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SOUTHERN AFRICA INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS REPORT

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from Ted Lockwood
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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 Programs, at 1501 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, PA, 19102. Contributions to defray mailing and duplicating costs are welcome.

Dear Friends:

It occurs to me that it might be helpful if I reported back to you at least some of the impressions I have of the Second Congress of ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union, the majority party led by Prime Minister Robert Mugabe). I attended the opening day, Wednesday, the 8th of August and the closing day, Sunday the 12th of August, using a press accreditation which I had asked for on the basis of my past press card. My observations are quite limited by the fact that we were allowed to attend as press only the more ceremonial parts of the Congress and not the sessions at which there were elections, debate and resolutions.

On the opening day the principal task was to introduce the important guests from African countries, from fraternal movements and from the socialist countries and to read the Central Committee's report. It all took a lot longer than anyone expected and by the end of the day things were about three hours behind schedule. Still, I must say, given the fact that there were 5,000 - 6,000 delegates, 60 distinguished guests, microphones and bands and whatnot to manage, the Congress was really quite impressive in the sense of organization and detail work.

At the opening, Mugabe introduced the three presidents of frontline states who were there: Samora Machel (Mozambique), Kenneth Kaunda (Zambia) and Quett Masire (Botswana); the vice president of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea; Oliver Tambo of ANC. (The President of PAC, who was supposed to be there, apparently appeared at a later point.)

Mugabe fondly introduced Kaunda as "KK" and after KK shouted out "Pamberi ne chimurenga! (Forward with the revolution.) Pasi ne Smith, Pamberi Na Africa!" Mugabe hollered out "One Zambia!" and the crowd shouted back: "One nation!" Then, "One leader, One Africa!" to which the reply was, "One Revolution!"

Mugabe called Samora Machel a "household word" and recalled that the Mozambican struggle had been as protracted as Zimbabwe's own. Mozambique's

independence had broadened the front for ZANU and it was easier to get cadres out for training.

"See him once again; express through your hearts the warm sentiments we feel for him and for freedom."

When Machel, the great crowd enthusiaser, was dissatisfied with the crowd's dry response to his shout of "Viva ZANU," he tapped his ears and lifted his palms skyward as if to say: "What is this? ZANU is your party! How about it?" And the crowd loved it and roared back "Viva ZANU!"

Masire called out "Pamberi" without adding ZANU but he called out "Viva ZANU." I wondered if that reflected on unwillingness to offend ZAPU. The North Korean vice president was not as restrained.

It was interesting that Mugabe gave Oliver Tambo and ANC star billing. He recalled that the people of South Africa had started their struggle many years ago with ANC. He called ANC "a dynamic and revolutionary party, a movement seeking to enhance the area of our freedom in accordance with the charter of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). The struggle of the South African people is our struggle, just as our struggle was also the struggle of Zambia, Tanzania and Mozambique."

Tambo looked mighty pleased and after his round of shouting he did a little bow in the direction of Machel and said "Obrigado (thank you)." A nice touch of reconciliation toward the country that had been forced through Nkomati to do some hard things to ANC.

I won't attempt to summarize the full Central Committee report, which Mugabe read for three long hours. The first part was a sort of Holy History of Liberation, reciting many of the events of the early days of the struggle. ZAPU and ZIPRA were quite minimized, I thought, in the report, although Mugabe did throw an extemporaneous interjection into his reading in praise of ZIPRA combatants who had given their lives. In terms of program, I noted the emphasis on doing more to socialize the means of production (chemicals and engineering were two priority items as was the increase of knowledge of science and technology) and also greater emphasis on cooperatives and state farms in the area of agriculture. The report also stated the party planned to introduce a state trading corporation to the country's foreign trade. This led to groans among reporters who claim knowledge of developments in Tanzania, where the trading corporation has led to bureaucratic molasses-in-winter action. Still, there are apparently anomalies in the sphere of allocation of foreign exchange and a state trading corporation is seen as a way to get around this issue.

On the whole, there were no great surprises. One result was an extension, or extrapolation, of the mixed-economy plan which has already been put in practice to some degree. There was an admission that the three-year transition-to-socialism plan had not been realistic and now a five-year plan will be devised which would order priorities and keep new details.

The party dealt with the issue of corruption by passing a leadership code which casts a very wide net indeed. It insists that any party leader can only have one residence, cannot have a business, must not appear in public in unclean and untidy dress, engage in drunkenness or immorality, and so on. The difficulty is that it is rather like closing the barn door after the horse has been stolen. What now must the various ministers who are party chiefs do if they have acquired

bus companies, hotels and shares in various multi-national corporations? Mugabe says they can choose between property and leadership; they can't have both. It will be interesting to see how this code will work. If it is not enforced, then the code will in fact harm the credibility of the party. On the whole, it is a good thing. I would like to see it tried in the United States!

The elections to the Central Committee took place under a fairly complicated system. The new Central Committee comprises 90 members elected as follows:

- 42 members chosen by the Congress from nominees presented by the Central Committee from national lists of 42 names submitted by each provincial branch of ZANU;
- 18 members chosen by the Congress from among the names of people nominated by the provincial branches on the basis of four names for each province (i.e., $4 \times 9 = 36$);
- 10 members were nominated by Mugabe, the President of the party;
- 10 members of the Women's League were nominated by the League Congress; and
- 10 members of the Youth League were nominated by the Youth Congress.

Since Mugabe and Muzenda were unopposed, the actual elections under the first category were for 40 seats on the Central Committee and not 42.

