an Advisory Board chaired by the Senior Secretary for Finance, Economic Planning and Development, with interministerial representation and nominated members from NGO's, ZABO and the ZCTU and IBDC.

- The SDF Advisory Board will be directly responsible for the policy implementation of the Social Welfare Programme.



*The SDA must go further than a mere blue-print and make a real impact on the people's lives*



*The SDA will also address the question of school and medical fees particularly in rural areas*

# Update on the National University of Science and Technology (NUST)

On the 15th of April, 1988, His Excellency, the first Executive President Comrade R.G. Mugabe appointed a Commission under the Chairmanship of Mr. Peter Williams of the Commonwealth Secretariat in London to make recommendations about setting up a second University in Zimbabwe.

The Commission presented its Report to His Excellency, The President on 1st February, 1989. The major conclusion of the Report was that on the basis of manpower requirements for economic growth, and, on the basis of the increasing number of well qualified 'A' level school leavers, the University expansion "is not only justified: it is also a necessity." The Commission then went on to recommend that a new autonomous University with a Science and Technology bias be established in Bulawayo. It further recommended that its first intake of students be in 1993.

After considering the Report, the Government accepted all the recommendations contained therein except the one relating to timing of the first intake of students. Instead, of 1993; Government decided that the University should have its first intake in March, 1991.

In order to implement the Commission's Report, the Minister of Higher Education Cde. David Karimanzira, appointed on 17th August, 1990, a 25 — Member University Foundation Committee under the Chairmanship of Prof. Phinias Makhurane who was then first Pro Vice Chancellor of the University of Zimbabwe. Professor Makhurane served both as Chairman and Executive Secretary of the Committee and was the only member who served on full-time basis with the assistance of Miss Katiwe Dhlwayo — a Secretary seconded to the University Foundation Committee by the Permanent Secretary Cde Dr. E.J. Chanakira.

The land on which the University will be built, comprises 160 hectares generously donated by the Bulawayo City Fathers or Bulawayo City Council. In addition, 36 hectares were purchased by the University from private owners.

The University Foundation Committee commissioned a competition among Designers in the country. In this Ideas Competition, which gave maps, contour maps, list of all physical facilities including these departments: Administration/Institutional Support; Academic Support; Great Hall/Lecturer Halls; Central Plaza with Underground parking; Museum; Central Library; Faculty of Industrial Technology; Faculty of Applied Sciences; Commerce; Communication and Information Technology; Arts Education and Social Studies; Sports Services; Architectural and Quantity Surveying; Environmental Sciences; Engineering;

Students Residences (2 Clusters) 1st Phase: Central Preparation Kitchen and Stores; Staff Housing (1st Phase); General Recreation — Staff and Students; Multi — Function Sports Hall; Nursery (Part of Environmental Science); Students Residences (2 Clusters) 2nd Phase: Staff Housing (2nd Phase); Chapel; Research Facilities; Students Union and Services; Central Stores and Maintenances; Staff Recreation; Sports Stadium; Students Recreation; Shopping Complex.

In response to the above competition, 11 responses reached the University Foundation Committee which selected H.B.M (Harve, Bufo, Mwamuka, Mercuri Architects) as winners and asked them to develop their plan into full blown 3-dimensional model. This model was approved by the University Council on 4th October, 1991 and put on public display on 26th October, 1991 on installation of the University Chancellor and Vice Chancellor. There were no adverse responses and as a result, 210 Documents detailing how the Master Plan will be implemented have been produced.

Essentially, the Master Plan, reveals plans to complete the construction of the whole University in 5 years starting in January, 1992 with the Civil Engineering Works which include Water Reticulation System for whole campus; Storm Water Drainage System for whole campus; Sewerage Reticulation as well as the Electricity Supply System for the whole campus; Surphase Stripping; Ground Leveling and Rehabilitation; Shaping of Roads et-cetera — all these must be completed between January 1992 and July 1992.

The rest will depend naturally, on cash flow made available. It is being discussed with Government for inclusion in PSIP (Public Sector Investment Programme) for 1992 — 1993. Each of the projected items is costed and an architectural Programme produced with the timing indicated. It also reveals minimum cash flow month by month and item

by item.

The Vice Chancellor vividly explained that the opposite concept of Project by Project tends to be haphazard, disconnected and more expensive while the realistic first option makes it interconnected.

Major constraints fall under these categories:—

- Agreement on cash flow to implement building Master Plan;
- Supply of building materials, some needing forex (such as face bricks and other sophisticated items);
- Acute water shortage in Bulawayo caused by perennial drought in Matebeleland. As a precautionary measure, NUST has requested Engineers to sink boreholes for water for construction and other purposes.

During periods between August 1990 and March 1991, the Foundation Committee, managed to organise Teaching Facilities at the Bulawayo Poly Technical College and the United Teachers College; buy the necessary furniture and equipment; recruit Academic and other support Staff; and arrange for the admission of students. Thus, the University was opened on the 8th April, 1991. The faculties that are now in full operation are:—

Faculty of Applied Sciences with 100 Students; Faculty of Industrial Technology with 70 Students; and Faculty of Commerce with 100 Students.

The National University of Science and Technology was formally inaugurated in an elaborately constructed "Tent Village" on the 26th October, 1991, at the University site. On this colourful occasion, the foundation stone of the University was laid by His Excellency, the first Executive President Comrade Robert Gabriel Mugabe. In addition, His Excellency, The President, was installed as first Chancellor of the National University of Science and Technology. Professor Phinias Makhurane was installed the first Vice Chancellor of NUST.

The Vice Chancellor looked very confident, undaunted and optimistic about the success of the University. He has reason to be so optimistic. The homework has been done.

