

THE



INTERNATIONAL ORGAN
OF THE
ANC OF ZIMBABWE

ZIMBABWE REVIEW

REGISTERED AT THE GENERAL POST OFFICE AS A NEWSPAPER

President Neto - Angola



**President Machel -
Mozambique**



President Khama - Botswana

**President Nyerere - Tanzania
(left) and Kaunda - Zambia**



THE ZIMBABWE REVIEW

TO OUR READERS:

We extend our thanks to the many hundreds of our readers who have expressed their appreciation of the material that was ventilated in the columns of our previous issues. We hope to be able to continue providing revealing information on the Zimbabwean (Rhodesian) situation

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EDITORIAL

The rejection of the Anglo-American constitutional proposals by the people of Zimbabwe and, subsequently by the presidents of the front-line states of Zambia, Angola, Botswana, Mozambique and Tanzania should serve as a lesson to all those who would like to take part in finding a solution to the Rhodesian question.

The lesson to be learnt is not that it is impossible to find an acceptable solution, but that it is impossible to find such a solution without the active participation of the people of Zimbabwe through their leadership. This participation should be from the stage the proposals are formulated to the last one when they are submitted for either acceptance or rejection.

The latest in a series of proposals were worked out ostensibly by the United States Secretary of State, Dr. Henry Kissinger. But we all know that Dr. Kissinger adopted British proposals and made very minor alterations here and there, if any at all. The leadership of the people of Zimbabwe was never consulted but was presented with a fait accompli after Dr. Kissinger had presented the proposals to Ian Smith in South Africa.

The very principle of going over the heads of the people for whom such constitutional proposals are meant is in itself anathema. It smacks of rancid paternalism against which the people of Zimbabwe have been fighting for decades. It is important that this fact be understood if a workable solution is to be got for Zimbabwe.

We maintain that nothing else should be discussed between the people of Zimbabwe on the one hand, and the British Government as the colonial authority on Rhodesia on the other except the mechanics of the transfer of power from the racist minority to the democratic majority. The proposals did not do that.

Their aim was to drag us into a scheme by which the Rhodesian regime would have been legalised and accepted internationally, United Nations sanctions against the dictatorship would have been removed and Smith would have still been left safe in the saddle because his side would have been in control of the country's armed forces, the police and the general maintenance of law and order. The oppressed masses would have been left still under Smith's oppression.

It would not have been easy to go back to the UN and ask for the re-isolation of the regime and the re-imposition of sanctions. The British Government would have had an unwarranted opportunity to wash its hands of the blood of the masses of Zimbabwe by using us as the carriers of water. We could not accept such a scheme.

We could not be expected to accept to be dish-carriers to cleanse hands of our own murderers both inside Zimbabwe and outside. We shall accept settlement proposals which deposit power, and not a shadow of it, in our hands. The USA ought to realise that the best it can and should do is to stop propping up the Smith regime economically and otherwise and the regime would collapse overnight. It is a waste of time to try to work out schemes aimed at maintaining the status quo under a slightly modified or disguised coating. To us, the armed struggle must be intensified at even a much faster rate. We believe that we and we alone are our own liberators. The USA cannot free us from its own capitalist clutches and imperialist schemes and machinery one of whose strong-holds is indeed Southern Africa. **THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES TILL TOTAL VICTORY!**



AID AND NATIONAL UNITY

NKOMO CLARIFIES

On several occasions some attempts have been made to stop our traditional helpers from giving us assistance directly and to channel it through third parties instead. There has also been talk about the need to forge unity among the people of Zimbabwe. Below follows a clearly stated position outlining the policy of the African National Council. The position, made by Comrade Joshua Nkomo, national leader of Zimbabwe and President of the ANC (Zimbabwe), is an unequivocal direction to those of our friends who might have been confused by the concerted moves by some quarters to mis-direct the aid meant for the fighting masses of Zimbabwe.—

"I would like to state that as the liberation struggle of Zimbabwe gains more success, we are very grateful for the assistance we have received from the Organisation of African Unity as an organisation, and from individual members of the OAU. For all this we are most thankful. African countries, without exception, have given us financial and material as well as moral support.

"But I must mention here that with all this assistance we have received from the OAU, we do feel that there are two or so countries which have, while assisting us, while we appreciate their assistance, have gone out of their way

accept guarded and guided self-determination and independence. This we must make perfectly clear to all our friends and foes. I said already that the struggle must be led by the people of Zimbabwe. I must emphasise that this is a crucial point. I must emphasise too here that there are certain resolutions of the OAU which we cannot accept. We do not accept them because we believe that they interfere with the independence and sovereignty of the liberation movement of Zimbabwe.

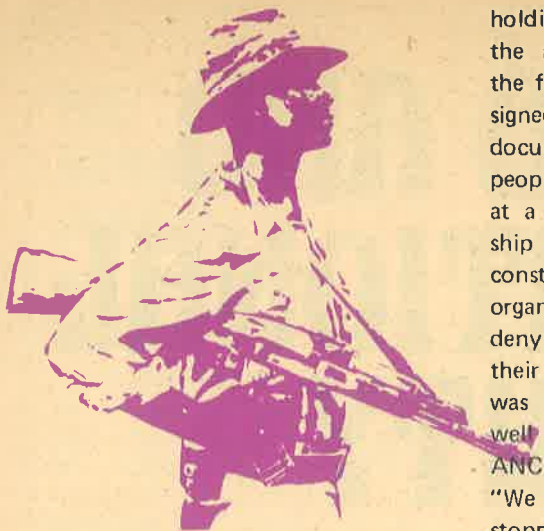
"The freedom movement of Zimbabwe, like any other freedom movement, should have complete control of to try to direct the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe. **WE CANNOT ACCEPT THIS.**

"We expect every African country to help, to do everything they can to help the struggle of Zimbabwe, but to recognise that the struggle itself is for the people of Zimbabwe. It is led by the people of Zimbabwe, it will be led by the people of Zimbabwe to its finality and not by our helpers. Our helpers should only help but not lead us. They can and may advise but not direct us in our struggle.

"We are fighting against the oppression of our people. We are struggling to free ourselves from the oppression, exploitation and humiliating paternalism of our colonisers. We want self-determination and independence. We will not

the struggle of Zimbabwe. It should be free to choose its friends. It should be free to make bilateral arrangements with all its friends in Africa and outside Africa. While we accept that aid by OAU members should go through the Liberation Committee, we object that the OAU should instruct our friends outside Africa and even those in Africa who would like to have bilateral arrangements with us not to do so. We maintain that no-one should be stopped from helping us on a bilateral basis. It should be left to the free will of our friends in Africa and abroad to help us either through the Liberation Committee or bilaterally.

"As for our traditional friends outside Africa, they must be free to continue the bilateral arrangements we have had with them. **WE MAINTAIN THAT THIS IS OUR RIGHT AND FROM THIS STAND WE WILL NOT MOVE.** We maintain that we shall continue to have these bilateral arrangements with them. Let me inform all our friends inside and outside Africa that they must feel free to deal with us and assist us bilaterally. Nothing should deter them from this traditional position. We expect and ask them not to be misled on this important matter. Bilateral relations and arrangements we have with our friends anywhere in the world are our right and will remain our right as people of Zimbabwe.



"Let us not be misunderstood on this issue. We are not saying friends should not help us through the Liberation Committee if they so wish. What we are saying is that the OAU should stop or attempt to stop our friends from helping us bilaterally. THIS IS THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE. WE WANT TO MAINTAIN AND WE SHALL MAINTAIN IT."

"Now, let me turn to what is termed unity among the people of Zimbabwe. Firstly, let me make it perfectly clear that we, the people of Zimbabwe, believe in unity. We know that we cannot face an enemy that is organised and united if we are unorganised and ununited. We know the value of unity. We treasure it. We fight for it, and we shall always maintain it. But we will not accept guarded and guided unity. By guarded and guided unity I mean what certain quarters would like us to have just because it shows a certain direction, a direction they themselves would like to impose on Zimbabwe. This we reject entirely.

"We agreed in December 1974 to unite in the African National Council (ANC). I signed the unity agreement so did Bishop Muzorewa, Rev. Sithole and James Chikerema. The functions and aims of the agreement are clearly shown in the document. But when we went back to Zimbabwe, some of our brothers (the signatories stated above) realised that the agreement would not give them positions they wanted, they withdrew.