The net effect of the elections has been greatly to strengthen Mugabe's grip on the party. The two men who conceivably might challenge his leadership were not named to the Politburo, a task which the Congress placed in Mugabe's hands rather than in the hands of the Central Committee; Edgar Tekere, who has made a big popular comeback based on his provincial leadership of Manicaland, and Eddison Zvobgo, publicity and information secretary. Both Tekere and Zvobgo reportedly had the largest number of votes of anyone nominated by the provinces for the second category (above). (I assume that they were not in the list of the Central Committee itself. There were 12 dropped from the national consensus list of the provinces.)

The list of 15 Politburo members and their deputies shows a nice balance regionally. There are not more than three from any one region and not less than two from any one region. Herbert Ushewokunze, who has a medical practice in Bulawayo, is very popular in Matabeleland, being the one ZANU parliamentarian elected from that region. He, therefore, plus Enos Nkala, are the Politburo members from Matabeleland.

Muzenda is from the Karanga clan but not a threat to Mugabe the way Zvobgo might be. He is understood to have a number of business irons in the fire that might provide a test of the leadership code, however.

At the Congress Ushewokunze's name drew a really good round of applause. He seems to have impressed the youth especially with his sincerity and radical egalitarianism. Although he had been on the Central Committee as it was constituted, he seemed to have been shifted to a less conspicuous Ministry (Transportation) in comparison to the two Ministries where he'd been a somewhat outspoken and controversial figure. Certainly he is on the left side of the party.

From the point of view of cooperatives and land reform, I was glad to see Moven Mahachi had been elected as deputy secretary for production, development and construction. People in the co-op movement have a good deal of respect for him as a fellow co-operator.

The only full member of the new Politburo who was not on the old Central Committee is Nathan Shamuyarira, who has emerged as the principal government spokesperson in its unceasing battle to restore Zimbabwe's image and reputation and to defend it against the foreign press's alleged distortions. He has been an unswerving and dedicated proponent of the government's position. The fact that he was at one time a member of FROLIZI, which was an attempt to unify ZANU and ZAPU under James Chikerema, means that he was in the past regarded with some suspicion by some ZANU people. (His selection by Mugabe certainly shows that he has the full confidence of the prime minister, as well as being a political figure of importance in his own right.)

One notable dropout from favor in addition to Eddison Zvobgo is Kumbirai Kangai, who was tarnished by the drought relief scandal while he was minister of Labour, Manpower and Social Services. Still, he is on the new 90-person Central Committee, having been elected by the Congress from those nominated by the provinces. It's interesting that almost no one who was on the old Central Committee was totally dropped. Mugabe exercised his right of appointment to the new Central Committee in favor of a number of old Central Committee people who were not appointed to the Politburo and who were not elected by Congress either. I have found only one name on the old Central Committee who does not appear in the new setup--Sheba Tavarwisa--and that may be a mistake on my part. In other words, it seems that there has been a conscious effort to keep all people satisfied that they have a place and a position, even if it is not the highest and most influential place and position.

Another observation is that there is no one on the Politburo who was not nominated for election to the Central Committee by the old Central Committee. Conversely, there are a number of people who were on the old Central Committee who did not make it to the Politburo. They were elected to the new Central Committee primarily because the provinces put them on their provincial nomination lists (four persons) and they were then elected by Congress from those nominations.

In short, Congress weeded out none of the old, but added new names.

Meeting after the Congress, the new Central Committee named 64 members to five standing committees; they were chaired as follows:

Political and Policy Committee	:	Simon Muzenda
Economics Committee	:	Enos Nkala
Social and Welfare Committee	:	Dzingai Mutumbuka
National Security Committee	:	Emmerson Munangagwa
Legal and Constitutional Committee	:	Maurice Nyagumbo

At the closed session, the prime minister and president of ZANU called on the committee to translate the Congress resolutions into comprehensive programs as soon as possible in order to form a basis for the new five-year plan of development. Nkala, the chair of the Economics Committee, in a television interview, went out of his way to be conciliatory toward private enterprise and called on it to help in joint ventures with government.

For the average citizen, the primary concern is with either the high cost of living, or the employment situation, or both. They want to see if the new code for leaders has any teeth. Mugabe has told the leadership that they must choose:

"Some of you have properties you have acquired over time. Others of you have only recently acquired such properties. There is no exception in the application of the code to both categories. And so you must make your choice and convey it to the Central Committee soon."

This will be a hard choice to make if it is insisted upon. As the Sunday Mail points out, one of the motives of the people who have gotten involved in business is that politics can be an insecure source of livelihood. It's hard to see how it could be otherwise unless the government is prepared to see that there is some form of social security or pension available to those who are put out to pasture.

Seeing the prime minister on the televised parliamentary session, I was struck by how relaxed and masterful he seemed. To the opposition parties, he was reassuring. The election would be carried out fairly. There would, of course, be the question of the one-party state put to the voters since that is what ZANU was aiming for. But after the election there would be a process of full consultation. The one-party state, which he advocated as an African form of democracy, would not be imposed by fiat. On the other hand, the experience of the Congress demonstrates Mugabe's dexterity, skill and determination in establishing and consolidating his own grip on the reins of power. There will only be one party for ruling and there will be one leader around whom to build the nation. It was quite striking, the way in which foreign guests who came to the Congress in such numbers paid tribute both to the party and to Mugabe as the national leader. It was a clear sign that, at least for now, ZANU and the prime ministers have firmly established their dominance over the other parties and other possible leadership.

This Newsletter completes a three-part examination of trends and events affecting Zimbabwe in recent months. Part One dealt with issues to be taken to the ZANU Congress, followed by a close look at how the economy and national events affect the agricultural system. For copies of these earlier reports, please write to the above address.