As AFSC's Southern Africa International Affairs Representative, Edgar (Ted) Lockwood carries responsibility for writing reports, initiating conferences, seminars, and personal contacts that support the work of the member nations of the Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) in fostering greater regional development and economic cooperation. To be included on the mailing list write to AFSC, Africa Program at the above address. Contributions to defray mailing and duplicating costs are welcome.

Introduction

Zimbabwe plays a pivotal role in the Southern Africa region. As the Zimbabwean Government moves toward consideration of a one-party state, SAIAR Ted Lockwood reviews events that stand as obstacles to peace and unity in that nation. This report focuses in part on the relationship between the two major parties which formed an alliance known as the Patriotic Front (PF), during the war and negotiation of the Lancaster House Agreement which led to independence. ZANU (Zimbabwean African National Union), the majority party in the government, is headed by Prime Minister Robert Mugabe and is largely representative of Shona-speaking Zimbabweans. ZAPU (Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union) is headed by Joshua Nkomo, a former Minister of Home Affairs who left the country after being removed from his post and has since returned. ZAPU represents mostly Ndebele-speakers, concentrated in Matabeleland, where violence has erupted based on allegations by the government that anti-government dissidents are being harbored there.

A second letter on this subject will examine how the agricultural system is faring as the government seeks to move toward a socialist economy.

Dear Friends:

ZANU's pre-election Congress will open in Gweru on August 8th, the 21st anniversary of the party. As the ZANU (PF) Congress approaches, Marxism-Leninism is scheduled to be reaffirmed as the ideology of the party. ZAPU's Congress is scheduled to begin in September but it may not happen. The government has recently banned all ZAPU meetings in Midlands and Mashonaland West.
In accordance with the Lancaster House agreement, elections are expected to be held in February next year. ZANU might decide on an earlier date but electoral districts have yet to be defined and that is not expected until November.

The ZANU Women's Congress and the Youth Congress have already been held. The former raised a troublesome issue of bloc voting by regional subgroups which teamed up to form a majority, leaving other regions with little say in decisions. The prime minister called the "political maneuvers" of the Congress "extremely shocking". At a special meeting of provincial leaders called to discuss the situation he said:

"The ganging and counter-ganging of any province with another purely on regionalistic bases to achieve a given election result is the greatest disgrace and humiliation ZANU has ever suffered."

Following the denunciation of regionalism by Mugabe and the Central Committee, ZANU Youth were directed to come up with a balanced slate, which was then elected by a show of hands. Zimbabwean police charged with vote counting didn't need to. Ernest Kadungure, secretary of the League and Minister of State (Defense) said this procedure could not be intimidating.

"We only wish the national congress could be the same...the youth has that adaptability of unity. We have heeded the president's advice."

Regionalism is already a problem in the government bureaucracy. As the government became Africanized and the civil service rapidly expanded, some ministries became known as fiefdoms of the Manicas or of the Karangas or the Zezurus. Nepotism and tribal politics are widely deplored but the mote is always in someone else's eye. Realistically, a system of regional balancing within a ministry seems a more likely way to cope with the problem than to assume that individuals will simply be considered on their merits. ZANU is actively campaigning to replace its Shona-speaking officials in Matabeleland with Ndebele speakers. So far, no prominent Ndebeles have been recruited except for Callistus Ndlovu, currently Minister of Mines. Enos Nkala, who defected years ago, and President Canaan Banana, who occupies a ceremonial post, are the only other prominent Ndebele speakers in ZANU although there are claims of widespread defections.

**Issues the Zanu Congress Will Address**

A. **Ideology**

The congress will be asked to confirm the Marxist-Leninist orientation adopted by ZANU (PF) in Mozambique in 1977. The prime minister looks forward to a purge of party leadership and party principles, and has said: "...it is absolutely important that everyone who is in leadership espouses Marxist-Leninist principles."

He believes that it will be a long time before ZANU can emerge from its present mass movement stage which incorporates many elements that are not "strictly socialist". But others are impatient to speed up the process. Dr. Herbert Ushewokunze, now Minister of Transport and formerly an outspoken Minister of Home Affairs and earlier Minister of Health, advocates a clean sweep of all "neo-colonialists", especially those classes or individuals who see the party as a road to wealth and government preferment:
"mass parties cannot articulate a coherent ideology because they have to accommodate so many interests... That is the problem facing ZANU (PF) today."

