

Zimbabwe News Official Organ of ZANU PF

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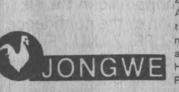
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Zimbabwe News

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Letters

We will win

Dear Editor

It is now over a year since the First Lady, Amai Sally Mugabe passed away. Her efforts aimed at improving the living standards of women and children in Zimbabwe continue to inspire those involved in charity works.

Let us not fail the late mother of the nation. Let us carry on the work she started with zeal. We will win.

Charity Makoni Harare

Learning does not end

Dear Editor

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Our national soccer team has performed very well since the signing of German coach Reinhard Fabisch, making it earn the name, "Dream Team."

I hope that club level soccer will also improve. Coaches must apply modern training techniques. The national coach must hold training sessions with coaches where he can teach them modern techniques.

Soccer Player Chiredzi

Policemen and guns

Dear Editor

The recent merciless shooting of three young innocent men to death at Dalny Mine in Chakari left most Zimbabweans wondering as to whether our police force values human life.

The latest incident took place less than six months after the shooting incident at Dema Growth Point in which a young man was shot dead by a policeman. We are now living in fear as we do not know who the next target will be.

I believe it is high time discipline in the handling of firearms is instilled before the country turns into a Western-style movie.

Anti Gun-totting Gweru

The Editor reserves the right to edit all letters for clarity and space. Letters should bear the writer's full name and address although a pseudo name can be used on request. Write to: The Letters Editor, Zimbabwe News, 144 Union Avenue, Harare.

Local Briefs

Editorial

Zanu PF democracy at grassroot level

In preparations for the recent four parliamentary by-elections, ZANU PF proved to both well-wishers and detractors the efficacy of its avowed principle of commitment to democracy at grassroot level.

The Parliamentary by-elections were for the four constituencies of Nkai, Matobo, Bindura and Highfield East. The manner in which these four constituencies conducted their primary elections reflected the fullfilment of ZANU PF's long-term aim of inculcating the principles of democracy into the minds and political ethos of all Zimbabweans.

As a revolutionary Party, ZANU PF unflinchingly subscribes to the tenet that democracy begins with the participatory involvement of grassroot masses in the decision-making process.

The cornerstone of ZANU PF policy on democracy is the requirement that the Party itself represents the aspirations of the majority will of the people of Zimbabwe. It follows, therefore, that the same Party, acting as the representative organisational institution of the majority in Zimbabwe, must reflect the democratic tradition intrinsic within all its own organic structures and siblings. Within the Party ranks, this principle is popularly known as "intra-Party democracy" or "the right of criticism and self-criticism within the Party".

This principle dominates all methods and styles of work at the Party's grassroot level. From down below, the principle climbs up the ladder in the chain of the command structure to the summit of the People's Congress where the principle finds its centre of congealment and custody as a sovereign tenet of democratic centralism.

When this democratic principle has completed its journey from the grassroot level to the Party's hierachical summit, it becomes the law tightly binding upon all the Party's membership. Any Party member who deviates from this organisational norm becomes a rebel from within. This explains the reason why the Party leadership condemns so-called "independant" ZANU PF candidates in subsequent electoral contests with other opposition parties.

The foregoing explains why Cde John Ndlovu was elected the Party's candidate in the Nkai by-elections, Cde Moyo in the Matobo constituency, Cde. Christopher Kuruneri in Bindura and Cde. Goodson Masango in the Highfield East constituency.

Party members, followers, sympathisers and well-wishers are bound by this internal Party democratic principle to support the wishes of the majority and vote for the candidates who were democratically elected by the grassroot masses for the forth coming Parliamentary by-elections.

ZANU PF candidates will walk over their respective rivals in the by-elections with the pomp and circumstance that has traditionally characterised its performance in the past. Already, Cde. John Ndlovu has been declared unopposed in the Nkai constituency. This unopposed walk-over is a clear manifestation of the confidence and trust which Zimbabweans of all races have put in ZANU PF. ZANU PF continues, and will for ever continue, to justify the confidence and trust of the masses by tirelessly striving for the satisfaction of the wishes of the majority.

Probe into council complete

The Criminal Investigation Department (CID) has completed investigations into the alleged miappropriation of over \$30 000 from Mberengwa District Council by two senior executive officers.

Speaking in an interview with The People's Voice recently, the police officer investigating the case, Detective Assistant Inspector Mkhize, said the docket has already been forwared to the provincial magistrate who is going to set a date when the accused will appear in court.

He said Cde. Simbarashe Govo, who was the senior executive officer of the council, is alleged to have misappropriated \$20 000 from the council between January and December 1991. Cde. Jacob Shumba, who was executive officer (education), is alleged to have misappropriated \$13 000 during the same period. They were suspended in March 1992 following an audit of the council's books. -

Centre losing to thieves

Harare Weaving Centre in Mbare, has since 1988 been losing weaving machines worth over \$6 000 to thieves annually, the chairperson of the co-operative, Mrs Mirica Hanyanga, has said.

She said the fourteen-member women's co-operative was failing to replace the stolen machines which was affecting the productivity of the project. Plans to hire a security guard have also been continually postponed because that could be done at the expense of monthly shares to the co-operators. "Its a vicious circle that we cannot come out of without financial assistance from outside", Mrs Marica said. However, efforts to get financial assistance have proved futile.

The co-operative was formed in 1974 by the Harare City Council as an income generating project for women. The Council seized to sponsor the project ten years ago. Since then the co-operators have managed to ensure that each member gets a monthly share from the sale of their products. They are currently receiving \$140.00 each, a month.

Employ full-time workers

The ZANU PF Party has been urged to employ full-time coordinators in each administrative district to restore the link with grassroot structures which was broken following the abolition of the Ministry of Politicl Affairs.

The Secretary for Commissariat in the ZANU PF Women's League, Cde. Shuvai Taderera, said this in an interview recently. She said ZANU PF district Party coordinators and promotion officers in the Ministry of Local Government, Rural and Urban Development were transferred to the Ministry of Political Affairs on its creation. She said the officials, whose role had been to facilitate the activities of the Party, were either retrenced or re-deployed when the Ministry was abolished last year thus depriving the Party of a vital link with grassroot structures.

"We used to relay important messages to every corner of the He said four acres of the plot were planted and the youths country overnight through the Ministry of Political Affairs but expected to harvest maize worth over \$10,000. now it takes at least a week to communicate with them," Meanwhile, the Gweru Central Constituency Development Cde. Taderera said. She, however, expressed optimism that Committee has promised to assist the youths raise the funds the newly enacted Act of Parliament which allows the Governso that the plot could be fully utilised, and more youths integrat ment to fund political Parties with fifteen seats and above ed into the cooperative will enable the ZANU PF Party to establish fully equipped offices in every district throughout the country

Domboshava villages receive food

Hundreds of Domboshava villagers gathered at Chinhamora counicl hall last week to recieve their portion of sorghum and fertilizer under the Department of Social Welfare's Public Works Programme and the government's Drought Relief programme.

Cde. Joseph Chikoko, the Domboshava branch Village Development Committee chairman, commended the government for its unwavering stance towards helping those in need since last year. He said people have been receiving free packs of maize seed and fertilizer and that this has greatly alleviated the plight of the villagers caused by drought.

"People in my area are very grateful for the fertilizer and seeds." he said adding that more maize seed packs were expected to be delivered in due course. Each family received three kilogrammes of sorghum.

Zimbabwe praised

A senior Swedish government official has praised the Zimbabwean government's commitment to reform the economy despite the adverse effects of the programme during its initial stages of implementation.

Under-secretary for State in the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Mr. Alf Samuelsson said his country was confident ESAP would succeed, judging by the response of the donor community who last year pledged over \$6 billion in Paris.

Sweden recently signed an agreement with Zimbabwe to provide over \$60 million in balance-of-payments support and to finance the Open General Import Licence (OGIL) system. In addition, Sweden is giving over \$240 million in bilateral assistance for various projects in the public and private sectors.

"We have confidence in Zimbabwe's economic reform programme and are happy with the goals achieved so far." he said adding that the Zimbabwe government has done a good job despite the effects of the drought. He urged the government to speed up the land reform programme to widen the agricultural production base.

Appeal for funding

A cooperative comprising ten ZANU PF youths in Gweru is appealing for \$500 000 to fund a number of projects at an eight acre plot donated to them by the Gweru City Council, the ZANU PF deputy secretary for youth in the Midlands. Province, Cde. Kizito Chivamba, said in a recent interview.

He said McPhaden plot was donated to the youths in 1990 but lack of funds has stalled efforts to embark on bricklaying, welding, crop farming, livestock husbandry and timber production projects. The Canadian embassy and the Friedrich Ebert Foundation cited the current hard economic environment and the drought as factors which made it impossible for them to assist the youths.

Cde. Chivamba said that last year, the youths raised \$3 000 which they used to buy maize seed for the 1992 planting season.

Actions speak louder than words

The following is the full text of His Excellency the President Cde. Robert Gabriel Mugabe's address to the 21st February Movement celebrations at the ZANU PF Headquarters on February 21, 1993. The celebrations coincided with Cde. Mugabe's 69th birthday.



FLASHBACK: A boy crowns Cde. President Mugabe at the inauguration of the 21st February Movement in Harare in 1986. The late first lady, Cde. Sally Mugabe witnessed the occasion

It is with great pleasure that I meet with you again on this important occasion for the 21st February Movement. We meet for the 7th Anniversary with some painful memories of the past, as our Secretary has just said, but, also, with hope and determination of the future. We are all conscious of the fact that we could not meet last year for the 6th Anniversary because of the untimely death of one of your co-patrons, Cde. Sally Mugabe. The whole nation last year with me and the family and with you shared in your sorrow over the loss of one who was so dedicated to the cause of the young, including the 21st February Movement. However, as we meet here today, we must be equally conscious that, wherever she is, she would have liked us to continue with whatever we truth, honesty and courage. set ourselves to do. For the 21st February Movement, it can only be a time for self-examination and re-dedication to a good cause.

I note that one of your tenets is your chosen theme for this year's event. You are calling for a healthy, disciplined and skilled youth for national development. This is a noble call for all and sundry to heed. Heeding the call does not only mean understanding or preaching about it. Of more value is the practice, the doing part of it. For the 21st February Movement, this is indeed a well chosen call. The young, being so vulnerable to an insensitive world order, need to garner themselves around protective pillars of

One needs no reminder of the horrors of the world, and particularly those of Africa, to fully appreciate the innocent vulnerability of the young. And we continue to kill, starve and maim each other for the children to suffer more. The adult world continues to deny them good guidance, leadership and even the basic rights of parenthood or familyhood - all in pursuit of some misguided selfish cause. Need we be surprised then if the young were to organise themselves to uphold noble values and norms that the world has denied them in one way or the other? It is most gratifying to see that you of the 21st February Movement are able to analyse your role

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in national development. More pleasing is the Movement's address of problem areas from a national outlook. A healthy body, a disciplined mind and a skilled pair of hands, are all pre-requisites for national development. But as alluded to earlier, there remains the doing part of it. What does the Movement propose to do in concretising these noble ideals? As we are now seven years old, what shall we be doing for the next twelve months before we become eight years old? While we urge the adult world to heed our call and to provide us with the necessary resources for good health, discipline and skill, are we ourselves simply to sit back and wait for them to arrange things for us? Obviously not!

By selecting a very meaningful theme of this year's Anniversary. The 21st February Movement has also set itself challenges. In order to meet these challenges, good leadership and good organisation are necessary. A programme of action, that is, an action plan of some sort is also necessary, and the world will be looking forward to that plan of action apart from our own country. Unlike other youth organisations such as 'the boys scouts, the girl guides or even more appropriately the Child Survival Foundation, we have, for some



Movement at the ZANU PF Conference Hall

clear organisational linkages to direct ac- in preparing for today's occasion, for a tivity. I am aware that the Politiburo has job well done. Since you are already



of the late First Lady, Cde. Sally Mugabe during a tour of the Heroes Acre

February Movement only at its Anniversary.

In these anniversaries what should the youth do. That is what you should think about now.

It is now seven years since the Movement was established. This is a very long time for any arganisation to exist I would like to conclude, by commend-

time now, come to hear of the 21st already been working out an organisational document which provides a sound framework in your efforts to create viable structures for the Movement I am sure that, given your youthful determination and clarity of purpose, the Movement will soon be as much a household name as its sister Movement the Child Survival Foundation.

Cde. Mugabe chatting to children from Harare children's Home during this year s elebrations of his 69th Birthday and the 7th Anniversary of the 21st February

without recognisable structures, with ing the Movement and all who assisted

Cde. Godfrey Mandevhani holding cerficates for the Waverley Pre-school children during the 1992 21st February Movement Anniversary in Kadoma

seven today and I will only be seven plus zero next year. I would like to say to big brother, thank you for a job well done.

Makorokoto! Amhlope! Thank you.

