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President Mugabe of Zimbabwe 7/24/91 [OA 8326]

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(Lange/Simon)
July 18, 1991
11:30 A.M.
[ZIMBABWE.DOC]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DEPARTURE, PRESIDENT MUGABE OF ZIMBABWE
THE SOUTH LAWN
WEDNESDAY, JULY 24, 1991
[TIME] 1:15 p.m.

11-16-82 see toast in file
Mr. President: I've been honored and pleased to meet with
you at the White House today. I visited Zimbabwe in 1982 as Vice
President, and I recall the warm reception I received from you
and the Zimbabwean people. It gives me great pleasure to return
your hospitality.

Our nations share many common aspirations. We both found
independence in revolution. Americans are proud to have
supported the Zimbabwean people's struggle for self-
determination -- and we're proud of the role we played in the
Lancaster House accords, paving the way for Zimbabwe's
independence in 1980.

NSC draft
Over the years we've had our honest differences. But we
both share a fundamental belief that government must serve the
people -- and that through democratic elections, the people are
the best judge of government's performance.

The last year and a half has brought remarkable and bold
developments, in your country and throughout Southern Africa.
Positive change moves in promising ways. Zimbabwe has ended its
state of emergency, and witnessed free and open elections --
moving with the tide of human aspiration, worldwide.

Last year your party decided against attempts to legislate a one-party state -- and in keeping with events throughout Africa and around the world, Zimbabwe has abandoned Marxist-Leninism as its guiding principle.

Much of the credit for these accomplishments goes to you, Mr. President -- for your vision, your courage, and your commitment to creating real opportunity for your people.

NSC
draft Opportunity means economic growth -- and you've announced an investment policy, as part of a broad structural adjustment program, to encourage market-led economic prosperity. The International Monetary fund has described your program in glowing terms, and we share the IMF's enthusiasm.

Last July your government signed an investment guarantee agreement with our Overseas Private Investment Corporation. Since then, several American firms have announced their intention to invest in Zimbabwe. And beyond simply proclaiming our faith in your country, we've proved it -- doubling our level of development assistance this year. We will continue to look for ways to help you invigorate Zimbabwe's promising private sector.

11-16-82
toast
NSC
draft I believe Zimbabwe's stature world-wide will continue to grow. I remember congratulating you in 1982, at a state dinner in your homeland, for Zimbabwe's election to the United Nations Security Council. This past year, Zimbabwe's leadership as President of that Council was critical to the success of the Coalition's efforts to enforce UN resolutions against Iraqi aggression.

NSC
draft

We were very proud to have worked with you during a historic period of commitment to collective security. And we look forward to a strong working relationship, as we face difficult regional challenges in Southern Africa, including Mozambique and South Africa.

Our conversations today have been warm and productive; they should serve as a basis to broaden and deepen further our important relationship. We support your country's considered steps toward economic reform, Mr. President -- and hope those measures will be matched by similar progress toward multiparty democracy.

As you depart, you leave with the best wishes of the American people for a more peaceful, prosperous, and free Zimbabwe.

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anything from OPIC?

**SUGGESTED DEPARTURE STATEMENT
MEETING BETWEEN PRESIDENTS BUSH AND MUGABE**

Mr. President:

It has been a pleasure to welcome you to the White House today. As Vice President, I visited Zimbabwe in 1982 and recall the warm reception I received from you and the Zimbabwean people. I am delighted to have been able to renew our acquaintance and reciprocate your hospitality.

*both found our
indep. in mod;
comm. to the people;
unhindered*

The United States has had a long history of involvement with Zimbabwe. Our government opened a consulate in what was then Salisbury in 1949. We are proud to have supported the Zimbabwean people's aspirations for self-determination, and take great satisfaction from the role we played in the Lancaster House accords, which paved the way for Zimbabwe's independence in 1980. Over the years, we have had our differences. But we both share a strong belief that government must work for the people and that, in the final analysis, the people, through democratic elections, are the best judge of the government's performance.

*an end to Angola's suffering
remarkable promising Δ on South African Region ... an end to apartheid*

The last year and a half has seen a period of bold developments in your country. Many positive reforms have taken place. Zimbabwe has ended its State of Emergency. Zimbabwe has witnessed free and open elections. You have announced an investment policy within the context of a broad Structural Adjustment Program meant to encourage market-led economic growth. The International Monetary Fund has described this Program in glowing terms and we share the IMF's enthusiasm.

Last July, the Government of Zimbabwe signed an investment guarantee agreement with our Overseas Private Investment Corporation. Since then, three American firms have announced their intention to invest in Zimbabwe. As you know, this year we have doubled our level of development assistance to Zimbabwe. In the future, we will continue to look for ways to support your efforts to invigorate Zimbabwe's private sector.

Last year, your party, the Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF), decided against attempts to legislate a one-party state. Now, in tune with events throughout Africa and in many other parts of the world, ZANU-PF is abandoning Marxist-Leninism as its guiding principle. Much of the credit for these accomplishments goes to your vision, courage and commitment to creating economic opportunity for your people.

As VP in '82, congratulated you in a state dinner in your honor for election to U.N.S.C.

In February, Zimbabwe's leadership as President of the United Nations Security Council was critical to the success of the Coalition Forces efforts to enforce UN resolutions directed against Iraqi aggression. We were proud to have worked with you during this historic period of United Nations resolve and commitment to collective security. We look forward to our continued working relationship as we face difficult regional problems in southern Africa, including Mozambique and South Africa.

Our conversations today have been warm and productive; they should serve as a basis to broaden and deepen further our relationship. We support your country's prudent steps toward economic reform, Mr. President. We hope these measures will be matched by similar progress towards multiparty democracy. You have the best wishes of the American people as you forge a more prosperous Zimbabwe.

peaceful & free

Code Birt, Fide Gen, Conduct Froud, Jounsway, or m. d. d.

John - Sec:

Fide Birt, Code Froud, Conduct Froud, Jounsway, or m. d. d.

John in Sec

TOAST OF VICE PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH
STATE DINNER, HARARE, ZIMBABWE
TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 1982

Mr. Dep PM Mr. Speaker
YOUR EXCELLENCY THE PRIME MINISTER, MRS. MUGABE, HONORABLE CHIEF
JUSTICE, HONORABLE MINISTERS, ~~YOUR EXCELLENCIES THE MEMBERS OF THE~~
~~DIPLOMATIC CORPS, YOUR WORSHIP~~ THE MAYOR OF HARARE, DISTINGUISHED
GUESTS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN.

2

THIRTY-ONE HOURS AGO IN MOSCOW, I DISCUSSED MY MISSION TO AFRICA WITH
THE PRESIDENT OF PAKISTAN, ZIA AL-HUK. WHEN I MENTIONED PRIME MINISTER
MUGABE, PRESIDENT ZIA MADE REFERENCE TO SOMETHING WITH WHICH INFORMED
MEN EVERYWHERE ON EARTH AGREE. THEREFORE, I WANT TO ACKNOWLEDGE THAT
I STAND IN THE PRESENCE OF A GENUINE STATESMAN, THE PRIME MINISTER OF
ZIMBABWE, ROBERT MUGABE. HIS STATURE IN THE WORLD IS WELL ESTABLISHED,
HIGHLY RESPECTED, AND IT WILL BE MORE FORMIDABLE IN THE YEARS TO COME.

MR. PRIME MINISTER, YOU KNOW VERY WELL THAT SOME GREETED THE BIRTH OF THIS NEW NATION WITH GRIM DOUBTS. SOME WONDERED WHETHER A REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT COULD GOVERN. OTHERS POINTED TO THE GULF OF MISTRUST AND HATRED ENGENDERED BY YEARS OF WAR. YOU FACED MULTIPLE CHALLENGES:

-- HOW TO DEVELOP PEACEFULLY IN A REGION FULL OF POLARIZED CONFLICTS?

-- HOW TO RETAIN AND BUILD UPON ONE OF AFRICA'S STRONGEST AND MOST DIVERSIFIED FREE MARKET ECONOMIES WHILE ALSO SPREADING ITS BENEFITS TO THE MAJORITY OF THE POPULATION?

-- HOW TO RETAIN THE CONFIDENCE, SKILLS AND LOYALTY OF WHITE ZIMBABWEANS WHILE RESPONDING TO THE ASPIRATIONS OF THOSE WHO FOUGHT AND VOTED FOR YOU?

MR. PRIME MINISTER, IT IS NOT MY JOB AS YOUR GUEST TO ISSUE A REPORT CARD ON YOUR LEADERSHIP AND YOUR NEW NATION. YOU HAVE FACED AWESOME CHALLENGES, SOME OVERCOME, SOME STILL ON YOUR AGENDA. I DO WANT TO SAY ON BEHALF OF THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION THAT WE SUPPORT THE POLICY OF RECONCILIATION TO WHICH YOU HAVE COMMITTED YOURSELF -- JUST

AS WE SUPPORT THE CONSTITUTIONAL AGREEMENTS REACHED AT LANCASTER HOUSE, WE BELIEVE ZIMBABWE REPRESENTS A NOBLE EXPERIMENT IN THE MIDST OF A STRIFE-TORN REGION. IT ALSO REPRESENTS AN EFFORT TO PUT ASIDE THE PAST AND BEGIN A WORK OF HEALING. WE HAVE SUPPORTED YOUR COUNTRY BECAUSE ITS SUCCESS IS CONSISTENT WITH U.S. PRINCIPLES AND U.S. INTERESTS. I WILL REPORT TO PRESIDENT REAGAN THAT ZIMBABWE CONTINUES TO DESERVE OUR SUPPORT, BECAUSE AMERICA IS COMMITTED TO BACKING PEACEFUL CHANGE, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, AND THE RULE OF LAW.

MR. PRIME MINISTER, I AM PROUD THAT MY COUNTRY HAS PLAYED A PART IN ZIMBABWE'S YOUNG LIFE. YOU MIGHT RECALL THAT WHEN ZIMBABWE GAINED INDEPENDENCE, THE UNITED STATES WAS ONE OF THE FIRST TO OPEN AN EMBASSY IN THIS CITY. SINCE THEN, AMERICAN ASSISTANCE TO ZIMBABWE HAS AMOUNTED TO MANY TENS OF MILLIONS; AND SHORTLY AFTER PRESIDENT REAGAN TOOK OFFICE MY GOVERNMENT PLEDGED NEARLY A QUARTER OF A BILLION U.S. DOLLARS IN NEW AID. AMERICA HAS NOT ONLY AVOWED ITS FAITH IN ZIMBABWE, BUT PROVEN IT.

AT THIS POINT I WOULD BE REMISS IF I FAILED TO CONGRATULATE ZIMBABWE ON A REMARKABLE HONOR -- ITS RECENT ELECTION TO THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL. MR. PRIME MINISTER, THIS ELECTION DEMONSTRATES THAT THE LARGER COMMUNITY OF NATIONS POSSESSES THE SAME STURDY FAITH IN ZIMBABWE AS DO YOU AND I. IT ALSO REPRESENTS A RECOGNITION OF ZIMBABWE'S IMPORTANCE IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS.

ZIMBABWE HAS PLAYED AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN THE EFFORT TO ACHIEVE NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE. MR. PRIME MINISTER, YOU HAVE PRESSED FOR A NAMIBIAN SETTLEMENT WITH BOTH URGENCY AND SKILL. JUST AS IMPORTANT, ZIMBABWE ITSELF PROVIDES A MODEL ON WHICH EFFORTS TO FREE NAMIBIA COULD SUCCEED; COMPROMISE AND DEDICATION WILL ONCE AGAIN WIN THROUGH.

AS YOU KNOW, MR. PRIME MINISTER, SINCE FIRST TAKING OFFICE PRESIDENT REAGAN AND HIS ADMINISTRATION HAVE LABORED FOR A NAMIBIAN SETTLEMENT. WE HAVE SPARED NO EFFORT. WE HAVE WORKED WITH THE WESTERN CONTACT GROUP, WITH THE FRONT LINE STATES, WITH SWAPO, AND WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA. ASSISTANT SECRETARY CROCKER, PRESENT THIS EVENING, HAS SPENT MORE TIME ON THIS THAN ON ANY OTHER AFRICAN MATTER.

MR. PRIME MINISTER, WE INTEND TO SERVE AS A DISINTERESTED AND HONEST BROKER. THE UNITED STATES POSSESSES NEITHER TROOPS NOR PROXIES IN THE REGION. WE HAVE NO COLONIAL INTERESTS, NOR DO WE HAVE MILITARY AMBITIONS. ON THE CONTRARY, THE SOLE AMERICAN INTERESTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA ARE THE INTERESTS OF ALL MEN IN ALL PLACES: FREEDOM AND PEACE. OUR EFFORTS FOLLOW DISTINGUISHED PRECEDENTS. AMERICAN LABORS, ~~DIRECTED BY SECRETARY OF STATE KISSINGER~~, HELPED BUILD PEACE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT. BRITISH EFFORTS, OF COURSE, HELPED LEAD TO YOUR OWN INDEPENDENCE. SO TODAY WE LABOR ON, WITH ZIMBABWE AND OTHER NATIONS, TO CLEAR THE REGION OF ALL FOREIGN TROOPS SO THAT NAMIBIA MIGHT BE FREE.

A TOP PRIORITY IN OUR DIPLOMACY IS SOUTHERN AFRICA, WHERE THE CHOICES BETWEEN REGIONAL STRIFE AND REGIONAL COOPERATION ARE STARK. THE INESCAPABLE NEED FOR PEACEFUL CHANGE IS CHALLENGED BY A CLIMATE OF FEAR, DISTRUST, FOREIGN INTERVENTION AND CROSS-BORDER VIOLENCE. THE UNITED STATES IS COMMITTED TO THE SEARCH FOR CONSTRUCTIVE CHANGE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

THE UNITED STATES WANTS AN END TO SOUTH AFRICA'S OCCUPATION OF NAMIBIA. AT THE SAME TIME THE UNITED STATES WANTS AN END TO ANGOLA'S SUFFERING, AND TO THE DANGEROUS CYCLE OF VIOLENCE IN THE REGION.

OUR NUMBER ONE STRATEGIC OBJECTIVE IN AFRICA IS TO HELP ESTABLISH A FRAMEWORK OF RESTRAINT THAT DISCOURAGES OUTSIDE INTERVENTION IN AFRICAN CONFLICTS, WHILE IT ENCOURAGES NEGOTIATED SOLUTIONS AND CONSTRUCTIVE CHANGE.

A MOMENT AGO I MENTIONED OUR JOURNEY TO MOSCOW. NO DOUBT YOU HAVE ALL SEEN PHOTOGRAPHS OF SECRETARY BREZHNEV'S FUNERAL. THE IMAGE THAT STRUCK ME MOST -- ONE THAT I WILL NEVER FORGET -- WAS THE MAGNIFICENT, STATELY DISPLAY OF YOUNG RUSSIAN SOLDIERS.

AS I WATCHED THOSE YOUNG MEN, I COULD NOT HELP NOTING THAT THEY WERE THE SAME AGES AS MY OWN FOUR SONS. AND I FELT AGAIN WHAT I HAVE OFTEN FELT SINCE TAKING UP THIS OFFICE: A SUDDEN, SHARP SENSE OF THE RESPONSIBILITY THAT LIES ON THOSE WHO LEAD NATIONS. MR. PRIME MINISTER, I KNOW THAT YOU SHARE THAT SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY. AND I KNOW THAT YOU WILL CONTINUE TO EXERCISE YOUR RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE GOOD OF THIS EXCITING NEW NATION AND IN THE INTERESTS OF PEACE.

FINALLY, I WANT TO THANK OUR HOSTS FOR THEIR EXTRAORDINARY KINDNESS AND THEIR EXTRAORDINARY PATIENCE, PARTICULARLY IN LIGHT OF THE SCHEDULE CHANGES THAT BECAME NECESSARY BECAUSE OF OUR TRIP TO MOSCOW. AND I THINK ALL OF YOU SHOULD JOIN WITH ME IN THANKING MRS. MUGABE AND ALL OTHERS WHO HAVE DONE SUCH A MARVELOUS JOB IN ARRANGING THIS WONDERFUL DINNER.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, PLEASE RAISE YOUR GLASSES AND JOIN ME IN A
TOAST TO PRIME MINISTER ROBERT MUGABE, AND TO THE REPUBLIC OF
ZIMBABWE.

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62ND STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

The Associated Press

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November 16, 1982, Tuesday, AM cycle

SECTION: International News

LENGTH: 600 words

HEADLINE: Mugabe Appeals for US Support Against South Africa

DATELINE: HARARE, Zimbabwe

KEYWORD:

Zimbabwe -Bush

BODY:

Prime Minister Robert Mugabe denounced white minority-ruled South Africa at a state banquet Tuesday night welcoming Vice President George Bush for a three-day visit.

Mugabe, who earlier held a 90-minute private meeting with the U.S. delegation, appealed for U.S. efforts to end South African control of South-West Africa, also known as Namibia. He also called on the Reagan administration to support abolition of the apartheid race-separation system within white-ruled South Africa.

The prime minister is a former black guerrilla leader who helped gain independence and black-majority rule for Zimbabwe in April 1980 in what had been white-minority ruled Southern Rhodesia.

Bush, his wife Barbara, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester Crocker, State Department director for human rights, Elliott Abrams, and other aides received an elaborate welcome when their Air Force Two jet landed at Harare airport from Moscow.

Bush resumed his African tour after leading the U.S. delegation at Soviet President Leonid I. Brezhnev's funeral.

The Zimbabwe Presidential Guard fired a 19-gun salute, and government aides draped the vice president and his wife with flower garlands.

But behind the ceremony lay the Zimbabwe government's deep concern at Washington's friendly relations with South Africa and the slow progress towards independence for Namibia. The United States is among five Western nations trying to negotiate a settlement.

Government officials said South Africa, Namibia and aid to Zimbabwe would dominate the private talks between Bush, Mugabe and senior aides.

Bush said in his banquet remarks that the United States wants to serve as a "disinterested and honest broker."



The Associated Press, November 16, 1982

He said American policy sought an end to South African control over Namibia, but "at the same the United States wants an end to Angola's suffering and to the dangerous cycle of violence in the region."

The United States and South Africa have said that an independence settlement in Namibia also requires withdrawal of an estimated 15,000 Cuban troops from neighboring Angola. Black nations in the region have refused to link the two issues.

"Our number one strategic objective in Africa is to help establish a framework of restraint that discourages outside intervention in African conflicts while it encourages negotiated solutions and constructive change," Bush said.

"The United States possesses neither troops nor proxies in the region. We have no colonial interests, nor do we have military ambitions."

Mugabe said the "burning issue concerns Namibia's independence."

"We feel strongly that the United States, as a country which fought its own war of independence 200 years ago, should strongly support the principle of independence and side with Africa in the struggle to achieve independence in Namibia," Mugabe said.

Cuban presence in Angola was justified, he said, because of South African cross-border raids into Angola.

"We are certain that if South Africa desists from occupying Angola and withdraws from Namibia, the Angolans will be in a position to meet their genuine security needs by themselves," Mugabe said.

He said the "harsh and undemocratic (white) minority rule" in South Africa was unacceptable to the region.

"We urge the United States to be resolute in (its) firm stand against the system of apartheid and support its complete overthrow so that democracy and justice are established," Mugabe said.

The vice president is scheduled to leave Zimbabwe Thursday for Lusaka where he will hold talks with Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda.



34TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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NOVEMBER 18, 1982, THURSDAY

LENGTH: 510 words

BYLINE: BY RODNEY PINDER

DATELINE: HARARE, NOV 18

KEYWORD: TERRITORY-DAYLEAD BUSH

BODY:

U.S. VICE-PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH LEAVES ZIMBABWE TODAY WITH ASSURANCES THAT THE COUNTRY CHERISHES ITS FRIENDSHIP WITH THE UNITED STATES AND WILL NOT SET UP A TOTALITARIAN SOCIETY HERE.

IN AN IMPROMPTU SPEECH AT A BANQUET LAST NIGHT WHICH DELIGHTED AMERICAN OFFICIALS, PRIME MINISTER ROBERT MUGABE, WHO HAS OFTEN BEEN CRITICISED FOR AIMING TO CREATE A ONE-PARTY STATE, DECLARED HIS SOCIALISM DID NOT MEAN DICTATORSHIP.

HIS 31-MONTH-OLD NATION WOULD OFTEN MAKE MISTAKES, HE SAID, ADDING: "WE DO NOT PROPOSE, WHATEVER SYSTEM WE ESTABLISH, TO CREATE A TOTALITARIAN SOCIETY HERE."

HIS GOVERNMENT BELIEVED SOCIALISM WAS THE BEST FORM OF DEMOCRACY, HE SAID, TURNING TO MR BUSH AT HIS SIDE.

"THIS SHOULD NOT BE CONSTRUED AS AN ATTEMPT BY US TO TRY AND ESTABLISH A DICTATORSHIP," MR MUGABE STATED.

"WE CHERISH DEMOCRACY. WE FOUGHT FOR IT, WE DIED FOR IT. WE KNOW WHAT IT MEANS TO BE AN OPPRESSED PEOPLE," THE EX-GUERRILLA LEADER SAID IN A REFERENCE TO THE BLACK NATIONALIST WAR AGAINST WHITE MINORITY RULE IN THE FORMER RHODESIA.