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# DELTA GOLD: Spearheading Australian investment in Zimbabwe



ESAP — a development which should encourage higher levels of production and stable prices

Zimbabwe's infrastructure — its road, rail and air transport system, its agricultural and industrial base, together with its modern business culture make it very attractive to the potential investors. In the past however, these advantages were counterbalanced by the highly centralised control exercised by the government on the economy. It is this control that the economic structural adjustment programme aims to reduce and eventually remove. A development which should encourage higher levels of foreign investment than in the past.

In order to inform potential investors of what Zimbabwe offers as well as the economic reform currently underway government has sent high powered delegations to a number of donor meetings, the most important of which was the Paris meeting of February last year.

Late last year, the government sent a delegation headed by the Senior Minister of Finance, Economic Planning and Development, Cde Bernard Chidzero, to a donor meeting in Australia. Amongst the numerous speakers at the meeting was a representative of Delta Gold the Australian Mining Conglomerate, Mr. Van der Spie, who outlined

why his company has confidence in Zimbabwe and why it has decided to make substantial investment here.

To put the point across graphically Mr. Van der Spie produced a number of actual products made in Zimbabwe which he said "happened to be in his home-trousers", an attache case, peas, a security lock, marmalade and flowers. He said the list could also include tea, cotton and tobacco, which he said ranks among the world's finest in quality. Mr Van der Spie said that Zimbabwe also produces a wide variety of mineral, animal and vegetable raw materials as well as many of the end products such as iron and steel, ferrochrome, refined nickel and copper, clothing, foodstuffs and travel goods.

"Zimbabwe's range of raw goods and manufactured goods is very wide and I believe, presents a tremendous opportunity, not just for import to Australia, but particularly for value added to manufacturing. An item like the Mazda Security lock, for example, made of steel produced in Zimbabwe from Zimbabwean iron ore, costs approximately 15 Australian dollars to make. Its Taiwanese counterpart retails in Sydney for over

60 dollars. Lets face it we Australians have little chance of getting onto inside track of base level manufacturing of this nature in Taiwan or anywhere else in South-East Asia. What an opportunity for an Australian retail fabricator who wants to set up business in Zimbabwe, in a commercial and cultural environment similar to ours," he said.

He then went on to outline why Delta Gold has decided to invest in Zimbabwe, where they have been active for the past five years in the mining of platinum group metals, base metals, gold and diamonds.

Mr Van der Spie listed the reasons for his company's investment as follows:

- Zimbabwe's known mineral potential (gold, chrome, asbestos, emeralds, iron, nickel, copper, coal et cetera)
- Zimbabwe's track record for security of mineral tenure.
- Its mining infrastructure, exemplified by an effective ministry of mines, an active and progressive Chamber of Mines and a 100 year mining tradition.
- Taxation structure; 5% depletion allowance, 100% up front redemption.
- Zimbabwe's physical infrastructure in the form of a well developed and maintained road, rail and electrical power network as well as such essentials as water and mining labour force.
- its political stability.

Mr. Van der Spie also outlined the significant changes that have taken place in Zimbabwe since 1986. The most important of these was of course the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) launched in May 1989.

He described this as a measure "which opened more widely the doors to off shore profit and capital remittability and set in train the mechanics which give access to low cost exploration dollars (one dollar will buy eight to ten Zimbabwean dollars for exploration) and attracts previously dormant Zimbabwe funds into new development ventures, as well as creating the Zimbabwe Investment Centre "a stop shop" for foreign investors.

Mr. Van der Spie also commended measures that government is taking to ensure that the provisions of the economic reform programme are "given the force of law by the democratically elected Parliament of Zimbabwe," through legislation.

He also lamented the fact that five years after Delta Gold ventured into Zimbabwe "only a handful of Australians" had become active in the Zimbabwe mining industry. These are Delta Gold itself, BAPC (a joint venture company with Delta Gold in the Hartely Platinum Project) Sons of Gwalia, and recently Auridian and Perth based diamond exploring company. Mr. Van der Spie contrasted Aus-

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## HOME NEWS

tralian investment in Zimbabwe with the situation in Chile, Bolivia, Ecuador, Mexico, Vietnam and "other areas culturally and/or geographically remote from Australia". He said this is even more disturbing when one takes stock of Zimbabwe's track record for security of mineral tenure and the ease of communication between Australia and Zimbabwe (twice weekly flights-Sydney Perth-Harare in QF23 and UM23). Both countries also share English as the official language and a mining culture that uses the same yardstick.

"From the geological and mining perception I tend

to think of Zimbabwe as 'Western Australia' — in Africa; such are the similarities. The difference, however, is that things are generally easier in Zimbabwe, because of the well developed infrastructure as compared to western Australia. Furthermore, an ounce of gold is worth more than \$1 500 in local currency, with operating costs not dissimilar to ours. Mr. Van der Spie concluded by highlighting Zimbabwe's rich agricultural and mineral resources; the fact that minerals account for 45% of foreign exchange earnings; Zimbabwe's high literacy rate based on an educational system similar to Aus-

tralia's; Zimbabwe's acknowledgement of the need to attract both foreign investment and technology transfer, the Zimbabwe government's encouragement of export oriented enterprises through incentives; an attractive tax regime; privatisation and reduction of the size of the civil service; a free labour market security of investment and the advantage of Harare as "a logical springboard" — from which to launch into other parts of Southern Africa, including South Africa, Namibia, Swaziland, Lesotho, Botswana, Mozambique, Angola, Zambia, Tanzania and countries northwards in Africa.

# Educational Campaign on AIDS and its effects on the advancement of women and girls

By Shamiso Mukanyanga Nyashanu

## INTRODUCTION

It has become a compulsory duty for me as a biological science teacher, a mother of young children and a secretary for education in the ZANU PF Women's League to share the available information on HIV/AIDS. The article is aimed at the population at large, but mostly at the youth who, not of their own fault, are likely to be affected most by this disease.