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President Robert Mugabe at 69

he 21st February Movement celebrates its seventh anniversary and President Robert Mugabe's 69th birthday against a backdrop of mixed fortunes for the President and the nation at large. Last year, the celebrations were cancelled following the death of the mother of the nation, Cde. Sally Mugabe, on the 27th January. Her death cast a dark shadow over the nation and portended a year fraught with drought.

This year's celebrations were marked by visits to places of interest by nearly a hundred members of the 21st February Movement on Saturday, 20th February. They visited the Heroes Acre, the Lion and Cheetah Park and Harare International Airport.

In an interview, the Publicity and Information Secretary of the 21st February Movement, Cde. Kenneth Bute, who is also the Secretary for External Affairs of the ZANU PF Youth League, said it was vital for youths to be acquainted with the heritage of Zimbabwe if they are going to comprehend the significance of these symbolic institutions. He said the children were taught the brief history of the Heroes Acre and the ultimate sacrifice that those who lay there made for the country to be liberated. They were also briefed on the tomb of the unknown soldier and the fact that it represented those who died during the war of liberation and did not get a decent burial.

The prevention of the environment is pivotal to the survival of the future generations and it was with this truism in mind that the children were taken on a tour of the Lion and Cheetah Park where they saw wild animals in their own environment. Cde. Bute, who is also the Member of Parliament for Chinamora emphasised the fact that the youths benefitted from the tour in that they realised that wild life was part of the richness that the country was endowed with. They also visited the Harare International Airport, where they had an opportunity to meet the President, Cde. Robert Mugabe, on his way from Victor ia Falls where he had opened the \$200 million Elephant Hills Hotels earlier on in the day.

The celebrations climaxed on Sunday. 21st February, with the mammoth



Cde. President R.G. Mugabe

Hall where pomp, singing and spontane- views during the celebrations, children ous ovations for the President were heightjoined by other members from primary schools in Harare. The police band provides music for the enjoyment of the children.

Boys and Girls Scouts, Girl Guides were among those who attended this year's celebrations. The need to include them in the movement was aptly explained by Cde. Bute: Interaction and dialogue are media for cooperation. Above all these organisations have wellestablished structures from which the Movement can learn quite a lot. They are also children so they qualify to be in the Movement.

Children from each province presented the President with a present while other recited poems praising him for fighting for the rights of children and also implementing the Child Supplementary Scheme which benefited millions of chilcelebrations at the ZANU PF Conference dren during last year's drought. In inter-

said they would like to be as hardened by the lively spirits of members of the working as the President so as to be in 21st February Movement who had been a position to contribute to the economic advancement of Zimbabwe. The children enjoyed eating two gigantic birthday cakes donated to the President by Dairy Marketing Board. They thanked the President for enabling them to meet and also gain from his teaching and that of the leadership of the Youth League. In addition, they appreciated that their tours had enabled them to see places that even people in Harare were unaware of, for example, The Lion and Cheetah Park.

> In their personal resolutions some of the children resolved to work hard to put into practice this year's slogan: A healthy, disciplined youth for development. But what kind of a man is President Mugabe? Does he deserve all this respect and love? Has he done anything in the interest of the nation?

> For a stranger to Zimbabwean politics and history, the President could have



Cde. Mugabe has continuously remained a steadfast, humble, principled and right-outs leader which all youths should emulate

been born with a silver spoon. Far from it. He led the traditional life of a poor communal boy and attended Kutama Boys High in his home area of Zvimba. He qualified as a primary school teacher in 1941. In 1942 he got a teaching post at Kutama Boys High and remained there until 1943. He also taught at Mapanzure, Dadaya, Empandeni and Hope Fountain Missions.

He graduated from the University of Fort Hare in South Africa with a Bachelor's Degree in Arts majoring in English and History. On his return to Zimbabwe he taught at Driefontain Mission. In the meantime he was studying for a diploma in education. In 1953, he took up a teaching post at Mbizi Government School in Highfield, Harare. He later left to teach at Mambo Secondary School in Gweru.

In 1955 he went to Chalimbana Training College in Zambia where he taught for four years. In the meantime, he was studying for a Bachelor of Science Degree in Economics through correspondence with the University of London.

Nkwemah Nkrumah's influence spread far and wide across Africa. His dream of a united independent Africa infused a sense of hope in many young people who knew it was within the realm of possibility. Cde. Mugabe was one such stituency. They also expose the influence young man. In order to draw as much as possible from the ideas and vision of the man, Cde. Mugabe decided to draw Local authority elections, by elections most apathetic of its supporters to take

closer to the source - he obtained a (ZANU) on 8th August 1963. Cde. teaching post at Takoradi Training College where he met the late First Lady Cde. Sally Mugabe.

When Cde. Mugabe returned home in 1960 he was persuaded by some leading nationalists not to return to Ghana but instead to devote his education to the nationalist struggle. He joined the National Democratic Party (NDF) as national publicity secretary in the same year. When NDP was banned he joined its successor, the Zimbabwe African Peosecretary-general.

by some leading nationalists in the fight Mugabe returned to the then Rhodesia, against colonialism led to the formation he was arrested on arrival in Salisbury, of the Zimbabwe African National Union now Harare.

The essence of primary elections By Lewis Gaba

Party an opportunity to gauge the level have always been accompanied by inof organisation and the calibre of leadership of its membership in a given conof interest groups, gender and age at vening between them. A real threat to grassroot level.

Mugabe was elected its Secretary-General. Cde. Mugabe was arrested and later released for addressing a political rally in Highfield high density suburd soon after the formation of ZANU.

Later in 1965, Cde. Joshua Nkomo, then leader of ZAPU, invited all nationalist leaders to leave for Dar-es-Alaam where he intended to form a government in exile. After discussing the options with Cde. Sally, the couple departed together for Tanzania. The proposal to form a ple's Union (ZAPU) in 1961 as government in exile was not wellreceived by the then President of Tanzania, Cde. Julius Nyerere and it was sub-Disillusionment by the strategy followed sequently abandoned. When Cde.

Primary elections accord the ZANU PF and regular Parliamentary elections tense invigoration of political activity at all levels of the Party structure followed by a defeaning lull in the period interthe Party has always galvanised the

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up the challenge to protect the Party from annihilation. The relative peace brought by the signing of the Unity Accord and the subsequent end of dissident activities in the country has been followed by low levels of political activity of youths and excombants whose mobilising expertise were put to good use during the dissident menace and during the liberation struggle.

As indicated in other primary elections held since 1990 and the recent Highfield East constituency primary elections. provincial executive committees are not closely monitoring the Party activities at grassroot level which has resulted in some confusion during elections. Lists of district executive committees presented to the Central Committee members supervising the Highfield East primary elections did not tally with those presented by each respective district in the constituency. At last, the provincial executive of Harare Province gave in and used lists prepared by district executives

This is a serious indication of a need of the provincial executives of the Party to periodically reconcile the lists of district executive committees with the reality at the grassroot level. There is possibility that some of the recorded district executives kept at some provincial headquart ers are incomplete structures that have lost touch with the grassroots. A similar situation was revealed during the Mberengwa West primary elections last year. The situation is more alarming where a chairman of a district is contesting for the party candidacy and some loopholes are at his disposal to ensure that the executive is composed of only those individuals who are going to vote for him.

For primary elections to play their intended role in intra-party democracy it is necessary to ensure that the leadership at branch and cell levels make their inputs in the choice of the parliamentary candidate. It is important for the provincial leadership to ensure that the districts which are empowered to vote at primary elections have fully constituted branch and cell structures.

Politics has always been about the creation and distribution of wealth. Recent trends in the choice of candidates to represent the Party has shown that the Party membership comprehends that the era of politics of development is the politics of the 1990s. Gone are the days when one could be assured of being popularly elected after shouting a com-



Cde. Goodson Masango was chosen by the Party and people to represent them in the Highfield East constituency by-election

plement of slogans and praising some influential leaders in the area in return for their support.

Consequently, a new breed of Members of Parliament is slowly building up. They are bringing in new ideas that have left the opposition without material to criticise the government on. Pluralism of ideas have been one of the contributions of the Members of Parliament elected through the intra-party democratic instrument of primary elections. Primary elections have ensured that candidates are elected on the strength of their adherence to Party principles and personal relationships with the povo.

These criteria place an MP in a position to bring development to the area and ensure continuity in the programmes of the party.

This era of politics of development must benefit youths whose participation has been greatly eroded by the failure of the Party and government to come up with aggressive job creation programmes. Thousands of youths are released into the job market annually from colleges and secondary schools to join thousands upon thousands of their unemployed counterparts. Opposition parties are banking their survival on taking advantage of this unemployment to turn the youths against the Party. In addition, the apathy among youth could have negative effects on the continuity of the Party's organisational strength in the future.

Winning the primary elections is the first in the three stages that a candidate

must go through before going into Parliament. The candidate must be vetted by the Politburo for possible criminal records. The third and last stage is defecting the opposition candidates, if any dare contest. The Party reserves the right to field the runner-up in any primary elections should the first candidate fail to qualify.

Meanwhile, Zanu Ndonga has announced its candidate for Highfield East Constituency bye-elections. The decision has created havoc in the united front. Other members of the front are claiming that all the signatories to the front have agreed that there was going to be a general consensus on which candidate was to be fielded in any elections. It is alleged that Zanu Ndonga fielded the candidate without consulting other members of the front.

The National Democratic Party (NDP) was also expelled from the front for alleged flouting some laid down principles. This is a sign of disunity in the opposition camp. Yet the phenomenal success of the ZANU PF government in distributing food for over five million droughtstriken people in the communal lands and the provision of seed packs has rallied people behind ZANU PF.

In a statement, a senior NDP official said the united front has failed in its endeavours and also apologised to the nation for having joined hands with colonialists, the Conservative alliance of Zimbabwe (CAZ). The opposition has no chance of winning the forthcoming bye-elections.

Four primary elections were held in February to choose candidates to contest in four bye-elections following the appointment of three Members of Parliament as governors and the resignation of Cde. Herbert Ushewokunze. Cdes. Joyce Mujuru, Stephen Nkomo and Welshman Mabhena were appointed governors for Mashonaland Central. Matabeleland South and Matabeleland North respectively: Cde. Goodson Masango won the Highfield East primary elections, Cde. Chris Kuruni, the Bindura primary elections while Cdes Vote Moyo and John Ndlovu won the Matobo and Nkayi elections respectively.

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Local News

ZESA's quota system wrecking havoc on consumers he penalty charges slapped by the pertect and increases the risk of con- causes beyond the control of the

stipulated quota is wrecking havoc on consumers' budgets.

Despite several appeals by the Consumer Council of Zimbabwe (CCZ) to ZESA to reverse its thinking on penalty charges, the parastatal has continued to slap penalty charges on consumers resulting in the latter facing nightmares. It is the CCZ's belief that the method is The CCZ offices are inundated with complaints from consumers who are concerned about ZESA's penalty charges.

As the water situation has improved compared to last year when the country was affected by the worst drought in living memory, the CCZ believes that there is no reason for the parastatal to take such punitive measures against consumers who are already reeling under the adverse effects of the economic days for two months and be billed on reform programme and drought.

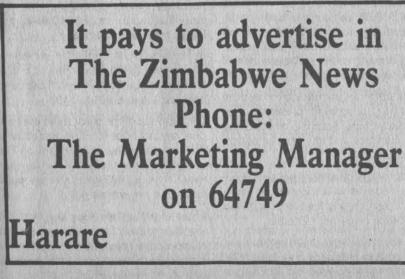
Members of the public are also writing to the CCZ querying the legitimacy of the penalty charge. Although several consumers have reluctantly paid the penalty charges, the other issue of concern lies on the fact that ZESA has not improved its efficiency in the provisionof electricity to consumers. The sentiments that consumers are paying through the nose for the parastatal's inefficiency are still very strong.

In addition, consumers and the CCZ are worried by ZESA's billing system based on assessment. The system may not be

Zimbabwe Electricity Supply sumers paying for units of electricity Authority (ZESA) on consumers for they did not even consume. Where conusing units of electricity in excess of the sumers are billed on assessment, it means that the parastatal would consider the consumption trend of the consumer over the previous months and then calculate the average consumption. It is subsequently through the average consumption that the consumer is sometimes billed or penalised.

> not 100 percent accurate and consumers may be paying for the 'sins they did not commit' by paying the penalty charges. On real terms the consumer's consumption patterns on a daily basis are never the same and the assessment method has its own flaws which may have serious distortions on the exact amount the consumer should pay.

> For example, a family may go for holiaverage consumption calculated for the past three months when they did not consume any electricity for two months. The CCZ regards it as almost fraudulent to impose a penalty charge on consumers when their bills were based on estimates and not perfectly calculated. However, ZESA recently said it introduced penalty charges and the quota system in terms of section 39(1) of the Zimbabwe Electricity Act (1985). Furthermore, ZESA said under this Act with the approval of the Minister of Transport and Energy, could reduce the supply of electricity to any consumer or groups of consumers, provided this was due to



Authority.