MR MUGABE APPEALED FOR AMERICAN SUPPORT FOR HIS COUNTRY, STRUGGLING AGAINST ECONOMIC RECESSION AND REGIONAL INSTABILITY. HIS FIRST PUBLIC ADDRESS BEFORE MR BUSH CONTAINED A PLEA FOR U.S. BACKING FOR BLACK AFRICA AGAINST WHAT HE SAID WAS SOUTH AFRICAN AGGRESSION.

HE TOLD MR BUSH LAST NIGHT THAT HE WOULD CHERISH FOR ALL TIME AMERICAN COMMITMENTS TO FRIENDSHIP WITH ZIMBABWE.

"CARRY THE MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT REAGAN THAT ZIMBABWE IS A GREAT FRIEND OF THE UNITED STATES AND WE SHALL SPREAD THE MESSAGE THAT IN THE UNITED STATES WE HAVE A GREAT FRIEND," HE DECLARED.

THE DINNER OFFICIALLY ENDED MR BUSH'S TWO-DAY VISIT ON A WARMER NOTE THAN EXPECTED. SOCIALIST ZIMBABWE OFTEN APPEARS TO BE AT IDEOLOGICAL LOGGERHEADS WITH THE UNITED STATES.

NO DETAILS HAVE EMERGED FROM THE TALKS IN HARARE, BUT ZIMBABWE DIFFERS WITH THE U.S. APPROACH TO SOUTH AFRICA OVER INDEPENDENCE FOR NAMIBIA (SOUTH WEST

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"CARRY THE MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT REAGAN THAT ZIMBABWE IS A GREAT FRIEND OF
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HE TOLD MR BUSH LAST NIGHT THAT HE WOULD CHECK FOR ALL THE AMERICAN
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"THE CHECKERED DEMOCRACY. HE FIGHTS FOR IT. HE DIED FOR IT. HE KNOWS WHAT IT
DICTATORSHIP." MR MURRAY SAID.

"THIS SHOULD NOT BE CONSIDERED AS AN ATTEMPT BY US TO TRY AND ESTABLISH A
LOOKING TO MR BUSH AT HIS SIDE."

HIS GOVERNMENT BELIEVED SOCIALISM WAS THE BEST FORM OF DEMOCRACY, HE SAID.
HERE."

MR MURRAY SAID HE ESTABLISHED TO CREATE A TOTALITARIAN SOCIETY

HIS 31-MONTH-OLD NATION WOULD OFTEN MAKE MISTAKES, HE SAID, ADDING: "WE DO
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OFFICIALS. PRIME MINISTER ROBERT MURRAY, WHO HAS OFTEN BEEN CRITICISED FOR

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SET UP A TOTALITARIAN SOCIETY HERE."

THAT THE COUNTRY CHECKS ITS FRIENDSHIP WITH THE UNITED STATES AND MIGHT NOT
U.S. VICE-PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH LEAVES ZIMBABWE TODAY WITH ASSURANCES

BODY:

KEYWORD: TERRITORY-DAYLEAD BUSH

DATELINE: HARARE, NOV 18

BYLINE: BY RODNEY HIRDEK

LENGTH: 210 WORDS

NOVEMBER 18, 1985, THURSDAY

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AFRICA), ONE OF THE KEY QUESTIONS BELIEVED TO HAVE BEEN DISCUSSED.

LIKE OTHER BLACK "FRONT-LINE" STATES CONCERNED WITH THE PROTRACTED NAMIBIAN DISPUTE, ZIMBABWE DISLIKES AMERICAN SUPPORT FOR THE SOUTH AFRICAN ARGUMENT THAT CUBAN FORCES MUST LEAVE ANGOLA AS PART OF A DEAL.

ZIMBABWEAN OFFICIALS OFTEN ACCUSE THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION OF BEING TOO SOFT WITH THE WHITE-RULED REPUBLIC, WHICH THEY ACCUSE OF SABOTAGING ITS BLACK NEIGHBOURS IN ORDER TO KEEP THEM ECONOMICALLY DEPENDENT.

BUT MR MUGABE IS COMMITTED TO NON-ALIGNMENT AND THE UNITED STATES IS THE NATION'S BIGGEST AID DONOR AFTER BRITAIN, THE FORMER COLONIAL POWER. IT HAS COMMITTED OR PLEDGED SOME 300 MILLION DOLLARS TO VITAL AGRICULTURAL PROJECTS AND POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION.

AFTER SOME APPARENT INITIAL AWKWARDNESS, MR MUGABE AND MR BUSH APPEARED TO GET ON WELL. MR MUGABE TONIGHT DESCRIBED THE VICE-PRESIDENT AS "AN ORDINARY, CHEERFUL PERSON (WHO) TALKED TO ME AS A FRIEND AND COMPANION."

MR BUSH FLIES TO ZAMBIA THIS MORNING ON THE WAY TO KENYA, WHERE HE IS EXPECTED TO DELIVER A MAJOR U.S. POLICY STATEMENT ON AFRICA.



51ST STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

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The Christian Science Monitor

February 6, 1991, Wednesday

SECTION: THE WORLD; Pg. 6

LENGTH: 841 words

HEADLINE: Zimbabwe's Ruling Party Tightens Grip on Power

BYLINE: By Colleen Lowe Morna, Special to The Christian Science Monitor

DATELINE: HARARE, ZIMBABWE

KEYWORD: Chronology

HIGHLIGHT:

New laws on land alarm white farmers, abolish recourse to courts

BODY:

MANY Zimbabweans heaved a sigh of relief late last year when President Robert Mugabe said he did not intend to legislate a one-party state.

But critics say recent constitutional amendments have confirmed their concerns that a de facto one-party state can be as dangerous as a legislated one.

Armed with its sweeping new powers, the government:

- *Can acquire land owned by whites and redistribute it.

- *Has endorsed the death penalty.

- *Gave the Education Ministry tighter control over the country's only university.

'Having failed in the one-party issue, the government is seeking to corral all the power it can by emasculating opposition or pressure groups,' says Mike Auret, of the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission, a human rights monitoring group in Zimbabwe.

All the signs 'are that the government is not prepared to accept criticism in any form,' adds Kempton Makamure, University of Zimbabwe law faculty dean.

In general elections in March, which were marred by charges of intimidation, the country's ruling Zimbabwe African National Union won 117 out of the 120 seats in the House of Assembly. Despite this overwhelming majority, Mr. Mugabe still said he wanted to abolish opposition parties. But he bowed to pressure from members of his Cabinet, who pointed to the growing trend toward multiparty democracy in other African countries.

Before independence in 1980, 5,000 white commercial farmers owned the best land in the country (then known as Rhodesia), while peasant farmers crowded into the rest. At independence, the government agreed to buy back land for



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resettlement at market prices. Only one-third of the peasants have been resettled. Aid promised by Western donors to help buy land did not materialize.

The government now says it intends to acquire half of the remaining white farmland on its own terms. One of the new amendments to the Constitution, passed in December, allows the government to fix the price of land and abolishes the right of farmers to challenge the acquisitions in court.

These provisions have sparked an outcry from the country's commercial farmers, who account for a large proportion of Zimbabwe's economic production. The Catholic Justice and Peace Commission and Africa Watch, a United States-based human rights group, have also protested.

About 4,000 white farmers recently aired their grievances before Minister of Agriculture Witness Mangwende, who left them with little doubt of the government's commitment.

'While it may not be the intention of government to use these powers in an unreasonable and disruptive way now,' the farmers said in a statement, 'they remain enshrined in the Constitution and may be used at some future date.' Rarely before, they said, 'has constitutional protection from deprivation of property been rendered of so little value.'

Abolishing recourse to the courts 'flies in the face of all accepted norms of modern society and the rule of law,' recently retired Supreme Court Chief Justice Enoch Dumbutshena said. The bill will have 'a marked negative effect on future foreign investment,' he predicted.

Also causing alarm are amendments, passed along with the land provisions, which legalize corporal punishment and endorse the death penalty.

According to a legal expert here, the government does not particularly care for either measure. The main motivation, the expert says, was to assert its power over the judiciary.

The effect of the measures, says Mr. Auret of the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission, is much deeper than might immediately be apparent.

'For the legislature to cut down the scope of a fundamental right, after it has been defined by the judiciary, or even before the judiciary has exercised its judgment, establishes a dangerous precedent.' Auret said.

The passage of the University of Zimbabwe Amendment Act late last year, giving the government greater powers over the school, dealt a serious blow to the autonomy of the country's only university. The university was closed for the first time a year and a half ago, after students demonstrated against corrupt officials. Since then, both students and staff have come out in favor of a multiparty political system.

David Karimanzira, minister of higher education, defended the act, saying it was necessary to maintain order at the university.

According to Mr. Makamure, the law's purpose is to strengthen the ruling party's de facto one-party state.



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'In the absence of an effective opposition,' the dean said, 'the university remained the democratic conscience of the nation. The government wants to effectively end that role.'

Opening the High and Supreme Courts for 1991 recently, Zimbabwe's new Chief Justice A.R. Gubbay strongly criticized the constitutional amendments, and hinted at a battle ahead when he said that the judiciary has the power to nullify any law that contradicts 'certain fundamental principles.'

'Zimbabweans are not satisfied with a nominal multiparty system. They want a democratic process that works,' says Auret.

GRAPHIC: Map, Zimbabwe. , SHIRLEY HORN - STAFF



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HEADLINE: Goromonzi Journal;
But Should the Good Earth Stay in White Hands?

BYLINE: By JANE PERLEZ, Special to The New York Times

DATELINE: GOROMONZI, Zimbabwe

BODY:

At a time when most of Africa cannot feed itself and deserts are eating into fertile soil, Zimbabwe stands as an oasis.

Despite a growing population, this southern African country is self-sufficient in food and even able to spare some to help impoverished neighbors teetering on the edge of famine.

Sairas Gukwe, a 68-year-old farmer whose ancestors were shoved off the country's richest territory by the British imperialist Cecil Rhodes a century ago, is well aware of this as he contemplates the Government's plan for redressing the wrongs of the past. He frets about what might happen if the Zimbabwean Government rushes into redistributing white-owned farmland among poor blacks, as has been announced.

"I am worried that if the Government gives the land to people who don't know how to use it, there will be hunger in this country," said Mr. Gukwe, a gnarled man with hands and feet calloused from wrestling with the second-rate land he inherited from his dispossessed forebears.

"We are self-sufficient now, even supporting other countries with food. Bitterness from the past won't help anything. I want the plans of the Government to be properly considered."

Mr. Gukwe is not a paid operative of the powerful white membership of the Commercial Farmers Union, although the white farmers would not have much argument with what he had to say. Rather, he was echoing the sentiments of his own union, the Zimbabwe National Farmers Union, and of many ordinary Zimbabweans who think it is a good idea to give land back to blacks, but preferably to blacks who are proven farmers.

Undoing What Rhodes Wrought

Eleven years after independence from the British, the Zimbabwean Government plans a version of what Cecil Rhodes wrought, but in reverse.

In January, President Robert G. Mugabe signed a constitutional amendment that gave his Government the right to order the compulsory purchase at a fixed price of white-owned land, formerly owned by blacks like Mr. Gukwe's



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great-grandfather.

The new constitutional amendment, which must be backed by a specific land bill before the land can be procured, does not propose returning land to precise descendants of those disinherited. But it is intended to give blacks now crowded into poor agricultural areas or unemployed in the cities a better deal.

The amendment and the accompanying bill that is now being drafted touch the rawest emotional nerve in Zimbabwe, not just the practical matter of how the country of 10 million sees itself.

The central question in Zimbabwe has always been: Whose land is it, anyway? The guerrilla war to overthrow the white minority Government of Ian D. Smith was fought in large part on the premise that the land held by the whites would be recovered by the blacks.

A Promise Never Kept

But at independence, the new majority-rule Government settled on a policy of reconciliation. It agreed that the more than 4,000 white farmers, who own about 40 million acres, all of it the best agricultural land, should stay and continue to churn out the tobacco, beef, cotton and corn that earn a good chunk of the country's foreign exchange. Under the arrangement at independence, their properties would be purchased by the Government only on a "willing buyer, willing seller" basis.

Last year the independence agreement expired. And at the same time, the Mugabe Government faced restlessness among the growing urban unemployed and hundreds of thousands of peasants who had been promised resettlement on better land but for whom the promise had never been delivered.

Mr. Mugabe said 162,000 families would be resettled. Instead, only 52,000 were resettled and in ways that guaranteed failure: unskilled farmers were moved onto land with few support services. They produced little.

In an effort to live up to its past promises, the Government passed the constitutional amendment, saying more than 110,000 poor families would be moved onto 15 million acres now owned by the white farmers.

Predictably, the white-dominated Commercial Farmers Union vigorously denounced the amendment. But so did the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace, the nation's chief human rights organization, which usually fights for the rights of poor farmers, not rich ones. The commission said that by denying the white farmers a right to court arbitration, the Legislature was excluding the judiciary from an important legal process.

And while the union representing farmers like Mr. Gukwe said it wanted to see the pressure on the communal land relieved by resettlement on white farmland, it has pressed the Government to give preference to skilled farmers who will be able to keep up the country's food production.

Some See Cynical Show

Since the exultant singing and dancing in the aisles of the Legislature when the amendment was passed, the Mugabe Government has shown signs of

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retreating. Some believe the amendment was a cynical show of solidarity with struggling peasants and the urban poor and will not be acted upon. There is already talk of the Government's being more flexible. In any event, economists point out that the national treasury does not have the resources to buy much of the 15 million acres.

If the redistribution does start, Mr. Gukwe said he was too old to move.

But his 30-year-old son, Josphat, who is struggling on six acres of sandy soil across the road, would be eligible and an ideal candidate to go back to the red loam of his forebears only 20 miles away, he said. His son is qualifying for a "master farmer" certificate awarded by the Agricultural Department to farmers with experience. "The land is getting weaker here, and we have to put on a lot of manure to make it produce," Mr. Gukwe said.

The rains were scanty this year around Goromonzi. Mr. Gukwe will not have enough corn or tomatoes to sell to pay off the year's loan for fertilizer. But at least, he said, unlike the case in many other African countries, there will be plenty to feed his family.

GRAPHIC: Photo: "I am worried that if the Government gives the land to people who don't know how to use it, there will be hunger in this country," said Sairas Gukwe, a 68-year-old Zimbabwean farmer whose ancestors were shoved off the country's richest territory by the British a century ago. (Jane Perlez/The New York Times)

Map of Zimbabwe showing location of Harare and Goromonzi.

SUBJECT: AGRICULTURE; FOOD; ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AND TRENDS; FARMERS

NAME: PERLEZ, JANE

GEOGRAPHIC: ZIMBABWE

Where history is running backward

In Zimbabwe, one-party socialism is the wave of the future

While Eastern Europe's entrenched Marxist regimes are scurrying to turn themselves into multi-party democracies, Zimbabwe is marching resolutely in the opposite direction. But it is not simply a case of sheer political perversity. In what may have been this country's last multiparty election, the anti-Marxists—who would have been the good guys almost anywhere else—were thoroughly trounced.

The contest, however, was more about personalities than principles. The presidential candidate of the pro-democracy Zimbabwe Unity Movement (ZUM), Edgar Tekere, is best known for murdering a white farmer a decade ago. When a ZUM parliamentary candidate who operates a brothel was shot three times by men reported to be from the national-security force, some people said it couldn't have happened to a nicer guy. So despite the allure of ZUM's platform—multiple parties, a free-market economy, a crackdown on corruption—President Robert Mugabe got 78 percent of the votes, and his Zimbabwe African National Union—Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) won 116 out of 120 elective seats in the national parliament.

Now, 10 years after the end of a brutal civil war that created black-majority-ruled Zimbabwe out of white-minority-run Rhodesia, Mugabe seems determined to ignore the currents that are running so fast in most of the once Marxist world. Hours after his victory was announced, he re-emphasized his commitment to "our socialist principles" and to his goal of a one-party state. Portraits of Mugabe with a longtime friend, executed Romanian dictator Nicolae Ceausescu, abound in government offices. "Comrade" is the way officials like to hear citizens address one another, and land reform was a major ZANU-PF campaign theme.

When Mugabe helped to negotiate an unusual independence agreement with Rhodesia's onetime British overlords in London's Lancaster House, he promised to maintain private ownership and a multi-party system until 1990. Part-

ly because of that agreement, and partly because Zimbabwe's black rulers genuinely fostered good relations with their former white adversaries, the country is one of Africa's few success stories. A steady 3.5 percent annual economic growth rate, self-sufficiency in food, improvements in health and education, and a "live and let live" policy toward white-owned business even spurred talk that Zimbabwe might provide a model for a postapartheid South Africa.

But the Lancaster House agreement expires this month, and Mugabe unquestionably has the power to impose drastic changes. There already are disturbing signs of what some of them might be. When several cabinet ministers were involved in black-marketing last year, the President's pardon of one led to the dropping of charges against all of them. Harassment of opposition candidates was commonplace during the campaign, although it probably did not greatly affect the results.

The major question is whether an unfettered Mugabe will now embrace the across-the-board socialism that has almost destroyed the economies of neighboring

countries such as Zambia and Tanzania. Hopes that this would not happen rose last year, when the government enacted new investment and labor laws and relaxed stringent price controls in an effort to lure foreign investors. At that time, says a Western economist, "the feeling was that the President was learning about market forces, but now you're almost seeing a denial of those forces."

Deeds or words? For Zimbabwe's white minority, little has changed since independence. Whites still own much of the country's best farmland and most private businesses. Many work in the civil service. At the prestigious Harare Club, the only blacks to be seen are waiters serving drinks to the white elite. Many whites still believe that Mugabe's practical deeds will not match his Marxist words. "Despite the rhetoric, people feel that Mugabe is the person this country needs for continued stability," says Willie Pieter, pastor of a Dutch Reformed church in a mixed-race suburb of the capital.

That may prove true. But stability can take other forms, including the rigidity of doctrinaire socialism that Robert Mugabe, at least, clearly does not consider the wave of the past.



Comrades, to the rear march. Young supporters hail Mugabe's vision of socialism



Elected. Mugabe

by Eric Ransdell in Harare

Sept. 13 / Administration of Ronald Reagan, 1983

Texas

Paul A. Foerster, Alamo Heights High School, San Antonio

Janet A. Harris, Cy-Fair High School, Houston

Utah

Carl L. Bruce, Bonneville High School, Ogden

Jacquelyn Marie Igo Stonebraker, Evergreen Junior High School, Salt Lake City

Vermont

Judith L. Allard, Burlington High School, Burlington

Jean Carole Hackett, Hazen Union, Hardwick

Virginia

Edna Hyke Corbett, I. C. Norcom High School, Portsmouth

Joyce Ann Richardson Weeks, Hampton High School, Hampton

Washington

Barbara Schulz, Shorewood High School, Seattle

Thomas F. (Tony) Sedgwick, Lincoln High School, Tacoma

West Virginia

Ava Florence Crum, Winfield High School, Winfield

Robert E. Phipps, Parkersburg South High School, Parkersburg

Wisconsin

David R. Johnson, Nicolet High School, Glendale

Edward M. Mueller, Shattuck Junior High School, Neenah

Wyoming

Bernie Richard Schnorenberg, Sundance Junior-Senior High School, Sundance

Elizabeth B. Shelton, Big Horn Junior-Senior High School, Big Horn

Remarks of the President and Prime Minister Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe Following Their Meetings

September 13, 1983

The President. I know that the press is very grateful that they're not out in the rain.

It's been a great pleasure to have had the opportunity today to meet with Prime Minister Robert Mugabe of the Republic of Zimbabwe. As the first Prime Minister of Africa's newest independent state, his wise leadership has been a crucial factor in healing the wounds of civil war and developing a new nation with new opportunities. Our discussions today have covered a wide range of topics, including our bilateral relationship and regional issues. We've spoken very frankly and in an atmosphere of mutual respect. We didn't always agree but have all gained much from hearing your views, Mr. Prime Minister.

I believe that our two countries will continue to cooperate on those areas where common concerns are shared and that we will come closer to an understanding on those issues where our views diverge. The United States and Zimbabwe have much in common. We both came to independence through a revolutionary process. We are

both multiracial societies. And our constitutions offer protection to all our citizens, black and white, ensuring their political freedoms as well as their individual rights.

I'm glad to say that since Zimbabwe's independence relations between Zimbabwe and the United States have been very good and, strengthened by this exchange of views, will become even better.

We look to Zimbabwe for leadership in southern Africa. Blessed with natural resources, a hard-working, multiracial population, and a spirit of national reconciliation, Zimbabwe can provide a firm foundation of economic viability and political stability and serve as an inspiration in its part of the world.

Mr. Prime Minister, our talks today have confirmed that we also share a desire for peace and stability in southern Africa, and I know that we both look forward to a time when all countries there can achieve a level of amity which will allow them to work toward economic, social, and political development, free from the threat of attack from whatever quarter.

The ultimate responsibility for resolution of their problems, however, rests with the states of the regions themselves. And here, Mr. Prime Minister, you've taken a leading and constructive role. I know that you'll be meeting with a number of leaders in all walks of American life during your stay here in Washington and elsewhere in our land. I'm sure they will benefit as I have from your thoughtful views on our bilateral relationship as well as on regional and global issues.