## DEFINITION

(i) Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV for short) is one of the smallest viruses which has to be enlarged million times to be observed under a special microscope called the electron microscope. A virus is very much smaller than a bacteria (about 50 times smaller) and cannot be seen by a light microscope commonly found in schools. On the average 200 — 1 000 viruses can fit in one bacterial cell. Bacteria are also very small in size such that they can only be seen with the light microscope; they are the smallest organisms with a cellular structure. There are many shapes of viruses and bacteria. In a human body, the HIV Virus enters certain white cells (a white cell is larger than a bacterial cell) and can be observed clearly under a light microscope. White cells are found in blood. Simple diagrams of (i) virus (ii) bacterium (iii) white cells:-

HIV enters certain white cells called T4. T4 cells are important in causing white cells to fight infection. When HIV enters these cells they reproduce themselves and enter more T4 cells and other white cells after the incubation period. As a result, the whole immune system is destroyed. The HIV is protected by a special protein and cannot be destroyed by white cells in the blood system.

(ii) AIDS means Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome that is got through infection which weakens the body's disease-fighting system resulting in many signs, symptoms and disease infecting an individual.

## METHODS OF TRANSMISSION OR SPREAD

- (i) Through sexual intercourse with a person who has HIV
- (ii) Through blood by: — receiving infected blood during transfusion (though this method is now rare)
- (iii) — sharing unsterilized razors and injections.
- (iv) From infected mother to baby during:
  - pregnancy
  - at child birth
  - at illegal abortions

## INCUBATION PERIOD

May take eight to nine years though some people develop the disease a few weeks after infection, or three years after infection or five years after infection. In new born babies the incubation period ranges between one to five years or even less.

## SOME COMMON SYMPTOMS

- (i) Unexplained weight loss of over 5 kg over a short period;
- (ii) persistent swollen lymph nodes or glands which are painless
- (iii) chronic diarrhoea especially for over one month and is difficult to treat.
- (iv) Respiration infections, with dry cough for over a month and shortness of breath and T.B.
- (v) Chronic fevers and heavy sweating at night;
- (vi) in children — slow growth, signs of malnutrition, chronic fever, diarrhoea, severe thrush in mouth and throat, etc. However, these symptoms may represent other diseases so a blood test is needed.

## THE TEST

When the body is infected by HIV, it reacts by producing antibodies. The test looks for these antibodies. It is not a test for AIDS. The test will only tell you whether or not you have been infected by the virus. The test will not tell you if you have

AIDS and cannot predict whether you will go on to develop AIDS.

It can take two to three months for antibodies to develop after you have been infected with the virus. If the test finds antibodies to the virus it means you are infectious and can pass the virus on to other people — even though you may look and feel well.

Only the individual can make the decision to be tested therefore we should think carefully about it.

## TREATMENT AND VACCINATION

- (i) No cure for AIDS yet
- (ii) No vaccine is effective because the HIV virus has the ability to change or mutate easily.

## PREVENTION

- (i) Use condoms for sex if you doubt your partner or husband and stick to one partner.
- (ii) Avoid being in contact with open cuts, sores and blood of another person.

## EFFECTS OF AIDS ON THE ADVANCEMENT OF WOMEN AND GIRLS

Until recently, women have been largely neglected in studies on HIV infection or AIDS. Considerably more research is needed on the risk factors for HIV infection on women.

(i) Women have a subordinate role within interpersonal relations, they are expected or assumed to be passive and submissive in sexual and social matters in their traditional roles and this makes them particularly vulnerable to infection.

(ii) Research demonstrated that the major risk factor for HIV infections in the wives and their children was the pre-marital and extra-marital activity of their husbands. In most cases they pass the HIV to their wives soon after marriage. Furthermore, a significant proportion of the men reported other

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sexual contacts outside marriage even though they are married.

(iii) Women with sexually transmitted diseases such as syphilis, herpes and chancroid have a higher susceptibility to HIV infection.

(iv) Rape is another form of violence against women (and even children under 14) that clearly adds to the risk of infection because as the women suffer internal bruising, lacerations and bleeding, it makes it easier for the virus to enter her bloodstream.

(v) Prostitution forced upon some women (and children) as a result of poverty places them at grave risk of infection with HIV and the development of AIDS. The number of women for whom prostitution is the only means of survival and the number of children left with no means of survival is increasing. With the increase of HIV infection in African countries adds fuel to the tendency to blame them without reference to their clients for the spread of AIDS.

(vi) Risk to nurses and midwives and traditional birth attendants may be high especially for traditional birth attendants who work without protective gloves or clothing may be exposed to large amounts of contaminated blood at deliveries by HIV-infected women.

(vii) Poligamy is another way in which HIV infection is increased when the wives involved may be uninfected as well as infected ones and of different age groups for one man. This is still accepted in the traditional concepts of some sections of Zimbabwean culture. Added to this there are some *mapostori* beliefs that young girls who are virgins are constructed to marry adults who already have several wives some who may have HIV infection. Some girls are also used in some cases to appease the bad spirits (*ngozi*) and are therefore forced to marry certain strange adults thereby being placed at risk.

(viii) Women, as the most vulnerable members of the Society are the ones to suffer most when there is economic decline that occurs as a consequence of AIDS. They may be left by their spouse with children some who may be infected and need special care while at the same time they have to work to support the family. They also run the risk of being discriminated against by the public, at place of work and by relatives of the deceased husband.

(ix) Women infected with HIV have a high risk of passing it on to their unborn babies. Research showed that "the longer a woman has been infected before pregnancy the more likely she is to transmit HIV infection to her child". Women 2000 No. 1 Page 8.