Another possible challenge could come from Edgar Tekere, who has rebuilt his standing by emerging as the party leader in Manicaland. A former secretary general, he was dismissed from government for participating in an armed attack on a white farmer. Some consider him an unstable and volatile person who wants to keep fighting the liberation war. Still, he has built his position back by espousing people's issues. In a recent Moto interview he says the revolution has been hijacked by thieves whom Congress should kick out.

The ZANU Youth League, backing Mugabe's call, has also demanded a purge of leadership that is capitalist. The Herald, whose editorials often reflect government policy, commended the League:

(The current open door policy) has meant that even those with no serious commitment to socialism have been able to sneak in. Unadulterated capitalists have been able to join and even to be elected to leadership at the local and provincial levels."

Last year, Mugabe had pointed his finger at cabinet ministers who acquire huge commercial farms and other business concerns "with a more theoretical and thus hypocritical commitment to socialism".

No ministers were sacked for their derelictions, one possible reason being that there has simply been no leadership code of behavior worked out. The issue will surely be addressed at the Congress.

B. Who Will Be Secretary General?

There is some speculation as to whether the PM represents a left minority in the party or is actually on middle ground. If the former is true, it is conceivable that he might be replaced by someone more "moderate". The most obvious candidate would be Edisson Zvobgo, leader of the powerful Karanga group, who has been government's chief legal advisor. In a recent cabinet reshuffle, he ended up with the important Justice portfolio in addition to Legal and Parliamentary Affairs.

Given the current challenges the government faces, however, the party is unlikely to remove Mugabe in favor of anyone else. It would be seen as a repudiation of the man who is best known and identified with his country's liberation.

C. Corruption.

The party is likely to face a lot of anger from rank and file over government involvement in corruption, best illustrated by the Paweni case.

Samson Paweni is an African businessman who will face trial in July on charges that he swindled the government of $5.8 million through falsified charges for transport of drought relief supplies. Twenty-five other companies have been charged or are under investigation.

The Ministry of Labour and Social Services has been tarred with the Paweni brush. Its Deputy Director, Jeremiah Chamboko, who headed drought relief, is
charged with receiving $11,000 to persuade him to renew Paweni's contract even though he knew of the fraud. Chamboko, however, claims his Minister, Kumbirai Kangai, ordered him to do it. Kangai, who has been moved to be Minister of Industry and Technology under the prime minister's office, denies Chamboko's charges.

Last year the Ministry of Youth and Recreation was rocked by charges that the government had been charged inflated prices for land through corrupt practices. Educational book distribution has similarly been slowed, apparently by bribes and other methods of business that are said to date back many years.

All of this can be put down to growing pains. The government shows every sign of vigor in prosecuting those it deems responsible and in educating its own bureaucracy. The media has exposed the cases and not hidden them. Still, many people wonder whether the cabinet ministers responsible will be held accountable.

Many ex-combatants are angry and disillusioned over these betrayals of public trust by bureaucrats and businessmen, most of whom spent the war in academic studies or doing business. Eighteen thousand ex-combatants are unemployed; others are struggling with underfunded co-ops; some have taken up arms as bandits or dissidents.

**Destabilization: The Growing Internal Conflict**

June 18-25 was marked by the worst upsurge of mob violence in Zimbabwe in some time. Rioting in Gweru, Kwekwe and elsewhere in the Midlands and Mashonaland West was sparked off by the murder of several local ZANU party officials. At least five people were killed and 200 injured in anti-ZAPU riots which emerged out of a demonstration by thousands of ZANU supporters. Rioters sacked ZAPU offices, gutted hundreds of houses allegedly belonging to ZAPU supporters and beat up a large number of alleged ZAPU supporters. The police appeared to be unable or unwilling to intervene.