"They then began opposing the

holding of a national congress to ratify the agreement. They tried to ignore the fact that the agreement we had all signed stated quite clearly that the document would be submitted to the people of Zimbabwe inside Zimbabwe at a congress that would elect leadership for the enlarged ANC, work out a constitution and a policy for the organisation. They also attempted to deny the people to discuss and decide their national affairs at a congress as it was demanded by the agreement as well as the constitution of the old ANC.

"We say that congress cannot be stopped by anybody but by the people themselves deciding through a congress that congress should be postponed. No single person in Zimbabwe has the power or right to deny the people their national congress. And yet this was what Bishop Muzorewa, the Rev. Sithole and Chikerema tried to do. They wanted to seize the people's authority by denying them congress. It should be pointed out that congress is not just a formality but a people's right through which they exercise their authority over their affairs. This authority cannot be transferred to somebody else. No leader has a right to keep that authority.

"One becomes a leader after one has been given that position and its authority by the people, and not after he has appointed himself and then denying the people their right. It is the people who must give him a position. This being the case, therefore, the agreement signed in Lusaka by the four of us had to be submitted to the people. This was an obligation we could not shirk. We had to hand over the document to the people of Zimbabwe. As soon as it was handed over to the people, it became their property through their party. The people would then ratify and implement the agreement. This is exactly what we who kept to the letter of the document did. Those who changed their minds about what they had signed decided to skip the country and remained outside because they feared that the people would not give them the positions they yearned for.

"We should all know that it is not the positions we ourselves want, but those that the people give us that matter. Bearing all these facts in mind, we say



to all our friends: 'We in Zimbabwe observed the 1974 Unity Agreement to the letter. We submitted the document to the people at a national congress, and the people accepted and implemented it. If those who have appointed themselves leaders by self-proclamation outside Zimbabwe do not want to respect the direction and decisions of the people, then they have no right to claim leadership. They represent nobody but themselves. They should not be regarded as anybody else's leaders.

"Now, I must point out that there can be no other agreements outside Zimbabwe. No contesting people should conclude agreements by themselves, for themselves. They should go to the people because the right to conclude agreement on anything, especially on unity, is the prerogative of the people. I say to all those who claim to be leaders of the people of Zimbabwe! Go back to the people. Let the people settle this question if they see the need. As far as I am concerned, it was settled.

"But if there is still an image or impression of disunity, let my brothers come home and discuss and decide the matter with the people. They must not be frightened that they will be arrested. It is a known fact that in Zimbabwe we must take risks. They too must take risks. If they are frightened of being arrested, then they are not fit to lead anybody, least of all a nation. One must be prepared to sacrifice. One must face the hazards of leadership. One must be prepared not only to be

arrested, but even to be killed. The people we claim to lead are in prison, and a lot of them have been killed, some are being killed even now. Why should we expect them to bear that which we do not bear ourselves?

"This is my position and I stand firm on it. Everyone must understand that. We want unity; unity we have got. But if there is an impression or image of disunity, that can be removed only by the people of Zimbabwe. I myself am prepared to meet anybody in Zimbabwe to discuss that which he may believe to be disunity. If, as I have stated, some of our brothers are frightened to go back home, they must instruct any of their spokesmen in Zimbabwe, if they have any, to meet us in Zimbabwe.

"If we may disappear due to any hazards such as arrests or anything of that sort, our colleagues who may have remained will discuss that matter. I say to all those who claim leadership: 'Go home. If you won't go back home, ask those of your colleagues at home to meet us to discuss and end this unfortunate and false impression of disunity that has been created by some people who want to continue to make a living out of disunity, to make a living out of the suffering of our people.' We cannot countenance such individuals."

"Let me say again to my brothers outside Zimbabwe: 'Do not make free Africa your constituency. Your constituencies are in Zimbabwe. They are not members of the OAU. Leaders of free African countries are not your constituents. They are leaders of their own people. They were put in those positions by their own people. You too can be leaders only after you have been put in that position by your own people.

"We expect those leaders to respect those of Zimbabwe who have been put in positions of leadership by the people of Zimbabwe. It is a simple but very basic question and right of the population of each country choosing its own leaders. It is also a matter of duty for every leader in Africa and elsewhere to respect those placed in such positions by their own people. We, of the ANC of Zimbabwe, respect those placed in positions of leadership by their people. I STAND BY THIS PRINCIPLE AND PRACTICE AND WILL NEVER HESITATE, DEVIATE OR FALTER."



ON MASSACRE OF ANC CADRES

Following the massacre of African National Council (Zimbabwe) cadres in Tanzania earlier this year, the ANC has issued a report stating the background, what actually happened, and what it would like the international community to do in this matter. Below follows the full report.

"Following the Zimbabwe Unity Agreement of December 7, 1974, which brought ZAPU, ZANU, and other Zimbabwean movements into an enlarged African National Council, former ZAPU party leadership and former ZANU representatives entered into negotiations to concretise the unity at military level. A meeting to this effect was held in November 1975 in Dar es Salaam under the auspices of the Executive Secretary of the Liberation Committee, Colonel Hashim Mbita. The meeting later culminated in the formation of the Zimbabwe Military Committee — High Command — in Mozambique.

"The committee comprised 18 members, nine from each former organisation. Its terms of reference were: —

- a) Consolidation of unity among ANC fighters;
- b) Recruitment and unified training of cadres in preparation for the intensified armed struggle;
- c) Unified deployment of combatants, and mass mobilisation;
- d) Consolidation of a single military command.

"The committee recognised the existence of political leadership and that it would not assume a political leadership role, but would remain an ANC military instrument which would not indulge in inimical slogans denouncing the political leadership. The Committee also agreed to abolish all divisive and partisan slogans and to adopt new revolutionary slogans aimed at promoting unity among the ANC fighters. "The Liberation Committee Executive Secretary participated in the preliminary formulation of this agreement which was communicated to the Mozambique Government by the Military Committee — High Command.

"Since the formation of the Military Committee — High Command — there

Freedom fighters



have been several incidents in both Tanzania and Mozambique resulting in loss of lives because of departure from the terms of the agreement by ex-ZANU officers and leaders. Because this departure from the terms of the agreement went unchecked in spite of repeated reports by ex-ZAPU Committee Members to the host governments (Tanzania and Mozambique), these incidents increased and contradictions sharpened daily, resulting in massacres of former ZAPU cadres by ex-ZANU without intervention by the host governments. The worst of these massacres occurred in Tanzania.

The Morogoro Massacre:

"On May 16, 1976, seven cadres were killed at a Morogoro training camp during a dispute over cooking duties. On this day, it was the duty of former ZAPU cadres to cook breakfast. They had begun cooking when a group of ex-ZANU demanded to take over. Ex-ZANU opened fire injuring two ex-ZAPU cadres. The first shots were followed by more firing from ex-ZANU billets. Ex-ZANU instructors broke into the local armoury and distributed more weapons to their cadres. In the ensuing confusion and panic, there was indiscriminate shooting resulting in the death of four ex-ZANU men and two ex-ZAPU. The third ex-ZAPU was an instructor who was dragged out of a Tanzanian army truck and shot dead at point blank range in the presence of Tanzanian soldiers and military officers. No action was taken against the wanton murder of the instructor. When Morogoro police were asked why they had not taken action against the culprits, they stated that they had not been instructed by the government to do so. So far nothing has been done about this matter, instead all concerned ex-ZANU men have been moved from Tanzania.

"After the Morogoro incident, a meeting of ex-ZAPU and ex-ZANU representatives, the Liberation Committee Executive Secretary, Col. Mbita, and Tanzanian army officers in-charge of freedom-fighters' camps was held in Dar es Salaam. The meeting decided

that in view of reported tension at another ex-ZAPU-ex-ZANU camp near Iringa, all weapons should be removed from the camps and placed under police custody to avert a recurrence of the Morogoro incident. A report came later through Col. Mbita that all weapons had been collected from the Iringa camp.

The Iringa Massacre:

"After the Morogoro incident, two officers of the Military Committee — High Command — went to Tanzania to investigate the matter with the participation of the Executive Secretary of the Liberation Committee and two representatives from each of the former ZAPU and the ZANU. The investigation of the Morogoro incident was interrupted after reports that tension was rising at the Iringa camp. The whole team had to go to Iringa.