Section 39(1) of the Zimbabwe Electricity Act (1985) states that: "If anytime the Minister is satisfied that for cases beyond the control of an authorized undertaker, the authorised undertaker is or will be unable for a period exceeding seven days to supply electricity to all consumers to whom he or it is obliged to supply electricty, the Minister may permit the authorised undertaker, by notice in writing and subject to such conditions as the Minister may from time to time fix to lessen or discontinue the supply of electricity to any consumer or class of consumer in accordance with such plan or scheme as the authorized undertaker considers to be equitable in the circumstanes"

The CCZ accepts that the above Act authorises and empowers the parastatal to reduce the supply of electricity due to circumstances beyond the control of the authority but the act does not mention that ZESA can slap monetary penalties on consumers who exceed their stipuiated quotas.

What worsens the plight of consumers is the fact that they are ignorant on interpreting the electricity meter readings and the charges which they should pay. Some consumers may exceed the required quotas not deliberately but out of mere ignorance. The CCZ believes that there is need for more consumer education on electricity usage and ZESA's billing system before consumers are sent outrageous bills. ZESA should realise that consumers have some of the following inalienable rights, 'The Right To Be Heard', 'The Right To Redress', 'The Right To Basic Goods and Services' and 'The Right To Be Informed' which are approved by the United Nations General Assembly.

Meanwhile, the CCZ welcomes ZESA's latest move which enables consumers to use up to 1 250 units of electricity a month without paying punitive surcharges compared to the previous 750 units a month basic quota imposed in September last year. The CCZ appeals to ZESA to stop imposing penalty charges on consumers who exceed their monthly allocations of electricity units if the parastatal desires to improve its already tarnished image as a result of imposing the penalty charges.

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Last chance to save the rhino

he campaign to save the black rhinoceros from extinction has been dealt another severe blow with the announcement that only 2 500 black rhinoceros remain in existence.

The news came from the recent meeting of the African Rhino Specialist Group of the World Conservation Union in Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe,

Originally both black and white rhino ranged in large numbers over large parts of southern, eastern, central and west Africa, but they have been devastated by poaching. There are three other rhino species in southeast Asia. In 1970 there were 65,000 rhinos in Africa, droping by 96% to present day levels, while world populations have dropped by 85% in the same period.

While some experts believe the black rhi no could be extinct within a year, Dr. Martin Brooks, the African Rhino Specialist Group's Chairman said: "Despite the bad news, we feel confident that, with international support for the measures identified, we can turn the tide."

The Group has a two-pronged strategy: to protect key rhino populations in small, heavily defended areas, and to stop speculative investment in rhino horn.

The United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) is also active in what has been called a "last-chance effort" to save the rhinoceros. UNEP Director, Dr. Mustafa Tolba, has appointed a special envoy, Dr. Esmond Bradley Martin, to" "... clamp down on the illegal trade in rhino horn.

"I believe the present conservation methods are not adequate to ensure a future for rhinos in the wild. The international community must urgently addross the problem of poaching and illegal trade and strive to abolish the demand" Dr. Tolba said.

"If we can kill the illegal market, we can take away the incentive to poach" said Dr. Martin.

Dr. Tolba has also called for an unprecedented emergency meeting of UNEP members, donors and countries with rhino populations in early 1993 to find funding for rhinoceros conservation.

The possible extinction of the rhino has created tensions internationally. Some

By John McCullum



Rhinos are being dehorned to make them unattractive to poachers

Southern African Wildlife officials do not feel the UNEP special envoy is following the lines they, as client countries, would like. They would like to look at regulated trade in rhino horn as a way to preserve the species.

In addition, international wildlife groups have levelled accusations at some of the "rhino states" ranging from incompetence and negligence in protecting the animals to corruption and direct involvement of army and government personnel in poaching.

The 2 500 black rhinos are concentrated entirely in southern and eastern Africa, with the largest remaining population, a mere 800, in South Africa. Namibia has the next highest numbers, about 500. Its rhinos have had very little poaching, due to the lack of an organised network, but could easily come under threat because of the low level of resources available for their protection.

South Africa and Namibia are now seen as the priority areas for preservation of the black rhino because of relatively large numbers and low level of poaching threat.

Zimbabwe's population is not secure because it ranges wild all over the country. It is particularly heavily poached in the border areas near Zambia.

Most other countries in the region have very small populations and little reliable information is available about their

numbers and population trends.

Much of the blame for poaching has been pointed at Zambian gangs, whose equipment has been traced back to senior Zambian political party members, according to a report the South African newspaper, The Weekly Mail. The poachers receive information about dehorning operations in Zimbabwe and immediately attack the areas identified, before National Parks staff have started the work.

Despite Zimbabwe's legal permission for the killing of poachers caught in the act. and the deaths of over 160 poachers in Zimbabwe, the level of poaching continues to increase. The attraction for the poachers is obvious: African rhino horn can fetch up to \$U\$10,000 per kilogramme internationally

In January 1992 Zimbabwe estimated there were 2,000 black rhinos in the country, but by October the official numbers were about 300 - 400.

The situation of the black rhino may appear beyond hope to some. But early in the century many had written off the white rhino, with only 100 left in existence. Now in 1993 white rhino populations number almost 6,000.

Rhino experts hope they can perform the same miracle for the black rhino, but acknowledge they will need generous support from the international community to do so. (SARDC).

Local News

The Zambezi Action Plan (ZACPLAN)

or several years now, the Southern African Development Community Environment and land Manage ment Sector Coordinating Unit (ELMS-CU) has been in charge of coordinating activities under the Zambezi River System Action Plan.

ZACPLAN (the acronym for the plan) is a scheme intended to ensure that the shared resources of the Zambezi River Basin are utilized in a manner which guarantees maximum, long term advantages to all participating states.

For these countries (Zimbabwe, Zambia, Namibia, Mozambique and Botswana) and their millions of inhabitants, the Zambezi River with all its tributaries represents the main source of water. The Zambezi Water System represents more than a huge resource. It is the nucleus of a regional ecosystem rich in natural resources and poised for major utilization.

"The SADC states recognise this and feel that it is imperative that they coordinate and harmonise their policies so that the physical degradation of the Zambezi Basin can be avoided and maximum benefits accrued," says one environmentalist.

The general concerns of ZACPLAN are environmental assessment, legislation and supporting measures. The first implementation stage, however, is primarilv concerned with the assessment of the environmental and socio-economic conditions in the participating states.

The environmental assessment of the project is not limited to physical, biological and socio-economic factors alone. It also addresses the legal, administrative, institutional, manpower, and material resources of the area in question.

The project is composed of eight "category 1" and eleven "category 2" projects known as ZACPROs.

Since the identification of the first eight ZACPROS, a number of SADC's cooperating partners have expressed interest in providing funding.

The Nordic countries of Denmark, Finland. Norway and Sweden decided in May 1988 that more thorough project identification and formulation was warranted because "institutional, financial

water by constructing small dams and administrative frameworks to implement the plan" were as yet obscure.

During the last quarter of 1988, the Nordic countries dispatched a mission in southern Africa which treated ZACPROs 1-8 as one entity, emphasising water resource and monitoring and planning Due to the limited number and sparse within the context of river basin management.

The most recent activity in this project was a seminar organised by ELMS-CU, which took place in Lusaka, Zambia in early December 1991. The main objectives of this seminar were to receive and evaluate the consultants' reports on projects one, two and five and chart out the course of action on the implementation of these three as well as ZACPRO 6. It was attended by more than 30 participants from within and outside the SADC region. Its main activities include data collection; evaluation of the present data collection; evaluation of the present data retrieving systems in the riparian countries: compilation and publication of information available in guide handbook form; and the development of a computerised database system.

ZACPRO 2 will be concerned with the expansion, updating and strengthening of national legislation and regulations pertaining to the protection and development of the river basin and its coastal and marine environments.



People have been complementing government efforts to provide everyone with

Its second objective would be to propose regional conventions and their protocols for the protection, management and development of river basin resources and the relevant coastal and marine environments.

distribution of hydrometeorological monitoring stations in the Zambezi River Basin, the information they produce is insufficient to provide the level of data support required for the successful implementation of ZACPLAN as a whole.

In addition to identifying gaps in the existing monitoring network, the fifth project aims to reinforce and strengthen the means for collecting and utilizing hydrological data throughout the basin

According to meteorologists, the climate in the southern Africa region has always been unpredictable, being characterised by droughts immediately followed by heavy rains in other seasons.

According to analysts, projects such as the ZACPLAN are long overdue because they act as a back up in times of drought

"Currently, the southern African region is suffering the effects of arguably the worst drought in living memory. Who is to say there won't be other droughts in the future?" says one expert on the region's water resources (SARDC).

Whither SADC?

imbawe, the most industrialised SADC nation, has no fear of com-Lapetition from an independent South Africa, the Foreign Minister Cde. Nathan Shamuyarira has told Regional Integration Bullentin.

Mozambican teachers to graduate

- inety-three Mozambican refugees undergoing a one-and-half-year primary school teaching course at Mbuya Nehanda Women's Training Centre in Mashonaland East are to graduate on March 15 this year.

Speaking in an interview at the centre recently, the project coordinator of the centre, Cde. Keith Mahaso, said the teacher training programme was the first of its kind in Africa. It is funded by the Otto Bencke Foundation, a Germanybased non-governmental organisation. The monthly budget for the training programme is \$20 000.

The Ministry of Higher Education is teaching them English and a complement of four Mozambican professors is teaching them Maths, Biology, Geography and History in Portuguese. The trainees were recruited from Mozambican refugee camps in Zimbabwe and are expected to take up teaching posts after their repatriation following the signing of the Mozambican Peace Accord. The first group of Mozambican trainee teachers, totalling ninety-four refugees, to be trained at the centre, graduated last year. - TPV.

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In an exclusive interview at the Harare International Conference Centre, Cde. Shamuyarira said the entry of an independent South Africa would "energise" the regional body. "We are very happy with the idea of the South Africans coming into SADC. We think they will play a very positive role and energise and give strength to SADC, and make it much larger.

However, he said it was necessary to have individual trade agreements with each SADC country to protect young industries

Asked for his views on whether SADC should merge with the PTA, Cde, Shamuyarira said that SADC was an older organisation and better organised than the PTA, and more coherent. He said it was true that the PTA has been He said the coherence lent by the Front-"anxious" about the merger, but denied that the two organisations were compet. sary even after democratic change in ing for the attentions of South Africa

He said the Zimbabwe government has no official position on the proposed merger of SADC and the PTA until after the conclusion of a joint Ministerial select three ministers from each organiat the PTA heads of states summit in Lu- work," Cde. Shamuyarira said. saka earlier last January.

He said the proposed harmonisation of is why we are seeking harmonisation. the two organisations had a role in Eventually we might merge," the preventing duplication and time wast- minister said.



Cde. Nathan Shamuyarira

ing. The point of departure for SADC is that the Southern African organisation has a political framework in the concept of Frontline States, adding that this was missing in the PTA.

line States would continue to be neces-South Africa, to help settle conflicts in Angola, Mozambique, and anywhere else they might arise in the region.

"There will still be political work to do in the region. The concept of Frontline Study on harmonisation. A proposal to States gives a political framework to the work of SADC. You cannot build an ecosation to study the issue was mooted nomic group without a political frame-

"We are all committed to the PTA, that

Violence in children's TV programmes

hildren's television programmes, including cartoons, contain the most violence of any type of programming, George Gerbner, a researcher reported recently.

Gerbner of the Anneberg School of Communication of the University of Pennyslvania said in a report to the National Cable Television Association that children's programmes on major United States networks contained an average of 7.8 violent acts per programme and 32 per hour.

Children's programmes created for cable television had an average of 5.3 violent acts per programme and 17.3 per hour, the study found. In a statement accompanying the survey, the Cable Association said the violence is a legitimate dramatic and journalistic representation of an unavoidable part of human existence, but said it would try to reduce the level of violence on case programmes.

Cable and Broadcast TV officials will meet later this year to discuss the question of television violence.

The study was commissioned in response to the Federal TV Violence Act of 1990, which provides anti-trust exemption to production and distribution companies seeking to reduce violence on television. - ZIANA-AFP

Front morally ineligible to govern Zimbabwe

dictatorship worse than * Idi Amin's regime could ensue if a united front of ZANU Ndonga, United African National Council (UANC) and the Conservative Alliance of Zimbabwe (CAZ) duped the electorate into voting it into power in 1995.

Local News

Zimbabwe Unity Movement (ZUM) President, Cde. Edgar Tekere, said this at a press conference in Harare recently. He said the fact that these three parties connived to murder thousands of innocent civilians during the armed struggle made them morally ineligible for a meaningful role in the postindependence era.

"Power hunger by senile political hasbeens is the sole motivation behind the so-called United Front and the question I beg to ask is; 'What are we going to have after ousting ZANU PF.' Maybe a civil war of Liberia's dimension as each tribe carves its share of the country," Cde. Tekere said. He emphasised that he was not going to negate his revolutionary past by collaborating with murderers of innocent civilians during the armed struggle.

