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FRELIMO'S FOURTH CONGRESS held last month in Maputo will certainly go
down in history as a watershed in Mozambique's long march towards socialism.
The report of the Central Committee, delivered in President Samora Machel's
masterly fashion, was a unique record of the party's stewardship since the Third
Congress.
The report was candid and blunt about failures in certain aspects of economic
performance - especially in the agricultural sector. It scientifically examined the
forces
at work in Mozambiquan Society and suggested concrete tasks for the future. It
must be read by everyone who is interested in the Construction of Socialism in
Zimbabwe.
As a public service, we serialize the report in the Zimbabwe News starting with
this issue. We hope and trust that the reading of the Report will sharpen and
deepen our ideological consiousness as we ourselves approach the Second
Congress of ZANU (PF).
Dear Editor
All along Nkomo has denied complicity in the atrocious activities of dissidents.
Events have proved otherwise, since a number of captured dissidents have
confessed that they owe allegiance to him. It is a known fact that among the
demands made by the dissidents who abducted the six tourists last year, was one
that categorically stated that Nkomo and his top lieutenants must be taken back
Into Government. Another case in point is that evidence heard during the
Dabengwa/Masuku trial pointed out to the fact that ZAPU leaders are involved
in sponsoring dissidents as well as providing them with the infrastructure within
which they can operate.
Zapu Sponsorship
An objective assessment of the whole situation would In-
dicate that obviously these bandits are perpetrating these atrocities at the directive
of the ZAPU leadership, with Joshua Nkomo at the helm. If the dissidents had no
links whatsoever with him or his ZAPU party, why would they demand his
reintatement into Government? Why would they be interested in furthering the
destructive aims of ZAPU? Why are they only able to operate in areas where
ZAPU has a considerable following? What convincing explanation can ZAPU
give for its massive arms caches? All this makes a mockery of Nkomo's denials
and presents him to the masses as an old man suffering from political
hypocondria.
By supporting the infrastructure within which dissidents operate, ZAPU is not
only doing an enormous disservice to the nation, but is desecrating the sacred
blood
of our fallen heroes who died during the liberation war. In'- deed they must be
turning in their graves. Every progressive and politically mature member of
Zimbabwean society is well aware that, after our protracted liberation struggle,
now is the time to consolidate the historic gains of our revolution, socially,
politically and economically and yet Nkomo and his clique have chosen to
destabilise the nation In pursuit of personal rather than national goals. Indeed it is
inconceivable.
There can be no doubt that Nkomo is now engaged in the politics of desperation. His allegations that the Government is intent on making life difficult for the people in Matabeleland are totally unfounded and a smack of treason. In fact they have been proved groundless by objective pressmen, particularly when the former Zimbabwe Rhodesian president, Gumedde paid a courtesy call on the Prime Minister, Comrade Mugabe, and President Banana, after Nkomo had called a Press Conference to say that the former president had been killed by security forces. That allegation and the fact that it was proved false made the whole thing counterproductive. It further sunk Nkomo's credibility to a lowebb.

Nkomo has, for long, enjoyed the unquestioned and blind allegiance of his Party membership. Now that the former ZAPU empire in Matabeleland is crumbling, Nkomo is like a drowning man holding on to a sheaf of grass. If he still cherishes the dream of gaining political power in this country, he is obviously suffering from delusions bordering on insanity. The truth is that Nkomo's physical stature is now inversely proportional to his political standing in Zimbabwe, so much that he will never be the leader of anything other than his decadent, old political party, ZAPU.

The Sun is Setting

When Nkomo attempted to flee from the country using a false passport, but was apprehended by the Police, the writing was on the walls that the sun was setting for the former political giant. Comrade Emmerson Mnangagwa, Minister of State in the Prime Minister's Office (Security), and Member of the ZANU (PF) Central Committee, said at the time that the Government had information to the effect that he was not going to Prague as he claimed, but was heading for racist South Africa. In fact the Government has ample evidence that Nkomo was scheduled to address a series of Press Conferences in South Africa. Arrangements had been made for him to meet South African journalists, some of whom were already waiting for him at Jan Smuts airport. To seek assistance from racist South Africa for the sole purpose of violating this country's independence is incredible. In fact it is contrary to all reasonable expectations because that country is a regional as well as international outcast, because of its persecution and criminal exploitation of the Black race. It is therefore incomprehensible, indeed incongruous that Nkomo wants South Africa as an ally against peace, stability and self-determination in Zimbabwe. What a paradox!

Having been apprehended by members of the Zimbabwe Republic Police before he could gap it, Nkomo could not contain his incorrigible penchant for pandering to the whims of the international Press that has made it its duty to paint an imaginary and horrifying picture of a Zimbabwe riddled with economic chaos and on the brink of a civil war-- a situation which is non-existent in Zimbabwe. At a Press Meeting he hurriedly and clandestinely called for, Nkomo alleged, among other things, that he had been virtually under house arrest. But Comrade Ushewokunze, Member of the ZANU (PF) Central Committee, and Minister of
Home Affairs denied this and said, instead, that Nkomo had some charges pending against him viz-a-viz:
(a) Contravention of the Precious Metals Act. Nkomo II-
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legally dealt in Emeralds.
(b) Failure to declare currency at a point of exit.
Comrade Ushewokunze also said, "We have reports right now that he and Ian
Smith are featuring on South African television saying things that are calculated
to bring the Republic of Zimbabwe into disrepute."
When he was apprehended Nkomo claimed that he was going to Prague to
address a meeting of the World Peace Council and that he was the Vice-President
of the Council. An official of the Czech Embassy quickly refuted these claims.
The official said that Nkomo was not the VicePresident of the Council and that no
meeting of this organisation was taking place in Prague until the second week of
June.
Nkomo's self-image has been irretrievably destroyed, not by anynone, but as an
offshot of his own imprudent manoeuvres. The verdict at the 1980 General
Elections showed, beyond reasonable doubt, that Nkomo had been
overwhelmingly rejected by the masses of Zimbabwe. Yet Nkomo arrogantly
refuses to accept this. This selfproclaimed king of the Ndebele has sealed his own
political coffin because he has failed to check his selfdestructive impulse.
Thousands of his party followers, no wonder, have managed to unshackle the tight
almost mystic grip he had around them, and are accordingly crossing the floor to
join the sole progressive Party in Zimbabwe, ZANU (PF).
Nkomo has been making loud Press statements about the deployment of the 5th
Brigade in the dissident infested areas of Matabeleland. What he refuses to
highlight is that the 5th Brigade had to be deployed there because of the activities
of his recalcitrant political thugs. One finds it amusing, if not preposterous, that
Nkomo has the shameless effrontery to pass depriciatory remarks about the 5th
Brigade, and yet he has not, at any time, seen it fit to denounce and admonish his
Zipra Forces who are raping, robbing, and murdering innocent civilians as well as
retarding development. The objective reality is that, as the people in the dissident
Infested areas are prepared to testify, the masses have welcomed the deployment
of 5th Brigade. Of course wherever there is a military operation of such
proportions as that in Matabeleland, it is Inevitable that some innocent civilians
will be caught in
crossfire. This Is not aZimbabwean peculiarity, so much that Nkomo's allegations
must be seen against this fact. Indeed, it is an incontrovertible fact that the Army
has brought security and relief where previously there had been harassment, rape
cold-blooded murder. The 5th Brigade received intensive training from Korean
military experts so much that it can cope with the dissident menace without
having to resort to activities as those alleged by Nkomo.
Government Duty
Obviously no government worth its salt can passively watch while renegade
elements embark on missions that retard development and that cause untold
hardships on the povo. The Government has to fight for the preservation of basic
principles enshrined in the constitution. Action has therefore to be taken when these basic principles are violated, in this respect Nkomo should be the last to complain when members of his dissident army are killed. He must remember that anyone who wishes to take up arms against the Government must expect to be met by a superior force. There can be no doubt about that.

If Nkomo is pining for greatness, he has chosen the wrong way to go about it. His grandeur, if he would have any, should lie in his positive commitment to do everything possible to help Comrade Mugabe in ensuring that political and economic stability as well as peace prevail in the country. His public outcries show that he does not intend to do that.

If anything he is sowing seeds of disharmony and animosity among people and promoting the interests of forces of destabilisation which are currently operating in the country.

Nkomo's True Image
As a last act of desperation, Nkomo crossed the border illegally by night, to Botswana, dressed like a fat "old woman". By fleeing the country Nkomo has clearly demonstrated that his political career has come to an unceremonious end. His political fuel has run out. Of course he can play to the whims of the international press while in London, but all progressive people will recognise him for what he is; a man obsessed with projecting a false self-image and ridden with an inordinate desire for personal glory and power, a man moving along the path to eternal shame. Nkomo had to flee because he could not stand the political pressure that he had built around himself. Most Zimbabweans were not very surprised that he decided to flee from the country. He is past-master at doing that. His resourcefulness in organising quick gateaways is well known. He deserted most of our present leaders on a number of occasions, leaving them languishing in Smith's detention camps.

Nkomo has shown himself to be what he is; a man with neither principles nor conscience. His political aptitude has always been quesonable. His unbridled passion for personal gain and power is proverbial. Nkomo could not have found a better way to demonstrate these serious flaws in his character than by fleeing to London. Maybe this is a blessing in disguise because Some of his Party followers will see him for what he really is - a politically misdirected and disenchantd old man and a mere puppet of the forces which are eager to see Zimbabwe in political chaos and economic disarray.

Warning
However Nkomo must be warned that the masses of Zimbabwe will stand firm against whoever wishes to play vassalage or pay servitude to elements bent on reversing the gains of our revolution, and that the people's elected Government will spare no effort to rout out dissidents and their sponsors. Zimbabwe is a young nation recuperating from the ravages of a protracted liberation war. It is therefore obvious and logical that every patriotic Zimbabwean must focus his attention on, and co-operate in development. Behaving otherwise amounts to treason. Agents of subversion, take heed! Pamberi Nacomrade President Robert G. Mugabe! Pamberi neZanu-PF! Pasi Nezvimbwasungata!
The mysterious appearance of a Taiwan delegation on Zimbabwean soil in violation of Zimbabwe's foreign policy was quite embarrassing, to say the least. In view of the fact that Zimbabwe has never found it proper to establish diplomatic relations with Taiwan, let alone direct trade links, it is imperative that the Taiwan case should be taken seriously.

I do appreciate the fact that the Minister of Home Affairs, Comrade Ushewokunze, responded to the Taiwan entry scandal promptly and firmly when he suspended the Chief Immigration Officer. The subsequent action taken by the authorities when they ordered the Taiwan delegation to leave the country, was also a commendable move.

While this particular incident is now over, what is important is to examine the local Taiwan agents who organised the entry into Zimbabwe by the delegation. I understand that the Zimbabwe Rotary Club was the host of a delegation from a country Zimbabwe does not recognise. In whose interests and by what authority did the Rotary Club assume such a role?

It is indeed nonsense for anyone to suggest that the elements who were involved in the arrangements of the visit of the Taiwan delegation were ignorant of Zimbabwe’s foreign policy. While I appreciate the fact that voluntary associations like the Rotary Club may have played a role in one form or another in the development of the country, we should never fall prey to the idea that all is clean in these social groupings. A number of cases have shown that voluntary organisations have often been used as strategic bases for foreign Intelligence services hostile to progressive Governments.

The close relations that Taiwan has with the Pretoria regime and Zionist Israel are well known. What guarantee do we have that the Taiwan delegation was not sent by a foreign power which is hostile to Zimbabwe?

A serious security check-up operation should be made to ensure that there are no subversive agents in the Rotary Club and at the Immigration Offices.

Dear Editor
Remarks made by the President of the Zimbabwe National Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Bostch, cannot go uncorrected.

Basic Government Policy
He needs to be told that the co-existence and interdependence between the State and the Private sector has remained the basic policy of the popularly elected Government in this transitional period from the inherited colonial economic structure to the one which forms the backbone of socialism.
The business community should know that by adopting a cooperative strategy or the interdependence policy it does not mean that the Government is subordinate or subservient to the aspirations of the private or multinational corporations. Government policy cannot be dictated to by the desires of the private sector. On the contrary, the private sector should accept Government guidelines and follow national policies as outlined. While I recognise the role of the private sector in the socioeconomic development of our society, I want at the same time to stress that the vanguard force of this sector did not participate in the struggle for national independence. They cannot therefore be the champions of the socialist revolution. The laws of social development clearly show that the class nature of those who unswervingly adhere to free enterprise take a position which militate against the interests of the toiling masses. Maximum profit, if I may call a spade a spade, is the major goal of private enterprise. Our Government is committed to elevating the standard of living of the masses and not to pursue the maximum-profit orientation of the free-enterprise elite, as Mr. Bostch seems to advocate. However, Government steps in supporting the unity of the business community and upgrading the blackmen in this sector, is aimed at orientating private economic institutions towards the interest of the majority of our country. The rationale behind the formation of the Zimbabwe National Chambers of Commerce was and remains to transform the private sector so that it gears its operations towards reversing the colonial economic set-up in the interests of the poor. Mr. Bostch's Unfortunate Remarks Against this background it is baffling that the president of the Zimbabwe National Chamber of Commerce, Mr Bostch who leads a national Organisation cleated with the full support or the state apparatus, turns around to make sweeping attacks against Government policies. Mr Bostch has the courage to describe Government labour laws as unrealistic and price controls as unwieldy in their nature. The leader of the ZNCC claims that the business community is fed up of being called wicked, exploitative and hoarders. He further goes on to call for what he describes as the overhaul and rationalisation of the Government bureaucratic set up. The statements by our learned Mr Bostch compels me to question seriously the nature of leaders-hip that heads the Zimbabwe National Chamber of Commerce despite the fact that the organisation has been created through the support of the state. It would appear that Mr Bostch is advocating for the scrapping of the labour laws and the price controls in the interests of the business elite. The interest of the workers and the majority consumers in the country are not the concern of Mr Bostch's Organisation. The tone and orientation of Mr Bostch seems to imply that the Government should wag its tail before the private sector because that grouping has the monopoly of the national economy.
My view is that the position taken by the President of ZNCC is actually a challenge to the policies of the Government rather than a disciplined and constructive criticism of Government institutions. Whoever backed Mr Bostch in his arrogant public utterings, I believe in his capacity as the leader of a national Organisation which plays a strategic economic role in the country, should have the decency to respect Government policies. I therefore believe that the leadership of the Zimbabwe National Chambers of Commerce needs to be examined garefully.

Cde Chekai Zvidembo Harare

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Significance of Our Independence
Address by the President of ZANU-PF and Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, Comrade Robert Mugabe, delivered at the third Independence Anniversary Reception held at the National Sports Centre.

Comrade Ministers,
Comrade Mayor of Harare and the Mayoress,
Comrades-and Friends, Ladies and Gentlemen. Here we are once again joyfully assembled here and elsewhere to mark the historic event of our Independence with countrywide celebrations. This Reception here is only a small part of those celebrations. I welcome you all to this Third Anniversary Eve Reception which will be followed by other celebrations planned to be held throughout the country tonight and tomorrow.

Pre-Independence Political Order
Surely, as we rejoice and enjoy ourselves during these celebrations, we must also spare some time to ponder on the full meaning and significance of this historic event of April 18th. You will no doubt recall that up to 18th April, 1980, our principal political goal was freedom and independence. This was so because British settler colonialism had for ninety years imposed upon us an unjust political order whose value system was bedevilled by intolerable imbalances, inequities and antagonistic contradictions.

The full political and economic rights of the settler minority pitted themselves against the denial of those rights to our indigenous majority. Democracy had become supplant ed by a racial oligarchy which, by unlawfully severing its colonial and constitutional ties with its imperial power, had sought to perpetuate itself and the injustices it forstred. In those circumstances, a national armed struggle, no matter how bitter and protracted, became the only effective means of negating the negative values that had become legitimised by illegality and establishing a new political order with more positive values.

Post-Independence Democratic Order
The attainment of independence on the 18th of April, 1980, became, therefore, both a postulation and vindication of the values of a truly democratic political system. Rejected by us was the concept not only of minority rule but also that of racial superiority on which it was based. Similarly rejected by us was the concept...
of an ethnic political system in which a race or tribe is projected as a, political
group with separate political rights, even though the Lancaster House temporary
compromise accords the white community its own separate seats in Parliament.
Thoroughly rejected by us, therefore, were the concept of political and racial
inequalities.
My Party and Government further hold that if democracy rejects political
inequality, it cannot, without contradicting and therefore negating itself, at the
same time espouse the concept of economic inequality. Those western countries
which are in the habit of lecturing us on democracy and civil liberties, must surely
first undertake an introspective evaluation of their own so-called democratic
systems which, to some of us, are nothing but a vast falacy masquerading as a
classical syllogism of democracy. It is argued for our logical acceptance that
democracy operates within the political order where it concerns itself with rights
such as adult universal suffrage (one man one vote), freedom of speech, freedom
of assembly, freedom of religious worship, property or economic rights but that
democracy is made to stand on its head in those Western countries where
capitalism is the order of the day. If democracy had to do with equal rights where,
I ask, are equal economic rights under capitalism? I suppose it would be argued in
reply that the opportunity to become a millionaire exists as much for the man in
Harlem as it does for the Fords and Rockefellers. Our black brother in Harlem, it
will be argued, has the same opportunity as Rockefeller to acquire property and so
emerge as a millionaire.
My Party and Government totally reject this thesis of democracy as an
outrageous falacy completely untenable within the premises of the syllogism of
democracy. To us, therefore, this Independence Anniversary must serve as a
"reminder of our total rejection of capitalism because of its incompatibility with
our definition and interpretation of true democracy, which postulates the theory
of equal political and economic rights. It should, in other words, be an occasion to
remind us of our total commitment to socialism as the only philosophical doctrine
in-built with a common socio-economic denominator capable of ascribing to us
the basic economic rights that foster true human equality.
The Second Phase of the Revolution
What Independence must now mean to us in practical terms is the continuation of
that revolutionary process which yielded it, but in another form, that will seek to
translate it into a political instrument for the attainment of those socialist goals we
have set ourselves. Our beginning has' already been made, for the Three-Year
Transitional National Development Plan, which postulates the general principles
of our ideological direction, is meant to chart the national path to those socialist
goals: Let it thus always be remembered that what we wish to correct is the
inequity yielded by the fact of history namely that the ownership of our economic
resources got reposed through conquest into the hands of a few.
The basic injustice of this unequal economic system does not arise from the fact
that those few are white in colour, although that racial dimension certainly
aggravates it, but rather from the fact that the majority were deprived and
impoverished by the minority. And so, even if the present white owners of
property and natural resources, were to be replaced by black owners of property
and natural resources the need for a socialist revolution would still remain urgent. A bourgeoisie does not cease, to be exploitative merely because its colour has turned black or because it is now national rather than foreign.

Utter Dismay
On this subject, I wish to express my utter dismay at the bourgeois tendencies that are affecting our leadership at various levels of government. When, for example, we established a system of local government in both rural and urban areas, we were, of the strong belief that democracy would further be enhanced by giving power to the people through local councils. But what has our experience been over the short period of our Independence? We have had saddening cases of unscrupulous councillors and mayors motivated by an unparalleled instinct of self-aggrandisement and of downright avarice abusing their newly acquired status by unashamedly assigning to themselves money-making contracts, misappropriating public funds, and misusing public property.

In other words, the socialist direction of the Party and Government has meant nothing or little to them. Happily, the majority of our councillors and mayors have done well.

But local councillors have not been our only offenders, for even cabinet Ministers, with a mere theoretical and thus hypocritical commitment to socialism have, under one guise or another, proceeded to acquire huge properties by way of commercial farms and other business concerns. This way, the direction of democracy and socialism is vitiated as those who should mete out social justice to the people and society turn into a class of avaricious exploiters of the masses and so traitors to their cause. A wolf in a sheep's skin is certainly worse than a wolf in wolf's skin. The latter deceives no one, for the innocent sheep will readily recognise it for what it is. Not so the former. The task which those of us committed to socialism have in such circumstances is to uncover those wolves by removing from them their borrowed skin so that they become clearly recognisable by all of us as ravenous wolves against whom the innocent masses must be protected.

I speak in this fashion because the Three-Year Plan being, as already stated, our first real systematic attempt at socialism must not be allowed to fail for lack of commitment from the Ministers and other governmental and Party leaders charged with its implementation. I hope, therefore, that the opportunity provided by the event of our Third Independence Anniversary will enable all of us to reexamine ourselves and attempt some adjustment or correction where our actions have been a deviation from the correct socialist and democratic line.

Our Duty
For all of us however and whether we be workers, peasants, military cadres, students, professional, or leaders in government or in other spheres, or we are self-employed, the moment also calls for a further dedication and for a serious commitment to the basic principles of discipline, hard work, loyalty to the nation, and national unity. Independence is a political phenomenon created by our
working together, and together we must continue to strive to make it work by observing the basic principles of our society. Our first requirement must remain the peace of our nation. Our nation cannot afford the luxury of banditry and dissident activities. I am in no doubt that, if we all remain committed to peace and are united in our efforts to eliminate the scourge of dissidents and bandits in those parts of Matabeleland where they are, we shall soon succeed in creating the necessary peace in those areas. Because of that commitment, Government is continuing its vigorous campaign of hunting and annihilating dissidents on the one hand, and politicising and educating the masses on the other.

The Prime Minister Cde. R.G. Mugabe addressing the crowd at the National Sports Centre

In circumstances in which our economy has been adversely affected by world recession and recently by the worst drought ever, our nation can ill-afford to be complacent. This is now the moment for all our workers in the various sectors, for the peasantry hard-hit by the drought, for all our professionals, and for all arms of government to decide to enter the fourth year of our Independence with a new resolution to work twice harder than during the year just gone. Each and everyone of us has a vital role to play for we all are links in the unfolding chain of desired progress and advancement. Sever that chain by removing a single link and the progress is immediately halted or delayed. The more goods our factories can produce, the more they will become available for our local consumption and for the export market whence our foreign currency earnings flow. Similarly, the more agricultural and mineral products we produce, the more goods we shall have for both our local and external markets,

- with greater benefits accruing to our economy and to the society it serves.

Transformation

Our fourth year of Independence must of necessity be attended by more visible signs of transformation in order to give greater meaning to our new political reality. There must arise more cooperatives not only in the agricultural sector but also in other sectors, involving full participation by both the peasants and the workers. There must also emerge more state enterprises in well-defined areas and sectors, as well as greater state participation in chosen existing enterprises. The role of the worker will continue to be enhanced in the direction of his organisation, his training and his participation in the management of the enterprises for which he works. Social services, such as education, health and social welfare, which are earmarked under the ThreeYear Plan for greater expansion and wider application, will continue to receive special emphasis. Whatever plans we have will actually depend for their success on the financial resources available to us, the quantity and quality of skilled manpower at our disposal, the technology we can muster, and the determination and will of our people to advance themselves through hard work and the spirit of self-reliance. Yes, we are now three years old, but let us account for it through our own actions and perseverance both as a nation and as individuals.
I believe we have done well, as the President will, in his speech tell us. Let us now proceed into our fourth year of independence more determined to succeed in our various walks of life and as a nation.

Makorokoto!
Congratulations!
Amhlope!
Pamberi nehurumende yevazhinji!

The Essence of our Social and Economic Revolution

The second major phase of our revolution in Zimbabwe is one of transforming the socio-economic and political infrastructures so that they serve the interests of the majority of the people, namely the workers, peasants and the progressive strata of our society. This does not mean the other sections of the population which do not fall in this category are to be discriminated against.

When examining the current struggle to build a new socio-economic order, it is important that we should be able to establish a dialectical link with previous social revolutions. The struggle for national independence constitutes a viable and important revolutionary link with our current efforts to build a new society and indeed a new man. It goes without saying that revolutionary knowledge is a product of a long struggle by a people in, historical phases. It is also scientific that the history of a people constitutes the essence of their social being as a nation.

The fundamental question that can be asked now is: What is the essence or the marrow of the Zimbabwean social revolution?
Society does not exist in a vacuum.

-Human society is part of nature and is found in a permanent struggle against nature for its own survival. In other words, society uses all its power to harness the forces of nature so that it can continue to exist/as a living organism. That is the first principal contradiction inherent in life. The second major contradiction is found within society itself. The relationship between the forces within society itself constitutes the motive force of development, in other words, how men relate to each other.