"In subsequent meetings held at Iringa between the team and instructors, it became clear that causes of conflict were a departure from the agreed terms by the committee, namely;

- a) ex-ZANU partisan slogans;
- b) Denunciation of ex-ZAPU leaders by ex-ZANU men;
- c) The presence of Chinese military instructors instead of instructors from Organisation of African Unity member-states;
- d) Differences in training programmes, especially political programmes;
- e) Refusal by ex-ZANU to share administrative duties and authority with ex-ZAPU commanders;
- f) Food shortages.

"At these meetings it was decided that all slogans should be abolished, there should be no praise or denunciation of the leaders, that camp administration would be shared equally, and that after an increase of food rations, the camp command would take charge of the sharing of rations. While the meet-

ings were held, it was noticed that ex-ZANU men were armed. On seeking an explanation, the meeting was told by Tanzania government officials that only ammunition had been withdrawn from the camp. The officials said only ex-ZANU men were training and that was why they were armed. After one meeting at the Iringa camp, a committee member of ex-ZANU repeated his divisive party slogans publicly and loudly before all his camp-inmates. He was criticised by Col. Mbita, among other people. In one meeting, an ex-ZANU camp commander pointed out that lives would be lost in the camp, and that the responsibility would be borne by Col. Mbita and the Tanzanian Government.

"The team left Iringa camp convinced that tension had not been deflated. This was due to ex-ZANU's insistence to maintain its slogans and to continue its provocations.

"In the afternoon of June 6, 1976, it was reported that some ex-ZAPU cadres had not had lunch because food was short. An ex-ZANU logistics official responsible for food refused to issue them with rations. A former ZAPU commander later decided that food reserved for supper be given to the comrades. While the food was being dished out to the cadres, there was physical resistance from ex-ZANU. When the situation was becoming tense, the former ZAPU commanders intervened and separated the two groups. At about 1700 hours, two pistol shots were fired from ex-ZANU cadres who had taken positions away from the ex-ZAPU recruits. The shots were a signal for ZANU to attack the unarmed former ZAPU recruits and instructors. Two instructors were killed instantly.

"Firing by ZANU increased in intensity. They used automatic rifles, light machine guns, hand grenades. Axes were also used. Chinese military experts fired light machine guns and automatic rifles and set their dogs on

**Zimbabwe must
be free!**

the panic-stricken former ZAPU recruits. Firing continued to 0400 hours on June 7. Retreating former ZAPU recruits fell into several pre-organised ambushes along various escape routes. When Tanzanian officers arrived at the scene at about 0430 hours on June 7, they also heard sporadic shots. During the attack, some recruits who could not get out of the camp perimeter later reported seeing bodies being buried in hastily dug and unmarked graves in the camp premises. "The following morning, June 7, Tanzanian soldiers responsible for the camp security, and the police picked up seven dead bodies within the camp at various spots. The corpses were badly mutilated. They collected 70 seriously wounded former ZAPU cadres from a National Service Camp 20 kilometres away. The cadres had been carried by their comrades to that camp. At that time, 50 recruits were missing. One of the wounded ex-ZAPU recruits died later in hospital. Nine of the missing were discovered some days later. Forty-one were still missing one month and nineteen days after the incident.

"A day after the Iringa incident, the Tanzanian Government was asked by former ZAPU to intervene to save lives of former ZAPU recruits reported to be under ZANU captivity, and also to investigate secret burials alleged to have been made on the night of the incident. This was not done except that the Executive Secretary of the Liberation Committee, Col. Mbita, the Iringa Regional Police Commander, and the Mozambique military attache in Tanzania visited the camp, scene of the massacre. Later, Col. Mbita informed former ZAPU officials that he had conducted a thorough search and had found four MK 1V rifles.

"After the inspection tour which discovered the four rifles, no further efforts was made to trace the 41 ex-ZAPU missing recruits in spite of insistence by former ZAPU that the Tanzanian Government should investigate the matter thoroughly with the assistance of recruits who volunteered to pin-point places where their comrades had been buried secretly on the fateful night.

"Because this request was ignored, ex-ZAPU decided to send a delegation to Dar es Salaam to raise the issue with the Liberation Committee Executive Secretary. In its discussions with the official, the ANC delegation, led by the ANC Second Vice-President, J. Z. Moyo, emphasised the need and urgency to investigate the massacre,



and that if the Tanzanian Government continued to ignore the matter, former ZAPU would use all means at its disposal to trace its missing recruits. As a result, the Tanzanian Government decided on July 25 to institute an investigating team comprising an army unit, the police, a contingent of the National Service, and an ex-ZAPU team, plus a Tanzanian army officer representing the Organisation of African Unity.

"Before the operation was started, the ANC pointed out the following observations:—

- a) The ANC was aware that some ZANU men, at least 10, involved in the massacre had been removed from the camp and sent out of the country;
- b) The operation was taking place one month nineteen days after the incident;
- c) Tanzania, in delaying the investigation for so long, had in actual fact connived with ZANU to destroy material evidence;
- d) The investigation should also probe the Chinese military instructors' involvement in the massacre.

Investigation

"The search was directed by a Tanzanian army major and ANC cadres indicated spots where they had seen some of their comrades buried secretly. On July 26, the first day of the operation, the team discovered three bodies in shallow graves within the camp perimeter. On the second day, four corpses were found in shallow graves near the camp shooting range. One of the bodies was found in a pit south of the

camp. The pit had earlier been used for dumping refuse from the camp.

"On the same date (27-7-1976), the team found a place where human bodies had been burnt. Human remains such as fingers were still lying about. There were pieces of clothes thickly clotted with blood. The team also discovered a cache of arms containing eight boxes each with 30 Chinese-made hand grenades. There were also 10 loose hand grenades. There was in addition half a bag of hashish (dagga). At the end of the second day, the Tanzanian Government team decided to carry on the search without the ANC cadres. A suggestion by the ANC that at least two of the ANC men should remain in the search was rejected. The search continued up to August 1, 1976 without ANC participation. The ANC protested bitterly to the Liberation Committee Executive Secretary about the exclusion of its cadres as a result of which (complaint) the ANC rejoined the search party on August 2, 1976.

"When the ANC team returned to Iringa, it was informed officially that the search was over, and that only five more bodies had been found. Two of the bodies were found in graves discovered earlier which, instead of one, contained two bodies each. In actual fact, only three new graves had been found by the team after the exclusion of the ANC team. On the insistence of the ANC, the operation was resumed on August 2, 1976, but did not make any further discovery. In all, 13 bodies were exhumed. Twentyeight ANC recruits are still unaccounted for.

Conclusion

"From the foregoing evidence, it is clear that the massacres are part of an international conspiracy to liquidate the ANC of Zimbabwe. The role played by the Tanzanian Government in this conspiracy is clearly shown by the following:—

- a) The failure by the Tanzanian Government to arrest the criminals responsible for the cold-blooded murder of the ANC instructor shot in the presence of the Tanzanian Government officials at Morogoro;
- b) The failure of the Tanzanian Government to institute adequate security of the Morogoro camp armoury;
- c) The failure by the Tanzanian Government to disarm the Iringa camp after an alarm had been sounded;

- d) The failure by the Tanzanian Government to intervene at the Iringa camp and establish adequate security measures after an alarm had been raised;
- e) The arming of ZANU trained men as against ANC recruits at the Iringa camp;
- f) The failure by the Tanzanian Government to investigate promptly the disappearance of ANC recruits at Iringa following the massacre;
- g) The failure of the Tanzanian camp administrators to discover fresh graves in the camp even at the time they collected the seven bodies in the camp perimeter;
- h) The long delay and reluctance by the Tanzanian Government to investigate the Iringa massacre, thus intentionally giving ZANU enough time to destroy and remove material evidence;
- i) The Tanzanian Government's granting of permission to ZANU instructors and men known to have been responsible for the Iringa massacre to leave Tanzania;
- j) The continued residence of ZANU in the camp, scene of the massacre, giving ZANU enough opportunity to destroy evidence, unlike at Morogoro where both groups were removed from the camp pending investigations;
- k) The open participation by the Chinese military instructors in the massacre, and the Tanzanian Government's failure to investigate the Chinese role in the whole massacre, from the planning to the execution stages;
- l) The refusal by the Tanzanian Government to give military training equipment to ANC cadres, while supplying ZANU with all facilities and materiel.

"Lastly, the ANC of Zimbabwe calls upon OAU member-states and all progressive forces to investigate the circumstances surrounding the massacre of ANC cadres in Tanzania, including the fate of the 28 still unaccounted for. Dated August 30, 1976, Lusaka."

