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Zimbabwe News

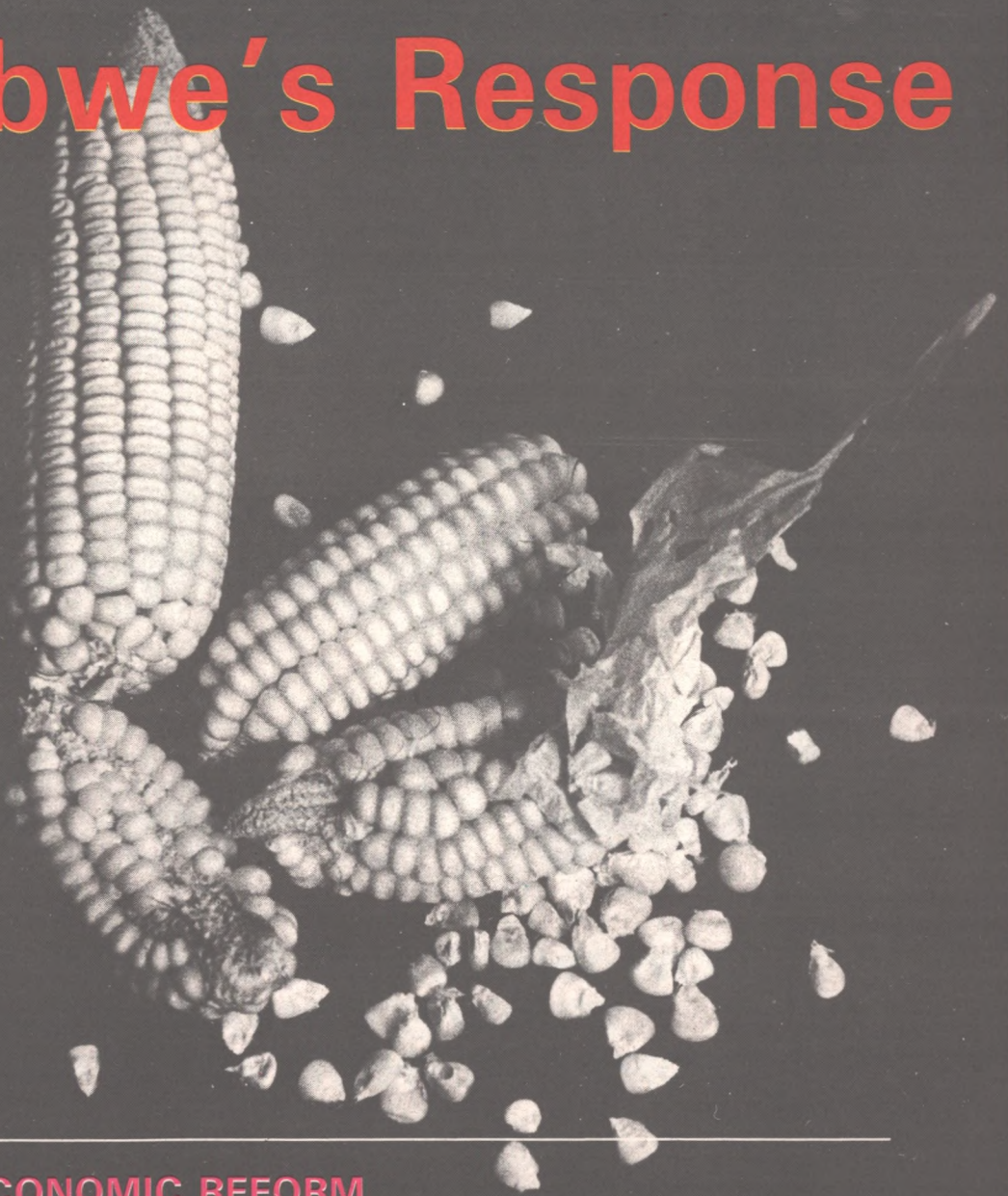
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DROUGHT . . .

Zimbabwe's Response



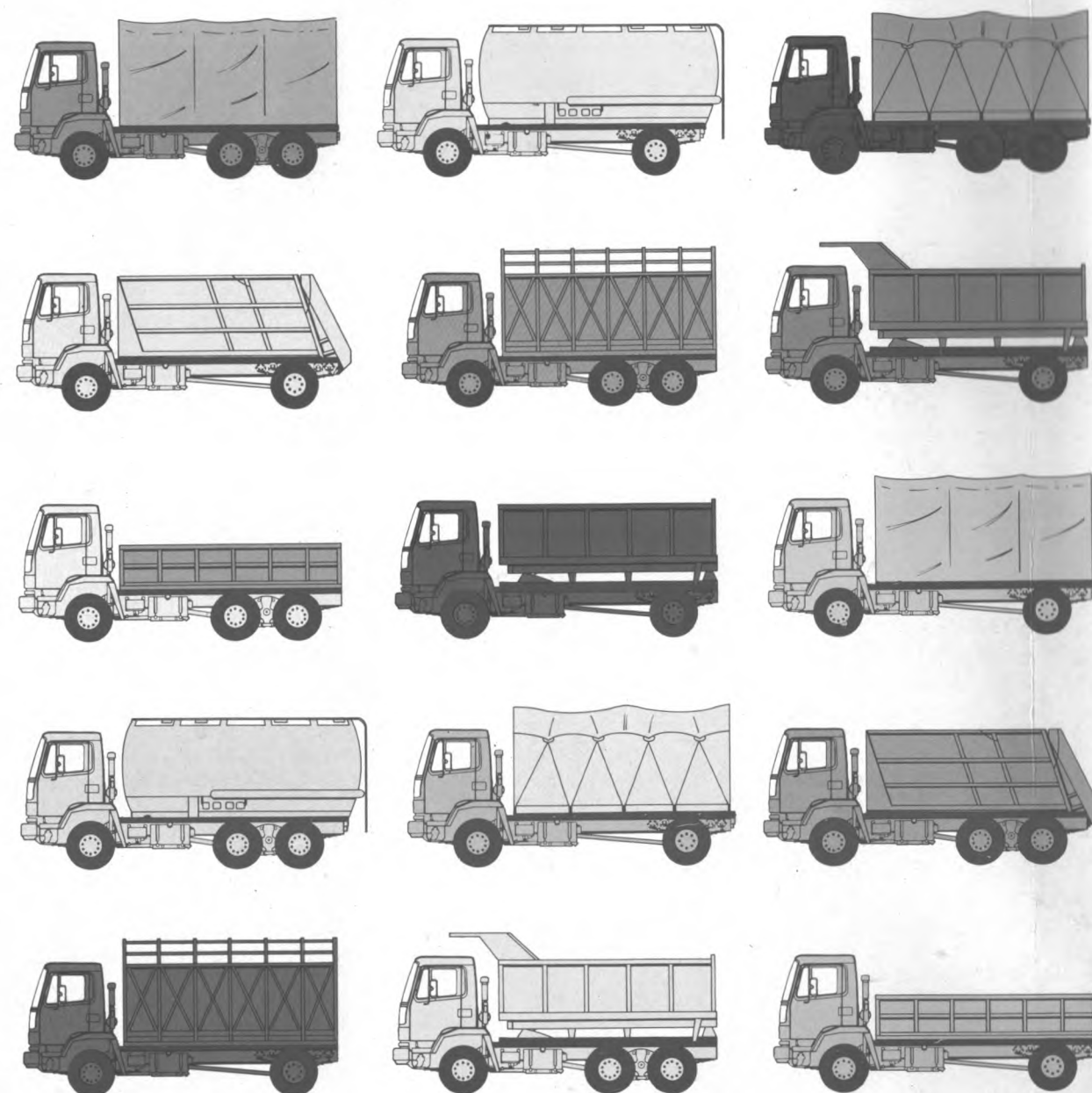
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EDITORIAL

Zimbabwe at twelve

The twelfth anniversary of Zimbabwe's independence was rightly subdued and low-keyed because of the severe drought which the country is experiencing. It showed the concern of the Government and Party for those experiencing acute shortages of food and basic necessities. It would not have been proper to spend large amounts of money on whining and dining the leaders when the *povo* are short of food.

However, the address of the President and First Secretary, Cde. R.G. Mugabe, stated that the building of essential social services, such as schools and hospitals, will be continued. Although Government has an extra burden of finding \$18 million every month now for drought relief, the monies set aside for development and for essential social services will not be reduced or removed. That stand is firm and commendable.

The President concluded his address by stating that "the present drought catastrophe and the success of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme require selfless dedication by all Zimbabweans". That includes the commercial farmers who have reserves of nearly, 300 000 tonnes of maize. That maize should be given or loaned to the Government immediately, without any profiteering or black mailing. Alternatively, the Government should use the emergency powers it has to take possession of the maize, pay the gazetted prices, and use the food for feeding the nation.

We are pleased that a mechanism to coordinate the importation of large quantities of grain, as well as the distribution inside the country, seems to be in place now. The Task Force headed by Vice-President S.V. Muzenda, has the administrative capacity to do job that is necessary. The force must get the maximum cooperation of the South Africans. We are informed that they have every intention to cooperate in this exercise for their own good, and the good of the region.

DROUGHT:

Zimbabwe's Response to the maize shortage



For the first time since independence, Zimbabwe is expected to import over 2 million tonnes of maize this year in order to meet the demand for the staple, particularly in areas that have experienced drought for the last three years and in some cases longer. The growing urban population normally dependant on surplus from the rural farming sector will also require to be fed. The task facing the nation is indeed a mammoth one: sufficient stocks will have to be secured from abroad, shipped to ports in South Africa and Mozambique, transported to strategic centres throughout the country and finally distributed quickly and efficiently to avert starvation. In the following cover story articles our Agricultural Correspondent examines how the Zimbabwe government has set out to achieve this formidable task.



The people will survive — The Government Drought relief programme aims to distribute food to every part of the country

President sets up National Civil Protection Committee

The final crop delivery figures for the 1992 season confirm what the situation on the ground has already made plain that Zimbabwe's grain harvest for the second year running will be far below the annual levels needed to feed Zimbabwe's growing population.

Only 63 000 tonnes are expected to be delivered to the Grain Marketing Board (GMB), whilst at least 1,7 million tonnes will be required to feed the nation. The shortfall will have to be met through importation at costs that are between three and four times the Zimbabwean producer price.

The current drought, which is the worst the region as a whole has seen since the early part of this century will further compound the grain shortage this country was going to face in any event this year.

With maize meal allocations down to 20% of normal, reports of starving children in Zimbabwe's rural areas have begun to reach the urban centres. An examination of the monthly returns for drought relief requirements in terms of population, tonnage and cost reveals the extent of the disaster. In April alone, over 2,5 million about 20% of the population, will require 28 107 tonnes at a cost of over \$20 million.

Long queues for maize meal and other basic commodities have become a common sight and as in all situations of shortage, corruption in the form of hoarding, profiteering and conditional selling has reared its ugly head. Violence at supermarkets and deliver-

ies under security escort have also been reported.

This year's drought will affect not only the nation's staple-maize, but other agricultural products as well—at least half a million cattle are expected to be slaughtered or die as a result of the drought.

Zimbabwe will also be expected to import up to 80 000 tonnes of soya beans and 250 000 tonnes of sugar and 300 000 tonnes of wheat.

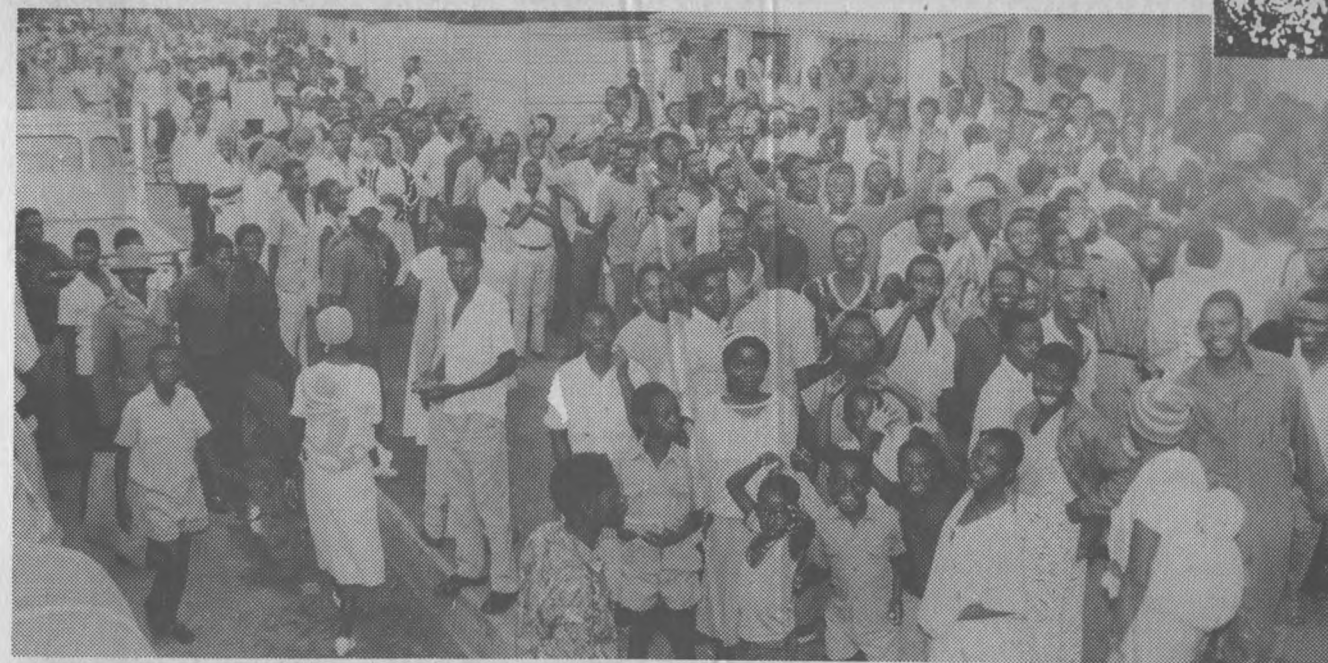
Transportation of imported food could also

prove problematic for the movement of grain from the parts in South Africa and Mozambique to the hungry mouths in Zimbabwe. The system is reportedly only capable of handling 1,7 million tonnes of grain, over the next 12 to 18 months, Zimbabwe will require up to 2,7 million tonnes of maize.

Government has therefore been forced to make a swift and comprehensive response to the maize shortage which threatens to reach crisis proportions, in the form of national strategy that takes a global approach to the problem.



Zimbabwe normally a net exporter of grain has this year been forced to import large amounts



The violence at supermarkets was beginning to manifest itself

Zimbabwe's Response

In a speech to the ordinary meeting of the Central Committee of ZANU PF, on 27th March 1992, President Mugabe announced a wide ranging strategy centred around a National Civil Protection Committee.

"The circumstances have impelled the Party and the Government to declare the drought situation a national disaster in communal and resettlement areas in terms of the existing National Civil Protection Act.

"But instead of the disaster being managed by the Senior Minister of Local Government and Rural Development we have decided that it be placed under an enhanced central authority headed by a Vice President appointed by the President," President Mugabe said.

The President then announced that vice President Cde Muzenda would oversee the functions of the National Civil Protection Committee, which would comprise the Senior Minister of Local Government, Rural and Urban Development, Cde Joseph Msika and the following ministers for each province:—
John Nkomo — Matebeleland North
Steve Nkomo — Matebeleland South
Simbi Mubako — Masvingo
Moven Mahachi — Manicaland
Sidney Sekeramai — Mashonaland Central
David Karimanzira — Mashonaland East
Enos Chikowore — Mashonaland West
Emmerson Munangagwa — Midlands

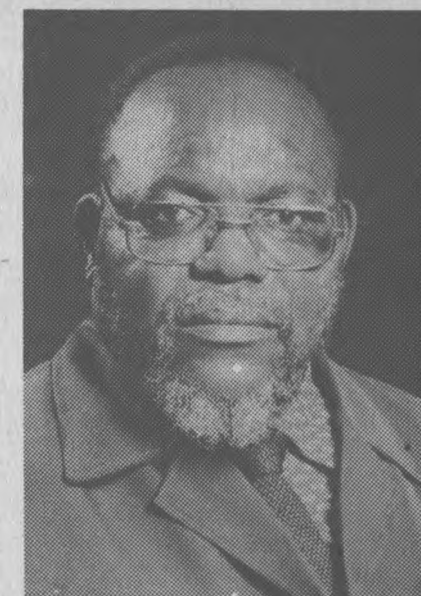
Each province has therefore to gear its administrative structure to meet the challenges created by the disaster, particularly the distribution of drought relief food.

The Resident Minister will work with the Governor and the provincial structures to ensure the success of drought relief.

The Resident Minister will also report weekly to the National Committee and through it to the Cabinet.

The functions of the National Civil Protection were also outlined in detail by the President:

- To assess in each province, the areas and the population hardest hit by the drought and, consequently, assess the amount of food supplies needed to sustain life in the area;
- To liaise with the relevant relief supply arms of Government in order to ensure effective distribution of the supplies;
- To supervise and ensure the successful operation of the Public Works Programme;
- To assess the effects of food shortage on the health of the communities in the provinces, especially in regard to the children;
- To assess the effects of the drought on livestock and recommend effective methods of alleviating them and sav-



Vice President Muzenda, Drought relief chief



Zimbabwe — down to bread and butter issues



Some peasants, few though they may be still rely on their own stocks

- ing the cattle from further decimation;
- f) To assess the water situation in all areas and at all institutions and recommend quick and effective ways and means of water available;
 - g) To assess the situation in regard to roads and transport and recommend how existing shortcomings can be urgently overcome;
 - h) To examine whether the future development plans of the various provinces (under the Second Five Year National Development Plan) adequately address the water shortage and irrigation questions in so far as communal and resettlement areas are concerned; and
 - i) To monitor urban situations and recommend solutions to the problem of water and shortages.

Why the shortages?

Whilst the drought has exacerbated the maize shortage, it cannot be the main cause behind the current shortage. It is after all maize from the 1990/91 season that is of concern here. Whilst it was not the best of

seasons, it was nevertheless not a drought year.

The cause has been ascribed to the lack of pricing incentives and government's attempts to induce diversification to crops other than maize which would fetch higher export prices and could have improved the peasant economy.

The lack of a price incentive affected output from commercial agriculture more than it did peasant production, whilst government calls for diversification affected peasant agriculture more because it is not as price sensitive as commercial agriculture.

Agricultural economists argue that government should have a more sound planning unit that considers all aspects of food security including export quotas, increasing input costs, competition from other crops and preparing for natural disasters such as the current drought.

The Commercial Grain Producers Association for instance, argues that whilst input costs increased by about 120% from 1985, to

1991, the government determined producer price was only raised by 85% over the same period. The Commercial Farmers have also complained about the late announcement of the producer price which often fails to give the farmer adequate time to plan effectively.

The grain shortage is the most graphic exposure to date of the contradictions in Zimbabwe's agricultural base. The dual and dichotomous nature of Zimbabwe's agriculture makes it very difficult for any planner to reconcile equitability and viability.

On the one hand it is the privileged aristocratic white commercial farmer who owns large tracts of land while on the other hand is the marginalised peasant farmer who lays legitimate political claim over "the land of his forefathers".

It is in the attempt to juggle this lopsided reality that planners who are not absolutely immaculate will flounder.

Observers hope that this "national disaster" will provide lessons that will help the nation avoid similar crises in the future.

What Zimbabwe needs to survive this drought year



Drought Relief food distribution in the rural areas

When the Chairman of the Task Force for Drought, Cde. S.V. Muzenda, Vice-President, met representatives of the donor community in Harare on March 25, he spelt out the needs of this nation to survive this severe drought year.

He appealed for assistance from both Government and Non-Governmental Organisations.

Comrade Muzenda said Zimbabwe's immediate needs were as follows:

"We need US\$250 million to procure food of the following quantities:

- a) 1.7 million tonnes of maize
- b) 340 000 tonnes of wheat
- c) 15 000 tonnes of rice
- d) 160 000 tonnes of Soya Beans
- e) 10 000 tonnes of Beans
- f) 4 000 tonnes of skimmed milk powder
- g) 1 000 tonnes of butter oil
- h) 240 000 tonnes of sugar

We estimate that in 1993 we shall have to import food worth US\$146 million.

Water . . . Water . . . Water

"We have put into place an ambitious emergency water supply programme that requires 30 new medium size air rigs (boreholes drilling rigs) and steel castings for the construction of 3 600 boreholes. We therefore need foreign currency in excess of Z\$295 million for this purpose.

"We also need 600 static water bowsers and 60 motorised water bowsers to be deployed in the communal areas. Foreign currency will also be needed for the construction of dams and for the importation of equipment as well as the construction of pipelines for water supply to small towns and service centres in rural areas.