I'm delighted that you accepted our invitation to visit Washington, and I look forward to meeting you again.

The Prime Minister. Thank you.

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, may I on behalf of my delegation, on behalf of the Government and people of Zimbabwe, express to you on this historic occasion of our visit—the first such by the head of government of the Republic of Zimbabwe—express to you our heartfelt thanks and appreciation for that support which the United States has given us all along the way. And this support starts, really, from the time we were still struggling for our independence, as the United States offered itself as party to the negotiations that were underway to bring about a democratic order in Zimbabwe.

We got pledges from your government, from your predecessors, that upon attainment of our independence the United States would not be found wanting in extending to Zimbabwe that amount of aid the United States was capable of extending to it to enable the young state to attend to those problems created by the war which the young country would feel necessary to attend to.

And so here we are, a young state that yesterday was only a toddler but today is able to do a little more than it was able to do yesterday. And this is because of the amount of assistance—I think the United States contributes the largest amount towards our whole program of reconstruction and development. And that input into our own efforts has enabled us to create the necessary base for our socioeconomic transformation.

We have enjoyed excellent relations with your country. There has never been an oc-

casional when we have had to complain to the United States on issues of bilateral relations falling in the political or diplomatic sphere. Yes, as you admit, there have been areas of difference. We are different on the modality of bringing about Namibia's independence, the linkage with the Cuban question. But, sir, generally we have looked at issues through the same glasses, one might say. And our posture regarding international situations of conflict has been identical. We all are opposed—we both are opposed to interference in the domestic affairs of a country by another.

And I'm sure this identity of viewpoint makes for the greater friendship and solidarity that we find between our two countries and our two people. We have enjoyed every minute of our stay in your country. We continue our talks with leaders of your society. But I'm very happy that the discussions we've just had have dwelled on those issues which are of mutual interest to our two sides.

As you have said, we have discussed bilateral relations, the question of economic aid to Zimbabwe, the question of our original relations, and the fact that South Africa continues to destabilize our region. We have discussed Namibia, we have discussed the apartheid system in South Africa, and there is a greater measure of agreement. There might be some difference here and there in respect of the method of bringing about change, positive change to the area.

We are very happy, indeed, that this visit has taken place. And may I thank you and Vice President Bush, who visited us not long ago, for extending this invitation to me and enabling me therefore to come to this wonderful country with a wonderful people and a wonderful tradition and express to them the gratitude of the people of Zimbabwe.

We are a young country. We may make mistakes as we move forward, but we are prepared that where we err we shall correct ourselves and get back to course.

We don't intend to vitiate at all those principles which underline the constitutional order that we have created. We are determined that a nonracial society shall exist in Zimbabwe and that racism, tribalism, re-

gionalism, and whatever other "isms"—these are things of the past. What we would uphold as fundamental is that principle which binds us together and makes us one regardless of our race, color, or creed.

And these are matters on which the United States has long made a decision, matters of principle which make for greater democracy and greater freedom in society. We are prepared that this shall also be our tradition.

May I thank you for the kindness and hospitality which has been showered on me and my delegation since our arrival. We have come as friends; we go back as greater

and closer friends still.

Thank you.

Note: The President spoke at 1:23 p.m. to reporters assembled in the East Room at the White House. The remarks were scheduled to be given outside at the South Portico, but because of inclement weather the event was held in the East Room.

Earlier in the day, the President and the Prime Minister met in the Oval Office and then held a working luncheon, together with U.S. and Zimbabwean officials, in the State Dining Room.

Nomination of Diane K. Steed To Be Administrator of the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration

September 13, 1983

The President today announced his intention to nominate Diane K. Steed to be Administrator of the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, Department of Transportation. She would succeed Raymond A. Peck, Jr.

Since 1981 Miss Steed has been serving as Deputy Administrator of the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration. Previously she was chief of the regulatory policy branch of the Office of Management and

Budget in 1978-1981; management associate, economics and government, at the Office of Management and Budget in 1973-1978; senior budget analyst for ACTION in 1972-1973; and management analyst, contract administration services, Defense Supply Agency, in 1968-1972.

Miss Steed graduated from the University of Kansas (B.S., 1967). She was born November 29, 1945, in Hutchinson, Kans., and now resides in Washington, D.C.

Nomination of Louis Roman DiSabato To Be a Member of the National Museum Services Board

September 13, 1983

The President today announced his intention to nominate Louis Roman DiSabato to be a member of the National Museum Services Board of the Institute of Museum Services, National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities, for a term expiring December 6, 1987. He would succeed Lloyd Hezekiah.

Since 1968 Mr. DiSabato has been serving as director of the San Antonio Zoo. Previously he was director of Seneca Park Zoo in

Rochester, N.Y., in 1963-1968 and director of the Columbus Zoo in Columbus, Ohio, in 1961-1963.

He was a director of the American Association of Zoological Parks and Aquariums for 2 terms. He has been a member of the International Union of Directors of Zoological Gardens since 1970.

He is married, has five children, and resides in San Antonio, Tex. He was born October 7, 1931, in Columbus, Ohio.

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The Europa World Year Book 1990

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VOLUME II
KENYA-ZIMBABWE

EUROPA PUBLICATIONS LIMITED

ZIMBABWE

Introductory Survey

Location, Climate, Language, Religion, Flag, Capital

The Republic of Zimbabwe is a land-locked state in southern Africa, with Mozambique to the east, Zambia to the north-west, Botswana to the south-west and South Africa to the south. The climate is tropical, modified considerably by altitude. Average monthly temperatures range from 13°C (55°F) to 22°C (72°F) on the highveld, and from 20°C (68°F) to 30°C (86°F) in the low-lying valley of the Zambezi river. The rainy season is from November to March. The official language is English, while the principal African languages are Chishona and Sindebele. About 55% of the population are Christians. Many of the Africans follow traditional beliefs. The Asian minority comprises both Muslims and Hindus. The flag has seven equal horizontal stripes, of green, gold, red, black, red, gold and green, with a white triangle, bearing a red five-pointed star on which a gold 'Zimbabwe bird' is superimposed, at the hoist. The capital is Harare (formerly known as Salisbury).

Recent History

In 1923 responsibility for Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) was transferred from the British South Africa Company to the United Kingdom Government, and the territory became a British colony. It had full self-government (except for African interests and some other matters) under an administration controlled by European settlers. African voting rights were restricted.

In 1953 the colony was merged with two British protectorates, Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) and Nyasaland (now Malawi), to form the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, also known as the Central African Federation. Sir Godfrey Huggins (later the 1st Viscount Malvern), the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia from 1933 to 1953, became the first Prime Minister of the Federation, being succeeded by Sir Roy Welensky in 1956. In Southern Rhodesia itself, Garfield Todd was Prime Minister from 1953 until 1958, when Sir Edgar Whitehead came to power. A new constitution, which ended most of the United Kingdom's legal controls and provided for a limited African franchise, was approved in 1961 and came into effect in November 1962. At elections in December 1962 Sir Edgar Whitehead lost power to the Rhodesian Front (RF), a coalition of white opposition groups committed to maintaining racial segregation. The RF's leader, Winston Field, became Prime Minister.

As a result of successful African nationalist movements in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the Federation was dissolved in December 1963. African nationalists were also active in Southern Rhodesia. The African National Congress, founded in 1934, was revived in 1957, with Joshua Nkomo as President. Following the banning of the Congress in February 1959, some of its members formed the National Democratic Party (NDP) in January 1960. Nkomo, although in exile, was elected President of the NDP in October 1960. When the NDP was banned in December 1961, Nkomo formed the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU). This was declared an unlawful organization in September 1962. ZAPU split in July 1963 and a breakaway group, led by the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, formed the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) in August. Robert Mugabe became Secretary-General of ZANU.

In April 1964 Winston Field resigned as Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, accused of moving too slowly towards independence. He was replaced by his deputy, Ian Smith, who rejected British conditions for independence, including acceptance by the whole Rhodesian population and unimpeded progress to majority rule. In August ZANU was banned. After Northern Rhodesia became independent as Zambia in October 1964, Southern Rhodesia became generally (although not officially) known as Rhodesia. At elections in May 1965 the RF won all 50 European seats in the legislature. After unsuccessful negotiations with the British Government, a state of emergency (to be renewed annually) was declared on 5 November. Smith made a unilateral declaration of independence (UDI) on 11 November 1965, abrogated the 1961 Constitution and

proclaimed a new one, naming the country Rhodesia. The British Government regarded Rhodesia's independence as unconstitutional and illegal, and no other country formally recognized it. The United Kingdom terminated all trading and other relations with Rhodesia, while the UN applied economic sanctions against the regime (although it was subsequently revealed that many international companies had circumvented the restrictions). Both ZAPU and ZANU took up arms against the RF regime, and African guerrilla groups were frequently involved in clashes with Rhodesian security forces. Armed South African police were called in to assist the regime in 1967.

Following a referendum in June 1969, Rhodesia was declared a republic in March 1970. The 1969 Constitution provided for a bicameral Legislative Assembly, comprising a 23-member Senate and a 66-member House of Assembly (50 Europeans and 16 Africans). The President had only formal powers and Smith remained Prime Minister. The RF won all 50 European seats in the House of Assembly in 1970, 1974 and 1977.

In November 1971 the British and Rhodesian Governments agreed on draft proposals for a constitutional settlement, subject to their acceptability to the Rhodesian people 'as a whole'. In December the African National Council (ANC), led by Bishop Abel Muzorewa, was formed to co-ordinate opposition to the plan. The British commission which visited Rhodesia in 1972 reported that the proposals were unacceptable to the majority of Africans. The introduction of more discriminatory legislation was accompanied by increased activity by African nationalist guerrilla groups.

In December 1974, however, talks were held between three African Presidents and leaders of four nationalist organizations (including ZAPU, ZANU and the ANC): a border cease-fire was agreed, conditional on the release of African political detainees and on the convening of a constitutional conference in 1975. The African organizations agreed to unite within the ANC, with Bishop Muzorewa as President. (Robert Mugabe, hitherto Secretary-General of ZANU, was not in favour of the incorporation of ZANU into the ANC. In mid-1975 Mugabe left Rhodesia for neighbouring Mozambique, where he took control of ZANU's external wing, and challenged the Rev. Sithole with a rival claim to the leadership of ZANU.) In August 1975 the expanded ANC held unsuccessful constitutional talks with the Rhodesian Government. In September the ANC split into rival factions, led by Bishop Muzorewa and Joshua Nkomo. Constitutional talks between the Government and the Nkomo faction began in December 1975 but broke down in March 1976. In April the US Secretary of State entered into negotiations with the British Government, the Rhodesian Government and the leaders of several African States, including South Africa. In September, under pressure from South Africa, Ian Smith announced his Government's acceptance of proposals leading to majority rule within two years. In late 1976 representatives of the RF, the African nationalists and the British Government met to discuss the transition to majority rule. The nationalists were led by Bishop Muzorewa, the Rev. Sithole, Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe (by then the recognized leader of ZANU). Nkomo and Mugabe adopted a joint position as the Patriotic Front (PF). Although an independence date not later than 31 March 1978 was provisionally agreed, the talks were adjourned in December, owing to failure to agree on the composition of the proposed interim government.

In January 1977 negotiations were resumed, and Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia (the 'front-line states') declared their support for the PF. Ian Smith rejected British proposals for an interim administration and received a mandate from the RF to repeal racially discriminatory laws and to seek agreement with such African factions as he chose. In July the PF demanded that power be handed directly to them by the Rhodesian Government. In November Ian Smith accepted the principle of universal adult suffrage, and talks on an internal settlement were initiated with Bishop Muzorewa's United African National Council (UANC), the Rev. Sithole's

faction of the ANC and the Zimbabwe United People's Organization (ZUPO), led by Chief Jeremiah Chirau. These talks led to the signing of an internal settlement on 3 March 1978, providing for an interim power-sharing administration to prepare for independence on 31 December 1978. The proposals were rejected by the PF and by the UN Security Council. In May 1978 the newly-created Executive Council, consisting of Smith, Sithole, Bishop Muzorewa and Chirau, ordered the release of all political detainees in an attempt to bring about a cease-fire. Frequent clashes between Rhodesian security forces and PF guerrillas resulted in the introduction of selective martial law in September.

In January 1979 a 'majority rule' constitution, containing entrenched safeguards for the white minority, was approved by the House of Assembly and endorsed by a referendum of European voters. In April elections to the new House of Assembly (the country's first by universal adult suffrage) were held in two stages: first for 20 directly-elected European members (chosen by non-African voters only) and then for 72 African members (chosen by the whole electorate). The UANC emerged as the majority party, with 51 seats in the new House, while the RF won all 20 white seats. In May the new Parliament elected Josiah Gumede as President. Bishop Muzorewa became Prime Minister of the country (renamed Zimbabwe Rhodesia) in June. In accordance with the Constitution, Muzorewa formed a government of 'national unity', a coalition of parties in the new House, including European members (Ian Smith became Minister without Portfolio). However, international recognition was not forthcoming, and UN sanctions remained in force.

New impetus for a lasting and internationally-recognized settlement came following the Commonwealth Conference in Zambia in August 1979. In September a Rhodesian Constitutional Conference was convened at Lancaster House, in London, under the chairmanship of the British Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, and attended by delegations under Bishop Muzorewa and the joint leaders of the PF. The PF reluctantly agreed to special representation for the whites under the proposed new Constitution, which was eventually accepted by both parties; complete agreement was reached on transitional arrangements in November, and the details of a cease-fire between the guerrillas of the PF and the Rhodesian security forces were finalized in the following month. On 11 December the Zimbabwe Rhodesia Parliament voted to renounce independence and to revert to the status of a British colony, as Southern Rhodesia. Illegal rule ended on the following day, when Parliament was dissolved, the President, Prime Minister and Cabinet resigned, and the British-appointed Governor, Lord Soames, was vested with full executive and legislative authority for the duration of the transition to legal independence. The United Kingdom immediately lifted economic sanctions.

Lord Soames paved the way for fresh elections to a new House of Assembly by lifting the ban on the two wings of the PF (PF-ZAPU and ZANU-PF) and by ordering the release of most of the detainees who were held under the 'emergency powers' laws. The election campaign was marred by factional violence and intimidation, and the cease-fire (which was being supervised by a Commonwealth Monitoring Force) was briefly threatened by the anger of the PF and the 'front-line' states over the presence of South African troops in Rhodesia. However, elections were held in February (again in two stages) under the supervision of a British Electoral Commissioner. Robert Mugabe's ZANU-PF emerged as the largest single party, winning 57 of the 80 African seats. Joshua Nkomo's PF-ZAPU won 20 seats and the UANC only three. In a separate poll of white voters, Ian Smith's RF won all 20 reserved seats. The new state of Zimbabwe became legally independent, within the Commonwealth, on 18 April, with Rev. Canaan Banana as President and Robert Mugabe as Prime Minister, at the head of a coalition government including ZANU-PF and PF-ZAPU members.

Following the war of independence, in which 27,000 people had been killed, factional differences between former guerrillas, prompted by tribal rivalries of the Shona and Ndebele, continued. Relations between Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo remained uneasy, particularly concerning the former's intention of eventually introducing a one-party state. Nkomo was 'demoted' in a cabinet reshuffle in January 1981, and removed from the Cabinet altogether, with two PF colleagues, in February 1982, under suspicion of plotting to overthrow Mugabe. In

March 1982 several MPs of the Republican Front (RF) (the Rhodesian Front having changed its name to this in June 1981) resigned from the party over its unwillingness to co-operate with the Government, and sat as Independents.

Many of the unpopular practices of the Smith regime, including 'emergency powers' and the detention of political opponents, continued after independence. The state of emergency was renewed at intervals of six months (and was still in force in mid-1990). During 1983 and 1984 the Government took measures to prevent subversive activity. Several hundred people were killed in serious unrest in Matabeleland in early 1983, caused by pro-Nkomo dissidents and by government troops sent to quell the disturbances. In September 1983 laws were introduced which provided for increased press censorship and granted the security forces greater powers under the state of emergency. In November Bishop Muzorewa was arrested on suspicion of having subversive links with South Africa. He remained in detention, without trial, until his release in September 1984. In February 1984, in a renewed anti-insurgency campaign, an estimated 10,000 troops were again sent into Matabeleland. It was thought that up to 2,000 civilians died during the two army campaigns of 1983 and 1984.

During the early 1980s the RF had lost much support to the Independents (see above); by May 1984 the RF held only seven of the 20 seats reserved for whites, the remaining 13 being held by Independents. The RF was renamed the Conservative Alliance of Zimbabwe (CAZ) in July, when it was also announced that membership of the party would be open to all races. During 1984 the political strength of ZAPU (by this time less frequently referred to as PF-ZAPU) was undermined by the defection to ZANU of one of the three ZAPU members of the Cabinet in April, and the dismissal of the two remaining ZAPU cabinet Ministers in November, following the murder of a senior ZANU party official by dissidents whom ZANU alleged to be supported by ZAPU.

In February 1984 Mugabe announced that, if re-elected in general elections due to be held in 1985, his Government would seek unanimous approval for the creation of a one-party state. A ZANU Party Congress, held in August 1984, unanimously approved a new party constitution, committing the party to the establishment of a Marxist-Leninist one-party state, which was opposed by ZAPU and CAZ. Under the new party constitution, membership of the ZANU Central Committee was expanded from 33 to 90, and supreme power was vested in a 15-member political bureau, which was to superintend and administer all government ministries. The members of the political bureau were appointed by Mugabe and the party Vice-President, who had respectively been unanimously elected First and Second Secretaries of the new body. Other important resolutions passed by the Congress called for the immediate creation of an executive presidency (combining the functions of the head of state and the head of government), for all civil servants to be members of ZANU, and for increased efforts to 'socialize' the economy. A new leadership code, designed to reduce corruption among party leaders by limiting the amount of property that they were permitted to own, was also approved.

A general election took place in June and July 1985. Several outbreaks of violence occurred during the course of the election campaign. ZANU-PF was returned to power with an increased majority, winning 63 of the 79 'common roll' seats in the House of Assembly (and an additional seat at a by-election in August). ZAPU won 15 seats, retaining its traditional hold over Matabeleland, and ZANU-Sithole won a single seat, while the UANC failed to gain representation. In the election for the 20 seats reserved for whites, Ian Smith's CAZ won 15 of the seats.

ZANU's dominant position in the country was consolidated following the elections, when it received the support of hundreds of defectors from opposition parties. The UANC appeared to be losing support, and its leader, Bishop Muzorewa, subsequently retired from politics. CAZ was not represented in the new Cabinet. Dual citizenship was abolished in December 1985: those white residents who decided to renounce their Zimbabwean citizenship were permitted to remain in the country, but not to vote. Canaan Banana, the only candidate, was sworn in for a second term of office as President in April 1986.

In mid-1985 a large number of ZAPU officials were detained, and reportedly tortured, in an attempt to find information which would establish that ZAPU was linked to dissident

activity in Matabeleland; ZAPU, however, continued to deny any involvement with the dissidents. In late 1985 ZANU and ZAPU reached broad agreement on the terms of a merger of the two parties, in the interests of national unity. Negotiations between ZANU and ZAPU continued during 1986, but were suspended in April 1987, owing to strong opposition to the merger within both parties.

In the two months following the failure of the talks, there was a resurgence of violence in Matabeleland. In June 1987 ZAPU, which was accused of fomenting the unrest, was banned from holding public meetings. ZAPU denied all responsibility for the violence, and in July its representatives in the House of Assembly voted, contrary to expectations, in favour of a six-month renewal of the state of emergency. The failure of further talks aimed at uniting ZANU and ZAPU in August, led to a renewed outburst of rebel activity. The Government took steps to prevent ZAPU from functioning effectively; in September all offices of the party were closed, six district councils in Matabeleland, controlled by ZAPU, were dissolved, and a number of prominent ZAPU officers were detained. Furthermore, ZANU declined to endorse seven ZAPU members nominated by ZAPU to be candidates for the parliamentary seats made vacant in September by the abolition of seats reserved for whites (see below). However, the possibility of a unity agreement was renewed in November, when the ban on public meetings by ZAPU was lifted, and the party was permitted to reopen its offices in Harare and Bulawayo. In December Mugabe and Nkomo finally signed an agreement of unity, which was ratified by both parties in April 1988 and implemented in December 1989 (see below). In January 1988 a new Cabinet was announced: Nkomo was appointed as one of three Senior Ministers in the President's Office who were to form a 'super-cabinet' to oversee policy and review ministerial performance in association with the President. Two other ZAPU officials were given government posts. Following the unity agreement there was a significant improvement in the security situation in Matabeleland. However, the state of emergency (which had been renewed every six months since Zimbabwe's independence) remained in force, owing to incursions into eastern Zimbabwe by Mozambican Renamo rebels (see below).

Two major constitutional reforms were adopted during 1987. In September the reservation for whites of 20 seats in the House of Assembly and 10 seats in the Senate was abolished, as permitted by the Constitution, subject to a majority vote in the House. (In anticipation of this reform, several white MPs joined ZANU. In May Ian Smith resigned as President of CAZ.) In October the 80 remaining members of the House of Assembly elected 20 candidates, who were nominated by ZANU, including 11 whites, to fill the vacant seats in the House of Assembly until the next general elections, to be held in 1990. In the same month Parliament approved the replacement of the ceremonial presidency by an executive presidency. The post of Prime Minister was to be incorporated into the presidency. President Banana retired in December, and at the end of that month Robert Mugabe (the sole candidate) was inaugurated as Zimbabwe's first executive President.