AGRI- CULTURAL POTENTIAL

Zimbabwe has a very great agricultural potential due to the land and animal resources with which it is endowed. To examine the agricultural potentiality of the country, the total area of available productive land together with the land policy form one important general datum. This means that when discussing the agricultural potential of an area, we should always investigate the role played by the racist regime's land laws and how they affect the evolution of agricultural system and labour productivity.

According to the present land system of Rhodesia, the Land Tenure Act of 1969 divides the territory into the following categories:—

National Land (Wild Life Parks etc.) whose area is 6,000,000 acres;

African Land (Tribal Trust Land) whose area is 45,000,000 acres;

European Land meant solely for white settlers in 45,000,000 acres in area.

This means that about five per cent of the country's total population owns equal land as the vast African majority

which is about 95 per cent of the country's population. This racial division of land is rigidly enforced so that no African or European can stay or own land in an area not set aside for his or her particular racial group. The qualitative land distribution is as unfair as the quantitative distribution because land with the best soils and good rainfall is allocated to settlers, while poor, sandy soils in regions with scanty rainfall is designated to the Africans.

The table below illustrates land distribution in Rhodesia. The numbers I, II, III, etc. show the natural ecological regions in order of their agricultural quality in descending order. This means that I, II, III, are relatively fertile regions with good rainfall, while IV, V, are relatively sandy with scanty rainfall. The region X is totally barren land or tsetse-fly infested. Land in the I and II categories make up 20 per cent of the total land area of Rhodesia, and more than 75 per cent of it is allocated to white settlers. Regions IV, V and X account for 60 per cent of the country and nearly 90 per cent of it is allocated to Africans.

1. PER CENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF AGRO-ECOLOGICAL REGIONS BY TYPE OF QUALITY

TYPE OF AREA	National Ecological Regions					
	I	II	III	IV	V	X
National Land	16	6	12	18	23	44
Tribal Trust Land	13	21	39	50	49	48
African Purchase Land (Area)	—	4	4	4	2	6
European Land	71	69	45	28	28	2

Racial Bias

The average population density in the Tribal Trust Land is about 20 per square kilometre, whilst African Purchase areas and European sectors have averages of eight and five per sq. km respectively. An official Report prepared by advisory officers of Rhodesia's Department of Conservation and Extension (1965) on the conditions of grazing in the Tribal Trust Land, classified the conditions in the area into four groups as follows:—

(1) Bare, (2) Very overgrazed, (3) Moderate; (4) Good. According to the report, 13 per cent of the grazing land in

the Tribal Trust Land was bare, 36 per cent was very overgrazed, 15 per cent was moderate, and 36 per cent good. This meant that 49 per cent of grazing land in the Tribal Trust Land was either bare or overgrazed. Furthermore, the land classified as either moderate or good (about 86 per cent of it) lies in regions IV and V. The area in good condition was the largest at the time only because it is tsetse-fly infested and, therefore, ungrazed by and unsuitable for livestock.

Racial considerations dominate the whole policy of the Rhodesian regime towards land. The Land Apportionment Act of 1930 laid down the foundation for the division of land on racial grounds. The provisions of this law have been termed variously as "the corner-stone of European survival and security in Rhodesia" and "the Magna Carta of the white settlers in Rhodesia." This is because of the law's racial bias in favour of the settlers. Subsequent land laws (and amendments) included the latest Land Tenure Act of 1969. These acts have one central provision meant to perpetrate settler privileges on land ownership.

The central nerve of the land policy of Rhodesian racists has always been to keep races apart territorially and on a non-competitive production basis. Agricultural development, therefore, has been placed on parallel rails. The existing dualism in agricultural production has created two groups on racial lines. The white settler community, as one of these groups, owns large estates on a freehold land tenure system. The Africans, as the other group, live in communally owned areas with individual plots of about five acres. The average size of a Rhodesian white farmer's estate is 2,500 acres. The land issue is a burning economic and political fuse in Rhodesia. The colony's land policy has set the population on a perilous course to racial and social collision.

Agriculture is backward compared to other sectors of the Rhodesian economy. Table 2 below shows that the value added in agriculture increased during the period 1964 to 1974 by only 17,8 per cent while the other sectors together excluding agriculture had an increase of 56.5 per cent.

**ESTIMATED VALUE ADDED PER MAN ENGAGED
IN AND OUTSIDE AGRICULTURE IN RHODESIA
(1964 to 1974): (Current Prices: GDP At Factor
Cost Prices).**

ITEM	ALL SECTORS IN/OUT OF AGRICULTURE	1964	1974
Value added (RS million)	IN	115,6	282,3
	OUTSIDE	567,3	1398,3
Persons engaged (Thousand)	IN	279,390	362,600
	OUTSIDE	436,600	683,300
Value added per man engaged (RS)	IN	388,7	778,5
	OUTSIDE	1528,4	2046,3

The above table clearly shows that the value added per man engaged was increasing far more rapidly outside agriculture than in it. One other striking feature of agriculture in Rhodesia is the existence of three groups of producers. These are the subsistence peasant who lives in the Tribal Trust Land and consumes virtually all his produce. Most peasants still remain outside the cash economy and their scale of operation is very small and uneconomic. The type

of land they work and the uncertain climatic conditions and racialistic laws in the peasants' areas are the primary causes of the grinding poverty in the Tribal Trust Land. The share of subsistence farming in the gross domestic product in 1965 was estimated to be about 25 per cent. By 1974, it had gone down to just below 20 per cent. The transformation of this form of agriculture aimed at raising the standard of living of the peasants will need massive capital outlays and other social measures in a free Zimbabwe.

The second group of agricultural producers in Rhodesia comprises the African Purchase area farmers among whom we find master-farmers and plot-holders. One characteristic of this group is that it does not own the land it works but pays rent to land-lords or the regime. The average size of the plots is about 200 acres. Market considerations play a big role in determining the type of crop produced. The groups produces mainly cash crops like tobacco, maize, cotton. Although some members of this group use tractors and fertilisers, productivity in their plots is low because of the poor type of soil they work, and lack of financial assistance from the Land Bank. In 1972, there were about 8,000 African Purchase area farmers renting a total of 3,700,000 acres.

Capitalised And Specialised

The third group of producers is composed of the settler farmers. Some of the farms belong to individuals while others are operated by joint partnerships or corporate enterprises. Mechanisation is very low so that farmers have to employ large numbers of African labour. These farmers enjoy a lot of privileges such as interest-free loans from the banks, Land Bank and the Agricultural Development Corporation. They are highly capitalised and specialised in the production of cash crops like tea, tobacco, maize, cotton, coffee, sugar, meat and dairy products.

From the above, it is obvious that the Rhodesian colonial land policy has resulted in the ecological destruction of the land and the deformation of the country's social structure. If the soil is to be rescued from the present trend, then an intensive programme of land redistribution will have to be undertaken. If agriculture is to be made more productive, then more land reclamation projects shall have to be instituted, and a start made on revolutionary agrarian reforms aimed at transforming the whole agrarian production and form of life from the subsistence form of production to modernised agriculture.

In the past, the colonial aim in land reforms was to perpetuate territorial racial separation and to impoverish the peasants (African masses) by giving more land to those who least need it — settlers. As a result of this policy, land in most parts of Zimbabwe is alienated but not developed. Because of this, agricultural productivity remains generally low.

The problem in Zimbabwe is not land shortage, but rather land-hunger artificially created by the racial system of land allotment. The land policy of our party has been published in this magazine many times before. The essence of that policy is that land shall be given to those who need and till it. The central aim of this policy is to raise the living standard of all the people of Zimbabwe, destroy the present parallel development on racial lines, narrow the gap between subsistence production and commercial agricultural production, and reduce the gap between the standard of living between the urban and the rural areas. Only a socialist policy can, of course, achieve these objectives.

NKOMO GREETS IOJ CONGRESS

The President of the African National Council of Zimbabwe, Comrade Joshua Nkomo, sent a letter of greetings to the Eighth Congress of the International Organisation of Journalists held in Finland from September 21. to 23, 1976. The text of the letter, which was handed to the IOJ by Comrade Saul Ndlovu, follows below:

"Dear Comrades, On behalf of the struggling masses of Zimbabwe, and on my own behalf, I send you greetings on the occasion of the congress of your progressive organisation, the International Organisation of Journalists.