Transport requirements

"My committee has estimated that the country needs the following transport:

- a) 55 medium size trucks (10 to 15 ton) trucks for each district in the country and 10 thirty ton trucks for each province of the country.
- We therefore require US\$50 million for water and transport in 1992 and about US\$35 million in 1993.

"A sub-committee has been set up to handle all water requirements and to provide specific details to donors on what is required in both the short as well as long term.

"I would like to urge the donor community to come to our assistance so that our Economic Structural Adjustment Programme is not derailed by diversion of programme funds to support these drought relief requirements.

Drought Widespread

"As we indicated during the Consultative Group Meeting in Paris, the drought related needs a total of US\$400 million divided equally into US\$200 million concessional loans and US\$200 million in grants and food aid.

"One of the features of the present drought is that it is very widespread. Therefore in order to cover the whole country in our programmes of water, public works and food for work, we have called upon all non-governmental organisations and the private sector to join us in implementing the programme", he concluded.

Zimbabwe may lose up to a million cattle due to the drought



Zimbabwe's Relief Efforts : Government Takes Hands-on Approach



While we need to eat to survive, to be quite sure, we must make our lives worth living. This is why there is universal concern about increasing the the output of goods and services and hence the standards of living. These supreme and wonderful goals, together with education, health and houses for all by the year 2 000 may have been dashed by the current devastating drought.

This drought, the worst in living memory, is wrecking havoc on Zimbabwe, scotching the current season's crop at a time when maize stocks are miserably low. To off-set the current shortfall therefore, the country is importing 1 000 000 tonnes of maize. Whether this tonnage will be adequate to cater for normal and relief supplies it still remains to be seen. The picture becomes even more gloomy when one looks at the 1991/92 crop forecast by the Crop Forecasting Committee chaired by the Central Statistical Office.

In March, the Central Statistical Office forecast that commercial, communal and resettlement farmers would deliver only 65 300 tonnes of maize from from a hectare of 881 000. This falls far short of current requirements considering that the import figure stands at 1 000 000 tonnes. This is against an even more gloomy background where people in urban centres are having to make do without their staple food. There are also reports of children's exemption from sporting activities. Some schools have even closed down until water has become available.

Relief programmes

This means relief programmes must now be executed more swiftly, efficiently and on

much wider scale to ensure that no more people suffer due to the ravaging drought. The exercise will definitely be very costly and many vehicles will be needed as the January, February and March 1992 figures (based on a programme which was on a much smaller scale) indicate.

In January, 873 118 people received 9 246,51 tonnes of maize at a total cost (including transport and salaries) of \$3 382 330,19. By mid-February 163 314 people had requested for food in Matebeleland South but only 104 100 were actually considered and they receive 1 041 tonnes of at a cost of \$743 483. By the end of that month, 103 460 people received 1 059, 57 tonnes at \$808 795,21. In Matabeleland North 50 865 people benefitted from the scheme while in Manicaland 32 036 people had 2 270 tonnes delivered to them at \$1 704 934,10.

According to fortnightly reports from the Ministry of Labour, Manpower Planning and Social Welfare, 826 695 people applied for drought relief in Masvingo but by the end of February, 314 680 had 3 182,25 tonnes delivered to them at a cost of \$2 221 181,13 of 36 861 people who were earmarked for assistance in Mashonaland East, 31 505 people actually received maize while 206 822 people were fed in Midlands during the same period. \$749 464,63 was spent on the two provinces. In Mashonaland Central and Mashonaland West 171 356 people had 1 592,17 tonnes delivered to them at \$1 173 653,54.

The reports said 170 837 people applied for food aid in Matebeleland South and 77 576

were considered to receive 775.76 tonnes of maize at \$554 047,76. Eventually 32 625 people were supplied with food. In Matabeleland North, 97 471 people asked for food but only 44 329 were accepted. In the end, only 29 796 had 21 vehicles move 297,96 tonnes to them. In Masvingo, Manicaland, Mashonaland Central, Midlands, Mashonaland West and Mashonaland East, 2 102 477 people were earmarked to receive food but 986 216 were finally considered for 5 032,39 tonnes. Out of those considered, 450 050 finally received the food. The operation cost \$7 043 554,61.

Projection for April

Many more have applied for drought relief aid for the month of April throughout the provinces. Government expects to spend \$1 306 914,57 in moving 1 829,90 tonnes of maize to 182 990 people in Matabeleland South. Matebeleland North has less applicants with 105 085 people expected to receive 1 050,85 tonnes of maize has less applicants with 105 517,07. A staggering \$6 371 299,69 is projected to be spent on 8 920,89 tonnes for 892 089 people in Masvingo.

A total of 490 717 people asked for 4 907,17 tonnes which have been estimated to cost \$3 504 700,89 in Manicaland. The figures will be slightly higher in Midlands where \$4 425 897,40 is expected to be spent on feeding 613 514 people with 6 197 tonnes. So far 331 748 people have applied for 3 317,48 people whose purchase and delivery may cost \$2 369 344,28 in Mashonaland Central. Approximately 143 795 applicants may have \$1 437,95 tonnes made available

to them at a cost of \$1 026 983,87. Applications in Mashonaland East are so far 44 644 and they may need 446,44 tonnes which are estimated to cost \$318 847,44. The total expenditure for April was put at \$20 074 504,00.

State of disaster

With the declaration of a state of disaster by the President, Cde. R.G. Mugabe on March 6, and the alarming shortage of maize meal, the above figures are bound to soar as the relief operation gets wider and more costly. Costs will rocket as will the amount of food needed. This is against a background where

people have been asked to pay school fees amid various other shortages. People are also being required to pay more in hospital fees at a time when they are hard-pressed and their incomes fall far below the current cost of living.

Malnutrition will soon be rife further eroding hopes of health for all by the year 2000.

Already thousands of cattle are dying when 20 percent of boreholes sunk at about \$166 million are not functioning. Farmers should therefore make arrangements where their livestock are afforded reasonable grazing and

water supply.

However, with the National Civil Protection Committee now in place, there is hope that a swift assessment of areas and people most affected and therefore in need of relief will be made so that relief food is disbursed swiftly to avert further suffering. This new drive should result in long-term plans to be used in establishing some kind of national disaster reservoirs and lasting sources of water for people and livestock. For now, government, non-governmental organisations and the private sector have a common cause to rescue the nation from further disaster.

Table I

Expected Production and Deliveries 1991/92 Season

| Crop | Area (hacteres) | Production | Expected Deliveries (Tons) |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------------------|
| Total Maize | 881 000 | 513 600 | 63 300 |
| Commercial Farms | 153 000 | 292 200 | 32 300 |
| Communal areas | 668 000 | 200 400 | 25 000 |
| Resettlement Schemes | 60 000 | 21 000 | 6 000,85 |
| Total Soyabeans: | 45 100 | 51 950 | 30 880 |
| Commercial Farms | 42 300 | 50 550 | 30 140 |
| Communal areas | 2 700 | 1 350 | 700 |
| Resettlement schemes | 100 | 50 | 40 |
| Total Albar Cotton: | 228 296 | 86 200 | 86 200 |
| Commercial farms | 38 000 | 29 700 | 29 700 |
| Communal areas | 168 000 | 42 000 | 42 000 |
| Resettlement Schemes | 22 296 | 14 500 | 14 500 |
| Total Deltapine Cotton: | 680 | 510 | 510 |
| Total Delmac Cotton: | 6 696 | 5 692 | 5 692 |

Table II

Drought Relief Food Requirements April 1992

| Province | Population Food req. | Tonnage reg. | Cost |
|--------------------|----------------------|---------------|----------------------|
| Mat South | 182 990 | 1 830 | 1 306 914,57 |
| Mat North | 105 085 | 1 051 | 750 517,07 |
| Masvingo | 892 089 | 8 921 | 6 371 299,69 |
| Manicaland | 490 717 | 4 907 | 3 504 700,85 |
| Midlands | 613 514 | 6 197 | 4 425 897,40 |
| Mash Cent. | 331 748 | 3 317 | 2 369 344,28 |
| Mash West | 143 795 | 1 438 | 1 026 983,87 |
| Mash East | 44 644 | 446 | 318 847,44 |
| Grand Total | 2 804 582 | 28 107 | 20 074 504,00 |

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Zimbabwe bound maize on the waters

The government has undertaken the purchase and delivery of thousands of tonnes of maize from abroad. At the time of going to press, up to 464 000 tonnes of maize was reportedly on the high seas en route to Zimbabwe.

The first ship, the *Kali* with a consignment of 53 000 tonnes of grain on board docked in Durban on Saturday, 11 April, and transportation to Zimbabwe by road immediately began. A second ship, the *Ya-Rab*, was expected in Beira on April 13 with 18 000 tonnes whilst a third, the *Al Racib* was expected to dock with 18 000 tonnes. On April 25, another vessel, the *World Iris*, is expected to bring in 27 000 tonnes of grain as well as other food items for Zimbabwe.

The Ministry of Transport and National Supplies is believed to have taken urgent steps to ensure the speedy shipment of grain, giving hopes that the long queues for mealie-meal which had become commonplace in recent months will disappear soon. However, some people believe that government should do more in the area of putting the whole country on the alert to combat the effects of the ravaging drought. They suggest that government should be able to commandeer transport, machinery for drilling boreholes, and devise proper methods for storing up surplus grain in years of good harvest.

Government was also urging commercial farmers who were holding on to their stocks of grain to immediately release them to the GMB for human consumption.

On its part, government has decided to set up Special Fund for the National Civil Protection Committee headed by Vice-President, Cde Simon Muzenda which is designed to ensure an equitable disbursement of the available funds in the easing of the drought menace.

The empowerment of the Chairman of the Task Force to directly disburse funds, control all food movement and the means of transport, is being urged by Parliamentarians and all concerned citizens.

Also at the time of going to press, the President, Cde. Robert Mugabe was awaiting reports from the Task Force outlining the Drought Action Plan.

Esap must now take the back seat — drought in front

By our economic correspondent

The Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) has been the centrepiece of the Government's development programme and the budget in the last year. Everything was going into ESAP to make it a success, especially in this first year. The donor community had been well-organised and mobilised to support the programme.

But, unfortunately for ESAP, it was introduced in a year that has the worst drought in living memory. It is now very difficult to implement the reforms, while fighting the drought at the same time. Realistically, ESAP must now be adjusted to take the back seat, while an all-out effort is made to find food for the nation.

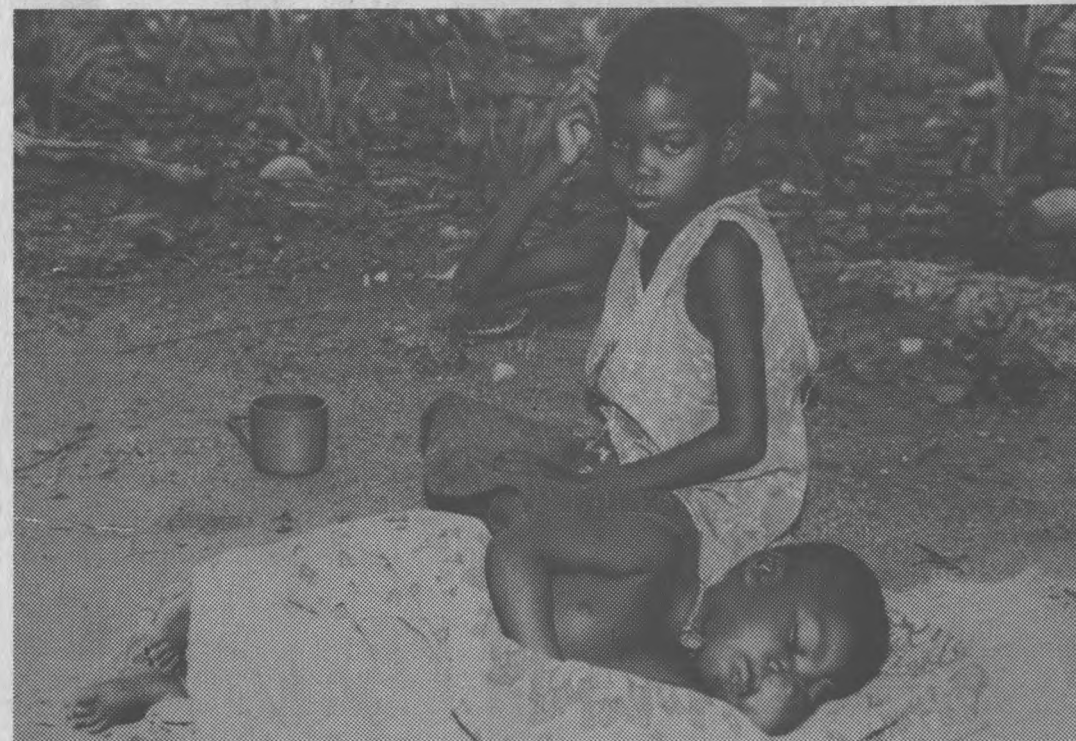
The fight against the drought must be tackled as a war effort. Decisions must be taken quickly at one command post, and then implemented quickly, and efficiently. We are glad that a special fund has now been created, thus obviating the problems of going through Elisha Mushayakarara's office. Decisions on expenditures must be expedited by being taken at the command post.

In our case the command post is the office of the Vice-President, Cde. S.V. Muzenda, who is Chairman of the Task Force. He should command the entire operation as well as commandeer much-needed transport, and drilling equipment to the places where it is required. Distribution should not be done directly from the source of the commodity to the masses — the consumers.



Soon the long queues for maize will be a thing of the past

Social assistance to the poor in ESAP



Caught in the vice of the drought and the adverse effects of ESAP the poor will require the help of government

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:—

- 1) 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.

- 2) 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.
- 3) SDA's action strategy consequently has four targeted areas of action:
 - Employment and Training
 - Targeting of Food Subsidies
 - Cost Recovery in Social Services
 - Monitoring & Evaluation
 - 4) In implementing the SDA strategy, Government has three objectives:
 - To effectively target and design programmes for disadvantaged groups over the economic reform period.
 - To minimise costs to the fiscus.
 - To maximise participation from third parties, notably NGO's, Employee Organisations, Employer Organisations and Local Authorities.
 - 5) To co-ordinate and implement three of the identified areas of action under the SDA 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.

- 6) The SDF has two main programmes, namely the Employment and Training Programme (ETP), and the Social Welfare Programme (SWP).
- 7) 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.
- 8) The Social Welfare Programme's main activities will be in the areas of Food Subsidies, Health Subsidies and Education Subsidies.
- 9) The SDF will be administered by an Advisory Board chaired by the Senior Secretary for Finance, Economic Planning and Development, with inter-ministerial representation and nominated members from NGO's, ZABO and the ZCTU and IBDC.
- 10) The SDF Advisory Board will be directly responsible for the policy implementation of the Social Welfare Programme.



*The containment
of this catastrophe
... requires
selfless dedication
by all
Zimbabweans*

President calls for selfless dedication

Speaking to thousands of people at the National Sports Stadium last Saturday — the twelfth anniversary of our independence on April 18 — the President and First Secretary, Cde. R.G. Mugabe, urged all Zimbabweans to demonstrate "selfless dedication" in this difficult year. He spoke at length on the two economic problems that face the nation at present:

- The Catastrophic drought, and
- The implementation of the bold economic reform programme of ESAP (Economic Structural Adjustment Programme).

He said ESAP, "despite some false starts, is

already beginning to show positive results in many areas of our life as a nation."

"We tackled the urgent, indeed historical, question of land redistribution in our country and, against many odds, the necessary constitutional and legislative measures to facilitate the redistribution have been enacted. We set out to mobilize international support for ESAP and we have been largely successful in this — Thanks to the generosity of many friendly countries and international organisations.

Related to this has been the significant success registered by our Investment Centre which, since its establishment just over two

years ago, has approved projects valued in excess of \$2 billion.

Social Services to continue

"We have also continued with our policy of improving the lot of our people through the provision of essential social services. Efforts have as well been directed to improving the quality of these services, particularly in the fields of education and health care. Thus, in respect of the former, Government produced a Five-year Human Resources Development Plan covering the period 1991 to 1995. The first year of the Plan has registered significant achievements in the expansion and im-



Despite the drought, Zimbabwe's independence flame continues to blaze

provement of training facilities. In teacher education, the Chinhoyi Technical Teachers' College admitted its first intake of students in the Home Economics and Business Studies Departments in 1991. Work on the construction of the Gwanda Teacher Education College has commenced. In meantime, the first 258 Science and Geography graduates of the Zimbabwe-Cuba Teacher Education Programme have since joined the teaching force. A further 260 students have left for Cuba, bringing the total number training under this Programme to 1 300.

"As regards health care and pursuant to our policy of equity in health, Government continues to increase people's access to health facilities, particularly in the previously neglected rural areas. In line with this, eight district hospitals and fifty-eight rural health centres were constructed, upgraded, equipped and commissioned by September, 1991, under the first phase of the project, which is intended to provide a further sixteen (16) district and rural hospitals, was launched in October, 1991. A simultaneous construction of all the hospitals and clinics will begin in November this year. Furthermore, to reduce the causes of death in these areas, which often arise from delays in transferring complicated cases to major hospitals, we are in the process of procuring ambulances, as well as improving radio and telecommunication facilities for primary health care centres.

Problem of Health Staff

"However, the personnel situation in the

health sector continues to deteriorate as doctors and pharmacists in particular, leave the public service and indeed the country, at alarming rates, in search of opportunities elsewhere.

In order to deal with this problem, Government has recently made major improvements in the conditions of service of medical doctors and other professionals." The President and First Secretary referred briefly to Zimbabwe's success in foreign relations. Then he dwelt at length on the catastrophic drought in Zimbabwe, and in the whole region. He said, "we have lately been plunged into a serious national emergency due to the severe drought in the country and, indeed, the region. All major crops including grain and oil seeds have failed and are a complete write off, creating a major supply shortfall both for domestic consumption and for export. In addition most of our rivers, dams, wells and boreholes are well below their normal capacity or have dried up. Livestock are also dying at an unprecedented rate because there is neither adequate pasture nor drinking water. After we assessed the gravity of the situation, I declared the drought and its consequences as a national disaster. Accordingly, we have put in place a number of emergency measures to alleviate the situation.

We have reorganised the National Civil Protection Coordinating Committee (SADCC) (NCPCC) under the chairmanship of the Honourable Vice-President, Cde. S.V. Muzenda.

We have set up a task force at national level, a committee made up of Ministers heading related Ministries. Its main function is to assess the amount of food requirements by province, work out and effect the logistics of ensuring that adequate food is sourced from outside the country and that it is equitably distributed to all those in need of food. In addition, a Coordinating Resident Minister has been appointed for each province so as to ensure more effective and constant supervision of food and water distribution. Furthermore, the Task Force has set up sub-committees for procurement, transport and logistics, distribution, drought relief, and public works."

He went on "At Provincial level, a Provincial Civil Protection Coordinating Committee has been set up to facilitate the smooth operation of the Drought Relief Distribution Programme, and the Public Works Programme through effective mobilisation of all the people concerned.

He concluded: "the containment of this present drought catastrophe and the success of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme require selfless dedication by all Zimbabweans. Government on its part will ensure that an adequate supply of essential food commodities, currently in short supply, will have been made available in the near future. But all of us have a duty to ensure not only that none of our people will starve but also that we lay a firm foundation to prevent or deal with any similar catastrophe effectively in the future."

"After we assessed the gravity of the situation, I declared the drought and its consequences a national disaster."

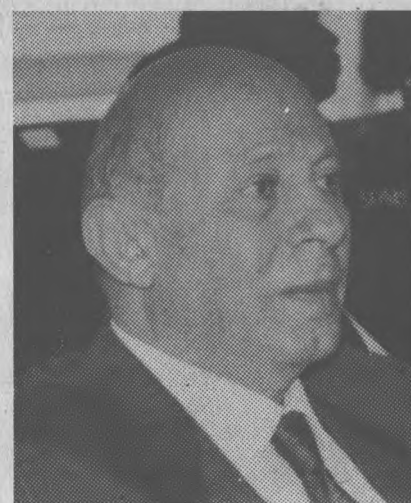
Guest of Honour — M. Fayek supported Freedom fighters

The Guest of Honour to this year's independence celebrations, Cde. Mohammed Fayek, is a dedicated pan-Africanist. As a close adviser of Gamal Abdul Nasser in the 1960s he played a prominent role in promoting and supporting the liberation struggle in the whole of Africa. His work was praised at a luncheon held in his honour on independence day. Cde. Stephen Nkomo, Secretary for External Affairs for ZANU-PF, said Fayek had done much to assist freedom-fighters in Cairo, especially those from Zimbabwe. Cde. George Nyandoro, a businessman, said Fayek's door was always open. He counselled and assisted freedom fighters wherever possible. Cde. E. Mnangagwa, Secretary for Finance, told a story of how he and 10 other students who had supported the formation of ZANU in 1963 were assisted by Fayek to return to Dar-es-Salaam. The Vice-President, Cde. S.V. Mzenda, said the role played by Egypt in the upliftment and liberation of Africa, even in the historical past, has not been appreciated. He also praised the role of President Nasser and Cde. Fayek in that historical process. Mohammed Fayek was specifically invited to this year's celebrations by the President and First Secretary, Cde. R.G. Mugabe. He returns to Cairo on April 24th.