PTC to retrain manual telephone operators

he Posts and Telecommunications

Corporation (PTC) will retrain and redeploy manual telephone operators who will be affected by the Mashonaland/Manicaland digitalisation programme.

The corporation said in a statement that some jobs will be made redundant but did not quantify. So far no workers have been retrenched due to the programme which is expected to improve the quality and quantity of telephone service.

Digitalisation is being funded through a bilateral agreement between the governments of Japan and Zimbabwe and the loan for the project was pledged in 1987. Tenders for the project closed in 1983 and the loan agreement was signed in September 1989 and became effective the same year. 5.24 billion yen was on-lent by the government to the PTC.

"ZUM does not mind being reminded that it is not as effective as it had led people to believe when it was formed, but that can never be an excuse for making flirtations with treasonous political parties," Cde. Tekere said. He added that ZUM will contest the 1995 general elections as a single party regardless of how this would affect its chances of winning the elections.

When asked to comment on assertions by some members of the opposition parties that ZUM was a front for ZANU PF, Cde. Tekere said even though this was untrue he was proud that his party was being likened to ZANU PF in terms of its people-oriented and revolutionary approach to important national issues.

"My party is a cut above the other opposition parties and a leap forward as compared to ZANU PF. Knowing ZANU PF as I do. I will take my time to erode its power". Cde. Tekere said. He said ZUM was mobilising individuals from human rights organisations and other political parties to form a commission to investigate loopholes for cheating in Zimbabwe's electoral process in time for the 1995 general elections.

Cde. Tekere said there were no records in the minutes of ZUM's disciplinary committees of the expulsion of former ZUM organising secretary, Cde. Patrick Kombayi and the 'so-called 1991 expulsion of Kombayi was invalid.' However, in 1991 Cde. Tekere was reported in a local newspaper to have vowed never to accept Kombayi back into ZUM after expelling him for holding an election meeting in Gweru without following proper guidelines of ZUM. Cde. Kombayi was recently reinstated into ZUM and was appointed national chairman. Cde. Kombayi's reinstatement took place during the trial of two Gweru men who are alleged to have shot him during the 1990 general elections and it is widely believed that Cde. Tekere calculated that the attention focussed on the trial would be a political advantage to ZUM when he reinstated Kombayi.

However, Cde. Tekere said, Cde. Kombayi, who had been very keen to attend the Harare Press Conference had, along with some national leaders of the party



ZUM leader. Edgar Tekere says no political front can dethrone ZANU PF

from Mutare and Bulawayo, failed to attend the press conference because of circumstances beyond their control. He refused to answer further questions on the reasons behind their failure to attend when members of the press kept on probing him as to whether there were differences within the party which might have led to their failure to attend the press conference.

He lambasted Cde. Canaan Banana, the former president of Zimbabwe, for criticising opposition parties in Zimbabwe and offering them advice on how they can manage their affairs so as to be effective. "If he is encouraging the opposition to be more effective, is he part of it? Can he fit in the opposition camp?" Cde. Tekere asked and added that the former president would not fit in the opposition parties following his involvement in the Lorac/Zimbank scandal. He said Cde. Banana's statement was a way of saying 'thank you' to the ZANU PF government for enabling him to live on a fat salary disguised as a pension and also for sending him on a pleasure trip to Liberia as part of the Eminent Persons group to find solutions to the conflict in that country. He said it was in bad taste for a former president living on 'salary' of \$400 000 to get involved in property speculation.

ZUM publicity secretary Cde. Edwin Chasi said, in response to a question, that a local landlord was last year forced to evict a complement of ZUM staff from some offices that he had earlier on agreed to lease to the party. He said ZUM had made agreement with the landlord that they were not going to wear their party T-shirts and anything displaying a ZUM emblem at the premises. He added that the party will continue operating from the houses of officials until the situation improved.

13

Angola: The war escalates

By Tendai Msengezi (SARDC)

ngola's quest for peace, which had seemed realistic with the A had seemed realistic with a signing of a ceasefire agreement and the country's first multi-party election now hinges, as it always has, on decisions to be made in Washington.

Throughout 1992, it appeared that Angola was far ahead of Mozambique in the race for peace. Now, a state of war prevails in several parts of the country between government forces and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA).

"The country is at war, not a declared war, but we are at war," said Prime Minister Marcolino Moco.

When the results of Angola's elections were announced in early October, the peace accord quickly broke down as UN-ITA, and more specifically its leader, Jonas Savimbi, rejected the results. This was despite the fact that international observers had been satisfied with the way the elections were conducted.

As 1992 came to a close, UNITA claimed it had taken control of 75 percent of the country, including the provincial capitals of southern and central Angola as well as parts of northern Angola.

Many observers felt that despite UNITA returning two northern cities as a result of UN pressure and some conciliatory statements by Savimbi, it was likely that UNITA wanted to seize as much territory as possible before the swearing in of Bill Clinton as US president on January 20.

The previous administration of George Bush, which had promised to recognise the government that won the elections, withheld its recognition of the newly elected Angolan government.

Under pressure from its own supporters as well as the military, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) government has now launched an offensive extend civil authority to the entire country, which UNITA refused during elections.

The first major battle was fought one month after the election in Luanda when the government forced armed UNITA soldiers out of the capital killing two of Savimbi's most senior aides.

generals and the government armed forces commander.

The sinister hand of South Africa's Department of Military Intelligence (MI) has been linked with the UNITA offensive.

Known MI agents were seen with the UNITA leader during the Angolan electoral process and afterwards. Worried about the continuous comings and goings of the South African foreign



UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi (left) with former US president Ronald Reagan. UN-ITA's refusal to accept election results has plunged Angola into civil war

The latest offensive by government minister, Pik Botha, the government ficame after unsuccessful diplomatic attempts to get UNITA to accept the results and take up posts offered in the government of national unity.

More than 1,000 people were reported killed around the port of Benguela when government troops retook that city as well as the ports of Lobito and Namibe.

Government sources also say they have taken over Savimbi's headquarters in Huambo and that he has fled, likely to his bush headquarters at Jamba.

Journalists who visited some of the areas say that most of the fighting had centred on UNITA installations and the property of UNITA sympathisers. Several senior UNITA officials were reported to have been arrested in Lubango and other parts of the country.

Cunenene province as well as Namibe city were also recaptured by government troops, although there was still fighting around Namacunde town.

Diplomatic sources said that Savimbi. apparently eager to stop the assault, told a US State Department official that he wanted a meeting between one of his nally declared him "persona-non-grata", effectively banning him from entering the country.

The Frontline states have accused South Africa of repeatedly violating their airspace, charging that South Africa's C-130 jet transporters - and possibly Russian planes - are flying heavy equipment to UNITA held areas.

More than 20 intrusions were reported in Zimbabwe alone, and several others in Namibia, Botswana and Angola.

Many political observers feel that a lot hinged on the coming to power of Clinton. The Clinton administration's inability to come up with a positive policy towards Angola after the elections have encouraged the rebel movement to step up its military campaigns.

The Clinton administration, supported by Portugal and Russia, had threatened to supply the MPLA with weapons if UN-ITA declined to resume negotiations. At the time of going to press, UNITA had budged and agreed to another round of negotiations. It remains to be seen whether this round will put Angola on the road to peace. - SARDC

ZIMBABWE NEWS FEBRUARY, 1993

International News

Angola calls for foreign intervention



Angolan president, Cde. Jose Eduardo

According to a British newspaper, The

Daily Telegraph, President Jose Eduardo

dos Santos also accused South Africa's

military establishment of maintaining

covert support for the rebels who now

control many parts of the country.

ngola recently called on the inter-

national community to help end the civil war by isolating Unita

dos Santos

rebels.

He said "the military actions of Unita strengthern the government's case in had a terrorist nature . . . Why don't they declare the radical wing of Unita a terrorist organisation. Why don't they prevent these people from travelling through western countries where they have representations and where they have heavy bank accounts. A lot could be done to assist Angola," President dos Santos was quoted as saying. Although the MPLA won a clear victory in last year's elections, Mr. dos Santos failed to secure 51 percent in the Presidential poll, which he needed to avoid a second ballot. Foreign intervention, he said, would the High Court.



President dos Sántos's comments came as his government claimed to have shot down a South African Hercules transport aircraft flying out to Jamba, Unita's southern headquarters. Pretoria officials have denied any South African role in the conflict.

On the issue of sanctions, Cde. dos Santos said: "If sanctions were applied against the white minority government of South Africa because of the apartheid regime, why cannot the same be done against the radical wing of Dr. Savimbi?"

President dos Santos, whose MPLA government won the elections last September, called for UN sanctions and said the United States should help halt the bloodshed in which more than 10 000 people have been killed.

He said the poll, after 16 years of civil war, was made possible by the signing of the Bicesse accords under the UN auspices. Since America, Portugal and Russia were guarantos of the accord, "the international community, and in particular these authorities, should take an attitude."

The SADC executive secretary, Cde. Simba Makoni

he message from SADC's cooperat-L day Donors Conference was that sustainability must be the linchpin of all future projects.

"Stand on your own feet, because we will pull out," is how one conference participant interpreted the message. But in an exclusive interview with Regional Intergration Bulletin, SADC Executive Secretary, Cde. Simba Makoni said the regional body has in any case been talk-

seeking a High Court ruling declaring Dr. Savimbi unfit to stand for election as president, eliminating the need for a second round of presidential elections.

America has so far refused to establish full diplomatic relations with Angola because the electoral process is not complete.

President dos Santos said he was committed to holding the second round but the latest fighting had delayed it. It could be cancelled only if a candidate refused to stand or was declared ineligible by

SADC must sustain itself



ing partners at the end of a two-

ing about the same issue. "It is a valid point. We ourselves have been talking about the need to sustain our resource base. If we can't get it right on the issue of sustainability, we are doomed," he said.

"We have a human resources problem to the extent that we need first to define needs, then match them to our material resources," Cde. Makoni said.

"The most binding constraint to our development is the people. We are not us-

International News

ing the full capacity and intelect of our people. We just clamour for more money and when we get it we can't use it." he said.

"We have to start with the people, money is a secondary tool, and I think we have put too much emphasis on money, resulting in skewed development," said Cde. Makoni.

Asked about levels of donor funding this year, he said: "They have committed themselves to maintain the level of funding to SADC." But a conference source pointed out that SADC took a decision in 1991 to ask member-states to increase by a substantial 40 percent contributions to the regional organisation's budget. In the past members' contributions accounted for just 5 percent of SADC's budget.

He told RIB: The donors claim that they are not reducing funds, but we know that they have already cut their budgets." he added: "Why do donors offer money then introduce complicated protocols for assessing that money?"

A US\$35 million Norsac Fund facility has

The Minister of Agriculture and Water

Development, Cde. Kumbirai Kangai

food aid needs. SADC comprises the ten



Cigarette manufacturing company in Zimbabwe - SADC will only sustain itself with successful industries

1990, because SADC countries were un- what happens when you are establishable to meet criteria surrounding dis- ing an institution with donor funding. facility

of the Danish International Development more evident to us that we have to be Agency (Danida) said: This is nothing more careful in selecting projects," the been unspent since it was set up in that we have ganged up about: This is official said.

bursement of the counterpart funding Eventually the member-states are going to take over. It is very important that. the level of cost can be borne by the lo-Speaking on behalf of donors, an official cal govenment. It has been more and

SADC's road to recovery needs support

Namibia, Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana.

In a press statement issued after the meeting, the Minister of Lands, Agriculture and Water Development, who is also the Chairman of the SADC Committee of Ministers of Food, Agriculture and Natural Resources, Cde. Kumbirai Kangai, said a consolidated review of food and non-food aid requirements for the However, donors at the conference ten SADC countries has indicated that an additional 10.2 million tonnes of food is required to feed the region's population up to the next season. Non-food aid increased by \$50 million.

Cereal output was estimated to have been only six million tonnes in 1992, inisters of Agriculture and and it was estimated that the region Transport in the Southern Afrineeded food aid totalling 7.75 million Lan Development Community tonnes to enable it to feed its popula-(SADC) met in Harare early this year to tion up to the next harvest. These estidiscuss the region's response to the mates were made following the 1992 1992 drought and also to review harvest season. progress in meeting its food and non-

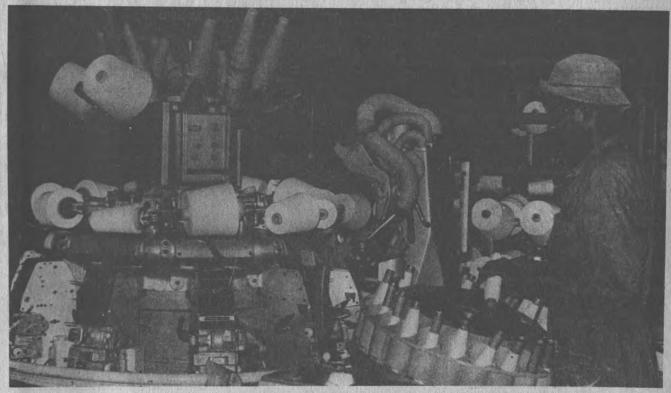
Recognising the need to solicit for funds Continued on page 1/

states of Tanzania, Malawi, Zambia, tor the procurement of the shortfall of Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Angola, food requirements for the region and also to put in place a coordinating mechanism. Agricultural and Transport ministers in the SADC region convened a meeting in Lusaka on April 16 1992 The meeting resolved that a joint SADC and United Nations appeal be made to the international community in June last year at the Geneva Donor Conference for aid totalling \$854 million.