Here mother and child may suffer from HIV and AIDS; they do not need to be rejected but supported by their families and friends at all times.

### CONCLUSION

HIV/AIDS is affecting people throughout the world. "In Zimbabwe about half of the people with AIDS are women". The incubation period for HIV ranges from six to ten years suggesting that persons in the productive 20 — 40 year age group are at highest risk.

Infant and child mortality as a result of AIDS is also a cause for concern: "the majority of infected infants are not expected to survive beyond their 5th birthday".

If HIV and AIDS were discovered around 1980, one could suggest that most of the children born between 1975 — 1985 are free of HIV infection transmitted through their mothers at birth. However it is this very free group that is approaching the highest risk around 15 years of age when they interact with the opposite sex as they develop. How is this group to protect itself since there is no cure? It is therefore up to each individual to be aware of the pandemic HIV, how to prevent the infection and how to cope with the infection should it come. It is up to each boy and girl to exercise very high moral values if they are to escape the HIV infection. When God gave the ten

commandments to Moses, one of which said "Do not commit adultery" (Genesis 20 v 14; Deut. 5 v 18) He was referring to both men and women. As such, education campaigns for the prevention of HIV and AIDS infection must be directed to both men and women, boys and girls, since the spread of HIV is reciprocal and can be spread by either a male or a female depending on who is infected.

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Shamiso Mukanyanga Nyashanu is Secretary for Education ZANU PF Women's League, Teacher of Biological Sciences at Prince Edward School — Harare

## AFRICA

# Defining democracy in South Africa

One of the first issues on which the South African political parties must agree upon is the definition of the kind of democracy they want to see in their country, and therefore what type of clauses to put in the constitution. The President of the ANC, Cde. Nelson Mandela spelt out his definition of democracy at the recent Conference for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA). He said "from the ANC's perspective democracy entails:—

- "That all governments must derive their authority from the consent of the governed;
- No person or groups of persons shall be subjected to oppression, domination or discrimination by virtue of their race, gender, ethnic origin, colour or creed;
- All persons should enjoy the right to life;
- All persons should enjoy security in their persons and should be entitled to the peaceful enjoyment of their possessions, including the



Cde. Nelson Mandela



Democracy entails that all governments must derive their authority from the consent of the governed

right to acquire, own or dispose of property, without distinction based on race, colour, language, gender or creed.

express whatever opinions they wish to subscribe to, provided that in the exercise of that right they do not infringe on the rights of others.

sible when those who have borne the brunt of apartheid oppression exercise their right to vote in a free and fair election on the basis of universal suffrage. We can see no reason why an election for a Constituent Assembly should not be possible during 1992".

— All persons should have the right to hold and This quality of democracy will indeed only be possible

# Africa and Democracy

The thawing of relations between the former superpowers and the subsequent disintegration of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) has not only considerably shifted the internal balance of forces, it has also shifted the emphasis of the West's foreign policy from the problems of the cold war, to the politics of the Third World and in particular Africa.

The West is now suddenly interested in "good government" in Africa. Of particular concern to them is the existence in Africa of governments that come to power by means other than democratic and plural elections. It is a fact that most African governments are either military juntas that came to power through coups or civilian governments fronting military coups. There are also civilian governments that came to power through "one man, one vote, once" elections that continue to maintain power through the ruthless suppression of popular will.

The historic changes that occurred in Eastern Europe have had a profound impact on the political thinking and therefore the political culture of many African nations. The demise of the socialist state, organised as it was around the one party state, has led many African peoples to question the existence of unpopular governments. Multipartyism has therefore become the single most important political topic on the continent. Indeed, many Afri-



The people of Africa have been denied meaningful participation in shaping their destination





*The onus of good government should not be on the west but on the African people themselves.*

can despots have begun to give in to the wave of democracy and are instituting multiparty constitutions and elections.

This democratic movement has also produced its ideologies and protagonists some, even, whose democratic experience and tradition is highly suspect. Former Nigerian President, General Obasanjo, who came to power in military coup has taken up the cause of democracy enthusiastically.

Chairing a conference of the Africa Leadership Forum in April, 1990, the General spoke at length on the need for democracy:

"The changes taking place in Eastern Europe have far-reaching political implications for the Third World in general and for Africa in particular. The winds that swept away dictatorships and autocratic one-party systems and State structures, inefficient economic systems and unresponsive social institutions in Eastern Europe, and fuelled a democratic rejuvenation and the observance of human rights, are not unfamiliar to Africa. The winds of change in Eastern Europe are providing considerable opportunities for the African people and oppressed peoples the world over to intensify their just struggle for democracy".

In *Kampala document*, some African leaders also expressed a view, highlighting the link between democracy and development. "a fundamental link exists between national security, stability and sustainable development and these conditions can only be brought about by political pluralism encompassing full respect for human rights, official accountability and popular participation"

These 'new' ideas are challenging the concept of the one party state and other forms of political thought and practice that emerged in the post independence period in Africa.

#### The One party state

The one party state gained currency in Africa in

the period following independence. This was due to a number of factors. The most important is the fact that independence usually produces a euphoria and hope in the future that is in itself a binding force which precludes the need for any opposition. In fact in most cases, the other party was a minority that was generally viewed as a "sell out" party which was often manipulated by the colonial power in a bid to continue influence and control.

Today's African nations are in fact the creation of colonial powers who carved out states without regard to pre-colonial state formations, tribal groupings, chieftaincies, languages et cetera. They therefore bring together diverse tribes under a single state. It was therefore generally accepted that multi parties would lead to tribal politics in which tribes group together in one party. This has been borne out in many instances in such states as Kenya, Rwanda, Burundi et cetera. Indeed even here in Zimbabwe, many believe that ZUM and ZANU (Ndonga) are expressions of Manyika political ambition.