Brief biographical note

His Excellency Mohammed Fayek

— He was a Junior Officer in the Egyptian Army at the time of the 1952 Revolution, and was then chosen by President



Mohamed Fayek

Gamal Abdel Nasser to be one of his Aides at the Presidency.

- He played a major role in the resistance against the British occupation of the Suez Canal Region.
- From 1952 until his resignation from office in 1971, he was in charge of liaison with the African Liberation Movements.
- He held a number of positions during the Nasser administration, including that of Presidential advisor on African Affairs, Minister of National Guidance, Minister of Information, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, in addition to being an elected member of the People's Assembly. During all this period,

he was active in African Affairs.

He worked closely with President Nasser during the efforts to establish the Organisation of African Unity, and participated in all the OAU's Conferences during the period 1963 — 1971, heading the Egyptian delegation to these Conferences on more than one occasion.

He had a disagreement with President Sadat in 1971, which led to his resignation, and then to a prison term of ten years until he was released from prison by President Mubarak.

— He authored a number of books among which "Nasser and the African Revolution," was written in Arabic, and translated into English by Dr. Gamal Nkrumah, son of the African leader Kwame Nkrumah.

— Currently he owns and directs "The Arab Future" Publishing House, which is one of the major Publishers in the Arab Region.

— He is also the elected General Secretary of the Arab Organisation for Human Rights, a non-governmental Organisation active in all the Arab countries, including nine African countries, which holds Consultancy status at the United Nations Organisation.

— He is currently active in developing and revitalizing the Afro-Arab solidarity movement, to make it more attuned to recent International developments.

AIDS breakthrough?

While medical scientists the world over have left no stone unturned in their efforts to develop a cure or vaccine for AIDS, no patient has recovered completely since the discovery of the first case in 1981 in the United States, and from then to September 1991 the World Health Organisation (WHO) had reported 418 413 AIDS cases. However, a traditional Chinese medicine group seems to be making a breakthrough in finding a cure for the killer disease. The group, led by Professor Lu Weibei who is the head of the State Administration of Traditional Chinese Medicine that performs experimental treatment of AIDS with traditional Chinese drugs, has spent three years of experimental treatment of AIDS in Tanzania under a special agreement between the two countries. Initially it was agreed that Tanzania would

provide 300 patients and clinic facilities. The number was however reduced to 158 patients.

After three years (since 1989) of experimental treatment of AIDS patients in Tanzania, the Chinese medicine seems to be making a breakthrough. Unlike Western anti-virus drugs such as AZT, Pentamidine, Fusidic Acid and Acyclovir, the Chinese medicine does not have side effects to patients. The results so far have been very encouraging. The treatment of 158 patients with the medicine for terms ranging from less than a year to two years achieved an average effectiveness rate of 39.87 percent. Following treatment, 31.01 percent of patients had, in varying degrees, improved their immune functional levels and reduced or even eliminated symptoms of diarrhoea, lymph node diseases, exhaustion and emaciation.

According to incomplete statistics, more than 1 000 academics of 16 countries are engaged in research on herbal AIDS treatment with the focus on traditional Chinese medicine. China began research on AIDS after the first case was reported in the country in 1985.

Professor Lu's findings indicate that besides the method of repressing or eliminating the virus with medication, another possible avenue in the treatment of AIDS is indirect mopping up or removal of HIV's by strengthening the immune function of the human body. In this regard traditional Chinese medicine has great potential.

"If the co-operation between China and Tanzania can gain attention from medical circles, especially from WHO, and financial support, it will undoubtedly proceed at a faster pace", Professor Lu said.

Zimbabwe at 12:

Baby grows fast, but problems galore

By our correspondent

The young state of Zimbabwe has now reached the age of 12. The 12-year-old baby is getting bigger and bigger, and getting to know its strength and weaknesses. Indeed the young boys and girls who were born in and since 1980, number about 3 million young people, and some of them are about to complete their primary school education. They are lucky in that schools are now available for them to learn in places where they did not exist during the colonial/racist era. The *born free* Zimbabweans (those born after April 18, 1980) joined thousands of others in the mass displays at the National Stadium in Harare last Saturday, April 18, — independence day.

The *born free* Zimbabweans are increasing in their numbers every year. When the oldest among them reach the age of 15 in three years time — in 1995, they will be half of the total population of our country. They are already a significant segment of our society.

As we celebrated the twelfth independence day — April 18, 1992 — our thoughts naturally went back to these young boys and girls who will inherit this land of our fore fathers. Our thoughts also went back to one of our leaders who devoted her whole life and work to the welfare and well-being, of Zimbabwean children — the heroine Comrade Sally Mugabe, who died on January 27th. Her absence at the celebrations stuck out like a sore thumb, especially when the young children were on the stage. She will forever be remembered for her illustrious example in working for children.

Nasty colonial experiences

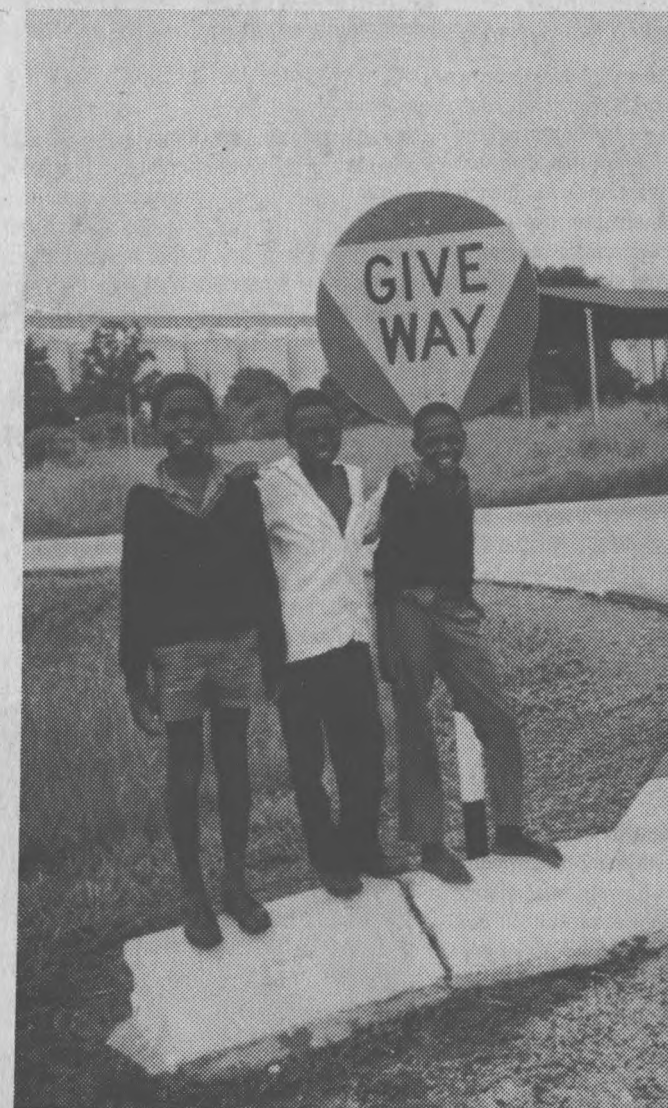
The young *born-free* Zimbabweans never experienced the colonial racism of the Boers — to be called "kaffirs"; prohibited from entering a hotel or using public facilities like a toilet in the middle of a city like Bulawayo or Harare; again prohibited from walking on the pavement in the city or riding an empty bus; required to carry an identification pass ("Chitupa") on-you every time; prohibited from entering any urban area unless you are employed there; denied work in the civil service; even denied the opportunity to do any skilled work such as building or welding except when giving services to the "Boss" or "misses"; prohibited from owning or using any land in the cities or the exclusive rural commercial farms; denied the right to vote for City Councillors or for members of Parliament, excepting a few special individuals;

and generally stripped off all basic fundamental rights of a human being in the land of your birth, and your forefathers. Those born after April 1980 will not and do not know these very nasty colonial experiences of their parents, and grandparents.

Chimurenga war and the reactionaries

Furthermore, those Zimbabwean youth born after 1970 also do not know the experiences of the Second Chimurenga war — the war for national independence 1966-1980. They do not know the suffering that was endured

and the several villages that were annihilated inside Zimbabwe. Some of the black collaborators with the white/racist regimes in these massacres are now among the leading critics of the ZANU-PF government. They took cover from 1980 to 1990 because they were ashamed to appear to be against the independence aspirations of the whole nation. But, now that we are facing problems of drought and economic hardships, the same people are coming to the surface as democrats, or "concerned citizens", to op-



Whats going to give way — ESAP, Drought or the growing population

by patriotic Zimbabweans in the refugee camps in neighbouring countries: in the villages attacked for aiding guerillas in the protected villages or "keeps", in the guerilla camps that were constantly under attack by enemy aircraft; and the massacres that took place in places like Chimoio, Nyadzonya, Tembwe, (in Mozambique), Mkushi (in Zam-

pose the Government and the Party. But, they are the same group of people who have been anti-nationalist and anti-African aspirations all along the way. They collaborated with the settler racist regime purely for their own personal material benefit, and they will now collaborate with the Americans or the British or whoever will pay them to do their



Refugee victims of Smith's killing machine during the armed struggle

dirty work for them. The only difference now is that independence has given them wide opportunities to infiltrate the state organs, or the private sector, where they can use their newly-acquired positions of influence to attack the government and the Party. Those who oppose or undermine the popular line in the public press alone are in different groups — you have the outright reactionaries and right-wingers like young Jonathan Moyo of the University of Zimbabwe and Rev. Gary Strong of World Vision; then the opportunists and position-seekers such as Geoff Nyarota, and others; and then the renegades who were once part of the struggle but have since abandoned it such as Elias Rusike of the yellow press, Ndabaningi Sithole, leader of ZANU (Ndonga), and Judy Toddy of the Zimbabwe Project. Some of these people are expending a lot of energy on anti-government activities, in the mistaken belief that one day they would succeed in toppling it, and put in their own anti-people aristocracy.

Political Consolidation

However, in spite of the activities of the loud mouthed critics, the born-free Zimbabweans can thank ZANU-PF for having consolidated our political independence so that all our people can live in peace. Strong leadership and direction has been given to the nation by Comrade. R.G. Mugabe, President and First Secretary of our Party. That leadership has brought about reconciliation between the white and black citizens of this country, after many years of conflict and racial discrimination and, more importantly, it has brought national unity in our society by bringing the two powerful liberation movements together, ZAPU and ZANU. That all-important unity was achieved at the historic Congress held in December, 1990. The purpose of that unity was to end all internal strife and focus on

the next step of getting economic independence.

The born-free Zimbabweans have come into a world that has vastly changed. The international system has undergone fundamental changes. The cold war has come to an end the communist system has collapsed; the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has also collapsed; The economic gap between the North and South is widening; and many African states are gripped in internal turmoil. The new state of Zimbabwe has grown up in this changed and changing situation. Not only has it adjusted to it successfully, but it has even taken the reins of leadership in the United Nations, in the Commonwealth, in the Non-aligned Movement, and in the Organisation of African Unity. The international prestige the young state has acquired in such a short time has been a major contri-

butor to the stability and integrity of our independence.

Paramountcy of economic independence

But, what the born free Zimbabwean want most, is economic independence, resulting in an improvement in their standards of living. In this area, there was good general all-round improvement in the first 8 years of independence, 1980-1988 as social services were opened up and provided to all people. Wage levels rose steadily, goods and food increased in quantity and quality, and employment levels were high. But, in the last 3 years, a persistent and severe drought, a world-wide recession, and political instability in South Africa and Mozambique, produced a downward trend in the cost of living index. The most important factor in this



Victory for Zimbabwe . . . freedom fighters at an Assembly point in 1980



ZIMBABWE

The Chairman, Management and Staff of
BP & Shell Marketing Services,
Partners in Development

congratulate the nation
on its 12th
Independence
Anniversary
Makorokoto!
Amhlophe!

BP & Shell

"Partners in Development and Progress"
Look forward with pride in continuing
to serve the nation's development



downward trend was the devaluation of the Zimbabwe dollar in 1991. It hit the pockets of many workers and peasants both directly and indirectly. The numbers of unemployed youths began to rise sharply as thousands of them began to pour out of the newly-built rural secondary schools.

In 1991/2 the Government took the very bold step of introducing the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP). The programme was adopted in an effort to promote economic growth and tackle the growing problem of unemployment. It is intended to harness energies for the introduction of investment policies which will encourage economic growth and create employment opportunities. Dr. B.T.G Chidzero, the Senior Minister of Finance, announced that the initial stage of the programme will be characterised by rising prices of basic commodities, and more unemployment. But, as it begins to work, the situation will improve as more jobs are created and competition stabilises prices. What Zimbabwe is doing has been done by many other countries in the past — and successfully.

The born-free Zimbabweans will join us in praying for the success of ESAP so that in they may have well paying jobs waiting for them when they complete their schooling, and be able to pay for the rising costs of basic commodities and social services.

National Disaster

The problems of ESAP have been compounded by the severe drought this year. Government is taking urgent and vigorous steps to feed the entire population. Government has declared the current drought situation as a national disaster. The drought is a culmination of 3 successive years of poor rainfall in most parts of the country, which has resulted in the dwindling of our water resources and diminished harvests with very serious and adverse effects on human lives and livestock. However, the Government has established the National Civil Protection Coordination Committee to undertake strategic measures for relieving the people widely affected by the drought in all communal and resettlement areas. The committee which is headed by Cde. S.V. Muzenda, Vice-President, will also come up with strategies for averting or reducing the effects of the drought in future for example building more medium-sized dams.

In the current economic circumstances, the combined effects of ESAP and the drought, has hit the pockets of the workers and the peasants very hard.

Increasing Social Services

The giant steps taken in the last 12 years to expand and increase the basic social services to young Zimbabweans will ensure that

the born free Zimbabweans, develop to their full capacity. More hospitals and clinics have been constructed, staffed and equipped, and the primary health programme implemented. The known killer disease have been controlled by massive vaccinations. AIDS and other new diseases are being tackled. Generally, the health of the young Zimbabweans has been vastly improved.

The expansion of primary, secondary, and University education since independence has been phenomenal. Nearly 3 million young Zimbabweans now go to school at a cost of one billion dollars — or 25 per cent of the budget.

Because of the acute shortages of food in this drought year, Government is arranging a supplementary feeding scheme for schoolchildren and the young creches will benefit from this scheme.

Child Survival Programmes

Finally, the Child Survival and Development Foundation started by the departed heroine, Comrade Sally Mugabe, has placed the right emphasis on the children and those born free. Creches and centres for children have been developed in many localities and communities, even in the rural areas. Supplementary feeding and clothing has been initiated. Physical exercises and fitness programmes are also being encouraged, even for those who are disabled.



In 1995 the "born frees" will constitute half the nation's population

Zimbabwe to be reborn

A foreigner's view of 12 years of independence

By Per Warstberg

Zimbabwe works hard to become a modern state — the sounds of hammering and construction work everywhere — a beautiful picture by African standards — however, in the shade, writes Per Warstberg. This article from the Zimbabwean Capital, Harare, is the first in a series of articles on Southern Africa.

Structural adaptation is the current catchword in Zimbabwe. President Robert Mugabe is no longer talking in terms of Marxist rhetoric, but carries on a dialogue with the Governor of the World Bank, and with Harry Oppenheimer from South Africa. The principles of a market economy have been proclaimed, justified by the efforts to enter into competition with a democratic South Africa, and by the fact that economic reforms, which will ultimately lead to increased prosperity, are the Government's only way to remain in power after the election in 1995.

Members of the ZANU PF Party at grass-roots level have had difficulties to adapt to the change of course. Generally speaking, people sense a shortage of goods (in spite of the fact that shop-windows display more articles here than perhaps anywhere else in Africa), rising prices, rising school- and hospital fees, unemployment rates at 30 percent etc. Every fifth individual between 20 - 45 years of age is probably carrying the HIV virus. It was gratifying to see — on TV — a catholic priest recommending the use of condoms. A newly published 5-year plan has proclaimed "war against AIDS".

The principles of a market economy have been proclaimed, justified perhaps by the efforts to enter into competition with a democratic South Africa

Zimbabwe has the most diversified economy in the whole of Africa (apart from South Africa). Mines and agricultural products yield two thirds of the income of export. The economy has shown a growth rate at 5 percent during the last three years. Zimbabwe's economic growth rate was in the 1980's three times bigger than the South African one, and

almost twice as big as the free economies of Kenya and the Ivory Coast, in spite of the destabilising policy of South Africa, a devastating spell of drought and high indebtedness. The goal is an economic growth rate at 6 percent, or more, in the 1990's, which is twice as much as the growth rate of the population.



Cde. R.G. Mugabe

Per Warstberg is a renowned Swedish author and editor. From 1976 to 1982 he was chief editor of *Dagens Nhyeter*, Sweden's major morning paper. He has also been President of International PEN. He is the author of over 12 works of fiction. He has travelled and written extensively on Southern Africa. He visited Zimbabwe in January. This article was published in Swedish in March, 1992.

Construction work is seen everywhere, particularly in Harare. Zimbabwe works hard to become a modern state. The companies that are partly owned by the state are being privatised, monopolies are abolished. Foreign investment is beginning to flow into the country. 700 000 tourists visit Zimbabwe each year, since travelling and accommodation is inexpensive. A good hotel accommodation, English breakfast included, in central Harare costs about Sek 150/- a night. You rent a car at 10 percent of the cost in Sweden and can travel fairly safely between the Victoria Falls and the game reserves, between Wankie and Vumba.

A beautiful picture by African standards - but shaded. The drought is estimated to be the worst in 80 years and is threatening 6 million people. There is a growing gap between the new bourgeois class and the majority of workers and farmers. It is difficult for young educated people to find a job, and they go for the public sector which is far too big.

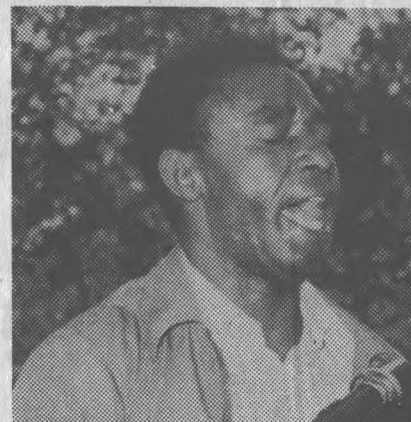
Many officials feel that they are entitled to a good salary and comfortable working pace as a compensation for efforts in the freedom fight. Membership of the Party often carries more weight than experience. In a more liberal economy, the well trained people will be employed in the trade - and industrial sector - others will lose their illegal extra incomes of licences and all kinds of permits. Part of the Swedish development assistance is allocated to the important work to render the administration more effective.

The governing authority is powerful and severe. When Queen Elizabeth visited Zimbabwe on the occasion of the Commonwealth Meeting in Harare, beggars were chased away, temporary shelters were demolished, and hundreds of peddlars disappeared from the streets. The central parts of Harare are clean and nice and inviting for a walk. The segregation as far as housing is concerned is largely the same as it was before 1980.

The Namibian Government complains about the circumstance that the opposition is weak. The ZANU PF Party in Zimbabwe is almost almighty. It is hard to take the two opposition leaders Edgar Tekere and Ndabaningi Sithole seriously, except as symbols of a dissatisfaction which will, eventually, find more constructive-minded advocates probably through a break-away from the ZANU PF Party.

I asked a lawyer when this might happen - in the year 2000, he answered, when the generation of freedom fighters have completed their task.

The crucial thing as far as the Government is concerned is that a successful liberal economy may create a better balance between the various groups in society. As a counter-move against the free market a new land law has just been forced through which makes it possible to "confiscate uncultivated land



Edgar Tekere

and such land as is owned by city dwellers" Before 1890 all land was joint property. After that time land was bought or more often, confiscated by white colonialists. At which point in time does the right of possession commence?

It is evident that four thousand farmers, most of them white, own the best land. The Government does not want to risk losing the confidence of the white population, but pressed by spells of drought and unemployment compulsory acquisition of land may serve as a safety valve.