> pledged \$600 million to meet food and non-food needs. Out of this amount, pledges to meet food aid amounted to 1.6 million tonnes, equivalent to 70 percent of the 2.4 million tonnes requested for the region. So far 1.4 million tonnes have arrived or are scheduled to arrive shortly. The region asked for 1.8 million tonnes of food to feed targetted vulnerable groups. 1.5 million tonnes was promised at the conference and this has all arrived. Total non-food requests in the original appeal had amounted to

International News

SADC's road to recovery needs support from page 16



Cone Textiles factory in Chitungwiza. Zimbabwe - The government of Zimbabwe has supported the clothing industry despite the drought were transported between April and De- He also announced that a representative

received.

mation of Regional Task Force comprising senior officials from the Ministers of Agriculture and representatives from national task forces to monitor the provision of food aid and its distribution. Six transport corridors were created through which drought related commodities totalling 4.9 million tonnes

cember last year. \$173 million: \$71 million has so far been Cde. Kangai also noted that a Transport Department of Humanitarian Affairs in and Logistics Advisory Centre was The Lusaka meeting also endorsed the for- formed in the wake of the Lusaka meeting with the assistance of the World Food Programme in Harare. As a result there has been an improved flow of information between corridor groups, governments and international community. Close coordination of food and non- However, it was said that the situation food shipments have also been will not be clear until March this year. achieved.

Mozambican assembly points to be set up

Mozambican and rebel Renamo forces must gather prior to their demobilisation would be set up this February, said United Nations Special representative to Mozambique, Aldo Aiello.

Speaking at a Press Conference recently. Ajello said he was not sure whether all 12 points to be opened in the first of four stages to place troops in garrisons could be established within a month. There are still logistical problems with some of the assembly areas.

he first assembly points where The move marks a further delay in the fighters' weaponry. implementation of the Mozambican peace accord signed on October 4, to end civil war that has ravaged the country since its independence from Portugal in 1975. The agreement itself stipulated that all forces had to be in assembly points by October 20 last year.

> The United Nations has been unable to meet such a deadline, and had only 20 military observers in place by late Oc- will press hard with information discustober. The observers are a necessity sions with both the government and since they are to supervise the assembly points and to take control of the Continued on page 18

from SADC is scheduled to join the Geneva in the near future. The department has been issuing monthly reports of the drought situation and food distribution in the region. It was revealed that most of the countries in the region are experiencing a better season this year as compared to the last four years.

The new timetable was worked out eary January. Ajello was initially hopeful that the first assembly points could be opened in January, but this too proved impossible. There are currently fewer U.N. observers in Mozambique than the 20 that were there in October, but Ajello was confident that a further 100 observers would arrive shortly. He said he

Renamo about the exact routes to be used by the units that will gather in the first assembly points. Technical teams have surveyed the first 12 points (seven for the government and five for Renamo), and their report has already appeared before the ceasefire commission.

Meanwhile, the government has handed three more housing units of dwellings in Maputo that the government is providing, rent-free to Renamo officials. The government is also meeting Renamo's other bills such as electricity. water, telephone and food. However, Renamo has repeatedly insisted that none of these houses are suitable for its leader, Alfonso Dhlakama, who is still living in his bush headquarters in the central district of Maringue. Though some of the houses are luxury units in the most elite parts of the city, Renamo secretary for Foreign Affairs, Jose De Castro, said the problem was finding space for all Dhlakama's bodyguards and secretarial staff. He could not say how many people Dhlakama intended to bring to Maputo, or the size of a house he requires. - ZIANA.



The Zimbabwe-trained Mozambican troops will join their colleagues in the assembly points

Beira-Machipanda road to be rehabilitated

he Beira-Machipanda road, the most important route linking landlocked Zimbabwe to the Mozambican seaport of Beira, is to be rehabilitated to cope with increased haulage and passenger traffic. The rehabilitation project, funded by the African Development Fund, is expected to improve the road so that it can accommodate present and increased future traffic at minimum costs.

Actual construction of the road is expected to start early next year and should be completed in three years. The African Development Bank Fund regional representative for Southern Africa, Mr. Mbuki Mwamufiya said the fund has decided to finance the rehabilitation of the road because of its importance not only to Mozambique but to neighbouring countries including Zimbabwe. Rehabilitation work is expected to cover 153,5 kilometres and is part of a 287 kilometre road from Beira, at sea, to Madimba near the Zimbabwe border.

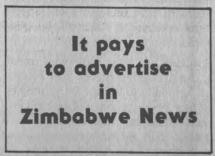
Mr. Mwamufiya said in its present state part of the road crossed plains which

were subject to seasonal flooding. In tal considering that the port of Beira has some areas it is narrow and has sharp curves which slow down traffic. He said with the end of civil war in Mozambique there were prospects of increased economic activity in that country and in other neighbouring countries and this meant the road would come under increased use and continue to be an important supply and export route.

The rehabilitation exercise is also expected to reduced future maintenance costs of the road. A spokesman for the Beira corridor group said the rehabilitation of the road was a timely initiative as it was an old road and had undergone a lot of stress often from the war and increased haulage traffic over the years.

The rehabilitation exercise would include elevation of parts of the road near the Pungwe flats which are subject to flooding. When the Pungwe flats are in flood cars and trucks cannot pass through the road until the waters subside. The flooding has also caused damage to the road. "I think the rehabilitation of the road is a very healthy development and is vibecome an important port for Zimbabwe, Zambia and other landlocked Southern African states", said the spokesman. He said the port of Beira has as from April last year to January this year handled over a million tonnes of grain for drought relief and some of this would be transported by road using the Beira-Machipanda route.

The road, particularly during the movement of drought relief food, has shown itself to be one of the region's most important transit route and any rehabilitation would help facilitate the movement of future food and non-food imports.



rior to the 31st December 1981 DRevolution in Ghana, there had been no consistent effort by successive governments and women's groups to surmount the impediments that relegated women to the background of the social mainstream in the country. On taking over power. Flt. Lt. Jerry Rawlings called for a transformation of the country's social and economic fortunes to overcome problems created by the period of stagnation of the 70s and 80s. This struck a special chord with progressive Ghanaian women who had recognised a need to rebuild the country through effective mobilisation of both human and economic resources.

International News

The period of stagnation and chaos was accompanied by an economic deterioration that saw a decline in food production, a fall in nutrition and ill-effects on the health of children. This accentuated the plight of the Ghanaian women who found it difficult to feed their families. Among close to two million Ghanaians who left the country in search of greener pastures during the period, many were women for whom the economy no longer offered any opportunity.

It was against this background that the 31st December Women's Movement was formed. The call of the Movement was for protection of the Motherland. threatened at the time Flt. Lt. Rawlings took power, with collapse and disintegration. It was a call for the emancipation of women from shackles that had prevented them from contributing their full quota to nation-building.

Though the Movement is sanctioned by the government, it does not receive government funding save for a complement of regional coordinators and the administrative staff who are paid salaries by the government. It is a selfsustaining organisation as far as its economic activities are concerned. It depends on the capacity of women to conceive, plan and implement development projects and also participate effectively in the objectives of the 31st December Revolution namely to build a new Ghana in which, as proclaimed in the government's Directive Principles of State Policy:

(a) a basis of social justice and equality of opportunities is to be established, par-



The Movement's Yilo Krobo Day Care Centre in Somauya has paid off

ticularly with attention being paid to the ty of the human person among all secdeprived sections of the community; tions of the society and established as (b) there is respect for fundamental hu- part of the basis of social justice. man rights and cultivation of the digni- Continued on page 20

The main task of the research will be to identify which components in the experimental FIV vaccine are necessary to provide the animal with protection. The aim is to produce the vaccines in purified form by genetic engineering. The team will also have to learn how the vaccine works, whether antibodies kill infected cells.

It is hoped that the results of the new investigation will help scientists to choose which of the many experimental HIV vaccines now being studied worldwide should .go forward for trials in humans. - LPS.

In search of a cure

The British scientists who helped pioneer a vaccine against the cat AIDS agent, Feline Immunodeficiency Virus, (FIV), plan to use the knowledge in an attempt to develop a human vaccine.

The group, from the Veterinary Pathology Department of Glasgow University in Scotland, has been given £2.3 million (Z\$18.4 million) under a UK Medical Research Council's AIDS Directed Programme to equip itself for a five-year search for a new vaccine capable of combating human AIDS.

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From its inception, the Movement has regarded the political education of women as a vital ingredient of the struggle for their emancipation. Through rallies and other fora the Movement has succeeded in raising the consciouness of women in Ghana about the need to participate actively in the political process.

The Movement has won the enthusiasm and involvement of women from all sectors of the society. Membership in the Movement is open to all Ghanaian woman, eighteen years and above, who are willing to accept the aims and objectives of the Movement. Members must be aware of their responsibilities and must be determined to contribute effectively towards the process of national reconstruction and to build an independent, prosperous and democratic Ghana.

To ensure that the branches of the Movement are self-sustaining as well as offering job opportunities to the members and others in general and also to supplement household budgets, the women are encouraged to undertake income generating projects. The agricultural programme includes production of food crops, building of storage silos, vegetable production on cooperative basis and the processing of raw materials to feed and clothe members of the movement. Pottery, arts and needlecraft, tie-and-dye and a plethora of other projects are undertaken by the members of the Movement.

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Members of the movement exhibit their farm produce

Members of the Movement are also engaged in day-care centres to enable working mothers to participate in the process of rebuilding the country. The educational thrust is not confined to children but has been extended to adults who are members of adult literacy programmes.

The Movement is also involved in primary health care, family planning workshops and medical clinics which

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are sponsored through incomegenerating projects, contributions from town councils and individuals and international health organisations. Training, educational materials and expertise are provided by appropriate state agencies.

The 31st December Women's Movement has joined all progressive forces in the promotion of world peace because women must play a vital role in promoting peace in all spheres of life.

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Talking Point

Lets call a spade a spade The plight of a Zimbabwean, journalist

By Zvenvika Kambizi

ell, it did not surprise me or any other "insane" journalist that the Zimbabwe Union of Journalists. (ZUI). "blasted" ZANU PF for the article I wrote and published in the December issue of The Zimbabwe News magazine. For a fact, the monthly publication is an official organ of the ruling Party, and I contribute to it as a staff writer. The fact that I believe ZUJ apparently overlooked is that while I am a member of ZANU PF, I am a trained journalist and very much independent in my own views and opinions like any other journalist in this country, employed by any other media organisation. Another point is that the article in question: The plight of a Zimbabwean Journalist appeared under the Talking Point column thus views expressed therein were purely mine, they had nothing to do with either ZANU PF as my party or employer. Infact, problems highlighted in that article are mine too, and I was merely voicing out my concern - anyone else could have done the same. Why drag ZANU PF into the argument, if any?

For the current ZUI office bearers to prefer the article as "insane" and not "serious" is unfortunate and unwarranted. Let it be understood at this point that ZUI office bearers are mere journalists like myself. Holding a post in the Union does not make them any superior. They experience the same problems etcetera, yet my fault was to discuss the "unspeakable"

This is indeed one aspect that confounds me. Journalists mix-up and work along with the rich and the poor. They are supposed to expose any ills in society without fear, yet they shun to tell the truth as regards their plight. All fellow reporters I spoke to before I wrote the article confirmed this fear: "Please don't publish our salaries. We are wellrespected by the public so much that if you let people get to know how much we earn, they will laugh at us." Then I asked: "For how long should we really continue to pretend to be on the other side of the river . . .?"

And when I tried to elucidate my point by discussing American reporters vis the Zimbabwean journalist, I was not even

Then, more absurd of all the absurdities to come from ZUJ was the allegation that ZANU PF was, by my assertion that the birth of a rival union was long overdue, "trying to incite members to revolt against the Union's leaders". First, ZANU PF, as I indicated earlier on, is neither me nor my editors - it is not a one-man business; perhaps, there is a hidden point here. Secondly, I find it difficult to understand why a 'good union' like ZUJ would tremble at the suggestion of the formation of a rival organisation. Do we not have two organisations that represent teachers in this country . . ZUJ most probably sought to attribute my article as ZANU PF material because it condemned its present leader for delivering a solidarity speech at a Democratic Party (DP) meeting held in

Gweru late last year. It is a fact too that the contents of the speech delivered by the journalist at the DP meeting are unknown to this day. In any case, he never tried to mention the contents of his speech at any one point in his response; I am not, however, interested at all in what he begged for from DP but in his misinformed reaction to my article.