When we talk about the relationship between man and nature and man to man in the context of a social revolution, we are talking about the struggle to live or survive. The struggle to build a socialist society in Zimbabwe centres on this issue of survival. Have we managed to conquer hunger, disease, poverty, illiteracy and ignorance in our society? What are we doing in this direction? Who are the most affected by these social evils? We now have political power after making sacrifices during the liberation struggle. Do we view that as an end in itself or as a means to an end? It is important to realise that our political power is there to facilitate us in our struggle to produce those economic weapons that enable us to conquer the social evils mentioned above. Our productive capacity in the economic field and our ability to distribute the produce of our labour power remains the crucial factor in determining the success or failure of our social revolution. It is also important to realise that the will and determination to have an objective analysis of the dynamic economic and social forces within and
The Second Phase of Our Revolution  
without our society shall make us forge ahead with our revolution.  
Characteristics of the present struggle  
The co-relation and alignment of class forces and the level of class consciousness 
or political consciousness determines the pace at which we forge ahead with our 
revolutionary process. In other words the extent to which various sections of our 
society have developed revolutionary political consciousness determines the 
degree to which we can effect qualitative socio-economic transformation.  
Whatever people or some bourgeois ideologists may assert, the fact remains that 
class struggle is the motive of socialist development. The Government and indeed 
the Prime Minister has made it clear that our long-term objective is to make the 
Zimbabwean working-class self-sufficient in terms of their basic needs of life. Of 
course this is determined by the level of the economic development of our 
country.  
We need to acknowledge the importance of the working class in the process to 
develop the country economically. Workers in the mines, on farms, in industry 
and the peasant population in the communal areas are engaged in the production 
of physical goods of consumption. There are also workers who are also involved 
in the service sectors of our economy whose contributions should not be under- 
estimated. This labour force constitutes the decisive factor in terms of economic 
growth and development. However, economic growth is meaningless if it is not 
linked to social and cultural growth and development of the working masses.  
What it boils down to is that the working class should be able to have effective 
control of the means of 
production and of the results of their productive economic activities if we should 
talk about a true socialist society. This of course cannot be done overnight. It takes 
time.  
It must be understood that a true socialist society cannot be built without facing 
some problems. In Zimbabwe, like in any other country engaged in the same 
exercise, there are various schools of bourgeois ideologists who are all bent to 
defend capitalism against socialism. The capitalists who own economic 
enterprises and employ the workers never reconcile themselves to the idea that a 
socialist society is the most appropriate order for the majority of the population. 
Their motive is clear. They always want to amass wealth and profit at the expense 
of the toiling worker. The hard-core local capitalists always enter into an unholy 
alliance with multinational corporations against the working class.  
In an effort to undermine the development of socialism, the capitalists carry out 
all forms of economic sabotage and blackmail. They recruit and infiltrate agents 
into the various organs of the political, economic and social structures with the 
aim of creating chaos and instability in the nation. The imperialists also launch a 
 systematic and massive pro- campaign and agitation against the 
developing socialist country. History has enough evidence to this effect. The 1962 
Bay of Pigs in Cuba, the overthrow of President Allende's Government in Chile, 
the present aggression in Nicaragua, and the constant destabilisation of the 
economic infrastructure of the frontline states are only few examples which serve 
to show some of the problems faced in the process of building a socialist society.
We should be aware that even in our country, there are people who are opposed to the building of socialism. These reactionary and tribalistic bourgeois ideologists are also found in the vital decision making institutions in both the public land private sectors. They are the most dangerous elements in the agitation campaign. They provide polished bourgeois theories to the capitalists and mobilise the other innocent forces against socialism.

'Factors Retarding Progress

We are all aware that Zimbabwe is a young nation. We have had our share of economic problems in the past three years of our independence. While some of the problems have been due to certain factors beyond our control, some may have arisen because we are in the process of learning. The forces acting against our plans of building a socialist society have always seized on every opportunity to exploit our shortcomings and discredit our programmes.

To reverse the socio-economic infrastructure which has been serving the white minority community for ten decades so that it will, instead, cater for the majority population of the working class, is indeed not an easy task. More still the Zimbabwean economy has been tied to, or entirely dependent on South Africa. The vital skills needed in running the country's economy have been an exclusive monopoly of the white community. The financial resources in the form of banks have been foreign owned. The marketing of the country's commodities has not been in indigenous hands.

When the popularly elected government came into power it immediately embarked on a programme of bringing peace to the country after a bitter war. In other words the consolidation of peace and security became the priority task of the government. The policy of reconciliation has remained the major lever of the Government in this exercise. The forces of destabilisation that are threatening the power of the working class are well known.

Given the situation that the Government did not have and up to now does not have effective control or does not, wholly own income-generating economic enterprises in the country, it has done its best to elevate the position of the working class by passing progressive legislation. It is unfortunate that the private sector still has monopoly over the commanding heights of the economy. Both local and international capitalists have adamantly resisted Government efforts to take over some of the major economic enterprises asserting that the action would kill the economy and discourage foreign investors. Here we are faced with a situation where the Government has a nationwide programme for socialist development in the fields of the economy itself, education, health, resettlement, waterpiping in rural areas, road construction, electrification, transport and manpower training, but with limited financial resources since it relies on the revenue from taxation.

This revenue is not adequate to finance these massive socialist development programmes. The -profits from the private sector constitute the largest segment of
the country's income and yet it is not the Government which determines how that money is to be used. The private owners of those means of production channel the funds in the areas of their own choice. Loans from overseas donors have indeed helped the Government but they cannot be considered as the decisive factor in terms of shaping the economy on a permanent socialist footing.

More still, the Government and its relevant bodies have had the unenviable task of convincing the private sector about the need for better working conditions for employees. It has encountered many difficulties in its endeavours because some of the owners of the large economic enterprises have a reactionary mentality. The Government's attempts to put economic power into the hands of the proletariat are in most cases frustrated and thwarted by these reactionary elements. To add to these difficulties we have in Zimbabwe, unscrupulous political malcontents who have entered into an unholy alliance with our external enemies to wage a campaign of destabilisation. However, their campaign to discredit the Government's socialist programmes continues and will continue for a long time, but ultimately, they will fail. Victory for the people is certain!

Role of the Working Class in Building Socialism

Against the background of the economic difficulties mentioned in preceding sections, the question now is: What is to be done in our revolutionary struggle to build socialism? What is the role of the working class in the struggle? What programme of action should the Zimbabwean workers set for themselves?

From the outset it must be emphasised that the workers and the peasants constitute the main force in our socialist revolution. They are the most progressive force in our society. The bourgeoisie constitutes the irreconcilable opponent of the working class. The interests of the two forces are always in permanent conflict. It is so because the bourgeois class exploit the working class. The battle between the two forces is fought politically, economically and ideologically. In Zimbabwe, the petty bourgeois strata includes among them, small businessmen, some intellectuals and other professionals. However we also have a considerable number of progressive intellectuals. The socialist revolution in Zimbabwe derives its strength from the alliance between these progressive intellectuals and the workers and peasants. The importance of the revolutionary intellectuals lies in the fact that they are conversant with the theoretical weapons of socialist analysis and have some administrative and technical knowhow. It is these revolutionary intellectuals who are capable of confronting the reactionary and counter-revolutionary intellectuals and expose their bourgeois machinations and intrigues. The struggle between the progressive forces and the reactionary forces is a continuous struggle and it is important that the forces of progress should lead the strategic components of the socioeconomic machinery i.e. both political and economic organisations, including the Trade Union Movements.

As we rejoiced and celebrated on May Day, it was also important to evaluate our shortcomings and points of strength in the exercise of building a new socialist society.
One area that warrants attention is worker education. By saying worker education, we are not confining ourselves to the subject of good relations at workplaces only. Broadly speaking all employees, both in the private and public sectors should have profound understanding of the laws of scientific socialism. The socialist orientation is the basis from which realistic transformation can be launched. The laws of social classes, class struggle, the revolutionary transformation, the role of science in socialism, socialist administration, democratic centralism, collective leadership and discipline should be taught to the workers. These organisational principles which characterise socialist administration should be seen to be practiced by both workers’ committees and management. The principles facilitate the involvement of the working class in the decision-making process.

Socialism and capitalism as two opposed social systems should be understood by the workers. The role of the working class in the struggle to build a socialism should also be part of the training programme. The dangers of corruption, laziness, regionalism and tribalism to the construction of a socialist society and the labour laws of Zimbabwe should also be known by the workers. There is also a need to educate workers on present economic realities so that they can understand why certain difficulties come at a particular point in time, like retrenchments. Our Trade Unions must take the leading role in educating workers.

Foreign Investors and the Private Sector

Zimbabwe wants foreign investors and the private sector to play their part in the development of the country’s economy. Their financial resources, technology and other vital skills are needed in our national programmes. They will certainly be rewarded according to their contributions and in that respect the Government has set up the necessary machinery to deal with their aspirations. But it must be remembered that, because the Government is determined to establish a socialist society for the benefit of the majority of the people, it is therefore important that the private sector and foreign investors must realise that the Government cannot afford a situation whereby it has to put itself at par with these two forces. In other words, foreign companies, local companies, in fact all those involved in business activities, must acknowledge and fully accept that the Government cannot allow them to embark on a profit-seeking campaign at the expense of its development programmes. Their investments must be channelled to those areas the Government considers as a priority in terms of achieving its national goals. If they accept and embrace this principle, they will find the Government very helpful.

The workers and peasants on their part must realise that socialism can only be realised through hard work. They n increase their productivity at their pit of work for this will benefit them. Raising productivity is the only guarantee their aspirations shall be realised, raising of their standard of living does lie in laziness or complacency. Exploit are not only those who own the mean production and exploit the labour but also include those workers who lazy. This necessarily leads us to the conclusion that co-operation between workers and employers in economic activities of the country is essential.
The people of Zimbabwe must realize that we are passing through one of most
difficult periods in our country. World economic recession has had adverse effect
on our economy. Many companies have closed down and millions of workers are out
of employment. In addition to that we have to contend with the drought conditions
prevail throughout the country. The Government is aware of the hardships these
bring to the people. However, the recession and drought are forces over which
Government has no control. Nevertheless, it is doing its best to ensure that nobody
starves to death and that alternative sources of employment are found those who
have been retrenched. The people of Zimbabwe must persevere in difficult times.
They have been born of struggle and sacrifices. They should not be afraid of
difficulties because problems are insurmountable.

The Zimbabwean workers, far from losing heart, should emulate the experiences of the
other peoples of world who have succeeded in building socialism. The 1917 October
Revolution in Russia ushered in an irreversible historical programme of socialism. To
there are many other socialist nations of the globe. Socialism has become a force to
reckon with and capitalism has lost force as a monopoly power in the affairs of the
international community.

WORKERS OF ZIMBABWE UNITE IN ORDER TO MAKE SOCIALISM A SUCCESS!

Zimbabwe News Vol.14 No. 2 July 1983

The Youth in Socialist Zimbabwe
By Comrade E. Kadungure, Member of the ZANU-PF Central Committee and
Minister of Youth, Sport and Recreation.

The Ministry of Youth, Sport and Recreation was established by the first
Government of Zimbabwe in 1980 in recognition of the key role youth played in
the liberation struggle and in realisation of the vital role the youth of our nation
must continue to play in the new struggle for the socio-economic transformation
of the nation. It is the primary responsibility of this Ministry to work together
with the Youth League of the vanguard party ZANU-PF, to acquaint the youth of
the role they must play in the national effort to achieve the socialist goals of
egalitarianism and the equitable distribution of the country's economy.

Proper Orientation
Just as they needed to be trained and armed to prosecute the armed struggle
successfully, the youth now need proper orientation in self-discipline, hard work
and loyalty to the state to prepare them for the struggle against poverty, ignorance,
disease and general underdevelopment. For this to be possible the youth need
to be mobilised into one entity through which information can easily be
disseminated. The youth also need to be trained in essential skills which will
enable them to become self-sufficient in their basic needs.

In the first three years of our independence, the Ministry of Youth, Sport and
Recreation has been engaged in the difficult task of laying the infrastructure for
the implementation of the above ideals. A Youth Development Programme has
consequently been mapped out to cater for all youth mobilisation, providing
socialist orientation to youth, giving youth essential skills and involving them in
self-employment. The implementation of this programme has and
already begun and additions and alterations are part and parcel of any scheme of such magnitude.
After only fifteen months since the attainment of Independence the number of youth voluntarily registered for the now well-known Youth Brigades passed the figure of 350,000 and more youth are continuing to come forward in large numbers. These youths have already put themselves on the map by helping in such national disasters as the Dande River Bridge tragedy, helping needy people in communal areas as well as hospitals and institutions of the destitute, undertaking sponsored walks and embarking on smallscale self-help projects such as gardening and poultry rearing. Through these activities the youth have endeared themselves to their respective communities and to the nation at large.
Youth Activities
Bigger self-help projects have been planned by officers of the Ministry and youth groups. These will take the form of production co-operatives, (mainly agricultural) in the initial stage and shall, in time, diversify into other areas. The experience that the youth gained through managing small-scale projects will ensure the success of the co-operative ventures. This success shall be further ensured by the deployment of trained youth from the Ministry's Training Centres to each youth co-operative.
The training that the Ministry has so far been able to provide is in Political Orientation, Agriculture, Home Economics, Carpentry and Building. The trainees are recruited from the Youth Brigades system and are due to go back to the same system to provide skills. A two-year training course is given and of the 3,000 trainees now at the fourteen existing centres, 719 shall be completing their course in July, 1983. It is ample testimony of the value of this training that the training centres themselves are self-sufficient in agricultural needs. These training centres have become so famous that each of the 35,000 registered youth aspires to enter a training centre soon. Consequently more such centres will have to be provided in each of the eight provinces to enable more youth to benefit from the training that is geared to the evolution of socialism in Zimbabwe. The activities of youth are highlighted at the district and provincial youth festivals that have become each area's landmark in the affairs of youth. These festivals have culminated in a National Youth Festival, the first one of which will be held this year. At the National Youth Festival, as at provincial festivals, there will be competition in mass displays, cultural dances, drama, athletics, music, art and agricultural production. The purpose of these competitions is the promotion of a healthy spirit of competition among the youth.
Other highlights or the activities of youth in Zimbabwe are: 1. The National Youth Week: which is a week of dedication for youth. In the Week, now an annual event coming soon after the Heroes Holidays, the nation's youth dedicate their services to needy people in their respective areas of residence. The youth receive no remuneration for their services except transport and food to enable them to give the services.
2. The National Youth Conference:
which will be held later in the year is also designed to become an annual event. The purpose of the conference is to enable youth to come together and share ideas on current issues.

Zimbabwe News Vol. 14 No. 2 July
Policy Objectives and Programmes of the Ministry of Youth Sport and Recreation

1. Policy: The Ministry of Youth, Sport and Recreation as mentioned earlier, was formed by the Government of Zimbabwe in 1980 to assume the responsibility of catering for the needs of the nation's youth as well as to provide sporting and recreational avenues to the nation as a whole.

With regards to catering for the needs of the nation's youth, consideration was taken of the vital role that youth played during the armed struggle by foresaking the relative comfort of home, school and work place to defy hunger, disease, suffering and death so as to remove injustice and the oppression of man by man. The vital role that youth must play in spearheading the socio-economic transformation of Zimbabwe was also taken into cognizance. By its very nature, youth is open-minded, creative, vivacious and desirous of change. With proper orientation youth can be moulded into a strong force of progressive change.

As a result of youth's sacrifice during the armed struggle, for political independence is here with us now, but the struggle for total liberation is not yet over. It is the responsibility of youth to see to it that social and economic liberation is attained. In other words, it is necessary for youth to exchange the gun for the hoe and thus ensure a better life for the people of Zimbabwe. But in doing so, youth must remain vigilant against external aggression and internal sabotage.

Youth must also participate in sport and recreation together with the rest of the nation to ensure the development of a nation of mentally and physically healthy people.

For the youth to be able to play this leading role properly, it needs both proper orientation and appropriate training. Training in life-skills is essential to all development because it makes man master of his own affairs. Training will enable our youth to manage their own affairs and achieve self-sufficiency. It enables the youth collectively to address themselves to the affairs of national development and greater success will be achieved in that way.

In short, it is realised that youth are both the subject and object of socioeconomic transformation. That is, to transform the nation we have got to transform youth first so that it becomes the prime force of change.

2. Objectives: Terminal objectives have been worked out for the implementation of the above policy. These are:
   (i) Mobilising the youth of the nation into one entity to facilitate the involvement of youth in national development. That entity is the Zimbabwe National Youth Service which shall comprise of:
      a) The Youth Brigades for out of school youth
      b) The Young Pioneers (Pioneer Corps) for pre-school and primary school youth
      c) The Cadet Corps for youth in the secondary schools and special institutions.

Through this system youth will engage in community service and self-help projects.
(ii) Orientation of youth towards the socialist goals of the government and to dispel retrogressive misconceptions, replacing them with progressive ones. This is a long process as it involves altering established attitudes to other people, the nation, work and to life in general. It is on this aspect that the socio-economic transformation of Zimbabwe hinges.

(iii) The Inculcation of Discipline among all youth. It is only when youth are disciplined that they can make progress. Without discipline the youth would waste their energy with internal wrangles and frustrate their own efforts through embezzlement of funds and general mismanagement of affairs. Youth must and no operational guidelines except common sense. The fact that a long-lasting policy was able to be formulated at gives credit to the Ministers at Secretaries who were responsible for making.

An Administrative structure was all set up to see to the implementation of the policy. The administrative structure that was established and later revised encompass the following:

a) a Head Office sub-structure
b) a Provincial sub-structure
c) a District sub-structure
d) a National Councils sub-structure

The Ministry structure is a sum tot; of the above sub-structures and the structure as a whole is the vehicle through which the Ministry's policy is implemented. In other words, although policy is formulated at Head Office, it

The youth at the various youth centres make their own and tables be made aware that they must be masters of their own destiny and that this begins with self-discipline.

(iv) Training a core group of youth in skills that are relevant to the general development of the country. Emphasis will be laid on training in all aspects of agriculture, socialist development and physical culture.

(v) Loyalty to the State: The youth will be taught to be loyal to the state so as to be the government's ambassadors in all their involvements.

3. Programmes

The programmes of the Ministry are best explained by giving a brief history of the Ministry since its formation in April 1980.

1980

During 1980 the Ministry only had a nucleus of officials who laid out the policy of the Ministry as I have outlined it. This was a formidable task as there was no precedent to follow, except the experiences of other progressive countries, formed in full realisation of the state of affairs in the country and it is actually implemented by field officers of the Ministry.

The structure of the Ministry is as vital as the policy itself as these are indispensible complements to each other. The policy is the ultimate end and the structure is the means to that end.

1981

During 1981 the Ministry's policy was reduced to specific programmes facilitate its implementation. The following programmes were mapped out: a) The Youth Development Program involving youth mobilisation, youth orientation, the provision of essential skills, youth's voluntary service to the nation and the involvement of youth in self-help programmes and co-operatives. b) The Sports
Development Programmes involving the equitable distribution of sporting facilities, the laying of guideline

for participation in sport and the elimination of negative attitudes in the field of sport. The programme affects the entire population.  
c) The Recreation Development Programme like the Sport Development Programme, it involves the laying of guidelines in the provision of recreation throughout Zimbabwe. The Programme also affects the entire nation as a whole. These programmes provide the methods through which the Ministry's policy can be implemented and the actual implementation is done through the three departments of the Ministry: The Youth Department The Sports Department The Recreation Department 
with the Departments of Research and Planning and Administration and finance giving back-up services.  
In matters relating to liaison with other youth bodies within and outside Zimbabwe, this administrative structure is backed up by these two Councils: The National Youth Council The National Sports and Recreation Council whose main task is ensuring that all youth involvements are in line with government policy.  
In the course of time these programmes are to be reduced to projects with short-term terminal objectives. These will be mentioned later in the article. 1982 In 1982 some projects were initiated on the basis of research work done among the youth. These projects were: Devising a Youth Registration Formula The setting up of sports and recreational facilities The opening of skills training centres It was decided that youth needed to be mobilised into one system, the Youth Brigade System, to facilitate their involvement in community service and self-help projects. The groundwork for setting up this system was laid in the second half of 1981 and the actual registration of youth for youth brigades started in September 1981. The initial idea was the setting up of a core group of about 5 000 dedicated youth who would be involved in a few exemplary self-help projects and be given uniforms. This group would serve to advertise Youth.Brigade activities before more youth were expected to join. However, the youth of our country far outran these limited expectation. Their involvement in the war of liberation had given them proper orientation and they came forward to register for the Youth Brigade System in large numbers. The table below shows the rate at which the youth are coming forward to register.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TIME</th>
<th>YOUTH REGISTERED</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>December 198</td>
<td>6000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 1982</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 1982</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1982</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 198</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
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these figures continue to escalate. This fast rate of registration has necessitated a major review in our operational strategy. Planning is needed on a much larger scale than we had thought necessary. To this end we have had to speed up our plans to involve youth in cooperatives and this is the task that the Ministry is currently trying to fulfil.

The Ministry encourages the young people to engage in small-scale self-help projects which will serve as training ground for bigger co-operatives. The way the small projects are managed will also give us a clear motivation of young people, deserve to be put on larger projects where large capital inputs will be involved. We need to ascertain that once started, youth co-operatives will not fail but will set the pace of socialist transformation in all the sectors of our economy. Those youth who are not doing anything on their own but are waiting for manna to come from heaven will not be included in the largescale co-operatives that this ministry, in conjunction with other government departments will soon establish.

In the field of Sport and Recreation, the same youth groups were encouraged to set up football, netball and tsoro etc. They were then supplied with balls and other equipment to use. In areas where youth did not construct suitable pitches, no equipment was given. The object of this rather painful way of driving a point home is to show the youth that they should only expect help from any quarter if they help themselves first.

The year 1982 was also significant for the launching of the National Youth week, an event which will take place every year in the third week of August or a week after the heroes holidays. This is a week in which the youth dedicate their services to the needy people in their respective areas. During the week, youth groups help the old, the sick and institutions with services like repair of dwelling places, cleaning them and helping by doing other general duties.

Three of our major youth skills training centres were officially opened during 1982. These are:

a) Chaminuka Youth Centre, opened by the Honourable Prime Minister, Comrade R.G. Mugabe on 4th December, 1982.

b) The Phangani Youth Centre, opened by the Minister of Youth, Sport and Recreation Cde. E. Kadungure on 15th December, 1982.

c) The Kaguvi Youth Centre, opened by the Honourable Deputy Prime Minister, Cde. S. Muzenda on the 17th of December, 1982

1983

We are as yet in the first quarter of 1983 and what we are engaged in is a continuation of our 1982 programme. In this year the youth will be expected to remain united in their units and to apply themselves to self-help projects more earnestly. Co-operative projects will be arranged for the youth who show outstanding dedication and commitment to the cause of socialist socio-economic transformation of our country.

PAMBERI NEGORE RECHIPIRI REKUSANDURA ZVINHU!
IWE NENI TINE BASA! NGARICHITOITWA.
The Quest for a Meaningful Education
An Interview with Cde. Dzingai Mutumbuka, Member of the ZANU-PF Central Committee and Minister of Education and Culture.

QUESTION: During the colonial era, there were many inequalities in the educational system based on racial lines. Can you say what the situation was like when you took office soon after Independence, and how much has your ministry done to ensure that every child of school going age is given the chance to exploit his potential?

CDE MUTUMBUKA: As you know, colonialism manifested itself in various forms. There was a dual economy in respect of areas like agriculture, trade and commerce, industry etc. Similarly in education, one of the most crucial social services, there was a division. There was African Education and European Education as separate systems. Naturally this was one of the thorniest issues among Africans apart from the Land question. Thus when we came to power the Education system was basically unintegrated. There was a class structure in the provision of Education in the sense that white kids were considered as the "first class" and had an excellent system of education, were overprovided for and had better facilities than perhaps in any other country in the world including South Africa and Britain.

The second class were those Black children who were born in the urban areas where facilities were reasonable because the White power structure found it offensive to see these kids in the streets. Although these kids were reasonably provided for, still there were huge bottlenecks in respect of entry into secondary school.

The third class were those children born in the communal areas. These had some sort of education where missionaries and other philanthropic bodies had been sufficiently generous and humane to establish educational facilities for them. But really the provision of education in a communal area depended on whether missionaries had gone to that particular area or not. Because of this very fact, one finds that on the crescent areas like Mutoko, Mudzi, Kushinga, Centenary, Dande, going down into parts of Hurungwe, Kariba, parts of Tsholotsho, Gwanda and Beitbridge, there was no educational facility whatsoever provided for the kids because even missionaries were not prepared to go into those areas.

The fourth and worst class were those Black children who were unfortunate enough to be born on a commercial farm or a mine. These children were considered as the private property of the farm or mine proprietors. These proprietors were really like medieval war-lords reigning supreme over their vast empires. They did just as they chose since the profit motive was paramount in all their activities. They wanted to make sure that there was a huge reservoir of cheap labour, and this was best done by denying the kids any form of education.