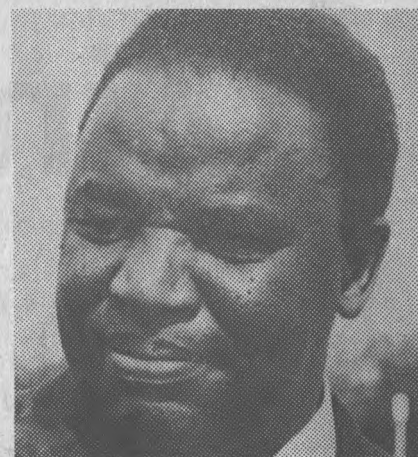
Economic freedom leads to political pluralism. It is, however, far off - setbacks may occur. The Swedish development assistance could benefit and foster independent journalists and university graduates.

A professor who is closely linked with the ZANU PF party says that the country needs people with creative thinking. He would wish to emulate the versatile South Africa. Occasionally a critical debate might flare up, but it is felt as a threat - and the whites are as comfortable as usual, in their protected world.

As compared to most other African countries human rights are fairly well protected. Stage plays, not books, must be approved by the censors. A young author who reads out a critical passage could get a warning - which leads to self-censorship. Denford Magora wrote a satire 'Dr Government'. He says that he was kidnapped and beaten for 24 hours by the security police.

The press is definitely more free than it used to be. In February Cabinet Minister Eddison Zvobgo gave a speech on unrestricted freedom of the press, and said that he had not felt like reading the Sunday Mail "since we sacked the now departed Willie Musarurwa for his unbending integrity".

The party organ, *The Herald*, is a scandal. One has to read small independent papers like the *Financial Gazette*, *The Weekend Gazette*, and *The Horizon* - and if one reads all of them one might get to the truth. A consequence of this glasnost is that disappearances, corruption, ivory trade at high military level have been disclosed.



Ndabaningi Sithole

When I met President Robert Mugabe he gave me a vivid lecture, but he seemed reserved. He is probably feeling lonely after the death of his wife Sally in January.

Unlike Nelson Mandela, who is relaxed and making jokes with his friends from the years of detention, Cde. Mugabe seems to lack a faithful group of friends, and unlike the SWAPO leader Moses Gaoseb in Namibia, who almost daily makes trips to visit villages to solve everyday conflicts, Cde. Mugabe, a strategist and thinker, ponders over heaps of documents, strongly guarded, in the former Governor's Residence. Many people are of the opinion that he knows much about the world at large, but less about what happens at grass-roots level in his own country.

Cde. Mugabe has met the Renamo leader Alfonso Dhlakama, and was more pessimistic about peace in Mozambique than Foreign Minister Nathan Shamuyarira, who thought that the extreme right-wing groups in South Africa, and the USA, Malawi, and Kenya had become tired of sending weapons there.

It is evident that Cde. Mugabe finds it painful to negotiate with brutes. A couple of hundred thousand Mozambicans have fled to South Africa, mostly women and children. They tell how the Renamo forced them to choose between the death of their men and the death of their children. Both men and women chose to save the children. Those who manage to reach South Africa have deep cuts and burns from barbed - and electric fences.

A large part of the Zimbabwean army is engaged in guarding the railroads leading to the east coast. When there is peace in Mozambique a large part of the budget can be allocated for productive purposes. Cde. Mugabe says that he is relieved about the fact that he did not have to buy Mig aircraft for half a billion due to the breach of contract by the Russians who demanded enormous amounts in cash. South Africa is no longer regarded as a threat, and Cde. Mugabe is perhaps the only person who can put pressure on the PAC to sit down at the negotiation table of the CODESA, instead of shouting destructive slogans from the extreme left-wing.

Outpost urged to dwell on issues of national interest

The Minister of Home Affairs, Cde. Moven Mahachi has urged the Zimbabwe Republic Police magazine, *The Outpost*, to carry issues of national interest as well as to disseminate topical Government policy.

Speaking at the 80th anniversary of *The Outpost* at Morris Depot in Harare on March 27, Cde. Mahachi also praised the magazine for kindling the desire for literacy amongst members of the police force.

He said: "I feel greatly honoured to be with you this evening to share and celebrate the success and growth of our in-house journal. - *"The Outpost"* magazine. It has been confirmed by the certificates of awards and trophy that I have just seen, that our magazine has left a mark of distinction in the national in-house journals field.

On February 4, this year, *The Outpost* was voted the best journal in the category of magazines, which carry advertisements. Out of 71 in-house journals submitted nationally *"The Outpost"* magazine was in the top ten."



Moven Mahachi

Prices likely to rise again

THE Minister of Industry and Commerce, Cde. Kumbirai Kangai, has warned of further increases in the prices of imported foodstuffs which are in short supply locally because of the drought.

Speaking at a long service award presentation at Windmill (Pvt) Ltd earlier this month, Cde. Kangai said the price hikes would be caused by high procurement costs and he urged Zimbabweans to adjust their lives accordingly.

"Throwing sadza in the dustbins should be a thing of the past", he said.

The nation, like any other Southern African country, would now have to import maize, rice, sugar, beans and groundnuts, with maize coming mainly from Southern Africa.

The Minister warned that grain imports from



Cde. Kumbirai Kangai

North America would be four times that charged by the local producers.

Cde. Kangai said that the nation had entered a new era of its economic development with the introduction of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) and the drought was only a temporary setback.

"Government's effort at mobilising financial resources will ensure that ESAP remains on course.

"The Government will also ensure that those who have been seriously affected by the drought will benefit from the drought relief programme," Cde. Kangai said.

He also said the Public Works Programme would help in generating income for the affected communities while helping develop the infrastructure in those areas.

Management and Staff of Zimbabwe News, Jongwe Printers and The People's Voice would like to congratulate the nation on the attainment of 12 years of independence



CITES — for whose benefit?

Ruvimbo Chomukova is a widow with seven children, four of whom are minors. From a normal harvest she gets enough food to feed her family and some to sell. But there are two things that almost always frustrate her efforts: drought and wild animals.

She admits that she can do nothing to stop drought, but she is positive that something can be done to stop wild animals from destroying her crops.

"These animals are a menace not only to our crops but to our lives," said Ruvimbo, adding that her neighbour was trampled to death by an elephant in February.

"He (the neighbour) woke up to investigate the unusual sound outside his hut, that's how he met his death," she lamented.

Although the name Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES) mean very little or nothing to Ruvimbo, its resolutions certainly affect her welfare. What Ruvimbo and the rest of the people in Dete, in Matebeleland South, need is a fence to protect them from animals.

Villagers in the area believe that money to buy the fence and indeed to compensate for their losses in the fields, could be raised from selling elephant and other animal products such as meat and hide, an idea which was rejected at the recent Cites meeting in Kyoto, Japan.

Thus, without realising the repercussions of their decisions, the Cites delegates have not only pushed the rural people in Dete deeper into poverty, but they have also worsened the lives of millions of others in the rural areas of southern Africa who depend on wildlife for the livelihood.

As one analyst puts it, "Cites failed to look at wildlife from the rural people's perspective."

Delegates from southern Africa had proposed that the elephants be shifted from appendix 1 of Cites, which bans international trade, to appendix 2, which restricts it. They wanted to be allowed to trade elephant hide and meat while maintaining the current ban on ivory trade until a system of controls could be set up.

But the rest of the world thought otherwise. According to them, Zimbabwe and other

trying to prevent but which the SACIM countries deemed important for its conservation needs.

In Zimbabwe, the chief executive of the Communal Areas Management Programme for the Indigenous Resources Association (Campfire), Taparendava Mavheneka says: "Rural women are the major agriculturalists and if wild animals affect crop production, women are affected negatively," he says.

Cites failed to look at wildlife from the rural people's perspective

countries in the region could not trade because other African countries were not ready to trade.

After failing to get a sympathetic hearing at Kyoto, the Southern Africa Centre for Ivory Marketing (SACIM) countries of Zimbabwe, Malawi, Botswana, Namibia and South Africa abandoned their bid to resume trade in elephant products. The SACIM grouping is home to a quarter of the total African elephants.

Botswana's Minister of Commerce and Industry, Wildlife and Tourism, Ponatshego Kedikilwe, said after the meeting, "We are extremely perplexed," adding, "It seems the goal-posts have been moved. We have no intention of behaving irresponsibly, we will look into trade controls then consider whether to trade with countries that meet our standards," he said.

The feeling among southern African delegates to Cites is that anti-ivory trading parties were unable to make a connection between sustainable use of wildlife, which they supported, and international trade, which they were

"However, when wildlife is marketed, women gain positively in terms of cash dividends or community projects".

According to Herbert Murerwa, Zimbabwe's Minister of Environment and Tourism, the country could earn between Z\$100 and \$150 million a year (US\$20 – 30 million) from the sale of ivory if the trade ban was lifted. The money, he said, would be sufficient to maintain the country's national parks. The country spends about Z\$40 million a year (US\$8 million) in maintaining its wildlife.

Botswana decided at the end of February to cull elephants after getting advice from professionals. Commerce Minister Kedikilwe said other species were in danger of having nothing to eat because elephants are destroying the vegetation. He said the country is facing the danger of destroying its natural environment by allowing elephants to increase to uncontrollable numbers.

Kedikilwe told the British parliament in 1991: "It should be recognised that local people living next to elephants often see them as pests

which cause damage to crops and property, which is very different perception to that of the tourist from London."

Murerwa, who led Zimbabwe's delegation to Japan said it was quite peculiar that the same organisation that had set up a committee to study Zimbabwe had chosen to ignore its findings.

"The panel of experts reported favourably on the status of the elephant population and the adequacy of trade controls in the proposing states," he said.

"Zimbabwe satisfied all the requirements of the parties and met all the criteria pertaining to a transfer from Appendix 1 to Appendix 2," said Murerwa. He indicated that non-governmental organisations abroad, which professed to be working for the survival of wildlife, had misled the conference into believing the elephant was in danger of extinction.

The five states have more than 150 000 elephants, which need to be managed to maintain healthy populations. They argue

that the ban has only driven up the price of ivory, making poaching more lucrative, and the sale of legal ivory from managed elephant herds would reduce the price and make poaching less attractive.

Environment analysts in the region argue that since the ban has failed to help the rhino, it will not benefit the elephant either. The rhino population has been decreasing ever since trade in rhino and its parts was banned under the Cites in 1977.

The rejection by Cites of proposals to lift the ban on ivory trading has given the SACIM countries the freedom to go ahead with plans to develop a joint marketing arrangement, according to Mavheneka. He argues that to strengthen any conservation, it must be based on the people, therefore, there is need to invest in the human element.

"Communities who stay with the animals want to benefit from these animals," he pointed out.

Kedikilwe, who led Botswana's team to the conference was more cautious. "We shall

have to weigh the costs and benefits of remaining in Cites," he stated.

However, there are some in Southern Africa who think the region should remain in Cites despite their unsuccessful attempt to have the ban on the ivory traded lifted.

The chairman of the Ivory Manufacturer's Association in Zimbabwe, Jason Cambitzis, said that although Cites' decision was a serious blow, these countries should remain in Cites and fight from within.

"Withdrawal from Cites could affect tourism and have far-reaching effects on us even from donors," said Cambitzis, urging southern Africa to try again to push for limited trade in ivory at the next Cites meeting in 1994.

But do the donors and tourists want to see areas which are overpopulated with elephants and with human beings who are poverty-stricken because they cannot sell their surplus animals? (SARDC)

OPINION:

Is the Zimbabwean Independent Press really independent

The *Financial Gazette* has taken upon itself the role of medium for all sorts of anti-ZANU ideas. The paper claims to be doing this in order to uphold the freedom of the press and ensure that democracy is protected in Zimbabwe. It also unashamedly claims to be impartial and objective.

However in practice, as any really concrete analysis will reveal, the paper has transformed from a critical newspaper that highlights the problems, developments and achievements of commerce and industry, into an opposition paper that uses between two and three columns in each issue to attack ZANU PF indiscriminately.

This transformation appears to coincide with the takeover of the paper by the new own-

ers and suggests a hidden political agenda that has brought together pseudo-ideologues and propagandists for particular political objectives.

We have challenged the genuineness of the *Financial Gazette's* objectivity, and unlike them we will set out to justify this assertion:

One of the principles that the *Financial Gazette* claims to uphold is the "Freedom of the press". All scientists, including the social scientists are under obligation to scrutinise such claims seriously. If the term "freedom of the press" is restricted to freedom from the government; then by definition all papers that are not owned and controlled by Zim-papers are indeed independent. But if the term is intended to mean the freedom of the reporter to report issues as he sees them the practice of Modus management would negate this principle.

The circumstances surrounding the departure of Geoff Nyarota from the *Financial Gazette* still remain unclear. However onus remains on the *Fingaz* to put the record straight. It was however somewhat of an eye-opener for Zimbabwe to learn that the celebrated "fiercely independent" editor had fallen out of favour with Modus management. Ironically it was only a few days after the publication of a book on the media by Mr Elias Rusike, in which he castigated what he termed interference and control of Zim-papers by the government and in which he praised Nyarota for his uncompromising stance. One is left to wonder whether it was

riot in fact Nyarota's "uncompromising stance" that earned him the ire of Mr Rusike et al. Does this not in fact show that what Modus and therefore *Fingaz* regard as the independent press excludes control by forces other than government?

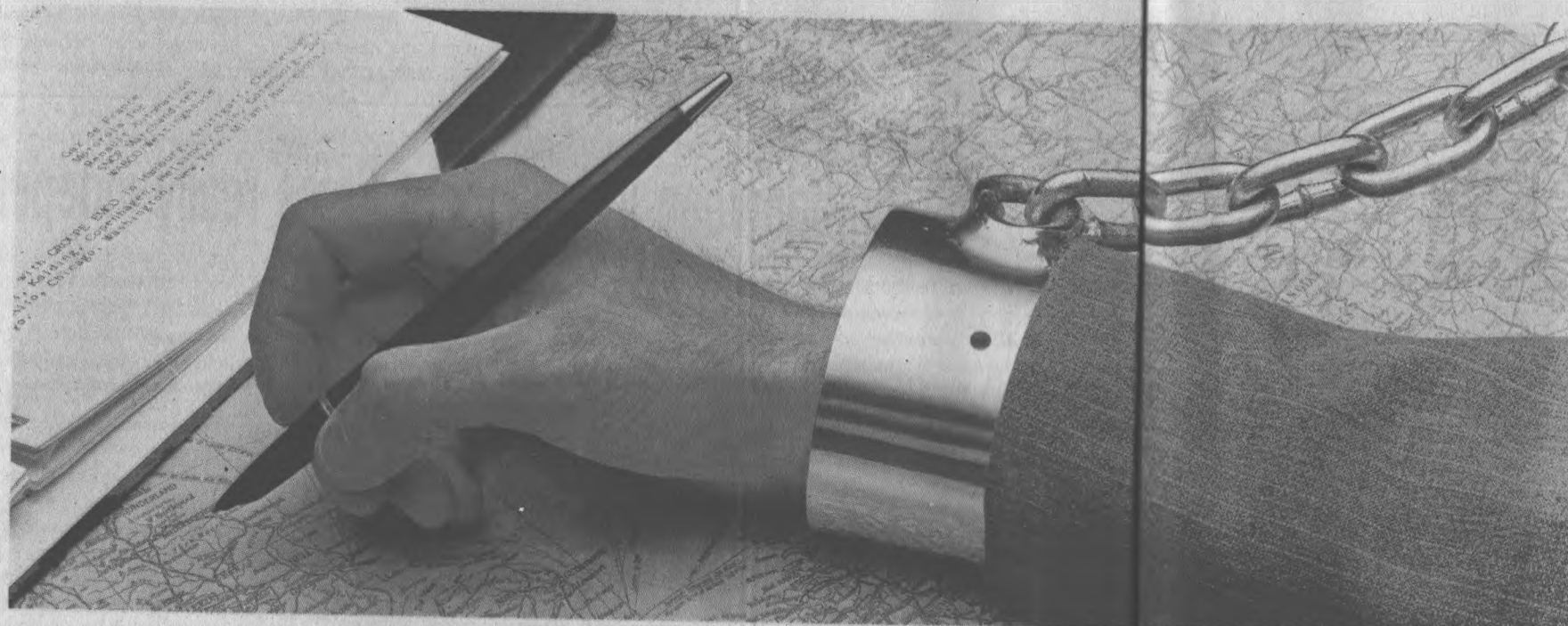
The connection between Modus and Flexible Packaging Holdings is no secret, *Fingaz* are well known for posing as fiercely anti-corruption and anti-improper conduct. They have strived to expose such conduct whenever government or ZANU PF were in their eyes guilty of such conduct. Often they have erred on the side of over zealousness, conjecture and "convicting" on circumstantial evidence. One would therefore have expected some comment, in the very least, on the Flexible Packaging Holdings/PTC scandal. Does Erich Bloch for instance, not have



Press Baron — Elias Rusike



Fanuel Muhwati — Modus and Flexible Packaging Holdings Board member



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a point of view on the matter? Did he not think it warranted comment? Does Jonathan equally not feel that such an issue involving the loss of the poor, powerless workers' hard earned money required the careful scrutiny of this "fearless protector of the people's rights"? Where in the democratic scheme of things does this deal lie?

Is it not possible that after discussing this issue at length the Modus Board in which Mr Muhwati of Flexible Packaging Holdings is a member, felt that they had to sacrifice objectivity and the right of the people to know on the altar of expediency?

Is the *Financial Gazette* therefore independent from the intricacies of high finance in which its board members are involved?

Capitalism, Laissez faire and marketism is based on competition as the best way of assuring the maximum benefit of the consumer. Its political counterpart is multipartism. In other words the consumer or the citizen must have the freedom to choose from a number of alternatives. Is Modus contributing to this multiplicity of choices or it is in fact negating this principle of pluralism?

That the champions of the freedom of the press appear to be cornering the newspaper market smacks of some hypocrisy. Of the so called independent press over half is controlled by Modus; *Fingaz*, *Weekend Gazette*, *Sunday Times* and *Zimbabwe Mining World*. With the amount of control that Modus has displayed over its papers in the past, is this not in fact further curtailment of the freedom of the press that *fingaz* purports to uphold?

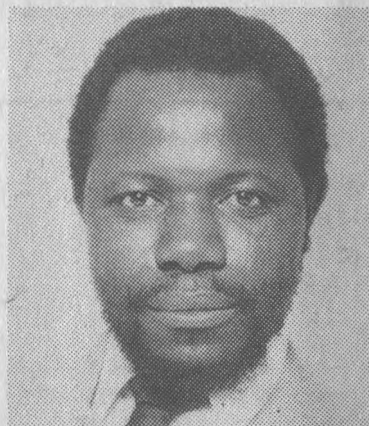
Freedom of the press ought not to operate in a vacuum. It should claim and be seen to be centred on the human being. It is after all the human being who is the centre of the universe. We are therefore surprised Modus appears to be preparing to dishonour the undertaking they made at the time of the *Sunday Times* take over to retain all staff there. Once again we question the genuineness of our friends at Modus.

If therefore the *Fingaz* is not in fact what it purports to be - the champions of democracy, fair play and genuine freedom of the press - then what is it?

The control of any political situation is high stakes indeed, particularly for those who also aim to control the commanding heights of the economy. It is therefore important for such hopefuls to have a foothold on the potential system particularly important institutions like the media.

Making in roads into the political arena however needs care and subtlety, hence the need to play back room role and claim objectivity and democracy and freedom of the press when in fact you are conducting an assault on the political centre. Enter the intellectuals, academics and experts whose brief is to seek out anything that may show ZANU PF in the worst light possible whilst sounding analytical and intellectual. Jonathan Moyo, Eric Bloch and Gukurahundi are nothing but knowledgeable hit men with a particular political agenda.

As academics or professionals, the columnists at the *Fingaz* ought to know that any phenomenon is made up of its negative and



Geoff Nyarota — genuine free thinker or opportunist?

positive aspect. Any purportedly objective analysis ought to take both aspects into account. We would expect the same of any analysis of ZANU PF. Take the land question for instance, where *Fingaz* paints ZANU PF as an irresponsible bunch of political opportunists. Surely mention should be made of the that ZANU PF has bravely attempted to address this 90 year old question permanently. It is only when such an acknowledgement has been made that any genuine critic would then proceed to make suggestions and amendments to ZANU PF's policies.

However, if the aim is a political diatribe all objectivity is abandoned and a one side assault is the result. We are not fooled. The *Financial Gazette* has transformed itself into an opposition press with the generals in the Modus Board, and Jonathan et al as the foot soldiers. Let them not pretend otherwise.

