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Subject: Report on a trip to Southern Africa

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For five weeks from the end of June till August, I traveled to Europe and southern Africa, representing ACOA at an international anti-apartheid conference in Geneva, following up Africa Fund projects, meeting with liberation leaders in Mozambique, Lesotho and Zambia, and traveling for two weeks in the new nation of Zimbabwe.

Richard Leonard, a former ACOA staff associate now living in Geneva and I represented ACOA at the international action conference for sanctions against South Africa held in Geneva from the 28th of June to July 3rd. ACOA board members, Gay McDougall, Elizabeth Landis and Timothy Smith were also present representing TransAfrica, the UN Commissioner for Namibia and the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility, respectively.

The conference brought together international, church, trade union, student, anti-apartheid and solidarity groups, along with liberation movements and a group of individual experts, to help build momentum for an upcoming UN-OAU session on sanctions to be held next year. The conference was sponsored by the NGO (non-governmental organization) subcommittee on racism, chaired by Romesh Chandra of the World Peace Council, in cooperation with the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid.

ACOA staff prepared two papers requested for the four day meeting: a summary of group actions in the US for divestment and a history of actions in the US for the cultural boycott of South Africa. (both of which are available on request). The venerable Sean MacBride, former UN Commissioner for Namibia, presided. After an opening day of formal speeches, the next two days were spent in working commissions on military/nuclear, economic and social/cultural aspects of sanctions.

I was asked by the steering committee to serve as rapporteur of the third commission, preparing its report to the final plenary session on the fourth day, and on the conference committee reviewing the final document. The commissions provided the opportunity to exchange notes and to review work done on such diverse issues as Space Research Corporation arms sales, illegal sales of Namibian uranium, to the upcoming heavyweight boxing match in South Africa.

A notable item of interest was contained in a speech by Alfred Nzo, secretary general of the African National Congress (South Africa). The ANC held meetings last November exploring a possible modus vivendi with Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and his Zulu-based Inkatha movement. Any doubts about the untenable alliance were dispelled as Nzo unequivocally condemned recent actions by Buthelezi opposing the student strikes, deploying vigilantes against opponents and exposing ANC members (it is illegal to publicly support the outlawed ANC within South Africa) to harassment by the white minority government.

An all-day meeting of groups working on bank campaigns in Europe, the US and Canada was held following the conference on July 4, organized by the End Loans to Southern Africa (ELTSAs) group in London with assistance of Prexy Nesbitt (who is now with the World Council of Churches staff in Geneva). Dumisani Kumalo prepared a summary of recent US actions. Issues which the group shared in common such as western involvement in the massive SASOL coal to oil project were discussed. A newsletter and practical steps for assisting the UN to host a seminar on bank loans to be held in Europe next February were discussed, with emphasis on needed research studies.

The NGO conference concluded with a reaffirmation of a policy that ACOA has long argued: sanctions are the most effective measures which the international community can take in support of the liberation struggle for South Africa. A useful forum was provided, in a focused way, to meet in person and review strategies with some of those doing very similar work around the globe.

Mozambique

Five years ago, on the eve of the independence celebrations in Lourenco Marques (now Maputo), President Samora Machel wore the fatigues of the Frelimo guerilla army. After the new nation's flag was run up the pole, a hail of bullets, like fireworks, went off over the stadium. The liberation struggle had reached down to the South African border. The following day Machel donned civilian dress as he addressed the nation on the tasks of reconstruction facing Mozambique after centuries of Portuguese colonialism.

Frelimo, which had liberated the provinces of the north, now sought to establish the organs of popular power in the more populous south. The end of white supremacy and privilege was a shock too great for the bulk of Portuguese settlers most of whom were not directly affected by the war. A mass exodus of over 200,000 began, despite the firmly advocated non-racialism of Frelimo and conciliatory statements not unlike those widely reported from Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe.