We wish you great success in your fight

against colonialism, oppression and racism. We would like to assure you that the people of Zimbabwe and their journalists who are working under most difficult conditions will always be for your progressive stand in our joint fight against exploitation.

We look forward to further co-operation and association. Long live the struggle against colonialism!

*Thank you,
Comradely yours,
Joshua M. N. Nkomo
PRESIDENT OF THE
ANC OF ZIMBABWE"*

Signed:

**VIII CONGRES
CONGRESS
KONGPECC
CONGRESO**



**HELSINKI
21 - 23 / 9 / 1976**

ORIENTATION DOCUMENT

The I.O.J. celebrates in 1976 the 30th anniversary of its foundation. It was founded on the morrow of the World War II with the desire that the power of the mass media be misused no more in the service of the preparation of the war or enslavement of peoples.

Since that time, this power has been strikingly multiplied, thanks to the progress of the technics: transistors, television, satellites, etc., etc. And that all, at the time, when the accumulation of the most terrible weapons menaces, for the first time, the mankind with the total destruction.

The realization of journalists themselves of the extent of their responsibility towards the masses, they are addressing, is more necessary than ever before.

An honest information is the essential condition of any democratic progress. The masses have a right to be given such an information.

That is, why the 8th Congress of the International Organization of Journalists, which was held from 21st to 23rd September 1976 in Helsinki, paid a particular attention to the development and perspectives of the progressive and democratic journalism in the world

* * *

1 — The participants of the Congress stated with a pleasure that the period after the 7th Congress/Havana 1971/, was characterized by the intensive development of the influence of the progressive journalism.

2 — Three decades, elapsed since the foundation of the I.O.J. at the Congress in Copenhagen in 1946, confirmed that the professional tasks of the progressive and democratic journalists, of every journalist, should be determined, first of all, by the fight for maintenance of peace, for the mutual understanding among the peoples, for the social progress and national independence of all peoples, against all forces wanting to launch new wars.

3 — The I.O.J., uniting within its ranks national organizations, member groups, as well as individual members in

109 countries of the world, accumulated a rich professional experience, which has been still enriched during the Congress by the contributions of participants of Europe, Asia, Africa, North America, Latin America and Oceania.

4 — The Congress emphasized with satisfaction the change in relations of forces in favour of the peace, democracy, national liberation and independence, and socialism. The progressive and democratic journalism is strong because it is inspired by the interests of peoples, because it reflects these changes to which he contributes with its means.

5 — The progressive journalists of the world have been resolutely resisting and continue to resist the imperialist, colonialist, neo-colonialist policy and the racism. Through their truthful and objective information, they contributed to the weakening of the positions of imperialism, which lost the initiative in the international arena, they positively influenced the public opinion, which understands more and more that imperialism can no more subdue to its will the future of peoples.

6 — The important result of the historic change in the relation of forces in the international arena is that, since thirty years, a new world war has been successfully avoided. This has given new possibilities to all peoples in the fight against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, fascism and racism, for the social progress, even if very often the localized conflicts continue to stain with blood the face of the world.

7 — The Congress greets the journalists of socialist countries who are the active element of the International Organization of Journalists. They help the development of the new society, bring an important contribution to the fight for peace and progress in all spheres.

8 — The Congress greets our colleagues of the capitalist developed countries, who fight for their rights, for democracy and social progress, against attempts of the monopolies to transform them into servants of their interests by the aid of concentration of the enterprises of mass media and exploitation of the scientific and technical progress of the means of diffusion. These journalists fight against the repression of the reaction. In this fight, they enjoy a solidarity support of their colleagues from different countries of the world.

9 — To-day, the I.O.J. unites a great number of journalists' organizations of Asian, African and Latin American countries, whose role in the I.O.J. activities has been continually increased, at the time, when the heroic fight of their peoples against imperialism and all forms of oppression, including the economic oppression, has been developed. The Congress appealed to journalists to participate in the mobilization of the public opinion in favour of the solution of one of the main problems of the contemporary world: liquidation of the sub-development and building up of a new international economic order, based on the equality of rights of all peoples without any form of discrimination in the economic relations. This fight is an important part of the common fight of peoples for peace, security, national independence, co-operation and social progress.

10 — Colonialism split up. The Congress greets with enthusiasm the historic victory of the Vietnamese people, as well as the victories of the peoples of Laos and Cambodia. The fall of imperialist plans in Indochina demonstrated clearly that

the heroic fight of peoples, supported by the solidarity of all progressive forces of the world can lead to the defeat of imperialism.

The Congress expresses its solidarity with the glorious fight of the Korean people against imperialist intrigues for its freedom. The American troops must be withdrawn from the South Korea in conformity with the resolution of the 30th General Assembly of the U.N.O. The Congress supports the fight of the Korean people and journalists for the peaceful re-unification of their country.

The Arab peoples wage a heroic fight against imperialism, zionism, which is qualified by the U.N.O. as a form of racism, against all imperialist intrigues in this area, for the right of the Palestinian people to build up their own state and enjoy the fruits of the complete independence. The Congress supports the fight of the progressive forces of the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples for the creation of conditions for a just settlement, including the withdrawal of the Syrian troops.

The Congress emphasizes the necessity of the unconditional withdrawal of Israeli occupying troops from all Arab territories, occupied as a result of the aggression in 1967.

11 — In Africa, the peoples of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, San-Tomé, Cape Verde Islands conquered their national independence. The people of Angola, liberating themselves from the colonial yoke, victoriously defended their hardly conquered freedom. The Congress expresses its profound solidarity with the fight of peoples of South Africa, Namibia, and Zimbabwe against racism and apartheid, for their liberation and independence.

12 — In Latin America, the American imperialism suffered a defeat in its attempts to blockade Cuba. However, it continues in its intrigues aimed against this socialist state and against all progressive and democratic forces of this continent. The installation of a bloody military and fascist dictatorship in Chile, repressions against democratic forces, especially against journalists in Paraguay, Uruguay, Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, the brutal oppression of aspirations for freedom and independence of the peoples of Panama, Puerto Rico and others, intervening into the internal affairs of the peoples of Latin America, that all demonstrates the aggressive activities of imperialism against peoples of this continent. The Congress expresses its solidarity with all progressive forces, fighting against this imperialist pressure. It pays homage to many journalists who have been arrested, tortured, assassinated by the reaction because of their faithfulness to their ideal, and to those who continue in their fight for freedom and democracy.

13 — The period, elapsed since the 7th Congress of the I.O.J. in Havana, characterized by efforts of the forces of peace and progress for the prosperity of the atmosphere of international detente, for development of the new relations among countries and their peoples, has been, first of all, favourable for the success of the progressive and democratic movement of journalists.

14 — In Europe, the democratic and anti-fascist fight of people's masses gained new victories. The fascist regimes in Portugal and Greece have been dethroned. In Spain, a relentless fight is still being developed against the domestic reaction. The journalists' organizations of the continent established among themselves the closest contacts which often resulted into a direct co-operation in many concrete questions. The bilateral and multilateral, as well as regional bonds have

been multiplied among the journalists' organizations, editorial offices of the press, radio, television and information agencies. It is time to approach a-new the proposition, submitted by the I.O.J. Presidium in 1972, concerning the common elaboration of a document which would make rules for the basis of relations among the journalists' organizations in Europe.

15 — These aspirations of the national journalists' organizations of Europe remarkably influenced the position of the International Federation of Journalists. Since 1973, this organization has been, at last, in contact with the I.O.J. The latter, emphasizing always the existing differences in the points of view between the two organizations, has been invariably proposing it since long years. The I.O.J. will continue to search the spheres where the common action would be possible in the interest of journalists, members of different organizations, where their better mutual understanding could be developed, and, first of all, how to contribute to putting the end to the cold war in the mass information means.

16 — This position, confirmed by the I.O.J. Presidium in 1973, in Baghdad, corresponds to the stipulations of the Final Act, signed by the representatives of 33 countries of Europe, united States and Canada, on conclusion of the "European Conference on Security and Co-operation", which took place in the same building, where the 8th Congress took place.

Marking the beginning of the new period, decisive for the realization of security and peace in Europe, this Conference worked out and fixed the principles of friendly relations and co-operation among countries, independent of their social system. The journalists are called to mobilize the public opinion and the wide strata of people to realize, through concrete actions, the Final Act and all engagements, accepted by the countries participated in the Conference. The I.O.J. itself, contributed to it with all its means.