It was also generally accepted that at a time when Africa needs to quickly catch up with the rest of the world in terms of economic development, the one party state would provide the ideal political condition where debate would be limited to issues of development and not personalities and party affiliation. The Western model was viewed as "opposition for opposition's sake" and unnecessary in a developing nation.

While some African leaders may have genuinely believed in the efficacy and suitability of the one party state model, the majority viewed it instead as the surest way of retaining power permanently. This permanence bred corruption and inefficiency which in turn led to the economic decline of most African economies. Hunger, disease and poverty became the order of the day in Africa, whilst despots and dictators grew fat in the blood, sweat and tears of their people.

A factor which further compounded the African practical movement is the fact that most of the

parties that led the nationalist movement were not revolutionary, aiming only at replacing the colonial master without changing the basic colonial relations. The inadequacy of this sort of independence became apparent in a short time and when the people began to question the new colonialism, the inherited authoritarian state mechanisms came in handy. Elections were abandoned as a means of succession and coups became the only means of replacing leadership in most African states. The result is that by the 1980s there were less than three democratically elected governments across the continent.

The people of Africa have been denied meaningful participation in shaping their destiny for far too long. Despots and dictators posing as statesmen have for a long time looted the coffers of the African nations whilst allowing underdevelopment disease and poverty to set in. There is therefore a serious need for the African population to rid itself of these corrupt despots.

This need however, is intrinsic to African development and is independent of the west. It is good for Africa whether the west says so or not.

True African democrats should therefore pose the question whether the responsibility for good government lies in the west or within African societies themselves. They should also pose the question why the west now feels it incumbent upon itself to establish democracy in Africa when in the past it was well known for supporting oppressive regimes in Africa, Latin America and Asia.

What is clear from the interest that the west is now showing in African democracy is that it is only protecting its interests.

During the years of the cold war, the superpowers were engaged in a titanic battle for spheres of influence, both ideologically but more importantly geographically and territorially. At all costs, and even where this required supporting oppression and even fascist juntas and police states, both the United States and the Soviet Union supplied them with massive financial, military and other aid. There was very little talk of democracy then.

This however should not detract from the intrinsic good that is in democracy. It is only when people are afforded the opportunity to participate in shaping their common destiny that they can fully contribute to the development of themselves as individuals and their nation as a whole. It is also a fact that far too many African governments are made up of criminals parading as politicians whose only aim is to ransack and loot the national coffers whilst ruthlessly suppressing the genuine leaders of the people.

Indeed such governments have to be replaced by genuine governments elected by the people in true and fair elections. However, the onus for good government should not lie on the west but on the African people themselves. Nor should it be coerced through threats of withdrawing aid or through other such any-extortions tactics.

It is the implied interference in the affairs of African nations that is disturbing some African democrats. For once a system, whatever it may be, is hatched, implemented and financed from outside it is false and not a true expression of the needs, desires and aspirations of a given people.

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To this extent therefore it will fail and result in further turmoil and instability. Instead it should be up to the leading forces within each African nation, as in the struggle for independence to lead the people in unseating dictators and together with the people creating new forms of peoples power. Such a process is not and cannot be allowed to be a one day wonder. All lasting and genuine things are the result of hard work and not the overnight success that the west is promising Africa.

The west's panacea for Africa has serious flaws. Rather than examining the real problems in Africa such as the regionalism, tribalism, under-

development and poverty created by colonialism, the west has a mechanical formula in which pluralism, rule of law, independent judiciary and separation of power between the state and party in power et cetera, are the magic wand. As will be demonstrated loudly in those states where multiparty elections have taken place, unless the real reasons for instability in Africa are addressed, chaos and strife will continue.

The question will be: now what? Democracy is not a tangible entity and will not of itself provide jobs, food, clothing, health care and education. These same problems will continue to bedevil these na-

tions and show the hollowness of a democracy not rooted in the traditions, norms and values of Africa.

The actual practice of true democracy will have to evolve over time and become part and parcel of the value-system of any given society. It cannot be imposed from without. Already the turmoil taking place in Europe since the "democratic reforms" were instituted provides ample evidence of the futility of overnight solutions.

## Lockerbie Bombing: Libya versus the West By our correspondent

The USA, Britain and France have demanded that two Libyan suspects of the Lockerbie bombing in 1988, be handed over to either one of them to face trial on charges of air terrorism. Libya on her part has refused to hand over the suspects on the grounds that there is no extradition treaty between Libya and each of the three countries. Libya has already arrested the two suspects and has indicated that they will be tried in Libya provided evidence implicating the two is made available to the Libyan prosecution. The Secretary-General of the U.N., Dr. B. Boutros-Ghali, has sent a top envoy to Libya to explore what the U.N. could do, following a resolution of the Security Council requesting Libya to cooperate the U.N. in the whole affair. Zimbabwe voted for the resolution, but warned that the demands of the West should not be acceded to if they infringe on Libyan sovereignty. The Libyan Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Ibrahim Al Bachari, visited Harare recently and spoke to a Zimbabwe News reporter. Below, we publish the interview in full:

**Question:** Honourable Minister, the United States, the United Kingdom and France have presented Libya with certain specific demands following their own investigations into the bombing of the PAM AM 103 in which 270 people of 20 different nationalities perished and the subsequent UTA 772 disaster. The specific demands as they presented them being that:—

1. Libya must surrender for trial all those charged with the crime including the principal suspects in the names of ABDELBASET ALI MOHAMED AL MEGRABI and AL AMIN KHALIFA FHIMAH;
2. Libya must disclose all it knows of the crimes including names of all those responsible and allow full access to all witnesses, documents and other material evidence including all remaining timers;
3. Libya must pay appropriate compensation;
4. If Libyan authorities did not comply promptly and in full to these demands sanctions could be imposed and that another second option known only to the three would be applied.

