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Zimbabwe and Southern Africa

- A. "Presidential Directive" for the Development of Zimbabwe,
delivered by President Canaan Banana
at the opening of the first session of the first Parliament of Zimbabwe,
on 14 May 1980

Today is a momentous day in the history of our country with the opening of our first independent Parliament. After a long, hard-fought struggle by the people of our nation, which has cost our country dearly in every way, we have eventually achieved our independence which has been recognized by the world community. Our independence celebrations have focused the eyes of the world on Zimbabwe, and on our swift transition from a war situation to one of peace. One hundred countries were represented at the celebrations, amongst the representatives being five Heads of State, three specially invited Prime Ministers, thirteen Vice-Presidents, six Prime Ministers and Deputy Prime Ministers, twenty-six Foreign Ministers, representatives of six international organizations and seven liberation movements, as well as many other distinguished visitors who had helped us in our struggle. The Government was proud to welcome His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and Lord Carrington and also Dr Waldheim representing the United Nations Organization. It is hoped that the spirit engendered by our independence will be one that unites our people, of all races and political persuasions, so that all can join together to rebuild our country. The Government will do its utmost to achieve this national unity in a non-racial State.

Following the grant of sovereign independence, my Government has assumed full responsibility for foreign affairs and is now engaged in establishing many important diplomatic links throughout the world. In general, the foreign policy of my Government will be one of non-alignment, with the emphasis that Zimbabwe is an African state and our principal interests will be directed towards the problems faced by our brothers and sisters on the African continent.

It will follow a policy of peaceful co-existence with its neighbours and will seek to establish mutually beneficial relations with all countries which, prompted by a spirit of goodwill and friendship towards it, recognize the uniqueness of its social, political and economic problems. It will also encourage the free exchange of ideas, culture and trade without favour or discrimination between peoples or nations.

My Government will seek membership of such international or regional organizations as will further its aim of non-alignment. Zimbabwe will endeavour to become a political and economic force for the advancement and well-being of all the peoples of Africa and for redressing the balance between the rich and the poor countries of the world.

My Government intends to ensure that the Constitution is observed and will bring all laws into conformity with the letter and the spirit of the Constitution. In order to achieve this some of our present legislation, which is racially discriminatory, will require change. For this reason Bills will be introduced to amend or repeal such enactments as the African Affairs Act, the African Councils Act, the African Law and Tribal Courts Act and the African Status Determination Act. This is not an exhaustive list and other Acts may, for the same reason, be found to be in need of change during this Parliamentary session. The legal system will be examined with a view to establishing a structure where all courts fall within a single framework and every person has ready access to the courts and legal services.

My Government appreciates that many difficulties and problems lie before it. Although these cannot all be dealt with at once, the primary objectives are to consolidate the peace that has been brought to our country and to proceed with the reconstruction and resettlement programmes with the utmost urgency.

For the attainment of the first objective the amalgamation of the formerly opposed forces and their conversion into a strong and unified force for the defence of Zimbabwe is continuing as rapidly as possible.

For the achievement of the second objective a programme has been devised to reconstruct and improve the economy and infrastructure in the rural areas. This will aim at providing opportunities for all of our rural people to improve the quality of their lives through agricultural endeavour or in the commercial and industrial fields.

Hand in hand with this development will go an organized land redistribution programme aimed not only at resettling those of our people who were displaced by the war, but also at providing a variety of land-holdings to meet the aspirations of those who wish to make their living on the land, whether at peasant or commercial farming levels.

My Government is conscious of its responsibility to maintain a strong and viable agricultural sector so that the country is self-sufficient in all the

basic foods. Therefore, in pursuing this programme of land reform it will be careful to maintain the present commercial agricultural sector and to improve peasant agricultural production so as to provide the foundation for a thriving agricultural economy.

The undertaking of these programmes will require the fullest co-operation of, and participation by, almost every Ministry and agency of Government and it will fall to the Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rural Development to co-ordinate both their planning and implementation. It is intended that a Resettlement Fund will be established for the receipt of aid that is given to Zimbabwe for the purposes of reconstruction, resettlement and agricultural development.

It is my Government's intention to continue to develop the water resources of the country in order to support industrial and agricultural expansion and to promote settlement schemes based on irrigation. Emphasis will also be placed on providing water supplies in the rural areas, in order to enhance the quality of life of the rural people.

As a direct result of the war much of the infrastructure in communally occupied rural areas has been destroyed. Schools and clinics have been demolished and in many areas water supplies, dipping tanks and marketing facilities have been damaged beyond repair. Over a million head of cattle have died as a result of stock diseases. The road system has broken down to the extent that the transport of passengers and goods to and from these areas has been seriously affected. Because of this situation many of the former inhabitants of these areas have been forced to live in conditions of squalor in shanty towns which have become breeding grounds for crime, disease and the social evils associated with slum conditions.

The ongoing exercise to effect the repatriation of all refugees and disabled guerilla forces from outside our borders will continue. Administered by the Department of Social Services and funded by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, the co-ordinated relief and resettlement programme will include displaced persons presently designated as "squatters".

To encourage the return of these refugees to a normal and happy life in the rural areas my Government is giving top priority to the implementation of the programme of reconstruction in the affected areas. This in itself will provide job opportunities for many of those who have become refugees or who have been fighting the war.

During the coming year it will be my Government's intention to concentrate its efforts in the health field on the reopening of Government, local authority and mission hospitals and clinics that were forced to close due to the war situation. It will also try to expand and improve medical and health facilities throughout the country and in particular in the rural areas where little expansion has been possible in recent years.

The very requirement of health for mental, social and physical well-being, and its personal, community and national connotations, demands that an integrated approach be used. This will take cognizance of the contribution made to total health by activities such as agricultural production, infrastructure development, rural development, nutrition and dietary, cultural and formal education. It is my Government's intention to ensure from the village level, broad population participation in the effort to be healthy.

The fact that the major causes of death (over 90 per cent) in this country are preventable, makes it necessary, indeed imperative, for my Government to define, extend and intensify preventive and primary care activities throughout the country. The concentration on this will, in the long run, mean savings in high curative costs, thus releasing resources for extended training of low level, "grass root" staff, at district level.

Training of doctors, nurses, radiographers, medical and health assistants and various other ancillary medical and health personnel will continue to be a high priority to enable us to staff adequately the anticipated increased health services throughout the country.

Furthermore, my Government plans to provide as soon as possible a free medical service to all who urgently need it. This is an important and very demanding exercise which requires careful scrutiny of the wider implications countrywide and as related to other activities. Before a free medical service is established, my Government intends, initially, to provide free medical services to the disadvantaged people in the rural areas and the urban poor. The need to do so is imperative and will not, in any way, impinge on the plans for an integrated approach to health with a strong emphasis on primary health care.

In the field of education, it is the intention to pursue vigorously the re-opening of the many schools in rural areas which were closed as a result of the war. This will involve the recruitment of large numbers of teachers, many of whom will have no professional teaching qualification. My Government will therefore make every effort to provide in-service training for these teachers and for teachers with non-standard qualifications to assist them in fulfilling their function more effectively.

In its determination to work strenuously towards the maintenance and raising of standards of education in Zimbabwe, my Government will do all in its power to provide in-service courses for qualified teachers with the object of keeping them in touch with modern developments in education.

In the sphere of secondary education the most important innovation will be the introduction of the new National Certificate of Education which provides a single course for the less academic pupil and marks a further step towards making all secondary schools comprehensive in nature. To provide secondary education to a greater number of those chil-

dren who are unable to be accommodated in secondary schools the system of aided study groups will be greatly expanded.

It is my Government's intention, when all preparatory work has been carried out, to introduce free education on a phased basis beginning with the primary sector.

The Branch of Community Development Training will continue to train administrators for the local government system. It will also provide, in conjunction with other agencies, community education centres where students may study literacy and numeracy, skills to enable them to earn a living in their own environment, home economics, resource education and civics.

My Government regards the youth of this country as a very important section of the population. For this reason a separate Ministry has been created to deal with youth, sport and recreation. To ensure that the youth will contribute fully to the development of our country it is important that emphasis is placed on both sport and recreation, leading to healthy bodies and healthy minds. Sporting links will be developed with countries throughout the world to enable our people to visit foreign countries and also sportsmen from other lands to visit Zimbabwe. Such contacts can only help in the development of our country and its people.

My Government is aware that there are many workers in Zimbabwe who have reason to be dissatisfied with their rates of pay and conditions of service. It believes that even the lowest grade of worker should be paid sufficient for him to house, clothe and feed himself and his family, and will take steps to ensure that this basic requirement is met as soon as possible. It also believes that there should be no unjust discrimination against women. Thus where women are employed to do the same work as men they should receive equal pay and my Government will work towards this objective.

My Government considers the housing of all workers as a welfare matter of paramount importance. Every worker and his family have the right to adequate accommodation. In order to achieve this objective housing programmes on both an ownership and a rental basis will be worked out for those areas where this is required.

In the field of local government, it will be my Government's intention to democratize all municipalities by the end of the year and to create a unified local government administration to replace the different local government systems for blacks and whites. Legislation will be placed before you, designed to facilitate this proposal. The introduction of a unified system of local government will also do away with the present structure which divides the rural regions of the country into commercial and subsistence farming areas. An in-depth study on how best this can be achieved is already under way.

With the return of peace in the country, the Ministry of Roads and Road Traffic, Posts and Telecommunications will be in a position to apply urgently needed attention to the State road system, which has, to a large extent, been neglected over a period of some years. This attention to the State road system is significantly linked with the development of Zimbabwe and also its place in the co-ordination of development in Central Africa. The roads of this country will play an essential part in expanding trade and facilitating communication with our neighbours.

In the past years the Ministry of Roads and Road Traffic was responsible, in the main, for the major trunk roads of the country. Under this system the major road-building expertise has not been applied directly to roads serving the people in the rural areas. Consequently the people in the more remote rural areas where roads are very poor have suffered through lack of transport and development has been slow. In the future the Ministry will be responsible for the construction and maintenance of all the important roads in the rural areas, including certain of the trunk roads through existing rural council areas which serve farming areas beyond. By this policy change it is Government's intention to improve the entire rural road system for the benefit of the people as a whole.

My Government proposes to bring about expansion of the postal and telecommunication systems to provide benefit of the service to more of our people. The Posts and Telecommunications Corporation will revise its facilities and training programmes with a view to improving employment prospects at all levels and also working conditions and output. Since the country's new found independence has led to wide scale international recognition, it is now necessary for the Corporation to establish efficient international communication links with the rest of the world.

Zimbabwe needs to install additional electricity-generating capacity as soon as possible. The country relies on Zambia at present for about one-quarter of its power requirements. It is anticipated, however, that, given a modest growth for both economies, Zambia will not have enough surplus power in the near future to meet Zimbabwe's requirements and will, itself, soon have to embark on the construction of additional generating capacity.

Plans are well in hand to meet Zimbabwe's power requirements at Wankie. Stage I of this project is in the course of construction. Stage II also needs to be constructed at the earliest opportunity, and was put out to tender recently. The tenders call not only for the costs of construction but also for offers of finance. Several months will elapse before contracts can be awarded. Power should become available from Wankie in about three years' time.

Funds will be sought for preliminary investigations into the possibility of exploiting the hydro-electric power potential of the Zambezi River.

Electrification of the National Railways of Zimbabwe is proceeding with the section of the main line between Salisbury and Dabuka. A test section of 22 kilometres between Samwari and Gado has been electrified to facilitate the testing of the system, and of the measures designed to immunize (sic) the rural telephone network. Tenders have been called for this project, including the locomotives, and the finance. The objective is to electrify the whole of the main line during the next decade.

With its policy of opening links with other countries, the provision of additional air services is vital. The airlines of Britain, Mozambique, Malawi, Zambia, Kenya and Ethiopia are now operating, or have been authorized to operate, to and from this country whilst Air Zimbabwe is either operating reciprocal services or has been given the necessary rights to do so. The airlines of a number of other countries are also interested in providing similar services.

The railway line to Beira has been open for some months and the volume of traffic handled is expected to increase consistent with the ability of the port and railway administrations to provide the services expected by Zimbabwe's importers and exporters. The line to Maputo is not, however, expected to be opened to traffic before the end of the year, when the re-laying of track inside Zimbabwe and repairs to the bridges and installations in Mozambique should have been effected.

In the field of commerce and industry it is my Government's intention to give every possible encouragement to the development of small business enterprises in both the rural and urban areas. Indeed, my Government expects that with the removal of sanctions and the return of peace the commercial and industrial sectors as a whole will develop rapidly for the benefit of all our people.

My Government will seek to assist the expansion of foreign trade by means of bi-lateral and multi-lateral arrangements. Steps have already been taken in this connection to apply for accession to the Lomé Convention and studies have been made of other international agreements. Talks have already taken place with a view to establishing trade relations with neighbouring countries. My Government expects to maintain links with Zimbabwe's traditional trading partners as well as establishing new markets to provide outlets for our products.

The registration of pedigree cattle has, in terms of existing legislation, to be sent to the parent Breed Societies in the Republic of South Africa. As the number of pedigree breeders in Zimbabwe has increased considerably, suitable legislation will be introduced to enable this country to implement and process its own registration of such animals.

The draft constitution has been approved by all the Breed Societies in Zimbabwe and the proposed legislation will enable the Zimbabwe Herd Book to function as the sole registering authority.

Noting that, while the African Cattle Marketing Act [Chapter 230] is patently discriminatory, the cattle sales conducted thereunder in our tribal areas provide many benefits for peasant cattle owners. My Government has resolved to repeal that Act and replace it with legislation which will remove the objectionable features of the Act while retaining the benefits conferred thereby.

In order to provide advisory services to all farmers within the Ministry of Agriculture, the Department of Agricultural Development has been transferred from the former Ministry of Lands, Natural Resources and Rural Development. Likewise the Co-operatives Branch of the former Ministry of Home Affairs has been transferred to the Ministry of Agriculture. Co-operative societies will be promoted most actively to play a role in farm supply and marketing.

At this time farmers will be turning their attention to the crop programme they will pursue in the coming season. Associated with this, the Ministry of Agriculture will seek to finalize at an early date discussions and negotiations with producer representatives regarding the prescribed prices to be paid for the controlled crops which are being harvested at present, together with the pre-planting prices for the crops to be grown in the 1980-81 summer season.

In the field of information services at home, additional resources are being sought so that all the people in this country may be kept fully and continually informed of the work being done by my Government. The consultants from the British Broadcasting Corporation who were requested by my Government to advise on the various spheres of operation of the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation, have submitted their report and appropriate improvements are being made in the light of their recommendations.

To implement some of the recommendations it will be necessary to amend the Broadcasting Act [Chapter 248] and accordingly a Bill to reflect the changes will be presented. One of my Government's priorities is to bring about the extension of high quality broadcasting services to as many people in the rural areas as technical resources will permit.

With regard to the outside world, Zimbabwe's information services to other nations are being expanded to spread ever more widely the unfolding story of this country.

With the return of peaceful conditions, my Government — in co-operation with the private sector — is making every effort to restore and improve the infrastructure of our tourist industry. At the same time vigorous action is being planned to promote the attractions of Zimbabwe wherever there is a promising market, so as to build up visitor-traffic and domestic holiday making to a level exceeding the records of the past, but still within the capacity of our facilities, amenities and environment. Zimbabwe is the

heart and centre of the unique tourist area of Central Africa and my Government will maintain close contact with its neighbours in this region with a view to practical co-operation in tourism.

The tasks facing Government will make greater demands on the Public Service and to cope with these my Government has re-organized the department of the Public Service Commission into a ministry. The Public Service Commission will retain its independent role as provided for in the Constitution in dealing with personnel functions and will act as a recommending body to the Minister of the Public Service in relation to the central management functions of the Public Service.

In terms of section 75 (2) of the Constitution, I will give general directions of policy to the Public Service Commission to ensure that the accelerated advancement of Africans is carried out in accordance with Government's wishes. At the same time the Public Service Commission has been charged with maintaining the Public Service in a high state of efficiency and satisfying the career aspirations of present public servants.

My Government also intends to maintain high standards of prison administration and, where necessary, to improve prison conditions so as to attain complete non-racialism and uphold the humanitarian principles enshrined in our Constitution, bearing in mind always that people go to prison as punishment for their misdeeds as well as to get an opportunity to reform their future conduct.