On the morning of the riots, Emmerson Munangagwa, the Minister of State for Security in the prime minister's office, banned all ZAPU meetings in the Midlands. On June 19th, the day after violent anti-ZAPU crowds had injured people in Gweru, Zvishavane and Shurugwi, the Minister of Home Affairs announced that ZAPU was banned from all political meetings in Mashonaland West. On Sunday, June 24th, the prime minister said that ZAPU would be banned in all the other provinces if it continues to support dissidents.

While ZANU party officials deplored the use of violence, Justice Minister Zvobgo claimed that banning ZAPU was "necessary to prevent further bloodshed". ZAPU had embarked on a calculated course of action to commit murder and since people might retaliate, banning was a protection for ZAPU lives and property. There was no comparable ban on ZANU political meetings, however.

The banning of ZAPU meetings is another step in the government's mounting hardline drive to eliminate ZAPU and all other parties standing in the way of a one-party state. In the wake of continuing violence and counter-violence by dissidents and government, there are a few points worth making:

- The prime minister has warned the people of Matabeleland that it is their obligation to expose dissidents. The Catholic bishops support this position.
- Many people in Matabeleland feel they are the victims of government repression and a calculated policy of starvation and brutality. Four thousand refugees in Botswana talk bitterly of genocide. Neither ZAPU nor Ndebeles generally will accept a one-party state imposed by force and coercion.

- ZAPU and Nkomo could help the government come away from its hardline policy if they would campaign against the dissidents. But this is politically not feasible.

- ZAPU and Nkomo remain the existing channels for political dialogue. No one knows who can speak for the dissidents or what their demands are. Nkomo seems to be sure that the government will eventually have to come to him for a solution. Meanwhile he stands to benefit by letting dissident activity proceed without either his blessing or his denunciation. ZAPU's price in merger talks held last year was 50% of a combined central committee and a deputy prime ministership for Nkomo. It was much too high for ZANU.

- Everyone accepts that war is brutal but the government's tactics seem singularly counter-productive. They seem to stem from a blind unwillingness to accept that a military solution and a political order imposed on Matabeleland by force may very well generate a much more costly and terrible war than the comparatively minor one which has so far existed.

Destabilization: South Africa's Role

No analysis of Zimbabwe can omit the growing success of South Africa's destabilization policy. Zimbabwe remains the one power strong enough at this point to refuse even to talk to its powerful southern neighbor as Mozambique, Angola, Botswana, Swaziland and Lesotho have been forced to do. But South Africa is exerting pressure by feeding ethnic conflict and sabotaging Zimbabwe's trade routes.

South Africa has had a hand in funding and supplying Super-ZAPU, as some of the dissidents have been described, which is currently said to have 100 dissidents in the operational area of Matabeleland and Midlands. It is also reputed to be infiltrating former members of UANC (United African National Council, headed by Abel Muzorewa, who served as prime minister under an interim government supported by Ian Smith forces into western Mashonaland according to Africa Confidential.

Equally important, Zimbabwe believes that South Africa is still backing anti-government Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) guerillas in Mozambique, who continue to blow up Zimbabwe's route to Beira on a weekly basis. On June 14th a convoy of South African and Zimbabwean trucks carrying maize and other goods and guarded by Zimbabwe troops were attacked by bandits on the road from Zobue to Nyamapanda in Tete. At the end of March a similar convoy was attacked on the same road with damage running into millions of dollars.

While Zimbabwe announced in September that it was now routing 50% of its trade through Beira and Maputo, the renewed MNR offensive seems to have made Zimbabwe more dependent on South African ports.
South Africa can also offer carrots. The Zimbabwe Tobacco Trade Association and the South African Transport Services authorities have just concluded a deal for a special freight rate of 600 rands a container from Beitbridge to Durban, some 30% off new and increased rates imposed in South Africa in April. Similarly, a group of major South African wire-rod producers have signed an agreement with Lancashire Steel, recently acquired by Zimbabwe, for 1,000 tons a month of wire rod that will bring in as much as $100 extra per ton in foreign currency.

South Africa stands to benefit from the continuing turmoil. No one else surely does. The government took a step toward restoring confidence in its impartiality and fairness by setting up an inquiry into its troop behavior. That bonus now seems lost. The prospects for stability and peace look grim for the present.