The three States have reaffirmed in their demands their complete condemnation of terrorism in all its forms and denounced any complicity on the part of Libya in terrorist acts.

What is Libya's view on terrorism in view of the allegations levelled against it by the three States and what is its position with regard to the mentioned charges?

**Answer:** Firstly, the principles guiding my country are against terrorism and the endangerment of civilian lives especially those using international Civil Aviation planes. Libya is a member of and complies with the Montreal agreements governing Civil Aviation. With regards to the Lockerbie and UTA 772 bombing, Libya is very sorry about the incidents which caused the death of innocent civilians. It could have been me, you, my friend, my son or my wife. True, we did receive an indictment from the United States and the United Kingdom accusing two Libyans. We felt very disturbed as it affected our nationals and proceeded to appoint two judges from Libya. They were asked to investigate and look at the charges against the two.

**Question:** In other words, is the Minister saying the two were not actually involved?

**Answer:** The two appeared before the Libyan judges. The same judges also sent letters to the Prosecutor in Scotland and the courts in the District of Columbia. They requested the US and the UK to either surrender the documents of investigations or the Libyan judges could visit the US and UK to study the documents of indictment or the US and UK could come to Libya to continue with the investigations.

**Question:** Honourable Minister, does your government accept that its nationals were actually involved in the bombing of PAM AM 103 and UTA 772 as the Americans, the British and the French would like us to believe and is your government prepared to cooperate in the further investigation of the case?

**Answer:** For us the two are innocent until proved guilty. If they are proved guilty Libya will condemn them, and if innocent it will be okay with us. You see, these countries based their facts on statements from Malta. Malta on the other hand indicated that no unaccompanied baggage had left Malta.

**Question:** Mr Minister, the British and the Americans have suggested that the suspects will have to be tried in the USA or in the UK. Does your government have any objection to this? If it does object, what mechanism can your government set up in Libya to try these people and will your

government accept international judicial observers and the families of the victims of the two disasters to witness these court proceedings and is your government in a position to accept outside judges to try the culprits outside Libya especially if the judges are not from the USA, UK and France?

**Answer:** The investigations could continue in Libya. We could also create an international team of judges and lawyers to make investigations. The extradition or not of our people is in the hands of the law of our country. We pursue a policy which reaffirms the sovereignty of Libya. This is a legal matter and should be taken legally. There is no person in Libya who can decide the issue of extraditing nationals. We are more than ready to accept international judges, observers, international press, victims or their relations to witness the proceedings.

**Question:** Mr Minister, your government is being asked to pay appropriate compensation to the families of the victims, what are your views and how far are you prepared to go?

**Answer:** Well, as for compensation, Libya urges the parties concerned to decide on the crime first, only after that can we talk of compensation. Already there is accusation, judgement and execution of judgement passed already. Its of prime importance for us to know who was behind this.

**Question:** Honourable Minister, in their demands, the three states asked you to comply fully and promptly failure of which they would resort to the imposition of sanctions against your country or alternatively resort to another option they did not want to disclose. Do you think this option is a military one and how would your government react to this?

**Answer:** As for sanctions or any other issue, it means they are politicising the issue. It ceases to be legal but political. There must be law in these modern days. States should learn to co-exist as independent entities governed by the United Nations Charter. If there is a problem, it can be solved through negotiations or mediation by the United Nations. The threat of the use of force or use of the economic weapon is a dangerous one especially for Third World countries. We are a small country and we long for peace for them, us and the international community. The dignity of our country can't be extradited.

## US letter of assurances to the Palestinians

### Key points of the US letter of assurances to the Palestinians on the terms of the Madrid peace conference

- Palestinians and Israel must respect each other's security, identity and political rights.
- Bilateral talks will begin four days after the opening of the conference.
- Multilateral talks will open two weeks after the opening of the peace conference.
- We believe that Palestinians should gain control over political, economic and other decisions that affect them and their fate.
- The US will seek to avoid prolongation and stalling by any party. All negotiations should proceed as quickly as possible toward agreement.
- The US doesn't seek to determine who speaks for Palestinians in this process. We are seeking to launch a political negotiating process that directly involves Palestinians and offers a pathway for achieving the legitimate political rights of the Palestinian people and for participation in the determination of their future. We believe that a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation offers the most promising pathway toward this end.
- Palestinians will be free to announce the component of the joint delegation and to make a statement during the opening of the conference. They may also raise any issue pertaining to the substance of the negotiations during the negotiations.
- The US understands how much importance Palestinians attach to the question of East Jerusalem. Thus we want to assure you that nothing Palestinians do in choosing their delegation members in this phase of the process will affect their claim to East Jerusalem or be prejudicial or precedential to the outcome of the negotiations.
- The US is opposed to the Israeli annexation of East Jerusalem and extension of Israel law on to it and the extension of Jerusalem's municipal boundaries. We encourage all sides to avoid unilateral acts that would exacerbate local tensions or make negotiations

more difficult or pre-empt their final outcome.

• The US believes that the Palestinians of East Jerusalem should be able to participate by voting in elections of an interim government authority. The US further believes that Palestinians from East Jerusalem and Palestinians outside the Occupied Territories who meet the three criteria should be able to participate in the negotiations on final status. The US supports the right of Palestinians to bring any issue including East Jerusalem to the table.

• The purpose of negotiations on transitional arrangements is to effect the peaceful and orderly transfer of authority from Israel to Palestinians. Palestinians need to achieve rapid control over political, economic and other decisions that affect their lives and to adjust to a new situation in which Palestinians exercise authority in the West Bank and Gaza. For its part the US will strive from the outset and encourage all the parties to adopt steps that can create an environment of confidence and mutual trust, including respect for human rights.