In addition to the repair and reconstruction of existing Government buildings, there is need to augment the housing and office accommodation requirements of an expanding Public Service, both in the urban and rural areas. My Government will make a start on a second major office block in Salisbury and will continue at an accelerated rate its policy of providing staff housing in the smaller centres. Funds will be provided for the electrification of existing houses as an ongoing exercise where electricity supplies are available, and this policy will be continued in the coming years as such supplies are extended to outlying centres.

I have outlined a very ambitious programme for a newly independent country and my Government is firmly intent upon its implementation. The success of the programme is, however, dependent upon peace and stability being consolidated and improved. To this end the Police Force has reverted to its proper role of policing the country. Extensive programmes for training and retraining have been introduced to improve its effectiveness. It is proposed to increase the size of the Force. It is of paramount importance to my Government that internal public security is established and maintained.

B. Extracts from an address
to the UN General Assembly in New York,
by the Zimbabwean Prime Minister,
the Hon. Robert Mugabe, on 26 August 1980

Today is an historic and momentous day for Zimbabwe and for the whole international community. Historic because this is a moment of the vindication of valiant internal Zimbabwean forces that forged a relentless and victorious struggle for the liberation of Zimbabwe and also of the progressive international forces that assiduously buttressed that heroic struggle. Momentous, Mr President, because this Assembly conferring upon my country the status and honour of full membership of this body and the fellowship of the international community telescopes as it were, all our emotions, all our aspirations and all our ideals into one spirit of joy.

As yesterday Zimbabwe was united with members of the international community in the bitter national struggle for freedom, independence and nationhood, today it is united with these same members in celebrating the attainment of that freedom, independence and nationhood as it gets admitted into the family of nations.

I feel deeply moved and overwhelmed by the many tributes which you, Mr President, and so many countries and distinguished delegates have paid to my country and to me personally. I cannot find words to express my own feelings and the deep gratitude of my country and people at this hour. Let it suffice to say that just as we joined hands in a common struggle, suffered and died together, so do we join hands once again as friends and allies in celebrating this momentous event at our attainment of independence and consequent admission into the United Nations.

As a new member we are fully cognizant, Mr President, of the responsibilities and duties which our membership to this august body imposes on us. We unequivocally commit and fully pledge ourselves to abide by the Charter of the United Nations and to shoulder our commitments and obligations in a manner truly befitting our new status.

Mr President, the situation that faces Zimbabwe today and the relevant historical lessons which can be drawn therefrom cannot be adequately appreciated without some knowledge of historical events and historical dimensions that shaped the Zimbabwean national struggle and produced the present Zimbabwean independence.

The Zimbabwe situation and its development after the settler occupation of 1890 provides in the first place a unique historical example of the nature and character of colonialism and imperialism as classic modes of exploitative capitalism. And in the second place the development of forces of popular resistance as they consolidate themselves ultimately into com-

ponents of an armed national revolutionary struggle. The lesson is clear: the remaining oppressive and retrogressive regimes must heed the warning that they cannot oppress, suppress and repress a people in quest of their freedom indefinitely. Zimbabwe was colonized by the British in typical capitalist and colonialist fashion.

.....

Mr President, and distinguished delegates, in 1923 the British Government gave the Southern Rhodesia colony a chance to acquire self-governing status or join the racist Republic of South Africa. Through a referendum conducted by the British to the exclusion of the Africans the settler community expressed the desire to acquire self-governing status rather than join South Africa. It was on the strength of that racial minority vote that Britain granted self-government to the colony and Southern Rhodesia was annexed as a British Crown Colony. Britain in so doing never relinquished her ultimate constitutional authority or specific reserve powers of veto in regard to legislation *vis-à-vis* the Crown Colony.

The British veto powers which were in theory intended to protect Black interests were never used at all. On the contrary Britain seemed content to give their kith and kin a chance to entrench white domination. The year 1923 therefore was a turning point in the British imperialist strategy related to Zimbabwe. Britain had reportedly reserved a veto to protect African interests while in practice she was giving the white settler community a *carte blanche* to consolidate its position of self interest.

On the international scene Britain effectively barred the League of Nations and other anti-colonialist international bodies from discussing Southern Rhodesia on the ground that the territory was already self-governing. The British had thus successfully insulated the Southern Rhodesia problem. Britain's political attitude encouraged the racist settler community to effect the policy of subordinating the African population as the *modus vivendi et operandi* for consolidating white rule in Zimbabwe. The colonial settler community having been bestowed with internationally favoured conditions to consolidate minority rule eternally fully exploited this opportunity to strengthen their repressive political and economic structures.

The Rhodesia Bantu Association which was formed by an African group set up in 1923 to protest against the impending British transfer of power had been banned. A series of minority rule entrenchment legislation was passed in the 1930s and 1940s to reinforce the already furtive *status quo* of the self-governing territory.

The Land Apportionment Act of 1930 and other repressive laws passed during this period, including the 1931 Maize Control Act and its subsequent amendments effectively discouraged and limited both African political activities and economic production in the peasant agricultural sector.

Whatever improvement occurred in the economic sector in this period, little or nothing was done by the racist government to improve the living standards of the African population in any substantial way.

The structure of the society and official policy to maintain and consolidate discrimination remained basically unchanged. European jobs were completely protected against African competition by the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1943 which excluded blacks from its definition of employees. They were therefore protected in their jobs by the Industrial Conciliation Act. Africans could not therefore belong to a trade union but were regulated by the Master and Servant Act of 1931. With no pressure coming from the international community in relation to Southern Rhodesia the new ruling class, resorting to legal, political and economic manipulation paralysed the whole Southern Rhodesia African National Congress which was led firstly by the late Rev. Samkange and later by Aaron Jagia.

Yet African resistance could not absolutely be suppressed. For in 1948 the strike of municipal workers led by Benjamin Burombo who led the African Voice Association paralysed Bulawayo and Salisbury for some days. Burombo also led resistance to the massive eviction of the people from their land, de-stocking and land alienation which was being conducted under the Land Apportionment Act.

When the United Nations was formed in 1945, the colonial patrons argued that since Southern Rhodesia was self-governing it fell out of the terms of the United Nations Committee on Self-Governing Territories. The international factor was once again obstructed influencing the course of events in Zimbabwe. The internal arena stood continually pervaded at this time by the two diametrically opposed internal forces, the aggrieved African population long disarmed and subjugated and the selfish settler community armed and dominant. The African political organization of the time was quite ineffective. The African leaders of the time accepted the legal framework of the political system and sought to achieve the freedom of our people within the confines of that legal framework. They adopted pacifist methods which fought shy of violence.

This lack of organized opposition to their racist system did not prevent the white settlers from enacting more legislation to render the African politically ineffective. Indeed they proceeded to add to the arsenal of discriminatory and repressive statutes, the Subversive Activities Act of 1950 modelled on the South African Riotous Assemblies Act while the Native Land Husbandry Act of 1950 aimed at forced de-stocking of African farm stock on farms and painfully restricted the use of tribal arable land.

While claiming that Southern Rhodesia was a self-governing colony Britain successfully campaigned in 1953 for the creation of a more geographically comprehensive colonialist constitutional arrangement, an arrangement which gave birth to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasa-

land. While there was a strong argument by the British and the settler community that the Federation could contribute to rapid economic expansion by creating a wider domestic market for goods and services and by promoting foreign investments, it was quite clear to all political analysts that the sole purpose of forming the Federation was to give protection to settler rule by impeding possible progress towards African rule in the northern territories of what was then Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

The British colonial strategy failed because British Imperialism found itself being fundamentally opposed not only by the international community but by combined nationalist forces within the three federal countries. By passing Resolution 151 of 1960 containing the declaration on the granting of independence for colonial countries and peoples, the United Nations took a positive step which influenced Britain and France to start thinking of granting independence to their colonies.

It was at this point that the British found themselves differing with their settler communities in Zimbabwe on the issue of tactics. For their colonial strategy was one of maintaining foreign influence with indirect domination in Zimbabwe. The African approach to the issue of achieving independence had undergone some conceptual and organizational development. For the first time party organizational and functional organs operated countrywide. African parties began to be represented on the international forums. The concepts which guided the popular parties underwent transformation. The African National Congress during 1957 to 1959 recognized that where the grievances of the masses were exacerbated by continued adherence to aggressive laws then civil disobedience rather than a violent struggle was preferable. The National Democratic Party of 1960 to 1961 accepted that where violence and sabotage were necessary they could be directed at a settler property and not at a physical person who was its owner or the security forces which protected that property and the political system creating it.

The Zimbabwe African People's Union, ZAPU, at its earlier stage in 1961 to 1962 tended to recognize that constitutional negotiations were the main instrument of achieving political change while action programmes including sabotage and violence, falling short of armed struggle, were the means of adding to the efficacy of bringing about constitutional change.

The United Nations General Assembly Resolution of 1960 narrowed the British colonialist rule for manoeuvring although British colonialists continued to argue that Southern Rhodesia was self-governing and that therefore the question of decolonialization did not arise. They knew too well that they had to change their former operational mode to suit the new prevailing internal and international factors. The Resolution of 1960, international opinion and the rise of nationalism in the Federation caused Britain to convene an omnibus constitutional conference which combined,

apart from a Federal Conference, the Constitutional Conferences of Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia. Their objective in convening a constitutional conference on Southern Rhodesia was to set up a neo-colonialist white dominated regime.

The 1961 London Constitutional Conference had as its objective therefore the position of a white national leader who was thought to enjoy popular support from the black majority. The Africans were given a token representation of 15 seats in a House of Parliament of 65 seats. Our people saw through these colonialists' chicanery and overwhelmingly rejected the Parliamentary seats offered to them. In the meantime opposition to the Federation had intensified within and without the three territories comprising it. The colonial regional strategy failed and the Federation completely disintegrated. From this disintegration emerged the independent states of Zambia and Malawi. Now privileged Rhodesian white settlers once more stood threatened by the pace to black majority rule shown in the northern territories in 1964.

The white settler community's bitter resentment to majority rule had contributed to the rise of the Rhodesian Front to power in 1962. The Rhodesian Front believed that with a substantial economic growth that had been achieved during the Federation years white power could be more easily consolidated in Southern Rhodesia and hence the phrase used later "Not majority rule, not in a thousand years", which became the watchword for resisting majority rule. The Rhodesian Front also believed that if Britain resisted its demands for independence on a basis of white rule, that independence had to be assumed unilaterally. Any internal uprising against their UDI could be suppressed militarily. There was equal belief that since Britain had all along acquiesced in white control in Southern Rhodesia it could be persuaded to accept UDI as a *fait accompli*.

Mr President, it was against this background of an entrenched, oppressive and exploited colonial system sustained by the force of arms that the Nationalist movement in Zimbabwe transformed itself from a non-violent to a revolutionary armed movement using, therefore, arms as the principal form of that struggle. ZANU which had been formed in 1963 and banned by the Rhodesian Front regime in 1964, and its leaders imprisoned, was the first to launch armed struggle in April, 1966, followed by ZAPU later on. The Sinoia Battle of 1966 waged by ZANU's military wing demonstrated that a new development had occurred in the mode of struggle against imperialism and colonialism in Zimbabwe.

Confronted by a situation where the Crown had been challenged by a revolting settler community the British Government came to the Security Council to persuade the world to reject and oppose the new illegal authority imposed by the racist rebels in Zimbabwe. The General Assembly and Security Council swiftly passed Resolution 2024 and Resolution 216 of

1965 respectively in condemnation of the Unilateral Declaration of Independence. The international factor therefrom began to effectively operate against the racist settler regime.

During 1966 to 1968 several ineffectual attempts were made by the British Government to persuade the settler regime to return to legality. There were the famous "Tiger" and "Fearless" talks, both of which moves were of no avail. Each time the British failed to achieve progress they requested the United Nations to take action against the racist regime. At the request of Britain supported by the progressive community, the General Assembly and Security Council progressively passed resolutions imposing optional economic sanctions in November 1965, selective mandatory sanctions in 1966 and comprehensive mandatory sanctions in May 1968.

The role of the United Nations had thus completely transformed this body into a persistent fighting ally of the liberation movement and oppressed masses of Zimbabwe.

Mr President, our decision to resort to war as the principal form of acquiring our independence emerged from our realization that entrenched racist rule could not be dislodged otherwise. The armed violence of oppression could only be dislodged by the armed violence of liberation — if the oppressor killed to oppress, the oppressed had to kill to destroy oppression. The oppressor was armed — the oppressed had similarly to be armed. The hard lesson of our history had taught us that the settler community which buttressed its usurped political power by force of arms could never voluntarily surrender power. We had thus learned the hard way that concessionalist, moralist as well as reformist non-violent politics were not only ineffective but also a dangerous method of confronting a well-armed barbarous settler regime. Whereas the enemy used arms to sustain an unjust system based on racialism we used arms, Mr President, to destroy injustice, racism, inequality and to create peace.

War became to us therefore an instrument for creating peace. We did, Mr President, continue to subscribe as we fought as a liberation movement to the United Nations Charter and as we fought to achieve our rights to self-determination and independence; we would want to assert that we fought for the preservation of the United Nations Charter in Zimbabwe.

Between 1966 and 1979 the colonial settlers' strategy was to consolidate the position of their usurped power and secure international recognition for the racist illegal Smith regime. The strategy we pursued as the liberation forces was therefore to work by force of arms for the overthrow of that racist regime. Although Smith had created a mammoth military and para-military force to suppress the seven million people in Zimbabwe we remained firm and certain that he was bound to crumble under the ever

sharpening thrust of the people's liberation forces supported by the international community.

As we carried our military offensive from 1972 on, the approach was to begin by gaining control of the rural areas where the majority of the African people live and then proceed in stages as the war qualitatively transformed to operations in urban areas.

In this process we dealt heavy blows on targets of a military, economic and administrative nature, at the same time as we politicized and mobilized the masses into an impregnable force that was to prove the scourge of the enemy. The international climate created by the community of nations enabled the supportive progressive forces to provide us with diverse logistical materials to enable us to intensify armed struggle. Year by year we grew from strength to greater strength and we extended our operational zones politicizing our rural and urban population. We consolidated our position by setting up militia forces to defend our liberated zones, while our gallant fighters advanced to engage the citadels of the enemy's power.

The impact of our successive victories and the effectiveness of our general control of the internal situation defeated the enemy in both physical and psychological terms. In the face of a deteriorating situation the enemy was forced to admit that they could never win the war, but could hold on for ages. A definite admission that the people were obviously winning the war.

Smith then began to adopt the political tactics of harnessing retrogressive African leaders as puppets in order to present a facade of democracy and majority rule as a basis for appealing to the Western countries for recognition and validation of his wholly anti-democratic racialist and colonial regime. Some African puppets and stooges dancing to the tune of their master provided a transparent window-dressing for reward of huge salaries as they falsely proclaimed that democracy and majority rule had come to the country. It will be remembered, Mr President, that the leaders of ZANU and ZAPU, that is Comrade Nkomo and myself in the Patriotic Front came to the United Nations in March 1978, to appeal for Security Council action against the internal settlement. We got the support of this august body and indeed the support of the General Assembly which we needed and we derived great inspiration and encouragement from this community of nations when it declared the fraudulent March 3rd Agreement as illegal, illegitimate and unacceptable.

We were greatly inspired, Mr President, by the resolution which declared the subsequent bogus election results null and void. When the Security Council Resolution 423 of 1978 and 449 of 1979 were passed calling upon all members of the international community not to extend recognition to any regime resulting from the illegal election and not to give any

form of encouragement to the illegal regime, our will to struggle was given greater impetus. We became even more convinced that we were on the threshold of attaining independence.

Once again a racist, cosmetic solution to the Zimbabwean problem had been rejected by the international community thus paving the way for a new political initiative to solve the Zimbabwe political impasse. This final political initiative emerged at Lusaka where the Commonwealth countries signed a nine point agreement calling upon Britain to assume her colonial responsibility and convene a Constitutional Conference aimed at solving the Zimbabwean political deadlock. The Lusaka Commonwealth Conference decision on Zimbabwe resulted in the convening of the Lancaster House talks which in turn laid the basis from which Zimbabwe has passed into independence.

The success of the Lancaster House talks was a logical culmination point of sustained armed struggle by the internal liberation forces as supported in that just struggle by the international community. The success of the Lancaster House talks meant the defeat of the forces of retrogression which had attempted to sustain a completely undemocratic racist, and colonialist system for the past ninety years.