Late 1988 and early 1989 were dominated by accusations of corruption against members of the Government. In October 1988 Edgar Tekere, a former Secretary-General of ZANU, was expelled from the party, having persistently made such accusations, in addition to criticizing the Government's plans to introduce a one-party state. Nevertheless, in January 1989 President Mugabe appointed a joint commission to investigate reports of illegal financial transactions involving several senior ZANU officials; as a result of the commission's findings, five cabinet Ministers and one provincial Governor resigned from their posts in March and April. In late April Edgar Tekere founded the Zimbabwe Unity Movement (ZUM), intending to challenge ZANU at the next general election. In early October student unrest resulted in the temporary closure of the University of Harare and in the arrest of several students; the Secretary-General of the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions was also detained, temporarily, owing to his criticism of the Government's methods of suppressing the unrest. In the following month the Government was accused by the Supreme Court of failing to respect court decisions. In mid-December ZANU and ZAPU merged to form a single party, known as the Zimbabwe African National Union—Patriotic Front (ZANU—PF). The united party aimed to establish a one-party state with a Marxist-Leninist doctrine. Mugabe was appointed Presi-

dent of ZANU—PF, while Joshua Nkomo became one of its two Vice-Presidents.

Presidential and parliamentary elections were held concurrently in late March 1990; at these elections, legislation passed in late 1989 came into effect, which abolished the Senate and increased the number of seats in the House of Assembly from 100 to 150 (of which 120 were to be directly elected, 12 were to be allocated to presidential nominees, 10 were to be allocated to traditional Chiefs and eight were to be allocated to Provincial Governors). Robert Mugabe won nearly 80% of all votes cast at the presidential election, thereby defeating Edgar Tekere, his sole opponent. At the parliamentary election ZANU—PF won 116 of the 120 elective seats in the House of Assembly; the ZUM (which had entered into an informal electoral alliance with CAZ) won only two seats and the UANC won one seat. (The election for the remaining seat in the House was postponed to a later date.) Although ZANU won an outright victory, only 54% of the electorate voted, and representatives of the ruling party were accused of employing intimidatory tactics towards voters. Following the elections Joshua Nkomo remained Senior Minister in the President's Office.

From 1984, Zimbabwe played an important role in international attempts to stabilize southern Africa and to end apartheid in South Africa. (Zimbabwe severed diplomatic relations with South Africa in September 1980.) In August 1986 the majority of heads of government attending a Commonwealth mini-summit conference approved a programme of economic sanctions against South Africa, and Zimbabwe and Zambia pledged to implement these measures by the end of the year; later that month, South Africa imposed temporary trade restrictions on Zambia and Zimbabwe. In September, at the summit of the Non-aligned Movement held in Harare, Mugabe played a prominent role in advocating the imposition of sanctions on South Africa. In the same month the US Government announced that it was withholding US \$13.5m. of aid to Zimbabwe, following earlier criticism, by a Zimbabwe government minister, of US foreign policy in relation to South Africa. However, in July 1987 the Cabinet rejected a proposal by Mugabe to impose sanctions against South Africa, and the Government opted instead for less stringent economic measures. South Africa is believed to have been responsible for intermittent attacks during the 1980s against African National Congress (ANC) targets in Zimbabwe (the ANC was then a banned South African opposition group). Zimbabwe provides support to the Mozambican Government against rebels of the Resistência Nacional Moçambicana (Renamo): Zimbabwean troops have been stationed in Mozambique since late 1982. During 1987 and 1988 the Renamo guerrillas made several incursions into Zimbabwe. In July 1988 President Mugabe undertook to maintain a Zimbabwean troop presence in Mozambique for as long as the Renamo guerrillas continued to operate. In early 1990 up to 10,000 Zimbabwean troops were reportedly stationed in Mozambique. By March of that year there were an estimated 166,000 Mozambican refugees in Zimbabwe.

Government

Under the terms of the 1980 Constitution (agreed upon by all parties at the Lancaster House talks), legislative power was vested in the bicameral Parliament, consisting of a House of Assembly and a Senate. The House had 100 members directly elected by universal adult suffrage from 80 'common roll' constituencies and 20 separate 'white roll' constituencies. The Senate (with delaying powers only) had 40 members. The reservation of 20 seats in the House of Assembly and 10 seats in the Senate for white candidates was abolished in September 1987. Following general elections held in March 1990 the Senate was abolished and the House of Assembly was expanded to comprise 150 members, of whom 120 were directly elected, 12 were nominated by the President, 10 were traditional Chiefs and eight were Provincial Governors. Members of the House of Assembly were to serve for six years. Executive authority is vested in the President, elected by Parliament for six years. The Cabinet must have the confidence of Parliament, to which it is responsible.

Defence

Total armed forces numbered about 49,500 in June 1989: 47,000 in the army and 2,500 in the air force. The Zimbabwe National Army was formed by the integration of about 50,000 former guerrillas with the existing security forces. Zimbabwe receives

military aid and training from the United Kingdom and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. In September 1983 it was announced that plans to give military training to all adults, for the formation of a people's militia, were under way. There is a police force of 15,000. In early 1990 up to 10,000 Zimbabwean troops were reportedly stationed in Mozambique, fighting with government troops against the Renamo rebels. The defence sector was allocated 13.3% of total projected expenditure by the central Government in the budget for 1989/90.

Economic Affairs

In 1988, according to estimates by the World Bank, Zimbabwe's gross national product (GNP), measured at average 1986-88 prices, was US \$6,070m., equivalent to \$660 per head. During 1980-88, it was estimated, GNP increased, in real terms, at an average annual rate of 2.5%, although GNP per head declined by 1.0% per year. Over the same period, the population increased by an annual average of 3.6%. Zimbabwe's gross domestic product (GDP) increased, in real terms, by an annual average of 2.4% in 1980-87.

Agriculture (including forestry and fishing) contributed 14% of GDP in 1988, and employed about 69% of the labour force in that year. The principal cash crops are tobacco (which accounted for about 20% of export earnings in 1988), maize, cotton, coffee and sugar. Wheat, soybeans and groundnuts are also cultivated. Beef production is an important activity. During 1980-87 agricultural production increased by an annual average of 2.3%.

Industry (including mining, manufacturing, construction and power) contributed 38% of GDP in 1988. During 1980-87 industrial production increased by an annual average of 1.4%.

Mining contributed 6.1% of GDP in 1988, and employed 5% of the labour force in 1987. Gold, asbestos and nickel are the major mineral exports. Copper, silver, emeralds, lithium, tin, iron ore, cobalt, chromium ore and coal are also mined. In addition, Zimbabwe has large reserves of kyanite and platinum, and smaller reserves of zinc and lead.

Manufacturing contributed 25.5% of GDP in 1988, and employed about 16% of the labour force in 1985. The most important sectors, measured by gross value of output, are food-processing, metals (mainly ferrochrome and steel), chemicals and textiles.

Energy is derived principally from hydroelectric power and coal. Imports of mineral fuels comprised 15% of the value of total imports in 1987.

In 1987 Zimbabwe recorded a visible trade surplus of US \$381m., and there was a surplus of \$48m. on the current account of the balance of payments. In 1987 the principal source of imports (21%) was South Africa, while the principal market for exports (13%) was the United Kingdom. Other major trading partners are the Federal Republic of Germany, the USA and Botswana. The principal exports in 1987 were minerals, tobacco, cotton lint and maize. The main imports were machinery and transport equipment, basic manufactures, chemicals and mineral fuels.

In the financial year ending 30 June 1989 there was an estimated budgetary deficit of Z.\$1,100m. (equivalent to more than 11% of GDP). Zimbabwe's total external debt was US \$2,512m. at the end of 1987. In 1989 the cost of debt-servicing was equivalent to about 24% of total export earnings. The rate of inflation averaged 12.4% annually in 1980-87. The

annual average rate of inflation was officially recorded at 12% in 1987, falling to 7% in 1988. More than 30% of the labour force was reported to be unemployed in early 1990.

Zimbabwe is a member of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (see p. 208), which seeks to reduce the economic dependence of southern African states on South Africa, and of the Preferential Trade Area for Eastern and Southern African States (see p. 222).

During the 1980s Zimbabwe's agricultural development was adversely affected by frequent drought, while lack of foreign exchange hindered the import of goods essential for industrial expansion. However, during this period of time, the country benefited from a well-developed infrastructure and a highly diversified manufacturing sector. The Government's failure to reduce the budgetary deficit led, in 1984, to the suspension of assistance by the IMF. A five-year development plan (1986/87-1990/91) aimed to expand irrigation schemes, to attract foreign investment by offering tax incentives, to increase government participation in industry, and to increase the volume of exports.

Social Welfare

In May 1988 the Government announced plans to introduce a 'welfare state' social security scheme, which would be financed by a levy equivalent to 8% of an employee's gross salary, to be matched by the employer. There is already a free national health service for all persons with low incomes. In 1981 there were about 672 hospitals and clinics, and 1,200 physicians. Health was allocated Z.\$293.3m. (6.6% of total recurrent expenditure) in the 1988/89 budget.

Education

Education in Zimbabwe is non-racial at all levels. Primary education, which begins at seven years of age and lasts for seven years, is free, and has been compulsory since 1987. Secondary education begins at the age of 14 and lasts for six years. Between 1979 and 1989 the numbers of primary school pupils increased from 819,128 to 2,267,269. There were 695,612 pupils at secondary schools in 1989, compared with 73,540 in 1979. In 1987 some 92% of children of primary school age were attending school. The total number of teachers was 81,465 in 1988. The number of primary schools rose from 2,411 at independence to 4,471 in 1988, and the number of secondary schools increased from 177 to 1,484 over the same period; there is at least one rural secondary school in each of the country's 55 districts. The University of Zimbabwe, at Harare, provides multi-racial higher education, and in 1988 enrolment of students totalled 7,699. Education was allocated 19% of total projected expenditure by the central Government in the budget for 1989/90.

Public Holidays

1990: 1 January (New Year's Day), 13-16 April (Easter), 18 April (Independence Day), 1 May (Workers' Day), 25 May (Africa Day, anniversary of OAU's foundation), 11-12 August (Heroes' Day), 25-26 December (Christmas).

1991: 2 January (for New Year's Day), 29 March-1 April (Easter), 18 April (Independence Day), 1 May (Workers' Day), 25 May (Africa Day, anniversary of OAU's foundation), 11-12 August (Heroes' Day), 25-26 December (Christmas).

Weights and Measures

The metric system is in use.

Directory

The Constitution

The Constitution of the Republic of Zimbabwe took effect at independence on 18 April 1980. Constitutional amendments relating to the representation of whites in Parliament, and to the powers of the President, received legislative approval in late 1987. In early 1990 constitutional amendments took effect which established a unicameral parliament.

THE REPUBLIC

Zimbabwe is a sovereign republic and the Constitution is the supreme law.

DECLARATION OF RIGHTS

The declaration of rights guarantees the fundamental rights and freedoms of the individual, regardless of race, tribe, place of origin, political opinions, colour, creed or sex.

THE PRESIDENT

Each candidate for the Presidency shall be nominated by not fewer than 10 members of the House of Assembly; if only one candidate is nominated that candidate shall be declared to be elected without the necessity of a ballot. Otherwise, a ballot shall be held within an electoral college consisting of the members of the House of Assembly. The President shall hold office for six years and shall be eligible for re-election. The President shall be Head of State and Commander-in-Chief of the Defence Forces.

PARLIAMENT

Under the 1980 Constitution, Parliament was to consist of a Senate and a House of Assembly. The life of the Parliament was ordinarily to be five years. The Senate was to consist of 40 Senators and the House of Assembly was to consist of 100 members, to be elected by universal adult suffrage from 80 common roll constituencies and 20 white roll constituencies. In September 1987 the legislature approved a constitutional amendment whereby the 20 seats in the House of Assembly and the 10 seats in the Senate which had been reserved for election by voters on the separate white roll were abolished. Following general elections held in March 1990 the Senate was abolished and the House of Assembly was expanded to comprise 150 members, of whom 120 were directly elected, 12 were nominated by the President, 10 were traditional Chiefs and eight were Provincial Governors. The life of the restructured House of Assembly was to be six years. Amendments to the Constitution must have the approval of two-thirds of the members of the House of Assembly.

THE EXECUTIVE

Executive authority shall be vested in the President, who acts on the advice of the Cabinet. The President was to appoint as Prime Minister the person who was considered to be best able to command the support of the majority of members of the House of Assembly. In October 1987 Parliament approved a constitutional amendment whereby the Presidency became an executive post, incorporating the former post of Prime Minister. The President shall appoint a Vice-President and other Ministers and Deputy Ministers, to be members of the Cabinet.

OTHER PROVISIONS

An Ombudsman shall be appointed by the President, acting on the advice of the Judicial Service Commission, to investigate complaints against actions taken by employees of the government or of a local authority.

Chiefs shall be appointed by the President, and shall form a Council of Chiefs from their number in accordance with customary principles of succession.

Other provisions relate to the Judicature, Defence and Police Forces, public service and finance.

The Government

HEAD OF STATE

President: ROBERT GABRIEL MUGABE (took office 31 December 1987; re-elected March 1990).

THE CABINET (May 1990)

Vice-President: SIMON VENGAYI MUZENDA.

Senior Minister in the President's Office (without portfolio): JOSHUA MQABUKO NKOMO.

Senior Minister in the President's Office for Political Affairs: DIDYMUS MUTASA.

Senior Minister in the President's Office for Finance, Economic Planning and Development: Dr BERNARD THOMAS CHIDZERO.

Minister of Foreign Affairs: Dr NATHAN MARWIRAKUWA SHAMUYARIRA.

Minister of Justice, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs: EMMERSON DAMBUDZO MNANGAGWA.

Minister of Defence: RICHARD CHEMIST HOVE.

Minister of Home Affairs: MOVEN ENOCK MAHACHI.

Minister of Local Government and Rural and Urban Development: JOSEPH MSIKA.

Minister of Lands, Agriculture and Rural Resettlement: Dr WITNESS MANGWENDE.

Minister of Information, Posts and Telecommunications: VICTORIA FIKILE CHITEPO.

Minister of Labour, Manpower Planning and Social Welfare: JOHN NKOMO.

Minister of Industry and Commerce: KUMBIRAI KANGAI.

Minister of Energy and Water Resources and Development: HERBERT USHEWOKUNZE.

Minister of Mines: JONAS CHRISTIAN ANDERSEN.

Minister of Transport and National Supplies: DENNIS NORMAN.

Minister of Health: TIMOTHY STAMPS.

Minister of Community and Co-operative Development: JOYCE TEURAI ROPA MUJURU.

Minister of Public Construction and National Housing: ENOS CHAMUNORWA CHIKOWORE.

Minister of the Environment and Tourism: HERBERT MURERWA.

Minister of Higher Education: DAVID ISHEMUNYORO KARIMANZIRA.

Minister of Education and Culture: FAY CHUNG.

Ministers of State in the President's Office: Dr SYDNEY TIGERE SEKEREMAYI (National Security); EDDISON ZVOBGO (Public Service); SIMBI VEKE MUBAKO (Regional and International Organization Co-ordination); DAVID KWIDINI (Sports Co-ordination); JOSEPH CULVERWELL (National Scholarships); TICHAENDEPI MASAYA (Finance, Economic Planning and Development); (vacant) (Youth); Brig.-Gen. FELIX MUCHEMWA (National Service).

MINISTRIES

Office of the President: Private Bag 7700, Causeway, Harare; tel. 707091; telex 24478.

Office of the Vice-President: Munhumutapa Bldg, Samora Machel Ave, Private Bag 7700, Causeway, Harare; tel. 707091; telex 24478.

Ministry of Community and Co-operative Development: Chamunuka Bldg, Private Bag 7735, Causeway, Harare; tel. 792351.

Ministry of Defence: Munhumutapa Bldg, Samora Machel Ave, Private Bag 7713, Causeway, Harare; tel. 700155; telex 22141.

Ministry of Education and Culture: Ambassador House, Union Ave, POB 8022, Causeway, Harare; tel. 700791; telex 22141.

Ministry of Energy and Water Resources and Development: Herbert Chitepo Ave Complex, Block 3, Private Bag 7712, Causeway, Harare; tel. 707861; telex 22141.

Ministry of the Environment and Tourism: Karigamombe Centre, Private Bag 7753, Causeway, Harare; tel. 794455.

Ministry of Finance, Economic Planning and Development: Ground Floor, Munhumutapa Bldg, Samora Machel Ave, Private Bag 7705, Causeway, Harare; tel. 794571; telex 22141.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs: Munhumutapa Bldg, Samora Machel Ave, POB 4240, Causeway, Harare; tel. 727005.

Ministry of Health: Kaguvi Bldg, 4th St, POB 8204, Causeway, Harare; tel. 730011; telex 22141.

Ministry of Higher Education: Causeway, Harare.

Ministry of Home Affairs: Mukwati Bldg, Samora Machel Ave, Private Bag 505D, Harare; tel. 703641; telex 22141.

Ministry of Industry and Commerce: Mukwati Bldg, 4th St, Private Bag 7708, Causeway, Harare; tel. 702731; telex 24472.

Ministry of Information, Posts and Telecommunications: Linquenda House, POB 8232, Causeway, Harare; tel. 703894; telex 24142.

Ministry of Justice, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs: Mapondera Bldg, Samora Machel Ave, Private Bag 7704, Causeway, Harare; tel. 790905; telex 22141.

Ministry of Labour, Manpower Planning and Social Welfare: Compensation House, Central Ave, 4th St, Private Bag 7707, Causeway, Harare; tel. 790871; telex 22141.

Ministry of Lands, Agriculture and Rural Resettlement: Robert Fletcher Bldg, Private Bag 7701, Causeway, Harare; tel. 706081; telex 22455.

Ministry of Local Government, Rural and Urban Development: Mukwati Bldg, Private Bag 7706, Causeway, Harare; tel. 790601; telex 22179.

Ministry of Mines: Mukwati Bldg, Private Bag 7709, Causeway, Harare; tel. 703781; telex 22141.

Ministry of Public Construction and National Housing: The Stables, Samora Machel Ave, POB 8081, Causeway, Harare; tel. 704561.

Ministry of Transport and National Supplies: Kaguvi Bldg, POB 8109, Causeway, Harare; tel. 700991; telex 22141.

Public Service Commission: Pax House, Union Ave, POB 8080, Causeway, Harare; tel. 700881; telex 22141.

PROVINCIAL GOVERNORS

Manicaland: Bishop JOSHUA TOWNIE NGOWENI DHUBE.

Mashonaland Central: JOSEPH NGANDI KAPARADZA.

Mashonaland East: RWIZI GRAFTON ZIEYENGE.

Mashonaland West: MUDHOMENI NYIKADZINO CHIVENDE.

Masvingo: DZIKAMAYI CALLISTO MAVHAIRE.

Matabeleland South: MARK NUDA DUBE.

Midlands: TRANOS MAKOMBE.

Legislature

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Common Roll Elections, 28-30 March 1990

	Seats*
Zimbabwe African National Union—Patriotic Front	116
Zimbabwe Unity Movement	2
ZANU—Ndonga	1
Total	119

* The election for one seat in the House of Assembly was postponed to a later date.

Political Organizations

Conservative Alliance of Zimbabwe (CAZ): POB 242, Harare; f. 1962, known as Rhodesian Front until June 1981, and subsequently as Republican Front; represents interests of the white community; Pres. GERALD SMITH; Chair. KEITH BORROWS.

Independent Zimbabwe Group: f. 1983 as breakaway faction from fmr Republican Front; Leader BILL IRVINE.

National Democratic Union: f. 1979; conservative grouping with minority Zezeru support; Leader HENRY CHIHOTA.

United African National Council (UANC): 40 Charter Rd, Harare; f. 1971; African nationalist grouping which supported the 1978 'internal settlement' and emerged as largest single party from the April 1979 election; Pres. and Sec.-Gen. WALTER MUTIMUKULU.

United National Federal Party (UNFP): Harare; f. 1978; conservative; seeks a federation of Mashonaland and Matabeleland; Leader Chief KAYISA NDIWENI.

Zimbabwe Active People's Unity Party: Bulawayo; f. 1989; Leader NEWMAN MATUTU NDELA.

Zimbabwe African National Union—Patriotic Front (ZANU—PF): 88 Manica Rd, Harare; f. 1989 following the merger of PF ZAPU (f. 1961) and ZANU—PF (f. 1963); political bureau of 22 mems.; cen. cttee of 160 mems; Pres. ROBERT MUGABE; Vice-Pres SIMON VENGAYI MUZENDA, JOSHUA MQABUKO NKOMO.

Zimbabwe African National Union—Ndonga (ZANU—Ndonga): POB UA525, Union Ave, Harare; f. 1977; breakaway faction from

ZANU, also includes fmr mems of UANC; centrist; Pres. Rev. NDABANINGI SITHOLE; Sec.-Gen. NOEL MUKONO.

Zimbabwe Democratic Party: Harare; f. 1979; breakaway faction from UANC; traditionalist; Leader JAMES CHIKEREMA.

Zimbabwe National Front: f. 1979; Leader PETER MANDAZA.