I know his character to be argumentative even when there is nothing to be argued about. I remember during the President's Meet-the-People tour of the

relativity of a journalist in developed countries to other professions in the same countries. That is why I said for instance that a *Time* magazine editor gets more than the US President; and I still believe there is a point here regardless of the nation's economic status.

That was the reason too, why I discussed the position of a journalist in Tanzania and other countries in the Southern African region. The point is, I never compared the two, a Zimbabwean journalist against his American counterpart. This I believe was a deliberate misconstruction to mislead other journalists and the readership of The Daily Gazette in which ZUJ's response entitled ZUJ blasts ZANU PF was published on Saturday, 23 January, 1993.

a bit "insane". I merely tried to scale the Midlands Province when atter returning to Harare, he confronted one of my editors saying I was using his stories during the tour. One wonders how I could possibly have duplicated his stories when in fact, during the tour of Midlands Province we never met. Even if we met, how could this have happened when we channeled our stories from different places, and different times to different organisations . . . Anyway, let sleeping dogs lie.

> Nonetheless, it is common knowledge amongst us "insane" journalists that ZUJ, as an umbrella body of reporters should, like any other worker representative body, be politically neutral. Well, events have since changed after the Zambian general elections held last year in which a former labour union emerged victorius. Democratic as Zimbabwe is, it is never my duty to stand in the way of fellow reporters vying for top leadership positions - they might maybe be harbouring a "messiah"

My article addressed at length, paltry salaries for journalists, poor working conditions et cetera. It was at this point that I urged ZUJ to be more active or, face the challenges of a rival union bold enough to negotiate better deals for its members. Again I wonder . . . What is new or weird about this suggestion is it not democratic to have as many unions as possible for the same profession

. Is this not part of the philosophy of multi-partyism. In all cases, what has this to do with ZANU PF as a Party . . . Well, maybe because of "government failures". But, do we expect a better deal from a DP government should they ever win elections . . . Would Ian Smith give us pay rises if he were to regain power? ... This is a kindergatten debate I would never enjoy entering into at all costs. In fact, it goes to illustrate what sort of a union that harbours such minds.

Last but not least, it would, I believe, be of much interest to me and probably many others in the field today if ZUJ could enlist all its achievements since its formation - never mind the ZANU PF Government, its "failures" won't interfere with your list at all. Until then, I would rather call a spade, a spade.

Is tree planting a losing battle?



Cde. President R.G. Mugabe has led by example by planting trees on the national tree planting day

home to plant at his family's homestead near Tsholotsho. Usually he brings fruit trees, but this time he chose some fastergrowing types to provide shade.

of seedlings on the crowded bus, as I am for deforestation, the rather negative picalready loaded down with Christmas ture of irresponsible peasants chopping gifts and other items for my family. But down trees is not justified. Rather, there I consider it worthwhile," explains is careful conservation of existing trees. Moyo.

parts of southern Africa.

Tree planting in fields and around the home is very common in communal areas. Studies show that on average, Much of the deforestation in Southern each household has planted seven trees. Africa is due to factors beyond the con-The practice dates back many trol of peasants. generations.

vide poles, fruit and shade, some wood is removed from them and used for fuel which reduces the amount of fuel wood that has to be collected elsewhere.

Estephen Moyo makes a point of carrying five or six tree seedlings Fruit trees and small wood-lots of wat-third of the household in Swaziland's third of the household in Swaziland's most densely populated areas, according to a survey done in 1990. Some 85 percent of the households were found to have planted at least one tree.

"It's not easy for me to manage a box Though rural people are often blamed and widespread planting.

Moyo is typical of many people in rural A study in southern Zimbabwe showed that communal farmers make use of more than 1.50 species of indigenous trees in their farming systems.

The major cause of deforestation is the While trees are planted mainly to pro- clearing of land for agriculture according to a SADC regional forest inventory. Live trees are rarely thought of as firewood. Dead dry wood is easier to collect and carry and can be burnt immediately.

Fuel wood supply is becoming a critical problem in some areas and contributes to severe localised deforestation. People in Southern Africa depend on wood for cooking, heating and lighting.

Fuel wood accounts for 70 percent of the energy consumed in the region. In Malawi and Tanzania, fuel wood accounts for about 90 percent of energy used.

The civil wars in Angola and Mozambique have resulted in severe localised deforestation, as thousands of refugees concentrated together in camps collect the fuel wood they need.

Malawi with over one million refugees is most affected. The country has the highest rate of deforestation in the region, ten times higher than Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Malawi's Department of Forestry set up an aggressive campaign to promote the use of energy - efficient stoves together with charcoal produced from waste wood at government pine plantations.

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Is tree planting a losing battle? Continued from page 22



A forestry consultant, David French, said Malawi's stove and charcoal programme "is a laudable initiative, but can only reduce fuel wood consumption by a small percentage." Most Malawians cannot afford to pay for stoves and charcoal. They continue to rely overwhelmingly on the (free) indigenous woodlands.

While southern Africa's rural people do plant certain types of trees, it is not likey that many will begin widespread plant- a thousand trees. To make room for the ing of trees for fuel. As trees become scarce, they become more valuable. However, good agricultural land has also become scarcer. Farmers do find it economical to grow fire- as much maize as they can and to colwood in place of food, as food is still a lect firewood for free, rather than to remore valuable crop. The World Bank and the Malawi Department of Forestry calculated some years back that to become self-sufficient in fuel wood, each family would have to plant

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Vational tree planting could be a losing battle if people continue with the indiscriminate chopping down of trees

trees, each family would have to take almost half a hectare out of maize production

But to farmers it makes sense to grow move valuable cropland from production.

any forestry programmes in the region their changing their emphasis to reflect Continued on page 24



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new trends and ideas. Agroforestry, the planting of trees in fields and around homesteads, is being promoted instead of village woodlots.

farming reduces soil erosion and improves soil fertility.

"We plant trees to improve the land, not just for fuel wood" explains Renias Harare. "Forty acacia trees can naturally fertilize a hectare of land," he adds. The Institute teaches farming practices involving the use of trees.

Planting trees in fields takes just a small proportion of land out of crop production, especially if the trees are planted on contour ridges.

Trees can also be planted in grazing areas, though Dr. E.N. Chidumayo of the University of Zambia found in a survey that "people prefer to plant trees on "Seedlings must be protected from graz-

with fields adjacent to communal woodland have fenced off part for their own use. In this way they become selfsufficient in poles and fuel wood.

Most countries in the region have tried Making the trees an integral part of to tackle the problem of deforestation through tree planting programmes. Though tree planting days have been used as a rallying point for tree planting programmes, there must be a realis-Chikove of Fambidzanai Institute near tic idea of what tree-planting day can areas. and cannot accomplish.

> Seedlings require care for some time after they are planted. In an interview in Zambia, the Executive Director of a nongovernmental organisation that promotes the tree planting, the Human Set tlements of Zambia (HUZA), raised his concern over the low survival rate of trees and mentioned the need for education.

their own land rather than on com- ing and from fire, and must be watered,"

munal land". In some areas, villagers said Mr. Harrington Jere. "People tend to forget about trees minutes after planting. This means we have to plant trees into people's minds first before planting them into the soil so that people will not forget about them."

> Experts argue that deforestation is a problem that cannot be solved, but that impacts of deforestation can be reduced with appropriate tree-planting programmes directed at critical problem

> 'Forestry extension programmes must arise in response to real needs, build on existing local practices and be technically appropriate," said Ms J. Clarke of Zimbabwe's Forestry Commission.

Successful tree management in the region will depend on successful promotion of tree planting that meets local needs, education on how to care for seedlings, and successful protection and conservation of existing trees. (SARDC).

Democracy – past, present and possible futures

ollowing is an abridged version of a paper 'Democracy: Past, Present and Possible Futures' By David Held presented by Mr. David Held from the United Kingdom at the World Order Models-Project (WOMP) seminar held in Kadoma from January 28 to February 1, 1993. The seminar drew about 20 participants from the Middle East, South America, North America, Asia and Africa.

The meaning and context of democracy has changed dramatically from the ideals and aims of Athenian democracy as recounted in the famous funeral speech attributed to Pericles, a prominent Athenian citizen, politician and General. The speech was supposedly made over 2 500 years ago. However, the era of nation-states and societies in international and global networks have of late challenged the ancient concept of democracy and its practice.

the citizens can, and indeed should, par- as 'proper discussion, i.e. free and unof status nor wealth is an obstacle to assembly." the involvement of citizens in public af- Decisions and laws rest, or so it is

British Premier, Mr. John Major and his Western friends continue to preach and lecture Democracy to Third World nations yet they refuse to abide by decisions made by the developing countries

government is the principle of direct participation. The process of government it-Pericles describes a community in which self is based on what Pericles refers to ticipate in the creation and nurturing of restricted discourse, guaranteed by an a common life. In principle, neither lack equal right to speak in the sovereign

fairs. All citizens meet to debate, decide claimed, on conviction — the force of the and enact the law. The principle of better argument. The law of the state is

the law of the citizens. Before the law everyone is equal and everybody keeps the law. If the law was created within the framework of the common life, it may legitimately command obedience. Accordingly, the notion of the rule of law, due process and democratic legitimacy find early and clear expression in the policies of classical Athens.

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Ruled as it was by citizen governors, citizens were at one and the same time subjects of political authority and the creators of public rules and regulations. The citizens engaged in legislative and judicial functions. Athenian democracy required a general commitment to the principles of civic virtue; dedication to the city-state and subordination of private life to public affairs for common good. Of course, not everyone was allowed to count as a citizen. Among the excluded were women and a substantial slave population.

Plato's indictment of democracy is worth dwelling on briefly, for it contains criticisms which have been deeply influential in political thought. He pointed out that the minority who, equipped with skill and expertise, has the strongest claim to rule legitimately. The people conduct their affairs on impulse and prejudice. They have neither the experience nor the knowledge for sound political judgement. Further, the only leaders they are capable of admiring are sycomphants: leaders are duly honoured . . . (if) they profess themselves the people's friends.

He held that there can be no proper leadership in a democracy, leaders depend on popular favour and they will act to sustain their own popularity and positions. Political leadership is enfeebled by acquiescence to popular demands. Careful judgements, difficult decisions, uncomfortable options and unpleasant truths will of necessity be avoided. This state of affairs invariably leads to endless political manoevring, intrigue and instability, a politics of unbridled desire and ambition. All involved claim to represent the interests of the community, but allin fact represent themselvs and a selfish lust for power. In fact, marginalises the wise.

Until recently, the great preponderance of political thinkers have insisted upon the perversity of democratic institutions, the disorderliness of democratic politics and moral depravity of the democratic character. For the best part of two and half thousand years, the ideal of the active citizen, so central to the Athenian democracy, has met with suspicion and distrust.

The much-quoted Francis Fukuyama says democracy is the final and good political order because of all available political systems it alone stands as a reciprocal and equal agreement among citizens to mutually recognise each

other. The number of choices that countries face in determining how they will organise themselves has been diminishing over time.

If political thinkers today proclaim the virtues of democracy, it is liberal representative democracy, a version of democratic life very different from the classical

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, democracy took on its distinctively contemporary form: a cluster of institutions permitting the broadest participation of the majority of citizens in the selection of representatives who alone can make political decisions. This cluster includes elected governments, free and fair elections, a suffrage which embraces all citizens irrespective of race, class or sex and so on. Also included is the freedom of conscience, information and expression, the right of all adults to oppose their government and stand for public office and the right to form independent associations.

The consolidation of representative democracy has been a late twentieth century phenomenon for it is in the closing decades of this century that democracy has been securely established in the West and widely-adopted in principle as a suitable model of government beyond the West.

According to some thinkers, the contract between the ancient and the modern forms of democracy is inescapably a contrast between particular locales, tightly knit communities, a frugal economy, a concern for equality and civic discipline and on the other hand large nation-states, centralised bureaucratic hierachies, loosely connected commercial societies, inequalities of wealth and the free pursuit of private interests.

A second group of thinkers, comprising such notable figures as Schumpeter, asserts that Plato definitely hit the nail: small, participative communities have always been intolerant, unjust and unstable. However, contrary to Plato modern representative democracy overcomes the excesses of classical democracy because regular elections force a clarification of public issues, and the elected few, ableto withstand the political process, are likely to be competent and capable of discerning of the interest of their country.

However, decisions by quasi-regional and quasi-supranational organisations such as the European Community dimin-



ish the range of decisions open to given national majorities. Hence the idea of a community which determines its own future - an idea at the heart of democratic policy is accordingly problematic.

Developments that put pressure on national democratic policies are often referred to as part of 'globalisation' or more accurately 'Western globalisation'. It implies that the chains of political, economic and social activity are becoming world-wide in scope. It also implies that there has been an intensification of interaction and interconnectedness with and between states and societies.

What is new about the modern global system is the spread of the globalisation in and through new dimensions of activity-technological. Organisational, administrative and legal among others - and the chronic intensification of patterns of interconnectedness mediated by such phenomenon as modern communication industry and new information technology have shrunk the globe.