Mozambicans embraced the new democracy in the "grupos dinamizadores" in each district and workplace where they met to shape their new society. But the difficulties faced were enormous, compounded by Mozambique's principled commitment to aid the Patriotic Front's struggle to liberate Zimbabwe. For example, the mainstay of economic activity for Mozambique's second city, the port of Beira, was cut off when Frelimo complied with international sanctions and cut trade with Rhodesia. Over 150,000 Zimbabwe refugees were hosted on Mozambique soil. Constant attacks killing hundreds and knocking out strategic transport links were carried out by Rhodesian forces into Mozambique. And the Rhodesians armed and aided a band of dissidents known as the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) who carried out occasional raids into the country.

During the week I was in Maputo, the government announced that it had wiped out the major base of MNR. Fifty kilometers from the Zimbabwe border, the MNR camp was moved atop an isolated mountain inside Mozambique in Manica province when the Lancaster agreement was signed, ending the Rhodesian assistance. The base was centred around a helicopter landing strip where supplies with English and Afrikaans markings were dropped. A captured ex-recruit of the MNR, Agostinho Tiago, told of "South African Nord Atlas Planes dropping weapons in the central camp of the base" when Frelimo

troops began encircling the area. Mozambique reported over two hundred dead and three hundred captured in the engagement. Interviews with the captured prisoners confirmed that the core composition of the group was formerly members of the Portuguese army's special groups, notorious for the Wiryamu massacre of hundreds of Mozambique civilians in 1972

Mozambique has taken significant steps towards reducing the dependency on South Africa which was structured into the economy Frelimo inherited from the Portuguese. The number of Mozambican migrants working in South Africa has been reduced. Cahora Bassa hydroelectric scheme is being expanded and reoriented for internal use. Transport ministers from the frontline states were meeting in Maputo to draw up timetables for sending the maximum exports and imports through Mozambique, not South Africa.

With the settlement in Zimbabwe and the external threat reduced, Frelimo felt confident to launch a new political offensive to root out excesses of bureaucracy and inefficiency and to stimulate production which is at best, stagnant. There are some immediate problems which the campaign is also addressing. In the urban areas for a variety of reasons, there are frequent, temporary shortages. Rationing has become an annoyance for urban workers as time is lost waiting on lines for items such as soap. I was told that other items often in short supply included matches, light bulbs, eggs and parafin. President Machel launched the campaign with some publicized "raids" on warehouses where corrupt managers were exploiting the shortages for personal profit. The country's largest privately held food company was nationalised. But there are also areas of the economy where Frelimo would like to lessen its role. Because of the mass exodus, the government often found itself taking over lesser priority areas of the economy through default, not desire - running shops for example, without experienced people. Mozambican small traders who left from fear to neighboring countries are being invited back, and offered state shops for purchase to improve distribution.

Some of the more visible results of the campaign are also apparent to the visitor. A new currency, the metical, was discreetly added to the escudo on June 16, discouraging currency smuggling. The national airline has been renamed, service upgraded. Visas are easier to obtain and customs processing improved, though we were still asked to fill out a second round of embarkation cards on arrival, the only difference being that one had an orange stripe and the other did not. Yet at what other airport will you find a customs officer cheerfully walking up the line offering his pen to each passenger?

Agriculture remains the center of Mozambique's efforts to improve the lives of its people. I visited the Eduardo Mondlane communal village in Marracuene, along with the director of 20 communal villages in the province, Edgar Vaz, and the regional health official, Dr Langa. Located in a fertile river valley, the village has 1,800 persons displaced by floods on the Limpopo river, housed in three sections. Each family has its own plot, and most grew some vegetables, some had chickens, goats and/or cattle. But the adults spend a few hours a day working communal farmland where there was an irrigation pump, tractors and transport carts. Rice, sugar beets and vegetables provided an abundance so that a large part of the day could be spent in such activities as literacy classes. The close proximity of the people means it is effective for the government to place a health post with a medical assistant and rudimentary drugs in the village, and a water well driven by a motor. A hut with rows of rabbits was run by one villager, providing more meat for the diet. A carpentry shop was turning out chairs and tables. The proximity also means people

can meet more frequently, such as in the local Mozambican women's organization, to discuss problems and plans. A good diet, the well (providing safe water) and basic sanitary techniques taught by the assistant are key to most of the communicable diseases which are such a common cause of mortality in the region. The health post is the first line in detection. While we made a brief stop with Dr. Langa, a woman with a one year old baby approached. The doctor diagnosed pneumonia and she and the baby joined our landrover as we returned to the district health center some miles away, where more sophisticated medicines (and a pharmacist) were available.