17 — The positive changes of the last years, first of all in Europe, have favourably influenced the development of bonds among journalists' organizations in other countries of the world. These organizations not only enlarged their activities in the national scale, but they entered into a period of developing the regional contacts and creation of unions, having the regional character. This is especially emphasized by the fruitful activities of the Arab Union of Journalists, by foundation of the Union of African Journalists in 1974, as well as by the work of the Congress of Latin American Journalists which was held in June 1976, and where the Federation of Latin American Journalists was founded. This fact is very important, face to face the growing tendencies to internationalize the power of monopolies in the sphere of mass media.

18 — Series of journalists' organizations in the area of Indian Ocean, even if they are not members of one regional organization, are united by aspirations to realize a common aim: to transform this area into the zone of security and peace and to liquidate there all the military bases of imperialists.

19 — Many journalists' organizations, members of the I.O.J. effectively participated just like the I.O.J. itself, in the activities of the specialized organizations of the U.N.O., first of all, within the frame of co-operation with the UNESCO, ECOSOC and the International Labour Organization.

20 — The development of the world, first of all, during the last five years, proved that the I.O.J. member organizations, as well as all progressive journalists have been everywhere actively fighting against the use of force in solution of the international problems, for understanding among peoples and against the interference into their internal affairs.

21 — The last years have been also marked by the development of the international solidarity in favour of journalists, participating in the national liberation fight and in the fight for achieving respect for their rights.

22 — Nevertheless, the development of the progressive and democratic journalism does not signify that the imperialism and its propaganda machinery would reconcile with this reality. There are still existing forces in the world which can endanger the detente and the co-operation. It is necessary, more than ever before, to intensify the efforts for strengthening the unity of all progressive, democratic, anti-imperialist forces and all peoples for the promotion of the policy of peace and co-operation in the international life, for regulations of all litigations among countries in the peaceful way, in the interest and with the participation of all peoples.

23 — The events demonstrate that the reactionary forces actively intervene against the interests of peoples and that the democratic and progressive journalists are to-day among their first victims. In this respect it is necessary to remind the persecution of democratic journalists in Chile, whose majority continues to suffer in the prisons of the fascist junta, the repression against the journalists in other Latin American countries. One should not forget the destiny of the progressive African journalists, condemned for long years into prisons by the racial and neo-colonialist regimes, the permanent intervention of the United States and the former colonial mother countries into the internal affairs of the entire continents as, for example, the role played by the CIA and other secret imperialist services, which, not being satisfied with the corruption of certain so-called journalists, finance directly the activities of well-known broadcasting stations, specialized, in their propaganda, in the interference into the life of the sovereign countries.

24 — The Congress stated that the reactionary propaganda reinforced its attacks against the progressive ideas. That is why the progressive and democratic journalists have been fighting and must continue to fight still more actively against the reactionary imperialist ideology, which tries to endanger the peaceful co-existence of peoples and the international detente.

25 — The I.O.J., taking up a principal attitude in this fight, emphasizes that the attacks against socialism, against the forces of peace, democracy and social progress in the whole world are out-of-date weapons, but still used in the imperialist propaganda. That is why it is necessary to unite all forces in interests of the constant development of the democratic and progressive journalism.

26 — Considering its character and structure, the I.O.J. is the greatest journalists' organization in the world. It tries to establish contacts and co-operation with all colleagues fighting for peace, freedom, independence and social progress. It took up this task already 30 years ago and has been accomplishing it with honour ever since.

27 — The Congress emphasizes that to-day, more than ever before, the I.O.J. expresses exactly the interests of its



Comrade Saul Ndlovu (left) is seen with Mr. Kolpe one of the delegates from India during Congress intervals.

member organizations and that the principles fixed in the statute adopted thirty years ago, have been keeping their efficacy. Under the present conditions, the Congress charges therefore the directing organs of the I.O.J. to concentrate their attention on the following spheres:

- to support the efforts of the journalists of socialist countries; concerning the development of mass media in the socialist society and to help the development of the universal exchange of experiences among the journalists of these countries, as well as their contacts with the progressive and democratic journalists of the whole world;
- to support our colleagues in the developing countries, particularly to help them with training and education of journalists; to denounce the imperialist system of information which tries to exercise the influence on the public opinion in the developing countries; to help the journalists of these countries to work in the interest of their peoples and their democratic development;
- to enlarge and multiply the solidarity actions with the fight of all progressive journalists for national and social liberation. The Congress appeals to all member and friendly organizations to participate in these solidarity actions;
- to support the just fight of the progressive journalists of the capitalist countries for democracy, particularly to support their fight against the process of concentration in the mass media by the press monopolies, the process which contributes to the manipulation with the public opinion by the political and financial power. The work of journalists in this sphere corresponds fully to the interests of the whole society;
- to continue in explaining that the general and complete disarmament is a guarantee of the social progress of all peoples. The armament races/and especially the nuclear ones/ become one of the most dangerous factors, manacing permanently with the new world war;
- to continue in the fight for the rights of peoples to live in peace and in freedom, in the fight for gaining the respect of the dignity of the man against all racial, social or religious discrimination, for solution of international problems without using the force.

28 – The Congress charges the directing organs of the I.O.J. and directly the Secretariat General, to pay a special attention to the following questions:

- to continue in developing the atmosphere of confidence, mutual understanding, exchange of experiences and concrete co-operation among different organizations of journalists;
- to make everything possible that the achievements of the

scientific and technical revolution, especially in the mass media, be made accessible to all peoples;

- to promote the training of the journalist cadres in the developing countries, contribute to the foundation of new solidarity schools, to utilize all possibilities for organizing seminars and courses on the spot and to assure, within the possibilities, the long-term stages of journalists from the developing countries; to continue in a close co-operation with the UNESCO, in conformity with the propositions submitted to this organization by the I.O.J.

- to continue in examining the possibility in organizing the International Institute, under the auspices of the I.O.J., with the aim to search and diffuse information about professional problems;

- to strengthen the co-operation, especially in the professional sphere, with the specialized organizations of the U.N.O., particularly with the UNESCO, with the aim to help the mass media, in the developing countries to liquidate the illiteracy and to increase the cultural level of the population in these areas of the world.

- to fight for the purity and dignity of the journalist profession; these qualities are incompatible with the activities of such organizations, as Radio Liberty and Free Europe.

- to fight for application of principles of the Helsinki document, and for strengthening and enlarging of the international detente, which corresponds to the fundamental interests of journalists;

- to develop all efforts in order that the spatial means of information be utilized only in favour of peace and mutual understanding of peoples;

- to pay a special attention to the support of our colleagues who have still to fight for the freedom and independence of their peoples; to fight for releasing of all progressive journalists, imprisoned by imperialist reaction, because they defended high ideals of peace and social progress and the interests of their peoples.

29 – The participants of the 8th Congress of the I.O.J. finally appeal not only to their colleagues, but to all those, using the mass media in their work – scientists, politicians, representatives of culture and sport:

“Let us make everything what we can that the information serve truly to the interests of peoples, fighting on the basis of their own experiences, that the war, racism and colonial oppression become never more a disgrace of the mankind!”

Helsinki, September 23rd, 1976.

**VIII CONGRES
CONGRESS
KONGPECC
CONGRESO**



**HELSINKI
21-23/9/1976**

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Zimbabwean Association of Journalists — ZAJ — attended the Eighth Congress of the International Organisation of Journalists — IOJ — held in Helsinki (Finland) from September 21 to September 23, 1976.

Representing ZAJ was the organisation's Secretary-General, Saul Ndlovu, and ZAJ's representative in Europe, Comrade Albert Ndindah. The ZAJ was elected into the executive committee of the IOJ, a great honour for and challenge to the struggling journalists and masses of Zimbabwe. The ZAJ delegation delivered a speech to the hundreds of journalists from all over the five continents. The speech, given by Comrade Saul Ndlovu, follows below:—

"The delegation of the Zimbabwean Association of Journalists brings you greetings from the journalists of Zimbabwe all of whom are working under very intolerable conditions imposed by the fascist Rhodesian regime led by Ian Smith. Zimbabwean journalists are pleased to be actively associated with the International Organisation of Journalists because of its progressive and anti-imperialist stand.