• Negotiations between Israel and Palestinians will be conducted in phases beginning with talks on interim self-governing arrangements. These talks will be conducted with the objective of reaching agreements within one year. Once agreed the interim self-governing arrangements, will last for a period of five years. Beginning the third year of the period of self-governing arrangements, negotiations will take place on of permanent status. It is the aim of the US government that permanent status negotiations will be concluded by the end of the transitional period.

• Palestinians are free to argue for whatever outcome they believe best meets their requirements. The US will accept any outcome agreed by the parties. In this regard and consistent with long-standing US policies, confederation is not excluded as a possible outcome of negotiations on final status.

• The US believes that no party should take unilateral actions that seek to predetermine issues that can only be reached through negotiations. In this regard the US has opposed and will continue to oppose settlement activity in territories occupied in 1967 which remain an obstacle to peace.

• Any party will have access to the co-sponsors at any time.

• We are prepared to work hard with you in the period ahead. □

## Exclusive interview: Ambassador of the Russian Federation to Zimbabwe, Youkalov Y. speaks to Zimbabwe News

**Question:** The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as one country no longer exists. In its place the President of the Russian Federation, Boris Yeltsin, has suggested the formation of a new Commonwealth of Independent States, to which there are 11 signatories from the former Soviet Union. I would like to know whether there has been any changes to the functions of all former Soviet Union's foreign missions abroad. What is to be of them?

**Answer:** I am not quite sure that the idea of formation of the Commonwealth of Independent States was originally suggested by President of the Russian Federation. But in general you are right.

The USSR has ceased to exist as a unitary state and a subject of international law. Eleven former Soviet republics have agreed to create the Commonwealth of Independent States. The Commonwealth itself is not a state nor is it a federation or a confederation. It is a voluntary association of member states who have undertaken to coordinate their activities in certain spheres. Each

Commonwealth member is an independent sovereign state, as are, for example, the United States or Zimbabwe. As newly emerged subjects of international law all of them, with the exception of Russia, require official diplomatic recognition by other states. Many of them have already been granted such recognition.

Russia, or the Russian Federation as it is officially known since December 25, 1991, has, with the support of other Commonwealth member states, assumed the rights and responsibilities in continuation of the former USSR in the international arena. It is exactly in this capacity that Russia has taken over the Soviet Union's membership in the United Nations, including the seat on the UN Security Council, and in other international organisations. The right of Russia to be the continuation of the USSR has been officially recognised by the governments of over 100 nations, that is by the majority of the international community.

You enquire about the present functions of the former USSR missions abroad, that is of its em-

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bassies and consultants. On January 3, 1992 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation sent to all foreign Embassies accredited in Moscow, including the Embassy of Zimbabwe, a Note whereby it informed that the former Soviet Diplomatic Missions abroad henceforth became the Diplomatic Missions of the Russian Federation and the Heads of those Missions became Russian Ambassadors. Since Russia is the Soviet Union's continuation, that automatically defines her Embassies' functions.

**Question:** I understand that you now fall under the responsibility of the Russian Federation. Does this mean that you are now solely going to cover the citizens of this republic alone, during the course of carrying out your duties?

**Answer:** As ensues from the above, our Mission in Harare has become the Embassy of the Russian Federation in the Republic of Zimbabwe, representing Russia's interests. However, it does not preclude the Embassy from representing in perspective the interests of other Commonwealth member states, should their governments request the Russian Government to do so. It is a generally accepted diplomatic practice.

**Question:** Before Perestroika, most property on the Soviet Territory was State Property. What is to be of this property now. Is there going to be equal division of this property. How is a fair division to be achieved. Do you not envisage difficulties now or in the future?

**Answer:** You are interested how the property of the former USSR is being divided. I can speak here about Russia. President B. Yeltsin has decreed that all the property and assets of the former USSR situated within the territory of the Russian Federation, become the property of Russia. The same principle, as far as I am aware, has been applied by other states as well. There are, some exceptions, involving, for instance, the strategic armed forces, but I intend to dwell upon this topic below. Besides that, there are certain issues related to specific types of property, assets and liabilities, such as gold and hard currency reserves, property abroad, foreign debts, air and sea transport companies, notably the Aeroflot, etc. All these issues are subject of further negotiations by the Commonwealth member states.

Of course it is not an easy matter to divide union property, to establish each of the eleven states' share of this property. There will be difficulties, but I am sure they will be eventually settled.

**Question:** We hear that Boris Yeltsin is fighting for a central control of the former Soviet Power's nuclear arsenal estimated at 30 000 nuclear warheads. How is it going to be divided among the republics. What is to be of the former Union's Nuclear Reactors, especially taking into consideration that there are some republics who would feel to be losers since they do not have nuclear reactors on their territories but one way or the other contributed to their creation (these nuclear reactors). How is this problem going to be solved without acrimony. What mechanism has been devised to make sure that mobile tactical weapons do not fall into wrong hands?

**Answer:** No it is wrong. Nobody is fighting for a central control of the nuclear arsenal of the former Soviet Union. This most crucial matter was among the first to have been resolved by the mem-

bers of the Commonwealth. They have agreed to establish strategic forces under a single centralized command for protection of all the member states. These forces will comprise strategic nuclear arms, air force and navy, airborne troops, air defence and other strategic branches of armed forces.

Concrete issues pertaining to formation and stationing of strategic forces in the member states' territories are subject to further agreements. Each independent state of the Commonwealth has a sovereign right to create its own national army.

The nuclear arsenal constitutes an essential component of the joint strategic forces. The so-called nuclear button, as has been agreed, is in the possession of President of Russia, but he may use it, in case of need, only with the consent of Presidents of Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus, in whose territories, apart from Russia, nuclear weapons are stationed, and in consultation with the other Commonwealth heads of state.