Since independence, in a modest way, The Africa Fund's projects in Mozambique have assisted both the preventative and the curative aspects of Mozambique's health work, and provided a critical technical link. Francesco Cabo, international cooperation director in the Ministry of Health described the integral relationship of the two. Better sanitation, hygiene, nutrition and maternal education are key to combatting the primary health problems: contagious disease and high death rates between birth and age five. "But it is the successful results of curative care which help convince the people to apply preventive methods" Cabo explained.

Due to the severe shortage of personnel, Mozambique was forced to use too many of its doctors as regional administrators. A recent change in policy has meant all doctors must spend at least half their time in health care delivery, to maintain their skills.

Initial Africa Fund grants since independence helped Mozambique to establish the network of regional health centres and clinics. Shipments of simple microscopes and stethoscopes helped equip these centres for basic diagnosis. Technical assistance in locating hundreds of spare parts kept an American-design boiler operating and meant hot water to launder thousands of sheets, for example. Spare parts for sterilizers air-freighted to Mozambique kept operations from being cancelled at the Maputo hospital. Kits of surgical supplies will go out to regional centers to perform dental extractions, amputation, more complicated childbirth and surgery. Tons of antibiotics and other medicines have helped meet the needs of Zimbabwe refugees and Mozambique's own needs.

Expatriate "cooperantes" on two year contracts play a very useful role in helping bridge some of the manpower gaps and in training Mozambicans. I was told there are some forty nationalities at work as cooperantes in Mozambique, including a good number of Chilean refugees who supported Salvador Allende. A handful of Americans are present, particularly doctors. Henny Matos, director of Motechnica, the agency overseeing their recruitment, stressed to me their desire to see more well-motivated persons come to Mozambique from the US. Informally, we have assisted a number of individuals in applying. The recent formation of a Mozambique Friendship Association in the US, with persons who have worked closely with Frelimo at its core, should be a good step towards improving recruitment, screening and preparation of cooperantes.

As I was preparing to leave Mozambique, Noticias carried a photograph of the outgoing US ambassador in Maputo meeting with President Machel. The photograph seemed to graphically illustrate the ironies of the US relationship with Mozambique. For years Congress has blacklisted Mozambique from US assistance due to Frelimo's solidarity with the Patriotic Front. This year following Zimbabwe's independence, a meagre \$2 million in assistance was being cut in Congress by up to \$6 million on the outrageous grounds of alleged human rights violations. The US ambassador, William Dupree, was seen in the picture presenting President Machel with a gift of a chunk

of rock picked up by US astronauts on their trip to the moon. It seemed easier for the US to provide a piece of the moon than provide concrete assistance for Mozambique's needs.

I met Tozamile Botha in July during a brief stay in Lesotho, the small, mountainous, black African state, bordered on all sides by racist South Africa. Botha, the impressive leader of strikes against Ford Motor Company in South Africa in 1979-80 crossed the border into exile in the spring following months of jail in South Africa under the draconian "security" legislation. He is working with the African National Congress (ANC) liberation movement of South Africa which is outlawed inside South Africa. He maintained his extensive contacts with black community organizations inside the country, which he developed as leader of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic organization (Pebco).

We discussed the role of Pebco, which became of focal point for organized black resistance to the indignities of apartheid, holding mass meetings attended by up to 10,000 persons in the black "townships". He told of how Pebco organized against rent increases, for more teachers, tarred roads and other improvements in the segregated "townships" for blacks in the industrial region of Port Elizabeth. He emphasized Pebco's multiracial character which joined all people's of color (African, mixed race, and Indian ancestry) in the region to oppose the system of racist rule. Whites have often used minor differences in pay and privileges in an attempt to divide the black communities of South Africa.

Botha recounted how Ford management, acting at the request of the country's white minority government, fired him from his job for his "political" activities. He refused to "resign" as requested. Every African worker at the plant decided to walk out when news of the firing spread. Their strike forced Ford management in the US to intervene. The firings were rescinded with full amnesty for the strikers. The confidence gained during these actions is no doubt an important contributing factor in the wave of strike actions and mass protest which has swept South Africa this year.