These were the four types of educational systems which existed when we took over in April 1980. Our Election Manifesto categorically stated that ZANU-PF would vastly increase educational facilities at secondary and tertiary level, and
that as a first move we would make education free at the primary school level. In September 1980 we implemented this, and this had dramatic changes in the enrolment of kids at school so that today all children of school going age, whether on a commercial farm, mine, communal or urban area, go to primary school. We have built or reconstructed large numbers of primary schools. We have also ensured that the bottle-neck that existed at primary school entry into secondary school has ceased. We have built many secondary schools in the last three years so that today the picture is totally different from the one we inherited at Independence. In April 1980 there were 830 000 school children. Now there are 2.5 million. At Independence there were under 2 000 primary schools, but now the number is 4 000. We inherited 177 secondary schools at Independence but now we have 798. Before Independence the settler regime was spending $80 000 000 on education. Now the educational budget stands at $408 000 000. These figures illustrate the path we have travelled. But I must emphasise that I am still not satisfied with the results we have achieved. We have, like the Chinese say, begun our journey with small steps but the journey is still a long way from being completed. We still have to attend to a number of issues, such as the total destruction of the four classes of educational provision that I outlined. We have integrated the educational system at every level. There is no longer such a thing as a Black school or White school. Unfortunately there are some remnants of racial connotations particularly in the so-called independent or private schools, like Ruzawi, Peterhouse etc. Otherwise in respect of the Government system itself, there is total integration of all children of different racial, ethnic and national groups. Our motto in ZANU-PF is that education is a basic human right which should be accorded to all children. This is what we have tried to do. While it is essential to integrate the school system at the pupil level, it is also crucial to integrate it at the teacher level. In this respect we have made sure that there is no school which does not have a large or sizeable number of Black teachers. This is the position throughout the country. The schools have been integrated at the administrative, pupil as well as teacher level. This is also the position, with our regional education officers. In fact the overwhelming majority of our regional education officers are Blacks in accordance with the racial composition of our country. Similarly in Head Office, the Ministry is run largely by African bureaucrats.

These are the steps we have undertaken in respect of the quantitative transformation of the system from a dual to an integrated system of education in which colour cases to be a factor. QUESTION: Obviously after attaining our 'independence, there had to be a change in the curricula since settler education was designed to encourage subservience to the supposedly "white masters". What changes, if any, have been implemented in the curricula to suit the political and socio-economic realities of independent Zimbabwe?

CDF. MUTUMBUKA: As I said earlier on, the first step we had to take soon after independence was to get the child to school. And once he was at school N% hat
were we to do with him? This is where the whole question of the overhaul of the curriculum has to be considered. But one must necessarily understand that curriculum changes in education are like a revolution. It is a process and not an event. You cannot wake up one day and say the curriculum has changed. All the same, like with the other aspects of our transformation I have talked about, we have also started transforming the curricula.

One of the cornerstones in the transformation of our curriculum is the destruction of disunity. We want to teach kids that the fact that they are Black or White is irrelevant. Our aim is to see the destruction of disunity, regionalism, tribalism and racism. Our teachers have been informed that the first step in the curricula of our new education system is to make sure, through words and deeds, that we are all Zimbabweans, regardless of whether we are Black or White, Shona or Ndebele, Venda or Kalanga etc. This is a fundamental issue in the development of our curricula. We see our schools as the crucible in the laboratory in which we are developing the Zimbabwe of tomorrow. They are our testing ground for our theories of reconciliation, non-racism, non-regionalism etc. etc.

The second factor is that there were many aspects of the educational system in the past which lend themselves to racism. This is not only racism as practised by Whites against Blacks. It could also be vengeance by Blacks because of the hardships they endured under White governments. Because of this situation, one of the things we have tried to impress on our educationists, particularly those at Teacher Training Colleges is that they should really be objective, truthful and honest. They should be valiant cadres fighting for the transformation of our educational system and consequently the transformation of our society.

We have found many offensive things about the past educational system. Apart from its racial separation of people, we have discovered that there were a lot of texts which purport to give the impression that the African was inferior to the white. Some have all sorts of spiteful connotations like that the Ndebele were more war-like than the Shona. All this was cultivated by our enemies who wanted to see us divided, who wanted to objectify us. It is because of these very facts that one of the things we are impressing upon our young people today is the whole question of non-racism, non-regionalism and non-tribalism.

However I must also point out that one of the most important aspects in the transformation of the curricula is the teacher. The teacher has to be an agent of change and so he is our major target group. In this respect we have changed the content of the curriculum of Teacher Training Colleges so that the teacher who comes out will be a genuine agent of change. The teacher is like a doctor, who, in his interaction with a child, has to cure the disease known as ignorance. If the teacher himself has lots of other diseases - he may be a racist, a tribalist, or a drunkard, or is lazy or immoral - he will impart these to the child. It is therefore very important that any curriculum changes must start and centre around the teacher, who, in turn will act as our agent of transformation. He is our first target group.

The second target group is what the teacher teaches. It is very crucial that the curriculum we are going to teach is a genuine one. In subjects like history we
have had a lot of offensive stories like that Black history in this country started when Cecil Rhodes and his pioneers were parading around the country. We have destroyed that myth as well as the low position accorded to our heroic liberation struggle, either in the first Chimurenga struggle of the Mbuya Nehanda and Kaguvi groups, or in the last struggle which resulted in the capitulation of colonialism.

We are also trying, where possible, to localise the content of our curricula. As an example, why should our children study prawns which at best they have only heard about, instead of studying Kapenta and its importance in the diets of our people?

We also believe that one of the most important aspects of the curricula in a developing country like Zimbabwe is to make it strongly science biased. This is important because when people think in clear scientific terms, it becomes easier to get doctors, engineers and all the other people who play a very crucial role in the development of our country. In this respect we have developed what we call Zimscience. This is a very carefully devised system of teaching science even in the rural areas where there is no electricity.

Our intention is to totally eliminate the foreign bias from our education system. When we came to power, what we inherited in respect of European education was an imitation of British education. In respect of African education what we inherited was an imitation of an imitation of the British system of education. Now what we want is a truly Zimbabwean system of education particularly at this time when we are going through a process of transformation.

QUESTION: It is common knowledge that since the attainment of Independence, you as Minister of Education, have emphasised the significance of manual labour in a student's education programme. How much has your policy of "Education with Production" been accepted and how successful has it been in our Zimbabwean schools?

CDE MUTUMBUKA: It is very important to understand that as socialists, we conceive of education as the development of the inherent potential that is present in all our children. All children have some potential and can contribute to the growth of our society. This potential may be practically biased or it may be academically biased. It is unfortunate that there is in some reactionary theories of education, a tendency to classify children on certain ladders. For example if somebody has got exceptional and millions of mathematical abilities, his is referred to as a genius, but if one has an exceptional educating era ability to build, he is just considered as a country will n1 a builder and never as a good and very t useful worker. The importance of his develop total ability is not given due merit. If somebody that he can can grow the best field of wheat orn extent. he is never considered as a genius, but if I am very p somebody can decline the fifth declension pie have accpet in Latin he is considered as a genius. We cepts of
educa challenge this because there is no scien- fortunately, tl tific basis for
describing a mathematician believe that e as a genius and a builder as a useless
only has to d worker. What is important is to ap wrong. Educat preciate the fact
that within the context means doing of society there are various activities work,
whethe which have to be undertaken, and that work, done people are gifted in
different directions something pr and all of them are important in society. your
hands. In our Zimbabwean situation, we mut integrating ou1 destroy in our
children's mentalities, the One of the concept of having to divide workers into
moment is th white-collar workers and blue-collar equipment. B workers. In
other words we must totally with productic integrate the concept of ideas and
action. ed to take cer Because of our belief in the integration sider unde~ira of
tory and practice, our children must tendenc to cc appreciate and participate in
productive some rural sci manual work. This manual work must be of such prod
productive because it would be metal-work, d
unreasonable to tell a child to go and dig of lack of eq a square cubic metre pit as
a form of rapidly trying punishment because it is unproductive. It doing our best
is also crucial that all children who are in- that educator teletically biased
should also appreciate simply be inte that those who Work with their hands con-
duction, but tribute tremendously to the development manual skill of our country.
In other words, it is a development form of shock treatment to them so that The
only sa, they can appreciate that those who per- have deliberat form manual work
are just as important mes. Most of as those who intellectualise or have to use are
against th their brains to contribute to the develop- those people v ment of
society. It is only by this realisa- This is unfortu tion that our country can develop
along out as we corn rational lines. of teachers, It
We also appreciate that our country is concept. One basically agricultural and in
a sense. fairly as an example
Zimba
we were to spend millions f money, that is contributed sants and workers, into zy
theoreticians, then this ever be developed. It is for hat we believe we must man in
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leased that generally peo'ted the principles and contion with production. Unhere
are some people who ducation with production o with agriculture, This is ion with
production simply any form of productive e it be carpentry, metalstic science etc.
It is oductise that you do with In other words it is inha d, a _our head unfortunate
things at the at we do not have enough ecuse of this, education n has in some
schools tendtain forits which we conble. For example there is a incentrate on
agriculture in hools to the total exclusion active work as carpentry, oniesti science
etc, because upimt. Howevwei we are to correct this. We are also to make people
understand v ith production must not rpreted as agricultural proas the acquisition
of some that can be used in the of out nation. d note is that a few teachers ely
sabotaged our programthese are reactionaries and e revolution. They belittle rho
work with their hands. nate but we will weed them e across them. The majority
owever have accepted the school which I can quote of an institution where the
Tomorrow’s mothers learning the finer points of needle-work
bwe News  Vol. 14 No. 2 July 198
teachers, headmaster and students have accepted the policy of education with production is Msami Secondary School. They devised a programme that ensures that when a child leaves the school he knows how to grow vegetables, flower and how to look after poultry, pigs and cattle. They also do carpentry and metal work. Their programme has been so imaginatively and successfully implemented that they have even managed to subsidise their school-fees. This is of great help to the poor parents of Murehwa who have to struggle to pay their children's fees.

**QUESTION:** You are on record as having said, "The teacher should not be seen as a medieval king standing over his vassals". Do you think that concept has been well transplanted into the teachers in socialist Zimbabwe?

**CDE MUTUMBUKA:** One must understand that most of the teachers in Zimbabwe today, were trained under the colonial era, and so a number of them regrettably suffer from a colonial mentality. They acquired a number of undesirable habits. They lecture to the kids, pass communiques, issue directives rather than teach. But what we want, in the context of socialist education is for the teacher to be a team leader in the discovery of knowledge, rather than a lecturer. We want the teacher to use the most powerful method of instruction and that is entering into dialogue with the kids. There has to be interaction instead of haying the teacher as a war-lord. A mother learns a lot about child psychology from a baby who can hardly speak. She knows when the baby cries whether she or he is ill, or whether she or he wants water, milk or food. If one can learn so much about child psychology from a child who cannot speak, how much can we learn from a child who can talk? Obviously, a lot, and for this reason, the teacher must cease to be a lecturer. Some teachers assume that they are omnipotent, all wise and that they are oozing with knowledge which they are supposed to generously distribute to idiots who know nothing. This is wrong approach because children school-going age know a lot. For that reason the approach must be one of communication with the kids.

**QUESTION:** In other socialist countries many children who lost their parents during their liberation wars are accorded free education by the State up to the highest levels. What is the position of you Ministry on this issue?

**CDE MUILUMBUKA:** To date we have established seven schools for ex-refugee children. We have one in Manyikalan (Mavudzi Secondary School), In Mashonaland East we have Rusunungu Secondary School. We have another a Bromley and two which are adjacent to each other jointly referred to as Chindunduma Secondary School. We have Nkululeko between KweKwe and Gweru.

In Matabeleland we have established ex-refugee schools in Majodha, Mbongolo.
It is our desire and intention within the particular area as well constraints of our financial limitations to cumstances of the pec do everything in our power, to facilitate be a muscum, a ga and assist all those children whose parents marketine commoditi lost their lives in our patriotic war. It locality etc. There w would be a negation of their sacrifices and men and women wh heroism if we were to neglect their people about our cult children. This is our position and it is a oral history. Our firs well es-tablished fact that whenever we Msiurehwa is near co come across children whose parents died library, facilities for si during the liberation war either in this as many others. country or in Mozambique, we do our - At the moment iw best to assist. We, of course, have to work training on such things together with the Ministry of Labour and because they are not Social Services which is tasked with the we are trying our best responsibility of looking after destitute facilities as possible people. children.

QUESTION: During the colonial era, QUESTION: There h there were vast discrepancies in rural and juvenile delinquency urban schools in the provision of recrea- wean schools. Sonie tional facilities, swimming pools, cinemas to drink and some h etc. The rural areas were neglected. What have made others steps are being taken to rectify this comment on this iss anomaly? CDE MUTUMBUK

CDE MUTUMBUKA: This question serious issue. Socia would not apply to my Ministry alone. It created by discipint would apply to others as well. For exam- tunately many peo ple the Ministry of Youth, Sport and dependence equals Recreation is also involved in the ques- have been on occasio tion of providing recreational facilities, independence we mu The Ministry of Community Develop- we did under colonial ment and Women's Affairs is also involv- were working for a ed in community efforts to improve the I am therefore worrie quality of life of the people, We co- of drink and pregna ordinate in respect of all these issues. There are regulations

Since the question of culture tails the question of delinq within my Ministry, we are busy mm- and pregnancy. Pot plementing many cultural projects. At the made sure that kids moment we are in the process of building become pregnant or 55 cultural houses throughout the coun- nant, they will have try. The cultural house will really be a detterent is necessar' cation and learning. I be able to find the me within that paras the local ciriple. There will also liery facilities for es produced in that ill also be old wise o will teach young tire, traditions and cultural house in rplction. It has a howing films as well e are not concenas swimming pools priority. However, to provide as many to our rural school has been a degree 0J in some Zimbabwe its are taking ave been made, or pregnant. Cat you tie?

A: This is a very ilism can only be ed people. Unforie believe that innarchy. But, as I n heard to say, after st work harder than ism because then we foreign power base. d abdut the problem tncy in our school. clearly stipulated on luency, drink, dagga
- examine we have knows that if they make others pregto leave school. This v if we are to ensure

that kids do not indulge in licentious acts simply because they believe that they are independent.

There are many theories about this question. Some people think it is not very good to punish children by expelling them from school. This could be right but the unfortunate thing is that many parents consider education as the responsibility of the Ministry of Education and teachers alone, Education must involve everybody, including the parents. Many parents are more interested in going to the pub than in sitting down and talking to their children. It is most unfortunate because it is very crucial that parents should participate in efforts to educate their children. They can do this at various levels:

(I) They must take a keen interest in the institutions that their children attend. They must support it financially, materially and morally.

(II) They must take an interest in those teachers that teach their children so that together they can produce the best children Zimbabwe is looking for. (III) They must be interested in the work that their children are doing. If they are falling behind they must try to find the reason and take corrective measures.

The parents must be interested because just to send the child to school and believe the teacher will do everything is totally irresponsible. The question of delinquency should not be left to the Ministry or to me to make laws because I don't want to become a dictator. I prefer to enter into dialogue with the parents so that together we can devise solutions, find corrective measures that can be taken. The question of juvenile delinquency needs to be debated openly with the parents, educationists and with leaders in the Party and in Government.

Cde. Mutumbuka demonstrating what he means by "Education with production"
"Their deployment will make them the immediate and instant counteractive force on the ground to any armed action by bandits who aim to disturb peace in Gokwe".

According to the Deputy Minister responsible for Paramilitary Training, Comrade Ndangana, militia operations in Gokwe have since restored peace in the district and once again the cotton growing peasants can engage in peaceful labour without fear. "Bandits who thought that they would be able to eliminate the militia one by one once the training is over have been disappointed to find them ready with arms in their hands at short notice," Comrade Ndangana said recently.

"I am highly impressed by the cooperation between the militia and police in Gokwe and the efficient system of communication between the two forces."

He said critics of the militia forces have alleged that they harass peasants but "my investigations have shown that on the contrary there is a good relationship between the masses and the militia. After all the militia and the masses are one."

How the Militia was Formed

Historically, Gokwe District was a ZAPU stronghold, it ZIPRA forces having operated here during the liberation war.

After independence armed dissidents waged an unholy war on the peasants, robbing them of their money and property and killing political opponents, mainly ZANU (PF) officials engaged in development projects.

In Gweru last year, party and district council officials met the Prime Minister and discussed the situation in Gokwe. The Prime Minister promised the local leadership in Gokwe that the government would train peasants as militia to protect the community from dissidents. This is how the force which has proved to be a crack force in its own right was formed.

The paramilitary Training Department has since established its headquarters in Bindura and training camps throughout the country.

With the assistance of Military experts from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and officers of the Zimbabwe National Army, the Militia continue to grow both qualitatively and quantitatively.

This year a further seven hundred, militia instructors graduated in Bindura and another seven hundred, who include women, are under training.

Proper Training

Those who have seen the militia in action at Rufaro Stadium and elsewhere will admit that there is no difference in the quality of training and level of discipline between the Militia and the regular army units.

Comrade Ndangana pointed out, "We are not going to make the mistake of producing poorly trained and poorly armed militia forces as some countries in Africa have done. We see the militia as an integral part of the national defence forces; the difference being that the army and police are on duty daily and the militia are called only to deal with security situations as they arise in their respective areas. Otherwise they both fight the same enemy who in the case of South Africa is quite strong."

"Poorly trained militia will only act as an armoury of the South African Forces and dissidents which this government is not prepared to do."
Soon every mountain and every valley in Zimbabwe will be turned into a training ground as every able bodied Zimbabwean, young or old irrespective of sex learns the art of war to defend himself and the country against any aggressor. No enemy can defeat a united and armed people. There is no one who can defend independence and freedom won through the barrel of the gun than the masses themselves who fought for their political independence. There is no force which can defend Zimbabwe's socialist revolution than the armed workers and peasants who stand, to benefit from that revolution. The growth and future operations of the militia must be understood from that context. Let us Fight to Defend the Fatherland! Down with Reactionaries!

Frelimo at the Fourth Congress
Excerpts from the Report of the Frelimo Central Committee
The Colonial Situation in Mozambique
To be able to make an appropriate assessment of the organisational effort and the social and economic effort and the social and economic growth achieved in our country since independence, one needs to sketch the social and economic reality from which we began. This description will enable us to measure the effort by the entire people in these eight brief years of our independence to overcome the burden of colonialism. Recalling the past gives meaning to the present; it is the first step to a deep understanding of the nature and causes of our present difficulties. It magnifies our pride in being Mozambicans: free people who have taken on the meaning of history, by becoming its makers.
Eight years of leading the country enables us now to characterise, with a rigour that was not possible in 1977, what foreign domination meant. With the knowledge of colonial reality we are able to assess the deep meaning of this great march on which our entire people have embarked for the creation of a better and more beautiful future.

The Colonial Economy
When we proclaimed independence, our country had a backward, distorted and, dependent economy. Its productive base was essentially oriented towards providing rail and port services to neighbouring countries. Mozambique was a reserve of cheap labour for South Africa and Rhodesia. Mozambicans migrated to the gold and diamond mines, but they also migrated to work at digging coal, uranium, iron and chrome-minerals that exist underground in our country. Mozambique was a reserve of cheap labour for maize, potato, wheat tobacco, citrus and sugar plantations-crops for which our country has favourable conditions. To produce abroad what existed in their own country, more than a hundred thousand Mozambican workers emigrated each year to the South African mines, and Portugal received part of their salary in gold. More than 2,000 migrants died there each year, and thousands more returned infected with serious diseases, particularly tuberculosis. In agriculture, the existing enterprises belonged exclusively to foreign capital, to big bosses and settlers. Hundreds of thousands of Mozambicans worked there.
The great majority of the people, however, consisted of peasants. They engaged in family production, about 80 per cent which was for their own consumption. Cash crops, such as cotton, cashew and oilseed were bought at extremely low prices and went to the external market and to industry.

In 1961 the export prices of cotton to companies based in Mozambique were 500 per cent higher than the prices for which the same cotton had been bought from the peasants. Productivity in agriculture was very low, because of backward farming techniques employed, the low rate of mechanisation and limited use of modern factors of production. Relations of production were based on domination of the country, exploitation, oppression and repression of the people in general and workers in particular. Forced labour, the introduction of obligatory crops, tax collection and beating provided the main relationship between the foreign occupier and the Mozambican peasant.

In industry what predominated was primary processing of agricultural raw materials for export, with particular emphasis on sugar, tea, timber, cotton to be processed into cloth in the colonial metropole for subsequent sale in Mozambique at sky-high prices. There were times when cloth manufactured in Portugal from cotton grown in Mozambique came to be sold at prices more than 4000 per cent over the price that had been paid for the raw material. Industry intended for the internal market, and particularly for supplying the towns, was heavily dependent on imports.

In the face of increasingly evident exchange difficulties, the colonial bourgeoisie which had grown rich on the trade found itself obliged to invest in import-substitution industry. It was light industry, with much of the machinery imported second-hand and in some cases already obsolete. It was virtually restricted to the finishing stages for imported products. Its main development came in the final years of colonialism. The existing industry in Mozambique employed only 2 per cent of the active population. About 70 per cent of it was concentrated in the Maputo Beira areas.

In the transport sector, most of the traffic came from relations with neighbouring countries, South Africa and Rhodesia in particular. Earnings from this sector provided the main foreign exchange source for the Mozambique colonial economy.

Commerce was in the hands of thousands of foreign small shopkeepers spread throughout the country and forming an integral part of the retail and wholesale network. From market stalls to the larger supermarkets, almost all commerce was handled by foreigners. It was

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the settlers who sold sacks of maize and vegetables, the needle and the water tin, the plough and the hoe, the paraffin and the charcoal, the cloth and the head tie, the mirror and the toy, the comb and the bead necklace, the zinc sheets and the reed for building.

Backwardness and dependence characteristic of the colonial economy were also clearly shown in the pattern of external relations.
A large proportion of imports consisted of consumer goods intended to supply the colonial bourgeoisie. In 1970, for example, about 30 per cent of imports was foodstuffs, footwear and clothing; another 25 per cent was in consumer durables, such as refrigerators, cars and cookers, and in raw materials.

The relations of colonial domination and exploitation led also to a growing drain on foreign exchange, through the flight of capital, private transfers and touristic travel by the colonial bourgeoisie, notably in holidays and the so-called 'leaves' granted in Portugal.

These expenditures in foreign currency used up a substantial part of the earnings from exports and from services provided to neighbouring countries.

Faced with the imminent overthrow of the colonial system, at the start of 1970's, Portuguese monopoly capital the colonial bourgeoisie lost confidence in the future of the colonial regime. The flight of capital speeded up at this time, and speculative investment in Mozambique began to outstrip migration from the colonial metropole. Between 1973 and 1975 the colonial economy became more unstable. There was a general drop in the prices of consumer goods, notably in the building sector that fell by one cent. Transport dropped by 25 per cent. Agricultural production fell by one cent. In 1974 foreign exchange covered only 20 days of imports, compared to more than 36 per cent in 1975. This situation was gravitated by the fact that earnings from exports covered only 60 per cent of imports. The worsening of Colonialism's Economic Crisis

As a result of the war of aggression, the colonial capitalist economy entered a profound crisis. The 'metropole' accelerated exploitation and pillage. The colonial government found itself obliged to channel more investment and budgetary resources into financing military expenditure.

The terms of trade deteriorated sharply in this period. In 1969, Mozambique was paying for one ton of cotton textiles by delivering five tons of raw cotton. In 1974 the ratio had become one ton of cotton textiles in exchange for six tons of raw cotton.

As the purchase of Portuguese wine was obligatory, import of this product reached a figure of 270 million escudos in 1969. At that time Mozambique was exchanging two tons of sugar for every one ton of wine. In 1973 for every ton of wine four tons of sugar were exported.

This situation, linked to a flight of capital, led to a worsening of foreign indebtedness. The colonial government was obliged to delay external payments.

Despite the aggravation of exchange problems that this situation brought, the colonial government was forced to maintain imports of superfluous consumer goods to protect the living standards of the settlers. It was in this period, at the end of the 1960's that South Africa and Rhodesia enhanced their influence and direct role in the economy.

Cde. Samora Machel
Zimbabwe News Vol. 14 No. 2 JUL 1

throw of and foreign exchange were channeled to the Bank of Portugal.

In exchange for capital and hundreds of tons of gold, Mozambique's confidence...
received Portuguese escudos to import me. The consumer goods from the
colonia
his stage metropole.
creased. Debts in Portuguese escudos, incurred ers leav- by imports of cloth,
salted cod, sardines, strip im- wine, olive oil; debts incurred by imports etropole.
of goods that filled shops mainly serving pse of the settlers, were paid with
gold won by obvious, the labour of Mozambican miners odution abroad, with
earnings from transport and st sharp- with foreign exchange earned by our cotby
72 per ton, sugar, sisal, cashew, timber, prawns. per cent, In two years alone
between 1973 and Industry 1975, the price of meat rose 148 per cent, nt while
milk by 150 per cent, first-grade rice by 28 per 158 per cent, beans by 145 per
cent, potatoes by 144 per cent, sugar by 130 per reserves cent.
s and, in
f only 50
n was aggs in gold

Zimbabwe News Vol.14 No. 2 July 1983
Education, Health, Housing and Services in the Colonial Period
In the social and cultural field, colonial capitalist domination had particularly
damaging consequences. Skilled education was virtually an exclusive privilege of
the settlers. For Mozambicans there was only missionary education, mainly in
rural areas. Race and class discrimination kept the grammar schools and
university for whites and an assimilated few. Black Mozambicans had within their
grasp only the so-called elementary school and a limited chance of attending trade
training schgols to increase their potential as future manpower for the settlers. The
tiny minority that had access to commercial and industrial schools rarely found
employment compatible with their training. One took a course in mechanics only
to become a mechanic's apprentice; one took a commercial course only to become
a candidate for the public service or an office assistant. Black Mozambicans who
aspired to a higher social status had no alternative other than the warped life of
the religious seminaries. Education was highly alienating. It attacked our
Mozambican personality with the aim of destroying it. In school we learned the
catechism, the rivers and mountains of Portugal, the stories of the Portuguese
kings. Our culture and our history were denied; the geography, fauna and flora of
Mozambique were ignored.
Out of an estimated population of 8 200 000 inhabitants in 1970, there were little
more than fifty thousand Mozam.bicans with primary education, that is fewer than
I per cent. Of those, about two thousand had the first stage of secondary education
and a mere fifty or so had qualifications between the third and seventh year of
grammar school or its equivalent. In 1970 not more than a dozen Mozambicans
had received higher education.
In 1974, in every hundred people aged seven or above, ninety three were illiterate.
Out of 3 000 students in the Univesity of Lourenco Marques in 1974, only 40
were black. On the cultural level, in the areas occupied by colonialism there was
rampant tribalism, regionalism, racism, obscurantism.
Such a low level of house building throughout the whole colonial period can only be understood on the basis that houses were intended almost exclusively for the settlers.