"The Zimbabwean delegation came here not only to participate in the general congress business of the IOJ, but to express their solidarity with all progressive journalists the world over. We feel that it is through the IOJ that progressive journalists can put their heads together on an inter-continental level and share ideas and strategies about how best to turn this world into a better place for mankind, how to combat successfully the fascist regimes and oppressive dictatorships still tormenting millions of peoples of all races and colours.

"In Zimbabwe, the masses, led by the African National Council, are up in arms against the minority settler regime. The armed revolution is gaining ground daily despite attempts by imperialists and neo-colonialists to under-mine it by all manner of trickery and subterfuge. We are referring especially to the so-called shuttle diplomacy of Dr. Henry Kissinger, Secretary of State of the United States of America, whose tour of Southern Africa is aimed at crippling the armed struggle of the people of Zimbabwe, Namibia, and the mass resistance of the millions of South Africa.

"Dr. Kissinger is trying to pose as a champion of freedom and peace. But we are all aware that he is an architect of the downfall of revolutionary trends and gains. His performance in the Middle East which has now precipitated the serious clash in Lebanon is testimony to this fact.

"His present moves in Southern Africa are meant at most to immobilise, destroy and wipe out the armed struggle completely by covertly or overtly involving some African states on whose territories the people's resistance presently depends as rear-bases. International imperialists and their allies are scared of the revolutionary onslaughts of the masses of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe. The onslaughts are a real threat to the economic and military interests of the capitalist camp, especially since the downfall of Portuguese fascists in Angola and Mozambique. The aim of the imperialists, led by the USA, is to arrest this revolutionary trend.

"This misconception that Dr. Kissinger wants freedom and peace in Southern Africa is based on either erroneous conclusions or on deliberately misleading distortions of facts. He is no more for freedom in Southern Africa than he was for freedom when he shuttled up and down in the Middle East. His basic objective is to safeguard capitalist interests in the region rather than to free the exploited and oppressed masses there.

"At most he wants to destroy the armed struggle by involving those nations whose internal political and economic dynamics, regional connections and security, continental positions vis-a-vis Southern Africa, as well as international obligations and needs force them to slow down the revolutionary trend in Southern Africa instead of accelerating it to the immediate and complete destruction and replacement of the invidious system obtaining in the area just now. The journalists of Zimbabwe call upon all their progressive comrades to expose and condemn these anti-revolutionary manouvres without reservation.

"The Press in Zimbabwe is owned and controlled by the capitalist magnates based in South Africa. A section is owned by the regime itself. A small portion is run by the party of the masses of Zimbabwe, the African National Council. This small section is always under the heel and thumb of the Smith regime whose all-embracing laws leave no room for its criticism. As we address this congress, the President of the Zimbabwean Association of Journalists, Comrade Willie Musarurwa, is being tried by the Smith regime for having castigated its atrocious laws through the columns of our party publication, THE ZIMBABWE STAR. Comrade Musarurwa is also the National Secretary for Publicity and Information of the African National Council of Zimbabwe.

"We ask our comrades from Asia, Africa, Europe, the Americas, Australia and the Caribbean nations to highlight at all times the plight of the masses of Zimbabwe and the barbarities committed by the regime there against the masses. We would like to co-operate and establish active links with the whole Press world so that the war against racism in Southern Africa can receive the necessary emphasis it should get.

"We are faced with a barrage of pro-racist propaganda all aimed at protecting the status quo. When the revolutionary forces of the people of Angola, led by the MPLA, captured and later tried the brutal, wild, inhuman dogs of war usually called mercenaries, the capitalist Press in our area loudly called for mercy because, it claimed, the mercenaries were only victims of a system that produced them and that they were not responsible for their actions and arrogant aggression and murder in Angola.

"The capitalist Press could not say, however, that the world should condemn and reject this same system which had produced the mercenaries. While calling upon the People's Republic of Angola to pardon them and condemn the social system that had produced them, the very same Press criticised the MPLA for adopting a social system opposed to that which had produced the murderous mercenaries. The call was a gigantic exercise in self-contradiction if not in obvious hypocrisy. It was an attempt to protect the products of capitalism by condemning capitalism (not its defenders) as well as those who are destroying capitalism.

"When the Rhodesian armed forces invaded a refugee camp in neighbouring Mozambique on August 8, 1976, the Rhodesian Press high-lighted the Smith regime's naked lie that the camp had been occupied by armed freedom-fighters. When the Government of Mozambique produced photographs of massacred women and children and old men; plus those of seriously injured ones, the Rhodesian Press found them unsuitable for use. They could use only those supplied by the racist regime to try to support its lie. These are only two examples of how the capitalist Press helps the racist regimes not only in Zimbabwe but in South Africa and Namibia as well. We can succeed to puncture this thin veil of lies if only we can get co-operation from our colleagues all over the world to expose these injustices and atrocities.

"Comrades, we wish to put on record here that we stand shoulder-to-shoulder with the Journalists of Chile, that country many of whose brave sons and daughters are imprisoned by the murderous Pinochet regime. We also want to state here that we stand by the displaced and terrorised Journalists and masses of Palestine, the people of Spanish Sahara led by POLISARIO, the struggling patriots of Djibouti, the sons and daughters of South Africa who are being killed in cold blood every minute at the callous hands of the Vorster regime, the people of Namibia struggling for their birth-right, and all those languishing in jails in some nations of Latin America where reactionaries, supported by the USA, are persecuting the masses. We stand for the re-unification of Korea and the withdrawal of USA troops from that land.

"We assure all of you here that we shall gallantly shoulder our share of the duty to free this world and establish a society free from exploitation, racism, and deprivation of human rights and dignity. Lastly, on behalf of the journalists of Zimbabwe, we would like to thank the IOJ for the assistance it has given to us to train more of our young men and women to carry high the banner of freedom and socialism through not only the gun, but the pen which, as the old Romans said, is mightier than the sword.

**LONG LIVE
THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE!
LONG LIVE PROGRESSIVE JOURNALISM!
MAY THE IOJ GROW
FROM STRENGTH TO STRENGTH!"**

NOTE: — THE ZIMBABWE REVIEW REPRINTED THE ORIENTATION DOCUMENT UNABRIDGED. EDITOR



Professor Kaarle Nordenstreng President of the IOJ



Comrade Saul Ndlovu the General-Secretary of the Zimbabwe Association of Journalists (ZAJ)

Comrade J. Kubka, the General-Secretary of the IOJ



PRESS RELEASE

ANC (ZIMBABWE)



Comrade J. Z. Moyo
2. Vice President of the
African National
Council of Zimbabwe

**EXTERNAL
MISSION
BOX 1657
LUSAKA, 19/8/76**

The African National Council of Zimbabwe wishes to refute in the strongest terms a serious and malicious allegation which appeared strangely enough, in the Mozambique Press on August 17, 1976, to the effect that an attack on Mozambique by Rhodesian racist forces was led by a former ZAPU cadre named Maurice Nhate who was described as a "chief of logistics of ZAPU". The allegation is in pattern and style similar to those that have been embarked on, at one time or another, by the enemies of the Zimbabwe struggle and former ZAPU in par-

ticular. The whole exercise is doomed to fail. Its destructive purpose is to alienate the supporters, friends and sympathisers of former ZAPU from the organisation and discredit its credibility as an authentic and effective Liberation Movement of Zimbabwe.

Any revolutionary worth his salt will treat with utter contempt such trash and transparent lies which only aid the enemy's diabolic plans in Zimbabwe. These vile enemies must be told the truth that creation of such fictitious "treasonable acts" to smear our inter-

national standing and prestige at this late hour is futile as it is base.

The ANC of Zimbabwe categorically states that it has never had a logistics officer by the name Maurice Nhate. These tactics have been used in all revolutionary situations and their recent presence in the Zimbabwe struggle is not new or strange.

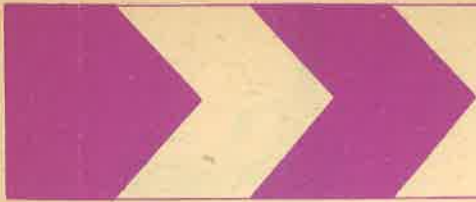
Another baseless allegation appeared in a French magazine called *Afrique - Asie* (No. 115, July 26 - September 5, 1976) in which it states that the Smith regime is using former ZAPU cadres as mercenaries to invade Mozambique. The allegation written by an Italian Journalist who is, undoubtedly an imperialist agent provocateur, is yet an example of the enemy's gimmicks of trying to sow enmity between the people of Zimbabwe and those of Mozambique.

