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growth." Chidzero provided the delegates at ZimCord with a striking statistic that illuminated the enormity of the problem: the income of urban blacks is 10 percent that of whites, while that of rural blacks (three-quarters of the population) is 1 percent.

The high price of land reform.

At the heart of the government's effort to modify those figures is a sweeping land reform and large-scale resettlement program. The Lancaster House agreement stipulates that any land acquired in the previously "white" half of the country must be paid for. One study has estimated that ultimately 75 percent of the white land will be needed, at a cost of some \$1 billion. In the first year of independence, the government has been short of funds and preoccupied with other matters. It has managed to resettle only about 15,000 families (out of an eventual

target of up to 400,000). Much of the money raised at ZimCord will be used to speed up the process.

One fear last year was that impatient black peasants would simply begin to occupy white land, particularly abandoned farms. Little or no such direct action has taken place. The rural poor are apparently satisfied by the significant changes thus far in education, health and other areas. But also, ZANU apparently earned their trust during the seven-year liberation war, when the poor fed, clothed, sheltered and protected the guerrillas. So far, they are willing to wait.

Moreover, the government has by no means forsaken the rural areas for the glitter of Salisbury. The political network built up in the countryside during the war is being extended and consolidated. Former *mujibas* (people of all ages who helped the guerrillas) now sit on local government authorities. Committees flourish in the villages. Senior officials make frequent visits to address

as a leading political commissar frequently took him into many of the hottest combat zones.

The men and women in the crowd were sitting separately, a long-standing rural tradition. Urimbo faced the women and grinned. "You must organize yourselves into women's groups," he said emphatically. "You should not have to ask your husbands for permission to leave home and attend meetings." The women cheered and applauded loudly.

Then he turned toward the men. "You think when the women go out they want to drink beer or to see other men." A few men squirmed. "That is not true." His voice rose. "You must stop. You are suppressing your wives!" The women roared with pleased approval, while the men glanced at each other, discomfited. Urimbo smiled warmly at them and sat down again.

Urimbo's blunt speech illustrates another challenge the revolution is facing, which will grow as the pace of resettlement quickens. ZANU is committed not only to clearing away the remnants of the settler regime, but also to changing certain features of "traditional" rural life such as individual peasant production and the inferior status of women. (Other elements of tradition, such as religion, will be left untouched.) Some progress was made during the war: refugees in Mozambique experimented with communal agriculture, while women also carried guns into battle. But much remains to be done.

A party in transition.

During the war, ZANU was a small, vanguard organization, whose political and military cadres guided its followers in a strategy modelled consciously after the Chinese revolution—penetrate the

Recent aid commitments show that the West is pleased with Mugabe's moderation so far, but ZANU is frank about its ultimate intentions.

rural rallies.

Recently, no less a personage than Simon Muzenda, the deputy prime minister, accompanied by another minister and two members of the 30-strong ZANU Central Committee, travelled to the Charter District, some 100 miles due south of Salisbury. Muzenda, a pleasant grandfatherly man, had made three other such trips in a single two-week period, while other party and government officials were simultaneously fanning out into other parts of the countryside.

Muzenda's speech to about 3,000 cheering people in the little hamlet of Manyeni was calm, straightforward and without a hint of demagoguery: he only briefly mentioned the progress of the first year. Instead, his main point was that people should continue to organize themselves, rather than expect that the government would do everything for them. "You must have your own meetings, deal with your own problems, instead of coming to knock on my door," he said. As he spoke, a number of the shabbily dressed men and women who constituted the Manyeni village committee laboriously scratched out notes of his talk on scraps of paper.

Muzenda then talked frankly about the difference between political and economic power. "We—that means you—are now the government," he said. "But many things in town are still owned by a small group of people. We have not yet started to work on this problem." He endorsed the reconciliation policy several times: "There is no such thing as a Shona, Ndebele, colored [African of mixed descent] or white. We are all Zimbabweans now."

After other speeches and a question period, one of the Central Committee members, Mayor Urimbo, closed the rally. Urimbo, a charismatic man in his 30s, is a legend among many of the former guerrillas: during the war, his duties

countryside and surround the cities. The ZANLA fighters were consciously *political* soldiers, who spent lengthy periods doing preparatory work in the rural areas before ever opening fire. (Nkomo's military wing, on the other hand, was organized along conventional lines, a fact widely offered to explain why ZAPU did not make a better political showing.)