The advent of independence to Zimbabwe is a unique historical experience from which the entirety of humanity should draw the lesson that in any colonial situation, once the proper internal conditions and the correct international climate exist, the liberation forces fighting a struggle for justice, freedom and independence are bound to emerge victorious.

I wish, Mr President, distinguished delegates, to acknowledge with profound gratitude the sum total effect of the supportive efforts the Zimbabwean people enjoyed and were able to combine with their own efforts in the prosecution of their national struggle.

Mr President, Sir, there can never be sufficient recompense for the assistance given and supreme sacrifices made by the front-line states and their nationals. Where we died, they also died; where we were harassed, bombed and massacred by the enemy, their people were also harassed, bombed and massacred by the enemy. Where we went hungry, their people also went hungry. They fought with us and suffered with us the whole way through.

The solidarity between us in the struggle was indeed a unique phenomenon of the unity of our ideals and objectives. I take this opportunity to register the gratitude of my people through the agency of the United Nations. The assistance we obtained, Mr President, from the front-line states was given us substantially out of the recognition by these states that they were the vanguard of Africa and the vanguard of the OAU.

To the OAU and to the whole of Africa, Zimbabwe says, "well done, you have succeeded in restoring the dignity and personality, not only of

the Zimbabweans, but Africa as a whole". The people of Zimbabwe are proud of you. Africa alone, Mr President, would not have been enough to provide the full quantity and quality of resources we needed for the successful prosecution of the struggle against an enemy enjoying limitless logistical supplies. We feel proud and profoundly grateful, therefore, that several socialist countries came to the aid of Africa by supplying huge quantities of effective weaponry and other material means of the struggle.

May I once again take this opportunity to record the abundant gratitude of the people of Zimbabwe to them for the invaluable role they have played in making our liberation and the attainment of our independence a certainty. Amongst western countries were progressive states who made it their policy annually to budget for the amelioration of the physical and social needs felt by our people during the protracted war period. Although they did not give us arms, they gave us equally essential commodities for the maintenance of the body and soul, for the welfare of our refugees and our fighters. We thank them all and the voluntary support and the political organization in their countries and also in other countries which gave us humanitarian, political and moral support.

We cannot complete this litany of donors of our material aid that promoted our national struggle, or gave comfort to our people in the difficult years of the struggle, without mentioning, Mr President, the political role played by the Commonwealth since UDI. It was indeed Commonwealth pressure upon Britain which finally produced the 1979 Lusaka communique on the basis of which we proceeded to Lancaster House where the agreement now enshrined in our Independence Constitution was realized. I wish to thank all the Commonwealth countries for their help. Our struggle had become internationalized and several international forums played a very vital role, amongst them the Non-Aligned Movement to which we belonged as a liberation movement and it will be realized that it was from the Havana Conference that we proceeded to Lancaster House. We wish to extend to them our profound gratitude for the role they played in giving us support, in upholding our objectives as indeed they have been upholding the objective of international peace, the objective of disarmament in the international community.

Mr President, reference has already been made to the role played by the United Nations since 1960 when the Declaration on the granting of Independence to colonial countries and peoples was passed. I have also referred to the development in the United Nations process in accepting the question of the colony of Southern Rhodesia as a United Nations responsibility. Indeed, after UDI both the General Assembly and the Security Council, as I stated earlier, wonderfully discharged their responsibility towards the oppressed masses of Zimbabwe.

We wish to thank the United Nations through this forum of the Gen-

eral Assembly for the immense pressures that this august body exerted on Britain and against the illegal settler regime of Ian Smith, whether this pressure came by way of sanctions resolutions, or by way of other resolutions condemning the administering power and urging it into action, or by merely making appeals to the administering power, the totality of those resolutions was an effective pressure which combined with the pressures our armed struggle were exerting on the situation. We felt in our hour of need you were always one with us. You must feel now in our hour of victory and glory we are with you and one with you. We are committed to be one with you on the basis of the Charter.

Lastly I now wish to refer to the final role played by Britain as the administering power. Britain after years during which she progressively contributed by acts of commission or omission to the consolidation of white minority rule in my country, rose to the occasion after the Commonwealth Conference in Lusaka and seized the opportunity to take decisive action by convening the Lancaster House Conference and thereafter acting resolutely to implement the Agreement reached at that Conference. We recognized the significance and courage of her final act and join hands with her in reconciliation and friendship as we face the future.

A job well done is a job well done whatever the wrongs and inconsistencies of the past might have been. Lancaster, Mr President, was a necessary compromise of the interests of our people and for the sake of international peace and security. The basic framework it provided is, despite its imperfections, flexible enough to allow for our programme for the next phase of our national struggle aimed at the consolidation of our independence and the social transformation of our country and people. Since Lancaster we have not marked time.

"A luta continua" is our internal and external theme for "the fight goes on", now in political, economic, social and cultural terms. Political independence must be consolidated through socio-economic development but underlying the economic theme is the securing and maintenance of peace as a necessary condition and also as an objective of human endeavour. But peace in the face of poverty and economic disparity among people is a mockery of dynamic, social and distributive justice. So in my country we are now engaged in the major task of rehabilitation and resettlement of thousands of our people who have been displaced or forced to become refugees.

We have also embarked on a concerted programme of reconstruction of our economy whose physical and social structure had been destroyed or disrupted in the more recent years of the national struggle for independence and freedom. This reconstruction programme, which over the next two years will cost upwards of US\$350 million, will merge into the development phase and the full magnitude of the task over the same period will

be in the order of US\$1,5 billion.

But beyond that there is the herculean task of restructuring and overall development. The economy, given its history of minority domination and its present structure of uneven development as well as foreign control, requires major structural and institutional changes involving among others; land reform, and rehabilitation and greater local participation so that employment opportunities can be created for all and growth can be expanded and sustained for the benefit of all. We are currently engaged in formulating the necessary policies and programmes.

In all these tasks of national rehabilitation, resettlement, reconstruction and restructuring we shall endeavour to mobilize to the full all our domestic resources, human, material, technological and financial. But we shall also seek and indeed we are seeking the full support of the international community. The magnitude of the reconstruction and development task before us is formidable and will in real terms amount to well over four billion dollars within the next five years.

While we are grateful to all those countries acting individually or collectively who have readily come to our aid I would be failing in my duty if I did not say that the aid so far forthcoming and the general flow of external development resources fall far short of our requirements. In this regard, we would remind those of our friends who before and at Lancaster made such promises of generous offers, to match their words now with concrete action. We would also appeal to the international community as a whole to come to our aid. I cannot over-emphasize the vital importance of all the tasks to which I have referred in which my country is engaged. It is my hope that in the spirit and policy of national reconciliation which my government has enunciated we can unleash hitherto pent-up energies, forget the past, evolve a truly non-racial society and put fully to national use and to the benefit of all our people all the skills, talents, initiative and drive which abound among our people of all races and colours.

As I said elsewhere, Mr President, when ZANU ascended to power we felt the moment demanded of us a spirit of pragmatism, a spirit of realism, a spirit of realism rather than that of emotionalism, a spirit of reconciliation and forgiveness rather than that of vindictiveness and retribution. We had to stand firm to achieve total peace rather than see our nation sink to the abyss of civil strife and continued war. To us the time had come for those who had fought each other as enemies to accept the reality of a new situation by holding each other as allies who, in spite of their ideological, racial, ethnic, religious differences were now being called upon to express one loyalty to Zimbabwe. We had to embrace one another in the spirit of our one nationality, our common freedom and independence, our collective responsibility.

This is why we invited our allies of ZAPU and two members of the

white community into a coalition of forces determined to make a success of our independence. We have faith in the people whose courage and determination created the present Zimbabwe. The success of Zimbabwe will be the victory not only of Zimbabwe, but also of Africa and the world as a whole.

Zimbabwe, together with all progressive forces and with the full support of the international community, could transform southern Africa in the interests of true democracy, progress, peace and security. For this to be fully realized there has to be the right international climate within the framework of appropriate institutions and structures. In this respect "*a luta continua*" also applies at an international level. You will therefore permit me, Mr President, to say something on this very important matter, which indeed touches on the critical issues of the agenda of this Eleventh Special Session. I do so in the full conviction that there should be no dichotomy between what is done at a national level and what is, or should be, done at an international level. Indeed, our own belief in the need and necessity for restructuring or growth with fundamental change accords with a similar need and necessity at an international level.

The guiding principles of our foreign, political and economic policy are organically linked, not only with principles which guide our domestic policies, but also with those principles which have guided our struggle. In political terms our policies are guided by five principles. First, we believe in national sovereignty and equality among nations. My government stands ready to establish and develop mutually beneficial relations with all countries that respect our sovereign right to an independent socio-economic development. Currently we are in the process of establishing and developing relations with many nations, large and small, socialist and capitalist.

Second, as a nation dedicated to the attainment of a socialist, egalitarian and democratic society, we welcome and encourage mutually beneficial co-operation and assistance from socialist countries the world over in our reconstruction and development efforts. Nevertheless, the development of socialism in Zimbabwe will have to take place in full cognizance of the concrete situation in our country and in the sub-region.

Third, in accordance with our struggle we uphold, Mr President, the right of all peoples to self-determination and independence. In this regard we support the aspirations and just struggle of Namibia to independence. In conformity with Security Council Resolution 435 and under the leadership of SWAPO we question and condemn the so-called Turnhalle Internal Settlement farce as orchestrated by the apartheid South African regime and call upon all countries to co-ordinate and increase their material support to the Namibian people's struggle. Current moves at convening a conference between SWAPO and the South African regime we believe

should not interfere with the need to give increased support to SWAPO (inaudible) with principles of this right of self-determination we support fully the Palestinian people's struggle. As a liberation movement we are allies with the PLO. As an independent state, the Republic of Zimbabwe, we remain an ally with PLO.

Mr President, my government has also taken a decision on Western Sahara. We have proceeded to recognize the Polisario in that region and to recognize of course, the new State of Western Sahara, because we believe the people of Western Sahara have the same right as ourselves to self-determination.

Fourth, our country is dedicated to non-racialism at home and abroad. In this connection our people know too well the evils of racial discrimination and aggression as we have only recently emerged from a situation — from a similar system under the Rhodesian Front regime and its auxiliaries. While we support efforts at putting increased moral and material pressures on the apartheid South African regime to democratize the political system in South Africa, we feel that the major efforts should be concentrated on marshalling material support for the African National Congress and the Pan African Congress in their struggle against the Pretoria regime. At our Independence our people took their own place among the front-line states and assumed their own share of co-ordinating and channelling African and international assistance to the struggle of the people of South Africa against racialism, economic exploitation and social oppression. We shall work with the other front-line states, with the other countries of Africa in the OAU in doing our best to bring pressures to bear upon the apartheid regime of South Africa.

On our part we have set in motion a process of disengaging from South Africa alongside the other countries in our region. This process is linked up with the process of building up and cementing our ties with free Africa in and outside the region with the aim of strengthening our own collective self-reliance and political and economic strength. We call upon the world community, collectively through the United Nations and individually, to assist us and other countries in the frontline to support economic measures especially in the field of transport and power.

Fifthly our foreign policy is also based on positive non-alignment and peaceful coexistence among countries having different socio-economic systems. We are a member of the non-aligned movement and stand ready to co-operate with other members in striving to uphold the principles of independence and self-determination among nations, big or small. We will co-operate with other countries in contributing solutions to pressing world problems while upholding the principles of objectivity and fairness. We would not however wish to have our friends choose for us who should be our other friends.

Mr President, Ladies and Gentlemen, the principles enunciated here as principles guiding our domestic and foreign political and economic policies are principles which are supportive of and consistent with the Charter of the United Nations and its two declarations on human rights and on the rights of colonial peoples to self-determination and independence. My delegation would like to associate itself with the joint striving of mankind for a just world order through the universal framework of the United Nations. In particular we are ready to participate in efforts to negotiate meaningful and positive measures that would ensure a favourable climate for development. Although we have just emerged from armed struggle against an oppressive, colonial, settler regime we are formally committed to the United Nations' system. We have, naturally, problems that must be solved.

The economic crisis facing the developing countries manifests itself in a continuous deterioration in their terms of trade. This has translated itself, as we all know too well, into huge current account deficits faced by developing countries who are consequently forced to take retrenchment measures which result in reduction of vital imports and a scaling down of their growth rates. As we see it the nature of the economic crisis facing the developing countries is at least five fold.

Firstly, there is in general a failure to mobilize internal resources and implement adjustment in certain areas of production in which the developing countries collectively enjoy an advantageous position.

Secondly, higher costs of energy and food have aggravated the balance of payment problems of developing countries whose terms of trade have worsened.

Thirdly, non-energy related inflation in industrialized countries has been transmitted to the developing countries through higher prices of imported manufactured goods.

Fourthly, to the extent that industrialized countries have taken anti-inflationary measures, interest rates have risen. This has meant higher costs of borrowing for developing countries who have been obliged to borrow massively to enable them to close the trading gap.

Fifthly, the general slow-down in economic activities in the developed nations has resulted in the scaling down of their demand for the exports from developing countries. The industrialized countries' protectionist measures against manufactured exports from the developing countries, combined with the refusal or reluctance of the developed nations to restructure their economies so that markets can be opened to the developing countries in areas where the rich nations are facing reduced efficiency and comparative trading advantages, have not ameliorated the situation either. Official development assistance has not been forthcoming in volumes needed nor promised under the strategy of the second decade. In addition

official financing has progressively become less concessionary as grants have generally diminished in volume.

Furthermore, loans have been granted at higher interest rates and grace periods have become shorter. To the extent that loans have been granted increasingly stringent terms accompanying such loans have led some developing countries to reject the loans outright. This appeared especially so with the International Monetary Fund-Balance of Payments loans whose conditionality elements seem too rigid to really serve a development need. In the end the poor nations have had to go to the higher interest Euro-currency markets and this has led to the acute debt burden which these countries are now facing.

In brief, Mr President, distinguished delegates, the fundamental hazards facing the *collective international economy* include the escalation of protectionism which distorts the national allocation of resources and constricts the expansion of developing countries' exports in the markets of the developed. Also, chronic inflation and monetary instability which undermine the very foundations of meaningful international co-operation, the huge and mounting debt burden of the developing countries and ensuing debt service and repayment costs, the crippling problems of balance of payments caused by the mounting debts exacerbated by the rising import bills for manufactured capital goods, food and energy. Further, instability in world markets for raw materials and general deterioration in terms of trade of the developing countries; an adverse moment in their foreign exchange earnings and the persistence and worsening conditions of unemployment, mass deprivation which hang over the head of mankind like a sword of Damocles.

These problems are the more acute and the more pressing for a new country like Zimbabwe which has risen to nationhood after years of war and isolation and is partly looking to the international economy for the essential imports to help her rebuild her infrastructure, for a more equitable development process. The solutions to problems facing our nascent nation can be facilitated by the resolution of these international problems. Wider access to trading markets for manufacturers and technology of developed countries, easier access to financial markets increased on better terms of capital to developing nations on concessionary terms and establishment of a more comprehensive mechanism for international financial co-operation for development would be a major step, Mr President, on the road to more effective international co-operation.

As I have noted earlier, my country is engaged in a massive programme designed to rehabilitate and reconstruct the social and economic infrastructure that was destroyed or damaged during the liberation struggle. We have embarked on a path of socio-economic development that requires huge resources generated from both domestic and external sources.

The programme of rehabilitation, reconstruction and development would doubtlessly be facilitated by the creation of a favourable international climate as envisaged in the agenda of this special session. For it is only under such conducive and favourable circumstances that the restoration and development of our productive capacities can be fully achieved. That would in turn make it possible to fulfil our domestic goals of higher standards of living for all our people and the international goal of equitable participation in the global economy by the developing countries including my country.

I want to emphasize the appreciation of my government for the support which the United Nations system has already extended during the course of our struggle. The international community responded well to the appeal channelled through the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. The programme is already under way. The work of rehabilitation and resettlement is far advanced. Among other efforts, the United Nations development programme financed a comprehensive socio-economic survey of my country. This study was executed by the United Nations conference on Trade and Development and became the basis for a Zimbabwean United Nations inter-agency-conference held in Zimbabwe in May of this year. The conference in turn produced a compendium of development projects which were a result of the deliberations between the representatives of the United Nations agencies and of the relevant ministries of my government. Most of the projects so identified are of major importance to the development of Zimbabwe and will be pursued with a minimum of delay.