Zimbabwe Peoples' Democratic Party: f. 1989; Chair. ISABEL PASALK.

Zimbabwe Unity Movement (ZUM): f. 1989 by a breakaway faction from ZANU—PF; Leader EDGAR TEKERE.

Diplomatic Representation

EMBASSIES AND HIGH COMMISSIONS IN ZIMBABWE

Afghanistan: 26 East Rd, POB 1227, Harare; tel. 720083; Ambassador: MOHAMMED SAKHI DANESHJO.

Algeria: 8 Pascoe Ave, Belgravia, POB 2929, Harare; tel. 726682; telex 24795; Ambassador: MOHAMMED LAMINE ALLOUANE.

Angola: Doncaster House, 26 Speke Ave, POB 3590, Harare; tel. 790070; telex 24195; Chargé d'affaires: JOSÉ AUGUSTO PRATA.

Argentina: Club Chambers Bldg, cnr Baker Ave and Third St, POB 2770, Harare; tel. 730075; telex 22284; Chargé d'affaires: CARLOS CHIAPPE SOLOZABAL.

Australia: Karigamombe Centre, 4th Floor, 53 Samora Machel Ave, POB 4541, Harare; tel. 794591; telex 24159; High Commissioner: PHILLIP FREDERICK PETERS.

Austria: 216 New Shell House, 30 Samora Machel Ave, POB 4120, Harare; tel. 702921; telex 22546; Ambassador: HELMUT SCHURZ.

Bangladesh: 199 Fife Ave, POB 3040, Harare; tel. 727004; telex 24806; High Commissioner: HUMAYUN KABIR.

Belgium: NCR House, 8th Floor, 65 Samora Machel Ave, POB 2522, Harare; tel. 793306; telex 24788; Ambassador: LUCIE R. DE MYTTEENAERE.

Botswana: 22 Phillips Ave, Belgravia, Harare; tel. 729551; telex 22663; High Commissioner: PHENEAS M. MAKEPE.

Brazil: Old Mutual Centre, 9th Floor, cnr Third St and Stanley Ave, POB 2530, Harare; tel. 730775; telex 22205; Ambassador: BERNARDO DE AZEVEDO BRITO.

Bulgaria: 15 Maasdorp Ave, Alexandra Park, POB 1809, Harare; tel. 730509; telex 24567; Ambassador: ALEKSANDUR KARLOV ATANASSOV.

Canada: 45 Baines Ave, POB 1430, Harare; tel. 733881; telex 24465; High Commissioner: CHARLES PHILIP BASSET.

China, People's Republic: 30 Baines Ave, POB 4749, Harare; tel. 724572; telex 22569; Ambassador: SONG QUOQING.

Cuba: 5 Phillips Ave, Belgravia, POB 4139, Harare; tel. 720256; telex 24783; Ambassador: EUMELIO CABALLERO.

Czechoslovakia: 32 Aberdeen Rd, Avondale, POB 4474, Harare; tel. 302636; telex 22460; Ambassador: VÁCLAV JUMR.

Denmark: UDC Centre, 1st Floor, 59 Union Ave, POB 4711, Harare; tel. 790398; telex 24677; Ambassador: HENNING KJELDGAARD.

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CURRENT HISTORY

A WORLD AFFAIRS JOURNAL

MAY, 1990

Africa South of the Sahara

United States Policy in Southern Africa— <i>Richard W. Hull</i>	193
South Africa on the Move— <i>Pauline H. Baker</i>	197
Zimbabwe a Decade after Independence— <i>Virginia Curtin Knight</i>	201
Uganda's Continuing Search for Peace— <i>Cherry Gertzel</i>	205
Kenya: Still an Economic Miracle?— <i>Michael F. Lofchie</i>	209
Unfulfilled Expectations in Angola— <i>Gillian Gunn</i>	213
Economic Crisis in Mozambique— <i>Merle L. Bowen</i>	217

Book Reviews—*On Africa* 221

The Month in Review—*Country by Country, Day by Day* 235

Map—*Africa*—Inside Back Cover



"At the end of the first ten years, the euphoria of independence has turned into harsh reality. Today, people worry about the suppressed inflation, the stagnant job market and declining services; nonetheless, expectations for Zimbabwe's development are high."

Zimbabwe a Decade after Independence

By VIRGINIA CURTIN KNIGHT
Consulting Editor, Current History

IN April, 1990, Zimbabwe celebrated its tenth anniversary as an independent nation. In those ten years, the new nation experienced traumatic times: record drought, rebellion in the southern provinces, foreign currency shortages, closure of the university, and a corruption scandal involving Cabinet members and old-guard revolutionaries. Zimbabwe also experienced good times: an end to the violence in the south, a second round of multiparty parliamentary elections, reduction of the external debt, chairmanship of the nonaligned movement and international recognition of its agricultural capabilities. For the visitor, Zimbabwe is a model for Africa: good race relations, five-star hotels, roads in good repair, clean air and water, an abundance of consumer items, and competent and friendly people. But underneath the surface calm run currents of discontent and disappointment with the nation's accomplishments during the past ten years.

The year 1990 also brings an end to the restrictions on amending the constitution accepted at Lancaster House in 1979. All parties to the 1979 peace talks that ended the 13-year guerrilla war agreed to abide by the constitution for ten years. With the expiration of the constitutional restrictions, the government of ZANU PF (Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front), headed by President Robert Mugabe, has submitted proposals to the Cabinet revising land acquisition procedures. How those proposals are implemented will have far-reaching ramifications.

Under the white minority governments before independence, the well-watered, fertile soils had been occupied by approximately 6,000 white commercial farmers and some corporate estates. Together they farmed nearly 35 million acres, almost 30 percent of the total land area. Black subsistence farmers, who comprised nearly 70 percent of the

population, were restricted to lands in the communal areas (formerly called TTL's or Tribal Trust Lands). The communal areas totaled about 42 percent of the land (about 43 million acres, of which 10 million are suitable for agriculture). Unfair land distribution was a grievance during the war for independence and remains so today.

The Lancaster House Agreement of 1979 compelled the government to acquire land for resettlement on a willing buyer/willing seller basis. To help implement this policy, the British government initially provided about U.S.\$45 million (and by 1989 an additional \$38 million) to buy out white commercial farmers.* The Zimbabwean government provided matching funds. At the end of 1988, the government had purchased nearly 6.7 million acres for \$32 million. Less than one-fourth of that land was in prime agricultural areas.¹ Since independence, between 48,000 and 52,000 families have been resettled, far fewer than the projected 162,000 families in three years.

The slow pace of resettlement is considered by some analysts to be a good thing. The government does not yet have in place an infrastructure able to cope with more resettled farmers. For instance, one agricultural extension worker serves 850 families. Transport facilities—paved roads, trucks, railway depots—are not adequate to serve current demand. Boreholes, clinics, schools and credit institutions must be put in place to serve the new farming communities. Resettled farmers need support structures from the government, at least to get started. An article in a local magazine details the predicament of 600 families resettled from overgrazed semidesert communal lands to farms in Musengezi in 1985:

They arrived on lush former commercial farms armed with a few implements and skills for traditional subsistence agriculture. They had no money to buy better equipment, fertiliser, or pesticides. . . . Roads previously maintained by the commercial farmers deteriorated as did the dip tanks. There wasn't enough drinking water. Boreholes sunk in 1985 broke down or dried up. Some farmers had no alternative but to share dirty water from shallow wells with their live-

*The Zimbabwean dollar has declined against the U.S. dollar from Z\$1.58:U.S.\$1.00 in 1980 to Z\$0.43:U.S.\$1.00 in 1990. The figures used in this paper are United States dollars, post-1985; the conversions here have been made at Z\$.50:U.S.\$1.00.

¹Robinson Gapare, quoted in *The Herald* (Harare), October 10, 1989.

stock. Schools, which had served the needs of workers when the area was operating as commercial farms, were ridiculously inadequate for the children of resettlement farmers. There are no health centers.²

Despite the problems associated with resettlement, the government is reported to be planning to acquire an additional 15 million acres. Land reform is an important political issue. Individuals in the rural areas are impatient because of the slow pace of resettlement. About two-thirds of all Zimbabweans live in overcrowded rural areas where the land shortage is acute. President Mugabe knows he can win support on this issue.

In his address to the party congress in December, 1989, Mugabe reiterated the importance of land:

Perhaps the most vital question we face today in our economic development activities is the land question. . . . Government shall always be a willing buyer, but we shall not brook unwilling sellers.

His last comment was a precursor to the land reform proposals submitted to the Cabinet two weeks later.

The government is proposing that it be allowed to purchase any land it requires for public purposes, paying the owner in local currency. A proposed amendment to the 1985 Land Acquisition Act would give the Ministry of Lands, Agriculture and Rural Resettlement the power to designate any land it chooses for resettlement. Included in these proposals are two options to control land prices. One would fix land prices per acre according to the quality of land in the natural regions; the other would fix prices on the basis of the original purchase price of the land (including the value of permanent improvements). The government is also recommending that each individual and company should be limited to owning one farm unit.³ The willing buyer/willing seller provision in the constitution provided some stability and incentive for improvements and experimentation in the commercial farming sector. Without legal protection, the future for white commercial farmers is uncertain.

EMIGRATION

Expiration of the Lancaster House Agreement has also triggered a new wave of emigration. After

²Shepher Mutabma, "Povo and Land Suffer in Struggle to Resettle," in *Parade Magazine* (Harare), November, 1989, p. 6.

³"Zimbabwe Government Draws Up Comprehensive Policy to Solve the Land Problem," *Financial Gazette* (Harare), January 5, 1990.

⁴*Financial Gazette*, January 19, 1990.

⁵"Expatriates Urged to Help Tap Local Skills," *The Herald*, January 18, 1980.

⁶John Tudor Hughes, quoted in *Financial Gazette*, October 27, 1989.

⁷*Southern African Economist*, October/November, 1988.

independence, tens of thousands of skilled white workers left the country. By 1986, the exodus had nearly halted and in that year more people applied to settle than to leave. However, in the period January to April, 1989, the rate of emigration picked up again. More than 700 skilled workers left—teachers, engineers, dentists, medical doctors and assistants—compared with 535 emigrants for the same period the year before. In 1988, the country lost 10 percent of its practicing dentists. The number of people actually leaving is probably higher; not all emigrants report their status.

The shortage of skilled professionals slows down the government's efforts to expand the economy. The public service sector suffers the most. Private industry attracts the most qualified and experienced employees because of its higher wages and perquisites. More of a threat to employers in all sectors is the impact AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome) will have on the workforce. No reliable figures are available although it is estimated that AIDS may cause a negative population growth rate in Zimbabwe by the year 2000. What is known is that AIDS occurs in the economically productive age group.⁴

In the past, expatriates have been employed in many fields. Between 1982 and 1988, nearly 100,000 expatriates and foreign consultants received about \$1.3 billion in hard currency.⁵ As part of the government's efforts to pay off its external debt, it curtailed or eliminated the employment of expatriates in its parastatals. In the last four years, for example, the Zimbabwe Electrical Supply Authority reduced the number of expatriates at its Hwange power plant from 200 to 34 individuals. Whether or not this was a coincidence, recurrent unscheduled power cuts caused industry the loss of millions of dollars in 1989. The Zimbabwe Institute of Engineers claims that in one vital parastatal (the national railways) "about 79 percent of its engineers have less than five years experience. . . . This grim statistic must be repeated many times elsewhere."⁶ Congestion in the national railway system has nearly crippled the economy and jeopardized many economic plans. Tobacco farmers, sugar refiners, and workers in paper mills, hospitals and factories have had to stop production from time to time when their coal ran out. Overall, the parastatals are a tremendous drain on the country's finances. Together, they are said to have borrowings in excess of \$7 billion and to require \$376 million a year in subsidies.⁷

The Public Service Commission has also been severely criticized for its inefficiency. A recent report on the public service completed by foreign observers described a wholly inadequate sector. The commission reviewed cases from 1980 to 1987 in two ministries. Out of 224 cases handled by the

ministries, 34 had been resolved by December, 1988. On average, each case took 12 months to resolve. Out of the 224 cases, 145 acknowledgments were sent in 5 months. The report also observed that in an effort to obtain a decision from the service, the exchange of favors was becoming increasingly common. The report comments that "It is difficult to make any observation other than that the public of Zimbabwe does not seem to have a very sympathetic administration to deal with."⁸

The commission's findings are borne out daily by the hundreds of people who line up during the night at the central registry office. These individuals are seeking passports, birth certificates, or national registration identity cards. The office is now accepting 200 applications a day. Before the cutoff at 200 a day, the registry was receiving 1,000 passport applications a day, for instance; they are able to process only 1,000 a week. Action on an application takes between 6 and 12 months.

ECONOMIC REALITIES

Despite the transport and manpower problems, in the two-year period, 1988 and 1989, the economy grew at an average rate of 4.5 percent. Manufacturing output grew by 7.9 percent in the first half of 1989 and then tapered off. The growth in the economy, however, did not result in an increase in the number of jobs. Industrial leaders are reluctant to expand operations because they are concerned about the lack of transport, erratic electrical supply, shortages of building materials and skilled workers, and government price controls. Price controls and price freezes have kept prices artificially low. Manufacturers and producers have been limited to one price increase of 5 percent per year, while real inflation is estimated at between 15 and 40 percent a year. As part of its new investment code, the government has said it will lift price controls. If it does abolish the controls, inflation will further erode real earnings for all Zimbabweans.

The unemployment situation is a time bomb. The economy is incapable of creating enough jobs for the thousands of school-leavers who come into the job market each year. At its current rate of growth, the economy creates about 58,000 jobs each year. For the 1990's it is estimated that the number of school-leavers will reach 250,000 annually. Ironically, despite the shortage of skilled labor and the high number of unemployed, the government fails to keep its teaching colleges properly staffed. The major public polytechnic institute in Harare lost 72 faculty members in 1989 because of inadequate salaries and poor working conditions. Normally, the polytechnic institute graduates 200 trained students each year.

⁸*Financial Gazette*, November 3, 1989.

Another constraint to expanding the economy has been the lack of foreign currency. To pay off its external debt, the government has limited currency allocations for imports. The shortage of imported goods has hampered industrial output because the spare parts for machinery and transport have not been available. The shortage of spare parts for automobiles, for instance, has become so severe that thieves steal and resell signal lights, tail lights and headlights.

When it reduces the foreign debt, the government will have more foreign exchange to allocate to importers. At independence, the government began to rely on short-term borrowing to develop the war-depleted infrastructure. It also began paying off the large external debt incurred by the government before the 1965 Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) made by Prime Minister Ian Smith's Rhodesian Front. To pay off the debt, the government began promoting exports and reducing imports. In 1987, the debt-service ratio (interest payments on foreign debt as a proportion of export earnings) peaked at 33.3 percent of export earnings. It dropped to 27.5 percent in 1988, and by April, 1989, it had fallen to 23 percent of export earnings.

The government's economic policies often reflect confusion over what kind of state the politicians say they want. Officials say they want to implement socialist policies. At the same time, they want to attract foreign capital and technology to expand output, employment and economic efficiency. Economic policies attempt to accommodate both schools: to use foreign capital but in a Marxist-Leninist state. The investment code issued in May, 1989, is an example of the government's ambivalence. Desperate for foreign investment and technology, the government issued new investment guidelines. The private sector said the guidelines did not go far enough to attract investment. Socialists accused the government of selling out to the capitalists. Government policies create frustration for both sides. The socialists want tighter controls; the business community wants fewer controls.

The possibility that new investment will come to Zimbabwe is even slimmer now that East European markets are opening up. Zimbabwe's neighbors, especially Botswana and Mozambique, offer far more favorable environments for foreign companies. Botswana is in the Rand zone, which gives it a convertible currency. Mozambique has disassociated itself from Marxism-Leninism and is actively seeking new capital. Although Mozambique's infrastructure is not in good shape, its laws regarding repatriation of profits and tax incentives are far more inviting to foreign capital. Newly independent Namibia is also wooing foreign investors.

By February, 1990, the new one-stop shop set up

by the investment code for processing applications for investment had approved about \$100 million in new investment. Most of the money comes from funds held locally. The \$450 million that the government hoped to attract in new investment has not been forthcoming. While Zimbabwe has tried to attract new foreign investment, it has also significantly reduced the percentage of foreign ownership in the manufacturing sector. To encourage disinvestment, foreign-held corporations that sell out at greatly discounted rates are paid in foreign currency, which they may repatriate. In 1985, 52 percent of all manufacturing enterprises were foreign-owned; in 1989, 25 percent.⁹

The ambivalence reflected in the investment code is also evident in the society at large. President Mugabe, his ministers and the government-controlled press promote the Marxist-Leninist line. Mugabe says that Zimbabwe is striving toward "socialism . . . built on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles that take account of our historical, cultural and social experiences." The *povo* (a Portuguese word for the masses, used in Zimbabwe) are not convinced that the ministers are sincere when they talk about socialism. Ministers have had to cancel political rallies because of low turnout. Government officials have become large landowners and business operators. A letter written to the Bulawayo *Chronicle* signed T. Shumba reflected popular sentiment:

These people [the ministers] have amassed wealth—some are even said to be millionaires within eight years of our independence—and this at the expense of the ordinary man in the street.¹⁰

ZANU PF has also become involved in the private sector. In August, 1988, the party established the Zimbabwe National Holdings Corporation to group all its business interests. Then chairman Enos Nkala, the former defense minister, defended the party's involvement, saying that, "in pursuance of the principles of socialism, the ruling party wanted to be productive." He also assured businessmen that the "party will compete fairly without exercising its political muscle."¹¹ Wholly owned by ZANU PF, the holding company has a 55 percent share in ZIDCO (Zimbabwe Industrial Development Corporation) and owns 100 percent of the M and S Syndicate. M and S controls 60 percent of Woolworth (Zimbabwe), 50 percent of National Blankets, 50 percent of Catercraft (the airline

caterer), 50 percent of Zidlee duty-free shops and 44.6 percent of the Treger Group of Companies, a large manufacturer and exporter. Nearly half the Cabinet members are on the boards of directors.

PARTY AND GOVERNMENT

In many ways, the party has become the government. At the beginning of 1990, Zimbabwe had 52 Cabinet ministers or deputy ministers, plus eight provincial governors—all appointed by Mugabe. With few exceptions, they are party members. Five of the ministries were responsible solely for party politics. The Army, Air Force and Police Commanders serve on the party's Politburo at the discretion of the party president.

University students have spoken out against what they call the "plunder, slander and looting sprees" conducted by party and government officials. In September, 1988, they issued a manifesto calling on Mugabe to end the corruption. They also asked for accelerated land resettlement, better relations with the labor unions, reduction in government spending on the bureaucracy, and an end to squandering funds on "white elephants" in the form of a party headquarters, a civic center, the Sheraton Hotel and International Conference Center, the national sports stadium and the proposed new Parliament buildings.¹²

The student demonstration spilled beyond the campus. Police riot squads used tear gas and clubs to contain the students; they detained 478 students from the university and from the polytechnic institute. With no explanation from the Ministry of Home Affairs, university law lecturer Shadrack Gutto was deported. To the surprise of many of Mugabe's strongest supporters, Mugabe reprimanded the students and supported the tough tactics of the police.

Shortly after the student demonstrations, reports of a racket involving government ministers and automobile distributors surfaced in the Bulawayo *Chronicle*. Even before the government-controlled newspaper exposed the scandal, it had become a national topic of conversation. Compelled by the public outrage, Mugabe appointed a three-member commission headed by High Court Judge Wilson Sandura to investigate. By the time the Sandura Commission's second report was tabled in August, 1989, five Cabinet ministers, a provincial governor, a deputy minister and others in the bureaucracy were forced to resign. The Cabinet officials were Senior Minister of Political Affairs Maurice Nya-

(Continued on page 224)

⁹RAL, Merchant Bank Limited, *Quarterly Guide to the Economy*, September, 1989.

¹⁰Quoted in *The Weekly Mail* (Johannesburg), August 20, 1988.

¹¹*The Herald*, August 2, 1988.

¹²Anti-Corruption Document, September 29, 1988.

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terfere with this complex and highly successful network and, in so doing, that it may have fostered an increasingly adversarial relationship with the export farmers of the Central province. In 1985, for example, the KFA was banned and replaced by a new government-sponsored organization, the Kenya Grain Growers Cooperative Union (KGGCU) that has much greater representation from the Rift Valley. During the late 1980's, there were constant allegations of government interference in the internal operations of the KPCU.¹³ These allegations focused principally on government efforts to replace popular and long-standing leaders with individuals more amenable to the government's determination to allocate more of the country's agricultural expenditures to the Rift Valley province.

The result of the government's intervention in Kenya's agricultural organizations has been demoralization among the coffee growers of the Central province. The extent of demoralization is uncertain, however, because some farmers accept the Moi administration's agricultural policies at face value as a genuine attempt to increase the government's support for the smallholder farmer. Disaffection in the Central province may also be rooted in the political displacement of large-scale Kikuyu farmers, who form the core component of the Kenyan governing elite.