Racism and discrimination in transport and services was a general characteristic of colonial policy. Urban public transport served mainly areas of the towns occupied by the colonial bourgeoisie. Up to the end of the colonial period almost, access to buses, particularly for black Mozambicans, was strictly limited. We travelled either standing or sitting at the back, clearly separated from the settlers. To travel in their own country was a painful experience for Mozambicans. When it did happen, it was usually journeys in search of work, journeys to the fields for forced labour, journeys for forced transfers or for deportation. A journey by airplane was a very rare event for Mozambicans.

In production and management of social and economic units, a monopoly of know-how and technology was kept in the hands of foreigners. At the time of independence, the number of skilled workers was insignificant; Mozambican owners of the means of production scarcely existed. For Mozambicans was reserved a place as a cleaner, stevedore, unskilled labourer, domestic servant. Teachers in the state primary education, secondary technical and higher education, engineers, lawyers, economists, agronomists, technicians, foremen, skilled workers, all those who held technical or management positions, even the least demanding, were foreigners. This factor is one that weighs most heavily today in the struggle against economic and cultural backwardness.

The Final Phase of Colonial Overthrow

That was the economic and social situation at the end of the colonial period. Almost total economic stagnation had set in. Foreign exchange reserves were exhausted. Businesses were abandoned, technicians in flight; there was theft and the destruction of machinery and transport. The defeated enemy fomented indiscipline in production units and services, encouraged wage claims, stirred up opportunism and ambition. That is how in 1974, before the imminent victory of the national Liberation Cde. Mugabe and struggle front, the Provisional Government in a demagogic and destabilising measure decreed uncontrolled wage rises that the economy could not stand. This led to major imbalances, accentuated differentials and hastened inflation.

The winning of national independence thus coincided with the most difficult moment in the colonial economy, that was aggravated by the start of a serious economic crises in the international capitalist system and by the steep rise in oil prices that also made itself felt from 1974.

To the social and economic chaos that colonialism left in our country must be added the burden of centuries of domination, oppression and repression of Mozambicans. This affected all the people, in a cumulative process that inhibited their creative capacities, by giving them a fatalist outlook on the struggle against poverty and wretchedness, by interrupting the historical process of development of the Mozambicans.
This was the economic, social and cultural reality we had to face in the areas occupied by colonialism at the time of independence. During the armed struggle for national liberation we had already countered it with our life style, our economic and social approach based on the people, our ideas and cultural values. In the liberated areas we had banished exploitation, cooperatives were developing, production and export was rising. We brought with us the experience of struggle against oppression and against exploitation. We brought the decision to build a new economy and a new society.

We had before us the great but complex task of raising up a Mozambican nation, of constructing an economy and a society without exploitation of man by man, of building socialism.

Cde. Samora Machel during the liberation

Karl Marx: 1883 - 1983 100th Anniversary
Thank you, Comrade Chairman for affording the delegation of the Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front), an opportunity to make our modest contribution at this most historic conference which is being held in honour of Germany's - indeed, mankind's greatest son - KARL MARX.

But, before going further, please allow me, Comrade Chairman, to convey, at the very outset, to dear Comrade Eric Honecker, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the SED, the entire SED Party, the Government and people of this historic country, revolutionary greetings from Comrade Robert Mugabe, President of ZANU (PF), the Central Committee, the Party and the people of Zimbabwe revolutionary salutations and greetings. We congratulate you for the thorough preparation that went into making this conference the staggering success it evidently is.

Comrades, for us of Zimbabwe, who are due to celebrate our third - Independence anniversary next week, we confess to a sense of pride and satisfaction that, you Comrade Honecker, and your Central Committee found it proper and fitting to invite us to this theoretical Conference. We feel. highly honoured, indeed!

The Significance of Marx's Ideas

Comrades, the task before us is a daunting one. We are called upon to state what, in our own experiences Karl Marx continues to mean to and, in particular, to assess the abiding relevance of Marxism-Leninism to mankind's quest for survival and social progress.

It is common knowledge that during his lifetime, Marx's socio-critical analysis exposed the terrible conditions and socioeconomic problems of place and time. His exposition of the prevailing state of conflict, war and struggle in Europe and colonies is most vividly illuminated in numerous newspaper articles, letters, note books, pamphlets, manuscripts, exchanges and correspondence. No one then as now can fault the accuracy of any and all the conclusions he reached.

Today, because of Marx's ideas and
teachings and in spite of th viciousness and reactionary propaganda of his capitalist and bourgeois opponents, more than half of mankind are already implementing Marx's conception and idea of total emancipation of man as a social being in the state of motion through space and time. The genius of Marx lies precisely in the fact that he alone was able to furnish and provide tangible answers to questions the great minds of humanity had already raised but failed to answer in their speculative and metaphysical - transcendentals.

The Great Lenin, practitioner and defender of Marxist theory led the way when he ushered in Red October, annihilated capitalist exploitation in Russia and, through his Bolshevik party brought into being the great defender of the working people and oppressed peoples everywhere. He was a man of action, a resilient revolutionary.

Marxism in Zimbabwe
Since its inception in 1963, ZANU (PF) has always been a revolutionary party championing the cause of the people of Zimbabwe not by mere words of appeal to the British imperialists or to the United Nations but by action, and consistently more action. ZANU (PF) has thus always been an action party for that is what any revolutionary party should be. Through its armed struggle, the Patriotic Front, led by ZANU (PF) and supported by the entire Socialist camp, the O.A.U and more especially the Frontline States has been responsible for the constitutional change that removed the racist quisling regime from the face of Zimbabwe. I would like to take this opportunity to thank you all, on behalf of Comrade Robert Mugabe for the steadfast manner in which you discharged your international solidarity obligations in respect of Zimbabwe. It was yet another example, another piece of evidence of the fact that the spirit of Marx and Lenin is much alive and marches forward to win more glorious victories against colonizers and the oppressed.

We, in our humble way, responded to Marx's call for action in order to change the order of things in society. It is wellknown that in drawing attention to this empirical fact of life, Marx wrote, "the philosophers have only interpreted the world in ways; the point, however, is to change it." Similarly, with the clarity and brilliance of a genius, V.I. Lenin predicted that, without a revolutionary party, the victory of a new system is impossible. ZANU (PF), though still young and in need of further transformation and reorganisation, is such a radical party which after the attainment of political independence and power by the people through the electoral process proclaimed 1980/81 as the Year of the People's Power and 1982/83 as the years of Naional Transformation. "

The collapse of the colonial regime of Zimbabwe-Rhodesia finally and radically changed the state of affairs and order of things in our country. Our people who had suffered for ninety years under the yoke of colonialism, racism and all kinds of manifestation of the infamous racist policy of the Smith regime have now acquired their right to self-determination, using their hard-won political power to bring about socialist revolutionary changes.

Developing Marx's teaching about a
revolutionary party, Lenin foresaw the importance of the National Liberation movement which he regarded as “an active factor in world politics” and emphasized that, “in the impending decisive battle in the world revolution, the movement of the majority of the population of the globe, initially directed towards national liberation, will turn against capitalism and imperialism”, and develop socialism according to the dynamics and dialectics of place and time. Hence, one of Lenin’s well-known contributions to Marx’s ideas was that every country and every nation would objectively choose its own road to socialism because “different nations are advancing in the same historical direction but by very different zigzags and bypaths.”

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Comrade Zvobgo
Comrade J.N. Kaparadza at the Conference

An analysis of historical practice confirms and shows that in none of the existing socialist, countries have the forms, methods and paths of a socialist revolution copied other people’s experience. Hence in Zimbabwe, ZANU (PF) has chosen, according to our national peculiarities, its own ways and forms of struggle for socialism, peace and social progress. Capitalism has failed dismally to meet the needs and demands of its oppressed, hence Zimbabwean Marxists, led by our Prime Minister Comrade Robert Mugabe, have emerged out of the colonial crisis of capitalism, giving and offering the exploited and neglected masses faith and hope in the future prosperity and dignity of man as “homo politicus and homo economicus”.

In Zimbabwe, therefore, our own knowledge of the situation reflects developing conditions of living which reflect upon the economic system of the country in its transitional state of movement from colonial capitalism to “egalitarian socialism”. In view of this fact, ZANU (PF) is exercising growing influence on the course of our country’s history because of the very fact of its existence as a potent revolutionary party aiming at the transformation of social relations of a new type never seen before or witnessed in our country.

Marxism inspired our cadres’ will to win the war and they became much more effective in the battle to liberate Zimbabwe from colonialism, racism and imperialism. It will continue to inspire the same people and give them an inner urge to advance towards socialism.

established a government of National unity led and spearheaded by ZANU FppI we have proclaimed a policy of national reconciliation; we have brought about free primary education to all our people, abolished racism, introduced a free National health service for those who cannot afford it; unified our armed forces; embarked upon massive resettlement on lands that had been stolen; created new people-oriented economic and social structures that negate the capitalist greed for profits and launched a three-year
National Transitional Development Plan. We are self-sufficient in food and have more than our share of natural resources. We cannot fail our socialist and communist allies here assembled. Destiny beckons us to struggle harder to achieve greater and more decisive conquests for socialism. Comrades, to succeed we need peace. In our region the racist South African regime plays the role of Israel in the Middle East. It is the agent provocateur of United States imperialism. We have been the object of repeated acts of aggression by South Africa. Acts of sabotage on our pipe-line, railroads, military installations and economic projects have been carried out in broad daylight. Some of our erstwhile while compatriots in the Patriotic Front have been seduced by imperialism into banditry, treason and subversion. Some have succumbed to South African offers of money into agreeing to undergo military training against us in that country. Our neighbours Mozambique and Angola have also been the objects of racist and fascist South African attacks. The same enemies of peace and progress continue to keep Namibians in bondage. The spurious linkage between their liberation and the presence of Cuban comrades in Angola has been dismissed by the Frontline leaders as the charade it is.

The Preservation of Peace
At the end of the day, the entire Socialist Camp, Africa, Latin America and Asia must recognise that lasting peace depends only in having a strong Soviet Union. The rest is dangerous illusion. I have seen in Wankie game reserve in Western Zimbabwe, a lion drink from the same pond with hares and other smaller animals in apparent peace because of the acuteness of the drought this year. It is an illusion for these little comrades to believe that, the lion has become peace-loving. It will strike with a vengeance at the moment of its own choosing. The capitalist World must be made to know that a nuclear war will leave behind no shareholders. It will burn the Stock Exchange as thoroughly as their Swiss numbered accounts, villas on the Riviera and Hollywood as it will us of the Third World - 'the wretched of the Earth'. No debate will make them know this. Only a strong Soviet nuclear capability which assures mutual destruction will be our insurance policy. It is the only viable share certificate in the preservation of peace. We therefore support Comrade Andropov's stand in Geneva. This is so even if we do not love the Soviets. It is so even if we love only ourselves. It is reality for us all.

In conclusion, Comrades, the crisis in the capitalist camp, the recession, unemployment, high interest rates, crime and mass agitations by working people against their inhuman conditions pose such a threat to peace and progress that we must unite more today than ever before. We, the heirs of Marx and Lenin must recognise our historic role in the interests of posterity and mankind. Long live Marxism-Leninism! Long live world peace! Thank you Comrade Chairman.

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Comrades,
Distinguished guests, A hundred years ago, when Karl Marx, the great thinker and revolutionary, had closed his eyes for ever, Friedrich Engels, his friend and companion throughout a lifetime of struggle, declared that his name and work
would endure through the ages. These prophetic words are proving true in our 
challenging and turbulent age as the human condition undergoes a radical 
transformation on all continents and the human race summons all its energies to 
banish the spectre of selfannihilation in a nuclear holocaust.
As we all know, events in honour of Karl Marx are taking place everywhere. 
People have been swarming to exhibitions to find out more about his work. Many 
publications are appearing: Films, newspapers and other media have awakened 
millions upon millions to the personality and achievements of the greatest son of 
the German people.
Karl Marx dedicated his life to the task of not only interpreting the world, but 
actually changing it. And the world has indeed changed beyond recognition since 
his day. We can see now that this regeneration of all social phenomena has 
occurred in the spirit of Karl Marx, along revolutionary lines, rather than in the 
spirit of those who pursued him with hatred throughout his life and then, after his 
death, sought in vain to extinguish the fire of his teachings.
Marx enabled the working class in all lands to perceive its historic mission as the 
grave-digger of the old society and the architect of a new society which is free 
from the exploitation of man by man. By abolishing exploitation, the human race 
also rids itself of other scourges which have afflicted it for centuries - national 
oppression and racial discrimination, and devastating wars. As all of us can 
observe, the working class has evolved into a decisive force behind the wheel of 
history. After the 19th century with all its struggle, after the triumph and bloody 
suppression of the Paris Commune, after the revolutionary upheavals which put 
an end to the First World War early this century, after the Soviet Union had 
powered the Allied coalition to victory over German fascism, the working class 
emerged in many countries as the ruling class, establishing socialist society in 
alliance with the peasantry and the intelligentsia.
It was the Russian proletariat, led by the Bolshevik Party and by Vladimir Ilyich 
Lenin, on whom had fallen the mantle of Marx and Engels, which blazed this trial 
with the Great October Socialist Revolution. In Moscow and Peking, in Berlin, 
Havana and Addis Ababa, in Prague, Hanoi and Aden, in Warsaw, Ulan Bator 
and Pyongyang, in Budapest and Vientiane, in Sofia and Kabul, in Bucharest and 
Luanda, in Belgrade and Maputo-everywhere we can see the contours of a world 
in which the people, in the words of Engels, are stepping from the realm of 
necessity into the realm of freedom.
liberation movements in the celebration in Moscow% to make the occasion, underline the great prestige which the Soviet Union enjoys worldwide and the great attraction it holds for the international labour movement and for all peoples. How could it be otherwise! The Great October Socialist Revolution was no ordinary revolution. It differed radically from all previous revolutions including the great French Revolution which continues to command our respect. All preceding revolutions, it is still be recalled, had only led to an old exploitative system being replaced by a new one. The exploitation of man by man remained, but the Red October abolished it for the first time. The victory brought the workers to power in alliance with the peasants. That is fundamental distinction between, on the one hand, the Great October Socialist Revolution and the revolutions in the other socialist countries and, on the other, all the revolutions which went before. And herein lies the significance of real socialism today in the history of the world.

Basically, the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution was a victory for the teachings of Marx, Engel and Lenin. Yuri Andropov, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, rightly pointed out recently in his article dealing with Marx's theory and some aspects of socialist construction in the USSR that Marxism in our day would be inconceivable without or alongside Leninism. Lenin and the Bolshevik Party which he founded, he writes, assumed the leading role in the first victorious revolution which completely changed the sociopolitical complexion of our planet. This ushered in a new era, one of worldwide transition from capitalism to socialism, of striking successes and historic achievement by the workers and the mass for the people. Scientific socialism, the theory propounded by Marx and Engels, was thus made a living reality by millions of working people building a new society.

The victorious Great October Socialist Revolution made it clear that capitalism, which the bourgeoisie claims is natural and permanent, can be replaced by a new socioeconomic formation. At the same time, it proved how correct Marx was to point out that capitalism would not disappear from the scene of its own free will. Only the working class and its revolutionary party can overthrow it. This, it will be remembered, was one of the principal lessons which Marx and Engels drew from the defeat of the Paris Commune.

Whichever way one looks at the events of 1917, which marked a turning-point in the history of mankind, it is a fact that the emergence of socialism as a living organism shook the capitalist world to its roots and inspired humanity with the hope of a happy future in peace and freedom. As Marx and Engels predicted, the onward march of the socialist world has been accompanied by the advance of the popular movement for liberation which dealt the death-blow to the imperialist colonial system. This has been coupled with fierce conflict in capitalist countries at various stages in their development. Even now, the ruling class in those lands can no longer exercise its power without taking into account the influence of the world socialist system and the labour movement within their own borders, which has already become the
principal agent of democratic progress and democratic renewal. These countries will see socialism emerge, in whatever colour, in a way that reflects national realities and class constellation and will witness the transfer of the means of production into public ownership; one of Marx's most important demands. In Africa, Asia and Latin America, those who still await their liberation are redoubling their struggle for peace, freedom and justice. Against the backdrop of these changes it becomes apparent what a prodigious feat Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels accomplished by transforming socialism from a utopian vision into a scientific doctrine. By infusing scientific socialism into the labour movement, they enabled the working class of all lands and the oppressed of this world to recognize their own strength and to use it to throw off the shackles of capitalism.

Just as the ideas of Karl Marx influenced the actions of the masses, they also had a lasting effect on the development of scientific and philosophical theory. No modern social science can escape the cogency of Marx's reasoning. Adopting a position on Marx has become a crucial element in intellectual and political debate.

Marx must take everlasting credit for arousing humanity to the realization that the future does not depend on obscure forces outside our control. Nor will it be governed by the wishful thinking of all those "Marx is dead" theorists who are clamouring for a crusade against the Marxism of our era and who would prefer to see communism proscribed by a latterday Inquisition and to give it a quite burial so as to assure the ruling classes in their respective countries of their profits. What really determines the development of a society is the level and mode of production, the stage of economic development its people have attained. In our day, the existence of the USSR and of the world socialist system even makes it possible for the peoples of economically backward countries to move towards laying the foundations for socialism while skipping the capitalist path of development.

"And now as to myself," Marx noted, "no credit is due to me for discovering the existence of classes in modern society or the struggle between them. Long before me bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this class struggle and bourgeois economists the economic anatomy of the classes. What I did that was new was to prove: (1) that the existence of classes is only bound up with particular historical phases in the development of production, (2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat, (3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of ill classes and to a classless society.

According to Friedrich Engels, the basic thought running through all Marx's work, not least through the Manifesto of Cde. Erich Honecker the Communist Party, is that economic production and the structure of society of every historical epoch necessarily arising therefrom constitutes the foundation for the political and intellectual history of that epoch. Consequently, ever since the dissolution of the primeval communal ownership of
land all history has been a history of class struggles, of struggles between
exploited and exploiting, between dominated and dominating classes at various
stages of social development. Finally, this struggle reaches a stage where the
exploited and oppressed class—the proletariat—can no longer emancipate itself from
the class which exploits and oppresses it without at the same time forever freeing
the whole of society from exploitation and oppression.
This basic thought belongs solely and exclusively to Marx, and the labour
movement has always borne it in mind, for there can be no progressive
development in the present or future if it is not a guide to action for all those who
are endeavouring to lead humanity out of the realm of necessity into the realm of
freedom. This awareness underlies the alliance policy of the revolutionary
working-class parties, which varies in expression from one socialist country to
another, depending on national realities.
It was one facet of this greatness that Karl Marx never looked upon his doctrine as
something definitive and immune to any change. He always regarded practice as
the proving ground for his theory. In fact, his own involvement in the
revolutionary battles of his day provided a source of new ideas. He generalized
from experience to influence the course of history yet again with fresh,
heightened, theoretical insight. This is the clue to both the scientific and the
creative nature of Marx’s teachings, which are capable of answering new
questions as they arise. It was Vladimir Ilyich Lenin who then took on the-
historical role of defending Marxism against all distortions and developing it to
take account of imperialism, the
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highest and final stage of capitalism........... to project a strategy for the new era of
transition to socialism.
The doctrine of Karl Marx is omnipotent because it is true. No one can deny its
success, in spite of the difficulties which arise, for all kinds of reasons, in the
course of building a new society. Compared with any exploitative society, real
socialism is a comparatively recent phenomenon. Mankind finds itself here on
uncharted territory never before explored in human history. The founders of
scientific socialism did not offer any catch-all recipes nor did they ever have the
slightest intention of doing so. What they did was to formulate fundamental truths
and fundamental perceptions. The leading parties in the socialist countries are
working closely together, studying their experience of building the new society
and tackling new problems jointly. In this way the theory outlined by Marx is
constantly being enriched and standing its test as a guide to action.
Like Lenin after him, Marx was above all a revolutionary. His ambition was to
contribute not just to the downfall of any government which happened to be
flouting the interests and rights of the people, but to the overthrow of capitalist
society and the institutions of government it had created. In many of his works,
notably in his Critique of the Gotha Programme, he set out the view, first
propounded in the Manifesto of the Communist Party, that the proletariat can do
without the bourgeoisie but not vice versa. The bourgeoisie, he pointed out,
cannot exist without constantly revolutionizing the instrument of production, the
relations of production. In this way it produces its own grave-diggers, the proletariat, by the thousands.
The current situation in the capitalist industrial nations furnishes striking evidence that the ruling class, even with the most advanced productive forces at its command, is unable to resolve the problems of the modern world in the interests of the people. We observe this in its attempts to make the people shoulder the burden of the crisis and thus keep profits high, in miss unemployment, in its inability to guarantee vocational training and secure job prospects to all young people leaving school. In the light of these symptoms, especially mass unemployment and the ravages of inflation, leading trade unionists have come to share the conclusion that the negative effects of the profit-oriented capitalist economy cannot be eliminated without plucking out the roots. I should like to put on record here that we have the highest regard for the strenuous efforts being made by the communist and workers’ parties, by the trade unions in the capitalist countries and by the national liberation movements to enforce social improvement for the working people and to defend them.

Both in the socialist countries and in the capitalist countries we are constantly running across fresh proof that Marxism is a vibrant theory which has lost nothing of its appeal. Serious bourgeois philosophers and economists these days cannot ignore Marx when they expound their views about the past, present and future of the human race. Even those politicians who dismiss his ideas as irrelevant on the grounds that he lived and worked under different conditions have to admit that our own age raises a number of questions which cannot be answered satisfactorily without some reference to Marx.

Take the question about the origin of political, economic and cultural crises, which it has become customary in the Western world to describe as crises of civilization. Take the sometimes rather helpless question about the causes of mass unemployment. The answers given by Marx, Engels and Lenin are very precise. The roots of these ills are well embedded in the capitalist system, with its pursuit of maximum profit. Take the subject of peace studies in the Western countries. Marx, Engels and Lenin gave very precise answers as to where wars come from and how they can be prevented.

Right from the outset, Marx considered 'the social emancipation of peoples and their liberation from the scourge of war to be twin tasks which the working class would have to accomplish in the course of fulfilling its historical mission. He was a sympathetic and fervent supporter of the peoples fighting against national and colonial oppression and striving for freedom and independence. At the same time, he was vigorously opposed to all wars which stemmed from' the acquisitive and expansionist drive of the bourgeoisie.

in a well-known dictum Marx said that socialism is the embodiment of a society "whose international rule will be peace, because its national ruler will be everywhere the same-labour! Indeed, there is no class or social group in a socialist society which stands to gain from armament and war or which threatens other nations. The working class does not need war to attain its goals.
Consequently, the revolutionary labour movement always looked up on preserving peace as one of its overriding concerns. It combined the struggle against bourgeois wars with the struggle for social progress. Today, however, the world situation is such that the danger of nuclear war overshadows the life of all nations, threatening an inferno which would amount to the self-annihilation of the human race. To prevent this happening, to guarantee a secure peace is the first imperative of our time. Only thus will it be possible to achieve further social progress and to resolve other social problems, indeed, to save human civilization.

With their policy of confrontation and arms-building, which they also seek to foist on their NATO allies, influential circles in the United States are clearly pursuing imperial designs. Their principal, albeit utterly unrealistic, aim is to gain military and strategic superiority over the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community in order to have

Karl Marx

a free hand in the world arena. Prisingly, therefore, hardly a day without the US government invo thrice-familiar "threat from th which is", of course, a complete. There is no lack of historical e illustrating imperialism's urge ti the area under its control and to d sources of raw materials, marl spheres of influence. One need oi of German fascism and its lunat which culminated in the Secon War with all its suffering and des. Nowadays we find that US imp is claiming vast portions of the its own spheres of interest, be Europe, Africa, Asia or Latin A

This policy tramples on dependence, sovereignty and r peoples: witness the creation o' called Rapid Deployment Forc has the declared aim of suppress gressive developments in various the world. Simultaneously, NA tending its range beyond the cor the alliance to include regions wperialism is seeking to subordin global interests. The United building up its military bases, ar set up a command centre for sp fare. The most recent plans devis United States, which also deploying missiles in space, wo open the doors to a renewed e of the arms races and add likelihood of a war on earth.