In addition to these efforts the Security Council, through Resolution 460 of 1979, charged the Secretary-General with the responsibility of mobilizing all forms of financial, technical and material assistance to Zimbabwe and provide the international community with information on the requirements for assistance to deal with the situation. The special report which the Secretary-General will soon distribute highlights the most serious and immediate needs in Zimbabwe's infrastructure. I would like to appeal to the Secretary-General for speed and efficiency in executing the plan.

Ladies and gentlemen, there is a substantive parallel which can be drawn between what the special session of the United Nations is trying to achieve and the internal, regional and continental goals that Zimbabwe has set out to achieve. For example, international efforts at achieving a more efficient deployment of resources, particularly non-renewable energy resources, is mirrored in our own domestic programmes to produce ethanol from sugar cane and methanol from coal as alternative sources of fuel. Zimbabwe has a very high exposure to sunshine and we have begun to explore methods of exploiting our solar energy potential. But these pro-

jects require financing. We are looking for concessionary financing for these vital projects. This session is concerned with balance of payment problems, unfavourable terms of trade for developing countries, raw materials and prices. Instability in commodity markets is reflected in our own domestic programmes to industrialize and increase local beneficiation of mineral exports.

Further, our development strategy is geared to achieving growth with stability and equity. Our contributions to both the Lagos and the Lusaka Economic Summit meetings clearly indicated our resolve to promote regional co-operation and collective self-reliance at the regional level. We have also signed six Economic Co-operation Treaties with Mozambique in pursuit of the same policy. The general concern with world poverty and food shortages in particular are reflected in both our domestic and regional food security plans. We firmly believe that the unity achievable in economic joint undertakings will strengthen the approach by developing nations in negotiating with the developed nations.

We are equally convinced that within the developing nations innumerable potential exists and if these potentials could be shared among the developing nations themselves, significant progress could be achieved to realize our joint economic advancement. Zimbabwe, it is clear, fully subscribes to the principles embodied in the new international economic order and we shall do all in our power to contribute to their fulfilment at the national level. It is also our view, that in order to achieve and sustain growth developing nations would need to learn from each other's experience and together negotiate for an increase in the level of development finance for increased access to markets for manufactures and raw materials in the economies of more developed members of the international community, and negotiate together for the genuine reform of the international monetary system, which would underpin the new development efforts.

It is therefore our conviction, Mr President, that co-operation among developing countries and the industrialized countries are necessary elements of a global system of mutual, advantageous and reciprocally beneficial inter-dependence.

While my government takes note of recent successful negotiations, for example within the framework of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, especially the agreement on the Common Fund, on multimodal transport, on restrictive business practices, on transfer of technology and on external debts, we feel that a more fundamental and comprehensive approach needs to be pursued. In particular, as I have already indicated, my government takes the firm view that sustained and accelerated development of the developing countries requires the fundamental restructuring of existing international economic relationships in in-

ternational trade, international finance and monetary spheres.

This should be achieved through negotiations among all parties and effected through a system of new principles and rules governing developing and developed countries' relations in these areas, the new structure to provide for a democratic and equitable participation of developing countries in both *decision-making and management of the new system of international co-operation for development*. My government is of the view that the projected round of negotiations bearing on these and related issues be launched at this session and that no efforts at reaching agreement should be spared so that the new system could be in place within the first two years of the third development decade.

Mr President, my government urges that this session finalize a new development strategy for the next decade that is comprehensive and that should serve as an *effective instrument for the attainment of the objectives of the new international economic order*. In particular we believe that in order to ensure a sustained flow of development financing for the third decade, automatic and predictable international fiscal measures such as a tax on the resources of the seabed, etc., be agreed to.

The current disarmament negotiations should reach an early conclusion so that resources currently devoted to the arms race can be released for development. Further, my government believes that official bilateral and multi-lateral lending should be channelled more and more to development programmes as a whole.

Mr President, distinguished delegates, ladies and gentlemen, Zimbabwe is now one of you and one with you. Together we can ride out the storm that threatens the very foundations of the human experiment. I have no doubt that together we shall succeed. On behalf of the people of Zimbabwe, and on behalf of all the struggling humanity, I wish, Mr President, to thank you again for the honour given me to participate in the deliberations of this august body, and for the honour given me to address this special session of the General Assembly upon the attainment of independence by my country and the assumption of a new international status by the Republic of Zimbabwe.

A luta continua, pamberi ne chimurenga, pamberi ne kunzwanana.

C. Broadcast to the nation
by the Zimbabwean Prime Minister,
the Hon. Robert Mugabe, on Zimbabwe Television,
on 1 October 1980

We are now in the sixth month of our hard-won independence, independence which came, as you all know, after a protracted, bitter struggle that cost us thousands of lives and a great deal of suffering. Death was the maximum sacrifice which the people of Zimbabwe were prepared to pay for the achievement of their freedom, sovereign independence and democracy.

Death was the price we were prepared to pay to rid our country of colonialism, racial domination and racial oppression. It was, therefore, our brave and honourable duty to die or suffer in our unwavering commitment to the sacred task of liberating ourselves. If we killed others in pursuance of that noble objective, the justification for such killing was the just war we were waging.

But we have now secured our freedom and sovereign independence and democracy. Our people, in the exercise of their democratic right to vote, freely elected a government of their choice and opted for peace. When, after the elections, I made my first broadcast to the nation, I appealed to all of you to recognize the phenomenon of peace and appealed for a complete transformation on the part of every member of our Zimbabwean community and for an acceptance of the new spirit of reconciliation based on a willingness to accommodate each other, whether or not we had been allies, enemies or mere opponents during the armed struggle. We had to recognize that peace was a necessary condition for the sustenance and consolidation of our independence and for the promotion of our resettlement, rehabilitation and reconstruction programmes.

I am glad to realize that the majority of our people, black and white, have heeded my earnest appeal and, through their lawful and disciplined behaviour, have assisted in maintaining perfect peace. I am glad that the majority of all our comrades — ZANLA and ZIPRA — who have been in assembly points for over nine months now, have maintained good discipline and contributed immensely to the consolidation of our peace and independence. I wish to congratulate you upon this excellent behaviour.

I am, however, sorry to say that some dissident elements and misguided party militants have acted in complete defiance of the call for peace. There have been senseless killings of civilians and other acts of armed violence in several areas, especially in and around Salisbury, Sinoia and Bulawayo, over the last two or so weeks by armed dissident elements and undisciplined party militants who have become a scourge to our society.

I have repeatedly warned those concerned of drastic measures against them by government unless they desist from the folly of their barbarous acts, lawlessness and undisciplined behaviour. However, these warnings have been ignored and these evildoers have persisted in their criminal activities with impunity and in complete disregard of the welfare of our people.

I have, accordingly, now ordered the deployment of units of our integrated National Army in conjunction with the Police Force in all the affected areas as stated above. If need be, more forces will be deployed to cover more areas. The evil elements must be routed and routed with speed.

The task of the forces deployed will be to restore law and order in the areas concerned, by rounding up all dissident elements and taking possession of all illegal weapons.

It is senseless that after we have achieved peace and independence there should continue to be wanton political murders and hooliganism. It is equally deplorable that some people are bent on rejecting the spirit of reconciliation and prefer instead indulging in systematic acts of political violence, calculated to lead to a general breakdown of law and order.

Government is watching very closely the insidious activities of those irresponsible political leaders and the pattern of organized armed violence by planted clandestine groups, such as those responsible for recent grenade and other armed attacks at public places. Leaders who deliberately defy the law, court the wrath of the law unto themselves.

I appeal to all the people to give every form of assistance to the forces of law and order that have been deployed. It is important that you, the public, who have been affected by the recent spate of acts of violence, should welcome these forces which are being used to give you maximum protection and a greater sense of security so you can go about your normal duties without fear.

We need peace in both rural and urban centres. The peasant and commercial farmers are starting a new farming season. They should feel perfectly safe and free to engage in their agriculture so they can produce more food for us all.

They should thus cease to be harassed by lawless bandits. It is the duty of my government to protect the people, and this responsibility we cannot shirk.

Once again I wish to thank you all for your lawful conduct and loyalty to government. I thank you for accepting the principle of peace and reconciliation, and the phenomenon of adjustment to change on which it is based. If those millions of us who treasure peace and unity can continue to stand solidly together and with government, the lawless incidents by a few bandits and the activities of disgruntled political malcontents, are

bound to fail.

The will of the people as represented by my government must prevail over the will of selfish and unscrupulous individuals.

Long live our freedom!

Long live our peace!

Long live our independence!

Long live the People!

D. Speech by the Zimbabwean Prime Minister,
The Hon. Robert Mugabe, at the opening of the
Zimbabwe Conference on Reconstruction and Development (ZIMCORD),
in Salisbury on 23 March 1981

On behalf of the Government and people of Zimbabwe, I am pleased to welcome you all to this Conference on Zimbabwe's immediate post-war reconstruction and development problems and priorities.

I would especially like to extend a warm welcome to our guests and visitors from other countries and various international agencies. I wish for all of you a very happy stay in our country. Your presence here certainly bears witness to your understanding that Zimbabwe requires material assistance and that assistance is beyond the capacity of any single donor to provide. Indeed, I believe that your presence also bears witness to the political, economic and moral significance and importance of this non-racial, free, democratic society in this southern sub-continent of Africa. This Conference constitutes an important milestone in our history as a *people and a nation*. It takes place on the eve of the first anniversary of our accession to sovereign and independent statehood, itself an event of the most momentous significance for our people, for our region and, I dare say, mankind everywhere.

The Conference, moreover, takes place against the background of the termination of the war, that, for nearly a decade and a half, had ravaged our country, claimed thousands of lives, and threatened the viability of the country's entire socio-economic infrastructure. Alongside the raging war experienced by the country were the realities of international sanctions and international isolation which added to the ravages of the sustained bitter war.

During the whole period of our conflict, an increasingly large share of the country's output was diverted to the war so that the expenditure on this account was as high as 15 per cent of GDP. The inflow of foreign investment was reduced; access to external capital and money markets was severely restricted, thus reducing required resources for public and private

investment programmes; exports were almost invariably sold at a discount, imports purchased at a premium. Because of the need to conserve foreign exchange earnings the economy was forced to pursue an import substitution strategy to a degree not always consistent with efficiency.

We are now at peace. While the peace we have now achieved has unfortunately occasionally been disturbed by the misguided actions of a few disgruntled or criminal elements, there can be no doubt whatever that our country is more at peace today than at any time in the recent past. Thus, while they may not have yet been turned into ploughshares, the swords of war have nonetheless been rendered blunt and the guns silent. And within our country we are determined to maintain them that way, so both our nation and the world may realize that we adopted war as the means of struggle so we could produce peace. War, as I stated in 1976 at the Geneva Conference, was an instrument for peace. We now have to attend to economic rather than to political problems.

Mr Chairman, this moment and this conference are equally historic, in that they define and reflect the determination of our people, acting through their popularly-elected Government, to set in motion and consummate the rebuilding of Zimbabwe. The task before my Government in the new era of independence and peace is clear. It is to lay the foundation on the basis of which our people can regain their history and, as active participants, make their lives go forward in prosperity and happiness. The task facing us in Government is, indeed, immense, challenging and daunting. It involves rehabilitating our economy, reconstructing a shattered socio-economic infrastructure, particularly in the rural areas, resettling thousands of our people, as well as making sure that vital social services are restored or introduced for their benefit.

This has been our first, inescapable, order of business as a Government. Having regard to the heavy toll in destruction and disruption exacted by the armed hostilities of scarcely a year ago, my Government has already undertaken an extensive variety of initiatives directed to accomplishing the broad objectives of post-war reconstruction.

On the basis of our own resources and the assistance extended to us by friendly countries, international agencies, and various charitable organizations, we have taken the first firm steps along the road towards the rehabilitation and reconstruction of our rural, social and economic facilities, along with the restoration of basic social services.

May I take this opportunity, Mr Chairman and Honourable guests and delegates, to record my Government's appreciation and gratitude for the assistance we have thus far received from friendly countries and international institutions. This assistance has been effectively utilized in alleviating the suffering and destitution of thousands of our people especially the over one million war refugees and displaced persons.

It is in this context, in which our own resources and initiatives have been supplemented by external assistance, that my Government has proceeded with determination to undo the heritage bequeathed to us by nearly a century of colonialist neglect and exploitation and by the protracted armed conflict of the recent past. We have thus, as I have already stated, resettled most of our war refugees and displaced people. To thousands of our people — both the former refugees in particular and the destitute in general — we have provided minimum shelter, food, land, and basic means of sustenance in the year that has gone by.

We have also opened several rural roads, repaired some bridges and thus restored vital lines of communication without which no development is possible. My Government has, in addition, set about rebuilding schools, clinics, and hospitals or, indeed, building new ones where none existed before. Furthermore, Government has purchased 370 000 hectares of farmland at a cost of nearly Z\$5 million, on which have been resettled some 15 000 families.

I wish to stress here that our efforts have not been directed towards the mere restoration of the *status quo ante-bellum* as an end in itself. Rather, our objective is to prepare the ground work for the launching of a comprehensive integrated and well-articulated development plan geared to attacking the evil of mass poverty, especially as this pertains to our rural areas. Elements of this plan, which will be unveiled three months hence, have been incorporated in the ZIMCORD agenda which is before us. Hence simultaneously with the formulation and elaboration of our projected three-year transitional development plan we have set out to tackle our most pressing and immediate problems.

It is our conviction that the resolution of these problems is not only called for in terms of the immediate needs of our people, but also that this should already indicate the orientation and provide the base on which Government will initiate its further plans and programmes for realizing the accelerated growth of our economy under conditions of justice and equity for our people as a whole.

Zimbabwe's economy has a tremendous potential; it already has a diversified base and inbuilt resilience, founded on a rich and diverse natural resources base. Our mineral resources of gold, chromium, nickel, asbestos, copper, iron ore, coal and semi-precious stones underpin and secure the country's economy, as do our major agricultural products which include tobacco, maize or corn, cotton, wheat, sugar, groundnuts, soya beans, beef and dairy products. The industrial base is firm and indeed the manufacturing sector which includes both capital and consumer goods, already contributes about a quarter of the nation's output of goods and services.

I think it should also be underlined that all these economic consider-

ations are underpinned now within the framework of a democratic system directed to the attainment of a socialist and egalitarian society. In addition, my Government has demonstrated its capacity to maintain peace, security and stability under the most difficult circumstances, and is determined to do so in the future.

These, we believe, are essential ingredients for successful social and economic development. Yet because of the unique circumstances facing Zimbabwe at this early but critical stage in its development, there is one missing link. This is the need for economic resources for a reconstruction and restructuring programme in the order of magnitude indicated at the conference documentation. The need for such aid was recognized at Lancaster House, where it was noted that the magnitude of the task was such that no one donor country could provide it alone.

Your presence this week is testimony to the need for international support for this task. Because of its geographical position, the strength and diversity of its economy, and because of its highly developed infrastructure, Zimbabwe occupies a strategic position, one likely to increase directly in proportion to the political uncertainties and possible international isolation of South Africa.

The initial task of reconstruction is, however, yet to be completed. The financial and technical assistance we have to date received falls far short of our requirements, even when these are estimated conservatively. Whilst some may now perhaps find it inconvenient to be reminded of the aid promises that were presented to us as essential components of the Anglo-American constitutional settlement proposals of 1976 and 1977 respectively, we merely note that our immediate post-war requirements were then estimated at around US\$1,5 billion. That was four or five years ago. Today, as we set about consolidating our independence following the Lancaster House Agreement of December 1979, our requirements for post-war reconstruction and development are surely greater.

We have much vital work before us. My Government is committed to clearing the stage and unleashing a vigorous attack on the evils of mass poverty, disease, and ignorance. These evils, persisting side by side with our technologically advanced civilization as they do cannot but reflect man's inhumanity to man. They demean the dignity of man, mock his inhumanity, and stunt the potentiality for his fuller development as much at the individual as at the collective level.

My Government clearly cannot accept a state of affairs in which millions of our people are condemned to a life, nay a mere existence, characterized by stagnation, hopelessness and desperation. Our struggle for national liberation — protracted, incalculably costly and herculean as it was — would lose meaning were we, in the moment of victory and the

1. See *Southern Africa Record*, No. 19, April 1980, pp. 1-32.

era of peace, to allow millions of our people to wallow in poverty and degradation as victims of forces beyond their control.