Rules and Regulations for Primary Elections leading to National and Local Government Elections

1. Primary Elections

It has come to the notice of the Party that the 1991 primary elections for local authorities did not proceed as had been expected. In view of the above, the Commissariat Department has been entrusted with the responsibility of ensuring that in future, primary elections for both the National and Local Government are properly handled.

As a result of these anomalies and irregularities, no primary elections shall be supervised, handled, guided or directed by the province. Where there is need to hold primary elections, the Provincial leadership shall inform the National Secretary for Commissariat and Culture who shall determine a supervisory team for such an exercise. However, it has to be noted that the organisation of the primary elections will be the responsibility of the Provincial leadership.

1.1. Nomination Process

1.1.1. Should there be more than one aspiring candidate for the National and Local Government elections, the supervisory team as set out in these regulations will conduct primary elections in order to have one Party candidate in the ward or constituency.

1.1.2. For a Party candidate to stand in a ward he should have been voted for by not less than half the Party executive members in the cells/villages and branches in that particular ward.

1.1.3. For a Party candidate to stand in a constituency, he should have been voted for by not less than half of the executive members of the Party districts in that particular constituency.

1.2. Some Important Rules Governing Party Members

1.2.1. Any Party member who campaigns against a winning candidate or stands as an independent candidate shall automatically be suspended from the Party.

1.2.2. Complaints arising from the primary elections should be submitted to the office of the National Secretary for Commissariat and Culture within seven (7) days of the elections.

2. Regulations on Party Management of Elections in Local Authorities

To ensure efficient and effective management of elections management of elections in local authorities, it is recommended that the following Party structures be established —

2.1. Provincial Election Directorate

2.1.1. Composition

A Provincial Election Directorate shall be comprised of Politburo and Central Committee Members from the Province and the top five (5) in the Provincial Main Wing — Provincial Chairman, Vice Provincial Chairman, Secretary for Administration, Secretary for Finance and Politburo Commisar and the Provincial Chairman from both the Women and the Youth Leagues.

2.1.1.1. The Provincial Secretary for Administration will summon the meeting for the Provincial Election Directorate.

2.1.2. Functions

The functions for the Provincial Election Directorate is to ensure that all Party organs down to the lowest level mobilize and assist all persons who qualify vote to:—

- (a) Register as voters;
- (b) Campaign for the Party candidate to win;
- (c) Vote in their respective towns or rural district councils;
- (d) Help Party candidates to properly fill their nomination papers so as to avoid disqualification;
- (e) Make sure that voting is properly done.

2.1.3. The Secretary for legal Affairs shall be responsible for filing all Party candidate's nomination paper with the nomination court.

3. Guidelines on the Voting Process

3.1. The supervisory team must ensure that delegates from the Party districts who will vote in the primary elections are present. They shall also make sure that the elections are conducted in a manner that is democratic and fair. The internal democracy of the Party must be strengthened by ensuring that those who are elected to high offices truly enjoy the support of all the people. The wish of the people must be respected. No candidate should be imposed on the ward or constituency by the national or provincial leadership.

3.2. In order for primary elections to take place there should be a quorum of more than half of the members supposed to vote.

3.3. Voting shall be by a secret ballot.

4. Guidelines on Improving Primary Elections for National and Local Government Elections

4.1. The Party should encourage all Party members to register or re-register as voters long before the elections.

4.2. A proper record of Party members in a village/cell, branch and district should be kept at a Party district. Voters should produce membership cards during primary elections. This helps to dispel some allegations that ineligible people are ferried from elsewhere by contestants to vote for them in the primaries irrespective of whether the voters are fully subscribed Party members.

4.3. Notices for holding primary elections should be sent to the respective Party districts 14 days before the holding of the primaries. In that notice, the time, venue and date for the elections should be clearly spelt out.

4.4. Party leadership should not impose their own leaders. When disqualifying a chosen candidate, the reasons for doing so should be explained fully to the satisfaction of the electorate. The leadership should not bar or advise anyone to stand for primary elections without reasonable explanations.

4.5. When reconducting primary elections, the Presiding Officer and Returning Officer should be changed.

5. Guidelines on the Qualities of Men and Women to Stand for the Party in the National and Local Government Elections

5.1. The candidate must be a man or woman with a good record of loyalty and service to the Party.

5.2. The candidates must also be men and women with sufficient political, economic, cultural and social knowledge of Zimbabwean affairs which will enable them to contribute constructively to debates in Parliament and Council Chambers.

5.3. Anyone with a previous criminal conviction of dishonesty should not stand for elections.

5.4. Any candidate who practises tribalism, regionalism, sectionalism, nepotism, racialism, and sex discrimination cannot stand for elections.

5.5. The candidate should be able to write and read English or Shona or Ndebele fluently.

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What role for media in women's emancipation? Prudence Uriri (top left), Information Minister Cde. V. Chitepo (top right) and Secretary Cde. S. Kachingwe



development of the country. Besides its positive role the media can also misinform, brainwash, control people's behaviour and thinking and very often represents the interests of the dominant in society. In our society the media accentuates the subordinate position of women. It has great potential to transmit knowledge and influence the public constructively in the best possible way. Most people refer to the media when referring to various issues.

It is important to look at the way both men and women are portrayed by the media. In film, press and the electronic media women's activities usually go no further than the home (cooking) and family (looking after the children). Besides women are often portrayed as romantic, emotional and dependent. Men are often portrayed as rational, active and decisive. Who determines these characteristics?

Society is often made to believe that the different social characteristics and roles women and men exhibit are natural and unchangeable . . .

Because women are portrayed in traditional roles society's attitudes and women's expectations for themselves are confined to these roles. If the mass media can reflect a positive side of women by showing a full range of contributions women are capable of making in society, societal attitudes towards women will be correspondingly broadened. The media can help to shape new attitudes towards women by portraying them in a variety of roles which they play in the country. It can highlight women's efforts in non-traditional spheres. Such highlights can encourage women to assume new roles in the community and national development activities.

Professional women can use the media to train other women using radio and T.V. as essential teaching aids. If professional women were to appear as experts on radio and T.V. programmes the portrayal of women in dynamic roles would help shape new attitudes towards women, while simultaneously serving to educate the listening audience. Well planned programmes for women in agriculture, health, etc., should be encouraged. Women and their achievements are often seen as unnewsworthy, however, women are used as bait through which products are advertised. Sometimes it is not the media to blame but advertising agencies.

In the last three months of the previous year there were a lot of stories which came out of the Borrowdale dog issue which was published by the Sunday Mail. It was good to bring such an inhuman act as having sex with a dog on the spotlight in the media. However, the story was not written analytically. Can anyone really enjoy sex with a dog? Why did these women do this? Who asked them to do it? Who was behind the

Gender and the Media

The Zimbabwe Women's Resources Centre and Network (ZWRCN) organised a workshop on Gender and the Media on the 23rd April 1992. The workshop probably the first in Zimbabwe undertook a critical examination of the portrayal of women and gender issues in the Zimbabwe media with a view to transforming its role from that of reinforcing prejudices against women to that of raising consciousness of the position of women in our society. The ZWRCN project officer, Ms Evelyn Chandakaita Zinanga prepared a background paper on the workshop which she laid a framework for discussion. We publish it in full.

This paper looks at the gender issues in the media. It gives an overview of the problems caused by the gender inequality in the media. It further looks at how the media can be used as an effective development tool in Zimbabwe. In conclusion the paper looks at what is to be done to portray both men and women in a way which will not create problems for the other.

GENDER AND THE MEDIA

By gender we mean the social differences between women and men, these vary from culture to culture and change from time to time. They are neither static nor are they permanent. Society is often made to believe that the different social characteristics and roles women and men exhibit are natural and unchangeable and are either determined by biological differences or are, God given. These characteristics include ideas and values on what is masculine and feminine. For example women are expected to be dependent

while men are independent, women sew and men repair machines are some common ideas and values on what is masculine and what is feminine. But are these characteristics and expectations biologically determined?

Research has shown that all these characteristics have been shaped and constructed by society which is economically dominated by men. Even values within one culture differ within settings for example women are cooks at home, but in hotels they are often men who cook. In other words these characteristics are shaped and constructed by humankind.

The way the mass media portrays women can either impede a faster integration of gender issues in the development process or achieve the opposite. The media is one of the country's basic resources. It is very important in society because it is taken seriously. The media entertains, educates, informs, sells, controls and brings about change. Ideally the media should contribute to economic

"Women and their achievements are often seen as unnecessary, however, women are used as bait through which products are advertised"

enterprise? In the end people were barking at women in the streets. Is this what the media had intended in reporting this issue? It is always important to analyse critically and think of the wider implications before anything is printed or published. In this case the message the public got is that women are immoral and irresponsible but the underlying factors were left out.

The same can be laid of the prostitute and aids issue of the Sunday Mail September 1991. There was nothing wrong with the article except that the men who have money and go to these women were completely left out. Aids is a national issue, it affects everybody and therefore articles on aids should be given prominence in the paper. However, the quoted article did not show reality for it was not balanced. It is necessary to have a balanced article so that people do not get the impression that aids is spread by women prostitutes only. The male patrons' pictures and responses should have been shown. The public would have then realised that rich or poor there is need to be careful. Did the women give permission to have their pictures in the paper? What are the cause of prostitution? These are some of the issues which reporters should analyse before writing a story.

If a journalist visits a women's project what are the issues which should be picked up? Let's take for example there was this weaving project and the women were doing very well but at the time the journalist arrived there was a quarrel and some women have fought badly. What is going to be reported here? Are they the controversial issues or the success stories of the project? The media should be aware of their power. If it wants to contribute to the development of Zimbabwe then it should show women's potentials and report the success stories. It is important to pick up the most useful issues

which will benefit society and be analytical in reporting.

The Zimbabwe Women's Resource Centre and Network

People interested in gender and development issues on women can now get help from the Zimbabwe Women's Resource Centre and Network (ZWRCN) whenever they face problems in these fields.

The ZWRCN is a non-governmental organisation working in the gender and development field and was set up in 1990. Its main objective is to enhance the position of women in Zimbabwe through the collection and dissemination of materials and information.

The centre functions as a library where documents and information on women-in-development issues from (non-)governmental organisations systematically organised for users. This network also links people active in gender and development and, provides a forum for discussion. At present, the centre has a large collection of books, documents and information dealing with women-in-development (WID) and gender issues in Zimbabwe.

Bibliographs on women and health, women and income generating projects and women entrepreneurs are already available at the ZWRCN. The centre also has its News Bulletin which informs members about the activities of the organisation.

The ZWRCN repackages and translates information for the use of women at the grassroots. The women are expected to benefit from more efficient programmes and be able to use data and information to empower themselves in their daily struggles.



"Neria" much appreciated

Analysis is needed in reporting rape cases. In most cases emphasis is placed on the area, dress and time. But honestly does a short dress make a man rape a woman? Do exposed breasts lead a man to rape a woman? In that case most women who breast feed would be raped. Not that people should expose their breasts but can this lead to a man raping a woman? Who would be happy if a sister or a daughter was raped on account of her short dress?

Women are often exploited because of their sexuality and physical appearance. The Sunday Times and the Weekend Gazette's weekend girl can be taken as examples. Women are presented as sex objects in order to increase product sales. There is need for rational reporting. We have to remember that women are not only women but they are our mothers, our sisters and our children. They are part of the nation and contribute to the development process.

The media often has a tendency of trivializing important gender issues. We can take an example of one of the ZBC local dramas "Phuma Yenhaka Inoparira" instead of focussing on the gender issues underlying inheritance the focus is on ngozi, childbearing/infertility and marriage. The gender question behind inheritance and other issues are ignored. The same is the case with Moto cartoon where a woman is carrying a puppy seeking maintenance from a dog. Maintenance is an important issue for women and here it is being ridiculed. A film like Neria is very much appreciated.



Winnie Ndemera in "Jit"

Women's emancipation vital to development

It has been successfully demonstrated that there is a direct relationship between a society's level of development and the status of its women. Women are most oppressed and exploited on the least economically developed nations of the world. In order to help in the struggle for women's emancipation Norad, the Norwegian agency for development is helping to set up a project to train women and men in the employment of the legal framework in women's emancipation.

Officially opening the project, the Deputy Minister for Political Affairs, (Women) Cde. Tsungirai Hungwe made important observations on women and the law, some of which we reproduce below:

It is an undisputed fact that in most developing countries societies are characterised by widespread poverty and women and children comprise the bulk of the population at the received end of the inequalities in the distribution of wealth and services. Because of their illiteracy or semi-illiteracy, women often find themselves unable to avail themselves of laws and services which are meant to improve their lot. They are also subjected to a myriad of social injustices.

The Legal status of women in Zimbabwe has had a very telling effect on their participation levels in the development process. In traditional Zimbabwe little value was placed on women's involvement in activities outside the home. Women were valued for their child bearing and nurturing functions, production, processing and preparation of food as well as providing a form of a social service programme to the sick and the aged. Thus while women were relegated to a secondary role in society, men were responsible for making decisions in the home, the tribe and the nation and also in trying both civil and criminal cases.

In colonial Zimbabwe, civil matters concerning the Africans were heard under customary law, which was supposedly based on pre-colonial customs and traditions. In reality however, the customary law promoted by the colonial regime was based on a distortion of pre-colonial African customs and traditions, depending on what the colonial administration decided was convenient for good government. On the other hand matters concerning non-Africans were dealt with

under general law, made up of statutes under Roman-Dutch law brought into the country in 1891. The same applied to criminal matters as well as any other matters where a colonial subject was involved. These two bodies of law created racial division in the way family law was administered. While the general law discriminated against all the African customary law further discriminated against the African women.

Thus until the passing of the Legal Age of Majority Act, in December, 1982, an African woman was a minor all her life from the cradle to the grave, under the tutelage of her husband or guardian, except in certain well defined and limited areas. She could not marry without the guardian's contents nor could she enter into contracts nor sue, or be sued without the guardian's assistance even if the guardian was a much younger male than herself.

All the property in a married couple's home belonged to the husband except the *Umai* or *Mavoko* property which was considered to be the woman's. A woman's wages, if at all she was employed were considered to be the property of the husband and for income tax purposes women were treated as appendages of their husbands, with the bulk of the tax that they and their husbands were liable to pay being deducted from the salaries of the female spouses.

If she got divorced or became a widow,

a woman could not become a legal guardian of her children, because they belonged to the husband's family. A woman could not on her own or through her guardian, claim maintenance for the child from its father if she was not married to the man. The father of the child had the option of paying *Chiredzwa* to



Cde. Tsungirai Hungwe

the woman's father in whom custody and guardianship of the child was vested, before formally claiming the child. As far as inheritance was concerned, a woman could inherit neither from her father nor her husband, unless a will specially provided for her.

The question of women and the law in Zimbabwe therefore, became the subject of great



Are the women conscious of the many laws designed to protect their rights



Women play a major role in agricultural production — the basis of the Zimbabwean economy

concern to the Government of Zimbabwe which from the outset recognised these inequalities and was also cognisant of the role that women played during the liberation struggle. As early as 1982, in its Transitional National Development Plan (TNDP), the Government recognised the link between women's emancipation and their involve-

ment in the current laws that women can and should use to overcome some of their problems and disadvantages. Many positive laws have been passed protecting women and yet the majority of our women are not using these laws, either because they do not know of their existence or simply because court procedures have been over mystified

All these factors and the recognition that customs are made by people and it is they who can only change them forced my ministry to source for funds to mount an educational programme to empower people, in general and women, in particular, the project we are launching today.

Basically the project will lead to the produc-

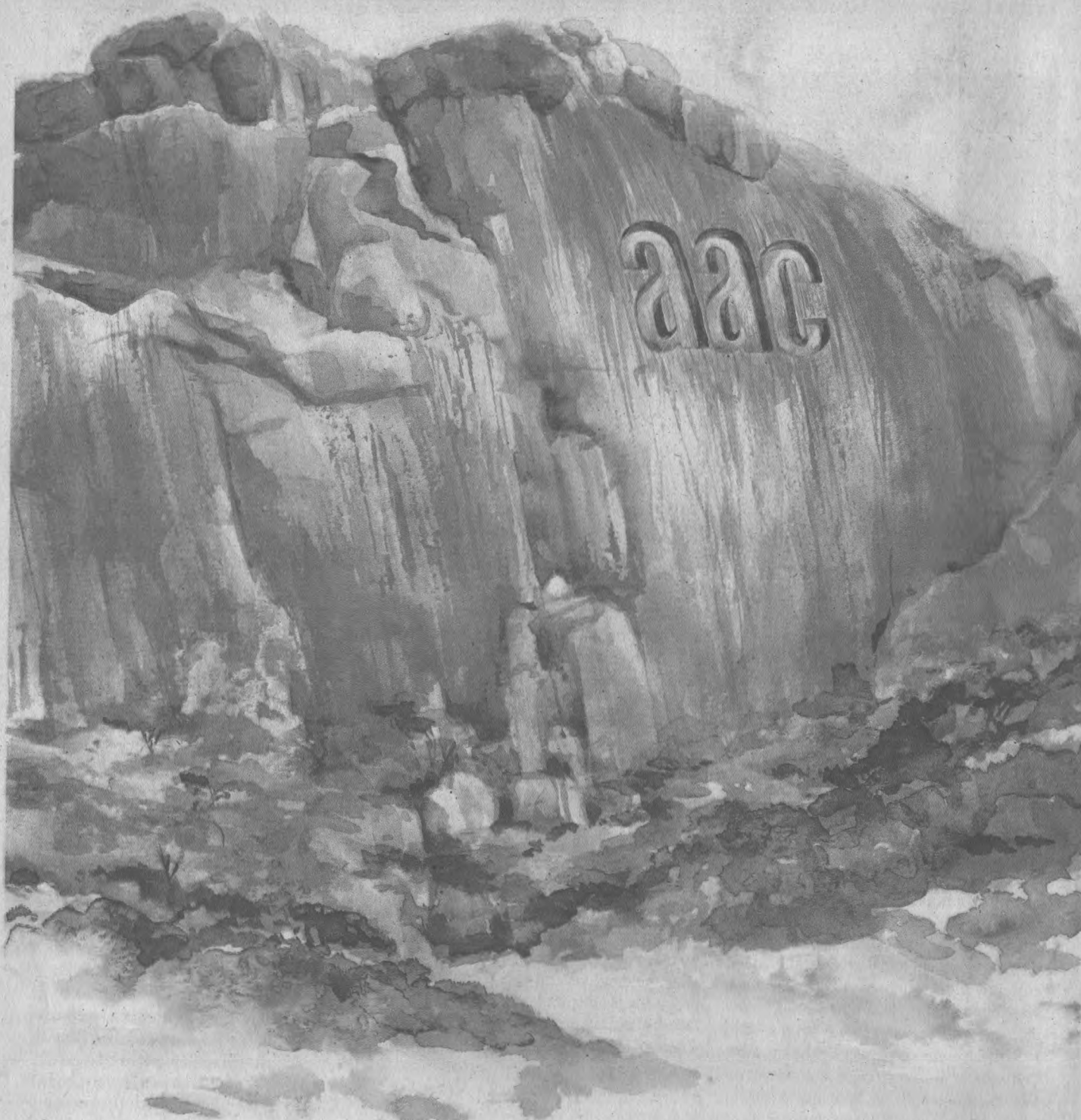
The way the Mass Media portrays women can either impede a faster integration of gender issues in the development process or achieve the opposite

ment in community and national development. The Department of Women's Affairs, initially located in the Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs and currently in the Ministry of Political Affairs, was mandated to examine areas where women were discriminated against and recommend ways of remedying the situation. The work of the department of Women's Affairs in collaboration with other Government departments and NGOs has resulted in the Government either repealing or amending discriminatory legislation or passing new one to improve women's status.

Although many aspects of the laws in our country still need to be changed or amended in order to completely eradicate all forms of discrimination against women, there is so

much in the current laws that women can and should use to overcome some of their problems and disadvantages. Many positive laws have been passed protecting women and yet the majority of our women are not using these laws, either because they do not know of their existence or simply because court procedures have been over mystified for a very long time and are beyond the comprehension of most people with women forming the biggest percentage. The Ministry of Political Affairs recognised this problem after holding several workshops in the provinces for district leaders to try and establish the constraints that militated against women's full participation in the mainstream of development. Another very important constraint which was registered by the women was the fact that there is a lot of abuse of culture and tradition in our society to the detriment of women's role and status in society. Customary law under which most blacks are governed was never written down but passed by word of mouth from generation to generation and, therefore, does not surface in its original authentic form. Abuses of customary law are, therefore quite prevalent.

tion of education materials on women and the law which will in turn be used to train a variety of persons who can promote women's emancipation through the law. Materials which have been produced by individuals and various organisations such as the women and law in Southern Africa research project's video, we have just seen, will prove very useful as you are all aware that comprehension of visual material is very high compared to the written word. The project will thus ultimately enhance women's understanding of the law and their capacity to use it. It is also hoped that the project will promote dialogue in communities which should lead to a change of attitudes and customs that are discriminatory towards women.