I asked Botha for his reactions to the "Sullivan Principles" a code of conduct for US companies in South Africa developed by Rev. Leon Sullivan, black pastor and General Motors board member. Ford claims to adhere to the code, though the irony of its claim was demonstrated by its action initially firing all African workers when they walked out. He reviewed each of the six principles and demonstrated how they fail to address the fundamental issues of apartheid faced by black workers. Borrowing some American terminology, he summarized the principles as a "nonstarter".

We talked for many hours about the need for strong trade unions to struggle for black workers rights, the support of blacks in South Africa for international sanctions against South Africa, and work done in the US to support the struggle. A look of excitement and delight came across his face as I shared with him a copy of The Africa Fund study on the role of the automakers in South Africa, which he was now free to read.

In two brief days in Lusaka, Zambia, I had some first hand conversations with members of the SWAPO central committee concerning the recent South African attacks deep inside Angola, and developments in the struggle to liberate Namibia. I also sat in on a seminar on customary law at the Namibia institute and heard a keynote speech by Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress (South Africa). Just prior to departure, we met with Dr. Libertine Amathila, the SWAPO deputy health secretary, who confirmed their desire to receive a large shipment of anti-biotics The Africa Fund had on hand. With UNHCR assistance, these medicines, valued at

over \$20,000 were air -freighted to Luanda for Namibian refugees the end of June.

The SWAPO central committee met in Angola in July. One of their actions was internal, and had been widely misreported. One member of the central committee, the SWAPO vice president, Mishek Muyongo, had been expelled along with eight other SWAPO members. The press had largely reported nine central committee members ousted, which was inaccurate. SWAPO was quite open about the reasons and the complex background Tensions within the movement which had long simmered came to the fore as SWAPO decided to move all operations to Angola. Muyongo, unhappy with the decision, protested in letters to the front-line states. (which SWAPO later released).

Muyono received little support from other SWAPO leaders from his Caprivi region, and no support from the frontline presidents. Little negative effect on the future struggle was foreseen by the action.

The second issue SWAPO wished to discuss concerned the South African raids, known as operation "smokescreen". After South Africa's negative response to the latest UN proposals for a settlement, SWAPO was anticipating a military attack. Most of the refugee facilities had been moved far away from the border after a 1978 South Africa attack on Cassinga, in which hundreds of women, children, elderly refugees died. Most SWAPO troops were moved away from the military camp attacked but some sixty or so who refused to leave apparently put up quite an impressive fight in the fact of the massive South African operation. (An independent source who was at the US embassy in Pretoria at the time confirmed the effect on the South African military). The objective of "wiping out" SWAPO, like many previous Rhodesian raids against ZANU and ZAPU, was not successful. Indeed, SWAPO raids inside were being carried out within a week afterwards. The war has reached significant proportions inside Namibia.

ZIMBABWE

A remarkable atmosphere of peace and calm has settled over Zimbabwe just three months after independence. It would be inconceivable for a nation emerging from over a decade of bitter war not to face difficult problems. But after visiting many parts of the country for two weeks in July. I find the reporting in the US suggesting a country "slipping back to civil war" (Newsweek July 28, 1980) to be exaggerated and seriously misleading.

In contrast to the situation existing at the time of elections, the main achievement cited by people all over the country was peace. The worst of the security forces were dismantled. (In fact very little military presence is to be seen on the streets). Guns are no longer to be checked at the hotel counters, bags searched for bombs. A previously unknown stability has been established by Robert Mugabe's government.

For the seventy percent of the people who live in the rural areas, the victory of ZANU (PF) has made the most noticeable difference. I visited some of the former "protected villages" where Rhodesian soldiers had herded people to prevent them from giving food, shelter and other support to the "boys" fighting for independence. Three thousand people had been forced onto one unsanitary location, Kanyembe, I saw in the Chiweshe reserve. There were twenty such "keeps" in the district. Agricultural fields were up to five miles away and the local ZANU chairman informed me

they had been denied access to their plots for three or four days at a time if guerrillas were suspected nearby. Cattle were decimated as "dips" were shut down and dusk to dawn curfews enforced at gunpoint. Kwashiorkor and other forms of malnutrition spread among the young children as the people barely survived.