We have a responsibility and duty to create and consolidate a new order, a new social environment of progress and all-round development based on the democratic, socialist, and egalitarian principles that have inspired and informed our endeavours to this day.

We therefore call on all who wish us well and who have an appreciation of the magnitude and urgency of the task before us, to come forward and assist us to complete the task.

Distinguished and honoured guests, this conference is, for us, a rare occasion and singular opportunity. It is a unique occasion, not least because it has brought to our young country so many distinguished visitors and guests drawn from the large number of countries and international organizations represented in this room. More importantly, this Conference affords us the opportunity to define before this august and representative cross-section of the international community, of which Zimbabwe is now a proud member, the nature of the problems we face and our perspectives as to the requirements for their solution. Equally importantly, my Government feels strongly that this Conference is the occasion and the opportunity for the international community to commit itself to assist us concretely and practically. Only in this way would our myriad challenges of reconstruction and development be rendered more effectively manageable.

We have estimated, on the basis of very careful assessment, that we do require an injection of resources of the order of Z\$1 254 000 000 to complete the projects and proposals identified on the ZIMCORD agenda. As detailed in the document before you, entitled "Let's Build Zimbabwe Together", these projects and proposals include completion of the refugee and reconstruction programmes, land resettlement and rural, agricultural development, capital investment in training institutions, and technical assistance. These are priority areas and bear directly on the imperative need to reform and restructure our economy for the benefit of all. The total cost of all projects listed under these headings is Z\$1 254 million in the three-year period envisaged. My colleagues in the appropriate ministries of Government, and in particular, the Minister of Economic Planning and Development, will in the course of this Conference describe in detail the various projects for which we seek external financial and technical support. Permit me, however, to touch very briefly on one central item, namely land settlement and rural development.

The situation in our rural areas, in which over four million of our people reside and eke out scarcely a bare subsistence livelihood is alarming and in some areas close to calamitous. As can be gleaned from the main ZIMCORD document that I have already referred to, these areas, taken as a whole, constituted in the Rhodesia of yesterday, a sort of colony

within a colony: neglected, exploited, underdeveloped. They thus, to this day, remain the other side, and at that the ugly side, of our so-called dual economy. We have within our economy a tale of two cities!

In these areas, acute overcrowding in respect of both human and livestock population, accompanied by rapid ecological deterioration in conditions of low diffusion and development of technology, looms as a danger signal of the first magnitude. Low, if not declining productivity, is here the order of the day, with obvious consequences for incomes and living standards. Progress has, in these areas, been slow, largely due to the limited availability of funds from our own meagre resources and from aid. The need to proceed rapidly in these areas cannot be over-emphasized for long-term investment in them is bound to yield the most social benefits.

Under colonialism the pattern of land distribution lopsidedly favoured the settler minority at the expense of the vast majority of Zimbabweans. Hence the acquisition of more productive land for thousands of our land-hungry people is an urgent, priority item on our national agenda. The land is available, but as stated above, my Government lacks the requisite financial resources either for its purchase as stipulated under the Lancaster House Agreement, or for its development. If we must honour the Agreement and we have all along indicated our willingness to do so; and if the international community, including Britain in particular, desires us to honour the Agreement — and we think this is the case — then we simply have to have the resources to enable us to discharge our obligations while doing full justice towards our people. This to us is a matter of paramount importance and we look forward to its being fully ventilated and effectively dealt with at this conference. We appreciate that in principle some governments would not be willing to provide funds for purposes of land purchases and compensation and regard it as the responsibility of the former colonial power — Britain. Land acquisition is only one aspect of our land problem. Rural development is another and we would invite such governments to participate in our latter endeavours.

It may be noted further that under colonialism the mass of our people, especially those in the rural areas, derived little benefit from the economic development activities initiated by Government and private enterprise in respect of the development of the social and physical infrastructure, agriculture, mining and manufacturing industry. Hence, not only have we inherited a situation in our countryside which is the negation of development, we also confront in this situation the effects of an historical process whereby the so-called modern sector developed at the cost of the underdevelopment of the rural peasant sector. Land expropriation and the structurally determined migration of able-bodied young males from the subsistence sector to the modern sector enclaves, to quote but two illustrations, were part and parcel of this process. Previous regimes were loath to

invest capital in the African rural areas because of their narrow sectional interests.

Yet our attitude is not to bemoan, much less dwell on, the past. Rather our attitude is to look to the future. It is from this perspective that we seek at this conference the necessary capital and technology, as also technical assistance, to enable us to implement our projects of rural development and the training of sorely-needed skilled manpower. It is also from the same perspective, I might add, that we have put forward the concept of national reconciliation as the basis of our policies and actions as a Government.

Our attitude is that our country will make better and faster progress in achieving the unity of our people, consolidating our hard-won independence, and effectively tackling the many problems we face as a nation, if we bury the past and resolve to make a new beginning.

A good deal of progress has already been made in this regard. We have, as I have already stated, transformed our country from a state of war to the state of peace. We have already gone a long, long, way towards moulding a single Zimbabwe National Army, out of three armies that only yesterday had sought to annihilate each other. Primary education is now free for about a million of our children and we began the current school year with a fourfold increase in secondary school enrolment compared to the previous year. Medical care is now free to those of our people whose income is less than Z\$150 per month. I could go on in this vein. But I do not wish to take too much of your time.

I wish to add, however, that the humane and progressive impulse that informs our domestic policies also projects itself at the level of our international relationships. We seek and fight for the full liberation of man everywhere. In our region this means, on the one hand, that we support those fighting against the evils of colonialism and apartheid in Namibia and South Africa, and on the other hand, that we associate with all the free and friendly states close to us and beyond in developing co-operation in many fields in order to promote and enhance the quality of life of our people.

The international community, we feel, should play its full part in assuring the success of our efforts. Our country is poised to make a decisive and historic advance in transforming the lives of millions of our people. In specifics and to repeat myself, we seek to purchase and provide land for productive purposes to the landless, we seek to rehabilitate and further develop our physical infrastructure and improve our rural economy; we seek, as well, to provide technical training on a wide front to thousands of our young people so that they can contribute to the fullest towards the development of their country.

As I have already indicated, the request for aid contained in the ZIM-

CORD document for envisaged projects is Z\$1 254 million. Aid, or other forms of material support, is also required for national infrastructural development, the cost of which is estimated at Z\$1 079 million over the three-year period. Many of the projects in this category are essential for the success of projects in the three priority areas. They are mutually supportive. The only difference is that economic returns on national infrastructure projects are higher, and therefore, can be financed on a more commercial basis than the ZIMCORD projects.

It has been suggested that the amount of aid being requested by my Government far exceeds the ability of the economy to absorb it. I cannot accept this argument. Over the last 10 months we have demonstrated the vigour of our policies and our capacity to put resources to effective use. It is also beyond doubt that our absorptive capacity will increase over the three-year period envisaged in the ZIMCORD programme as we get more experience and especially as urgent reconstruction work is phased out. I must also emphasize that absorptive capacity is a function of good infrastructure, efficient administration and hard-headed planning and programming. This we have in abundance, or have demonstrated we can achieve.

As explained in the Conference document, as many projects as possible will become part of an interim three-year development plan to be published in July. The case for aid to Zimbabwe and the responsibility of the international community within the context of the Lancaster House settlement has been clearly and forcefully stated in the ZIMCORD document. There is, however, another compelling reason why the international community should do its utmost to support Zimbabwe at this critical stage of its development.

Zimbabwe's position in the southern African region is clearly crucial. We form the geographical link between four countries, Mozambique, Malawi, Zambia and Botswana. Our transport system already facilitates trade between them and potentially with the rest of the world. We also have the capacity, through our manufacturing sector, to lessen their and our dependence on South Africa. Our agricultural potential is such that we can supplement our neighbours' food requirements if necessary. We have proven technology in food production that could enable them to become exporters in their own right. Just as UDI and Zimbabwe's liberation struggle adversely affected our neighbours, so will stability and development in Zimbabwe have beneficial effects on their economies.

We call upon the international community to demonstrate its fullest practical support for our non-racial democratic system and put into practical effect its abhorrence and repugnance to the apartheid system in South Africa. Failure by the international community to render to Zimbabwe support for its resettlement, reconstruction, rural development and train-

ing programmes will have the effect of bolstering the evil designs of the apartheid regime in South Africa to hold our economy to ransom and destabilize our political systems.

We are poised for giant strides aimed at the economic development of our country so we can reinforce the political independence we have achieved with improvement in the quality of our people's lives by bringing benefits to all and thus securing the foundations of a progressive peaceful non-racial society which will contribute decisively to world peace.

While my Government and people acknowledge with deep gratitude the support already given to us by the international community, it holds that it would be tragic if our attempts to reconstruct and develop our country were to lose momentum because of indifferent international support.

Our requirements are not excessive. They are certainly very realistic. The need is great, the hour is ripe for a decisive onslaught on the shackles that hold man in thrall and impede the possibility of his enjoying a richer, fuller and more meaningful life. We cannot fail in this task.

We know we have the goodwill of people and governments around the world. May we be permitted to hope that this is the time and the occasion for the translation of that goodwill into concrete action.

It is my sincere hope that your stay here will enable you to gain first-hand knowledge of our development programmes and greater insight into our need for assistance, as you also see for yourself Zimbabwe's great potential for economic development and for contributing to effective international co-operation in the interests of world peace and prosperity.

Once again, I say welcome to you all. I now wish to declare the Conference open.

E. Address to the nation by the
Zimbabwean Prime Minister, the Hon. Robert Mugabe,
on the eve of the first anniversary
of Zimbabwe's independence, 17 April 1981

At midnight today, our country, the Republic of Zimbabwe, will have completed its first year as an independent state. Tomorrow is thus our birthday as an independent republic and as a sovereign nation. You would, I am sure, want me to say on your behalf, Happy Birthday and Congratulations to Zimbabwe. And to you all I say Happy Birthday and Congratulations upon our first independence anniversary.

I wish, briefly, to look at the short period of twelve months which we

have spent as a new nation, with a new government and a new political and socio-economic life.

When, after the Lancaster House Conference, we held the first ever democratic elections the country has had, it was clear that we were entering a new stage in the history of our country, marking a new transformation, not only in political or constitutional terms but also in socio-economic terms. This meant that the past colonial order, together with its built-in social and economic injustices, had had its day.

Accordingly, the government yielded by our first democratic elections had also, in addition to taking cognizance of this reality of change, to formulate and embark upon programmes aimed at expressing the will of the people in terms of socio-economic benefits and services.

This is why we adopted policies which are people-oriented and are aimed at achieving the greatest happiness of the greatest number of Zimbabweans. This is also why we believe that the ideological path for the desired social transformation must be socialism.

As soon as my government came to power, it set out to scan the whole field of its responsibility in terms of ministerial functions and areas of social need requiring immediate attention. It was the areas of greatest need for which we formulated urgent programmes. But no programme could have been effectively accomplished unless our security situation had normalized and peace had once again returned to the country.

Peace, peace and more peace, became the most urgent of all our objectives. You will remember that in my first address to the nation, following my party's election victory, I appealed to you all to adopt the spirit of reconciliation, to accept each other, whether in the past we had been allies or had stood as enemies or opponents to each other.

In forming my government, I demonstrated this principle by including in it members outside the orbit of my own party, thus setting a model for you and our society as a whole. Reconciliation is an indispensable modality for achieving peace, for it demands the transformation of each and every one of us so we can undergo a deliberate process of positive change in a direction that unites rather than divides us, that accepts the reality of change and does not spurn it, that assumes the common character of our nationality and resists the pull to tribe, race or region, that recognizes and respects the election winner but accommodates rather than damns and humiliates the election loser, that recognizes that our war was an instrument for genuine peace and not an instrument for more war for the sake of war, that seeks and stimulates the love of all Zimbabweans and refuses to fan evil hate among them.

Reconciliation is thus a negation of the negative and a postulation of the positive. It rebuilds and avoids destruction. It sets the path for all Zimbabweans to walk hand-in-hand, as they move towards their chosen des-

tiny. I am sure you will agree that we haven't done badly in our endeavour to achieve peace through reconciliation. You and I are aware, of course, that there have been a few incidents of violent clashes and other forms of lawlessness that have tended to mar our harmonious march to peace.

All of us — the majority of Zimbabweans — have condemned them. At the same time, government has taken stern measures in the name of peace to ensure the observance of law and order. This is the way we are determined to proceed during our second year of independence until total peace is achieved.

Over the year, government has preoccupied itself, as a matter of priority, with the task of integrating the three forces we inherited, with a view to creating a single army with a single loyalty to the State and government in power. At the same time, government has, in the interest of peace, proceeded to disarm the majority of the inmates still in assembly points of Operation SEED places. It is now our hope that the integration exercises will be completed within the next five-or-so months. Once again, I wish to express the indebtedness of my government to the British Government, and especially to the British instructors, for the assistance rendered us in building a single integrated army — the Zimbabwe National Army — whose single command structure will soon be established to replace the present Joint High Command.

We should feel proud that our independent republic has now a single army which it can rely upon to defend its territory and strengthen its internal security. I take this opportunity to congratulate all those former guerrilla commanders who have just been commissioned as officers in the new army. I wish them well. I look forward to several others being commissioned soon.

The prevalence of peace created for us circumstances in which we were able to sort our other priorities and lay due emphasis on them in terms of those programmes requiring immediate fulfilment. Our first priority, as you are aware, was the resettlement programme affecting several rural communities which had been disorganized and displaced by the war. A bold resettlement start was made, involving the purchase of 370 000 hectares by government and resulting in the resettlement of 150 000 families. The resettlement exercise is an on-going one, and more land is currently being acquired for the resettlement of many more families this year.

I must, however, warn that the resettlement programme under the Ministry of Lands Resettlement and Rural Development, must be allowed to operate as a systematic exercise and, thus, should not be marred by incidents of squatting which are currently taking place in several areas of the country. Land will certainly be found for all those who stand in genuine need of it — the landless peasantry.

The amount of aid explicitly pledged for the purchase of land and compensation for any improvements thereon remains small. We, however, take comfort in the knowledge that Britain, whose responsibility it is to facilitate our ability to acquire the land we need for the resettlement programme, remains prepared to assist us on an annual basis.

It is a source of inspiration to your government and to the whole nation that our peasantry made full use of the facilities afforded it by government to improve its maize yield. On behalf of the government and the nation, I wish to congratulate all the peasantry, as indeed I also wish to congratulate all the commercial farmers, white and black, on a job well done.

The fact that we expect a bumper maize harvest this year clearly speaks of your responsiveness to the call by government. I can assure you that government will continue to respond to the legitimate demands of all our farming community so that a common understanding and mutual appreciation of our national situation can be gained. I hope the present rapport between the farming community and the government continues to be maintained.

It is the intention of government to accelerate the pace of scientific agriculture in the rural areas at the same time as we work to engender the spirit of co-operation. Government is gratified that the international community has magnificently pledged financial support for its reconstruction and development programmes especially in so far as these relate to rural areas.

Alongside the resettlement programme, government has been carrying out several rural infrastructural programmes relating to road and water development. It is the intention of government to extend these programmes with a view to achieving a satisfactory road system as well as improving the system of water supply.

Our railway system has been receiving even more serious attention, and plans are afoot to modernize the railway system as well as increase its rolling stock. New locomotives are currently being purchased while plans for the electrification of the railway system are under way.

Revolutionary steps, you will admit, have been taken in the education and health fields. Within a year of our assumption of power, we have made primary education free and provided room in secondary schools for all children who have completed their primary education. A crash teacher-training programme with a revolutionary outlook is under way, at the same time as plans are afoot for the re-orientation of our entire educational system so that we can give it a relevance and meaning bearing upon our socio-economic system, with a view to providing the skills we so seriously need for each of its sectors.

Similarly, in the sphere of health, radical structural changes are occurring and are being accompanied by a new conceptualization of the role

and function of the health service in a developing country like ours. Emphasis will thus continue to be placed more on preventive than on curative medicine. Already, government has made medical treatment free for all persons with an income below \$150 a month. Government will be working with greater determination during the second year of our independence to make health care a reality in the rural areas so the health and life expectancy of the average rural person can improve.