At present, there is no persuasive evidence that the strained relationship between the Moi administration and large-scale farming interests in the Central province has had an appreciable effect on production. Coffee production, for example, while by no means subject to the soaring gains of the 1960's and 1970's, continued to register modest, if irregular, gains during the mid- to late 1980's. If there is stagnation in this industry, moreover, it may be related as much to the precipitous decline of world coffee prices (due to the collapse of the International Coffee Organization [ICO] in the summer of 1989) as to government interference with the internal mechanics of Kenya's coffee system.

The agricultural changes being implemented by the Moi administration have given rise to a peculiarly bipolar opposition. On the one hand, there is a somewhat radicalized left, whose historical roots date back to the "Poverty" movement of the 1970's and the "Kenya" movement of the 1980's. Its principal criticism is the fact that the Moi administration has maintained the essential capitalist framework set in place by Kenyatta in the early 1960's. According to its leaders, the Moi government's claims to represent the interests of small-

holder farmers are mere sham; President Moi has simply moved the benefits of political power to a different group of business entrepreneurs. The political efforts of the Kenyan left have been decisively weakened by the fact that some of its most vocal leaders have been imprisoned while others operate from political exile in London or in the Scandinavian countries.

At the opposite side of the political spectrum, Moi has been criticized by conservatives who condemn his government for interfering with the system of applied comparative advantage that made Kenyan agriculture great. Kenyans who hold this view are concerned that Moi's efforts to broaden the regional distribution of wealth and opportunity in Kenya will not only undermine the growth of the agricultural sector directly but will also act indirectly, by reducing the performance of Kenya's highly competent and efficient agricultural bureaucracy.

Kenya's economic conservatives, however, will find it difficult to mount a major challenge to the Moi administration. Kenya has continued to enjoy a high rate of economic growth despite wrenching agricultural changes, and the prosperous farmers who espouse economic conservatism will find it difficult to generate a groundswell of social support among Kenya's rank-and-file farmer population.

ZIMBABWE

(Continued from page 204)

gumbo, the third highest ranking member of the Politburo; Minister of State for Political Affairs Frederick Shava; Minister of Higher Education Dzingai Mutumbuku; Minister of Defense Enos Nkala; and Minister of Industry and Technology Callistus Ndlovu. Nyagumbo committed suicide by poison. The attorney general prosecuted Shava for perjury but Mugabe intervened and pardoned him. The attorney general then announced that he would not bother to charge the others because the President might again set aside the convictions.

The pardoning of Shava took the edge off the public esteem that Mugabe had built up by appointing the commission and by its performance. The commission hearings had been held in public for the most part and the galleries were packed daily. The openness of the process seemed to clear the air and quiet some of the whirling rumors. The commission hearings had also dulled the students' accusations and those of the political opposition.

But antagonism between the students and the government continued throughout 1989. Police made several forays onto the campus; they broke up political meetings, assaulted students and hurled teargas into dormitories where students had sought refuge. Following a student demonstration in Sep-

¹³These developments were reported regularly in the *Financial Review*, Kenya's highly prestigious economic journal that was banned in April, 1989.

tember, 1989, officials closed the university in October and it remained closed for nearly seven months. Students were detained and accused of writing and publishing a subversive document. Police detained Morgan Tsvangirai, secretary general of the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions, because he wrote a letter supporting the students. Eleven members of the opposition political party, the Zimbabwe Unity Movement (ZUM), were also detained; others went into hiding.

Three weeks later, the High Court ordered bail to be set for the students, overruling a ministerial order denying bail. The High Court also ordered the release of Tsvangirai, who had been charged with being an agent for the South African government. The Central Intelligence Organization issued new detention orders, violating the law that re-detention cannot be ordered within 180 days on the same charges. The court again ordered his release but he was detained for the third time. On November 15 he was quietly released.

ELECTIONS

At the time of this writing, parliamentary elections were scheduled for the third week of March. ZANU PF was expected to win solidly throughout the country. But there are pockets of discontent. In October, 1988, Edward Tekere, once a close associate of Mugabe's and former secretary general of ZANU PF, was expelled from the party because of his outspoken criticisms of a one-party state. In April, 1989, Tekere formed a new political party, the Zimbabwe Unity Movement. Unlike the students and labor leaders who were critical of the shift away from socialism, Tekere's group took a pro-capitalist line, advocating less government control, decision-making restored to the chiefs, separation of party and state, multiparty democracy, withdrawal of Zimbabwean troops from Mozambique, a private and independent press and liberalized trade.

Although Tekere and his party articulate some of the dissatisfactions of the average person, many individuals are wary of him and fearful of renewed political violence. The 13-year-old guerrilla war ended only 10 years ago. Violence in Matabeleland continued until late 1987, when political unity was established.

During the war for independence, the two nationalist groups, ZANU and ZAPU (the Zimbabwe African People's Union headed by Joshua Nkomo), had their own armies. In 1980, the armies were integrated into a national force. But political unity was elusive. When arms caches were found on farms owned by ZAPU, Mugabe dismissed Joshua Nkomo from the Cabinet. Police detained ZAPU's top military leaders, Lookout Masuku and Dumiso

Dabengwa, despite a court ruling acquitting them of concealing arms. Former ZAPU fighters went underground and began operating against army troops and white farmers in the southwestern part of the country. The confrontation escalated.

After seven years of political wrangling and guerrilla warfare in the south, the two parties agreed to merge in December, 1987. Dumiso Dabengwa had been released from detention in December, 1986; Masuku had died earlier that year. In early 1988, the government brought peace to the southern provinces by offering amnesty to those "dissidents" who turned themselves in. The merger of the two political parties into ZANU PF became a reality in December, 1989. But party unity did not bring unanimity on all issues. Many veterans of the dissolved ZAPU objected to the new party, which advocated Marxism-Leninism and a legalized one-party state. Acting as their spokesman, Dabengwa told the party's first congress that the delegates from Matabeleland opposed incorporating a reference to Marxism-Leninism into the new party constitution. Mugabe responded by saying that he did not understand why some people reject Marx and Lenin as foreign to Zimbabwe, yet those very same people embrace another foreigner, Jesus Christ. The clause was put into the constitution over the delegates' objections.

On the issue of a one-party state, Dabengwa said that his province wanted a provision in the constitution stating that other political parties would not be outlawed. Mugabe responded that people opposed a one-party state because they did not know better. Therefore, to educate them ideologically, the party was establishing the Chitepo Ideological College to improve popular awareness. Mugabe told the congress that a one-party state would have to be legislated. He said that the only question was about timing and the mechanism for bringing it about. He said that this is "entirely up to us [the party] to decide."

On the eve of the December, 1989, united party congress, Newman Mathuthu Ndelela announced the formation of the Zimbabwe Active People's Unity (ZAPU), a new party with an old name. Ndelela, a political scientist and prominent Bulawayo businessman, was a member of the ZAPU PF team negotiating the merger with ZANU. Ndelela is opposed to party unity and the emphasis on Marxism-Leninism. He is likely to attract Ndebele voters, the core of the old ZAPU support.

In 1990, Mugabe's wife Sally has become more visible in public and political affairs. As head of the Child Survival and Development Foundation, she appears frequently in public and in press reports. Mugabe appointed her to the Politburo as Secretary for Women's Affairs and as head of ZANU PF's

Women's League, despite the fact that she was not nominated by the League.

At the end of the first ten years, the euphoria of independence has turned into harsh reality. Today, people worry about the suppressed inflation, the stagnant job market and declining services; nonetheless, expectations for Zimbabwe's development are high. The country is self-sufficient in food production and has an infrastructure better developed than any other black African country. The task ahead is to maintain the structure and create opportunities for growth.

Mugabe stands to lose much of the goodwill he has earned in Zimbabwe and around the world if he insists on institutionalizing a one-party state and implementing the proposed land acquisition program that is driving a large percentage of the commercial farmers out of the country. The President seems out of touch. The students call him Vasco da Gabe, after the fifteenth century Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama, because he travels so much. However, despite the party's problems, the support for ZANU PF is broad-based.* The party has brought the country peace. To insure that peace, it must learn to allow opposition and dissent. ■

*As we go to press, Mugabe and his ZANU PF have won 78 percent of the vote in the March, 1990, elections.

MOZAMBIQUE (Continued from page 220)

ference of Mozambicans in many areas. In Nampula province, for example, Renamo has been able to capitalize on Frelimo's policies of forcing people into communal villages and ignoring rural people's attachment to traditional chiefs, religious leaders and ancestral land. The majority of the rural population has refused to cooperate with either side, pursuing instead a survival strategy of noninvolvement.¹⁰

There is abundant evidence on public record, from a variety of sources, that South Africa supported Renamo in 1989 and still does. In particular, surrendered Renamo members and freed captives have testified to continued South African involvement. In mid-1989, the United States Department of State and the United States embassy in Maputo confirmed that South African support for Renamo

had not ceased.¹¹ The support is said to be coming from renegades within military intelligence and from right-wing extremists in South Africa's Portuguese community.

The United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) estimated that the economic cost of destabilization for Mozambique was between U.S.\$2.5 billion and \$3 billion in 1988 and \$15 billion in the 1980-1988 period.¹² Although the human costs of destabilization are more difficult to summarize quantitatively, war-related deaths were estimated at 900,000 for the period 1980 to 1988, of which almost 500,000 were infants and children under five years old.¹³ During the same period, about six million people, or nearly half the population of Mozambique, were forced at one time or another to seek refuge in other countries or were displaced internally. In July, 1989, foreign relief organizations estimated that there were 7.7 million Mozambicans in need of food, and Mozambique's dependency on international food aid increased. The food situation became critical as donor interest diminished; the loss of interest led to pledges below the requirements and amounts given in previous years. According to the government, only 297,000 tons of food, representing only 31 percent of the 916,000 tons requested at the third emergency donors' conference, had arrived by midyear.¹⁴

A military solution to the war has proved impossible. Although Frelimo leadership has rejected talks with Renamo rebels for many years, President Chissano has used his frequent public meetings in the provinces to prepare the people for the idea of direct talks with Renamo.¹⁵ In 1990, Frelimo will continue to pursue a political solution to the war, while maintaining its military operations. In the near future, a basis for direct dialogue between Frelimo and Renamo may be established.

The end of 1989 marked the third year of the implementation of Mozambique's structural adjustment program, PRE, which was designed to arrest the downward trend of the economy and to restore production levels to those of 1981 by 1990. The PRE has given priority to agriculture and especially to peasant farmers. It has sought to increase agricultural production by shifting the terms of urban and rural trade in favor of rural producers and by rehabilitating industries producing goods for the agricultural sector. Other central aims of PRE have been to correct the financial imbalances in the economy and to undercut the parallel market economy, thereby giving real value to the national currency, the metical.

It is estimated that the World Bank provided Mozambique with \$400 million from the adoption of PRE in 1987 to July, 1989. The PRE has also facilitated agreements with the Paris and London

¹⁰Otto Roesch, "Nampula: What's Left?" *Southern Africa Report*, vol. 5, no. 2 (1989), pp. 9-13.

¹¹United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, *South African Destabilization: The Economic Cost of Frontline Resistance to Apartheid* (New York: United Nations, 1989), p. 20.

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 4.

¹³*Ibid.*, p. 21.

¹⁴Economist Intelligence Unit, *Tanzania, Mozambique Country Report* (London), no. 4 (1989), p. 33.

¹⁵For example, see *Tempo* (Maputo), no. 968 (1989), pp. 8-14; *Mozambiquefile*, no. 161 (1989), pp. 4-6.

**THE
INTERNATIONAL YEAR BOOK
AND
STATESMEN'S WHO'S WHO
1990**

Zimbabwe

(Member of The Commonwealth)

Capital - Harare (formerly Salisbury)

The republic of Zimbabwe came into existence on 18 April 1980 as the successor state to the colony of Southern Rhodesia. The boundaries of that colony had been established as a result of negotiations between European powers ninety years earlier and its name perpetuated the memory of the wayward genius, Cecil John Rhodes, on whose initiative the territory had been originally occupied. In 1890 the Pioneer Column, consisting of selected white men of various occupations, nationalities and faiths, entered the country from the south to occupy and administer it under a Royal Charter granted to Rhodes's British South African Company by Queen Victoria. For the next 33 years the Company administered Southern Rhodesia on behalf of the Crown.

The country had originally been inhabited by descendants of that great southern migration which peopled most of central and southern Africa. By the eleventh century a well-organised Shona-speaking state was in the making; this flourished until the middle of the fifteenth century and was in touch with the commerce of the Indian Ocean. The state then began to decline, leaving as its finest and most fascinating monument the ruins at Great Zimbabwe. In its place, the Shona-speaking peoples divided into a number of independent paramountcies. Around 1830 the Ndebele, an offshoot of the Zulu nation under Mzilikazi, crossed the Limpopo river from the south and established a centralised state in the south-west. Conflict between the Ndebele and some, but not all, of the Shona paramountcies continued throughout the century and some Shona-speakers were incorporated into the Ndebele state. (Approximately 80 per cent of black Zimbabweans are now Shona-speakers and 16 per cent Ndebele-speakers). By 1888, the Ndebele king, Lobengula, claimed sovereignty over virtually all that is now Zimbabwe. It was from him that Cecil Rhodes, acting through agents and with some dissimulation, acquired the concessions on whose strength his Company was granted its Charter.

In 1893 the Company faced a rebellion from the Ndebele people in the south-west; in 1896 the Ndebele people rose again, but were soon defeated; in the same year, many of the Shona paramountcies in the north and east also rebelled; after eighteen months and with the necessary assistance of imperial troops this uprising (the first war of *chimurenga* or liberation as it is called) was finally quashed. The British government of the day accepted the view of the Company's critics that the Company had been at fault and resolved to establish some checks upon its rule; so they appointed a Resident Commissioner to monitor the local administration and began to introduce into the legislative council a number of settlers, whom they also believed to have been poorly served by the Company. By the time the Charter was extended in 1914, there was a majority of elected settler representatives in the legislature. After the Great War, consideration was given to Southern Rhodesia's political future and, once several commissions had reported, the colony's electorate was permitted to choose in a referendum whether to join the Union of South Africa as a fifth province or to run their own internal affairs under a system of limited self-government. The voters, almost exclusively white, chose the latter option by 8774 votes to 5989 and a new Constitution came into force on 1 October 1923.

Settler rule and the depression of the early 1930s combined to institutionalise a racially segregated society. Although the franchise permitted some non-whites to vote, governments were overwhelmingly dependent upon white electorates and therefore preserved their interests. In the 1930s much legislation reached the statute book which discriminated in favour of the whites; the land was divided under the Land Apportionment Act so that whites acquired exclusive rights to about 45 per cent of the country (mostly in well watered areas); the marketing of maize was organised to support white producers as against black farmers; and the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1934 effectively established a colour bar in the industrial field.

After the second world war, to which Rhodesians contributed much, there was a rapid growth in the white population due to immigration, from 80,000 at the end of the war to just over 200,000 by 1958. The economy grew quickly as well. During the early post-war years, the British government turned its attention to central Africa's political future at a time of growing nationalism both to the north and to the south of Southern Rhodesia. In 1953 Southern Rhodesia joined Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland as a constituent part of the Central African Federation, a British-inspired attempt to create an economically powerful state that was dominated neither by the Afrikaner nationalism of the Union of South Africa nor the black nationalism of the rest of the continent. Under first the leadership of Sir Godfrey Huggins (later Lord Malvern) and then Sir Roy Welensky, the Federation often found its most ardent

supporters in Britain rather than in central Africa.

Although the Federal era coincided with and contributed in part to continued economic growth, the Federal government never attracted the support of articulate black politicians and increasingly disappointed those ordinary blacks who experienced the racial discrimination then prevalent. The success of African nationalist movements in much of the rest of the continent encouraged nationalists in central Africa to seek territorial independence. In Nyasaland (which became Malawi) and in Northern Rhodesia (which became Zambia) they were successful; in Southern Rhodesia they were not.

The African National Congress had been revived in 1957 largely at the instigation of young men whose future, whether in the urban areas or in the countryside, seemed bleak. In February 1959 the party was banned and several hundred of its activists were detained or restricted. Its successor, the National Democratic Party, was formed in January 1960 under a more wealthy and established leadership, but it, too, was proscribed. A new party, the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), was quickly organised with Joshua Nkomo again its leader. The demand for greater political rights was only partially met in the new 1961 Constitution, which, for the first time, made provision for some black members of the Southern Rhodesian legislature. However, after initially accepting the offer of 20 seats, the nationalist movement then boycotted the elections and renewed their demand for universal suffrage and majority rule. At the same time, the movement split, the breakaway Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) under the leadership of Ndabaningi Sithole claiming that Nkomo had compromised too much and was not prosecuting the nationalist cause with enough vigour. During the early 1960s the two factions, Nkomo's ZAPU and Sithole's ZANU, fought each other with physical violence as well as with words. It was no surprise that they were both banned in their turn.

While the nationalists, despite their internal disputes, were building up support throughout most of the colony, major developments were taking place among the whites. Sir Edgar Whitehead became prime minister in 1958 and he soon introduced a number of liberalising measures. These did not satisfy black aspirations and failed to build a black middle class which Whitehead and his party had expected. On the contrary, it provided the basis round which white opposition groups could rally and early in 1962 a new party, the Rhodesian Front (RF), was formed under the leadership of a well-known and popular farmer, Winston Field. The RF capitalised both on widespread fears that Whitehead's liberal ideas would hurt white interests and on the growing belief that black rule, as in the Congo, would be a recipe for disorder and violence in Southern Rhodesia. In December, the RF narrowly won the general election and formed the government.

When the Federation was dissolved on 31 December 1963 and Northern Rhodesia together with Nyasaland were promised independence, the Southern Rhodesian government resumed the powers which had been transferred to the Federal government in 1953. The RF government thereupon sought independence for Southern Rhodesia, but the British government refused to satisfy white Rhodesian demands so long as the franchise was so narrow and the ability of whites to limit black political advance so absolute. In an internal putsch Field was replaced by Ian Smith as prime minister. Unable to achieve independence from the British government and pressed from the ranks of his party to achieve it, Smith-despite desperate attempts to dissuade him by British ministers-declared Southern Rhodesia's Independence unilaterally on 11 November 1965.

No state recognised this independence although Portugal, until its 1974 coup, and South Africa practiced "business as usual". The British government, as had been threatened, imposed sanctions progressively and persuaded the United Nations to give its authority to a worldwide imposition of sanctions over a wide range of activities and commodities, including oil. This response did not, as Harold Wilson had unwisely predicted, make the Smith regime capitulate in a matter of "weeks rather than months". On the contrary, internal white unity was strengthened and the economy, after initial problems, grew and diversified. Attempts to negotiate a settlement failed; meetings aboard HMS Tiger and HMS Fearless did not result in Smith accepting an irreversible progression towards majority rule. When Sir Alec Douglas-Home and Smith did agree upon constitutional changes to which they could both lend their support, the black people of Southern Rhodesia, consulted by a Commission under the chairmanship of Lord Pearce, overwhelmingly rejected the proposals. This was a crucial turning point in the country's history.

Until 1972 internal opposition to UDI had been muted. The black population was neither sufficiently politicised nor organised to express general dissent and the guerrilla armies being formed outside the country were as yet too small and ill-prepared to

present the Smith regime with a real threat. Armed with a battery of repressive legislation and served by a highly professional and skilled national army, the government retained its control with some ease. The Pearce Commission, however, provided an opportunity for political activity which had not been possible before and a new movement, the African National Council (ANC), was established out of the embers of the old nationalist parties under the fresh leadership of Bishop Abel Muzorewa. The ANC reactivated old structures and introduced a new generation of articulate blacks to public politics.

At the same time that major developments were taking place inside Southern Rhodesia, major developments were also taking place outside the country. First, the guerilla armies of ZANU (the Zimbabwe National Liberation Army, or ZANLA) and ZAPU (the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army or ZIPRA) were growing in number and experience. Support from eastern bloc countries and from the neighbouring territories of Mozambique, which achieved its independence in 1974, and Zambia meant that the armies now had strategic bases and considerable supplies of armaments. They were soon, for all their internal problems of tactics and personalities, a formidable threat. From early 1976 the incursions increased in number and effectiveness, so that over the next four years the guerrillas extended their influence over most of the country. The civil war, between ZANLA and ZIPRA on the one hand and the white security forces assisted by many black levies on the other, became increasingly bitter and bloody and was an enormous burden on the finances and manpower of the Southern Rhodesia state.

Throughout the 1970s attempts to provide a constitutional solution to the colony's internal conflicts continued. The so-called Front-Line states (Mozambique, Zambia, Botswana, Tanzania and Angola), the Republic of South Africa, the United Kingdom and the United States of America all in their different ways attempted to unify an increasingly fragmented black population and to persuade the Smith government to negotiate seriously with nationalist leaders. The ZANU and ZAPU leaders had refused to accept Muzorewa as the leader of a united nationalist movement; Sithole (although he never accepted the fact) had been replaced as leader of ZANU by Robert Mugabe; and the Patriotic Front (PF) created to unite Nkomo's ZAPU with Mugabe's ZANU to prosecute the war with a unified leadership was more real in name than in action. In 1974 many nationalist leaders had been released from detention, but no agreement between the various factions could be made, even when the South African prime minister and the Zambian president pressurised their respective clients in a railway carriage on the Victoria Falls bridge in August 1975. In 1976, after the US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger had taken the initiative, Smith was persuaded in Pretoria to accept the principle of majority rule. There followed an inconclusive Constitutional Conference under a British Chairman in Geneva from 28 October to 14 December 1976 which both African nationalists and Smith attended. On 1 September 1977 the British Government published further proposals and actually nominated Lord Carver as Resident Commissioner-designate for the transitional period; but nothing came of this either and Lord Carver relinquished his post on 30 November 1978.