ZANU's victory at the polls in March meant the immediate departure of the security forces from the village, who ruled from a bunkered compound surrounded by turrets. The hated wire fences encircling the village were torn down; the curfew abolished. Only a handful of persons remained behind in the 'keep'. Thatched roof huts were now going up and dotting the countryside. People returned to replant their fields with vegetables, cotton, even tobacco without fear of detention or harassment. They reopened a nearby school that was closed during the war, and hailed the announcement of the Minister of Education, Dxingai Mutumbuka that tuition and books for primary education would be free as of September. They were already constructing a new classroom themselves.

But ironically a clinic which had opened in 1979 was closed in June. The clinic was paid for in part with funds from the US, sponsored by Senator Jesse Helms, which were intended to shore up the unpopular Muzorewa government. An International Red Cross doctor placed in the clinic was withdrawn when funds expired.

Health Needs

I devoted some special attention to the health situation in the country. Over the past few years, The Africa Fund has shipped \$70,000.00 in medical supplies for Zimbabwe refugees in Mozambique and Zambia. We promoted a national speaking tour for the ZANU (PF) secretary for health, Dr. Herbert Ushewokunze, who is now the Minister of Health. In correspondence concerning these shipments, he emphasized that the medicines were used in liberated and semi-liberated areas of the country, (where the ZANLA medical corps was servicing the people and clinics were closed due to the war). And despite an incredibly demanding schedule, he gave me a few hours of his time.

We talked about ways in which groups and individuals in the US could continue support for the new type of health system which ZANU was developing during the liberation struggle. He noted one area of particular concern to him, and requested assistance. Members of the ZANLA and the ZIPRA medical corps could use the skills they had acquired during the struggle in the rural areas and in turn become trainers of the legions of primary health care workers which he foresees as the key to bringing effective preventive medicine to the peasant population. Some of the components of the project would include up to eight regional centers where training would take place. A manual was in the first stages of preparation. Funds would be needed for its completion. Medical kits would be needed. Modest stipends for the health workers while they undergo some months of training, and inexpensive transportation, such as bicycles would be helpful. As the program moved along in the upcoming months, the health ministry could provide us with specific needs.

Other projects we discussed included shipments of antibiotics which are critically needed in some of the resettlement farms. Supplies for the handicapped, war-injured who are returning, and assistance with a rehabilitation center which is being planned. At the Arcturus resettlement farm, Dr. James Mvuti of the ZANU medical department showed me his plans for

turning one of the previously white-owned farmhouses into a medical reception area. Currently a "clinic" is run from a large hut, with little more than a table and water for the frequent live births occurring on the site, for example. He provided a priority list of medicines which were in short supply.

The plans for the rehabilitation center envision a farm, not far from Salisbury, so that surgery could be done at one of the top, formerly all-white, hospitals. But the center was seen as largely self-supporting, growing its own foods and training skills that hopefully could lead to employment for those less severely handicapped. Creating prosthetic devices was foreseen, both providing employment and a new industry for the country. The injured from all three armies would be together at the center. But even before it is built there is a real need for books, and other activities as they await the program.

Comrade Columbus Msikavanha, a young ZANLA guerilla army medical corps cadre, accompanied Jim Seawell (AFSC representative) and me in our travels. The movements of his family told much about the effects of the war. His father, a ZAPU supporter, was jailed for many years for his political activities by the Smith regime. His mother and relatives were forced into the Kanyembe protected village. He decided to join the liberation war in 1975 and slipped across the border to Mozambique that year. After military training, he was fighting in the Mt. Darwin area not far from his home. In 1977 he was withdrawn from the field to study for three years to become a medical assistant under OAU-sponsored program in Morogoro, Tanzania. After years of separation and sacrifice for the country's independence, his family was joyfully reuniting.