If the lives of our people are to improve in terms of their health and mental development, then it is necessary that their home environment undergoes a radical change. The "pole and dagga" house has become in our time a sordid anachronism whose cultural value might perhaps still have an appeal to tourists, anthropologists and researchers into ruins, past culture and antiquity.

But they certainly are not that much of an amusement to us, concerned as we are with the health, education and the general development of our society. Our Minister of Local Government and Housing, which to date has concerned itself mainly with housing in urban areas, will soon be embarking on gigantic projects on rural housing as part of our effort to make life in the rural areas more meaningful in future than it has been in the past.

As government embarks upon its transitional people-oriented reconstruction and development programme, it is necessary that the participatory role of the people be defined. For the people to participate fruitfully in the various programmes intended for their upliftment, they must be effectively organized. Happily, our local government system is quickly taking shape, and power to administer local affairs in both urban and rural areas has been transferred to the people by the recent local elections.

The *Ministries of Community Development and Women's Affairs, and Youth, Sport and Recreation* will also have a most significant role to play in organizing our various communities — and our women and youth segments — in promoting the sectoral programmes forming the content of our over-all reconstruction and development plan.

Only the total mobilization of the people along properly established lines that take full account of government's policies and programmes can ensure the maximization of the people's productive and constructive role, and thus enhance our national effort to create more wealth in terms of goods and services.

In the private sector, as the State affords the entrepreneur an opportunity to make his contribution to the development of the country, government will increase its regulatory and supervisory roles over private enterprise to ensure that the set goals of the State are fulfilled and not circumvented.

The localization of foreign enterprises, and the effecting of structural

changes to ensure management by Zimbabweans on the same basis of African advancement as is being pursued in the public service, constitute basic principles of national policy.

The establishment of new industries and the expansion of existing ones in order to increase the volume of production of those consumer goods now in great demand both in the local and regional markets are matters of great urgency.

In the mining sector, it is the intention of government to promote expansion of the country's mining operations. Special attention will be given to the increased production of coal with a view, not only to making the new thermal power plant at Wankie a viable proposition, but also to possible conversion of some of our enormous reserves of coal to methanol and ammonia. Feasibility studies have been authorized in this latter regard and government hopes that its three-year development programme will encompass this vital project so that the energy structure of our country can be improved.

Government is determined to continue promoting the role of the worker in all the sectors of our economy. We are gratified by the efforts the workers themselves are making under their union leaders to unite themselves as they organize workers' committees and workers' councils in industry, commerce, agriculture, mining and in establishments in other sectors.

We are now studying the findings and recommendations of the Riddell Commission which will be published soon. I have no doubt that government will, on the basis of this report, take positive steps to accord the worker his proper status, both in terms of the obligations owed him and the responsibilities he himself owes to his enterprise and to society.

We are committed to the development of the working class with a high degree of worker-consciousness and enjoying an appropriate status.

Reference has already been made to possible programmes in the public sector. Using both the resources made available through ZIMCORD and our own local resources, the State hopes to make enormous investment in several areas meriting such investment. Accordingly, the Ministry of Economic Planning and Development is currently formulating a three-year transitional reconstruction and development plan which will co-ordinate the programmes encompassing each of the various areas falling under our Ministries.

The State will be examining those crucial areas in which it feels it has a duty to participate by way of either State enterprises or joint ventures with private enterprises. At the same time it is hoped that people's co-operatives will start emerging in those commercial fields in which it is possible to establish them.

In respect of the public service, government has taken positive steps to

transform its composition from a racial to a non-racial one. Considerable structural changes have taken place within the service to facilitate African advancement. There still remains considerable room for improvement so that the Presidential directive can be truly fulfilled.

I am glad that the policy of African advancement has been accepted by our white incumbents in the service, even though it might have, in some cases, disadvantaged them or aroused their fears and apprehensions. I am sure that, at the end of the exercise, we shall pride ourselves on having produced a truly integrated public service with a non-racial complexion and one which is efficient, loyal and sensitive to government policy.

I think you will all agree that our police force, like other establishments, has undergone considerable transformation as it reoriented its approach to the public and adopted new methods capable of establishing better public relations.

Similarly, our public has now conceded to the police force its full role as the proper instrument for ensuring law and order, thus removing from the scene the spectacle of people's courts which, although they served a useful purpose in our liberated and semi-liberated zones during the war, are no longer suited to our new situation.

It is necessary that the relations between the institutions of government and the public be effectively maintained. Indeed, the policies of government must always be well understood by the people. For this to happen more effectively, our instruments of information and publicity — the mass media — must undoubtedly improve their performance. I am glad that the Ministry of Information and Tourism is working on plans to establish a countrywide radio and television diffusion service, over and above the distribution of information pamphlets and newspapers. If this year of consolidating the people's power is to be a success, it is absolutely vital that the unity between the people and government be maintained.

And government has as much a duty to be informed about the people's problems, views and proposals, as it has to inform them about its own policies and programmes.

May I now refer to our international posture and international relations. Our first year of independence saw our young republic make its first entry into the international arena.

Not only did we join the Organization of African Unity as a full member to the overwhelming joy of the whole of Africa, but we also became a member of the United Nations and its various agencies as well as a member of the Non-aligned Movement. In the sphere of international economic relations, we have become an associate member of the European Economic Community under the Lomé Convention, enjoying the advantages of an associate in respect of our exports to the Common Market and available financial resources of the Community.

We have also become a member of the World Bank and its associate institution, the International Monetary Fund, while at home, in our bid to lessen our economic dependence on South Africa, we have become a member of the regional grouping of nine countries whose summit conference of Heads of State and Government we shall be hosting in July this year.

Our international policy will continue to be governed by the principle of positive non-alignment which enables us to enter into bilateral relations with members of either the western- or eastern-bloc on a mutual basis recognizing each other's sovereignty and the principle of non-interference in each other's affairs.

As we enter into bilateral relations, of either a diplomatic nature or by way of trade, economic or technical agreements with any nation, we are always careful to emphasize these principles, even though we may be the principal beneficiary in the relationship. It is important that we do not allow our benefactors to become our masters. Our independence and sovereignty are, accordingly, not matters for mortgage. This independent approach has won us great admiration from the international community.

Our first year of independence has thus witnessed our emergence as a young, vigorous, forward-moving and outward-looking nation, well befriended and popular. We intend to maintain this international posture, just as we shall continue to join hands with all our friendly neighbours, the frontline states, in furthering the unity and development of our region, as we stand solidly together in condemnation of the iniquitous apartheid system of the South African regime and the quest for true democracy and justice in South Africa.

We fully support the struggle for freedom being waged by the African National Congress, Pan African Congress and other progressive forces in South Africa.

We also stand firmly behind the OAU in its position on Namibia, enunciated only a day ago by the Frontline States in Luanda, which urges the immediate implementation of the UN plan based on Resolution 435 of 1978 of the Security Council, and condemns any prevarication, revision, variation or deviation from the plan.

Only the sovereign and independent people of Namibia can give themselves a constitution through a properly elected representative body such as the Constituent Assembly proposed under the UN plan. Until South Africa properly acquiesces in the UN plan, we shall continue to support the liberation struggle being waged by the South West Africa People's Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the people of Namibia.

Equally, our position on the freedom and independence of the Saharawi Republic remains the same. It is hoped that this new republic will be accorded the full membership of the OAU at its next session. In the

meantime, we give full support to Polisario in its just struggle against Moroccan colonialist expansionism, just as we continue to stand in solidarity with the Palestinian Liberation Organization in its equally just struggle to achieve the right of self-determination for the Palestinian people.

Our international policy undoubtedly stands on sound parameters and reflects the soundness of our national policies.

And just as we seek national peace, unity and harmony at home through our enunciated policy of reconciliation so do we strive in our young and small way to seek peace, harmony and reconciliation in the international community by lending support to progressive forces working for international peace and security. If our international efforts are, however, to continue to win us friends and allies in our new struggle for freedom from hunger, poverty, ignorance and disease, it is imperative that during our second year of independence each and every one of us recognizes the motto of "Progress through unity and hard work".

Our agriculture cannot thrive unless our farmers and peasants unite and work hard. Our mining cannot be rewarding unless the miner and the management unite and work hard. Our industries cannot flourish unless the workers and their managements unite and work hard. Our educational system cannot grow and develop unless the parents, teachers and pupils unite and work hard.

Our army cannot grow strong and integrated unless the commanders and soldiers unite to train and work hard. Our public service cannot become viable unless ministers and public servants unite and work hard. Government too must work hard. I promise you it will work.

Government invites you all, whatever your occupation may be, to join hands with it in achieving more progress through unity and hard work. I say to you let us unite, work hard, and achieve yet another milestone of progress during our second year of independence.

Texts for items A-E supplied by the Zimbabwe Ministry of Information and Tourism.

Namibia

- A. Summary of comments based on a briefing by a senior United States official, at the conclusion of the visit of the South African Foreign Minister, *the Hon. R.F. Botha*, to Washington D.C., from 14-16 May 1981

The Reagan Administration, having inherited the stalemated Namibian independence process, has made it an important issue of its foreign policy and is willing to play the role of a "broker" in getting the process moving toward a successful conclusion.

In their discussion with Foreign Minister Botha, Administration officials sought two things from South Africa: . . . A statement of commitment to work with the United States and with other parties in a "co-operative spirit" toward a Namibian settlement, "Because if not, we want to know now, we are not interested in wasting our time, wasting our energy, wasting our diplomatic capital, and we do not want to engage in a process with the South Africans — or with anybody else — on a basis of misunderstanding or illusions". A definitive statement of South African core concerns; "We want to make certain that we hear from all the key parties what is the irreducible minimum, so that we don't have any illusions about that as we proceed down the road".

According to the official, the American side stressed to Mr Botha that the United States "must insist upon an internationally recognized, acceptable settlement," and one that retains United Nations' resolution 435 as its basis.

The United States expects to hear the South African Government's answer in the very near future and it sees reason for encouragement in Foreign Minister Botha's remarks after his initial meeting on May 14 with Secretary Haig. Mr Botha said that he saw "a very real possibility of moving ahead" after having heard the framework of future negotiations as outlined by Secretary Haig.

Part of that framework is a proposal of getting agreement on constitutional guarantees for Namibia before elections are held in that territory. The US official stressed that the idea, which has been discussed also with African leaders and America's allies, was initiated by the United States and not by South Africa. It is designed to allay some of the fears about the future of Namibia on the part of South Africa and the Namibian internal parties.

Foreign Minister Botha made known some of South Africa's concerns, the US official said, among them, the role of the internal Namibia parties in the negotiating process, as well as the question of the impartiality of the United Nations and its transition assistance group which would supervise the elections in Namibia.

He added that while it is "premature to talk about the shape of tables", successful negotiations would require the participation of both the internal parties and the external party, SWAPO, which is fighting a guerrilla war in Namibia from bases in Angola.

Pretoria's concern about the partiality of the United Nations toward SWAPO was heightened by the refusal of the UN Security Council to hear representatives of Namibia's internal parties during a recent debate.

When asked whether it was possible that South Africa will ultimately seek an "internal" settlement in Namibia, the US official said that while it is a possibility "it is not one that we think is in any of the parties' interests". Such a move, he said, would have "costly consequences" for the region. By pursuing its initiative on Namibia, the United States is not trying to delay the day of independence but it is taking into account the "realities" of the situation, one of which is that there will not be a settlement without the agreement of all concerned parties, including South Africa. "It is not in our interest for there to be delay, and we don't believe that it's in the interest of anybody that there be a delay."

Cuban Troops in Angola

Secretary Haig, after his meeting with Foreign Minister Botha on 14 May, said that there is an "empirical interrelationship between the situation in Namibia and neighbouring Angola, which houses SWAPO bases and has some 20 000 Cuban troops on its territory. In saying that, we are not imposing any 'Angolan Precondition' on a Namibian settlement," the US official explained. "The United States is suggesting that the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola would clearly facilitate progress on the Namibian front." A resolution of the Namibian question and the withdrawal of Cuban troops are two areas of interest that Angola and the United States share. The Luanda Government has repeatedly stated that with an independent Namibia there would be no reason for the Cubans to remain in Angola. The official also repeated the Reagan Administration's

position that it is seeking the repeal of the Clark amendment which prohibits US arms aid to Angolan guerrilla factions, in order to restore "the full range of policy tools that other major powers have and we have *vis-à-vis* every other country in the world". The Administration has stressed that it has no plans to provide arms to the Angolan guerrilla groups.

B. Announcement by the US State Department
on 5 June 1981, of the visit to South Africa
by Deputy Secretary William Clark

I would like to announce today that Secretary Haig has asked Deputy Secretary William Clark to go to South Africa to continue the discussions begun during Foreign Minister Botha's visit to Washington in mid-May.

Judge Clark will be accompanied by Elliot Abrams, Assistant Secretary for International Organization Affairs and Chester Crocker, Assistant Secretary-Designate for African Affairs. The discussions will centre on an internationally acceptable settlement of Namibian independence.

Judge Clark and his party will also visit Windhoek to consult with the internal political parties on the elements of a Namibian Settlement.

C. US Deputy Secretary William Clark's
answers to questions put to him
on his arrival in Cape Town
on 10 June 1981

Question: I'd like to ask you, sir, if your government is still wedded to UNTAG forces being involved in a settlement?

Judge Clark: Well, let me say that we're not "wedded" to any specifics at this time. The purpose of our coming here is to continue the very fine discussions Mr Botha had in Washington. So we're not "wedded" to any specific concept, to use your term.

What elements generally do you see should be contained in a South West African settlement?

I think it's premature, gentlemen, to go into that now, having just arrived. We expect, of course, to discuss those over the next twenty-four hours.

Could we ask if you have raised this question of UN forces with the Front Line States?

There's been no discussion in the interim between Mr Botha's visit in the United States and today.

How do you feel about South Africa's latest suggestions? Are there any hopeful prospects?

Again, that will have to await our discussion.

Is the fact that you are here an indication that the United States accepts the positions that have been set out to the US after Mr Botha's trip to Washington?

No, the same answer. I am here to discuss those concepts again point by point and to discuss the acceptance, rejection, modification would be premature, gentlemen.

Are you giving more importance to the internal parties of South West Africa, seeing as how you're going there?

Well, certainly we are there in recognition of that importance, but it being a relative term I don't give a value judgement to it.

D. Statement by Dr Chester A. Crocker,
US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs,
to the Africa Subcommittee of the House of Representatives
on 17 June 1981, on the
Reagan Administration's efforts to date
designed to bring about independence for Namibia

Mr Chairman, I am pleased to have the opportunity to appear before this Subcommittee to discuss Namibia, an issue to which this Administration has devoted enormous energy and one whose resolution we consider of considerable importance to the achievement of peace in southern Africa.

Let me begin, Mr Chairman, by providing you with some perspective on the current position in which we and other relevant actors find ourselves. As you know, when this Administration took office, we did so only days after the Geneva Conference reached a total impasse. The South African Government indicated at that time that it was not willing to agree to a date for the implementation of UN Security Council resolution 435.

Various theories have been put forward to explain the position the South African Government took at Geneva. I think it is clear that Pretoria had become increasingly uncertain throughout 1980 about the desirability — from its standpoint — of implementing the UN plan for Namibia. That uncertainty was based upon the South African Government's analysis of a number of factors changing the southern African scene — distrust of the United Nations' ability to play an impartial role, concern over the future political direction of an independent Namibia, fears arising from the election results at the time of Zimbabwe's independence, and domestic

political considerations. Some have suggested that the results of our own election here in the United States encouraged the South African Government to take the stand it did at Geneva. I believe the facts and the realities show that to be illusory. The negotiations have reached an impasse over unresolved issues.