The concept of a ballot box as an instrument for legitimating a government to rule becomes open to question as soon as the issue of national, regional and global interconnectedness is considered. Whose consent is necessary and whose participation is justified in decisions concerning, for instance, AIDS or acid rain or the use of non renewable resources, or management of economic flows?

What is the relevant constitutional, regional or international? To whom should they be accountable? Further, what are the implications for the idea of legitimate rule of decisions taken in politics, with life and death consequences for large numbers of people, many of whom might have no democratic stake in decision-making? When consideration of issues raised by these questions are made the threat to national sovereignty and the relevance of the ballot box are rendered the more glaring.

Territorial boundaries demarcate the base on which individuals are included and excluded from participation in decisions affecting their lives, but the outcome of these decisions most often 'stretch' beyond national frontiers. The implications of this are profound, not only for the categories of consent and legitimacy, but for all key ideas of democracy: the nature of a constituen-

Democracy: past, present and possible futures Continued from page 25



ECONOMIC EMANCIPATION: The Organisation of African Unity continues to fight for the betterment of all its citizens long deprived of economic prosperity by the Western colonial rulers

cy, the meaning of representation, the proper form and scope of political participation, and the relevance of the democratic nation-states as the guarantor of the rights, duties and welfare of subjects.

However, these reflections ought in principle to cause little astonishment; for they go to the heart or deep structure of the modern system of nation-states which have been characterised by a number of striking features, including democracy in nation-states and nondemocratic relations among states; the entrenchment of accountability and democratic legitimacy inside state boundaries and the pursuit of power politics outside such boundaries; and democracy and citizenship rights for insiders and frequent negotiation for outsiders

The conception of international order which emerged to clarify and formalize the interstate system has been referred to as the 'Westphalian' model of sovereign power (after the Peace of Westphalia of 1648 which brought to an end the

German phase of the thirty year war). The model covers a wide period from 1648 to 1945 (although some would argue it still exists). It depicts a world community consisting of sovereign states which settle their differences privately and often by force; which engage in diplomatic relations but otherwise demonstrate minimal cooperation; which seek to place in their own national interest above all others; and which accept the logic of the principles of effectiveness, that is, the principle that might eventually make right in the international world-appropriation becomes legitimation.

The push of this framework of international affairs is that states have rarely been subjected to international moral requirements because they represent separate and discrete political orders with no common authority among them. In this situation, the world consists of separate political powers, pursuing their own interests, backed ultimately by their organisation of coercive power. Moreover, the resort to coercion

or armed force by non-state actors is also, arguably, an almost inevitable outcome. For communities contesting established territorial boundaries have little alternative but to resort to arms in order to establish effective over the area they seek as their territory, and in that way make their case for international recognition, for example Eritrea, East Timor and Kurdistan.

The United Nations Charter was distinctively innovative in a number of ways. I provided a forum in which all states were in certain respects equal, and a framework for unshackling many of the territories of the former empires: decolonisation. However, it would be misleading to conclude that the era of the UN Charter simply displaced the Westphalian conception of international regulation. The UN Charter constitutes, in many respects, an extension of the interstate system.

The organisations and procedures of the UN were designed partly to overcome

Feature

weaknesses of its precedent, the League of Nations. Its architecture, therefore was drawn up to accommodate the international-power structure as it was understood in 1945. The division of the globe into powerful nation-states with distinctive sets of geopolitical interests, was built into the Charter conception. The UN was virtually immobilised as an autonomous actor on many pressing issues.

One of the most obvious manifestations of this was the special veto power accorded to the five Permanent Members of the UN Security Council. Moreover, the Charter gave renewed credence (through Article 51) to unilateral strategic state initiatives if they were necessary in 'self defence', since there was no clear delimination of the meaning of this phrase. Peaceful ways of settling disputes as encouraged in the Charter have rarely been used with often very catastrophic consequences, example given, Yugoslavia. The UN Charter model,

despite its many good aims, failed effec- ing the collective security system entively to generate new principles of or- visaged in the Charter itself. The Chartganisation in the international order - er should be extended by adding the rewith the Westphalian order and gener- the case of disputes falling under the UN ate new democratic mechanisms of po- rubricor by providing for redress in the litical coordination.

Today, democracy can only be sustained in and through the agencies and organisations which form an element of and yet cut across the territorial boundaries of the nation states. The possibility of democracy today must, in short, be linked to an expanding framework of democratic states and agencies. I refer to such a framework as 'the cosmopolitan model of democracy' This cosmopolitan model presupposes, as transitional measures, that the UN system actually lives up to its Charter. would seek the creation of regional Among other things, this would involve parliaments (for example, in Latin Ameripursuing measures to implement the ca and Africa), and the enhancement of key elements of the rights convention enforcing the prohibition of the discre- pean parliament) in order that their detionary right to use force, and activat- cisions become recognised.

economic rationa By Simomo Mubi

nstitutional polygamy may not only have the advantage of minimising the spread of the dreaded AIDS Virus, according to its protagonists, but it can certainly have a definite economic rational.

Meki Muchipela, an elder of the Apostolic Faith, has firmly ensconced himself with six not only dutiful but industrious wives who over the years have earned him a mint.

Farming on 10 hectares in Domboshawa, a rural area on the outskirts of the capital city Harare, from market gardening in a good season he sales produce on a value in excess of Z\$2 000 In addition he produces 400 bags of A grade maize which can fetch a possible Z\$6 000 if the negotiated prices are approved. All this without dirting his hands, his wives do all the work.

With the money earned Meki has managed to support and educate his 23 children (14 girls and nine boys) and is the proud owner of three cars and one tractor.

He believes that the secret of his enterprise is in the good will and feeling that he has engendered among his wives. On his homestead each wife has her own separate kitchen and sleeping quarters.

"I am very fair and treat them all equally," said Meki.

Dutifully he apportions his time equally and spends three days and nights with

a different wife all year round. "If I ap- "We are a very strong and close famipeared to favour one in preference to the ly". asserts Avangelista. "If problems do others, then I would certainly have arise we sit together, discuss and then problems," he said.

tion of land out of a total of three hectares and the proceeds of their labour, personal use.

The working day of the women begins early, they rise shortly after dawn and together work in their husband's fields then later in their own.

The bulk of the economic responsibility for this family is assumed by Meki, with the wives left to use their money either on clot ing for themselves and their children (excluding school uniforms which en to another and when asked seemed Meki buys).

An interesting aspect of this form of polygamy is that it is the first wife who has to approve and sanction marriage to subsequent co-wives.

"If she did not like any of the women I would not have married them." he said.

Avangelista, Meki's first wife and married since 1959, has witnessed the economic advantages reaped over the years of having a free labour force seemed to genuinely approve her husband's Exuding a certain boyish charm lifestyle, as so most of their neighbours. Many of Meki's wives were acquired he was born, it is not difficult to apprecifrom poorer farmers who asked him to ate why he keeps his wives contented. marry and provide for their daughters.

a principle that breaks fundamentally quirement of compulsory jurisdiction in case human rights violations through a human rights court or by making a near consensus vote in the General Assembly a legitimate source of international law. The veto arrangement in the Security Council and rethinking representation on it to allow for an adequate regional presence — a basis might be established for the Charter model to generate political resources of its own, and to act as an autonomous decisionmaking centre.

> The cosmopolitan model of democracy such bodies where they exist (The Euro-

resolve them.

The wives are allocated their own por- Ememia, the third wife seems to concur as she happily prepares the evening meal for herself and six children. Today they are permitted to keep for their own is the turn of wife number two to cook for their husband. Meki will drop by just before bedtime in his rounds of goodnight to the wives where he is not spending the night.

> "We have no quarrels here because he treats us the same," said Amemia. Perhaps the proof of the conviviality of the set up is expressed by the children who chatter away from one wives kitchnot to mind the prospect of following in their mothers' footsteps and becoming multiple wives.

> Mercika, an 18-year-old attending secretarial college said; " If I find a good man 1 do not mind being married to either a polygamist or a monogamist."

Attesting to Meki's fair family management style. He has six sets of children born the same year and in the same month.

although Meki does not know what year

Peace and security in Southern Africa

uring the last decade and a half, Dinomentous changes have taken place in the Southern African region. Often turbulent and tragic, but also hopeful and positive, these changes have affected the lives of individuals. groups, societies, governments and states. Questions of peace and security retain their relevance during the transition to what is now referred to as a "new South Africa", says Professor Hasu H. Patel of the University of Zimbabwe in a paper presented at the recent World Order Models Projects in Kadoma.

The success of liberation wars and the fall of the Portuguese, South West African and Rhodesian regimes added fuel to South Africa's destabilisation policy in the region. This policy has caused immense death, destruction, misery and financial cost to the region, the effects of which will be felt for many years w come

Professor Patel believes that while South Africa's regional destabilisation activities have decreased during the last few years, they could be revived, depending on developments in that country. The region has remained even more insecure due to the legacy of the Cold War's East-West rivalry which backed rival groups in Southern African countries like Angola and Mozambique.

The end of the Cold War has resulted in the loss of material support for South African liberation movements and the accentuation of a long-standing Western concern for the welfare and rights of the whites. The West's basic position will continue to be "majority rule with guarantees for the white minority".

Peaceful resolution of conflicts During the last five years, there has been a growing preference in intra-state and inter-state relations for peaceful resolution of conflicts. This was evidenced by the 1987 ZANU PF and PF-ZAPU Unity Agreement which marked the end of the dissident menace in Zimbabwe. There is the peace process in Mozambique which hopefully might culminate in national elections later this year.

Although the outcome of the South Afri-

can transition is not clear, that process humiliate radical states in the region and did not start with Frederick de Klerk but ensure that socialism was seen as rather with the August 1989 Harare Declaration of the Organisation of African Unity ad hoc Committee on South Africa. The Harare Declaration was the adoption of the African National Congress (ANC) constitutional proposals.

Despite that positive process, South Africa has threatened to launch cross border raids into the Frontline states. The renewed threats were followed by violations of the air spaces of Botswana, Zambia, and Zimbabwe by South African military planes.

"Angola and Mozambique, especially, have been devastated and the region has known extreme insecurity and lack of peace. It will take generations, if ever, for the region to recover from the death. destruction, economic losses, and physical and psychological scars inflicted on power. it by South African destabilisation," says " Professor Patel in the paper.

He said the cost of the war over the last 15 years in Angola is over US\$20 billion. Over one million Angolans have been displaced and close to 500 000 have died. About 1.9 million are directly threatened by famine in southern and central provinces. 70 000 Angolans sition to majority rule in South Africa. are-mutilated.

Mozambique

Nearly one million people are estimated to have died due to the hostilities in Mozambique, 1.9 million are displaced inside the country and 1.5 million outside. Half of the country's primary schools and more than a third of its health network have been destroyed in attacks. Half of the population of 14 million depend on food aid for survival.

Foreign aid accounts for 76 percent oi the Gross National Product, compared to an average of 11 percent for sub-Saharan Africa as a whole, making Mozambique the most aid-dependent, country in the world.

South Africa's destabilisation policy was peace and security are ongoing and meant to perpetuate white minority rule probably never-ending concerns for in South Africa, make South Africa's governments and people in Southern neighbours dependent and pliant states, Africa.

bankrupt. It was also aimed at showing that South Africa was a victim of international communist intervention and aggression and thereby win western assistance. It was aimed to show that the threat to white minority rule in South Africa was external and not internal (by the blacks).

The destabilisation policy was also meant to show its neighbours that support for liberation movements and sanctions against South Africa would be costly to them. White South Africans' hegemonic ambitions in the region were defeated at Cuito Cuanavale in Angola in mid-1988. The defeat led to the scaling down of its regional destabilisation policy because the policy exacerbated rather than reduced the threat to white

. But, it must be remembered that South African 'non-official' support for Renamo continues and, depending on developments within South Africa, the destabilisation policy could be activated again," emphasised Professor Patel. He added that a true peace dividend will only come with a relatively smooth tran-

To a greater extent, peace and security in the region will be a function of developments in South Africa. Changes in that country during the last few years, exhibit both promises and dangers for both South Africa and the region. There is a trend towards a negotiated settlement by the main players, the ANC and the National Party both of which can not afford to ignore the Communist Party, Pan Africanist Congress, Azanian People's Organisation, Inkatha Freedom Party and the Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB).

Thus, while the South African region has been a region of war for a long time and seems to be settling down, war clouds still hover over the region. However,

Good governance and economic development inseparable



ANC president Cde. Nelson Mandela (left) and enstranged wife, Winnie (far right) at an OAU summit in Nairobi. The West has stubbornly ignored Third World calls against conditional aid

declaration on Africa was made at the Edinburg Summit in Britain A at the Edinburg Summit in Britan which was convened by a twelvemember European Community. The declaration highlighted the need for the community to concentrate more on the outside world now that its internal differences have been resolved.