It has been agreed that any steps which might lead to proliferation of nuclear arms are strictly forbidden. Russia is a signatory of the Nuclear Weapons Non-Proliferation Treaty. As for the other Commonwealth member states, they have pledged to join this Treaty and submit their nuclear installations, all nuclear reactors included, under the control of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus have expressed their desire to become nuclear-free. Accordingly, demolition of the strategic nuclear weapons, as stipulated by the Soviet-American treaty, is to start in the territories of the above states. Tactical

nuclear weapons will be stockpiled and dismantled at centralized depots.

A few more words concerning nuclear reactors. As you are aware, the Commonwealth agreements provide for common economic space throughout the territory of the former USSR. That obviously means that all the Commonwealth member states, regardless of whether they have nuclear power plants in their territories or not, will share electric power produced in other states, for which purpose the elaborate network of electricity supply lines of the USSR will be utilised and shared.

**Question:** What is to be of the vast Soviet Airline — "Aeroflot" the naval forces etc. How is a balance to be achieved without reverting to force, in whatever form it might be?

**Answer:** The Aeroflot is a civil airline company, and therefore its destiny is to be determined at forthcoming negotiations on the subject of the former Soviet Union's transport infrastructure. There have been preliminary ideas to avoid division of the existing transport systems, but put them instead under joint control and management of the Commonwealth. All these questions are to be further discussed by the member states.

As regards the future of the Navy and other military issues, this involves another sphere upon which I have dwelt above.

While thanking you for your keen interest in the affairs of my country, I express the hope that you will find my answers informative.

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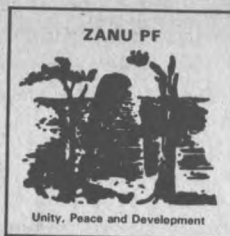
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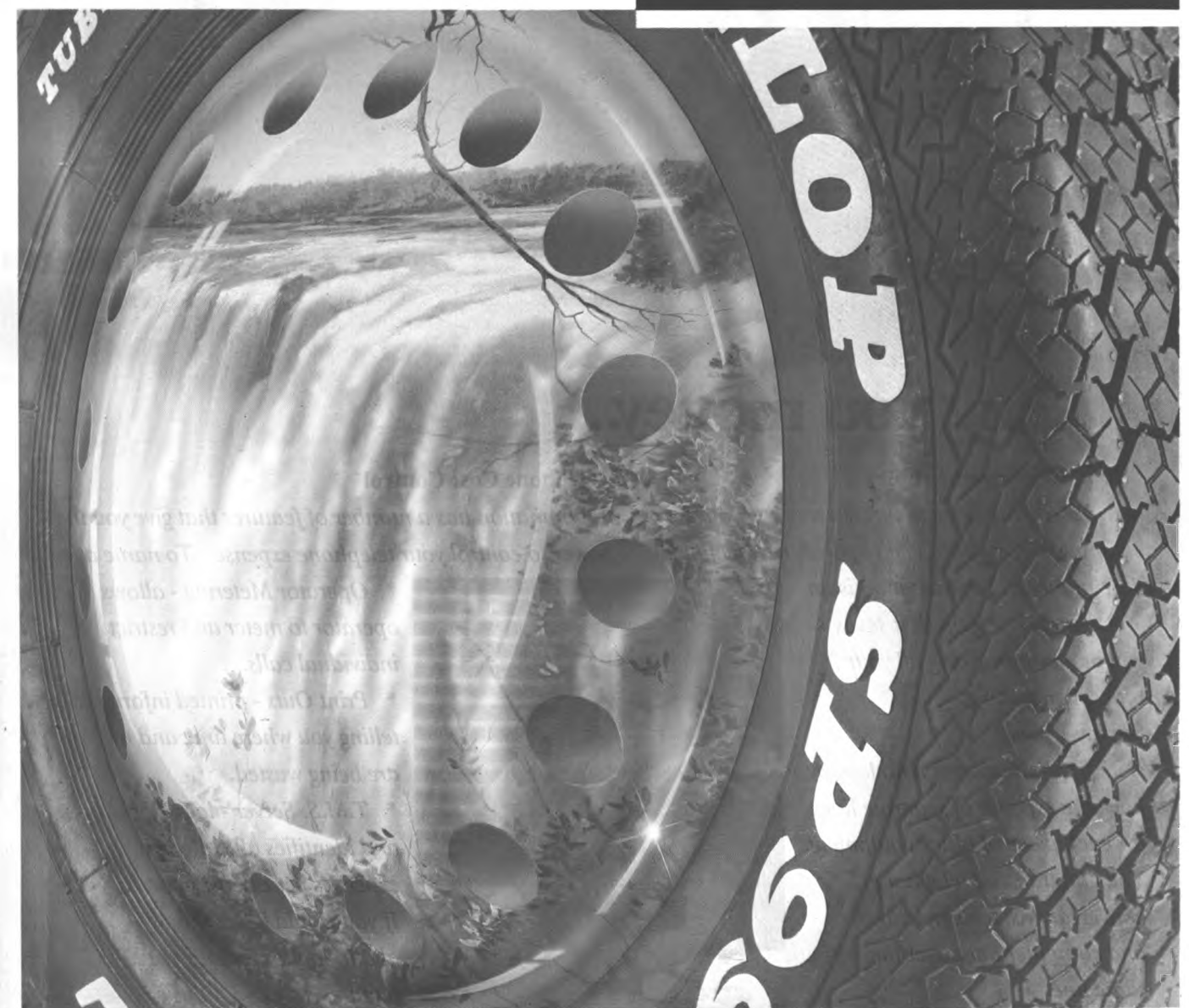
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