When this administration took office on 20 January, we recognized the importance of finding an internationally acceptable settlement to the Namibian problem. In fact, since then it has been perhaps the single African issue to which I and others in the Department of State have devoted most time. We began with an exhaustive review of the negotiations which the Carter Administration had undertaken, the situation in which we found ourselves, and policy directions which we might undertake to achieve our desired objectives. Some key results of that review include the following:

- We recognize that the people of Namibia have the right to self-determination.
- We recognize that the search for that self-determination has involved a complicated negotiation process symbolized in UN Security Council resolution 435. We have no intention of usurping the UN's role or departing from the UN context. However, we cannot be constrained by a rigid adherence to the letter of resolution 435 if, by so doing, an internationally acceptable settlement in Namibia is impeded rather than aided.
- We are fully aware that the continuation of the conflict in Namibia complicates our relations with Black Africa at a time when there appears to be more and more common ground between Black Africa and the West. We attach major importance to United States interests in Africa as a whole and we have no intention of permitting such issues or the behaviour of third parties to impede our growing cultural, political, economic and strategic links with the nations of Africa.
- We are well aware that our Canadian, British, French and German allies in the Contact Group have significant interests at stake in Africa based upon their involvement in the Namibia negotiations. The solidarity of the Contact Group allies remains a basic ingredient in the elaboration of a settlement.
- Finally, we recognize the inescapable fact that Pretoria holds the main key to a settlement and, therefore, must have a minimum of confidence in any settlement if it is to be implemented.

Over the past five months, we have engaged in an exhaustive consultative process with the various relevant actors, including our Contact Group partners, the Front Line States and Nigeria, and with South Africa. That was the purpose of my trip to Europe and Africa in April. It was the primary purpose of Foreign Minister Pik Botha's visit to Washington in May

and it is the context within which Deputy Secretary of State Judge Clark's trip to Cape Town, Windhoek, and Salisbury took place during 10-13 June.

The central purpose of the review and consultative process has been our attempt to determine whether enough ground exists on Namibia within the changing circumstances of southern Africa to warrant our involvement with a renewed effort to reach an internationally acceptable settlement. We have done so because of southern Africa's growing role in US and Western interests. But this Administration has a very full foreign policy agenda, the implication of which is that we will not engage ourselves in the Namibia equation if we feel the prospects for success are bleak. We have been frank with all of our interlocutors on these points. Our approach is realistic. The United States will not permit its energies, time and credibility to be frittered away on a drawn out and fruitless diplomatic charade in southern Africa.

With this in mind, we believe that the key focus of our analysis is whether South Africa's concern over a settlement can be made congruent with an internationally acceptable settlement, one which uses UN Security Council resolution 435 as its basis and is supported by the international community, in particular the countries of Africa. We believe that all those who share our goals will appreciate fully the care, the time and the energy we have devoted to this issue to date.

Judge Clark's trip to Cape Town and Windhoek was another key step in this process. In Cape Town we held in-depth and intensive discussions over a two-day period with senior officials of the South African Government, including Prime Minister P.W. Botha, Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Defence Minister Malan. As a result, we believe we now have a much clearer idea of the South African Government's view on Namibia and the region.

In Windhoek we met with all of the internal parties, including Aktur, the DTA, Swanu, Namibia Independence Party (NIP), the Federal Party, CDP, Swapo Democrats, and the internal wing of SWAPO. In these sessions we were able to appreciate directly the concerns of these various groups about the future of Namibia. A meeting with leaders of the major religious groups provided us with a unique insight into the human dimensions of the Namibian problem.

In Salisbury we had frank and friendly discussions with Prime Minister Robert Mugabe and other Zimbabwean officials in which we were able to define more clearly those areas of the Namibia situation about which the Zimbabwean Government has strong views and to explore future avenues in which we hope to move together on this and other issues. As a key southern African state whose successful development receives strong support from Washington, Zimbabwe is clearly one of our major interloc-

utors on the Namibia issue.

We now begin a period of intensive internal review of the information we have gathered. At the end of that period, perhaps by the end of June, we will make a judgement at the highest level on whether enough common ground exists upon which to build an internationally acceptable settlement. We recognize the UN Security Council resolution 435 must be the basis for that settlement, a fact which we have underlined in all of our consultations. At the conclusion of the review, we expect to be in touch promptly with the relevant parties, both in the Contact Group and among the *Front Line States and South Africa*.

I cannot prejudge what our decision will be, nor can I predict a time frame for Namibia's independence if we choose to go forward. I can assure you, however, of our good faith in this exercise and the seriousness of purpose with which we continue to approach it.

E. Letter dated 26 June 1981
from President Ronald Reagan
To OAU Chairman, Dr Siaka Stevens

Dear Mr President,

As you approach the end of your term as Chairman of the Organization of African Unity, I want to express to you my admiration for the strong leadership that you have brought to issues that have faced Africa over the past year.

I believe you share the view I expressed to you in my letter of April 3 that southern African issues remain the highest priority and principal concern in Africa at this time. In that regard, as you prepare for the conference in Nairobi, I would like to share with you my views on the role the United States is playing at this time in developments regarding the Namibia question.

When I wrote to you on April 3, I told you of my firm commitment to bring peace and independence to Namibia, a commitment based on our own dedication to the principles of justice, self-determination, and racial equality and based on our understanding of the importance of Namibian independence to African nations.

Since then senior officials of my Government have carried out a series of consultations with the leaders of African and European states, seeking practical means of moving toward Namibian independence. Most recently, Deputy Secretary of State, William P. Clark, led a senior delegation to South Africa, Namibia itself, and Zimbabwe in pursuit of that goal.

I have no illusions that our common objective — Namibian independence — will be achieved quickly or easily, but I ask that there be no doubt in your mind, or in the minds of the leaders of the states of the organization that you chair, about our commitment to that goal.

I would be less than frank with you if I did not tell you that we are sometimes discouraged in our efforts by public criticism that calls into question our commitment to seek a settlement in Namibia.

There should also be no question with respect to our position on the practice of apartheid in South Africa. I have stated publicly and privately our opposition to this system of racial discrimination and injustice. My Administration is committed to seeking peaceful and purposeful change in South Africa and is prepared to work actively with those inside South Africa from all races who share these same goals.

I believe it is evident that the US is seriously and responsibly engaged in seeking ways to strengthen the security and development of southern Africa. I also believe that the great majority of African states share these objectives and our commitment to realistic means of bringing them about.

I would ask your support at the Nairobi Conference and in other future African fora as we pursue what I believe to be these common African and American objectives in southern Africa in the months to come.

Texts for items A-E supplied by the United States International Communication Agency, Pretoria.

F. Extracts from an interview,
dated 11 July 1981,
with Mr Sam Nujoma,
President of SWAPO

Mr Nujoma: "Although preparations for the military struggle started already in 1961, it was not until 1966 that the first contact took place in Namibia. And, you must remember, that SWAPO only took up arms when we realized that there was no possibility of a negotiated settlement."

(Initial training took place in Ghana under Nkrumah, Egypt under Nasser and Algeria after it gained independence. When SWAPO decided to prepare for a military struggle, Tanzania was not yet independent.)

Question: As the countries in southern Africa became independent, you moved your operation closer to home?

That's right, yes.

How did you become involved in politics?

I was born under the ruthless oppression of the minority white regime, in north-western Owambo, there where you visited my parents. As youths we often used to talk about what we ought to do about the situation in the country. We felt that something had to be done.

We were greatly inspired, of course, by political developments after World War Two: the independence of Indonesia, followed by India, Ghana, Mali, Tunisia and Sudan.

We started organizing underground. Before SWAPO was formed, even before the Owambo People's Organization was established, I campaigned underground throughout the country. The Native Commissioner probably thought "these kids are dreaming". Of course, we were arrested; put in prison.

.....

All three sons are in exile. All three in SWAPO's guerrilla army fighting in the field. They are young. They have a role to play.

The majority of the SWAPO forces, Nujoma claimed, were inside Namibia and not in neighbouring Angola.

"Even Geldenhuys knows this," he said of the former South African defence chief in the territory.

Would you talk to Geldenhuys if you had the opportunity?

Talk about what? Talk about the weather?

Asked whether SWAPO had big bases inside the disputed territory, Nujoma said, "A guerrilla army is not like a standing army. We don't have soldiers in a barracks. Ours is a people's army."

How many guerrillas do you have in SWAPO? How many trained guerrillas?

The whole of SWAPO is an army. There is no internal and external wing; SWAPO is one. The only difference between the political and military wings is that the latter has a specific task to liberate Namibia. SWAPO is a political liberation movement.

It is structured to include legal affairs, defence, information, education, etc. The secretary for legal affairs, Lucia Hamutenya, is presently studying in the German Democratic Republic! Some years ago she was kicked out of a South African University where she was studying law.

The duties of the movement's defence secretary is to see that our soldiers are equipped to counter the racist South African troops.

Who is your secretary for defence?

I don't have to tell you who all my secretaries are.

SWAPO's secretary for information, who is based in Luanda, is responsible for radio broadcasts from the Angolan capital. And so, there are various other secretaries with specific tasks to perform in the party.

If you were to look into the future, would you say SWAPO has a better chance of coming to power through the ballot-box or the barrel of a gun?

SWAPO will take power, either way.

Do you envisage a one-party state or a multi-party democracy in Namibia?

It will be a decision of the people.

Asked about the position of whites in the territory after independence, Nujoma said, "SWAPO is fighting against the illegal South African administration in the territory. It is not fighting against individual whites. It is unfortunate that the whites are part and parcel of the illegal administration in Namibia and therefore part and parcel of the repressive machinery. We are also fighting to liberate the whites from racial oppression. Once we get rid of the illegal South African occupation, it will mean the end of oppression. Each and every citizen will be treated as equals before the law, irrespective of colour, race or status in society."

Is there anything you would like to add at this stage?

Yes, I would like to — I want you to tell the whites in Namibia that they must identify themselves with the struggle for the liberation of the country. They must not take an opportunistic line; support the enemy and then later on want to benefit from the struggle which is taking the lives of many people, particularly Africans (blacks). The whites must identify themselves with the country. The country is at war. One cannot be neutral in such a case. The country is occupied. Our struggle is against a system of oppression and exploitation of men by men and not against individual white settlers.

If you were to win an election in the territory, would you allow Mr Mudge (leader of the conservative DTA alliance) to remain in Namibia? Or would you try him before a peoples' court?

If he is suspected of having committed a crime, he will be brought to trial. If he has stolen his neighbour's cattle for instance. If he has committed no crime, why should he be tried? I am in no position to judge him.

Have you been back to Namibia since you left in 1960?

Yes, several times. I returned to Windhoek in 1966 for the first time. I challenged the South African lawyers at The Hague when they claimed that we were self-exiled and could return at any time.

We returned on 20 March 1966. We were arrested at the airport and put in prison. The next day we were deported. We left on the same aircraft that brought us to the country. That's proof that South Africa was telling lies at The Hague.

Nujoma reiterated claims that he had been in and out of Namibia several times with his guerrillas. Quite recently in fact.

"I went in the bush of course. I didn't walk down the main street of Ondangwa," he said referring to Owambo's administrative capital.

"We take off these things (stylish dark suit). We only put these things on when we are in town."

South Africa has time and again claimed that SWAPO is a communist organization. What do you say to this?

SWAPO was founded inside Namibia before we met with anybody from outside, with the exception of the Reverend Michael Scott. That's the only foreigner I knew who was sympathetic towards the Namibian struggle. There were no communists in Namibia then. There were some in South Africa, but not in Namibia.

But we do want to create a new society in Namibia; a society which will utilize the wealth of the country for the benefit of all its people. For too long we have been the victims of a system of capitalist exploitation. The Europeans invaded Africa searching for wealth. We who have been the victims of this — this capitalism, cannot support the exploitation of men by men.

The socialist countries, or what you call communist countries — we have gratefully accepted their assistance (arms and ammunition) to fight against the enemy. If the West offered us assistance we would take it too.

It must be remembered that South Africa was an ally of the Soviet Union in the war against Nazi Germany. It was the Red Army which first smashed into Berlin in 1945, into the Nazi headquarters, but the victory was shared by all the Allies.

South Africa was not communist before it was an ally of the Soviet Union. Is that what you are trying to say?

Of course.

And you consequently do not regard yourself as an ally or puppet of the USSR which supplies you with aid?

That's obvious, yes.

What will happen to newspapers in Namibia when you take over the country? Will you nationalize their assets, or impose censorship perhaps?

That's a small business. That depends on what the people's government decides. But we will definitely not allow the blacks to be employed as cheap labourers by the South African racists. The profits will be utilized for the benefit of the people.

Asked in closing about Toivo ya Toivo, a key figure in SWAPO, Nujoma admitted never having met him. Toivo is serving a lengthy sentence on Robben Island.

"We corresponded while Toivo was in Cape Town in the late fifties. When he came back to Namibia in 1958, I was in the north visiting my parents."

Extract from the interview with Colleen Hendriks reprinted with kind permission from the *Windhoek Observer*, 11 July 1981.

United States and Southern Africa

- A. Extracts from statements and answers to questions, by the US Secretary of State-Designate for African Affairs, Dr Chester A. Crocker, at a national foreign policy conference for representatives of the media, on 2 June 1981

Further, on the security side of the equation, we have an active interest and will give high priority to resolving the conflicts of southern Africa where we have important and growing strategic, political and economic interests. Continuation of these conflicts in southern Africa gives opportunities to adversaries in a region of critical importance to the West.

What we seek in southern Africa generally is an environment of peace and regional security in which economic interdependence of that region can flourish and in which the key countries of that region can begin to achieve what they have already a potential to achieve, which is as a source of major regional growth, a growth point, if you will, for the continent, a locus of growing percentages for American and Western investment trade.

SWA/Namibia

And, of course, we seek to counter Soviet encroachment in that region as well. Within that framework the Reagan Administration has conducted a review of policy and concluded that a negotiated solution to the Namibia problem has a very high priority. In our policy, a priority that we are now pursuing in a context with our European and Canadian allies.

We understand that the search for an internationally acceptable settlement of the Namibia problem will necessarily require us to fully and constructively engage with the South Africans who effectively control Namibia. And it was in that spirit and with that objective in mind that we have begun to open a direct relationship with South Africa over the Namibia question, as indicated by the visit of Foreign Minister Mr Botha, to Washington some two weeks ago.

In the bilateral context that does not imply for one minute that the US can accept the practice of apartheid in South Africa. We oppose that system. It is our purpose to promote constructive change through a policy that we have termed one of constructive engagement, rather than through tactics of confrontation, preaching from the public pulpit and public denunciation.

There are some who have already misleadingly called this a tilt toward South Africa — it is no such thing. It is a tilt in favour of purposeful change toward a non-racial society in South Africa. To describe it any other way is misleading and mischievous.

Zimbabwe

We intend, in addition, to use all the tools at our disposal in the region to seek to bring about an environment of peace and development in southern Africa. And I would point you in this respect to the recent Zimbabwe donors conference in March, in which the US Government made a substantial pledge of development assistance over a three-year period to Zimbabwe whose government and whose system we consider to be a potential growth point in southern Africa.

We also intend to lend our weight to the interests of the private sector in exploring its opportunities in Zimbabwe.

Angola

Let me mention briefly in passing here the Angolan dimension of our southern African policy. We have asked as a matter of principle for the Congress to repeal the Clark Amendment which outlawed any US assistance to any Angolan factions. We view this as an undue and unwarranted and unprecedented restriction on the executive branch authority to conduct foreign policy.

We have made that decision without reference to and without prejudice to our Angolan policy. We are seeking to engage Angola, along with other front line states, in the process of seeking an early settlement in Namibia. And we have also pointed out in that connection that there is an obvious relationship of fact on the ground between the conflicts in Angola and Namibia. And we have made it clear that we believe that progress towards a settlement in Namibia will facilitate progress towards reconciliation and Cuban withdrawal from Angola. And *vice versa*.

.....

Assistance programmes

I might tell you a word further concerning our assistance programmes on the continent of Africa at this point. As we have conducted our policy reviews and also our budgetary reviews, it has become painfully evident

that this country requires a somewhat clearer sense of priorities than it has had heretofore. It requires a sense of making choices, and we are proud to say that we have begun to see our way clear to making some choices in our assistance programmes. There can be no question, for example — I've already hinted — that southern Africa is a region of great importance to us. We intend to support a gradually growing portion of our assistance resources to the region of southern Africa because of its opportunities, because of what it potentially has to offer for us, because there is such a strong economic base relatively speaking compared to other parts of the region.

We intend to back winners. We are not ashamed to say so. And so we look across the horizon of African states seeking various formulas for economic development and progress and we feel it is incumbent on us to look for formulas that are working; for economies that are producing; for policies of pragmatism that produce results; that produce growing amounts of food output, for example, instead of declining amounts.

We cannot afford to be distributing our resources which are scarce and finite across the board without reference to the performance of recipient governments. We think this approach is in the interest of Africa as well as ourselves.