After Chiweshe we visited a Salvation Army Hospital, the Howard Institute, a government clinic in an area that had been characterized by heavy fighting in Wedza, and following that we visited the hospital and school at Mt. St. Mary's Catholic mission in the nearby reserve. Another visit was made to farms which the government has purchased for resettling young militants who had been in Mozambique, near Arcturus, just outside Salisbury. Another trip was made to a center where two hundred disabled war veterans from Mozambique were temporarily settled in Salisbury.

A United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) landrover took Columbus and me out to St. Peter's mission, three hours south of Umtali. Signs warning of minefields marked the bridges along the dirt road. Virtually every building made of cement was blown away by the Rhodesian forces (though ZANLA forces also successfully hit a number of targets, including the Hot Springs tourist motel). "They destroyed everything and called it peace" was how a Catholic priest described the actions of the Rhodesian security forces in the war-torn area along the Mozambique border near Chisumbanje.

An Oxfam UK doctor who came to the mission in April, was running a nearby clinic from a roofless, bombed out building, which a local committee was immediately beginning to patch. Scores of refugees drifted across the fluid border with Mozambique, receiving UNHCR food aid before they could plant their own crops. There were also about five hundred students at the UNHCR transit center at Toronto, just outside Umtali. Many of them having left Zimbabwe at a tender age five or more years ago, literally did not know where their families were. They wished to continue their studies together as they had under the trees with ZANU in Mozambique.

White Exodus?

At this stage, the suggestions of a white exodus are greatly exaggerated. Though many are taking a "wait and see" attitude, most of those who have left were either in the army or the police.* Given the history of deeply-ingrained white supremacist attitudes, a certain level of departure could be expected in any such transition. Yet more whites left from January to April 1979 under the previous regime than in the comparable period for 1980. I heard more than one white reluctantly express amazement at the stability since the guerrillas came to power, noting "Maybe if we knew Mugabe five years ago, we wouldn't have fought this war."

Whites who depart cause a significant drain on the country's foreign exchange since the Lancaster constitution guarantees pensions paid overseas. On the other hand with only 6% of the white civil servants departing there is real difficulty in opening up top places for the thousands of highly qualified black Zimbabweans.

The power to control information and actions of the remaining white civil servants should not be underestimated. Second to the threat of direct South African military intervention, I think it is the most serious problem currently faced by the new regime. One minor example, multiplied many times over on more significant issues, might serve to illustrate.

Concerning the project Dr. Ushewokunze suggested for the Africa Fund, he proposed the idea in a meeting of his department's top staff. They responded by putting forth immediate barriers. Were these medical corps men registrable? How did their training meet standards? How would they be paid for? In many ways the orientation of the questions reflects the anti-thesis of the lessons learnt by Zimbabweans in the liberation struggle. E.g. whether "certified" or not, these cadres were already meeting medical needs in the liberated zones and continued to do so around the assembly points. As guerrillas they learned to live with the people, not waiting to become new appendages on the government payroll. Their greatest qualifications, of course, were their commitment and understanding of the lives and health problems of the rural population and their orientation towards these preventive techniques which could make some impact. How just such questions are struggled with will have a significant effect on the fulfillment of the objectives of the struggle in Zimbabwe.

*I had an interesting direct encounter with some of the departing military's attitude. Tirivafi Kangai, the former ZANU (PF) representative in New York, who is now deputy director of Zimbabwe Broadcasting, arranged for me to be interviewed for about five minutes on the nightly new broadcast. I was asked questions about issues such as US corporate involvement in South Africa and the obligations of the US government for assisting Zimbabwe's reconstruction, given our long history as the major public violator of sanctions. In the TV room of the inexpensive hotel I was staying at, a young white soldier was loudly announcing he would be splitting the country after October 15. He was bantering back to the television set, mockingly hurling racial epithets at the African announcers (in his milder comments). Without realizing that the person sitting next to him was the one being interviewed, he noted how he would like to "punch out" that Yank on the television. I felt fortunate to slip out of the room after the interview unnoticed by him, for I am confident he was prepared to carry through with his threat. I am not sure that his departure is such a bad thing for the country's future.