It is part of the policy of contr to fan tensions in various regior world and to create new flas thereby poisoning the internatio tion still further and keeping the war glimmering. This is very n parent in the Middle East, w United States in particular gives comfort to Israel in its aggressio Lebanon, against the Palestini and against Syria. Mounting da emanating from the aggressive p the apartheid regime in South A continued occupation of Namit; efforts of the racist regime to d the progressive states in the regi

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Caribbean, too, the US imperialists are resorting to a policy of threats, pressure and blackmail, which is chiefly designed to force socialist Cuba to its knees but which is also directed against Nicaragua, Grenada and the liberation movements in El Salvador and other countries in the region.

The most aggressive elements of imperialism have not even tried to conceal their speculations with a possible nuclear first strike and the consequent risk of a nuclear world war. It is only logical, given a policy like that, for them to force armament to reach astronomical levels. Let me simply recall here that US arms
spending has gone up from $144 billion in 1980 to $285 billion this year and that the figure is planned to exceed $400 billion in 1987. The only ones who derive economic benefit from this are the handful of giant arms companies, the merchants of death whose profits are soaring in spite of the crisis. For the peoples of the world, however, the every new round in the arms race in the East" represents a heavy burden. Not least, it is the developing nations who suffer. They find it much more difficult to carry out their national programmes to overcome the legacy of centuries of colonial rule. The growing arms exports of mainly think imperialist states especially the USA, coupled with their high interest policies, tend to increase the indebtedness of many developing countries, which is bad enough as it is. According to recent world estimates, this burden of debt exceeds $600 billion. If the arms race is halted, the USA and practical measures are taken to bring the in- about disarmament, enormous sums will be available for solving the urgent problems facing mankind.

The dangers to world peace are great. It serves the interests of world peace that the awesome military potential of the brought forth by modern science and points, technology is not entirely concentrated in the hands of imperialism. Thanks to the torch of defence capacity of the socialist community, this tremendous power to destroy here has not yet been put to use. With the most aid and aggressive elements of imperialism stepping against them, their policy of confrontation and aggression, arms-building, we consider it our national duty to maintain our defences. At the same time, the USSR, the GDR and the other states of the socialist com community are leaving no stone unturned and in the have launched one initiative after another.

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Itachieve tangible and durable progress towards the safeguarding of peace. It was in this context that the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, meeting in Prague, submitted its well-known programme. It takes into account the interest of all parties, has enlivened the international dialogue on practicable ways towards limiting and reducing armaments and is proving to be a constructive factor in finding and implementing solutions. We regard the solemn pledge of the Soviet Union not to be the first to use nuclear weapons as a move of
world political importance and urge the other nuclear powers to undertake a similar pledge. The states of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation are prepared to take the greatest possible steps towards disarmament in accordance with the principle of equality and equal security. As things stand now, more weapons do not mean more, but less security. So it really is necessary to make peace with fewer and fewer weapons. In order to ward off the threat of a nuclear inferno, it is extremely important to prevent NATO from deploying new US nuclear first-strike weapons in Western Europe. We advocate a genuine "zero option", which means a nuclear-free Europe that can ensure our continent a peaceful future. As you know, we therefore supported the Swedish proposal to establish a zone in Central Europe that would be free from battlefield nuclear weapons, and declared our readiness to make the entire territory of the GDR available for the purpose. The creation of such a zone would be a valuable contribution towards diminishing the risk of war, enabling the process of detente to continue and deepening international cooperation. It is and remains the GDR's priority to play an active part in attaining these goals. We set great store by the proposals submitted in Prague to conclude a treaty between the Warsaw Pact and NATO on mutual renunciation of the use of military force and on the maintenance of peaceful relations.

We fully endorse the approach by the USSR in the Geneva talks on the limitation and reduction of nuclear armaments, which is aimed at achieving concrete results. To this end, Yuri Andropov submitted a number of proposals which met with a wide, largely positive, response amongst the general public, with voices from many quarters demanding to know when the United States will drop the policy of obstruction it has pursued so far and help to produce some constructive agreements.

Peoples and governments in many countries of Europe, Africa, Asia and Latin America are coming out in favour of establishing nuclear-free zones in their regions and dampening hotbeds of tension and conflict. We heartily support the relevant initiatives taken on this matter by India, Mexico and Nicaragua as well as Arab and African countries.

V.I. Lenin
We consider the Non-Aligned Movement to be a mighty force which can assert the common interest in secure peace on all continents. Its influence is growing in the struggle for equitable international relations, both political and economic. The 7th Summit Conference which these states held in Delhi confirmed this most impressively. In our view, the movement is making an important contribution towards thwarting the imperialist strategy of confrontation and defending peace and the rights of the peoples.

Experience all over the world indicates that communists are reliable allies of the worldwide peace movement. They work actively and with great initiative for the common goals. Since the conditions for the struggle of communist and workers parties vary from one country to another, it is not surprising that they sometimes formulate different ideas about the forms and methods which should be adopted in the campaign for peace and social progress. But the overriding concern is always safeguarding and stabilizing peace. We consider this to be the priority target for the entire working-class movement, irrespective of any views which its parties or
organizations might hold on this or that issue of life in their respective countries. All in all, the international working-class movement has a considerable peace potential at its disposal. Once again we reaffirm our readiness to offer our hand in a spirit of comradeship to all national revolutionary parties and liberation movements, all socialist and social democratic parties, trade unions and other organizations to bring this potential fully to bear.

Before this forum which has gathered to honour Karl Marx, I would like to suggest that right now all political and social forces who sincerely want peace absolutely must work together, irrespective of differing political programmes, ideological positions and religious confessions, across class barriers and everything that may separate us, in order to save the peoples from the catastrophe of a nuclear war. The differences will not disappear as a result. Rather, the defence of peace as the most precious possession of humankind is a matter of priority, a common interest which unites us, although at the same time the commitment to peace presents much scope for mutually beneficial cooperation in the most wide-ranging fields.

The maintenance of world peace is a matter that concerns everybody, including those who do not aspire to bring about fundamental social change. Certainly, nobody has ever had a monopoly on the desire for peace and the willingness to fight for it. Ever since there have been wars, with all their sufferings—sacrifice and destruction, the best representatives of the people and various classes and organizations have bravely resisted aggressive threats. But never before has the human race been confronted by such a lethal danger as today, never was it so pressed to fight for peace. Nuclear world war would even turn the idea of making profit into an illusion. And thus an historical opportunity is born for the most wideranging forces to, draw together in the struggle for peace and for this struggle to grow broader than it ever was in the past.

There is no reasonable alternative to the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. Its principles, whose implementation bore such positive fruit especially in the course of the seventies, must become the norm for international relations. We, too, believe that the policy of detente is the only way to prevent a nuclear inferno, the only chance to achieve reliable peace.

Our Party bases all its endeavours on the responsibility it feels for the survival and prosperity not only of people today, but also of future generations. We are especially aware of this responsibility because our country is situated directly at the dividing line between socialism and capitalism, between the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO. Besides, our sense of responsibility is imbued with the lessons of history, with the fact that two devastating world wars emanated from German soil. Peace, and peace again, is the supreme maxim underlying our policies.

Comrades,

Distinguished guests,

On German soil, in the land of his birth, in the German Democratic Republic, the ideas which Karl Marx gave to the working class are becoming reality, ideas which enabled it to organize social conditions that would be worthy of human
beings. It was here that a new, socialist Germany came into being under the leadership of the united working class and its party, the SED. Everything it has achieved so far and everything it is striving for illustrates the potential which real socialism offers. During your stay in our country you will be able to see all this for yourselves and form your own opinions.

In 1945, after a long road riddled with struggles, which brought hard-won victories but also bitter defeats, the revolutionary German working-class movement was able to set about radically changing people's very existence. This great opportunity had been opened up when the glorious Soviet army and the armies of the other states allied against Hitler succeeded in smashing Nazism. The German Democratic Republic put it to effective use, and the proof lies in the results achieved over more than three-and-a-half decades of a development that has taken place in permanent harsh conflict with imperialism and reaction. From the very beginning, this development has been linked with the international transformations that took place after the Second World War, in the course of which the world socialist system emerged. As co-operation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries grew closer, it became easier to solve internal tasks and problems. That awareness came to pervade socialist construction on every front, and we have been guided by it all times. The establishment of a new order had been tried out in the land of Lenin with due regard for the objective laws of social development. Thus the USSR gathered a wealth of experience which is of immense value to all progressive mankind, a treasure trove on which all revolutionary parties can draw in leading their peoples to socialism.

Our Party did this, too, when it applied the general laws of socialist construction to our specific national circumstances. Given the chaotic material and cultural legacy of imperialism it would have been inappropriate to declare socialism the order of the day. The antifascist democratic transformation ushered in an organic revolutionary process during which socialist construction eventually took place. A positive factor in the process was that under capitalist conditions our country had already attained a relatively advanced level of industrial development.

By setting up the first socialist state of workers and farmers on German soil, the German Democratic Republic, the working class decided the issue of power, the fundamental issue of any revolutionary, in its favour. This brought confirmation of the Marxist-Leninist perception that the Party's role as the leading force is indespensable to the liberation of the working class and the successful construction of socialism. In the spirit of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the SED had, by maintaining close and trustful relations with the working people, lived up to its duty. In its work it has always been able to learn from the fraternel parties, and, in turn, it contributed insights of its own to the international store of revolutionary experience.

On Gernann soil, too, freedom and democracy, those great ideals of the Zimbabwe News Vol. 14 No. 2 July
Cde. R.G. Mugabe

working class movement, are genuine achievements which socialism has given the working people for the first time in their history. As Karl Marx demonstrated, these ideals are dependent on the character of the economic and political power wielded by the ruling class, whichever it may be at the time. In a state of workers and farmers, the toiling masses are the masters of their destiny, running their own social affairs. Otherwise it would not be possible to build socialism successfully.

The SED’s policy of alliance has become very much a part of the socialist democracy, bringing the working class, the peasantry, the intellectuals and the rest of the working population closer and closer together and thereby releasing major creative potentials. This is borne out characteristically by the cooperation between the SED and the other parties mass organizations in the National Front of the GDR, which is carried out in a comradely spirit. Their political representative share responsibility at all government levels. The Democratic Farmers’ Party of Germany, the Christian Democratic Union of Germany, the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany and the National Democratic Party of Germany make their own contribution towards shaping advanced socialist society, and we rate this very highly. Today's society in the GDR only knows classes and strata which live from their own work, and so they have the same basic interests. In our republic a large-scale process is under way in which the various classes and strata are moving closer together, producing an increasingly pronounced political and moral unity among the people.

In the early seventies our Party found itself for the first time in a position to lay down a complete spectrum of tasks for building advanced socialist society in the GDR. We regard them as the key to an historic process of profound political, economic, social, intellectual and cultural changes. In order to press ahead it is necessary to adopt a planned approach towards developing at a high level all advantages and driving forces socialism, every aspect and sphere of social life, the forces and relations of production, social and political relations of science and education, socialist ideology and culture, the whole complex of living and living conditions and also national defence. As our experience shown, the multitude of individual problems arising from socialist construction can be solved successfully if one adopts a principled Marxist-Leninist position.

A period of new, dynamic advances begun in the GDR. Our guests from abroad will doubtless understand that people are proud of their social homeland, of all they have created in their hard work. As things stand now, GDR is a modern socialist industrial nation with a highly productive agrarian sector, an efficient education system; a strong scientific potential. The working class was left all those years ago with harsh legacy of the war and what can (be called a truncated economy, severe from its historical context. All the scientific productive forces which the GDR now possesses, embracing almost 60% branch of modern industry, have grown under socialism as social property.

While the national income of republic was 24,000 million Marks in 1949, it had risen to over 200,000 million Marks, or almost sevenfold, by 1971. That was a gloomy, crisis- ridden year all the major capitalist industrial ec tries, but the GDR attained a
4.3 per i growth in production over the previ year, at the same time reducing unit sumption of energy and raw material six per cent. The driving forces socialism proved their vigour even ut difficult circumstances. This is reflected in our agriculture, which organized on a cooperative basis, subsidiary farming having playe specific part from the very beginning. Association of Allotemt Gardeners Small Stock Breeders with its 1.2 mi members makes a considerable contr tion towards feeding the people.

In implementing its economic social policies as a complex whole, Party is responding to objective quirements. Since higher output is u in substantial measure to improve working and living conditions of w( ing people, a better life remains no tant promise. Good work pays off i This knowledge releases a great idea social energy, mobilizing above all skills of the people. The total work ft in the country is 8,368,000 of which r that 6,860,000 or 82 per cent, have ci pleted some course of training. This great achievement and at the same t a tremendous economic opportunit

The economic strategy adopted for eighties by our 10th Party Congr based on Marx's theory of reproducti An interesting factor is that many of findings are proving to be of grom relevance as the GDR's economy stri

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along the roaa oi intensively extenue reproduction. The law formulated by Marx on the economy of time, his profound analyses of labour productivity as an economic and social phenomenon and of the economy of production conditions in general again and again provide us with answers to practical questions. Marx was fully convinced that the productive force of human labour would rapidly unfold for the good of the people in a society which was free from exploitation, once the working people were armed with an understanding of the laws of social development and had taken the enormous project of construction into their own hands. Socialist competition, which is organized by the Confederation of Free German Trade Unions with its membership of over nine million, is a powerful motor in the process. Typically, the mass campaign by the GDR's working people to pay tribute to Karl Marx by producing particularly good economic results is culminating in a pledge by millions to increase labour productivity by over one per cent more than was planned for 1983, thus enabling the output of goods worth an extra 3,800 million Marks. This is an initiative which will bring many positive repercussions for all our people.

To attain the required pace of economic progress in our country, we must combine the advantages of socialism more closely with the scientific and technological revolution. Karl Marx described science as the soundest form of wealth, attaching great value to it for the development of the productive forces. The status it enjoys in our society does full justice to this. We earmark a considerable portion of our national income for research and development, and by international standards we compare well. However, we make no secret of the fact that socialism, in our view, offers greater opp ortunities for putting science to good use than we have taken advantage of so far, and we are making considerable efforts in this field.
The emergence of new economic structures goes hand in glove with scientific and technological progress, and at the same time new challenges arise for the individual. There is indeed no lack of problems. However, the solutions turn out to be quite different when science and technology are instruments for improving the lives of the working people, instead of being abused to reinforce the exploitation of man to man. In the GDR, economic rationalization is carried out together with the working people. Scientific and social progress are two sides of the same coin.

As we know, the development of the productive forces under capitalism comes into ever sharper conflict with the relations of production, causing deep crises in the economy and within society. Socialism, by contrast, offers the opportunity of perfecting the relations of production along planned lines, paving the way to development of the productive forces. Here, too, there is an objective interrelationship.

In the GDR industrial and construction capacity has been organized in the form of combines, which pool our huge material and intellectual resources and make it possible to organize production efficiently from the research stage to sale. These combines are firmly integrated into the overall pattern of management and planning set up on the principle of democratic centralism. The general managers of these combines are working as proxies of the workers' and farmers' state, with considerable powers to ensure that plan targets can be fulfilled. The formation of combines, a profound change in the structure of industrial management which took place some time ago, has proved successful and became the steppingstone to many further improvements.

The crux of the matter is to harmonize the interests of the combines, factories and individual work teams more and more cohesively with social requirements, that is to gear them to highly efficient management. Naturally, it is not possible to copy capitalist methods; approaches can only be found by perfecting the socialist planned economy itself.

The 10th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany characterized the economy as the area in which the most important social policy decisions are taken. At the same time it underline the growing importance of interaction between development processes in the various different spheres. A flourishing economy must provide the means to permit healthy progress in many other spheres within the framework of our farreaching goals. This includes measures to protect the natural environment. Then, of course, the GDR is actively committed to anti-imperialist solidarity and assists numerous developing countries as best as it can in building up their economies and eaucan systems. Under socialism, the economy is a top-priority state concern and the business of every individual.

The attitudes of working people towards economic issues are governed decisively by the fact that the right to work is fully guaranteed and that allround living standards are secure and continually being improved by rising productivity.
People think and act as the owners of the means of production; they feel an increasing sense of responsibility for every item of the economic account. If we take a long-term view, economic growth and output lead to something more than individual improvements in the life of the people. Placed in the service of a consistent policy for the good of the people, they make it possible to tackle social problems, to foster those qualitative changes in the conditions of life which building advanced socialist society requires. A characteristic example is the housing construction programme, the linchpin of our social policy. More than 1.8 million flats have been completed since 1971 alone. The housing improvements that this has brought put us well along the road to achieving our Party's target of solving the social problems of housing by 1990. This means providing between 2.8 and 3 million dwellings. Rents, however, will remain at their current low level.

It is a basic principle in our country to grant all children the opportunity to enjoy a good education. We can see that in capitalist society, where the educational privileges of the well-to-do have never been abolished, a right like this would be unthinkable. The single-class school, for example, was once a widespread institution in this country, too, especially in rural areas, but the GDR closed down the last one in 1959. The backbone of our present-day socialist education system is the ten-year general polytechnical school. All our children have the same opportunities for general education and vocational training. Great value is attached in the GDR to implementing communist education ideals, imparting a high level of knowledge, conveying the best of what the human race has created in terms of intellectual wealth. Not only has the number of university and college students multiplied since the capitalist era, but their social composition has changed in favour of the working class and women, testifying to the developments that have taken place in our socialist system of higher and technical education.

Young people are not only certain of a sound vocational training but also of a job. But furthermore great trust is placed in them in all walks of life, and they are able to take on considerable responsibilities. They have grown up to play an important role within society, and, under the leadership of the Free German Youth, their socialist youth organization, they have proved that they deserve it.

Very much is being done in the GDR to enable women to make better practical use of their equal rights within society.

Comprehensive support is given to families, especially to children. It is a matter of course in our country that all citizens can avail themselves of the right to recreation and medical care. The services of our socialist health system, which are free of charge to the patient, not only benefit the working people, but are also noteworthy by international standards. The same can doubtless be said of our flourishing socialist culture, the broad participation in mass sports, the evolution of socialist morality and ethics. And thus a socialist mode of life is taking shape amongst our people.
As can be seen, social progress calls for hard work and the resolution of multiple problems which are not always predictable. Despite all the positive achievements of socialism, one should not forget that it is being built in a world full of contradictions and full of turbulence. The safeguarding of peace and the allround development of socialist society condition one another and must be achieved at one and the same time. Great things have already been accomplished, greater challenges are still in store for us. By further fashioning advanced socialist society in the GDR, we are laying the groundwork for the gradual transition to communism. The GDR is in the fortunate position of following this path in fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the other countries of our community. This indestructible alliance has been at the root of its success and remains the basis for its secure prospects. Whatever we do for the good of our own people will also strengthen the great family of socialist countries. The one cannot be separate from the other.

Comrades,

Distinguished guests,

Karl Marx was, as Friedrich Engels remarked, one of those outstanding men who are only born a few to a century. But it has not always been the case that these men set such a stamp on the world. One hundred years after his death, historical changes inspired by his ideas which have taken place in the twentieth century are an eni monument to the great theoretician and revolutionary. The cause of socialist international liberation and the struggle for a peaceful future for all people! triumph.

Thank you.

International Struggles for Freedom

QUESTION: What is the historical background which has led to the present conflict involving the Palestinians and Zionists?

ANSWER: As a matter of fact, the problem of Palestine and the tragedy of our people dates back to the nineteenth century, when the colonial power had realized the strategic importance of the areas. Palestine and the other Arab countries were under the British and French mandate, colonial powers that realized the importance of the oil fields. We believe that the colonial power created the Zionist movement in that period in order to implement their colonial policy and to dominate and control that strategic and important area. The Palestinians have realized this dangerous policy which was implemented by the colonial power, and rejected this since the beginning, and fought against the British and its tools and the Zionists.

QUESTION: The PLO is an umbrella organization for the Palestinian people. Which are its major components?
ANSWER: The PLO consists actually of many political movements. These movements were operating among the Palestinian people before the launching of the armed struggle in 1965. The PLO was established in order to bring all these movements under one umbrella, in

QUESTION: What role do you think the United Nations must play in resolving the Palestinian problem?

ANSWER: Unfortunately the United Nations until today has failed to implement the many resolutions which were adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council, because of the Israeli arrogance and its annihilation policy.

QUESTION: The United States is heavily involved in the Middle East problem. What is the attitude of the PLO to this involvement?

ANSWER: Our stand is clear. As long as the American administration is still working against the interests of the Palestinian people and their rights, our attitude will be unfavourable.

QUESTION: What solution is acceptable to the Palestinians to the conflict?

ANSWER: The PLO are the only party which can provide a solution to the Middle East. What the PLO wants are: a circular democratic Palestinian State in which Muslims, Jews and Christians live together.

* * *

the withdrawal of the Israeli occupation force from all the Arab territories occupied in 1967.

e the establishment of the Palestinian independent state and the return of the kV Palestinian people.

--

order to implement one political and military decision.

The major movements are:

FATEH MOVEMENT
PFLP
DEMOCRATIC POPULAR LIBERATION OF PALESTINE
SAIQA
ALF (Arab Liberation Front)
PFLP General command

QUESTION: On the battle front, how much ground has the PLO gained? Can you also speak on PLO successes diplomatically?

ANSWER: After the 1967 War, which was designed to put the Arab countries under the American Policy, and to implement its expansionist policy, PLO continued to fight this American conspiracy through their settlers, the Zionist movement (Israel). Since that war the PLO has achieved many victories.

1. The Palestinians were politically
identified;
2. It mobilized the activities of the people of Palestine in all fields such as medical
services and education and culture.
After these activities which were carried out by the PLO the enemy policy of
expansionism was stopped. We have succeeded in our diplomatic offensive. We
have 100 missions all over the world. This means that the Palestinian case has
now become well known to the international community, where we are gaining
huge support and our enemy is losing.

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The first Executive Committee of the Harare Province was elected on April 9,
1983 following a decision to divide the former Mashonaland East Province into
two Provinces because it was realised that from both administrative and political
points of view the Mashonaland East Province was bigger and more complex than
any other Province. Moreover, Harare the Capital City of Zimbabwe and the seat
of the Government of Zimbabwe, fell under the Province.
The Harare Province buttresses the Capital City itself, its urban and periurban
areas. The Capital City is the seat of academics, churches, civil servants, the
majority of the former white Colonialists, transnational companies (their well
established Industries as well as the mushrooming Industrial curnabations around
the City) foreign diplomats, workers, the masses, and elements of lumpen
proletariat (a problem created by the former exploitative colonial system). One
also hears of the existence of some quisling political parties led by various
political malcontents. Just a few kilometres away from Harare, is the booming
Chitungwiza urban area which is now third in size after the Harare and Bulawayo
cities. The combined population of the two Cities requires not only formidable but
also sophisticated political endeavours.

Programmes of Work:
As the elected leaders of the Harare Province we know that the battle front in
Zimbabwe is now directed towards overwhelming the economy which must be
liberated from the bondage of a past exploitative, avaracious, oppressive and
racist colonial system and, which must be democratized for the benefit of all
Zimbabweans, in particular, the masses. Our roles as Party cadres lies in the
application of our socialist ideology to the economic realities obtaining in
Zimbabwe. Our hard won political
superstructure is our major means towards the achievement of economic power,
by which state power can be translated into concrete reality in the form of peace,
freedom, affluent life and happiness in our country. In short, that political power
that grew from the barrel of the gun should now be the patron to
guide the economic development of our heritage.
This is achieved by liberating all the productive forces from the monopoly (i.e.
the hands) of a few selfish and greedy individuals, because it must be borne in
mind that that part of relations of production which is not suited to the productive
forces and that part of superstructure which is not suited to the economic base
both hamper the development of our productive forces. This is important to know
since the socio-economic structure of this Province (which in essence is a
workers’ province) reflects a class struggle between the workers on the one hand (who form the majority of the population), and the capitalists, on the other. Since Independence our leadership, the Z.A.N.U. (P.F.) Central Committee, through the Government of Zimbabwe, has astoundingly and gallantly stood by these principles and, as a result, our socialist ideology has been greatly enhanced. We follow their example of leadership.

Hence the Harare Provincial Executive programmes's theme "Wasarawasara". With this theme and through the districts, branches and cells we will knock on every door, walk into every house, encircle and penetrate the churches, the industry, Government offices, rout the enemy and rid him from our midst in the execution of our political work. To that extent, each department will produce a political programme with the goals to be achieved every six months. In addition, a Provincial library for political education will be established for use by cells and branches through their districts.

The Role of Harare Province in Z.A.N.U. (PF) as the Vanguard Party:

As leaders of this Province, it is our aim to approach the problem of economic development first and foremost from a political angle. In our political tasks we fully take cognisance that the masses are the true, bastion of iron, the only guarantee of success even against the powerful forces brought to bear by those who oppose us. Realizing that ours is the vanguard party of the toiling masses and the proletariat not by mere selfproclamation, it is our aim to see that the Harare becomes a Province.

Report from the ZANU-PF Province

Party is thoroughly integrated with the masses in our Province, and that through revolutionary practice in the course of socio-economic transformation, our Party learns from the experience of the workers and the broad masses. For a revolution is a complete and pervasive transformation of an entire social system and it addresses the wants, needs and aspirations of the populace. It is a change in class which holds power and not a change in personnel or colour, for bourgeois, as a concept is not synonymous with colour, race, tribe, ethnicity, region or nationality.