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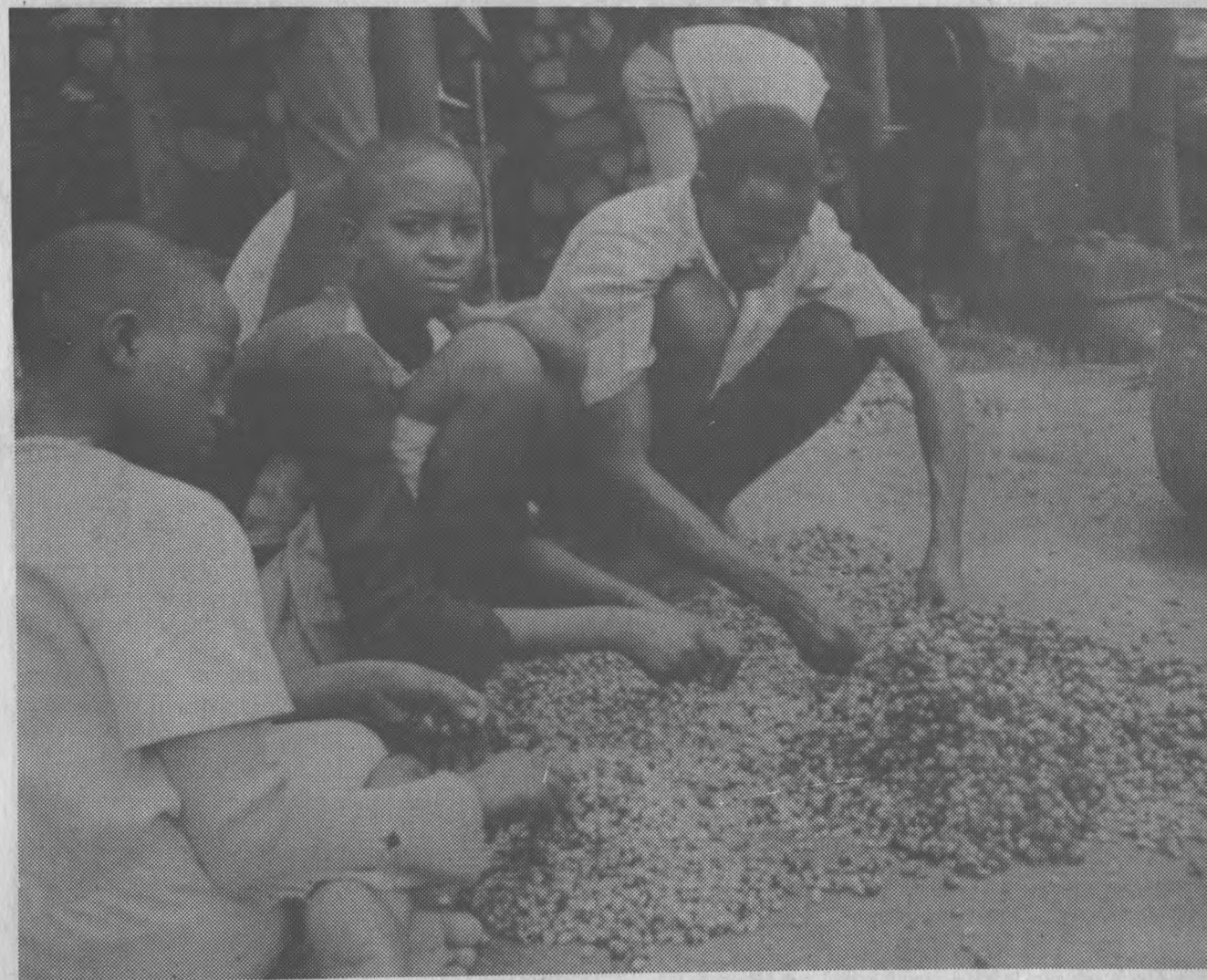
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LINTAS: ZIMBABWE 9548

ZIMBABWE NEWS APRIL, 1992

AFRICA



Africa and the challenge of Economic Reform

By B. Chidzero

At this point in time, many countries on the continent are embarking on structural adjustment programmes which are aimed at redressing inherent imbalances in their economies. These imbalances translate themselves into worsening balance of payments deficits, rising unemployment, fiscal deficits and high inflation rates. The net effect is that Africa continues to experience stagnant or negative per capita GDP growth rates which according to the World Bank averaged one percent for the period 1988 — 90. The results projected are also unacceptable in human terms.

The World Bank Development report projects that even under a favourable scenario the number of people living in poverty will rise from 180 million in 1985 to 265 million by the year 2000; and Africa's share of the developing world poverty will rise from 16 percent to 30 percent. The 1991 World Bank De-

velopment Report projects, again under a reasonably good scenario, that per capita GDP growth rates will average 0.3 to 0.5 percent a year during the 1990s.

The economic and social problems facing Africa are of such immense magnitude and complexity that they require a much more systematic, co-ordinated, comprehensive and determined approach. The problems also require solutions which more often than not will transcend sectoral demarcations or boundaries.

That adjustment programmes are necessary for the re-invigoration of stagnant or declining economies is well accepted by most if not all policy makers. The necessity and importance of managing change which in essence is central to the adjustment philosophy cannot be over-emphasised. Experience and empirical evidence in Africa reveals that the

necessary ingredients of a successful programme are that they have to be well conceived, and home-grown to the extent possible, in addition to there being a favourable and supportive external environment.

The Zimbabwean programme was developed at home and is a comprehensive programme involving fiscal and monetary policy reform, trade liberalisation, deregulation and, above all, investment. Of critical importance is the social fund which is aimed at protecting the poor from the short-term adverse effects of the programme.

However, even in circumstances where the programmes are home-grown, albeit with certain external inputs particularly in respect of the macro-economic framework and financing, African countries are extremely vulnerable to exogenous vicissitudes. The current drought which has ravaged many

Sub-Saharan countries for instance has not only brought new demands on the fiscus but also affected agricultural production and exports, and has also had an impact on other industries which rely heavily on agricultural produce. The economic impact of this translates itself into fiscal and external imbalances. It is imperative therefore that contingency planning and sensitivity analysis and early warning systems be introduced to guard the economies against such natural disasters.

The other exogenous factor which has had a negative impact on Africa economies in the adjustment phase is the not infrequently hostile external environment. The issue of international commodity prices and restrictions to trade remain a major topic in international economics and its resolution requires international co-operative efforts, the more so when the world is being divided into large regional economic and trading groupings which pose the danger of being restrictive or inward-looking.

An agreement based on favourable terms of trade for Africa is unlikely to be struck as Africa continues to lose its bargaining power as a result of the marginalisation process among other factors. Equally frightening is the development of substitutes for Third World primary products or the development of a technology that aims at using less traditional inputs - the bulk of which are the mainstay of many Third World economies.

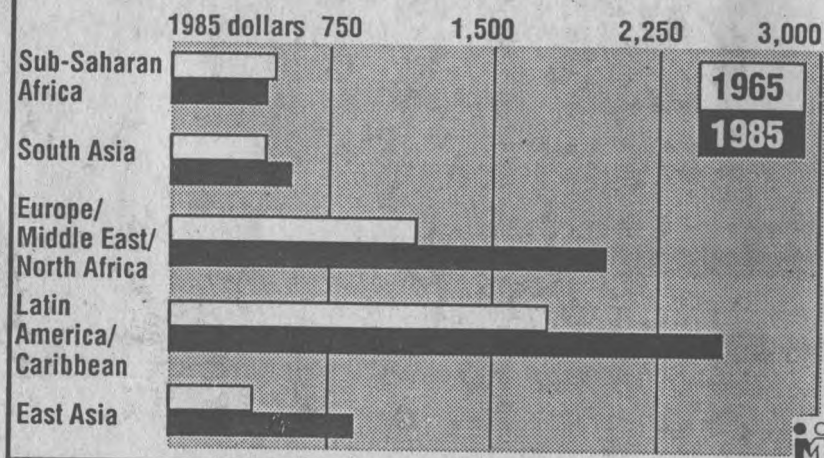
As a counter measure therefore, Africa should enhance intra-regional trade. Furthermore, it is necessary for Africa to have a well diversified industry so that it becomes an exporter of manufactured goods and this calls for the attraction of foreign direct investment as well as the promotion of domestic investment, including small-scale industries which tend to generate more employment.

Foreign direct investment, just like trade, is important because it represents an injection of non debt-creating capital so badly needed by economies that have persistently been choked by foreign debt or shortage of foreign currency.

Although an enabling environment is being created through adjustment, the investment situation in many African countries is far from satisfactory and this suggests lack of confidence on the part of investors as to the commitment of governments to adjustment. Experience also shows that there are preference patterns as to areas where international capital flows to, which is much along regional lines - with South East Asia recording the highest rates and now a growing number of Latin American countries also. A necessary first step would be the promotion of domestic investment through various incentives to a point where investment will make significant contributions to the GDP and it is at this point that foreign direct investment will flow in.

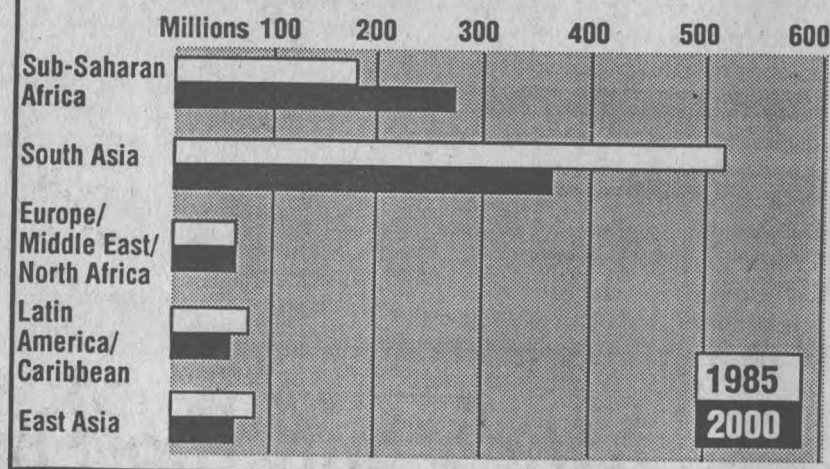
Declining poverty

Consumption per capita



Source: World Bank

Poverty in the developing world



The World Development Report 1990 by the World Bank showed that despite persistent mass poverty in developing countries most regions actually experienced remarkable progress. Consumption per capita grew considerably in East Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East, but nearly stagnated or even fell in South Asia and Africa. The numbers of absolute poor is projected to increase only in Africa over the next 10 years.

The point is foreign direct investment usually flows to areas where domestic investment has done well. However, the promotion of domestic investment has also been fraught with difficulties and, in the Zimbabwean case, the easing up of trade restrictions has brought with it a high demand for financing to the extent that there are currently liquidity problems in the money market.

But monetary policy reform involving the introduction of real interest rates has drastically increased the cost of money and this has also tended to slow domestic investment. These are unavoidable short-term problems in a reform programme, are likely to disappear as a result of the reduction in budget deficit, which is going to be brought about by the reduction in the size of bureaucracies and the reform of parastatals so that they do not rely primarily on government assistance or subsidies.

Investment is also very important as it will increase competition, expand the economic base and thus also reduce monopolistic tendencies in relation to price fixing, more so when price controls on certain commodities are removed.

In the 1980's, Africa unsatisfactory investment performance was partly attributed to its external debt burden which is so large and in many countries so intractable as to impede any prospect for sustainable adjustment or to permit better policies to work in the absence of significant relief. The situation is more acute in the 34 low income countries that owe some US\$70 billion of the region's US\$230 billion, with scheduled debt service payments representing 50 percent of forecast exports.

Creditor countries have clearly recognised the special problems that African debt-distressed

countries confront and the adoption by the Paris Club of the Toronto terms in dealing with the debt of poor countries attests to this. It was clear that traditional relief measures such as rescheduling, even on extended terms, are no longer adequate responses. They merely postpone the repayment problems and add to the stock of debt.

As far as Official Development Assistance (ODA) is concerned, more needs to be done on debt cancellations, interest rates reduction, increase in grants or highly concessional loans and on flow of investment resources. Relief from present payment levels must also concentrate on possibilities of reducing outstanding obligations to multilateral institutions.

This is more difficult because of the developmental or revolving nature of the financing of these institutions. But action might involve the refinancing of payments falling due on non-concessional multilateral loans outstanding. For instance, the use of IDA reflows for purposes of financing or reducing interest burden of countries which were formally eligible for IBRD loans but have regressed to IDA resources only.

Also to be considered are the IMF 'rights approach' which set up consultative groups, freezes members' arrears and stimulates the generation of new money to keep the countries concerned current and at the same time pay the IMF and eventually clear the arrears.

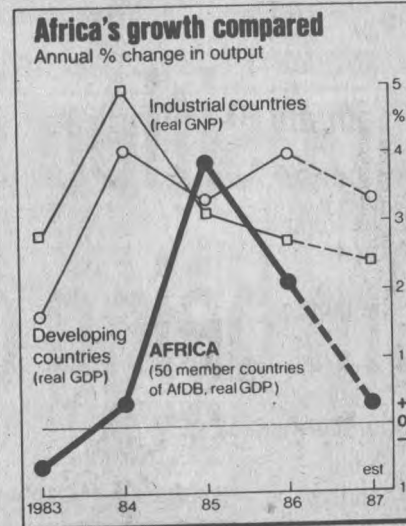
On private debt, creditors must be offered a choice between securitisation and buy-back schemes for the debt of eligible distressed countries. Attention must also be given to middle income countries, like Zimbabwe who service their debt promptly and are also embarking on structural adjustment programmes.

Having argued that the debt burden has made the process of adjustment difficult, the insufficient flow of untied concessional aid has left African countries with no other alternative but to further rely on external borrowings. The lack of significant levels of untied aid has, in Zimbabwe's case, affected trade liberalisation programme to the extent that we have to rely largely on borrowings to finance it.

There is hope that the peace dividend, as a result of the end of the Cold War, will have the effect of unleashing resources to development and this is important as the demand for development resources increases because of the developments in Eastern and Central Europe.

A further and most debilitating factor is the depressed, and the 1980's sharply declining, terms of trade of developing countries, and therefore acute shortage of foreign exchange.

Another important subject is the free flow of labour across national boundaries to areas considered economically better, which in

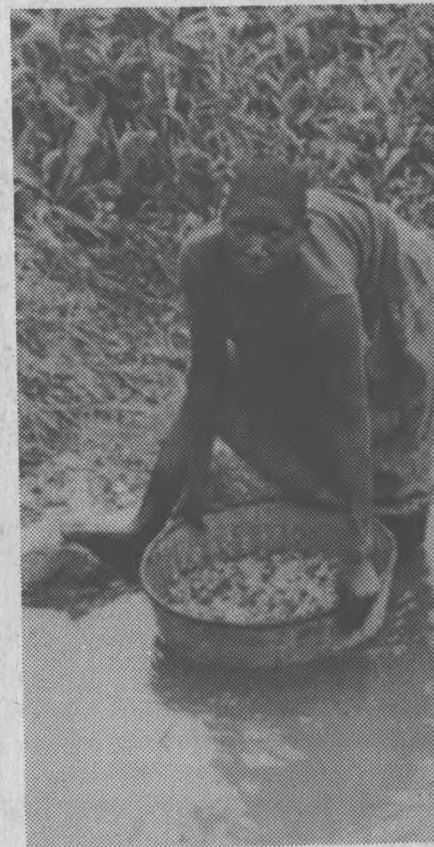


Source: AIDB Annual Report 1987

most cases are in the developed world, has led to brain-drain from Africa. Skilled human resources are Africa's greatest asset. The Government welcomes the creation of the Africa Capacity Building Foundation which is aimed at training policy analysts to prepare them for the challenges Africa is going to face; just as we unreservedly endorse the strenuous efforts of African countries themselves on human resources development.

The problems facing Africa are complex and might need a rethink on ways and means to tackle them. Their complexity points to an inadequacy in present day economic theory. With regards to the Bretton Woods Institutions supported programmes, a shift of emphasis from the quantitative to the qualitative aspects of the policies to be adopted seems to be an essential requirement. Thus the same size of the fiscal deficit does not always have the same implications since a great deal depends on the way in which the money was spent. Public capital expenditure programmes may be productive, unfortunately there tends in many African countries to be a bias for recurrent expenditure at the expense of productive investment.

Similarly, issues of the role of the state in development should be revisited as, contrary to general thinking in multilateral institutions that the role of the state should diminish, the state can play a major catalytic, transformative and productive role. Experiences

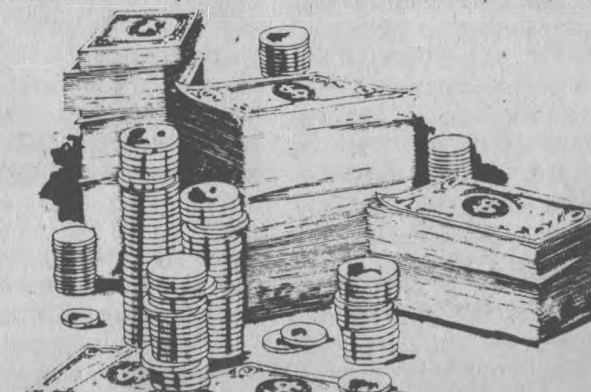


African woman — Born to suffer?

in Japan and the Newly Industrialised Countries (NIC) of South East Asia show that the state has played an important role in resource allocation in circumstances where there is a democratic system involving participatory development to guard against a misallocation of resources which might be a result of corruptive practices. And in infrastructure development, the role of the state is undisputable, as also in providing the necessary legal and regulatory framework.

It is crucial to note, firstly that the timing and sequencing of different adjustment strategies is important and may vary with circumstances. The relevance of this becomes more pronounced and more complex in cases where adjustment had been postponed.

Secondly, the success of structural adjustment programmes calls for commitment on the part of all those involved in the implementation, in order for these programmes to get the necessary support from both the donor community and the local community who will be directly affected by them.



Growing opposition in Malawi: Multi-partism being demanded

By our East African Correspondent

The government of Malawi is facing renewed pressures from the exiled groups that have formed the United Front for Multi-Party Democracy (UFMD) which met recently in the Zambian capital, Lusaka; and also increasing pressure from the international community which is alleging that there are violations of basic human rights.

The human rights issue was triggered off by the pastoral letter of Malawi Catholic Church Bishops which was circulated and read as part of Sunday service from the pulpit in every Church on 18th March. It sharply criticised the government's human rights record, and called for a free press, a freedom of expression and association.

The government refuted the allegations. President Kamuzu Banda, known as the Ngwazi and Life President of Malawi, described the pastoral letter as unChristian, and said it divides the Catholics and Protestants in Malawi. The ruling Malawi Congress Party held a special congress at which the Bishop's letter was roundly condemned and the Bishops threatened with detention. Surprisingly, the Presbyterian Church of Scotland which has a large following among Protestants in Malawi, issued a statement supporting the letter. They spoke of their disappointment that the Malawi Government had ignored representation they had made that political detainees be released, in particular Orton and Vera Chirwa.

The ineffective exiled groups of Malawians opposed to Dr. Banda's government gathered in Lusaka last month and formed the UFMD under the chairmanship of Mr. George Kanyanya. One of the key figures of that gathering was Mr. Chakufwa Chihana, general secretary of the Southern African Trades Union Coordinating Council. When he returned to Malawi he was promptly arrested. Zambian University Students held protest demonstrations against his arrest.

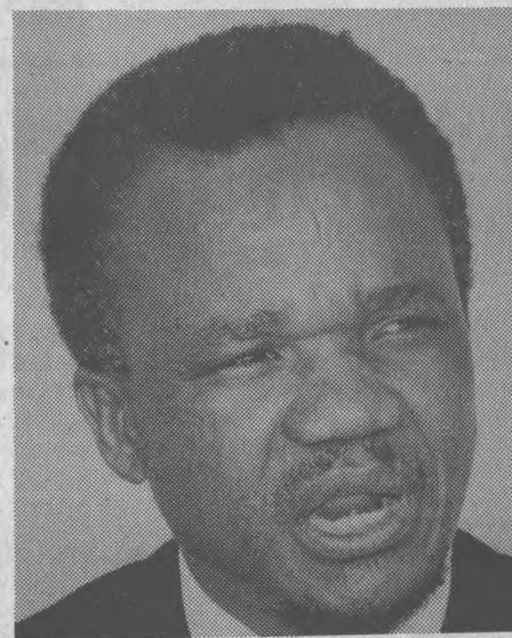
At the level of the international community there are threats to deny Malawi much-needed aid at the Paris Club conference this month. Last year, Kenya was denied similar

President
Kamuzu Banda



aid, until it was forced to abandon its policy of a one-party state accept multi-party politics. Similarly the pressures being exerted on Malawi is that it accept multi-partism. That has been the demand of the international community to all African states. That

is also Chihana's platform. On his return to Malawi, he said he was ready to die for the idea of a multi-party system. Reminded that he could be "meat for the crocodiles", he still returned to his motherland and to his trade union office.