On the other side, there were examples of how the liberation struggle was rearranging current affairs. Somewhat spontaneously in one region of the country, ZANU district structures selected 350 members to receive three months training in basic preventive techniques, carried out at a rural mission by a Catholic nun in the Fort Victoria area. These people were accountable to the ZANU committees in their villages who support them. In contrast, a program for what were called village health workers was carried on by the previous regime. These workers were apparently selected by the provincial medical officers (often seen as part of the colonial setup) for three months training in Salisbury, using facilities they probably would never see again in the rural areas where they worked.

Civil War?

Most of the guerrillas have been frustratingly idle at the assembly points for over seven months now. There are inherent problems as guerrillas from the over 35,000 ZANLA and ZIPRA troops are merged with their former enemies, the Rhodesian security forces, to become a reduced force of only 15,000 (five thousand from each). The pace of integration has picked up somewhat in July, but there was still disturbing talk of actions by the white officers to keep guerrillas out of the government's barracks, and similar go-slow tactics. The government is aware of the dangers of the idle forces and has begun national reconstruction projects (known as SEED, for Soldiers Employed in Economic Development) for using those who cannot conceivably hope to join the regular forces.

There are occasional incidents of violence which reflect this tension. At the missions I visited, concern for the well being of the guerrillas at the assembly points was a common concern. Yet I found no knowledgeable observers who believed that the "dissidents" roaming outside a few of the assembly points were motivated to set the stage for a new war. The incidents which were reported were largely isolated, the motive not clearly political. For example, the Herald carried front page news about an incident near a resettlement farm at Arcturus outside Salisbury where three ZANLA guerrillas were charged with killing two white farmers, apparently after being caught in a robbery. The government quickly identified those charged, they were arrested and no excuses made for their actions. Despite the tension surrounding the incident, the ZANU medical department did not even give a second thought to taking me to visit the Arcturus farms just one day after the headlines.

The election results in March gave ZANU (PF) a stunning, absolute majority in Parliament, despite the disproportionate twenty seats reserved for whites. Of the eighty African seats, ZANU (PF) took 57, ZAPU took twenty, while Bishop Muzorewa's UANC faded into oblivion with only three seats. The election results also decisively resolved the question of leadership within the Patriotic Front alliance, though no doubt this was a great disappointment for Joshua Nkomo, the "father" of Zimbabwe nationalism.

ZANU and ZAPU struggled for the same goals and negotiated jointly at Lancaster House, but their struggle was along separate, albeit parallel lines. This history cannot be magically erased. Their coalition government, like the guerrilla alliance, is an uneasy one, with elements of both cooperation and competition. Upcoming local elections emphasize the latter element.

But I found no evidence to support the alarmist suggestions in the press of a country heading towards civil war. On the contrary Mugabe's and Nkomo's actions suggest that they are keenly aware of the dangers, albeit

remote, of opening deeper divisions between their parties. I found that statements which fanned tensions received very little support among a people who deeply cherish their new found peace and do not want to see it broken.

The African weekly press was quite critical of the statements of individual ministers such as Enos Nkala and Edgar Tekere suggesting ZANU would "crush" Joshua Nkomo and move towards a one-party state. Mugabe referred to the statements as "hot air". One paper carried an interview with the head of the ZANU (PF) political department who chided the public statements and said he wished they should consult his department first.

"If ministers are fighting among themselves, how will it be possible for people to believe us when we tell them our first task is to achieve peace...?" Mayor Urimbo, spokesman for the ZANU (PF) political department said.

The problems of reconstruction faced by the new government are staggering. In the words of Lord Carrington, the level of international aid has been "disappointing". Many issues, such as land redistribution, which will be fundamental in the future, simply have not yet been faced, as the more urgent issues of peace, and the resettlement of over one million displaced persons is going on.

The new government is approaching changes in some areas cautiously, seeking to retain skilled whites and to obtain badly needed aid and investment for reconstruction. But through moves for the minimum wage, free health and education, the aspirations of the majority are beginning to be met and the base for Zimbabwe's own definition of socialism established.

The US provided key financial and psychological succor to the Ian Smith regime over the years as the primary public violator of Rhodesian sanctions. At this moment it remains to be seen whether our country will play the significant role it could in helping to reconstruct an independent, nonracial Zimbabwe.

September 30, 1980