So our first task to ensure success will be to organise and strengthen our 60 + districts by:

(a) continuing to adapt our work to the requirements of the political line of the Party. This can be achieved by self criticism and exposure of the defects of our own work;

(b) raising organizational leadership to the level of political leadership that can cope with the enormous political tasks that make this Province different from all the others.

(c) us leaders not being pre-occupied with retaining our own position at the top, but always standing at the front of the masses and mobilizing the Party.

By continuing to muster support from the masses in the course of living with them, learning from them, sharing weal and woe with them while at the same time patiently and on a protracted basis arming them with revolutionary policies, all
the renegades, reactionaries, bourgeoise, compradors and their lackeys will always expose themselves. This way, together we can annihilate exploitation of man by man so that each person will be able to perform work according to ability and so receive according to need (and not according to the amount of work done,) since people with capital can grow rich without doing any work at all.

But at the very core of our work should be discipline which is our chief means of bringing everyone into line with our political philosophy and objectives. It is through this discipline upon which we place so much emphasis, that the - individual becomes subordinated to the collective will for surely, revolutionary leadership must be collective.

The Youth and Women's League:

The population of women in this Province is formidable and so the Women's League is a powerful wing of the Province. Similarly the members of the Youth League, are today's undergrowth of our society an dependable heirs to the revolutionary cause of the party. Both the Women's League and the Youth League will be equally instrumental in the achievement of all the political objectives of this Province.

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ZIMBABWE AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION (-PF)
HARARE PROVINCE MAIN WING
Office Chairman
Deputy Chairman Secretary
* Names
Cde W M
Mangwende
Cde R G Ziyenge
DIG
Karimanzira
Treasurer A Wenyimo
Political Commissar S M T Marara Sec. for Security T A Mangwende Sec. for Publicity & Inform.
'Sec. for Transport & Welfare Sec. for Production Deputy Secretary Financial Secretary Deputy Political Commissar
E M Pswarayi
S Tawengwa A B Midzi P Chitongo J S M Jekanyika
J Macheka
Deputy Sec. for Security T D Hunda
Deputy Sec. for Publicity & Inform. J Zhakata Deputy Sec. for Transport & Welfare F Magadu
1st Committee Member 2nd Committee Member
N Thuthani D Masaya
Mashonaland Central
Report from the ZANU-PF Province
The elections for the current Mashonaland Central Provincial Executive were held on the 9th of October, 1982. The meeting was officially opened by the President of the Party, Comrade Robert Mugabe, who reminded the candidates that being a leader presupposes a humility to accept the supremacy of the people. Cde Maurice Nyagumbo the ZANU (PF) National Organising Secretary conducted the elections with, Cde Nathan Shamuyarira as the returning officer. The successful candidates were:

Chairman Cde J Kapardza  
Deputy Chairman Cde E Chikuvanyanga  
Secretary Cde Rutanhire  
Deputy Secretary Cde E Kupara  
Treasurer Cde D Nyamaropa  
Financial Secretary Cde S Zinyemba (Mrs)  
Political Commissar Cde R Mucheki  
Deputy Political Commissar Security Officer Cde Security Officer Publicity and Inform. Officer Cde Deputy Publicity and Inform. Officer Cde  
Transport/Welfare Officer Cde Transport/Welfare Officer Committee Members  
Cde P Mutsanga  
Cde N Muroyiwa  
Cde D Vheremu  
Cde P Zvorwadza  
Cde E Marange (Mrs)  
Cde D Denhere  
Cde D V Jingura  
Cde R Marime  
Cde A Mungate  

The Women's League and YOuth League Provincial elections were held on the 19th of December, 1982 in the presence of Comrade Maurice Nyagumbo. The Deputy Secretary for Women's Affairs (ZANU PF), Comrade Sally Mugabe conducted the Women's elections while Comrade George Rutanhire, the Deputy Minister of Youth Sport and Recreation officiated the youth league elections.

As from the 9th of October, 1982 and the 19th of December, 1982, the dates of the main, youth and women leagues' provincial elections respectively, the following Provincial Executive Meetings were held:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>VENUE</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11-10-82</td>
<td>Mazowe Hotel Ist Meeting Main Provincial Executive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27-11-82</td>
<td>Bindura Party Office 2nd Meeting Main Provincial Executive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-12-82</td>
<td>Bindura Party Office 3rd Meeting Main Provincial Executive</td>
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<tr>
<td>22-1-83</td>
<td>Bindura Tendayi Hall 4th Meeting Combined Main, Women and Youth Provincial Executive Meeting</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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A number of resolutions were made at these meetings,, some of which have already been implemented.

Departmental Reports
(i) Chairman's Department This Department actively worked with guidance from other departments. Accordingly, the system fostered unity, cooperation and encouraged maximum effort from all departments.
(ii) Treasury The Treasury has been actively liaising with district executive members in their endeavour to collect. Party joining fees, subscriptions and donations.
(iii) Commissariat
The Commissariat Department led by Comrade R. Mucheki has been busy organising provincial political rallies. Since the election of the current Provincial Executive, a number of those rallies have already been held, at which the Party membership was informed of current political developments.

(iv) Security
The Security Department is actively liaising with the relevant law-enforcement agents in an effort to secure stability and peace in the Province. Meetings are constantly held in the various districts where the law enforcement agencies and Party officials review and discuss the maintenance of law and order in society.

(v) Publicity/Information
This Department is constantly in touch with the news media in its efforts to disseminate information as assigned by the Provincial Executive. Cde. P. Zvorwadza, the head of this department, is actively reviewing the functions of the department to the satisfaction of the masses in the Province.

(vi) Transport/Welfare
This Department, headed by Cde. D Denhere has problems in obtaining transport to assign to departments as per their requisitions. In fact the province has only one Party car which makes it difficult to satisfy the transport requirements of all the Province's Departments. However the department is doing a commendable job under those adverse circumstances.

Other Wings of the Party
(i) Women's League
The Women's League is headed by Cde. Edith Motsi (Mrs). She has been consistently in touch with members of the Provincial Executive in her eagerness to promote the interests and programmes of women in the Province. The Women's Executive has on many occasions, shared the platform with the main executive at various meetings and rallies. The league is currently organising its membership and registers. It has resumed the directive to select women for various courses in active collaboration with the Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs.

(ii) Youth League
The youth league is headed by a very hard working and enthusiastic young man Cde Christopher Chingwaro who would like to see the youth movement improve and develop. The league is actively collaborating with the Ministry of Youth, Sport and Recreation in skills training and liaises with law enforcement agencies to promote peace and stability in the Province.

Provincial Political Seminar
The Province held its first major Political Seminar under the current Provincial Executive in Tendayi Hall, Bindura on the 12th of February, 1983. The Province had the honour to have the Deputy President of ZANU (PF) and Deputy Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, Cde Simon Muzenda, as the guest of honour at this historic occasion. His speech came after a spontaneous and lively session of
dancing and singing, a free for all thoroughly enjoyed by everyone present. The Province also felt honoured by the attendance and participation of the following Cabinet Ministers:

(i) The National Organising Secretary and Minister of Mines - Cde Maurice Nyagumbo who spoke on the ROLE OF THE PARTY ORGANS.

(ii) Member of the Central Committee and the Minister of State in the Prime Ministers Office (Security) - -de Emmerson Mnangagwa who spoke on SAFEGUARDING NATIONAL SECURITY AND INDEPENDENCE.

(iii) Member of the ZANU (PF) Central Committee and Minister of Community Development and Women's Affairs Cde Teurai Ropa Nhongo who spoke on THE STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONS OF THE WOMEN'S LEAGUE.

(iv) Member of the ZANU (PF) Central Committee and Minister of Youth, Sport and Recreation - Cde Enersit Kadungure who spoke on THE YOUTH LEAGUE'S STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONS.

(v) Member of the Central Committee and Speaker of the House of Assembly - Cde Didymus Mutasa who spoke on THE PARTY FINANCE.

(vi) Member of the Central Committee and Minister of State in the Prime Minister's Office (Defence) Comrade Sydney Sekeramayi.

The attendance of Senator Farai Masango, the Minister of Transport, several Deputy Ministers, Members of other Provincial Executives, District Administrators, Council Chairman, Chiefs, Education Officers, Sport and Recreation and District Youth Officers, flowered the occasion into a highly successful seminar where the Party's ideological position was enunciated to the entire satisfaction of everyone present.

Provincial-District Delegates Meeting

The Province held its First Provincial and District Delegates meeting at Tendayi Hall - Bindura on the 13th of February, 1983. The purpose of this meeting was:-

(a) To review the party progress in the province and each district as reported by each chairman.

(b) To review the position of party membership in each district working in active collaboration with lower party organs.

(c) To account for each district’s financial collections and to find ways of encouraging the party members to be more forthcoming in their contributions to the Party.

(d) To hear directly reports from each district and enforce monthly reports from each of them.

(e) To discuss the role of each party level and the duties of each department towards meetings the aspiration of the masses.

Delegates were very happy in the conduct of such meetings and requested periodical meetings of a similar nature. Accordingly the Provincial Executive intends to organise other such meetings.

'Cde Robert Mugabe

The hour for sacrifice is at hand
If my clothes stand between me and Zimbabwe,
I will throw them away and move naked into freedom
[symbolically tossing his jacket into the delegates]
If my shoes won't make me walk to Zimbabwe,
I will go there barefoot,
Robert Mugabe at ZANU Congress
held at Gweru, 22nd May 1964

'L'luuLowe iVews Vol.14 No. 2 July 1983

The present Provincial Executive took office in December, 1981. At the time of
our taking office the Party was beginning to lose direction as there was less
contact between party officials and grassroots organs. In order to interest the
masses and boost party activities, we devised a system whereby members of the
Central Committee, Provincial Executive members, Members of Parliament and
Senators were each allocated to an area of operation or an administrative District
where they would hold regular small meetings and then help in the reorganisation
of the grassroots party organs.

Major rallies in these areas were then held at central business centres about twice
per month where other party officials were invited to speak. The result of this
system of organisation is that the party has once more been brought together and
the interest of the masses aroused. The above plan was implemented in all the
seven Administrative Districts in Masvingo Province. In short, what we did was
to take the party to the people and not the people to the party as practised
elsewhere. Rallies held by both the President and Deputy President of the party
and the Political Education Seminar addressed by several members of the Central
Committee, have all helped in shaping the direction the party is following. Once
more we thank you for your assistance

Position of the Party
At the time of the Provincial Elections in 1981, the Party had been reorganised
very quickly in order to meet the deadline for the elections and this meant that
some areas were left with districts which were larger than normal. Some districts
had even as many as fifty branches or more which were therefore too
cumbersome to administer and not in line with the party directive which lays
down ten branches as an acceptable number to form a district. Because we are still
in the process of reorganising some of these districts, it is therefore not possible
for us to give you the number of districts we have in the Province. We will
however be able to give you this information early in the New Year and definitely
before our Provincial Elections.

Party Financial Position
When we took office in 1981, we inherited party debts to the tune of about $25
000.0 whilst there was only $71.00 in the bank. We are pleased that the sale of
membership cards and subscriptions have increased greatly and we believe this is
because the people are happy with the manner in which the finances are being
handled. Financial Reports are given at monthly Provincial Executive Meetings,
and thus enabling Provincial Members to report to their respective districts. It is
regrettable however that we have operated for a full year without party transport
which in a way has hindered the efforts of our Political Commissar to make regular visits to all the Administrative Districts in the Province. We believe that with transport, we would have been able to distribute cards more quickly and hence raise more funds. To date, having paid off all proven debts, our financial position is quite healthy.

Women's League
After the reorganisation of branches and districts in line with the present party directive, the Women's League held their Provincial Elections in March 1982. We are pleased at the manner in which the League is operating, and the success of the Province is as a result of the cooperation being enjoyed between the League and the Main Wing of the Province. It is envisaged that there will be no elections for the League since they had theirs in March, 1982.

The Youth Wing
We are in the process of organising a Provincial Youth Congress after the return of most Youth Leaders who were called for various training programmes by the Ministries of Defence and Youth, Sport and Recreation. However even though there is yet no controlling body for the youth, their activities are being directed by the Main Wing and good cooperation exists.

Masvingo Province
Report from the ZANU-PF Province
"We want to be socialist and sovereign in an absolute sense."
Cde. Mugabe

Problems in the Province
1. Security There is proved evidence of continued attempts of infiltration from South Africa and this naturally means that our borders need to be under constant patrol, and also a screening system for those entering Zimbabwe from Mozambique as refugees is recommended as some of them could be agents from enemy forces. Banditry activities have been on a limited scale in the whole Province. What has been noticed is the movement of ZAPU/ZIPRA elements finding their way to Matabeleland but such cases were quickly reported to the authorities by the villagers.

2. Drought With the lack of rain this year, it is already obvious that Masvingo Province will be declared a disaster area early in the New Year. The distribution of-mealie-meal by the milling companies only ends in Masvingo Town which means that the communal areas are already neglected. Opposition parties are already capitalising on this situation to campaign against ZANU-PF and the Government.

3. Water Supplies Although there are a number of boreholes that have been sunk by the Ministry of Water Resources and Development, the water supply situation in most Administrative Districts remains serious. We recommend that immediate action be taken if disaster is to be avoided.

4. Party Transport Masvingo Province has seven large Administrative Districts and with a large population. The result is that there is need for more travelling to
cover these areas and yet we have now operated for twelve months without a single party vehicle. Failure to have regular party transport has adversely affected the speed at which party activities would have been carried out in the whole of Masvingo Province. We appreciate the problems the party has been experiencing but we feel that in order for us to be able to monitor events in the districts near to the borders, our appeal for transport should be treated as a matter of extreme urgency.

PAMBERI NE ZANU-PF PAMBERI NA PRESIDENT MUGABE!

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Attitudes of white settlers apart, in the politico-legal milieu within which the Congress A had to operate was hostile in the extreme. The Congress was born just at the end of the Premiership of Garfield Todd. Mr. Todd had succeeded Sir Godfrey Huggins in 1953 when the latter became Federal Premier. Before entering politics in 1947 Garfield Todd had been a Missionary, educator and principal of Dadaya Mission - a school he founded for the education of African children. When he became Prime Minister, therefore, Africans generally expected that his administration would abolish all forms of racial discrimination, vigorously seek to enfranchise a large number of Africans and, in a broad sense, be the defender of African interests. When these expectations could not be fulfilled, Africans became more disenchanted with the Europeans than they had been under the heavy hand of the Huggins' regime. It was in material, for example, that Todd tried hardest to break down the walls of racial separation which had been built during the past sixty-three years. Nor did it matter to many Africans that Garfield Todd had to retain the support of whites in order to remain Prime Minister, and that therefore there were political limits to the extent to which he might espouse African interests.

Garfield Todd's regime has, accordingly, been the subject of contentious interpretations ever since he was forced to resign in 1958. On the other hand, Garfield Todd's government nearly doubled the enrollment of African students in school during its five years of tenure of office; increased the number of African "B", roll voters by lowering the educational and property qualifications for that roll; instituted a limited land reform in the erroneous belief that to do so, in the manner he did, would prove popular with Africans.

On the other hand, opponents of Mr. Todd's senior Ministers, who led the revolt that toppled him, were to charge that the Prime Minister was "Dictatorial," "arbitrary," and unduly preoccupied with "impractical" programmes currying favour with Africans.

These allegations were apparently widely shared among the white members of his party as was evidenced by the successful vote of no-confidence passed against him at the special party caucus that removed him from office. What the whites appeared to be saying through Sir Patrick Fletcher was that Garfield Todd was too "Pro-African." They cited his attempts at giving more Africans the franchise for
the "B" roll; his pre-occupation with African Education and African urban housing and his too friendly attitude towards Africans.

Other critics, including most African Nationalists - found Mr. Todd's regime "hypocritical," and in the words of James Chikerema, "More dangerous than Huggins", because Todd is a snake in the grass." To these critics, it mattered little that while Todd added new laws to the statute book which were of an "oppressive" character, many had been enacted during the regime of Sir Godfrey Huggins (later Lord Malvern.) The Subversive Activities Act 1950 was a Huggins statute which Todd preserved and used. Under its provisions, magistrates could ban any public meetings if they considered that the public peace was likely to be endangered. The police were given wide powers, subject only to certain procedural conditions, to use firearms in dispersing persons who might assemble at prohibited gatherings. A close look reveals that this law had been modelled upon the South African Riotous Assemblies Act of 1941. As in the South African statute, the Minister of Justice was empowered to restrain or control the movements of individuals who, in his opinion, were either spreading subversive propaganda or promoting feelings of hostility between whites and Africans. These powers hung over the heads of the Congressmen and were in fact used from time to time, particularly from the time Sir Edgar Whitehead succeeded Garfield Todd.

By the Natives (Registration and Identification) Regulations, 1895, white settlers had determined to control, regulate (or regiment) the movements of all Africans through the introduction of the pass system. The law had been repealed by substitution with the enactment of the Natives Registration Ordinance 1901 later consolidated with amendments into the Natives Registration Act 1936 which was the law at the time of Congress. Under this statute no African could reside in the urban areas unless he was in possession of a "pass". The purpose was to control the so-called 'influx' of Africans into the cities unless they could be gainfully employed therein. Any African not in employment or in possession of a pass (and one could not get the former without the latter) was guilty of a crime. Todd retained this intact.

The Land Apportionment Act 1930 as amended in 1941, as further amended by the Natives (Urban Areas) Accommodation Act, and as consolidated by Act No. 20 of 1957, banned Africans from owning property in the European half of the country. It decreed, inter alia, that "no African shall acquire, lease or occupy land in the European area and it is a criminal offence for owners or occupiers to permit, suffer or allow any African to occupy such land or to lease or attempt to dispose of it to an African." There were of course exemptions and exceptions but always limited to education, religious, or "other purposes considered by the Minister of Internal Affairs to be for the benefit of Africans."

The impact of this law was to induce'a sense of insecurity among all urban Africans and a dependency complex upon

The Southern Rh African National Patterns of Black.White C (1957-1959)

BY Comrade E.J.M. Zvobgo, Member of the Central Committee of ZAP and Minister of Legal and Parliamentary li
the white employer as the Municipalities as "owners" could under this law, prohibit any Africans from living therein.

Many employers had always allowed their servants to, in fact, "occupy" white land by living on their property for their own convenience. The Municipalities had "suffered" this practice. However, from time to time, the municipal authorities ordered African "Trouble-Makers" out of townships under this law, in order to warn other "would-be-Trouble-Makers" that the same actions might be taken against them unless they "behaved" themselves.

Nor was the rural African free from legal harassment. The African Affairs Act provided, for example, that "no African shall move from one district to another without the consent of the District Commissioners of the districts concerned."

Africans who infringed the act were liable to a fine or in default, to imprisonment. How could Congress get over this hurdle if they were to organize the tribesmen or to hold rallies attended by Africans from two or more districts since District Commissioners never, as a rule, granted their consent?

The African Land Husbandry Act, 1952, triggered off a social and economic upheaval among African Tribesmen. Because the Land Apportionment Act had sequestrated so much African land for the-benefit of the white settlers and foreign investors; African population growth had by 1952 reached such high levels that the regime had only two choices.

Ranger puts the choices as follows: "One was more land for Africans, which is a political impossibility; the other is fewer Africans on the land." The regime opted for the latter choice. It provided that, only an African who is "cultivator of land in the area at the time this part of the Act is applied," shall be entitled to claim an arable holding. This, as Ranger points out, ran counter to the traditional system under which "the land rights of men absent from the tribal areas are preserved." Before the Act, adds Ranger, "a single man could go to town, or a married man could take his family to town and still know that he could claim a landright. Under the Act, the land right of such people lapses and it has been estimated that some half million Africans are affected by the loss."

The consequences of the Land Husbandry Act could not be measured in terms of dry statistics. The Africans who were denied land in the reserves saw themselves as condemned persons. Since by law, they could not own land or have any interest
in land in the European area, they became an aggrieved, angry, rootless and floating mass. There were not enough jobs to go round despite the economic expansion induced by Federation. So being unemployed, they could not legally reside in urban areas while they could not eke out a living on the land in their Tribal Trust Lands. Despite the abrupt terminations of land rights involving 500,000 Africans, those who remained on the land had not enough of it to till. Bishop Donal Lamont of the Catholic Church put his finger on the problem when he wrote: "It is difficult to blame the African if, eking out a tenous existence from poor soil in an overcrowded Reserve, he is swayed by subversive propaganda, when close beside him there lie hundreds of thousands of acres of fertile soil which he may not cultivate nor occupy nor graze, because, although it lies unused and unattended, it belongs to some individual or group of individuals who perhaps do not even live in the country but who hold the land in the hope of profit from speculation."

Congress was quick to seize upon the Land Husbandry Act in its campaign for membership and support among the tribesmen. Who, in their position, would not? Congress had to contend with a situation in which there was legal or statutory slavery in the country. The same Land Husbandry Act, for example, provided that African males under the age of fiftyfive who had been unemployed for a period of one month or longer (African farmers in the tribal trust lands were for -this purpose unemployed) could, once every year, be ordered by their chiefs, headmen, kraalheads or African councils to perform labour in the direct interests of the African inhabitants of such areas or in the interests of 'good Husbandry.' It was a criminal offense for anyone called up to abscond. Although data on the usage of these laws is not available, they were widely used. Besides, the provisions of the Masters and Servants Act applied to all African employees including those impressed against their will. Another statute on which use-data is unavailable was the African Councils Act under which African Councils, under white District Commissioners, were established in all Tribal Trust Lands. Under this law, "A Council may by resolution declare that the labour for any minor undertaking of the council shall be provided on a communal basis in such undertaking for a period not exceeding six days in any quarter." This law was widely used.

But perhaps the most painful and cruel of all was the African Juveniles Employment Act which not only provided for the employment of African children but also provided for punishment including whipping for alleged desertions from services - "alleged" because a child cannot have the requisite means reato commit a crime or breach a contract of service or employment, under any civilized system of law. How would Congress react to this carryover from Roman days?

The Rhodesian police, as already adverted to above, had full and dictatorial powers. Under The Africans (Urban Areas) Accommodation and Registration Act, "any member of the British South Africa Police shall have the right at all times to
enter upon any land, included in an African residential area, for the purpose of ascertaining whether or not the provisions of this Act or any other Law are being complied with or for the purpose of preserving the peace and preventing the commission of crimes therein and generally performing all such other duties as may achieve or assist in achieving such purposes.” The police also had authority “at all reasonable times to inspect any premises in an African residential area.” This made every African feel he was being treated as a criminal. The police carried out raids at night on sleeping families without warrant or viable cause. The Todd regime, as we have pointed out above, inherited most of these powers. It not only preserved them but used them. Just when Congress was born, the Todd regime enacted The African (Identification and Registration Act, 1957), which repealed but substantially reenacted the principal provisions of The Natives Registration Act, 1936, with more stringent amendments. Under the new measure, any African male over the age of sixteen who, “is found in any district without a certificate, book, identity card or permit issued or deemed to have been issued under this Act; (or) being obliged by law to possess or carry a certificate, book, identity card or permit; (or) refuses or neglects to produce it when required to do so by any police officer or other authorized official, shall be guilty of crime.” As if this did not constitute adequate harassment of a people, the act further provided, that “no African shall enter or be upon the property of any other person, unless he is in the employ of such other person; (or) he has the permission of the person in charge of such property to enter or be upon it; (or) he enters or is upon such property for the purpose of seeking employment at any reasonable time.” This statute has been termed Rhodesia’s. ”slave law”. A servant was, defined as ”any person employed for hire, wage or other remuneration - to perform any handcraft or other bodily labour in' domestic service, mining, agriculture, husbandry, trade or manufacture, or as a coachman, driver, groom, stable-keeper, gardener or any other similar occupation; and any person performing bodily labour in any work or undertaking of whatever kind it might be, without exception, in the capacity of labour or but not also in that of a skilled workman.” It is clear from occupations enumerated here that the act was meant to apply only to Africans and clearer when the duties of a servant are taken into account that it is an inhumane law. The Masters and Servants Act provided among other things, that ”any servant is guilty of a crime, who: Without leave or other lawful excuse, absents himself from his master's house or premises or other place proper and appointed for the performance of his work; During working hours, or at any time if resident on his master's premises, becomes or is intoxicated; Refusing to obey any command of his master, or of any other person lawfully placed by his master in authority over him, which command it was his duty to obey...; Is abusive or insulting, either by
language or conduct, to his master or his master's wife or children, or to any
person lawfully placed by his master in authority over him ... or without lawful
caus4, departs from his master's service with the intention
not to return thereto."
Supposing the master forbade his servant or servants from attending ANC
political meetings as most masters did, would Congress respect the "Law?"
Would Congress as a lawful organization accept that a master had the right to give
any command to servants? As we shall see presently, Congress soon realised that
it was impossible to respect or obey the law if its basic aims and objects were to
be realized. In this, lay the conflict. There appeared to be no via media between
African and European expectations in Rhodesia.
(6) The Congress in Operation 19571959: Patterns of Conflict
(1) Structural and Organizational Strategies
The structure of the Congress was unsophisticated particularly when compared
with the structures of the National Democratic Party, the Zimbabwe African
People's Union and the Zimbabwe African National Union that succeeded it.
Munemo Paul Mushonga, the Deputy Treasurer, made available the space behind
his Highfield store for the Headquarters of the party. Two women members
comprised the entire staff. Of the executive members, only James

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Inaugural Meeting of the African National Congress - Mai Musodzi Hall, Mbare.
© Lambiris
Chikerema, George Nyandoro, Muneno Mushonga, and Peter Mutandwa could be
said to have worked for the party on anything approaching full-time basis. Joshua
Nkomo spent most of his time in Bulawayo and so did Joseph Musikavanhu and
Jason Moyo.
the strategy called for the establishment of as many branches of the organization
as possible throughout the country. In October 1957, when Headquarters took
possession of 100,000 membership cards from the printers the campaign began in
earnest. Every African urban township started a branch, each with a chairman,
secretary, treasurer, organizing secretary and publicity secretary. Any five persons
who volunteered to set up a branch could become members of the "interim
executive committee."
By November, branches existed in Highfield, Harare, Mabvuku, Rusape,
Sakubva, Hartley, Gwelo, Fort Victoria arid Bulawayo.
In the rural areas, the establishment of branches was much slower on account of
transportation and communications problems. However, by November several
branches had been established notably in such tribal trust lands as Sipolilo,
Chiota, Mhondoro and Zaka which were either well served by buses or were close
to towns. It is estimated that by the time Congress was banned in February 1959
about 200” regular branches had been established throughout the country.
(11) Patterns of Operational Strategies: The Rally
The rally was the principal medium of political organization. Every weekend,
members of the National Executive were on speaking tours in different parts of
the country. The chief immediate aim was to enroll as many members as possible.
James Chikerema was heard to say that Congress must have more members than the total European population of 200,000. That goal was never achieved but it served as an important organizational target.