President Chiluba and . . . President Banda — War of words

Press war with Zambia

There is now a press war between Zambia and Malawi. The Zambian papers have been criticising the Government of Malawi, and alleging that the Ngwazi and the Malawi Congress Party have imposed themselves on the Malawian people. They have also attacked one of the leading Ministers of the Malawian Government, Mr. John Tembo, Minister of State in the President's Office, accusing him of manipulating the ageing Ngwazi in order to place his supporters from Dedza district into top positions.

For its part, the Malawi press has refuted these allegations. Cabinet Ministers and Malawi Congress Party officials have been addressing public rallies all over the country, defending their Government. Although not attacking the Zambian Government, some speakers have compared Malawi's achievement under the Ngwazi to that of Zambia since independence, citing the value of the Zambian Kwacha against the Malawi Kwacha, and the Zambian women who stream across the border to shop in Malawi.

American concerns

In a related development, the USA State Department has released a report on human rights violations in Malawi which is quite critical of the government. What is significant

is that, this year the American Ambassador in Malawi circulated the report widely to all branches of the Malawi Government, and diplomatic missions. This action may reflect growing American impatience. After citing several incidents, the report says in part:

"Malawi's poor human rights record stands in sharp contrast to its economic achievements and humanitarian handling of Africa's largest refugee population. In 1991 the government and party kept strict control on all aspects of political life, with continued restrictions on speech, press, assembly, association, and the right of citizens to change their government through democratic means. Police abuse of prisoners and detainees, including women, persisted. The government continued also to use arbitrary detention, especially under the preservation of Public Safety Act, to counter alleged opponents."

Anonymous letters

The Malawi Government has not commented on the report. But, last month all Malawian Ambassadors and High Commissioners accredited to Western Europe and the Americas were recalled for consultation. They attended a 10-day seminar intended to give them information with which to counter accusations against Malawi, and to diffuse the strategies of their opponents.

Anonymous letters are also being circulated in increasing numbers in Malawi. One of the recent ones was placed under the door of every house in the high density suburb of Kawade in the capital, Lilongwe. Some of the letters make wild and false accusations, but they focus on the succession to the Ngwazi, and attack possible aspirants such as John Tembo and others.



Detainee Orton Chirwa — at centre of political crisis

Nyerere on Multi-Party democracy in Africa

Mwalimu Nyerere, the father of the Tanzanian nation, in a landmark address to a Special National Conference of Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), spelt out the principles of a transition from a one party to a multi-party democracy. The Special Conference of the CCM met in Dar-es-Salaam on February 18, 1992 to initiate and enunciate the principles that will guide Tanzania to a new form of democracy.

Among the transitional principles enunciated by the veteran politician was that democracy and its institutions are specific and endogenous to a country, culture or its economic status. The content and form of democratic institutions were not immutable.

The Concept of Democracy

The concept of "democracy is not like coca-cola which you can order with foreign exchange from another country, all countries drinking exactly the same kind of coca-cola and woe to the country which has no foreign exchange," Nyerere declared. He condemned the imperialist countries, who after decades of incarcerating "freedom fighters" now find themselves worthy of imposing their own form of democracy on developing countries.

Time of Change

Nyerere underscored that, for Tanzania, time for change has come. According to him, some citizens entertained the view that Tanzania's economic woes and social negatives such as corruption would disappear with transformation to multi-partyism. Tanzanians must not forget that it was the one-party democracy which enabled Tanzania to transform tribes into a single nation, and colonial conquest into national confidence. The case for change, however, remains valid despite these achievements by the CCM.

The Party must guide changes

It is incumbent upon the CCM to initiate the institutional framework in the path towards multi-party Democracy. This is an inescapable obligation of a party of leaders. Multi-party democracy can only thrive in a political framework imbued with tolerance of divergent views within a context which negates the argument of force but embraces the force of argument.

Tolerance of Opponents

Turning of the party itself, Mwalimu informed the delegates that differences of opinion or interpretation of party policies existed and



Cde. Julius Nyerere

would continue to exist. The existence of other parties with divergent views was necessary to accommodate the views of all Tanzanians.

"Within the CCM itself, there are members who see the Arusha Declaration and its policies of Socialism and Self Reliance as an obstacle to the development of our country. But they cannot denounce it. Other members have developed doubts about the commitment of the party to the Arusha Declaration; they think the party is ashamed of it. But they cannot say this. And the other members, perhaps the majority, who accept the Arusha Declaration but differ among themselves about the interpretation... All these people despite the different opinions are genuine members of the CCM and patriotic Tanzanians."

Nyerere went further to urge the CCM members not to be hostile to existing members who might feel better able to express their patriotism by joining other parties. These members should not be regarded as traitors. He continued, "And what is he betraying? For a mature person who has self-respect and who respects others, the real treachery in such matters is to suppress your own opinion because you are afraid of being criticised or losing your position. But to promote the same ideas in a different environment — that is not treachery." A political framework which cannot accommodate diversity within a broader unity of national identity is likely to reduce CCM into a party of office bearers.

Democracy also requires that citizens accept that they disagree and then going on discussing and arguing with one another is a spirit of mutual respect and toleration. This approach, argues Nyerere, should guide party members in their relations with their colleagues within the party and those outside it. CCM as a strong party is now poised to take charge of the responsibility to usher a "genuine democracy" and formulate rules

which would not be fair but would also safeguard national peace, security and unity.

Parties must not negate national unity

Mwalimu Nyerere expressed the view that for future parties to be legalised in Tanzania, they should negate religious secularism, and regionalism. Additionally, these parties have to be tolerated by other parties and be respectful of the constitutional authority. The use of force to achieve political ends should have no place in the new political dispensation. CCM as a party which liberated Tanzania from colonial repression has a special and historical responsibility to breed a responsible opposition which should be responsive to Tanzania's new political needs. Such an opposition should be able to lead the people of Tanzania if they so wish.

Implications of multi-party democracy on the nation

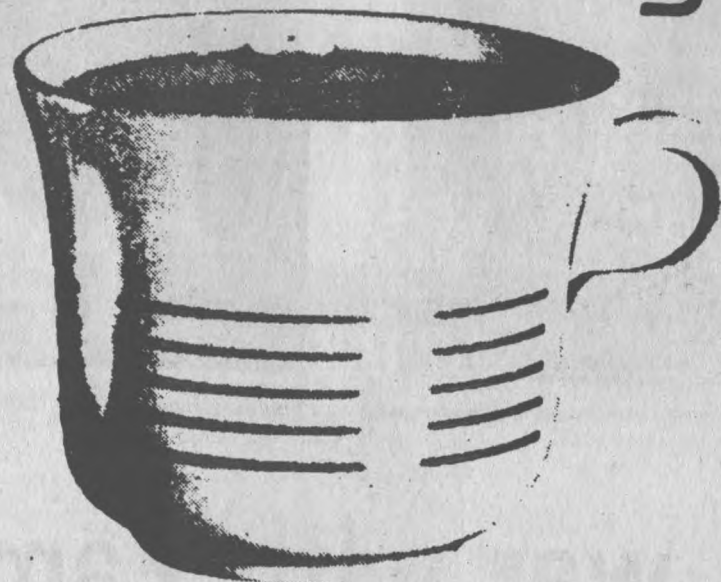
This eventuality would be of necessity have far reaching implications for the country's electoral laws and the defence forces. Hitherto, members of the defence forces had to be CCM members. Under the new system, Tanzania is looking forward to soldiers and other security officers, who entrusted with state security to have as their first loyalty to the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania and the President who is constitutionally designated the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces.

A choice on the electoral system is also to be made

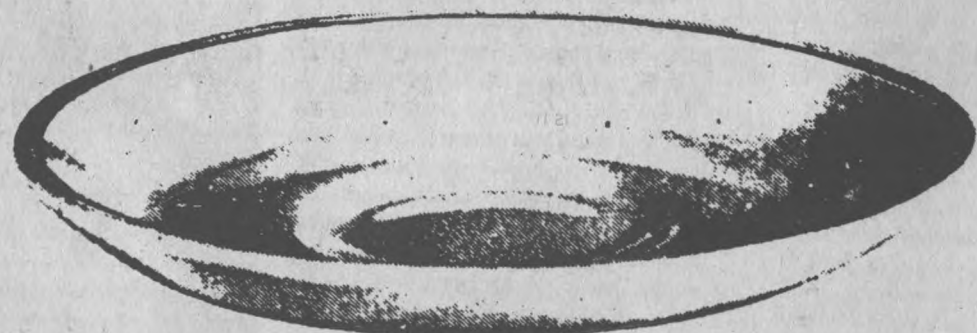
Electoral systems of various dimensions are capable of producing various forms of government which range from weak coalitions to strong governments. Tanzania is still to make a choice in that respect.

CCM has taken the initiative to lead the country to a new era. It is to evolve institutions which reflect Tanzania's perception of democracy. The debate on the party ideology has been separated from this endeavour. CCM as a party remains committed to socialism and self-reliance. Political conditions have now been created for party members who believe otherwise, to present their case, democratically and in accordance with established rules, to the people of Tanzania. CCM for its part, in the absence of ideological contradictions within itself, should forge ahead to convince Tanzanians of the necessity of safeguarding their national independence through socialism and self-reliance.

Bright, Fresh Tanganda

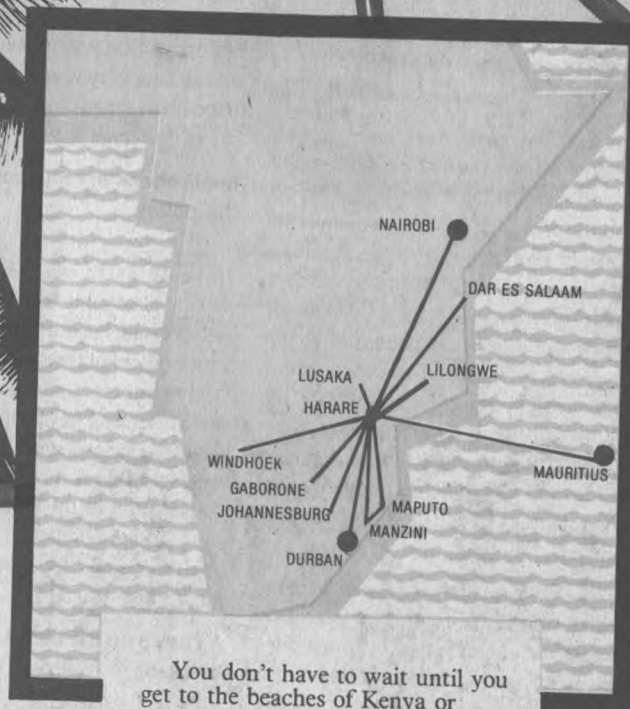
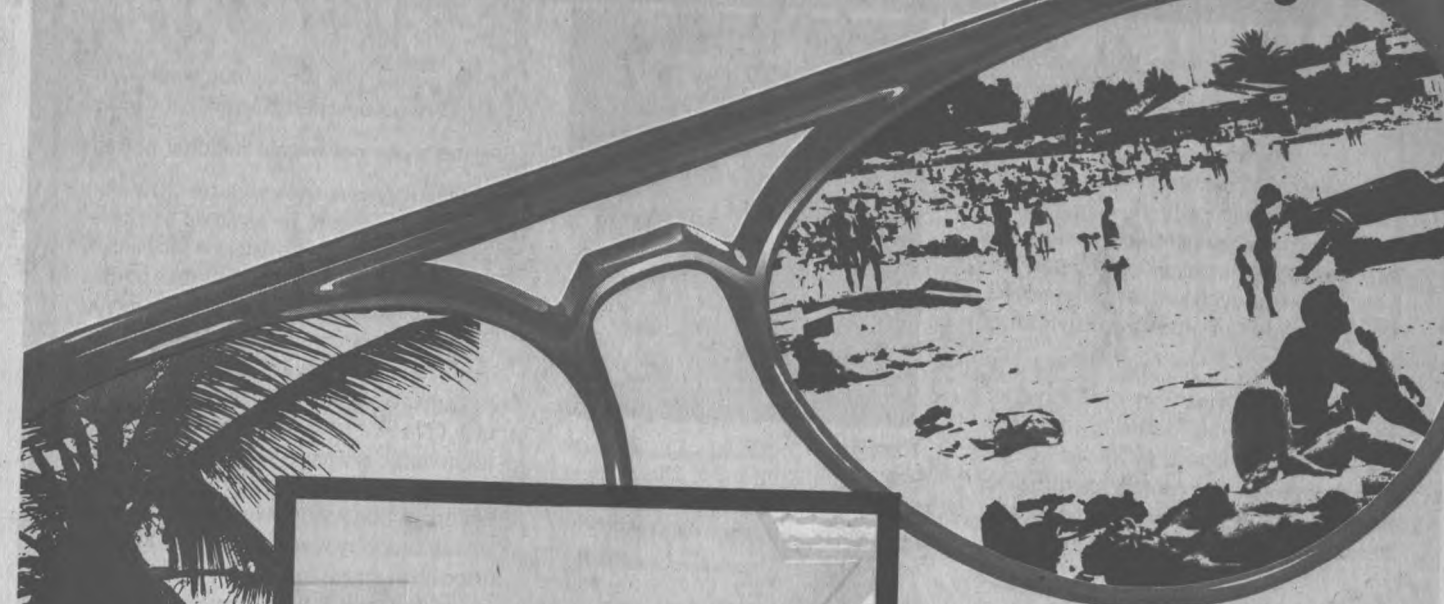


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ZIMBABWE NEWS APRIL, 1992

Renamo mutilates peasants

Clear evidence of the sadistic behaviour of the Renamo bandits is now in the possession of AIM form of photographs of peasants who were mutilated in July in the south-eastern province.

Jose Joao...

Massacre at Chonguene

ED... could be extended to other p...

No peace for Xmas

Kamete says he studied at the University of New York in Washington. (AIM) Alfredo

Dhlakama in Portugal

...s largely in ruins. Despite Dhl...

South Africa still supporting Renamo

hat Renamo fears retaliation. We told them that, down their guns.

Pro-Renamo lobby in Britain

ing deny all its. This mak...

Secret meeting between De Klerk and Dhlakama



President Joaquim Chissano

Mozambique — RENAMO peace talks

PROTOCOL NO. 3

On 12 March 1992, the delegation of the Government of the Republic of Mozambique, led by Armano do Emilio Guebuza, Minister of Transport and Communications, and comprising Messrs. Aguilar Mazula, Minister of State Administration, Teodato Hunguana, Minister of Labour, and Francisco Madeira, Diplomatic Adviser to the President of the Republic, and the RENAMO delegation, led by Raúl Manuel Domingos, Head of the Organisation Department, and comprising Messrs. Vicente Zacarias Ululu, Head of the Information Department, Agostinho Semende Murrial, Deputy Head of the Organisation Department and Virgílio Namalue, Director of the Information Department, met in Rome within the framework of the peace talks, and in the presence of the mediators, Mario Raffaelli, representative of the Government of the Italian Republic and coordinator of the mediators, Jaime Gonçalves, Archbishop of Beira, and Professor Andrea Riccardi and D. Matteo Zuppi, of the Santo Egidio Community, and broached the item of the agenda signed on 28 May 1991, which relates to the Electoral Law, and agreed as follows:

This protocol contains the general principles that will guide the drafting of the Electoral Law, as well as eventual amendments to laws relating to the electoral process.

The electoral law will be drawn up by the Government, in consultation with RENAMO and with all the other political parties.

I. Freedom of the press and access to the media

a) All citizens have the right to press freedom, and the right to information. These freedoms shall include, especially, the right to found and manage newspapers and other publications, and radio and television stations, as well as other forms of written or aural propaganda, such as posters, leaflets and other means of communication.

These rights shall not be limited by censorship.

b) In no event shall administrative or fiscal regulations be applied in such a way as to discriminate or prevent the exercise of this right for political reasons.

c) Freedom of the press shall also include journalists' freedom of expression and creativity and protection of their independence and of professional confidentiality.

d) The mass media of the public sector shall enjoy editorial independence and shall guarantee the right of the access to all Parties without political discrimination, in terms of the specific regulation provided for in item V.3.b)1 of this Protocol. Within the framework of this regulation, provision shall be made for spaces to which all parties shall have free access.

Advertisements that respect current commercial rules may not be rejected for political reasons.

e) The mass media may not, for political reasons, discriminate against or refuse any Party or its candidates the exercise of the right to reply or the publication of corrections or denials. In cases of defamation, libel, slander or other press crimes, legal recourse shall be guaranteed.

II. Freedom of association, expression and political propaganda

a) All citizens have the right to freedom of expression, association, assembly, manifestation and political propaganda. In no case will administrative or fiscal regulations be applied in such a way as to discriminate or prevent the exercise of these rights for political reasons. These rights do not extend to illegal private para-military groups and activities or to those who promote violence in any form, terrorism, racism or separatism.

b) Freedom of association, expression and political propaganda includes non-discriminatory access to the use of public places and installations.

This use shall be contingent on application to the appropriate administrative authorities, which must reply within 48 hours of submission of such application. Applications may only be rejected for reasons of public order or for an organisational nature.

III. Freedom of movement and domicile inside the country.

All citizens have the right to travel throughout the country without needing administrative authorisation.

All citizens have the right to take up residence in any part of the national territory, and to leave the country and return.

IV. Return of Mozambican refugees and displaced people and their social re-integration

- a) The parties undertake to cooperate in the repatriation and re-integration in the national territory, of Mozambican refugees and displaced people, as well as in the social integration of the war disabled.
- b) Without prejudice to the freedom of movement of citizens, the Government shall prepare an action plan, in agreement with RENAMO, to organise the necessary assistance for the refugees and displaced people, preferably in their places of origin. The parties agree to request the participation of the appropriate United Nations bodies in preparing and implementing this plan. The International Red-Cross and other organisations to be agreed will be invited to participate in its implementation.
- c) The Mozambican refugees and displaced people shall not lose any of their rights and freedoms as citizens by virtue of the fact of having abandoned their normal places of residence.
- d) The registration and enrolment of the Mozambican refugees and displaced people on the voter's lists will be carried out together with that of other citizens, in their places of residence.
- e) The Mozambican refugees and displaced people, will be guaranteed the



PCN leaders (left to right) Jose Guimaraes, Lutero Simango and Inacio Chire at their Maputo press conference (AIM/Joel Chiziane)

repossession of goods that are their property and are still in existence, as well as the right to claim them by legal means from whoever may be in possession of them.

presence of reasons that make it impossible to maintain.

V. Electoral procedures: a democratic, impartial and pluralist voting system.

1. General principles

- a) The Electoral Law shall establish an electoral system which respects the principle of direct, equal, secret and personal vote.
- b) Elections into the Assembly of the Republic and of the President of the Republic shall be held simultaneously.
- c) Elections shall take place within a year after the signature of the General Peace Agreement. This time limit may be extended in the

2. The right to vote

- a) All Mozambican citizens over eighteen years of age shall have the right to vote, except those with proven mental incapacity or insanity.
- b) Also, Mozambican citizens who, following application of item 4, line a) of the agreed Agenda, are in detention or have been legally sentenced to prison terms for felonies and have not completed the sentence, shall not have the right to vote. However, this limitation shall not apply to members of the parties [to this agreement] for deeds committed in actions of war.
- c) Exercise of the right to vote is conditional on enrolment in the voters' lists.
- d) In order to enable the widest possible participation in the elections, the parties agree to mobilise all Mozambican citizens over eighteen years old to register and exercise their right to vote.

3. National Elections Commission

- a) The Government shall appoint a National Elections Commission, to organise and direct the electoral process, composed of people who, by their professional and personal characteristics, offer guarantees of fairness, objectivity and independence from all political Parties. One-third of the members to be appointed to this Commission shall be proposed by RENAMO.



"I wanna go home . . ." Mozambican refugees in Zimbabwe

- b) The Commission will have the following powers:

- 1 To draft, in consultation with the political Parties, the Regulation governing electoral propaganda, the Regulation on the distribution of air time and the Regulation on the use of public and private places and installations during the electoral campaign
- 2 To supervise the preparation of electoral lists, the legal presentation of candidatures, their publication, and the verification and recording of election results.
- 3 To oversee the electoral process and ensure that legality is observed.
- 4 To ensure equal treatment of citizens in all electoral acts.
- 5 To receive, examine and decide upon complaints concerning the validity of elections.
- 6 To guarantee equality of opportunity for, and treatment of, the various candidatures.
- 7 To analyse the electoral accounts.
- 8 To prepare final tabulations of election results and ensure their publication in the Boletim da Republica.