ZANU abandoned efforts to organize the urban working class, reasoning that the Smith regime would obliterate any strike action. Its urban supporters worked in tightly-knit underground cells, as an adjunct to the rural war. The party went to the Lancaster House conference with extreme reluctance. Only decisive pressure from its allies, Tanzania and Mozambique, forced it to abandon its intention to fight a prolonged war to a military victory.

In the post-election period, conditions have changed completely and ZANU has adjusted in response. It has opened its ranks and become a mass party, with a membership in the hundreds of thousands. Any Zimbabwean, of any color, simply pays a nominal amount and is issued a membership card. The party still describes its mode of organization as "democratic centralism," but the influx of new members is apparently having a healthy democratizing effect. The party remains senior to the government and it must approve key state appointments.

ZANU has also promoted the integration of its military wing into the new "apolitical" National Army. "Depoliticization is the major element of military re-training," explained Joe Zokonya, a ranking official in the Ministry of Youth. "No army is really apolitical. The British and U.S. armies are capitalist-oriented, ours will be socialist-oriented. But the National Army will be depoliticized in party terms. Its task will be to defend the state and the ideals in our constitution."

He added, "It is a measure of gov-

ernment confidence that there is no need seen for the ongoing politicization of the army."

The newly-enlarged ZANU has moved into the previously neglected working class, encouraging the recent formation of a unified national congress of trade unions. The party has also started to extend its strength geographically, into Matabeleland, Nkomo's stronghold.

Some of these changes will pose new problems. Among the flock of new party members are some who are quite clearly opportunists—businessmen and others who are bending with the prevailing winds. Others are simply people who, in Zokonya's words, were "swept along by the tide of revolutionary zeal in the period before the election. They genuinely support our party, but they have not necessarily fully absorbed our ideology." Some people in this new influx are perfectly happy with the present moderate phase and they could well resist when ZANU turns once again in a radical direction.

The ZANU leadership is not misleading anyone about its ultimate intentions. Its ideology is there for anyone to see in its election manifesto and various policy statements. ZANU leaders tend to avoid the word "revolution," but middle and lower-level activists use it frequently and openly.

Nonetheless, some Zimbabweans, members of ZANU among them, are gulling themselves into believing that the moderate phase is permanent. One hears occasional muttering critical of the "comrades," the younger activists, many of them ex-guerrillas, who are heavily involved in political work. In another variant, that hostility has dominated Western analysis of the country's first year—the view, accepted as self-evident, that the ex-guerrillas are the biggest single danger to Zimbabwe. Quite the contrary: these brave young men and women were the major force responsible for bringing about the changes the West professes to find so promising, and they remain the best guarantee that the revolution stays on course.

One of ZANU's major assets is the enhanced stature of its leader, who has won near-universal admiration in Zimbabwe's first year. When Robert Mugabe returned in January 1980 to lead ZANU in the election, he was still a shadowy figure inside the country, since he had been in jail or exile for 16 years. Even to ZANU members, he was a first-among-equals rather than a strong political force in his own right. In the past year, his keen intellect, firm but conciliatory style and brilliant political maneuvering have earned him the respect of even his most embittered enemies.

Mugabe's ascendance has not been accompanied by any cult of personality, nor has he abandoned consensus leadership. His continuing modesty is typical of a government that has compiled a near-perfect record on human rights issues. It has retained the Smith regime's sweeping security legislation, but used it only once to hold people without trial. At present, there are no political prisoners at all, an astonishing achievement in a country so recently torn by widespread conflict.

Nathan Shamuyarira, the minister of information, seems perfectly sincere when he says he wants the press to remain "a forum—where we can get to know all points of view." Newspapers—and people in the street—feel no hesitation in openly criticizing certain ministers or aspects of government policy. In some rural areas, over-zealous ZANU supporters have physically attacked political rivals, but the government has sternly condemned their actions and brought them to trial before an independent judiciary. Some have been sentenced to prison terms. ZANU has committed itself to returning to the electorate for another mandate when its present term of office expires. It is also hesitant to tamper with the Lancaster House constitution, even though it finds sections of the charter, such as the provision for separate white representation, highly odious. Whether this openness will continue as the revolution radicalizes, or if South Africa's aggression in the region increases, cannot be guaranteed, but Zimbabwe's first year is highly auspicious.