In order to attract a large membership, Congress had to adopt a variety of strategies which took into account the special grievances of the people in the various areas. The rural Africans were experiencing the hardships arising from the implementation of the LAND HUSBANDRY ACT. The Officers who were responsible for implementing the Act were the District Commissioners, the Land Development Officers and the Agricultural Demonstrators. Of these three, only the Demonstrators were African. All three classes of Officers were employees of the Native Affairs Department, which administered all African Affairs as a kind of Government within a government.

In this set-up, Congress concluded early that its campaign in the rural areas had to focus upon the Land Husbandry Act, the African Agricultural Demonstrators, the Land Development Officers, the Chiefs who co-operated with the regime in the implementation of "the Act," the District Commissioners and the Native Affairs Department itself. The Congress leaders set the tone for the followers.

(II) Attacks upon the Law and Law Enforcement Officers.

The Land Husbandry Act was represented as the single most evil Law on the Statute Book.

George Nyandoro, a master of the Shona tongue, 'hallowed' the peasants by describing them as "Vana Vevhu" (literally: "children of the soil") or as Congress translated it, "sons and daughters of the soil") which phrase was to become the nationalist battlecry in the years ahead. The typical "mwana wevhu" "Zhuwawo," if male, and "Marwei," if female) had become the object of plunder at the hands of alien strangers ('vabva kure'). Such leaders as George Nyandoro, Peter Mtandwa and James Chikerema would repeatedly portray the whiteman as having come to Zimbabwe with intent to rob vana vevhu. As they told it, god had given each race its own soil. The English had deserved no more than England - a tiny island: But as they multiplied, England did not expand and there was not enough, land to go around. This was the reason they came here. Not one white man had arrived here carrying a piece of land on his head. They had robbed us to get it. But as Europeans multiplied here, they thought of other plans to get more land from us. They passed the Land Apportionment Act and the Land Husbandry Act. By these laws, your children will never have land to till and cattle to live on. The intention is to starve you and your children unless you go to work for the white people - working for good. This type of reasoning was extremely effective.

Less eloquent Congressmen were even blunter. They simply pointed to the nearby white farms where grazing lands were greener, large tracts of arable land fallow, and asked the audience if some of their forefathers had not been buried there; if the lands had not belonged to them in the past. The 'Thieves' who were said to have 'stolen' the land were then named as all officers whose duty was to implement the Land Acts acting in collusion with the white farmers, and their white government. They characterized the two acts as "an arrogant arrangement by thieves for the sharing out of stolen lands."
Sir Edgar Whitehead, the Prime Minister who succeeded Garfield Todd, described to an Emergency session of Parliament, the Congress strategy in the rural areas. He said when Congress was formed, "it was mainly concerned with trying to enlist support by finding out certain grievances that the African people had and exploiting them in order to get membership." He conceded that "many of the grievances were genuine." However, he had to declare Congress an unlawful organization because it had 'clearly' become subversive. As he put it: "First of all, we had a very determined and set attack upon the land Husbandry Act." As members of that organisation "went into the various districts, ... not only did they present a travesty of the Land Husbandry Act, not only did they entirely fail to represent the true nature of that legislation, but they began propaganda on a very large scale with regard to the whole land question."

During 1958, Congress did not only denigrate the land laws but, as the Detainees Tribunal found, "had gone about ... encouraging and exhorting rural Africans to disobey lawful orders and to ignore what they called "discriminatory" laws." The tribunal found that Congress leaders "made most exaggerated attacks on the Land Apportionment Act and the Native Land Husbandry Act," in that, "these measures were described as deliberately designed to deprive the Natives of their lands with the object of forcing them to leave the reserves and so compelling them to seek work with Europeans."


One crafty executive strategy of Congress was to belittle, ridicule and humiliate the officers who implemented the Land Laws, including the chiefs. The African Agricultural demonstrators and supervisors, as well as the African chiefs, were frequently depicted as lost hunting dogs ('Zvimba sunga'). Such a dog could be tethered by anyone who cared, used for hunting and then chased away as soon as the kill had been made. The implication was obvious. The Africans were being used for 'Hunting' purposes by the whites. As soon as they brought the fruits of their labour to the Europeans, they would be dismissed without sharing in them.

It is this sort of language that caused Sir Edgar Whitehead to complain publicly in the Legislative Assembly. He said that Congress was undermining the authority of chiefs and other officials by the use of "impudent and insulting" language at meetings whenever reference was made to them. Evidence later presented to the tribunal strongly bears Sir Edgar Whitehead's complaint. James Chikerema is said to have declared at a rally that "Chief Chinamora is a traitor." He was also alleged to have said, of subchief Musonza: "He is a dog who has no definite owner but can be used by anybody. We as Congress members will not obey him in any way whatever. He will rule only his wife and children." The Tribunal also heard evidence to the effect that George Nyandoro had told an audience - "The
Native Commissioners are traitors to the African people, and are only there to oppress the African. Native Agricultural Demonstrators are traitors to their fathers.” Peter Mutandwa was reported as saying: “Don't co-operate with the Native Commissioners when attempting to implement the Land Husbandry Act and the destocking regulations.”

If these statements were made, why were the speakers not prosecuted? Sir Edgar Whitehead explained the problem to parliament. He said: "When we tested that in the courts we discovered that the law as it had been originally drafted involved the physical presence of the Native Commissioner at the time words were spoken, but if he happened to be absent no offence was committed, and so, in various ways we found loop holes in our existing laws." He also expressed concern at the fact that the Courts required that witnesses should have clear memory of what was said at a meeting even though the prosecutions came a long time after the meeting or meetings concerned. The regime later required that every speech be taped by the police in order to comply with the ipissima verba rule of the law of evidence.

(V) Threats as a Weapon Simultaneous with the attack upon government officers, Congress threw in veiled threats that certain laws may have to be defied unless repealed. According to Daniel Madzimbamuto, Chairman of the Highfield Branch, threatening passive resistance was designed to convince the government that the Congress was nonviolent when in fact it was not. Gandhianism, though weak, attracted some following in South Africa since Mahatma Gandhi spent twelve years there at the beginning of this century. Madzim-

Peter Mutandwa SL...mbir... bamuto, Chikerema, Nyagumbo a other senior Congressmen must have bee influenced somewhat by it during ir stay in S. Africa. It is not clear, on the evidence, to what extent the passive resistance stance was adopted as policy b Congress. There is evidence however show that senior officers understood the possible implications of such a policy.

George Nyandoro, for example, told a public meeting at Mabvuku Township that Congress should adopt a two stage strategy in dealing with the "alien regime"; (1) Interdict the authorities concerned in the High Court; and (2) If defeated in the High Court, to go forward to defy the laws as such." It is interesting to note that immediately after; Nyandoro's statement, the Mbare, Mabvuku, and Highfield branches of Congress adopted an identically worded resolution on 'discriminatory' legislation which read, in part: "if these demands are not met within a reasonable time, we will have no alternative but to seek ways and means of promoting our organization openly and successfully, regardless of whether it is in the prescribed by-laws or not."

When Parliament considered an amendment to the Native Affairs Act empowering the Secretary for Native Affairs to ban certain individuals from entering certain Tribal Trust Lands, a Congress spokesman told a Mabvuku meeting that esen if he did not go to visit his parents in the past: "as soon as the Bill became effective he would visit them constantly and let the police keep arresting him until they decided to kill him." But, perhaps s'hat unsettled the regime more was the so called George Nyandoro "let us go to gaol" appeal.
According to the Tribunal, Nyandoro made the speech at Highfields, in the course of which he denounced discriminatory legislation.

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Whoever reported the speech to the authorities claimed that Nyandoro had said something to the following effect:
The time had come when members and leaders of the Congress must be prepared to go to gaol. He himself was prepared to go to gaol, because the more people that were put in gaol, the quicker that freedom would come. He urged that the meeting should not be afraid of gaol or guns as the time had passed when Africans in Central Africa would be afraid of these things...

(VI) The Engagement of Hostility as a Weapon

During the early months of the Congress, care had been taken to avoid denouncing the Government directly, lest reprisals followed. Hence attention had been paid to lesser government officials and chiefs. The laws had been attacked only because they were "discriminatory and oppressive;" By mid-1958 however, senior Congressmen began to sound distinctly hostile to white settlers in their speeches. Edson Sithole maintained that such a sudden turn in tone was deliberate. According to him, "we all felt that we had denounced Agricultural Extension Officers, demonstrators and the chiefs, and got away with it. The masses had already accepted that we were a force to reckon with. Was it not time to be seen to be tackling the Government and the Europeans generally? If we got away with that also, then the regime could not function. Besides, once the Europeans had been denounced publicly, the mystique of being white would vanish in the eyes of our followers."

However, whether it was planned or not, in speech after speech, Europeans were now openly attacked as oppressors, -their motives represented in the worst possible light, and the government more and more referred to as "their government." Senior Congressmen were probably properly reported - although in some cases, possibly in distorted light and out of context. In this regard, James Chikerema, the Vice President, set the pace in using invective at the whites. For example, he is reported as having said, on one occasion: "The white men were cheating the Africans. First they had cut down their cattle, then their lands. Now they wanted to bring in birth control." He asked why other Europeans were being brought to Southern Rhodesia if the population was to be cut down. It appeared that the Government was against the will of God in cutting down the number of people. George Nyandoro went down on record as saying: "This is the time to fight and set ourselves free from the present trouble caused by whites." Paul Mushonga echoed Nyandoro. In his opinion, "the Africans were tired of talking, and this year they would use their hands, legs and feet to clear the Europeans from the land, so that the Africans could obtain their freedom." These statements clearly indicated that the Congress was preparing the people's minds for some trouble. As far as the regime was concerned, the campaign was one calculated to excite racial hostility by the dissemination of subversive propaganda.
Distortion As A Strategy

Yet another general strategy of the Congress was what the government angrily called the campaign to "misinterpret and falsify facts with a view to bringing the government and Europeans into disrepute." Actually, it was not any such thing. It was politics, the kind European leaders of white parties indulged in daily, as a matter of routine. No opposition party has been known for its objective interpretation of its rival's policies and intentions. However, some statements were inaccurate, even false, like Mzillah's statement made at Mabvuku where he said, "If a European woman gives birth to an African baby, you will never see it because they will kill it at birth. Yet, there are numerous coloured babies born from African women and European men and we kept them." But even here, while the alleged "killing" was false, the argument was sound. Although the majority of coloured persons in the country have coloured parents, it is true that most, if not all, descended from illicit relationships between white men and African women, despite the Immorality Suppression Act.

On those rare occasions when a European woman became pregnant by an African male, the woman invariably "disappeared" from the community. The African man would then be prosecuted under the Act. George Nyandoro's assertion at a public meeting that "the Police always told lies, and a lot of people have been hung because of the police giving false evidence in court," was not only considered a lie but an outrage by the tribunal. However, many Africans would have to be excused if certain aspects of the rules of evidence under the Roman-Dutch law - particularly those relating to Admissibility of Statements - appear to condone lying. Be that as it may, Nyandoro's statement could have been more accurate had he allowed that, "some policemen sometimes lie." It would therefore appear that in the majority of the cases in which the regime alleged deliberate falsification and misinterpretation of facts, there is much room for honest differences of opinion.

A case in point was Chikerema's assertion that, the Europeans, not satisfied with destocking the African's cattle, were now introducing birth control amongst African women, so as to destock the native population in order to make room for European immigrants." He had gone on to vow that "when clinics to give effect to this policy were established, he himself would burn them down. Now, except for Chikerema's threat to commit arson, to which the regime was entitled to take exception, none of the facts alleged, i.e., destocking, birth control, Europeans immigration programme and the government's announced intention to build birth control clinics, were false. It was the interpretation of those facts - always a contentious business in politics. ' Besideb, the regime was in the habit of regarding certain true facts as
unmentionable upon pain of imprisonment for subversion. A classic instance was Chikerema's attack upon Sir Patrick Fletcher, the Minister of Native Affairs. He was alleged to have said, "that when Sir Patrick Fletcher, ... was employed in the Native Affairs Department, he had stolen tax money, and that it was a sorry country when a thief would nearly become Prime Minister." Although Chikerema sought to deny in court that he actually said those words, he now admits them. He was convicted of criminal defamation. Although, had Sir Patrick sued, truth would have barred recovery since the statement was in fact true. It is amusing to note that the tribunal held this statement as one made with a view to "misinterpret and falsify facts with a view to bringing the government and Europeans into disrepute without stating where the misinterpretation and falsification lay."

Congressmen enjoyed this type of "guerrilla war" and apparently remained on the offensive to the end. They had a universally unpopular Native Commissioner, D.C. Meredith, who threatened to cut someone's throat because the person would not divulge Congress information. They had another Native Commissioner who made a pregnant African woman walk seven miles as punishment and so on. There was no way of proving Congress had lied once the allegation spread throughout the country. Some of them, however, actually contrived to misrepresent or misinterpret facts but pointed out there were three examples of this. Wh Burombo died in 1958, he was n throughout the country. The fact that, Burombo had a tumour in hi A specialist surgeon at Mpilo Hospital undertook the operation fortunately, Burombo died operating room. At his subs funeral, George Nyandoro stated ly that Burombo had been delil killed by Europeans to put an en agitation for the liberation of A Although Nyandoro was convicte High Court under the Public Or the majority of Africans contin believe in the truth of what Georg doro had said. After all, Burom been relatively in good health a been seen that morning walking to the Hospital on his own.

The decision to operate on him rived at "deliberately" by the s quite naturally. The surgeon had ted that such operations as the one that the regime did the same thing performed on Isurombo were tricky and risky. However the had proceeded to operate and th is that Burombo died. So that George Nyandoro maintaine Burombo would not have died v did but for the operation done up he could not have been lying. H for political effect, he maintains present day, he chose to alle Burombo had been "killed." The second example is fo Mzillah's public statement to th that all ministers of religion were The statement triggered off an from white clergymen. Mzillah prosecuted perhaps because he m ed that he was not sure who the n were stealing from. However, in nion, they either stole from the when they appealed for "gifts t or from God when they proce spend the money without God's sion or consent. Zimbabwe News Vol. 14 No. 2 Jul 1
agree to Federation in 1952 and was making arrangements to get them drunk to agree to Dominion Status. The regime berately regarded the rumour as subversive in th d to his extreme However, since it was published, knowledge that some chiefs had in fac a in the got drunk at a meeting where the der Act unanimously endorsed the establishment of the federation, the regime could on e Nyan- have taken exception to the rumour that the chief Native Commissioner had made nd them drunk or was planning to make briskly them drunk again in order to get them to agree to Dominion Status.

(VIII) Intimidation as a Strategy urgeon, While Congress's drive for membership was meeting with massive successes in the tribal trust lands and among the working people in the urban areas, there was resistance among the businessmen, professional people, African members of Parliament and university graduates. To deal with these types of African, Congress initiated a policy of intimidation.

George Nyandoro scored another "first" by coining the phrase "democratic persuasion" to describe what is normally called intimidation. It was extremely effective. To implement this policy, George Nyandoro prepared a "Dictionary of Quislings." In it, it was later testified before the tribunal, the names of all persons considered to be "stooges," "sellouts," and "quislings" were recorded.

Word went round that all those whose names had made the "dictionary" would be "dealt with" at the appropriate time. Only those Africans who cooperated with settlers could make it into the dictionary "of doom," it was said. This news caused alarm among the elite. As a result, quite a number joined Congress out of fear.

There was the weapon of boycott always which Congress also used as a weapon of persuasion." African .e result businessmen were told bluntly that they had to contribute $5.00 each into the d that Congress legal assistance fund. A list of those who contributed was prepared for this purpose. Persons who had not yet made contributions but who were expected to do so had their attention drawn to the existence of the list. Following the ba of Congress, the leaders were confronted with the list when they appeared before the Beadle tribunal. They acknowledged that, but maintained the position that did not outcry had not been subjected to any intimidation.

Tribunal, however, heard secret evidence of the effect that storekeepers were threatened with boycott if they did not contribute to the fund. In extensive discussions with ma...
not, under Rhodesian Law, to threaten a businessman with the weapon of boycott, was irrelevant. As they saw it, it was a practical thing to do. African businessmen, the former Congressmen maintained, made all their money in African townships and tribal trust lands. Not one of them could boast a single white customer. However, these businessmen regularly donated money to the ruling United Federal Party, not because they would, but because they were made to feel it was good business sense. In those circumstances, Congressmen maintained that they were only right to ask them to contribute towards their own liberation. Chikerema maintains to this day that where businessmen are concerned, power is ethics and liquidity is seen as the highest form of both power and ethics. One has to threaten to cut their throats before they will cooperate.

There is on record evidence aligunte to show that Congress was awakened to the power of threat of boycott only after three of its leaders had visited Ghana in 1958 to attend the all African Peoples Conference. The hint came from Chikerema's announcement that "at the Ghana Conference many things pleased us. It was said that if a store owner does not belong to Congress the people must not buy things from him."

Daniel Madzimbamuto was said to have spelled out the strategy. According to the Beadle Tribunal Madzimbamuto had told a Harare audience: That people who advocated boycotts should keep cool and await the return of Nkomo who, when he was ready, would press a button and start anything that was necessary; That Nkomo would direct operations from somewhere in the bush.

Some evidence to the effect that "democratic persuasion" had in fact been applied upon certain individuals with a view to making them join Congress was actually heard by the Tribunal. A white settler butcher testified that a Congress supporter who was also a trade union leader (probably Josiah Malukele) had said that his butcher's shop would be boycotted if he did not make certain concessions to one of his African employees. Secret evidence was also heard to the effect that Chikerema, Nyandoro, Mtandwa, Madzimbamuto and Mhizha had approached prominent African members of the public and prominent African businessmen and threatened them with violence and with 'possible death, if they did not support the aims of Congress." Besides, those who refused to cooperate were threatened with being put in the Dictionary of Quisilings.

George Nyandoro was alleged to have told an African member of Parliament that he was "No. I on the list to be dealt with by Congress in a short time."

An African witness described by the Tribunal as a "reliable African witness and a well known cooperator with the Europeans," alleged that two Congress leaders had addressed a small crowd outside his house and said that "houses like the house of this traitor must be dealt with and the children smashed to bits." Another "reliable African," told the Tribunal that he was told by Congress leaders-that "the days of white rule are numbered. The time for bloodshed and mass killing of those people who do not support Congress is drawing near. If you do not join us, you and your family will be put on the death roll, and them when congress starts its mass killing you will
also be killed." Yet another witness claimed that a Congress leader had told him that when the killing started, European officials in Highfield Township would be the first to be dealt with and that at this time African members of Parliament (meaning the two African Federal Members of Parliament) would also be killed. Every source interviewed has tended to confirm that central theme, namely that there was widespread intimidation. But as far as the Whitehead regime was concerned, the most serious evidence was that indicative of a general conspiracy to kill white settlers. The regime could not ignore it, given the conspiracies preceding the 1896-98 revolt.

By December 1958, there was rumour of an impending uprising everywhere. Word of mouth went the rounds to the effect that all Africans cooperating with settlers were known to Congress leaders and that those persons would die together with the Europeans. Simon Muzenda, an active Nationalist at that time, still maintains that in the Masvingo area, these rumours made many people join the Congress. David Nyandoro, Secretary of the Murewa branch, who was accused at the Tribunal of threatening to rob stores and kill storekeepers, and of telling his branch members: "Do not fear to be arrested .... - gaol is our paradise,' maintains that such a campaign had central Executive authorization. However, neither George Nyandoro nor James Chikerema recall any real plans of this kind ever having been adopted by the executive.

(IX) Pretended "Invincibility" stance

Partly as an organizational strategy and partly as a tactic designed to compel the government into making concessions, the Congress adopted a stance designed to protect itself as being more powerful than the government. Kwame Nkrumah had impressed upon George Nyandoro, in an audience during the Independence Celebrations, that "you must convince the masses that you are more powerful than the minority regime. Invincibility must be your catch-phrase. Once achieved, the regime will fear and respect you and the masses will flock to the party."

On his return, George Nyandoro and his colleagues were assured of being the next government. The fact that Congressmen appeared to be getting away with invective, slander, threats and boasts against the government, convinced the tribesmen that victory for Congress was certain. In many areas - particularly in Mrewa, Sipolilo, Hartley-Lomagundi, Que-Que, Gwelo and Fort-Victoria, local Congress leaders began to "preside" over petty domestic quarrels among the members. In the rural areas, tribesmen started consulting their Congress leaders on practically every problem. They had clearly gained greater prestige than government officials of the Native Affairs Department. The Tribunal was later to be informed that the Congress leaders had instructed people "not to take their ordinary troubles and grievances to the normal welfare authorities but to bring them to Congress as Congress alone could put them right." This appears to have been a misrepresentation of what in
fact had happened. The Congress had not said any such thing. What the leaders had done was so effectively to undermine government authority in the rural areas, that it became commonsense for people to assume that shortly, Congress would become the government. So-dominant had the Congress become in the minds of the African peasants that when Mzilah, Chairman of the Mrewa District, boasted publicly that "if Congress says a thing must be done, it will be done," he may not have been understood as exaggerating. Similarly, when Amos Mudiwa, Chairman of the Maranke Branch, claimed that the Congress "could not be stopped, no matter how the Government tried to stop it," but was not immediately arrested, the members must have assumed that he was merely stating a fact. Some Congress leaders, encouraged by the Government's reluctance to act against them, started making specious boasts. Such, for example, was A. Mukahadzi's repeated slogans. This Chairman of the Chumachangu Branch made it his habit to open his speeches with the statement: "Congress has the strength of a big river. If anyone says Congress is not good, the river will take him."

By the time Congress was banned, it had clearly won the psychological war against the regime with topics like these.

(X) The Infiltration and Take-Over of other African Organizations as a Tactic

An even more menacing and troublesome strategy of Congress consisted in the well organised, deliberately executed campaign to infiltrate into and obtain control of other African organizations. Congress soon discovered that African-led organizations in the country, particularly the trade unions, could be controlled by it and then used by it in its mass political mobilization campaign. Impressive evidence was given by the regime before the Beadle Tribunal demonstrating that this was indeed one of the principal aims of Congress. A document found in the possession of Jason Moyo, Deputy Secretary General of the A.N.C. and Secretary of the Bulawayo Branch, called upon Congress "to prepare infiltration into municipal African Boards" and to fill those hoards with Congressmen.

42

It was hardly a coincidence that by 1958 many important trade union posts had been filled by prominent Congressmen. A few examples can be seen from the diagram below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Office in Congress</th>
<th>Office in Trade Unions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zimbabwe News Vol. 14 No. 2 July</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deputy Secretary General</td>
<td>Vice President of the</td>
<td>African Trade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of A.N.C.</td>
<td>of A.N.C.</td>
<td>Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>A.N.C. African Trade</td>
<td>Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Committee Member</td>
<td>Secretary-General</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of Harare Branch of</td>
<td>of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.N.C.</td>
<td>Congress</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Committee Member</td>
<td>Treasurer-General</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of the Harare Branch of</td>
<td>of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.N.C. African Trade Union</td>
<td>Congress</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Committee Member</td>
<td>Chairman of Transport</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of the Treasurer-General</td>
<td>and Allied Workers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Union.
Chairman, Gwelo Branch of A.N.C.
Trustee of African Trade Union Congress; Chairman S.R. Artisans Unions.
W. Dzawanda Musarurwa Treasurer, Harare Branch Chairman, Commercial
of Congress

What this set-up suggested was that Congress appeared to be in a position to
mount a fairly effective, though illegal general strike, in accordance with its
"action" Programme if and when such a move was considered appropriate. Jason
Moyo says that had Congress not been banned in February 1959 plans were afoot
to attempt a general strike in May 1959. He confesses, though, that it was
impossible to say how successful it might have been. In his own words: "We were
determined to try. Much would have depend-
and
and General Workers
Union
ed on what steps the regime might have taken to crush it. We were all unsure.
Remember, the last strike had been carried out in 1948. Times had changed."