Smith favoured an internal solution and on 3 March 1978 he announced that he had succeeded. A new Executive Council was established (Mr Ian Smith, Bishop Muzorewa, Rev N Sithole and Chief J Chirau) with a Ministerial Council in which the posts were divided between the RF and the three black parties. A new Constitution was agreed upon in January 1979, to which the white electorate gave their approval although blacks were not consulted and in April the first elections ever held in Southern Rhodesia on a universal franchise took place. However, neither Mr Mugabe's ZANU nor Mr Nkomo's ZAPU were party to this constitutional development and the civil war continued with an unrelieved escalation of violence. Muzorewa, whose party had won 51 of the 72 seats chosen by universal suffrage (twenty-eight were reserved for whites only), was sworn in as prime minister on 29 May 1979 and on 1 June the name Zimbabwe-Rhodesia was brought into use.

These changes did not resolve the conflict. Although a high proportion of the potential electorate participated, there were doubts about the real meaning of its support for the UANC. The exiled parties continued to fight and Muzorewa, unable or unwilling to exert control over the security forces' pre-emptive strikes into neighbouring Zambia and Mozambique, failed to end the fighting. Although in Britain the Conservative government's instincts were to accept the April election as a popular endorsement of the new Constitution, contrary counsels ultimately prevailed. In August, the Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conference in Lusaka lent its authority and help to Britain for one more attempt to negotiate a settlement between all parties. Superbly managed by the British Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington, the Lancaster House Conference succeeded in gaining the support, albeit reluctant, of Muzorewa, Mugabe and Nkomo to yet another Constitution. All the parties were under pressure, either from the logic of unfolding events or from hard-pressed friends, to settle. The Constitution provided for 20 white seats in a legislature of 100, an indirectly elected Senate, a cabinet

form of government, a justiciable bill of rights, and a number of provisions (relating to land, the public service, matters of especial concern for whites) were entrenched in such a way that whites held effective veto powers. Before Christmas, Britain had once more taken up her responsibilities for the colony of Southern Rhodesia and fourteen years of illegal rule ended; Lord Soames took up residence in Government House in Salisbury with wide powers. Gradually peace returned to the country as guerrillas collected in the seventeen assembly points designated and the nationalist politicians returned from abroad to contest the elections, although the Patriotic Front did not do so as a single party but as two separate organisations, Nkomo arrogating to himself the title PF and Mugabe calling his party ZANU (PF).

In the February elections, Mugabe's ZANU (PF) surprised most commentators by winning handsomely, gaining 63 per cent of the votes and 57 of the 80 seats. Nkomo's PF (in effect a reduced ZAPU) polled 24 per cent of the vote and won 3 seats. None of the UANC polled 8 per cent of the vote and won 20 seats. Muzorewa's UANC polled 8 per cent of the vote and won 3 seats. None of the other six parties won a seat. All the 20 white seats had earlier been won by the RF. The Commonwealth observers and the bevy of others who watched the election did not entirely agree on how to interpret this vote. There was certainly some intimidation; there was some tribal voting; but ultimately voters supported whichever party had been active in the liberation struggle in their own area and was therefore thought to be in a position to end the war. And so it was that the party most vilified by whites and most explicitly opposed to the dominant values of white Rhodesians formed the new government (which included some PF and two white ministers) and the new state of Zimbabwe, named after that former empire of the fifteenth century, began its independent existence.

Cabinet (January 1984)

President: H.E. Robert Gabriel Mugabe.
Vice-President: The Hon. Simon Vengayi Muzenda, M.P.
Senior Minister in the President's Office: The Hon. Joshua Mqabuko Nkomo, M.P.
Acting Senior Minister of Political Affairs in the President's Office: The Hon. Simon Vengayi Muzenda, M.P.
Senior Minister of Finance, Economic Planning and Development in the President's Office: Dr. The Hon. Bernard Thomas Chidzero, M.P.
Acting Minister of Defence: The Hon. Dr. Sydney Tigere Sekeramayi, M.P.
Minister of Mines: The Hon. Richard Chemist Hove, M.P.
Minister of Energy and Water Resources and Development: The Hon. Kumbira Kangai, M.P.
Minister of National Supplies: The Hon. Simbi Veke Mubako, M.P.
Minister of Justice, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs: The Hon. Emmerson Dambudzo Mnangagwa, M.P.
Acting Minister of Higher Education: The Hon. Fay Chung, M.P.
Minister of Community and Co-operative Development and Women's Affairs: The Hon. Joyce Teurai Ropa Mojuru, M.P.
Minister of State for National Security in the President's Office: Dr. The Hon. Sydney Tigere Sekeramayi, M.P.
Minister of Foreign Affairs: Dr. The Hon. Nathan Marwirakuwa Shumuyarira, M.P.
Minister of Information, Posts and Telecommunications: Dr. The Hon. Witness Pasichigare Magunda Mangwende, M.P.
Minister of Local Government, Rural and Urban Development: The Hon. Enos Chamunorwa Chikowore, M.P.
Minister of Natural Resources and Tourism: The Hon. Victoria Fikile Chitepo, M.P.
Minister of Home Affairs: The Hon. Moven Enock Mahachi, M.P.
Minister of Transport: The Hon. Simbarashe Simbanenduku Mumbengegwi, M.P.
Minister of Trade and Commerce: Dr. The Hon. Oliver Munyaradzi, M.P.
Minister of State for the Public Service in the President's Office: The Hon. Jonas Christian Andersen, M.P.
Acting Minister of Industry and Technology: Dr. The Hon. Bernard Chidzero, M.P.
Minister of Lands, Agriculture and Rural Resettlement: The Hon. David Ishemunyoro Karimanzira, M.P.
Minister of Primary and Secondary Education: The Hon. Fay Chung, M.P.
Minister of Youth, Sport and Culture: The Hon. David Kwidini, M.P.
Minister of Public Construction and National Housing: The Hon. Joseph Msika, M.P.
Minister of Health: Brigadier Dr. The Hon. Felix Muchemwa, M.P.
Minister of Labour, Manpower Planning and Social Welfare: The Hon. John Landa Nkomo, M.P.

Resources

Zimbabwe covers 390,759 sq km (or a fraction over 150,000 sq miles) and is situated within the tropics, for the most part on the high plateau between the Limpopo and Zambesi basins. It is entirely land-locked. The country is, therefore, dependent upon

ZIMBABWE

the lines of rail to Beira in Mozambique (frequently disrupted by dissidents inside Mozambique), to Maputo also in Mozambique and through South Africa to that country's Indian Ocean ports for most of its trade.

Most of the country lies between 900m and 1,550m in height, dropping sharply to below 500m in the river valleys and rising to 2,592m at the highest point of the eastern highlands. It is undulating plainland for the most part, hot in the lowveld but temperate on the highveld. The rain is both variable and seasonal, falling almost entirely between the months of November and April. There are wide variations from year to year and within climatic regions; it is this incidence of rain which is more decisive for the agricultural potential of the land than the soils themselves. These are mainly sandy and infertile granitic soils or Kalahari sands with a few intrusions of rich, red clays and loam. Good management and the input of quantities of fertiliser can produce high yields for crops and comparatively high carrying capacity for livestock. In recent years there has been considerable development of irrigation schemes, especially in the lowveld around Chiredzi.

Zimbabwe's lifeblood is its land, on which more than 70 per cent of the black population live. The Land Apportionment Act of 1930 established the principle of allocating land to racial groups, whites and blacks being granted virtually the same acreage despite the great difference in their numbers. Despite later amendments and later acts, at independence about 45 per cent of the land (largely, but not exclusively, well watered) was owned by whites, while about 45 per cent (largely, but not exclusively, much less well watered) was farmed by blacks, only a very small proportion of which was privately owned. The commercial lands (as the former white areas became called) provided the essential surpluses to feed urban Zimbabwe and earn foreign exchange; the communal lands (as the former black Tribal Trust Lands were renamed) remained over populated, overworked, and overstocked. The inequitable distribution of land and the absolute poverty of many communal lands was one of the most difficult and urgent problems facing the new government at independence.

Zimbabwe is endowed with a considerable quantity and variety of minerals. Gold had been the original magnet for European colonisation and it remained the most valuable mineral in 1982, but asbestos and nickel are also significant, while at Hwange there are vast deposits of coal. Table 1 sets out the volume and value of minerals produced in Zimbabwe in 1982. Although mining accounts for only a small proportion of GDP (about 7.5 per cent) and employed labour (about 6 per cent), it accounts for a very high proportion of foreign earnings (about 36 per cent). However, prices are very much at the mercy of trends totally outside its control. The world recession has hit the country's economy badly and even the success stories of the 1970s, like nickel, had to turn to the government for assistance in 1982.

Communications are well developed in Zimbabwe by comparison with other African states. The first railways followed the watersheds and the earliest towns and white farming areas were established along the lines of rail. Branch lines connect several mining areas to the main network. The system is gradually being modernised so that a few steam engines exist alongside the electrification of the line Harare to Gweru. Most lines, however, are single track, frequently full of bends, and often with steep gradients; travelling by train is slow. As the ox-cart gave way to the motor car, the early roads were gradually improved, first by the building of concrete strips for the vehicles' wheels and later by the building of full width bitumen surfaced roads (4,854km in 1983) which join the main conurbations and single lane bitumen surfaced roads (1,461km in 1983) which spread out like the spokes of a wheel from the village hub to outlying commercial farms. Air Zimbabwe flies not only to Britain and neighbouring countries (Kenya, Zambia, Botswana, Malawi and South Africa) but manages also several internal routes. There is a wide network of landing strips improved and increased during the civil war, for private planes. There are three national broadcasting channels and one television station. The programs tend to reflect government thinking, as they did in the UDI days too. The main newspapers similarly tend to be pro-government, although they are managed by a Trust theoretically free of government control. A number of independent weekly and monthly papers and magazines appear. Although there is a certain manipulation of the news, the media in Zimbabwe particularly the press, are freer than in most of Africa north of the Limpopo.

Zimbabwe's economy at independence was more diversified than perhaps any other tropical African economy. As a result of developments in the Federal era and, more significantly, during the years of UDI when a policy of import substitution was pursued, manufacturing industry is well developed and contributes more to GDP than either agriculture or mining, as Table 2 shows. A further indication of Zimbabwe's semi-developed status is the size of the service sector which consists of very much more than government officials. There is a Harare stock exchange.

Although Zimbabwe possesses no oil, it is well endowed with sources of energy. The Kariba hydro-electric complex provides the majority of the country's energy needs and further projects on the Zambezi river are under investigation. At Hwange a thermal

power station is being constructed to utilise the coal reserves there, even though neighbouring Zambia has a considerable energy surplus to export. The Hwange deposits of coal were not used, as in South Africa, to produce oil, although an advanced technique to produce ethanol has been utilised to reduce the imported content of petrol.

Zimbabwe is potentially a major tourist attraction, although it has no coast and the pressures on its wildlife are great. But it enjoys a superb climate; there are a number of fine hotels and good transport links; wild game in the Zambezi valley and the plains bordering Botswana are still plentiful; there is a variety of scenery from the beautiful Chimaniman Mountains in the east to the thick tropical forest in the Zambezi basin; lake Kariba provides excellent facilities for boatmen and fisherman. Above all, however, in the north-west of the country on the border with Zambia lie the Victoria Falls (or Mosi-oa-Tunya as they should be called) where the river Zambezi, at this point 1.6km wide, dramatically tumbles 106 metres down into a narrow gorge and away in a series of spectacular gorges. It remains a breathtaking sight which no amount of photographs can truly capture.

Finally, the people are a nation's major resource. The 1982 census indicated that the population, growing at about 3 per cent per annum, had reached 7.5 million, of which 23 per cent lived in towns or cities, a much higher proportion than elsewhere in tropical Africa. About 175,000 are whites and a very high proportion of them have advanced technical, agricultural, and managerial skills. Although the educational system in pre-independence years discriminated in favour of whites, Zimbabwe probably entered independence with more qualified manpower than any other tropical African country, the University having produced for more than 20 years a small but steady stream of graduates and many others having acquired qualifications and experience abroad. Since 80 per cent of the population is Shona-speaking, there is a higher level of homogeneity than in most African countries, although there is obviously tensions both between the government and some of the Ndebele people and also between the new black political majority and the whites against whom the war of liberation had been fought.

Zimbabwe since independence

The new government faced immediate and daunting problems. The dislocation caused by the war had been massive; the warring armies-the Rhodesia/Zimbabwe forces, ZIPRA and ZANLA-had to be integrated into a single, disciplined and united national army; the hopes and aspirations of black combatants, returned exiles, and other governmental supporters had to be met, especially by dismantling all signs of racial discrimination; the loyal support of whites, upon whom the technical services and administration as well as the economy so much depended, had to be won.

School enrolments did increase, from about 800,000 in the admittedly poor year of 1979 to over 2 million by the end of 1982; secondary schools increased in this period from 177 to 774, although the experience and quality of many teachers left something to be desired. Major developments in primary health care have taken place. Roads have been cleared of mines and reopened, with many bridges and culverts repaired.

The integration of the armed force, to which the British contributed greatly, went more smoothly than expected. By May 1981, when the last 12,000 bush combatants handed in their arms, the total armed forces numbered about 65,000. The second phase of military organisation envisaged the demobilisation of 20,000 men on excellent terms (regular pay of \$75 monthly plus an extra \$50 monthly for a period of 2 years). By the end of 1983, the army had been reduced to about 40,000. The British Military Advisory Training Team (BMATT), which had supervised the integration of forces, now continued its training role. In August 1981, North Korean soldiers arrived to train a special, all ZANLA, fifth brigade in the eastern highlands.

In Zimbabwe, as elsewhere in Africa, independence ushered in a massive Africanisation programme, especially in the expanded public services and local government. It was obvious that black rule had arrived. The media too, reflected this change. The radio and television, as before, took a strongly pro-government line and the language matched the rhetoric of manyradical Zimbabwean returned exiles. The main newspapers, once the property of the South African Argus Group, came under the control of a predominantly black Mass Media Trust and their editors, now black Zimbabweans, broadly reflected in their sympathies and priorities the new government's views.

Whites were stunned at first by the unexpected, and unwelcome, victory of the party whose leader they had been taught to fear as a dangerous Marxist. They responded in various ways to what was effectively a political revolution. Some left the country despite stringent exchange controls (the white population in 1983 was down from c 225,000 at independence to about c 175,000); most accepted the new situation with reluctant acquiescence, glad that the war was over; a few remained as unreconstructed Rhodesians openly expressing their preference for the old order; a handful consciously sought to disrupt the new government, usually in collaboration with elements from South Africa. Emigrants were

ZIMBABWE

often technical and professional people; immigrants filled many of the vacancies but in the technical services especially Zimbabwe suffered from the exodus. The RF's monopoly of white representation cracked in 1982 when several members resigned the whip, and sat as independents. In April 1983, for the first time since 1962, the RF lost a seat in the by-election in Bulawayo (South). The money economy, especially farming, mining and manufacturing, continued to be dominated by white owners and white expertise and contributed as much before to the country's productive capacity.

The GDP grew by 14 per cent in 1980 and 10 per cent in 1981. This remarkable growth was attributable to a massive improvement in the terms of trade, the return of free access to international capital markets, the utilisation of considerable excess capacity, the return of skilled personnel from warfare, the impact of aid flows, the rundown of stockpiles (especially of tobacco and minerals) and the bumper harvests of 1981. The ZIMCORD Conference in Salisbury (Harare) from 23 March to 27 March 1981 in which \$890 million of development money was pledged, marked the high point of this successful phase. The direst warnings of Jeremiahs seemed unfounded.

After the euphoria came the problematic reality. Although the integration of the national army progressed remarkably smoothly, there were many ZIPRA soldiers who remained in the bush and these dissidents, joined by some ex-ZIPRA deserters from the army, created a major problem of law and order in the south-west. Although factional fighting between ex-ZANLA and ex-ZIPRA combatants in Bulawayo had been repressed in February 1981 by the national army and Nkomo's intervention, a series of murders, robberies and general brigandage took place. The arrest of Lookout Masuku and Dumis Dabengwa, the rough and ready tactics of the North Korean trained fifth brigade, and the removal from office of Nkomo after the discovery of heavy weaponry secreted on farms owned by his party, increased the sense of tribal competition between Shona and Ndebele. Although there was never any threat to the stability of the state, the Matabeleland problem seriously embarrassed the government, causing sharp words between it and the Roman Catholic Church, journalists, and neighbouring Botswana.

Neither the economy (nor the situation in Matabeleland) was helped by South African destabilization policies. The destruction of 34 petrol storage tanks in Biera in December 1982 resulted in Zimbabwe virtually running out of petrol at Christmas; the activities of the South African supported Mozambique Liberation Movement frequently disrupted transport links and the oil pipeline from Beira; some South Africans, or their agents, have been involved in a range of activities, from spying through aiding dissident exiles to sabotage itself, of which the most spectacular act was the destruction in July 1982 of five aircraft at the Zimbabwe Air Force's headquarters at Thornhill.

The arrest, trial, acquittal and subsequent detention of six expatriate officers drew attention to the continuing use of draconian emergency powers by the government. When Masuku and Dabengwa were cleared of treason charges on 22 March 1983 they, too, were detained without trial. These events, coupled with the disorder in Matabeleland in which some whites were cruelly murdered, caused tensions between Zimbabwe's leaders and the western world, whose extremely careful oversight of several aid programmes also rankled in Harare.

Although ZANU (PF) unquestionably dominates the political scene, it is divided. Within the party there are divisions of several kinds, ideological, generational, and personal. Radical rhetoric is not always matched by radical action, although there is clearly a bias in favour of co-operative agricultural schemes, workers' involvement in industry, a more egalitarian distribution of resources, an improvement in the status of women, and an enhanced role for the state in the economy. The government bought a 42.6% stake in CAPS, the country's leading pharmaceutical company; from 7 March 1983 all metals had to be sold through the government selling agency; and in May the National Oil Company of Zimbabwe was established to procure fuel for the country. Within the party, there is considerable debate about prospective constitutional changes (which would almost certainly remove the special white seats, do away with the Senate and establish an executive President as well as dismantling some of the safeguards written into the Lancaster House Constitution), about the need for a leadership code, and about the type of single-party system to be established. A Congress has provisionally been timetabled for May 1984 at which these issues, and the appointment of a general secretary for the party, may be decided. In the meantime, attempts are being made, through a mixture of tough talking and careful negotiation, to persuade ZAPU to give up its separate existence and voluntarily create with ZANU (PF) a single national party.

Two years of drought, an over-rapid growth in the public sector, major expenses on defence and education, and a sluggish international economy combined with cautious reserve on the part of local and international capital, put great pressure on the economy. On 8 December 1982 the Zimbabwean dollar was devalued. Inflation rose to about 18 per cent in 1983. With increases of 10% and 15% on rail and road service charges, of between 17% and

33% on bus fares, of between 33.7% and 53% on electricity charges, and major increases in minimum wages, extra pushes were given to the inflationary spiral. A mini-budget in February 1983 raised the price of petrol by 38% to 974c (65.5p) per litre and diesel by 40%; excise duty on beer, wines, spirits and cigarettes went up by 25% and general sales tax by 1 per cent. The economic crisis, however, continued. On 28 July 1983, Chidzero introduced 'the toughest budget' in the country's history. It sought both to raise revenue (by increasing the higher rates of taxation, sales tax, and some customs duties while simultaneously introducing even to those earning only \$100 a month, an income tax of 2% and rerating commodities such as alcohol and cigarettes as luxuries) and to cut government expenditure (most notably in the areas of land resettlement and housing). Zimbabwe's fundamental difficulties emerge clearly from the massive increase in estimates for debt repayments, in money set aside for drought relief and support for mining, and in the still high allocation to the police and defence. Despite observing that Zimbabwe's economy seemed to be shifting from production to service industries, Chidzero accepted increased expenditure on the public service, although by September he had issued instructions that all vacancies in the public service be frozen. In the budget he reserved most of his criticisms for the private sector for its unreadiness to invest. The severity of the difficulties facing the government and the temporary ascendancy of the reformists is indicated in the cut in money allocated to lands, resettlement and rural development whose vote was reduced 52% from \$66.7m to \$32.1m.

The latter part of 1983 showed few indications of a major upturn in the economy or a readiness on the part of private business, either local or foreign, to invest. The activities of the dissidents in Matabeleland continued, albeit at a reduced level. Concern for outside support probably lay behind the release and deportation of the airforce officers, but the emergency powers regulations were extended. There was no rapprochement between ZANU and ZAPU. The economic difficulties and the drought, dominated the country's affairs and early in the new year (1984) the Prime Minister completed his third government reshuffle, reducing the number of ministers ('We just cannot afford to do things as we have been doing', he said.) Zimbabwe entered 1984, therefore, beset with many problems; yet these should not be exaggerated nor obscure the very real gains which most ordinary Zimbabweans have enjoyed in the first three years of independence.