4. Polling Stations

- a) A polling station shall function in each polling district, comprising:
 - all the voters registered to exercise their right to vote in that district;
 - a panel of electoral officers;
 - polling agents representing the various candidatures and Parties
- b) Each polling station shall be administered by the panel of electoral officers which shall direct the electoral operations and shall be composed of a Presiding Officer, a Deputy Presiding Officer who shall also act as Secretary, and the Polling Assistants.
- c) The electoral officers shall be appointed from among the voters registered to vote in the respective Polling District, with the concurrence of the representatives of the candidatures.
- d) The electoral officers shall oversee all electoral operations and send the results to the National Elections Commission
- e) Polling Agents of the various candidatures and Parties in a polling district shall have the right to:

1. Oversee all electoral operations.
2. Consult the registers made or used by the electoral officers.
3. Be heard and get explanations on any problem arising from the functioning of the District.
4. Occupy the places closest to the electoral officers.
6. Initial and sign the acts of the district.
- f) All complaints shall be recorded in the acts and forwarded to the National Elections Commission.
5. Election of the Assembly of the Republic
 - a) The country's provinces will constitute the electoral constituencies. The National Elections Commission will decide on the number of seats for each constituency on the ha-

of establishing a transitional norm for the coming elections raising this age to 25.

- f) A minimum percentage of votes cast nationally shall be fixed, below which contesting political Parties shall not be entitled to occupy seats in the Assembly. This percentage shall be agreed upon in consultation with all the country's political Parties and shall not be less than 5% or more than 20%.
- g) The parties' representatives in each constituency shall be elected according to the order of the precedence on the lists.

6. Election of the President of the Republic

- a) The President of the Republic shall be elected by absolute majority of



Another toll of RENAMO victims

sis of each province's population density.

- b) For the Assembly elections, the Electoral Law shall establish an electoral system based on the principle of proportional representation.
- c) Parties which agree to contest the Assembly elections jointly must present their electoral lists with a single symbol.
- d) Once the electioneering campaign begins, alliances of electoral lists aimed at a combined counting of votes with a single symbol.
- e) Any citizen above the age of 18 may stand for election to the Assembly of the Republic. The parties [to this protocol] are however in agreement on the convenience

votes cast. If no candidate obtains an absolute majority, a run-off election shall be held between the two candidates with most votes.

- b) The run-off shall take place one to three weeks from the announcement of the results of the first poll. In view of the requisite organisational conditions, the date shall be decided before the beginning of the electoral campaign.
- c) Voters above the age of 35 are entitled to stand for election for President of the Republic.
- d) Candidatures for President of the Republic must be supported by a minimum of 10 000 signatures of Mozambican citizens above the age of 18 who are qualified voters.

7. Finance and Facilities

- a) The national Elections Commission shall ensure the non-discriminatory distribution of the subsidies and logistic support available for the electoral campaign, to all Parties contesting the elections, relative to the number of candidates from each Party and under the oversight of all Parties contesting the elections.
- c) The Government shall request support from the international community, and from Italy in particular, to this end.

VI. Guarantees of the electoral process and the role of the International observers

- a) Supervision and control of the implementation of this Protocol will be guaranteed by the Commission provided for in the Protocol No.

1. "Basic Principles"

- b) With the aim of guaranteeing maximum objectivity in the electoral process, the parties agree to invite the United Nations, the OAU and other organisations as observers, as well as reputable foreign personalities, as may be agreed between the Government and RENAMO.
- c) For better implementation of the peace process, the parties also agree on the need to request technical and material support from the United Nations and the OAU, to begin following the signature of the General Peace Agreement.
- d) For the purposes of the previous provisions of this term, no. VI, the government shall make formal requests to the United Nations and the OAU. This Protocol was signed by both parties on March 12 in Rome.



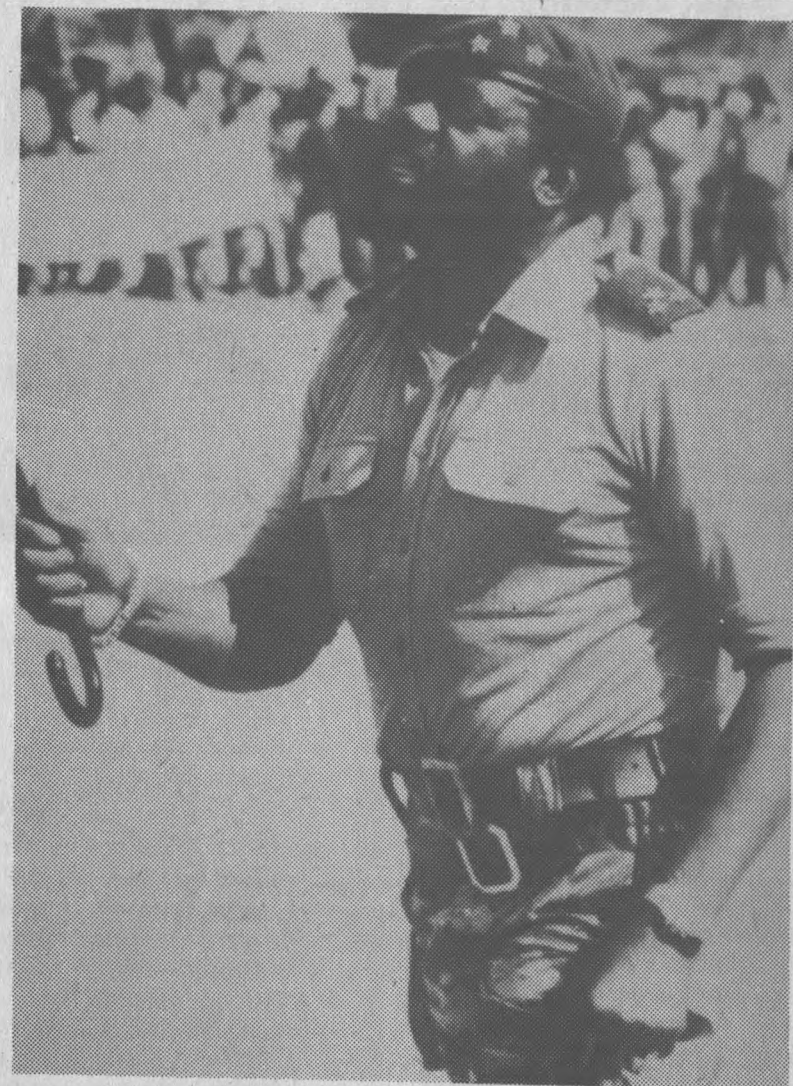
Alphonso Dhlakama

Angola: Unita under fire for human rights violations

By our Luanda Correspondent

UNITA, the Angolan movement backed by the USA, is now under fire for gross human rights violations at its military headquarters of Jamba in the South of the country. UNITA (the National Union for the Total Unification of Angola) was formed in 1964, and has been fighting for the independence of Angola. It has also been challenging the ruling party of Angola, the MPLA (Movement for the Popular Liberation of Angola), led by President Eduardo Dos Santos. The leader of Unita is Jonas Savimbi, who has been supported by the USA, and by the Boers of South Africa all along. He even sent thousands of Angolans to South Africa to fight for the Boers against SWAPO in Namibia — the infamous 32nd Battalion, which is still in existence in Pretoria.

Evidence has now come out clearly that Jonas Savimbi has been committing heinous crimes, killing members of his national ex-



Dr. Jonas Savimbi

ecutive who differ with him on small issues, or who cross his path in his active social life. These revelations are bound to affect the fortunes of UNITA at the general elections on

September 29 and 30.

On March 31, Mr James Baker, the USA Secretary of State, wrote to Savimbi demanding an explanation, and asking him to



Captured MPLA fighters during the civil war

produce publicly the persons of Pedro Tito Chingunji, who was well known as UNITA representative in Washington and New York, and Wilson Dos Santos who was UNITA representative in Lisbon. Chingunji and his whole family were killed at Jamba in August, 1991, three months after the ceasefire had been signed. Senator John McCurdy of Oklahoma, chairman of the pro-UNITA task force in Congress, flew to Jamba to seek explanation. Even Fred Bridgland, the journalist who wrote a book praising Savimbi, is now disenchanted and highly critical.

Top men run away

On March 2, two top men ran away from UNITA. They are General Miguel Puna, who was "Interior Minister," and Tony Fernandes, who was "Foreign Minister". They were founding members of UNITA in 1964, who had worked closely with Savimbi for many years. They ran away to Lisbon and told the press that over 50 people, including many

members of the national executive, had been massacred at Jamba in February this year, on the instructions of Jonas Savimbi. There are now speculations that more people will run away from UNITA before the general elections. Last month the national executive of UNITA (known as the Permanent Political Commission) held an emergency session at Jamba to review the situation and respond to the furore of the Americans and the South Africans. In the meantime, Puna has confirmed the death of Tito Chingunji, and Wilson Dos Santos, who was UNITA representative in Lisbon. Wilson was an effective campaigner for UNITA for many years in Europe. His death has infuriated Joao Soares, the son of the President of Portugal (Dr. Mario Soares), who was up to now the main promoter of UNITA in Portugal and in Western Europe.

More massacres revealed

On March 24, Tony Fernandes, formerly "Foreign Minister" of UNITA, broke his silence in Paris and revealed even more evidence of brutality and murder in Jamba over many years. The national executive members who had been killed include Jorge Sangumba, Antonio Vakuluka, Valdermar Chindondo, Mateas Katalayo, Pastor Camilio Kanguembo, and Pastor Alfonso Kala. But the most painful death was the burning last August of Tito Chingunji, his wife and three sons, two of them twins of two years of age. Fernandes called for an international commission of enquiry to investigate the execution of Tito and Wilson at what he called the Jamba concentration camp.

South Africa Changes sides

In the meantime, the South Africans have changed sides, from UNITA to MPLA. The reformist government of President F.W. de Klerk, has increased its relationship with Luanda.

This year, three meetings have been held between the Cabinet Ministers of Angola and South Africa. Mr. Pik Botha, the Foreign Minister of South Africa, visited Angola in December. On March 23, the Angolan Minister of Defence, Mr. Pedro Maria Tonha Pedale, led a 36-man delegation to Cape Town in South Africa. He delivered a special message from President Dos Santos to President F.W. de Klerk. Mr. Pedale held several meetings with the South African Defence Minister, Mr. Rieff Meyer. They discussed South Africa's assistance in removing land mines, which they (the South Africans) had probably laid in their support of UNITA over the last 15 years. They also discussed the disbanding of the 32nd Battalion of Angolans sent to South Africa by Savimbi.

More importantly, South Africans, have been given the contract to organize the Luanda Trade Fair next month. It will be an important South African businessmen to interact with African businessmen.

Election fever gripping Angola

The United Nations peacekeeping force is pressing ahead with preparations for the general elections next September. The UN Security Council in which Zimbabwe is a member (and President in the month of April) approved the sending of 400 observers to monitor the elections. The team will join 350 military and police forces from various countries (including Zimbabwe) who are already in Angola. Sending the observers will cost about \$20 million US dollars.

Meanwhile the demobilisation of the Angolan army has started. On 31st March 400 FAPLA men were demobilised, while 60 FALA soldiers were also demobilised. It is hoped to complete the demobilisation exercise in June. After the September elections, the major task of building a new integrated army will then begin also.



Presidents Sam Nujoma (Namibia), Robert Mugabe (Zimbabwe) and Hassan Mwinyi (Tanzania) at the Frontline Summit in Harare, March, 1992

The OAU and South Africa: Unity at the Frontline

The Frontline States Summit held in Harare on Saturday, March 28, produced a number of significant results. It was attended by all the Heads of State and Government of the region, except Nigeria which was represented by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Major-General Nwachaku. The new chairman, Cde. R.G. Mugabe, was in the chair, supported by Presidents Q. Masire (Botswana), E. Dos Santos (Angola), J. Chissano (Mozambique), F. Chiluba (Zambia), S. Nujoma (Namibia), and H. Mwinyi (Tanzania). They discussed in considerable detail — over 5 hours — the current political situation in South Africa, following the resounding victory of President F.W. de Klerk in the whites-only referendum of March 17. On hand to brief the Summit were Mr. Walter Sisulu, Vice President of the African National Congress, and Mr. E.D. Mosemeke, second deputy President of the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania. Also in attendance was the general secretary of the Organisation of African Unity Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim.

Monitoring South Africa

The summit maintained the unity of approach and solidarity of the Frontline States

on the question of South Africa. It re-affirmed its support for the liberation Movements of South Africa until they achieve final victory. In this regard it stated its readiness to assist the negotiating process in the country in every way possible. But, the liberation movements were asked to state clearly the form this assistance should take. They were given time until the Arusha meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee on April 28, to state clearly the composition, mandate, and location of the monitoring mechanism for the purpose of assisting the negotiations.

The Summit reaffirmed its support for the liberation movement until they achieve final victory . . . and its readiness to assist the negotiating process . . . in every way possible . . .

In Namibia, the monitoring mechanism was a six-nation committee based in Windhoek,

with access to the regime, the UN authority, and of course to the liberation movement. In Zimbabwe, the monitoring mechanism was a five-nation committee at the Lancaster House Conference in London. In South Africa, a Committee could be attached to CODESA, or to the Liberation Movements, or whatever may be recommended by the movements at Arusha. What was important was a united and agreed approach.

It was noted that what was not wanted was a disunited approach where every African country negotiates with South Africa separately and individually. That type of approach would undermine the work of the Liberation Movements, and play into the hands of the white regime. They (the regime) can cut economic deals with individual African governments and ignore the legitimate aspirations of the black people of South Africa. Unfortunately there are some African States that have done this already in the last 3 years.

The Patriotic Front

It was noted that unity of the organisation of oppressed people was imperative at this stage. Infact, it was their only strength now

that the armed struggle has been suspended. The differences between the ANC and PAC are on tactics only (especially on the elected constituent assembly) but not on the objective of majority rule. The ANC wants the constituent assembly (or the constitution — making body) after an interim government has been formed. In that context, the CODESA process is leading in the right direction. PAC wants the constituent assembly to be elected first, under the auspices of the present regime. PAC rejects CODESA as an undemocratic and unrepresentative body. That is the point at which the Patriotic Front collapsed. By talking to the regime, the ANC believed it was advancing the process towards an interim government and a constitution-making body; but PAC believed it was undermining the goal of an elected constituent assembly first.

The summit reiterated its strong appeal for unity among the progressive forces in the country, in particular between the two liberation movements in the context of the Patriotic Front. The idea of reviving and strengthening the Patriotic Front has got strong support from the leaders of the Black Consciousness Movement, Cde. Mangena, and the Azania People's Organisation (AZAPO), Cde. Pelani Nefolovhodwe. In interviews published elsewhere in this paper, they see a strengthened Patriotic Front as the only hope.

Who should be in the Front?

A burning question is who should be in the Patriotic Front? Should Inkatha be in there? Should Bantustan leaders be in there? These are difficult questions. Both Mangena and Nefolovhodwe think it should be a front of progressive forces, or to be blunt, of libera-

tion movements. When the ANC and PAC formed the Front in Harare last year, the view of the Frontline States was that it would be theirs and theirs alone, but they would take in other progressive forces working inside South Africa such as COSATU and AZAPO. It was assumed that Bantustan leaders would be on the side of the regime at the conference table. It was also assumed that the conference table for a future South Africa would have two sides only — the Patriotic Front and its supporters, and the regime and its supporters. What would not be desirable is a jamboree of black organisations, — progressive, reactionary, tribal, regional, former supporters of Apartheid etc — all in one melting pot, and trying to agree on a constitution.

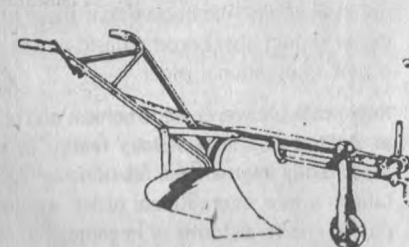
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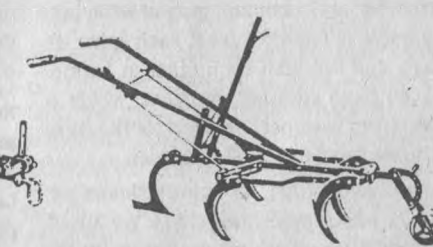


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China Foreign Policy Perspective

The disintegration of the socialist states of Eastern Europe has presented the world with a shifting balance of forces in which now alliances are being formed and foreign politics being redefined. Today, Cuba, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the People's Republic of China remain, defiantly, the only thorough going socialist states against the background of a hostile international environment. These three socialist states have been hard pressed to clearly define both their domestic as well as foreign policies.

Below is an excerpt from a speech delivered by Jiang Zemin, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China during a recent visit to Japan, in which he highlights the salient points of Chinese Foreign Policy.

"In recent years, many important events have taken place, among which the disintegration of the Soviet Union has the most far-reaching impact. As the most important change in the international situation since the end of the Second World War, it marked the end of the bipolar power structure and the beginning of a transitional period towards a multipolar world. The old world equilibrium has been disrupted and the process of redivision and re-alignment has already begun.

The major changes in the international situation have drawn the attention of the international community and aroused much discussion. In our view, although superpower military confrontation no longer exists, the world is far from tranquil. While the old tension-causing factors have not yet been eliminated, new destabilizing ones are cropping up. The political contradictions, economic frictions, ethnic strifes, religious and territorial disputes long overshadowed in the bipolar structure have surfaced, giving rise to new crises, turmoil and even wars.

The world economic situation is also grim. International competition has become increasingly keen and unfair. The gap between the North and the South keeps growing. Many developing countries are facing a more hostile economic environment and developed countries are also encountering many new contradictions and problems in economic development.

Reality tells us that neither peace nor development — the two age-old major issues facing mankind — has been attained. Therefore, the people the world over need to continue their unremitting efforts.

Lasting peace and economic growth are the shared aspirations of all people. As the present world is at an important turning point, people all the more wish to see the establishment of a new international political and economic order that is conducive to peace and development. This is an important task mankind sets upon itself at this historical juncture before it enters the 21st century. All countries and peoples are seriously



China remains defiantly socialist in a hostile international environment

pondering over the question of what and how a new international order should be established. To address the issue, we believe it imperative, first and foremost, to have a correct understanding of the reality of the world.

The world is a diverse place. On this planet of ours, there are about 200 countries composed of over 1 000 nationalities. They differ from one another, in terms of their natural environment, as well as their social and historical development. All this has resulted in diverse social systems, values, ways of life, religious beliefs and cultural traditions. Given this reality, only when all countries respect each other, seek common ground while putting aside differences, treat each other as equals and live with each other in harmony, can there be a lasting peace, which is a necessary external condition for the common development of all countries.

In this diverse world, no country should impose its will or model on others. We are of the view that all countries, big or small, strong or weak, rich or poor, are all independent sovereign states and enjoy equal status. They should respect each others' territorial integrity and should not be allowed to invade or annex other country's territory under whatever pretexts. People of each country should have the right to choose their own social system, ideology and course of development, and formulate their own policies and laws in the light of the actual conditions of their own country. No country should interfere in the internal affairs of other countries using whatever pretexts. Disputes or conflicts between states should be settled peacefully through consultation rather than resort to the use or threat of force. We believe that these principles should serve as the

basic norms for a new international order.

Today, with the progress of human society, people have become increasingly aware of the fact that we all live in an interdependent world. All countries should adopt an open attitude, learn from each other's to make up each other's deficiencies and strengthen cooperation on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. Among other things, they should work to promote their economic, scientific and technological cooperation, establish a non-exclusive regional mechanism of economic cooperation and conduct necessary consultations, coordination and cooperation on regional security and major international affairs. We believe that these principles should also become basic norms for a new international order.

Regrettably, however, hegemonism and power politics is still a serious reality in the present-day international relationship. To establish a new international order, we must put an end to all forms of hegemonism and power politics, such as the big bullying the small, the strong oppressing the weak, infringement upon the sovereignty of other countries and interference in the internal affairs of other countries. China, a big country and a firm force for maintaining world peace, will as always adhere to its independent foreign policy of peace. China does not seek hegemony now, nor will it ever do so in the future when it is developed. History has repeatedly proved that hegemonism and power politics will get nowhere. It should be rejected by the international community as it disrupts normal international exchanges and international cooperation based on equality and mutual benefit, sometimes even with catastrophic consequences to mankind.

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