(XI) Political Violence as a Strategy Finally, Congress was accused of managing
a Campaign "to excite Disaffection towards the Constitution with the object of
altering the Constitution by Unlawful Means." The tribunal had no hesitation in
finding Congress "guilty" on this count also. In fact, by November December
1958, the__Atmosphere
Edson Sithole
generated by Congress activities was tense and serious throughout the country.
Eruptions of political violence had been minimal but defiance of the law was
becoming more and more generalized, particularly in the Tribal Trust Lands. One
indicator is the number of politically motivated or inspired "infractions of the
law." Between September 12, 1957 and February 26, 1959 when Congress was
banned, there were 47 Congressmen brought before the courts to face criminal
prosecutions.
LEisL1 O W/kCrE
Jason Z Moyo Josiah Maluleke Kufakunesu Mhizha
Edward Ndlovu

* y.-- OWe lviews Vol.14 No. 2 July 1983
In some cases more than one charge was brought against a defendant. The
following chart gives us the complete picture:
Criminal Trials Of Congressmen
1957-1959
Nro. of Char-
Crime and Statute Contravened
31 All for contravening Not
the Native Land Guilty
Husbandry (Grazing
Rights Control) Regulations 1952, as amended by Government Notice'
No. 45 of 1958.
I Assault upon a Guilty Policeman
I Police Offences Act Guilty (Ch.40)
I Native Affairs Act, Guilty Sec.53. Chapter 72
I Criminal Defamation Guilty (R.V. Chikerema)
4 Land Apportionment Not Guilty Act, No. I I of 1941


Most of the above prosecutions were related to disobeying "lawful orders" of the District Commissioners and defiance of what Congress had dubbed unjust or discriminatory legislation. The regime read more into these data. It appeared to them that the defiance of the law was likely to lead to violence against the white population in keeping with Congress's threats. Sir Edgar Whitehead was worried because there was evidence that Congress was not only active in the urban and rural areas but also on the white farms.

Congress had decided in November 1957 that white farms had to be infiltrated and subverted since no white farmer permitted his servants to attend a Congress political rally. Sir Edgar Whitehead shared with Parliament the plight of one of his farmer friends which was typical. He said, "every weekend without fail, the agitators came out to address his people and on Monday and Tuesday they would scarcely speak to him. They were still under the influence. By Thursday and Friday they had forgotten all about it and were as friendly as ever and most cooperative and got on with their work. Then, as sure as clockwork, on Saturdays, out came the agitators again and the same thing started all-over again."

The Prime Minister's friend may have been mistaken in one crucial matter. His employees may not have changed their attitudes of anger against him because by t

7. The Reaction of the Whitehead Regime to Congress

(i) State of Emergency as a Strategy The Whitehead regime was in a dilemma during 1958, as 'law and order' was facing its most determined challenge since 1898. According to Sir Edgar, the regime had only two options. One option indicated by the facts called for the tightening up of the whole range of laws "to guarantee the conviction of agitators in future prosecutions." But, as Sir Edgar noted, there was a price in taking this course: "I realized at a fairly early stage, that if we did that, what we would really be doing, would be to diminish the liberties of all the inhabitants of all races ... in order to check the activities of a body of agitators whose numbers lay between a minimum of 250 and a maximum
of 500 people." The second option, which the regime eventually chose, was to "remove the 250 to 500 people causing trouble and temporarily keep them out of mischief ..." Consequently, a State of Emergency was proclaimed at one minute past midnight, February 26, 1959, and nearly 500 Congress leaders were rounded up and placed in prisons without trial. All the assets of Congress were expropriated by the state and all records of the organization seized for study by the security forces.

All these drastic measures were taken under the Emergency (Temporary Detention) Regulations 1959; the Emergency (Maintenance of Public Safety and Public Order) Regulations 1959, and the Emergency (Unlawful Organizations) Regulations 1959, all of which were adopted by resolution of the House of Assembly on the date of the proscription.

Thursday or Friday they had forgotten what 'agitators' had told them. According to Josiah Maluleke, Committee member of the Harare Branch of the ANC, "The Prime Minister did not understand the realities of farm life. At that time I was Secretary General of the African Trades Union Congress. We used to visit many farms. Most farm workers did not earn money but rations. It was a matter of survival for farm labourers to appear friendly or cooperative with their master on Thursdays and Fridays because those were the weekly ration days."

Kufakunesu Mhizha, another Committee Member of the Harare Branch and former Trade-Unionist, concurs. According to him, Congress attached great importance to farm workers: "We knew that if we were to organize a strike in the future we would need them to complement the urban workers' effort. At the same time, we were careful in our organizing not to have them victimized in advance. So, we told them to adopt a double strategy: organize underground on the farms but appear cooperative with the employer." It has not been possible to verify these claims by interviewing some of the farm workers who were members of the Congress.

All these regulations were made pursuant to the powers vested in Parliament by the Public Order Act.

(ii) New Laws As Strategy Under Rhodesian Law, as it stood on February 26, 1959, the 500 or so arrested ANC leaders could be held in prisons for up to three months as a State of Emergency could only subsist for that period unless renewed by Parliament. The regime was determined to keep the detainees in prison indefinitely. In the result, a series of new bills were rushed through parliament whose effect was to transform Rhodesia into an authoritarian state. In final form, the bills came out as three statutes: The Unlawful Organizations Act, The Preventive Detention (Temporary Provisions) Act and The Law and Order (Maintenance) Act. There were token expressions of anxiety among white liberals at what they saw as a threat to individual liberties but deep down they supported the regime. On the right Dr. Arhen Palley and his supporters in the Dominion Party were jubilant at what they saw as the proper method of dealing with communist agents.
They had always wanted a "strong Government" which recognized that the natives needed, indeed prayed for, firm government in his own interest and in the interests of European Civilization. In England, grave misgivings and protest were voiced against "the turn of events in Rhodesia." Although Sir Edgar pointed out that the Preventive Detention Act had been borrowed from a similar British Statute for Northern Ireland, the demands for the trial or release of detainees amounted. The next result was the creation of the Tribunal which we have discussed above. The top leaders were, as we have seen above, found guilty and were to remain in prisons without trial until May 1963.

The new legislative programme, designed to proscribe African Nationalism, signalled the beginning of the politics of Confrontation in Rhodesia. For with the ban of Congress, settlers recovered the initiative from the nationalists, at least for twelve months. The powers which the regime conferred upon itself by statute were unparalleled in colonial history. They threw the nationalists out of balance -

though temporarily. They were to be proved inadequate when nationalists had regrouped and launched the National Democratic party in 1960. A brief look at the substance, of the Unlawful Organization Act is instructive in many ways in explaining the course of subsequent conflicts.

The preamble to this Act shows clearly that it was a 'political' law par excellence. It recited the opinions and views of a frightened white population. According to its terms:

"Whereas certain persons have contrived to upset the peace, order and tranquility of the Federation and of the colony in particular, and

" Whereas, in pursuance of such design and in order to carry the same into effect certain organizations have been formed of a new and dangerous nature inconsistent with peace, order and tranquility and with government by civilized and responsible persons;

and

"Whereas, the members of such organizations have wickedly and maliciously embarked upon a campaign for usurping the functions of government and in furtherance thereof have resorted to various dishonest and seditious practices and have assembled meetings or gatherings of ignorant and unwary persons, whereat, in violent and threatening language the speakers have wilfully misrepresented facts, sown seeds of discord and racial hostility, urged civil disobedience and passive resistance to the law of the colony, encourage the application of boycotts calculated to injure various persons in the conduct of their lawful business of occupation, and have otherwise conducted themselves in manner, calculated to inspire fear in the minds of many of the inhabitants of the colony and to intimidate them into submission to the will and direction of the leaders and members of
such organisations; and
Whereas It is expedient and necessary that all such organizations and all
organizations of a like nature should be utterly suppressed .........
"Now therefore, be it enacted as follows ..." and then follows the text of the
Statute which, on account of its impact on future movements, we must analyze
carefully.
The above preamble to the Unlawful Organizations Act has had to be quoted
extenso because of its many uncoven-
tional features. Without naming Congress [because the context made this
redundant] the preamble argued that:
(a) Persons such as Joshua Nkomo, James Chikerema, George Nyandoro, Paul
Mushonga, etc., "Have contrived to upset the peace, order and tranquility of the
federation and of the colony."
(b) In order to do so such persons had formed the ANC, a new and dangerous
organization, "inconsistent with peace, order and tranquility... and with
government by civilized and responsible persons," i.e. white settler.
(c) Persons such as Congress leaders have been "wicked" and "malicious" in that
they launched a campaign "for usurping the functions of government." Besides,
they had been "dishonest and seditious" in that campaign especially because they
"assembled meetings and gatherings of ignorant and unwary persons," whereat in
violent and threatening language, the speakers misrepresented facts, sowed seeds
of discord and racial hostility, urged civil disobedience, etc., etc.
If the above is what the statute set out to proscribe, the regime was in fact serving
notice that only white rule would be tolerated in Rhodesia for all time. The
clauses of the statute made this point eloquently clear if the preamble did not.
From the ban onward, the Governor (now the President) may by proclamation in
the Gazette, declare any organization to be an unlawful organization if it appears
to him that the activities of such organization or any of its members are:
(i) likely to endanger public safety, to disturb or interfere with public order or to
prejudice the tranquility or security of the colony; or
(ii) are dangerous or prejudicial to peace, good order or constitutional
government, or
(iii) are likely to raise disaffection among the inhabitants of the colony or to pro-
mit feelings of ill will or hostility be ween or within different races of tf
population in the colony, or
(iv) That such organization is control by or affiliated to or participates in tl
activities or promotes the objects or pri pagates the opinions of any organizatic
outside the colony named or describc either specifically or generally in Part (i of
the schedule to the Act. The organiz tions named included all banned ni tionalist
parties in Northern Rhodesia ar Nyasaland and numerous othei suspected of
being communii organizations.
Since the main objects of the banrt Northern Rhodesia African Nation Congress
and the Nyasaland African N tional Congress included the attainme of
independence under African rule, ai subsequent African Nationalist party
Zimbabwe ran the risk of being banni if such were to be among its own aims ai
objects.
To make certain there would be court challenges, the Statute decreed that "A proclamation issued in terms of subsection (1) of this section shall not be open to question in any court of law."

Further, anticipating further national attempts at evading and defeating the "Law", by reviving banned parties under different names, it was provided that a banned organization "shall not be deemed to have ceased to exist by reason of or by any formal act of dissolution or change of title but shall be deemed to continue so long as any of its members are associated together in any of the activities stated in Section three." This was designed to make it impossible for any two more former members of an unlawful organization to lawfully belong to a one future political party. Besides, all former members of a banned party were deprived of all protections stemming from the rights of any person to refuse to make self-incriminating statements or evidence available to the police. The Unlawful Organizations Act provided that "any commissioned officer of police may call upon any person who is, or upon reasonable grounds is believed to be an office-bearer or officer of an unlawful organization to furnish him with a list of members of the organization and of all officer bearers or officers of such organization." Failure to comply is a criminal offence. Since in practice, whenever an organization has been outlawed, all its records and property are seized by the police, no officer or former member can possibly furnish the police with a list of all its members or former members. The clause was inserted to assure conviction and imprisonment of nationalist leaders subsequent to each banning of any successor organization.

Police are granted wide powers of arrest under the Act. Any justice of the peace may, if he is satisfied by information on oath that there is reason to believe that in any house, building or place (a) a meeting of an unlawful organization is being held or (b) a member of an unlawful organization resides or is, by warrant direct any police officer to enter such house, building or place and (i) arrest all persons found therein, and (ii) search such house, building or place and seize all insignia, banners, arms, books, papers, documents or moneys and all other property which the police have reasonable cause to believe to belong to any unlawful organization or to be in any way connected with the purpose of such meeting or with the unlawful organization.

Perhaps no other clause has been more abused by the regime than this one. Many hundreds of persons have had valuable books, papers, money, vehicles and other articles of value seized and sold or destroyed merely because they happened to have been members of an organization which is subsequently outlawed. All it takes is an informer or a private enemy to inform the police that a meeting of what he thinks to be of an unlawful organization is being or about to be held at a particular place or house to have the police raid the place or house, arresting all persons thereat or therein, even though the meeting in question may have been for some social purpose.

Hundreds of African Nationalists have been jailed or fined for contravening Section (9) of the Act. Although it is impossible for anyone to say how many of

Llmoabwe News Vol. 14 No. 2 July 1983
these were convicted on technicalities, or on "frimed-up" charges or on substantive findings of guilt, it is fair to say that when a law, such as this, makes it a crime for anyone to become or to continue to be a member or to perform any act as an Officer or member of an unlawful organization, conviction is assured whenever a former member is charged in as much as the law addresses conduct, behaviour and acts that can be interpreted as similar to that of persons who belonged to the unlawful organization. It is also a criminal offence for any person to carry or display "anything whatsoever" or to shout or utter "any slogan" or to make "any sign" indicating that he is or was an office bearer, officer or member of an unlawful organization or in any way to take part in any activity of an unlawful organization.

It has been the nightmare of any counsel who defends a nationalist charged under this section to construe such wide phrases as "displaying anything whatsoever," "shouting or uttering any slogan," "taking part in any activity." The Courts have not, however, experienced any difficulties. What was intended was to outlaw such popular African nationalist slogans as "One Man One Vote," "Down with colonialism," "The only good imperialist is a dead one," etc, on the grounds that their reiteration is likely to cause 'dispondency' among the colonialist settlers - an offence under the law.

An interesting feature is that any person may be 'deemed' to be a member of an unlawful organisation if he is found, in possession of any card, document, or article of a banned party. Besides, one person can "revive" an unlawful organization by merely continuing to be a member of it even though he may do nothing to further its aims and objects. Once an organization is banned in Rhodesia it remains unlawful wherever it might go, outside the country, according to a high court decision in R. v. Zvobgo 1965 (1), S.A. at 653. This was to prevent an unlawful organization setting up headquarters abroad.

Did all this legal craftsmanship effectively stifle African Nationalism? Evidence suggests that it did not.

We will see in the following chapters how the African Nationalists developed new modes of operation and how more government repression simply provoked the African masses and fuelled the struggle for liberation during 1960-1965. After 1965, the dialogue between black and white was to be carried on through the medium of bullets and handgrenades.

(1) General
Nathan Shamuyarira submits that the lasting contribution of the Congress to African Nationalism is to be found in its professionalism, non-racialism, humanism and PanAfricanism. It was the first professionally run African Nationalist party since the occupation. Its statement of Principles, Policy and Programme "was emphatically anti-racialist." Its humanist character was to be seen in its abhorrence 'for racial discrimination which it viewed 'as a worm which has eaten away the marrow of society.' It was avowedly PanAfricanist in that it maintained close ties with the two Northern Congresses. The
influence of Ghana on Nationalist Parties in Africa was enormous. The A.N.C. delegation to Ghana had returned wiser and more dedicated to Nkrumahist ideas. Gibson's observation that "although the ANC may have held up independence with African majority rule as its eventual objective, its activities were confined to efforts to remedy some of the Africans' grievances under the system established in the country in 1923," is in the light of our study, clearly uninformed, to say the least. In Day's narrow conclusion that, "during its whole existence ANC made its onslaughts directly on the laws, policy and administration of the Southern Rhodesia Government," we would also concur, subject to our submissions below. Mlambo is in error when he asserts that "The ANC sought to achieve its policies by negotiating with the government of the day." Such a conclusion could only be arrived at on the basis of speculation and surmise, not evidence.

Every writer on the African National Congress to date appears to have failed to grasp the real thrust and contribution of that organisation to African Nationalism in Zimbabwe. Without exception, they all appear to have been content with what the Congress said in its official publications. And, since the ANC's statement of Principles, Policy and Programme, even when read together with the abridged version that was printed on the backs of the membership cards, reveals that organization to be a vioderate, reformist one, many have concluded accordingly without more analysis.

- Sight is lost of Congress's masterfully conceived and artfully executed subversive programme. Despite the fact that Congress was breaking new ground and faced with a mass politicization problem to which every first African nationalist party is heir, it shook the very foundations of the regime. Its genius was in adopting a multi operational program which, on the one hand called for open protests against racial discrimination, while on the other hand, undermining government authority., plotting boycotts, and strikes and spreading rumours of various kinds. Simultaneously, Congress pursued a fairly effective campaign directed at the "unmasking" of "intellectual sell-outs" and moderates among the African population while at the same time reviving the African's traditional mistrust and hatred for white settlers. These diverse strategies helped forge a stable Ndebele-Shona coalition for the first time in history. These are not the achievements of a docile organization whose sole aim was reform, as some have suggested.

Perhaps the regime appreciated the impact of Congress on the country more than scholars who have written on it to date. The Secretary for Native Affairs was in no doubt that Congress "deliberately aimed at undermining all authority, all plans and good will." If it was dedicated to reformist politics as many assert, the regime which was the target saw differently.

46 The Secretary for Native Affairs affirmed the Beadle Tribunal's finding that Congress "was committed to a policy of disregarding lawful authority, exciting hatred, organizing general strikes and boycotts, intimidation and violence to achieve its objectives."
That explains why the Government concluded that Congress was "a destructive force," more so because educated African intellectuals shunned it. It was a mass movement and that much was conceded by the Secretary for Native Affairs who angrily accused African Nationalism of being "xhipped up by mob emotions, spurred by intimidation and aroused by semi-educated urban orators masquerading under a constitution to which little exception could be taken." No subsequent or successor organization was to deserve half this praise from an enemy.

Zimbabwe News Vol. 14 No. 2 Jd 1958 that the regime began to perceive a threat to its survival and began to respond to the Congress's activities.

The study shows that the Congress, while cherishing the image of a Constitutional party, i.e., one that seeks to operate laiss-faire, actually had six broad goals in mind. These may be summarized as follows: (i) Attracting a large membership among the urban as well as the rural population; (ii) Seeking the repeal of unpopular laws such as the Land Husbandry Act; (iii) Making Government machinery grind to a halt in the rural areas by undermining government authority; (iv) Estranging the Africans from Europeans, the European Government and the European Government's institutions; (v) Silencing African opponents or would-be opponents and (hopefully) eliminate Government in-thrath-appears to have been liberal ed as a weapon to silence Africar pontents (Goal (v), to achieve a mon 1y of allegiance (Goal (Ni). and to at membership (Goal (i).The threa Passive resistance vas specifical dressed to the regime in order to rt the repeal of Vn anted laws (Goals i this extent, this tactic supplenic method (1) above.

(3) rhe use of Propaganda. In this fell membership cards, slogans, par gram and statement of policy and and objects as "ell as the projected africanist stance. All these tactics clealix designed to attract rnembei (Goal i). to influence tile regime i repealing unpopular lax, s (Goal (ii). hard to evaluate the success of this t ,tanding alone. Membership did nc increase rapidlx as stacks of unissued , Police (B.S.A.P) harassment during the days of the African National Congress (11) Specific Conclusions

Patterns of black-white conflict during the ANC (1957-1959): a balance sheet of means and outcomes.

It is necessary to attempt a balancing of means and outcomes adopted by both the Congress and the regime in the political struggle that started with the founding of Congress in September 1957 and ended with the ban of the organization in February 1959.

It is fairly obvious that both the Todd and Whitehead regimes enjoyed such an overwhelming monopoly of decisive force (the police, the army and the laws) backed by the white electorate that was very hostile to the kind of political program the ANC proposed. It is possible to suggest that it is probably on account of the regime's unirammelled position that made it possible for it to sit back and watch Congress pursue its goals virtually unhindered during the first six or seven months of its life. It was only early in fomers; and (vi) a desire to monopolize the allegiance of the African population.
In pursuit of the above goals the Congress appears to have used seven broad categories of methods. The evidence reveals these methods to have been:

(i) Attacking the unpopular lanos at political rallies with a view to achieving goal (ii) stated above. In doing this, the Congressmen attempted to interpret the laws in question in ways guaranteed to represent them in the worst possible light. Such was the campaign against the Land Husbandry Act, Dipping Tank regulations and the Pass Laws. The goal was substantially realized. The Land Husbandry Act died a natural death until it was eventually repealed in 1962. The public attack of Laws also served the purposes of Goals (i) and (iii) and (iv) named above.

(2) The use of threats generally arid, it particular the use of threats to mount a passive resistance campaign against unpopular or unjust laws. In general, the si ere carted a\ ax b\ Ite police \hei organization got banned. The men ship drie had tnot come up to the jected number [namely. more mer ihan all settlers iti the country.

(4) The use of intimid ("Democratic Persuasion"). This mi \as addressed exclusively to African the one hand, it \as used to raise ret from affluent African businessmen \ere more consers atise and relucta utwilling to join the congress. O other hand, this tool was utilized t tract membership (Goal (i), undet government authority by appearing more powerful than the regime (Goa silencing African opponents (Goat \ realize a monopoly of allegiance ai Africans (Goal (vi). This tool has al been used in Zimbabwean Natio, politics. It is pretty effective. P members join a natiolbalist part, security reasons; particularly in African Townships and the rural The tact;: did not appear to work.

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(5) Infiltration. The idea appears to have been to infiltrate trade unions and town management boards and other African Advisory Boards. Once ANC men achieved control of those organizatons then, none of them would compete for political allegiance (Goal (vi). This tool also effectively silenced opponents who might be in those controlled institutions (Goal (v). In some cases, such as when Daniel Madzimbamuto was "elected" Chairman of the Highfield Advisory Board - a government agency for thte control of over 100,000 inhabitants of that township, Government machinery tIere creaked to a halt (Goal (iii).

(6) Boasts. The evidence shows that the Congressmen were crafty in the kind of boasts they popularized. On the one hand they sought to convince the African population that they were invicible by the regime (Achieving goals i, ii, iii, v, and vi). Omnicience (e.g., the claim that all supporters and sympathizers of the regime were known to the Congress) thereby achieving goals i, v, and vi, or that the Congress maintained a dictionary of quislings (realizing the same goals but particularly goal i). The boasts were often conveyed in statements that appeared to "distort" the facts, "misrepresent the intentions of the regime," etc. Generally, they served their purpose.
Finally, violence. The kind of violence the Congress engaged in was limited to low-level arson, destruction of property and, on occasion, assault on persons and, even the these were mainly in the rural areas. No homicide was ever claimed or charged. Violence, no matter how minimal, serves as propaganda for the movement, particularly where it goes unpunished (Promoting goals I, II, V, and VI and perhaps IV where the victim is white). I may also coerce the regime into repealing hated legislation (goal II) and result in the diminution of regimes' prestige and authority, particularly where the repeal of the laws occurs immediately in the wake of violence (Goal 111). Clearly violence depending on the quantum of doses promotes goals V and VI. This may account for its liberal use in all Zimbabwean nationalist parties. It is difficult to say how successful the Congress was in achieving its goals by using it. Whatever successes it scored, they were to prove short term as the government reacted sharply to uproot it in February 1957.

The regime's patterns of responses to the ANC's modus operandi appears to have been limited to the utilization of three tools at its disposal. All the three methods were pretty effective.

(1) The Declaration of the Emergency Procedure: Having proclaimed a State of Emergency, the Whitehead regime found itself vested with limitless powers. The constitutional and other legal constraints upon the government were immediately set aside. The regime was the able to employ the full weight of the state (police and troops) to nullify such gains as the Congress might have made in the pursuit of its goals.

(2) Declaring the Organisation an Unlawful Organisation: This power flowed from the first. As soon as the ANC was declared unlawful—all its assets were seized and the organization effectively prohibited from functioning.

(3) The Arrest and Detention Procedures: This power also flowed from the above two. By ordering the arrest of all leading Congressmen and by incarcerating them in prisons, the government was able by the stroke of the pen to demonstrate that the pretended invincibility was an illusion, regain its prestige, revive the authority of the institutions that had been infiltrated by the party.

What the government could not do was win the genuine allegiance of the African people. The methods used only served to reinforce hatred for the regime which the ANC had been trying to foster for two years. The evidence also shows that the ANC was being naive in believing it would coerce the regime through the kind of "action program" They put in motion. They appear to have forgotten that ultimately, the regime will utilize maximum power (Troops and Police) to regain the initiative. Once that happens the debate has been elevated to a plane where neither propaganda nor boasts nor rallies nor intimidation will answer the realities on the same wave-length. It was not until 1963 that the lesson appeared to have been learned. The verdict to be rendered in the case between the Congress versus the regime, therefore, is only one
- mismarch - for the monopoly of overwhelming power available to the regime. However, the Congress had made an impressixe shoxxing, bearing in mind the pressures and contraints that stared it in the face.
To be continued
Paul Mushonga addressing a meeting at C.J. Hall in Highfield in the presence of Dr. Kamuzu Banda.

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