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In addition, the US has a significant group of long-standing and close friends and partners in Africa with whom we will continue to stand. We believe the time has come when the US must acquire in Africa, as elsewhere, a reputation for regional credibility and for being there when it counts to be there. It does not help us in world politics, whether in Africa or the Middle East, or South Asia, or anywhere else, to acquire a reputation for running for the high ground whenever the waters start to rise. Therefore as we look across the landscape of Africa, we seek countries such as Zaire, a country of central strategic importance under any definition of African politics.

A country such as Nigeria, Senegal, Cameroon, Gabon. These are countries which have worked consistently and constructively to promote stability, moderation and co-operative economic policies. We will be seeking ways to be helpful to such friends on a continuing basis. Above all, to regular consultation.

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These are nations where the line between political security and economic security becomes almost invisible because in so far as these countries become increasingly unable to provide the basics for the survival of their own people, they become increasingly ripe for adventurism or regional and external powers. We are aware of that relationship and intend to address it.

A final point that I would mention is that whatever we may do in our assistance programmes, our resources by ourselves are finite. We must work within the broader context of the donor community and seek better ways to co-ordinate our policies with other major donor countries. At the same time, we must recognize what has too seldom been recognized in the past, in our view. Which is that without a closer participation and partnership between business and government we are functioning disarmed in the international system. Government must stop considering itself to be a source of restraint or constraint against American business internationally, and business must stop looking at the government as a source of trouble rather than as a source of opportunity in the way it deals internationally.

We intend to engage with the private sector more actively in Africa, as elsewhere. We intend to find ways, and we are studying this intensively today, both to reduce constraints that have been created by government, to provide greater incentives for our business community to become involved in Africa.

Questions and Answers

Dr Crocker, you mentioned constructive engagement as opposed to public denunciation, but you didn't say what that meant. How can you have a policy where you deal — you trust your friends in southern Africa — and I assume that means South Africa — and yet you try to dissuade them from apartheid? That doesn't seem to jive.

Dr Crocker: Well, I disagree with you. I think it does jive. First of all, we have a number of friends in southern Africa. We look at the Government of Zimbabwe, of Zambia, as friends of the US. We look at the Government of Zaire, which is an integral part of southern Africa, as a friend of the US. We also consider that South Africa is a friend of the US. We cannot accept its system; we must support those who are seeking in an evolutionary way to work for a better South Africa, and those include both people in government and out of government in South Africa.

There can be no question that constructive engagement implies supporting the things that we believe in, as well as pressing to the things we believe in. I can put it no better than the President himself who said, how can we turn our backs on a country at a time when a serious and an honest effort is being made to move away from apartheid? We believe that effort is being made and intend to back it in so far as it is being made. So constructive engagement is conditional, obviously, on that movement. But we have tried for many years through shrilled enunciation, through statements for the record, statements often made to make us feel good and look good, rather than to do good, frankly — to bring pressure to bear when, in fact, the pressure tools available to us are very finite. The time has come to begin to look at the positive side of the ledger, too, to see

what we can support; what we can induce; how we can persuade. That is what the new policy represents.

Mr Secretary, you mentioned the presence of Cuba in Ethiopia and Angola. I would like to hear your opinion about how important and dangerous is this presence of Cuba there?

Dr Crocker: I think on looking at the question of destabilization, which is what we are really talking about, we have to look at it against a background of what is the African environment really like? It is an environment in which a couple of well organized battalions of infantry can march across the countryside, across national boundaries, without much risk of meeting serious organized opposition. It is an environment of extreme military vulnerability; an environment in which economics are often fragile, particularly as oil prices skyrocket, and in which food output is declining.

So it is an environment overall which we see as being highly vulnerable to destabilization, whether it takes a political form, an economic financial form or military form. It is relatively easy to make your mark as a destabilizer on the African countryside.

In that context, the presence of Cubans in the two regions you referred to is without any question a factor that enters into the calculations of every region or country around those particular points, Angola and Ethiopia, where they happen to be based. If you were a Zambian decision-maker or a Zairean decision-maker, you could not afford to ignore those realities.

So we think it is a very important part of the political context and an important part of the equation of our own policy.

You said in the context of aid that it would be the policy of the Administration to back winners. I wonder if you could apply that to the Namibia question. Looking back at Zimbabwe, your predecessor got a lot of flak in Congress from Republicans for withholding support from the Muzorewa Government and in time it proved that, in fact, the Government didn't seem to have a great deal of legitimacy. Is there a precedent there in terms of policy towards SWAPO?

Dr Crocker: I'll have a stab at answering your question. I'm not sure I fully get the gist of it. We are not seeking to create direct parallels but the fact of the matter is, in our approach to Namibia we believe that the existing inherited UN resolution 435 provides a basis, but only a basis, not a complete framework, for a Namibia settlement. We are seeking to design and to improve that basis so that we can, in fact, achieve a settlement.

In that context, quite obviously, an internationally acceptable settlement is one in which there is a free and fair election open to all parties. So it is not part of our policy to seek to exclude any major political forces from an election and from its rightful role in the future of Namibia.

In discussing South Africa I believe you said we must support an evolutionary way

those seeking to change its system. Could you describe in a little more detail what that means in a practical day-to-day type of relationship of contacts and what you perceive the change to be between prior relationships with South Africa, or non-relationships?

Dr Crocker: It is in part a question of style and in part a question of substance, it seems to us. Without attempting to define for you what the previous Administration's approach has been, I would simply make the point that when a question is put to us, such as — and it may be put to us sometime in the next few months — such as, do you support mandatory disinvestment? Or mandatory termination of all lending to South Africa? The answer to that from our standpoint is a very clear no; a very unambiguous no. What we do support are the Sullivan principles which represent the kind of engagement by our economy in the South African economy of which all Americans should be proud.

If people ask themselves, is it not immoral for American business to be invested in South Africa, let them ask the real moral question which would be, *would it be moral for American business to pull out of South Africa and leave the African majority in that country to deal with presumably the greater moral sensibilities of French and German and British multinationals?*

Broadly, what significant economic developments do you envisage in Africa, say, in the next ten years?

Dr Crocker: We see a climate that has two aspects to it, economically speaking. There is an awful lot of grim news on the economic front in Africa where a growing number of countries, including some which historically had better development records, are in deep trouble. They are facing a balance of payments crisis; they are facing a food crisis. And the number of countries that one can point to as being clearly on a solid up-trend is very limited.

There are many reasons for this. Energy is one; inadequate policies are certainly another; policies which have discouraged output, have discouraged agriculture, have encouraged urbanization, have encouraged deforestation, have led to a surfeit of animals in the land, further increasing the desertification problem that is troubling Africa. There are many policies that one could point to that have encouraged this trend. There are also many global factors that impinge upon African economies which create some of these difficulties as well.

But having pointed to all that negative news, I think I would also underscore some positive signs, not least of which is the growing emergence of what I would term economic rationality amongst a growing number of key decision-makers in African governments. The importance of the private sector is more recognized today in independent African countries than it has been any time since I have been following this region,

for the past 22 years. This has to be good news. It means people are getting beyond rhetoric and looking to reality. That's the trend I would certainly point to, if we can capitalize on it, and that has to do with how we organize our own system and how we co-operate with our friends in the rest of the industrial world.

Secondly, there is a growing focus on Africa's resources as a magnet for foreign investment and a magnet, if you will, for development. Many more countries are in a position now to become modest, if not significant, oil producers. Once this trend has fully flowered, you will notice there will be a lot more countries than there are today that can basically provide their own energy needs. And when you look at the proportion that energy constitutes in the total balance of payments deficit of many African countries, this can be seen as a strong plus factor.

A third trend that I would point to that has a positive side concerns a recognition, belated perhaps but important nonetheless, that many African countries are simply under an imperative to co-operate more closely with their neighbours. We see this operating in terms of the regional economic community in West Africa, which is getting slowly off the ground; we see it also in efforts being made in southern Africa to co-operate in such fields as food, security and regional transport.

So, as always, I think the picture is somewhat mixed. I think one has to look very carefully to choose places either for government-to-government economic engagement or for foreign investment. But we do believe that Africa has considerable promise. It is a vast storehouse that is unexplored when it comes to raw materials, and every effort must be made to bring some of this promise to reality.

I was wondering if we could take the report of your Namibian policy in the New York Times yesterday as representing the policy as you see it, and also, is your emerging policy in line with the Front Line States, who apparently agreed to the previous policy?

Dr Crocker: I think the right place to begin my answer is with the second half of your question. We take it from our discussions with the Front Line States in southern Africa, and also with Nigeria, that their overwhelming objective in the region is to seek internationally recognized independence for Namibia that would lead to the end of the war there.

That objective is wholly consistent with our own. We believe that early independence, genuine independence, democratic independence, are amongst our highest priorities in the region. And we share the Front Line States' concern that the longer that this conflict continues, the more it will destabilize the region in which it is taking place, the sub-region, southern Africa — the more it continues, the greater opportunities this will offer to our global adversary to further stir the pot in southern Africa.

The question is how do you get there? You mentioned that the Front

Line States had agreed historically to the earlier approach, to the previous Administration's approach or to UN resolution 435. That really isn't the issue. The issue is what now can be done to assure that independence is, in fact, decided upon? 435 by itself, in our view, is simply not going to lead to a decision by South Africa to implement an independent settlement. Our desire is to strengthen that package in such a way that we will get such a settlement. And we are quite confident the Front Line States and Nigeria share that same objective.

We are at the stages now, the beginning stages of a fresh approach. We've been in office roughly six months. Our predecessors dealt with this issue for some three and one half or four years, and did not produce a settlement. We think our African friends are well aware of the fact that it's early days to render a judgement on the new Administration's policy. And I think I would just leave it there.

So there is no response to the first part of the question?

Dr Crocker: We are not commenting on documents pilfered from the Department of State.

You say we should have a more constructive engagement on the governmental level with South Africa and that we should encourage private enterprise. We have been criticized at various times for allowing private enterprise to sell equipment to South Africa that is supposedly used to keep the repressive regime in force, such as computer systems, police weapons and the like. Do you support any restriction on sales of equipment to South Africa?

Dr Crocker: One has to be quite specific as to what one's talking about, the area that you're referring to. I have no new policy announcements to make this morning, apart from what really has already been said on the record, which is that we continue to adhere to the arms embargo.

Along the same lines of economic co-operation between the US Government and the private sector, what about cases where the investment of the private sector in African nations actually supports Soviet goals such as Gulf Oil's support of the regime in Angola?

Dr Crocker: Gulf Oil's presence in Angola is a decision for the Angolan Government and the management of Gulf Oil. It's not — Gulf's presence there is not — the result of US Government actions. That's the only way I can really answer your question. We think it reflects some obvious realities. A business firm will seek to make a profit where it can. That a government whose socialist partners are incapable of delivering in the economic and technological field will look elsewhere. And we have no objection to that transaction continuing. It does continue. We have not stood in the way of it.

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We wanted to know how you would defend President Reagan's statement in saying

South Africa was a friendly nation to the United States, a nation in which every 68th second a black child dies of malnutrition and whose 20 million blacks are not allowed to vote. I want to know how you would be able to defend that as being a friendly nation to the United States?

Dr Crocker: We don't think it's particularly useful to get engaged in a discussion about the infant mortality rates in one country versus another as a gauge of whether or not we should have friendly relationships with them.

There is much that needs to be done inside South Africa, and no one in this Administration is seeking to deny that. We do believe that there are better ways than have been tried historically to try and encourage the kind of movement that we would like to see. We also do believe that the time has come to stop the hypocritical type of standards that are often applied. South Africa is not the only country in the world that has difficulties of internal discrimination or domination by a minority. It's not the only country in the world that has problems such as the one you referred to specifically. We will make our view known in the way we feel is most effective and will try to do so on an equitable basis, rather than to seek to score points — largely rhetorical points in many cases — directed at one country exclusively.

.....

I wanted to ask you, the way you described our relationship, the new relationship the Administration wants to develop with South Africa. Constructive engagement, encouraging private enterprises, etc, what kept going through my mind was replacing the country South Africa with Angola and Libya, countries that are of economic interest — strategic interest — and I wonder why — do we not think it would be to our advantage to have more leverage in those countries by having relationships with them? What is the advantage that we have to have relations with the (United States)? What is the advantage of the policy that we have for them? In neither Chad nor Libya do we have diplomatic representation so how can we have an effect there?

Dr Crocker: Well, each case has to be taken on its own merits I think. As far as the Angolan case is concerned the ultimate objective of any policy has to be to try and find a basis for normalization. We have made clear, and in this regard are fully consistent with the policy of our predecessors, and there is an issue of principle here. The Angolan Government was established through a means back in 1975–1976 which we do not accept, and we have made it pretty clear that there will not be recognition of the Angolan Government under these circumstances.

We have also made it clear that we are convinced, and we are by no means alone in being convinced, that Jonas Savimbi and his people represent an important factor in the Angolan political equation. There will be no peace in Angola until such time as Savimbi and his people are able to

enter into some form of reconciliation with the central Government of Angola.

But that doesn't mean that we don't seek to have eventually a fully normal relationship with the Angolan Government. Of course we do. The question is how we get there.

Transcript text supplied by the United States International Communication Agency, Pretoria.

B. Extract, relating to a report of new United States military ties with South Africa, from answers given by the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester A. Crocker, during a hearing before the Africa Subcommittee of the House of Representatives, on 17 June 1981

The United States State Department on 18 June categorically denied news reports indicating the US was prepared to enter into a military alliance with South Africa.

The reports surfaced after 17 June House of Representatives Subcommittee on Africa Hearing at which Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Chester Crocker, testified about the US policy toward South Africa and Namibia.

Congressman George Crockett (D-Mich.): There's a large South African naval base, Simonstown. It's been offbase as far as American naval (vessels). Is there presently any discussion going on that . . . a change in that policy?

Dr Crocker: No.

Congressman Howard Wolpe (D-Mich.): I would like to pursue in some greater detail the concessions the United States is prepared to make in its efforts to achieve South African agreement to a Namibian solution. I understand that there is contemplated at this point such new policies as upgrading, expansion of military attaché relationships. It has been contemplated, I understand, the training of South African coast guard by our government, by America — training activities. Are those active, of course, number one; and, secondly, are there other kinds of changes that are contemplated in our relationship to South Africa, and are there any other ideas that have been considered by our government we believe would be helpful in achieving a settlement of the conflict in Namibia?

Dr Crocker: Mr Chairman, I would draw a clear distinction between items on the bi-lateral US-South Africa Agenda, such as matters you re-

ferred to, and our diplomacy on Namibia. It would be to trivialize the Namibia negotiation to suggest for a moment that the question of two versus four military attachés was going to somehow clinch the deal. These are not parts of the bargaining process. They are not in any way related to the Namibia negotiation. There are several areas, such as the ones you referred to, which are under review, and in which negotiation and discussion is currently under way between the US and South African Governments. I'm not in a position to make announcements at this point as to whether that will come about. These are under discussion, these areas.

Cong. Wolpe: These are simple changes that we are simply willing to make without any kind of concessions or movement or commitments from the South African Government with respect to America's principal foreign policy concerns in that region?

Dr Crocker: It would seem to me, if I could put it this way, that for us to presume that reciprocal upgrading of military attachés is doing the South African Government a favour is to simply utterly misread the nature of the purpose of military attachés.

Cong. Crockett: Was that requested by South Africa?

Dr Crocker: It was not requested by South Africa.

Was the training of the coast guard requested by South Africa?

Dr Crocker: Yes, it was, Congressman.

Was the increase in the number of South African consulates in this country requested by South Africa?

Dr Crocker: It has been for some time — the honorary consulates — yes, Congressman.

Well, don't you think that's doing them a favour, granting their requests?

Dr Crocker: I referred to the issue of the defence attaché officers. In the other cases, honorary consulates traditionally are granted between countries — there is no particular significance to that. This had been held up for reasons that elude me in the past, and we don't intend to hold them up any further.

Cong. Wolpe: What has been yielded by the South Africans in response to our affirmative response to things they had actually sought from us?

Dr Crocker: I wouldn't want to get into the nature of discussions on each of those bi-lateral matters until we have reached a point of agreement and decision, which we have not yet. But I would like to get back to this question of defence attaché staffing, which I think the record should make clear. In our view, we have at least as much interest in seeing this agreement reached as the South African Government does, and we believe that it is very much in our interest to see it reached.

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