Addressing the Nigerian Institute for International Affairs in Abuja, Nigeria, recently, the British Foreign Affairs Secretary, Mr. Douglas Hurd, said he has resolved to use his position of Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary and his membership of the European Council of Ministers to help Europe concentrate more on the outside world than before. Britain recently ended its presidency of the European Community.

"I sympathise with anyone who, after The delegation also visited Somalia. following the European debate from Africa in these last months might think that we have become obsessed with our- by former British Prime Minister, Marselves in Europe," Mr. Hurd said in reference to fears expressed by leaders of Third World countries that the creation of a single European market was going to result in more trade barriers against more inward-looking.

He said we live in a world village where troubles, problems and opportunities in any one part of the village reflect very quickly, almost within hours, what is

He said the creation of a single European market, whose Act was negotiated garet Thatcher, in 1985, is not aimed at erecting fresh barriers between Europe and the outside world. He pointed out that Europe is removing trade and nontrade barriers between the twelve memdeveloping countries as Europe becomes bers of the community. He added that what the Single Market should mean for the outside world is the ability, without further fuss and paperwork, to use any of the member states as a bridge onto the continent of Europe.

happening in the rest of it. He added "We don't believe in a fortress. We bethat Europe has not neglected Africa. lieve that there is a prospect for Europe Last year, he led a delegation from the as a huge open trading area and that European Parliament to South Africa. is one reason why we are working hard



Nguza Karl -1 - Bond, former Zairean premier - His country is in chaos with western donors refusing to assist Zaire because of its refusal to embrace democracy

Sport

for a successful outcome to the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tarriffs and Trade (GATT)," Mr. Hurd said. He added that trade should be a liberating not an imprisoning factor. He pointed out that aid is useful in development but experience shows that ultimately it is trade and investment that are the keys.

Commenting on the linking of economic aid to human rights records of prospective recipients, he said there has



The former US President George Bush, good governance had nothing to do with economic development. It meant installing puppet governments with US interests in other countries

been some misunderstanding on this subject. He said European countries require good human rights records, accountability and pluralism as conditions for aid because they believe that basic freedoms, that is freedoms of associanot the product of one civilisation or another: They are universal and they are in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. He said they are what people demand all over the world.

"So when we promote these freedoms we are not demanding or asking for multi-party democracy on the lines we see at Westminister. There was a time - I admit it freely - maybe thirty-five years ago, when there rather was an oversimplified view in London that it should be possible in Africa to create carbon copies of Westminister."

"You sent out a wig for the Speaker to wear, a mace for him and some furniture for the Assembly and you believed that was an adequate carbon copy. Democracy has to grow out of the requirements and traditions of the local people, but it does have to grow. This means different models respecting these universal freedoms," Mr. Hurd said. He added that pluralism means distributing political power throughout the state, the government, parliament, the media, the business community, the judiciary, the universities, other traditional structures, rather than concentrating it in a single pair of hands.

Mr. Hurd said it takes time for most Third World countries to fulfil these requirements and it must be part of the sensitivity of the aiding countries to take cognisance of this fact. He pointed out that respect for human rights and the institutions that embody that, have to grow on the ground — they cannot be imported. That takes time but they do tion, assembly, press et cetera, are in- go hand in hand, that is good goveralienable. He said these freedoms are nance and economic development.

World cup final to earn \$400m

he 1994 World Cup soccer tions are expected to cost about 1.5 milmatches at Giants stadium in the lion dollars. New York Jersey region will bring Giants Stadium is one of the nine venues

Economic Impact reports says the money Governor lim Florio said the matches alwill come from sales tax collections from a low the state to tout itself as a tourist variety of sources, including tourism and cul- destination. tural events.

Seven matches, including a quarter-final and semi-final, will be held at Giants Stadium in June and July 1994. Conversion of the field at the 78 000-seat stadium on natural grass and other renova-

more than \$400 million in economic ac- to be used for the 52-game, month-long tivity in the region, a new study says. championship. The others are Boston, Dallas, Detroit, Los Angeles, FLA, San The New-Jersey New York World Cup 94 Francisco and Washington. New Jersey

> 'The World Cup will be worldwide permanent exposure of New Jersey to people everywhere. We think of New Jersey as having a good story to tell and now we will have a billion people around the world to tell to it," Florio said.

Poetrv Margaret Hanyani the poet Charter district of Masvingo province, sources of joy. Her creative brain is al



peing rural oriented, enthusiastic and an actress in her own right, Dit has been too hard for Margaret Hanyani to avoid expressing her visionary feelings in the form of poems.

Like most embattled Zimbabwean intellectuals, she says it would be "heartless" to take her away from poetry and Born on March 20. 1960. in the then drama which have become her main internationally recognised poet.

material.

Good days and times For business affairs:

February:8th Monday: - from 1104 to 1317

11th Thursday: - from 0910 to 0951 17th Wednesday: - from 1341 to 1439 17th Friday: - from 0559 to 0843 22nd Monday: - from 0604 to 0653 26th Friday: - from 1307 to 1531

March: Ist Monday: - from 1112 to 1259

4th Thursday: from 1106 to 1149

For farming activities

February: 10th Wednesday: - from 0607 to 0741 11th Thursday: - from 0609 to 0746 12th Friday: - from 1309 to 1532 17th Wednesday: - from 0910 to 0951 22nd Monday: - from 0559 to 0652 25th Thursday: - from 0912 to 0957

March: 2nd Tuesday: - from 0808 to 0919

3rd Wednesday: - from 0607 to 0751 5th Friday: - from 0559 to 0843

For health matters 1310

10th Wednesday: --- from 0913 to 0957 12th Friday: - from 1311 to 1543 15th Monday: - from 0605 to 0654 18th Thursday: - from 1611 to 1721 22nd Monday: - from 0607 to 0656 24th Wednesday: - from 1341 to 1447

March:3rd Wednesday: - from 0911 to

0951 4th Thursday: - from 1106 to 1149

February: 8th Monday: from 1107 to 1343

11th Thursday: from 0911 to 0957 12th Friday: from 0607 to 0851 17th Wednesday from 0913 to 0949 18th Thursday: from 1109 to 1158 22nd Monday: from 1141 to 1323 26th Friday: from 0609 to 0851

March: 4th Thursday: from 1611 to 1725

5th Friday: from 0612 to 0839

five. A former student of Mount St. Mary's Catholic Mission and Mufakose High School, Margaret's poetry career dates back to her formative years when even as a grade seven pupil, she won the Mashonaland East spelling competition. She lifted a prize for her school that included library books and personal study

"During those days I never saw any seriousness in poetry and people could only express their feelings in compositions and through public debates. At primary school I never met a single poem in textbooks and there was very little dramma," said Margaret adding that there were only debates at which the shy could not express their feelings.

Margaret is the first born in a family of ways very active in the womb of societal problems. Apart from being a poet, she is also a prominent member of the "Screen Talent" Drama Club based in Harare.

> So far Margaret has written 30 English poems and 25 Shona ones, among which are: Who am I. The Unwanted Chief. Baby Dumping, The unfortunate situation and Ndakwegura mukanya through which she reveals some hidden pages of pain concerning the modern way of life which she says has eroded the African child's traditional and moral values.

> She is currently compiling her poems for publication and if all goes well, the book will be on the market by the end of this year. Margaret urges women writers to fight their plight hard and give themselves time to produce better educational material. Above all, she aims to be an



For weddings and domestic affairs

For educational pursuits February: 8th Monday: - from 1107 to February: 10th Wednesday: from to 0741

11th Thursday: from 0612 to 0747 12th Friday: from 1307 to 1541 17th Wednesday: from 0911 to 0951

18th Thursday: from 0912 to to 1053 22nd Monday: from 1115 to to 1317 24th Wednesday: from 1341 to 1446

March: 3rd Wednesday: from 0609 to 0737

4th Thursday: from 1117 to 1153

For entertainment and artistic services February: 8th Monday: from 1311 to 1342

11th Thursday: from 1606 to 1752 12th Friday: from 1709 to 1749 17th Wednesday: from 1341 to 1452 19th Friday: from 1311 to 1543 24th Wednesday: from 0911 to 0943 26th Friday: from 0618 to 0848 28th Sunday: from 1813 to 1903

March: 1st Monday: from 1117 to 1349 4th Thursday: from 1613 to 1741

A Tribute to Amai Sally Francisca Mugabe Ey Cde. Jairos Kangai of Kwekwe

On 27 January in the mourning, Zimbabweans woke up mourning, For their dearest Amai had gone, Snatched from them by death. Rest in peace Amai Sally Francisca Mugabe, Rest in peace!

And they remember you, all those you served, For thousands of lives you saved,

Under the banner of Child Survival and Development Foundation, With Chapters all over the country. Rest in peace Amai Sally Francisca Mugabe. Rest in peace!

The lives of children you guarded like a tigress. For their total development and progress. Fund-raising campaigns sapped your energy, All this for their survival and welfare. Rest in peace Amai Sally Francisca Mugabe, Rest in peace!

A dark cloud shrouded Zimbabwe, And the nation cried, "Amaiwe!" Their hearts pierced by the saddest news, Of their beloved mother's death. Rest in peace Amai Sally Francisca Mugabe, Rest in peace!

'Where is our mother? we can't have another, As most loving and kind. Sure, death is so cruel," many still cry. Rest in peace Amai Sally Francisca Mugabe, Rest in peace!

In politics you showed patriotism, And stood by Cde. Mugabe and crushed colonialism. You worked beyond the saving: Behind a successful man, there's a hardworking woman. Rest in peace Amai Sally Francisca Mugabe, Rest in peace!

An epitaph on Amai's tombstone: 'Here lies the First Lady, Amai Sally Francisca Mugabe, A daughter of Ghana, a daughter of Zimbabwe,

- A gallant daughter of Africa.
- A champion of the survival and development of children, Cherished by all Zimbabweans, men and women,

Married to His Excellency, the Honourable President Robert Gabriel Mugabe, A great statesman of Africa. Amai, a VIP, died on 27 January 1992, Leaving a yawning gap. Rest in peace!"

Amai tinokurumbidzai! (We praise you!) Amai tinokukudzai! (We respect you!) Amai tinokuyeukai! (We remember you!) REST IN PEACE!



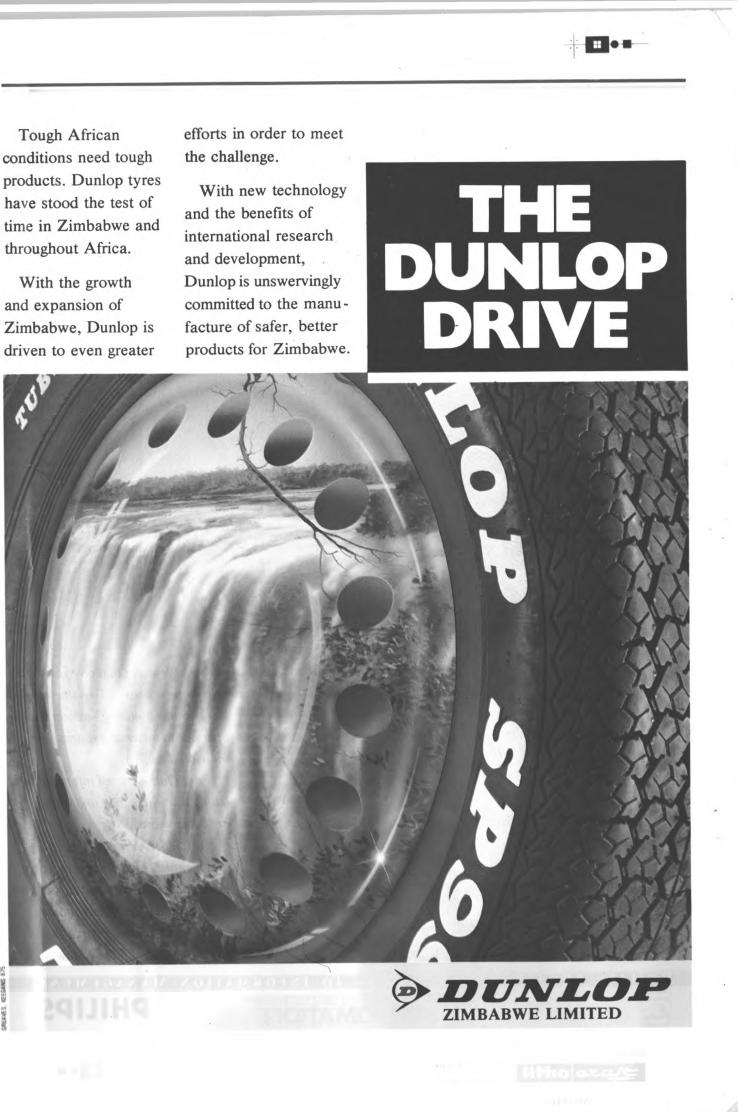
Amai Sally with some of the many children she assisted one way or the other country-wide



Amai Sally entertaining Cuban President, Cde. Fidel Castro at the Child Survival office in Harare

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