The following table shows the most important minerals produced in Zimbabwe in 1982, by value and volume

Mineral	Value Z\$ million	Volume ('000)	Production (Value)
Gold	122.8	426 ounces	32.1
Asbestos	76.6	194.4 tonnes	20.0
Nickel	49.8	13 309 tonnes	13.0
Coal	35.8	2 769 tonnes	9.3
Copper	26.8	24.8 tonnes	7.0
Chrome Ore	19.9	431.6 tonnes	5.2
Iron Ore	13.9	837 tonnes	3.7
Tin Metal	11.6	1 197 tonnes	3.0
Silver	5.3	918 ounces	1.4
Cobalt	0.8	98 tonnes	0.2

Other minerals which include precious stones, tantalite, magnesite, lithium and limestone account for 5.1 percent of the total value of mineral production of \$383 million. There will be very substantial expansion in coal production at Hwange over the next few years to service the new thermal power station there, scheduled to start operations in mid-1983.

The following table shows the GDP by industry of origin, selected years

(percentages unless otherwise stated)

	1965	1975	1979	1980	1981
Agriculture	16.9	16.8	12.4	13.9	17.8
Mining	7.2	6.6	7.9	8.1	5.2
Manufacturing	18.6	23.5	24.8	25.5	26.5
Electricity and Water	3.3	2.6	2.8	2.3	2.1
Construction	3.8	4.9	3.3	2.5	3.0
Finance and Insurance	2.9	4.5	4.8	6.2	5.7
Distribution and hotels	15.0	13.5	11.8	14.4	15.0
Transport and communications	11.1	8.3	8.5	6.9	6.3
Services	22.9	22.0	26.9	23.5	21.7
GDP at factor cost					

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Egypt.

Mudd, David William. MP. British politician and writer. *B.* 1933. *EDUC.* Truro Cathedral Sch. *M.* 1965. Helyn Irvine Smith. *S.* 1. *DAU.* 1. *CHDN:* *STEADAU;* 1. *CAREER:* Editor, Cornish Echo; Reporter, Western Morning News and Tavistock Gazette; Mem. Tavistock Urban DC 1963-65; Sec. Cons. West Country Cttee., 1973-76; Mem. Cons. Party Fisheries Sub Cttee., 1974-75. *MP* (Cons.) for Falmouth and Camborne since 1970. *ADDRESS:* House of Commons, London SW1A 0AA.

Mugabe, Robert Gabriel. Zimbabwean politician. *B.* 1924. *EDUC.* Educ. Kutama and Empaden Mission Schools, Fort Hare Univ. *M.* Sarah. *CAREER:* Teacher 1942-60; Publicity section of National Democratic Party 1960-61; Secretary for Information and Publicity ZAPU and acting Secretary General 1961-62; Secretary General Zimbabwe African Nat. Union (ZANU) 1963; Joint Leader, Patriotic Front 1976-80; Prime Minister, Zimbabwe 1980-; Min. of Defence 1980-; Minister of Public Service 1981-. *ADDRESS:* Office of the Prime Minister, Salisbury, Zimbabwe.

Muhammad Hasan Adamy, Indonesian diplomat. *B.* 1932. *EDUC.* Senior High School (1953); Foreign Service Academy, Jakarta (1956); Foreign Service Senior Course, Jakarta (1974); National Defence College, Jakarta (1983). *M.* 1965. Tjut Adja Marzani Adamy. *S.* 2. *DAU.* 1. *CAREER:* Joined the Department of Foreign Affairs 1957; Indonesian Embassy in Tunis, Tunisia 1961-64; Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the Republic of Indonesia 1962-64; Dept. of Foreign Affairs 1964-68; Indonesian Embassy, Budapest, Hungary 1968-70; Indonesian Embassy, Conakry, Guinea 1970-72; Dept. of Foreign Affairs 1972-76; Indonesian Embassy, Budapest 1976-80; Dept. of Foreign Affairs 1980-83; Minister/Chargé d'Affaires of the Rep. of Indonesia, Tananarive, Madagascar 1983-85; Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Indonesia to Senegal, concurrently accredited to the Republic of Gambia, Gabon and Cote d'Ivoire 1985-; Mem., Indonesian Delegation to the ICCS in Saigon, South Vietnam 1973; Delegate to OIC Ministerial Meeting in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia 1974; Indonesian Delegate to OIC Ministerial Meeting in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia 1975. *AWARDS:* Medal "Satyalancana Santi Dharma"; Medal "Satyalancana Karya Satya". *ADDRESS:* Wisma Duta, Route Nouvelle Corniche Prolongée, Republic of Indonesia; and OFFICE Boulevard Martin Luther King, Rue David Diop, Fan Residence, Dakar.

Muhiht, Abul Maal Abdul. Bangladesh administrator. *B.* 1934. *EDUC.* Dacca Univ. (BA, MA); Kennedy Sch., Harvard Univ. (MPA); further study in public administration at Civil Service Academy, Lahore, Balliol Coll., Oxford; study in advanced management, NIPA, Dacca. *M.* CHDN: 3. *CAREER:* Economic Counsellor, Pakistan Embassy USA 1969-71; established Bangladesh Mission in USA, Aug. 1971. Counsellor of the Mission 1971-72, Economic Minister, 1972-74; alternate Exec. Dir., World Bank 1972-73; as Economic Minister, alternate on the Bd. for Bangladesh, India and Sri Lanka; Exec. Dir., Asian Development Bank representing Bangladesh and India 1974-77; Secy., External Resources Div., Bangladesh Govt. 1977-; Advisor in charge of the Min. of Finance and Planning since Mar. 1982. Former Dir., Bangladesh Bank; Bd. of Governors, COTA; Dir., Ashuganj Fertilizer Co., General Electric Manufacturing Plant and Machine Tools Factory. Former alternate Governor, World Bank, Asian Development Bank, Islamic Development Bank, Int. Fund for Agricultural Development. *MEMBER:* Bangladesh representative to Governing Council, UNDP 1979-81; Deleg. leader to Aid Coordinators Meeting on UNDP Inter-Country Programme 1981 (Vice-Chmn.); Mem., Bd. of Dirs., Dacca Univ. Economic Research Bureau 1980-82; Dpty. Deleg. leader to ESCAP 1976, 1979, 1981 (Chmn., Technical and Drafting Cttee. 1979, 1981); Mem. Inter-Governmental Experts Gp., Asia-Pacific Development Centre, ESCAP 1980; C'wealth Experts Gp. on Venture Capital 1980; Mem. Working Gp. on Restructuring of Colombo Plan, Chmn. Drafting Cttee. 1980; alternate Deleg. leader to UNCTAD V 1979; Dpty. Leader, Bangladesh Deleg. to UN Conference on LDCS, Paris 1981; Deleg. leader to Sen. Officials meeting on debt negotiations, UNCTAD 1978, Rapporteur of the main Cttee.; Chmn. Int. Conf. on Bangladesh Rural Development Programme, Dacca 1979; Adviser 1972-73, Dpty. 1973-74, Cttee. of Twenty on Reforms of the Int. Monetary System, Mem., Working Gp. on Adjustment Process; leader to Deleg. of Plenipotentiary Conf. on Trade in Wild Life Species, Washington 1973; Mem., Deleg. to World Bank-IMF annual meetings 1969, 1972, 1974, 1976-81; Asian Development Bank annual meetings 1975-80, 1981; C'wealth Finance Ministers Conf. 1977-80; IFAD annual meeting 1981; UN General Assembly 1971, 1978; Islamic Foreign Ministers Conf. 1974, 1975; Intelsat Cttee. and Plen. meetings 1969-71. *AWARDS:* Rotary Int. award for Essay writing 1952; Pope Gold Medal of Dacca Univ. 1954. *PUBLICATIONS:* Deputy Commissioner in East Pakistan; Bangladesh-Emergence of a Nation; Some Thoughts on Development Administration. *OFFICE* World Bank, 1818 H St. NW, Washington DC 20433, USA.

Muir, Sir John Harling. Bt. TD, DL. *B.* 1910. *EDUC.* Stowe School. *M.* 1936, Elizabeth Mary Dundas. *S.* 5. *DAUS.* 2. *CAREER:*

Member, Queen's Body Guard for Scotland (Royal Company of Archers). *CLUBS:* Oriental (London); Tollygunge (Calcutta). *ADDRESS:* Bankhead, Blair Drummond, Perthshire, by Stirling, Scotland.

Muirhead, Sir David Francis. KCMG, CVO. British diplomat. *B.* 1918. *EDUC.* Cranbrook School. *M.* 1942, The Hon. Elspeth Hope Morley. *S.* 2. *DAU.* 1. *CAREER:* Regular Army Major, A/Lt.-Colonel 1939-46; First Secy. British Embassy, La Paz 1947-49; Buenos Aires 1949-50; Brussels 1950-53; Foreign Office 1953-55; Washington 1955-59; Counsellor, Foreign Office 1959-65; Asst. Under-Secy. Foreign Office 1966-67; H.M. Ambassador to Peru 1967-70, Portugal 1970-74, to Belgium 1974-78; Special Rep. of Secy. of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs 1980-; Commissioner, Commonwealth War Graves Commission 1981-86; mem. Cncl., St. Dunstan's 1981-. *AWARDS:* Grand Cross of Military Order of Christ (Portugal); Grand Cross, Order for Distinguished Services (Peru). *CLUBS:* Travellers'. *ADDRESS:* 16 Pitt Street, Kensington, London W8 4NY.

Muirshiel, Rt. Hon. Viscount (John Scott MacLay). KT, PC, CH, CMG. British politician. *B.* 1905. *EDUC.* Winchester; Trinity Coll., Cambridge. *M.* 1930, Betty L'Estrange Astley (Dec. 1974). *CAREER:* MP (Nat. Lib. and Cons.) for Montrose Burghs 1940-50, for Renfrewshire West 1950-64. Head, British Merchant Shipping Mission, Washington 1944; Chmn., British Nat. Cttee. of Int. Chamber of Commerce 1947-51; Parly. Secy., Min. of Prod. May-July 1945; Min. of Transport and Civil Aviation Oct. 1951-May 1952; Minister of State for Colonial Affairs 1956-57; Secy. of State for Scotland 1957-62; Chmn. Joint Exchequer Bd. (Northern Ireland) 1965-73; Pres., Assembly of Western European Union 1955-56. Lord Lieut. of Renfrewshire 1967-80; Hon. LL.D. Edinburgh 1963, and Strathclyde 1966, Glasgow, 1970. *ADDRESS:* Knapps, Kilmacollm, Renfrewshire.

Muldoon, Rt. Hon. Sir Robert David. GCMG, PC, CH. New Zealand politician. *B.* 1921. *EDUC.* Mount Albert Grammar Sch. *M.* 1951. Thea Dale Flyer. *S.* 1. *DAUS.* 2. *CAREER:* Served World War II, 2nd NZEF, Pacific and Italy; granted armed forces bursary 1946, won Leverhulme Prize, ICHA, London; joined the Nat. Party 1947; cand. for Mt. Albert 1954, for Waitemata 1957; MP (Nat.) for Tamaki since 1960; Parly. Under Secy. to the Minister of Finance 1964-67 (supervised New Zealand's changeover to decimal currency 1967); Minister of Finance 1967-72; Dpty Prime Minister 1972; Dpty. Leader, Nat. Party 1972-74; Dpty Leader of the Opposition 1972-74, Leader of the Opposition 1974-75; Prime Minister and Minister of Finance 1975-84; Leader of the Opposition July-Nov. 1984. *MEMBER:* FCANZ; CMANZ; FCIS; FCMA. PC 1976; GCMG 1984; Companion of Honour 1977. New Zealand Governor, IMF and Asian Development Bank; Chmn., Bd. of Governors IMF/World Bank 1979-80; Chmn., Ministerial Council OECD 1982; Chmn., Global Economic Action Institute 1988-. *PUBLICATIONS:* The New Zealand Economy - A Personal View (1985). The Rise and Fall of a Young Turk (1974); Muldoon (1977); My Way (1981); No. 38 (1986). *CLUBS:* Professional. *ADDRESS:* 7 Homewood Place, Birkenhead, Auckland, 10 New Zealand.

Mulholland, William David. Canadian banker. *B.* 1926. *EDUC.* AB, MBA Harvard. *M.* 1957, Nancy Louise Booth. *S.* 5. *DAUS.* 4. *CAREER:* Morgan Stanley, 1952-69, and Partner 1962-69; Churchill Falls (Labrador) Corp. 1969-74; Pres., Brinco Ltd; Bank of Montreal, Pres. 1975-81, and Chmn. of Bd. 1981-; Dir.: Canadian Pacific Ltd.; The Upjohn Company (USA); Harris Bankcorp; Standard Life Insurance Co. (Edinburgh); Consolidated Bathurst, Ltd. *MEMBER:* The Conference Bd.; The Cncl. on Foreign Relations. Trustee, Queen's Univ.; Dir., Montreal Symphony Orchestra; Conf. Bd. of Canada. *AWARDS:* LL.D. (Memorial). *CLUBS:* Toronto; Mount Royal (Montreal); York (Montreal); Chicago. Metropolitan (New York). *ADDRESS:* R.R. 2, Georgetown, Ontario L7G, 4S4; and OFFICE Bank of Montreal, 129 St. James St., PO Box 6002, Montreal, Quebec H3G 2K1, Canada.

Muller, Lt. Gen. Antonie Michal. South African diplomat (ex Air Force). *B.* 1930. *EDUC.* South African Military Coll., Air Force and Defence Command and Staff Courses. *M.* Catharina Susanna, 1955. *S.* 1. *DAU.* 1. *CAREER:* South African Military Coll. 1948-50; Fighter-Bomber Pilot, Korean War 1951; Flying Instructor 1952-54; RAF Leconfield UK FTR WPS Sch. 1955; RAF Bassingbourne, Cambridge 1963; RN Airbase, Lossiemouth, Scotland 1964-65; Commander, Sqns. and Airbase 1959-78, and Command Chief of Airforce Operations 1978-79; Chief of South African Air Force 1979-84; South African Ambassador to Chile 1984-. *MEMBER:* SAAF Assn. *AWARDS:* Order of the Star of South Africa (Silver); SSAS Southern Cross Decoration; SD, Southern Cross Medal; SM, Korea Medal; United Nations Service Medal; US Air Medal and Oakleaf Cluster; President de la República en el Grado Collar de la Gran Cruz, Chile. *CLUBS:* Pretoria Country; Prince of Wales Country (Santiago); Los Leones Club de Golf (Santiago). *ADDRESS:* LO Fontecilla 115, Las Condes Santiago; and office South African Embassy, Carlos Antunes, Providencia, Chile.

Müller, Zürich Affairs. posts i Free Tr (1965); S Embassy, 1970-73; Politica the Fede CH-1170

Muller, of Pre Unvers *CAREER:* research obtained Senior i lawyer 1951; e elected High Con South A Minister compani Council (1952); of Arts Pretori Order of the C Decorat Officer Brillia: PUBLICA the Grea the Afi Africa.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AND PRESIDENT MUGABE OF ZIMBABWE
UPON DEPARTURE

The South Lawn

1:15 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Well, Mr. President, let me just say that I've been honored and pleased to meet with you and your associates here at the White House today. I remember visiting Zimbabwe in 1982 when I was Vice President, and I certainly recall the warm reception that you gave me personally and that the Zimbabwean people gave our whole delegation. And it gives me great pleasure to, in some small way, return that hospitality.

Our nations share many common aspirations. We both found independence in revolution. Americans are proud of the role we played in the Lancaster House Accords, paving the way for Zimbabwe's independence in 1980.

Over the years, we've had our honest differences. But we both share a fundamental belief that government must serve the people -- and that through democratic elections, the people are the best judge of government's performance.

The last year and a half has brought remarkable and bold developments, in your country and, indeed, throughout Southern Africa. Positive change moves in promising ways. Zimbabwe has ended its state of emergency and witnessed free and open elections -- moving with the tide of human aspiration worldwide.

Last year your party decided against attempts to legislate a one-party state. And in keeping with events throughout Africa and around the world, Zimbabwe has abandoned Marxist-Leninism as its guiding principle.

Much of the credit for these accomplishments, sir, go to you for your courage, your commitment and to creating real opportunity for your people.

And, of course, opportunity means economic growth -- and you've announced this investment policy -- a new investment policy -- as part of a broad structural adjustment program, to encourage market-led economic prosperity. The International Monetary Fund has described your program in glowing terms, and we share the IMF's enthusiasm.

Last July your government signed an investment guarantee agreement with our Overseas Private Investment Corporation -- we call it OPIC. And since then, several firms have announced their intention to invest in Zimbabwe. And beyond simply proclaiming our faith in your country, we've proved it -- doubling our level of development assistance this year. We will continue to look for ways to help you invigorate Zimbabwe's promising private sector.

I believe your stature worldwide will continue to grow. I remember congratulating you in 1982 at a -- that marvelous state dinner in your homeland for Zimbabwe's election to the United Nations Security Council. Earlier this year, Zimbabwe's leadership as President of that Council was critical to the success of the coalition's efforts to enforce U.N. resolutions against Iraqi

MORE

aggression.

We were very proud to have worked with you during that crucial period. And we look forward to a strong working relationship to serve as a force for positive change in Southern Africa, including Mozambique and South Africa.

Our conversations today, I can report, have been warm, productive, and they should serve as a basis to broaden and deepen our important relationship. We support your country's considered steps to economic reform, Mr. President, and we hope those measures will be matched by similar progress towards multiparty democracy.

And as you depart, you leave with the best wishes of the American people for a more peaceful and prosperous and free Zimbabwe, and we look forward to working with you.

Thank you, sir.

PRESIDENT MUGABE: Thank you, Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, members of the press. I would like to take this opportunity to warmly express my profound appreciation to you, Mr. President, for kindly inviting me to the United States of America. My entire delegation and I are extremely grateful for the hospitality we have received since our arrival.

The President and I have held useful deliberations on bilateral and wide-ranging international issues. Zimbabwe is implementing an economic reform program whose main components are: trade liberalization, structural adjustment, including strict public expenditure aiming at a reduction of the budget deficit, the decontrolling and deregulation of the economy and the creation of an atmosphere conducive to increased local and foreign investment, leading, in turn, to an expansion of the economy and the generation of more employment and more domestic, regional and international trade.

This bold and ambitious but achievable program, which will open up our economy to market forces, has been endorsed by the World Bank and the IMF, and, indeed, has received warm support from the United States administration.

Of the \$16 billion needed to finance this five-year program, \$12.5 billion will come from within Zimbabwe. The remaining \$3.5 billion must be mobilized from external sources. At our March Paris donors meeting, we were gratified by the level of support pledged, but we need further international assistance to enable us successfully to complete the program.

We have over 40 private United States companies doing business in Zimbabwe. We hope the additional incentives and the stable political situation will attract more United States private investors.

Trade is an important part of our economic reform program. We are therefore encouraged by the growing trade between our two countries. We hope the volume of this trade will increase rapidly.

Mr. President, Zimbabwe appreciates the development aid it has been receiving from the United States bilaterally and through the Southern African Development Coordination Conference -- SADCC -- since independence in 1980.

I'm sure this assistance plays an even more important role in our economic reform program. Zimbabwe welcomes the ending of the Cold War and the rapprochement currently prevailing between the two superpowers. Many regions in the developing world, however, are not yet benefiting from this political thaw.

In our Southern African region, we are still confronted by apartheid despite the repeal of the acts that legalized it.

MORE

Whilst we applaud and commend President de Klerk for steps taken so far, we are concerned by the pace of events and the continuing violence bedeviling that country.

Total dismantlement of apartheid and a new political dispensation leading to the creation of a united nonracial democratic South Africa remains our ultimate goal.

That is why we in Southern Africa would urge that the remaining sanction pressures on the Pretoria regime be maintained until the path to democracy has reached an irreversible stage. The end of hostilities in Angola was a most welcome development. We shall render our full and total support to ensure a lasting peace. And may I take this opportunity of congratulating you, Mr. President, and the United States for the role you have played in bringing about the peace process in Angola.

In Mozambique, we hope the two sides will also move quickly towards a cease-fire and the establishment of a lasting solution. We eagerly await the restoration of peace in our area and the chance to devote our resources to development. The resolution of these conflicts will enhance our ability in peaceful times to unleash all our forces to combat underdevelopment and consolidate our economy.

Mr. President, we are mindful of our close cooperation and collaboration during the Gulf crisis, as was evidenced during our presidency of the Security Council. We believe in the principles of international law and hope that the momentum of bilateral cooperation will continue, and lead to the establishment of a broader solution and peace in the Middle East, including the final permanent and satisfactory settlement of the Palestinian question.

Once again, Mr. President, Zimbabwe rejoices in the excellent relations existing between our two countries. We have a proverb in Zimbabwe which says, "One never travels a path once." I hope, Mr. President, having traveled the path to Zimbabwe once, you will travel again and visit us. And the Zimbabwean people will once again have the joy of receiving you.

May I thank you for all the very warm welcome we have received and for the opportunity afforded us to exchange our ideas. I thank you.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Mr. President. Well done, sir.

Q Mr. President, tomorrow's the U.N. deadline on the nuclear report from Iraq. Do you expect them to come clean?

THE PRESIDENT: -- stick to the -- deadline -- no comment on that right now. Don't -- playing that up too much, but they know what they have to do.

Q And what if they don't?

Q Will you let them sell oil?

END

1:25 P.M. EDT