It is known fact that cadres of former ZAPU are determined, politically clear, ideologically sound revolutionaries who are feared and dreaded by the Rhodesian racist forces and all their lackeys.

Enemies of former ZAPU are frantically and desperately trying to circulate hastily formulated lies in order to cause confusion, dissension, suspicion, alarm, despondency and doubt in the minds of the masses of Zimbabwe, Mozambique, and the whole international community about the forthrightness of the ANC of Zimbabwe in its armed struggle against the racist regime. These machinations will not work at present as in the past. The masses of Zimbabwe and the world at large has heard before such baseless fabrications especially in regards to former ZAPU and all have been proved as dastardly lies created by frustrated people who see the plans of their masters - the imperialists - floundering in Zimbabwe.

ENDS PRESS RELEASE:
signed;

J. Z. Moyo.
(Second Vice President)



INSIDE ZIMBABWE

HITTING HARDER THAN EVER



Smith Worries

The liberation struggle in Zimbabwe has reached new heights as armed patriots have begun hitting harder than ever deep inside the Rhodesian cities, where the enemy has the highest concentration of his privileged class and economic interests.

Armed freedom-fighters killed three Rhodesian policemen in the Bulawayo African township of Luveve at the beginning of September and injured several others.

The incident occurred when Smith's armed bandits tried to search houses in the township where freedom-fighters were believed to be living. Freedom-fighters made short shrift of the fascist bandits without loss to themselves.

In another incident, a light spotter plane was brought down by ground fire in the Nuanetsi area as it was flying over Mozambican territory. The regime later admitted that two of the plane's occupants had been killed. The plane had taken off from Bulawayo.

Patriots are constantly blasting the railway line from Rhodesia to Botswana. On several occasions in August and September, trains to and from Bulawayo to South Africa along this line have failed to travel following such blasts near the border town of Plumtree where the regime has tried in vain to station a mobile patrol unit.

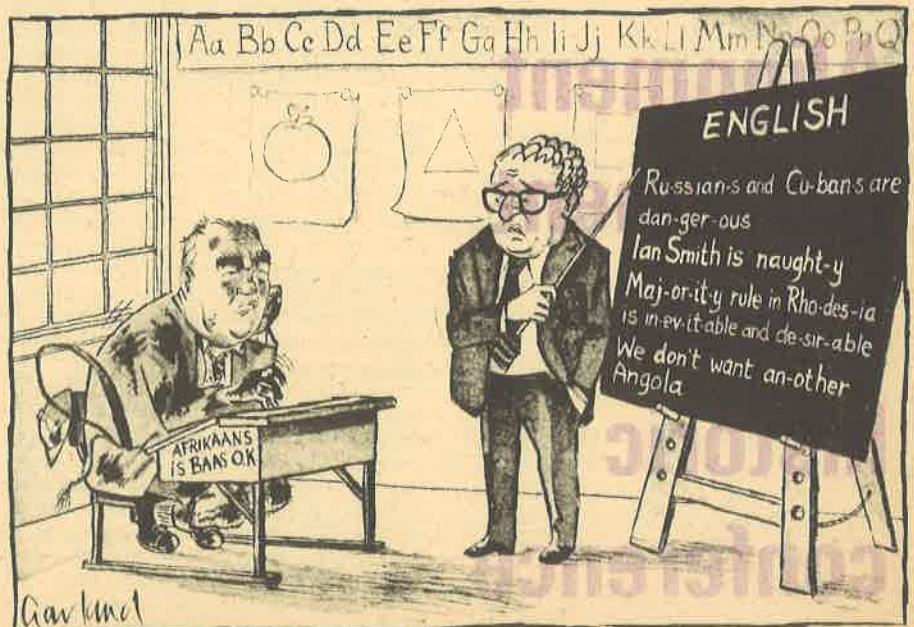
In the east and north-east, Zimbabwean freedom-fighters have increased their activities, causing the Smith regime a lot of worry and confusion. Farmers have completely withdrawn from the rural areas leaving their livestock and fields

untended. This is particularly effective now when the sowing season is approaching.

In other incidents, Zimbabwean patriots raided two camps in the Wankie and Kariba areas killing at least five Rhodesian soldiers. This was on the morning of September 13, 1976. Announcing the gallant incident, the Smith racist dictator stated that the camps had been taken by surprise. This meant that not a single freedom-fighter was wounded or killed.

The Smith regime is worried very much by the fact that freedom-fighters are

able to disrupt its communications with South Africa, as well as penetrate urban areas from where it is impossible to eradicate them. Following the killing of three armed policemen in Bulawayo, the regime reported that two buildings in the city-centre had been damaged very seriously by violently powerful explosions the day after the Luveve incident. No-one was arrested. Casualties caused by the explosions were kept a closely guarded secret by the regime, but eyewitnesses said some whites had been rushed to hospital minutes after the explosion.



'Now after me, Balthazar ...'

In the Wankie area, a white man and woman were killed in an ambush by freedom-fighters. They had been travelling between the Victoria Falls tourist centre and the coal-mining town of Wankie. This and similar incidents throughout Rhodesia have caused the country's tourist industry to dry up. The white civilian population has also lost confidence in the regime's ability to maintain security measures over the country. Despite stringent measures against leaving the country, it is known that more and more whites are now packing up and leaving the Smith regime to stew in its own hot sauce.

The liberation war is on and the masses are actively engaged in it despite unbelievably atrocious measures taken by the regime's armed terrorists against the people. Numerous people all over Zimbabwe have maimed, others killed,

while many are detained for allegedly supporting the freedom-fighters. Many villages have been bull-dozed and completely wiped from the face of Zimbabwe. This especially so in the Beit Bridge, West Nicolson areas, the Wankie-Kariba regions, the Mtoko-Mrewa districts, and the whole of the eastern sector where fighting has been escalating since January 1976. It is believed that apart from other reasons such as immoral behaviour, racist Ian Smith changed Pieter van der Byl from being Defence Minister to something else because the bigheaded fascist had failed to stem the tide of the liberation struggle in spite of committing such unpardonable atrocities as the Mozambique massacre August 8, 1976. (SEE SPECIAL NUMBER OF "THE ZIMBABWE REVIEW" OF AUGUST 1976).



*By our
Special
Correspondent*

The Non-Alignment movement and its historic conference

The 5th Non-Aligned conference of its leaders, which concluded its session on August 19th, would go down in the history as a conference, which opened new vistas for the newly liberated and the developing nations. The conference at Colombo reaffirmed its faith in the principles of anti-imperialism, anti-colonialism, and in its common struggle against poverty.

The 5th Conference witnessed the entry of many of its new members which include countries like Angola, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique, Cape Verde, and others. The conference in its political decision and document condemned the racist regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia. As Iraq's Vice President Mr Taha Muhiuddin Maroof came forward with his country's support for the freedom movements in South Africa and Rhodesia the members gave a thunderous applause. Mr Maroof called for unconditional evacuation of the occupied territory by Israel and pledged his country's support against the racist regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia and said that steps should be taken to enable majorities in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe to gain freedom. Following the same spirit the summit called upon UN members to impose sanctions against France and Israel for persistently violating the UN General Assembly resolutions against the supply of arms to South African apartheid regime. The Indian Prime Minister Mrs Indira Gandhi in her speech said that "We in India have links with their struggle since even before our own freedom movement". She appealed to the members of the movement that a message should be sent to the victims of the racist terrors in South Africa. Thus the non aligned summit was urged to "serve notice" on Western countries which supply and trade arms to South Africa that "they are not friends".

The conference at Colombo with its united approach showed and proved that non aligned movement cannot be brushed aside as a weak movement. The reaction in the western countries has shown that they are taking the movement very seriously. As a matter of fact the non-aligned movement has always supported the liberation movements all over the world. It was at Lusaka in year 1970, when Mrs Gandhi spoke in very clear terms about the problem of racialism: "We all have been subjected to domination exploitation and the

humiliation of racial discrimination. How could we compromise with racialism in any form?

The pernicious theory that man is superior to another merely on the ground of race or birth has been proved false, yet it continues to dominate the thinking of many." Again at Algiers in the year 1973 the Indian Prime Minister once again attacked the problem with renewed zeal: "The persistence of colonialism and racialism in Africa is an outrage on humanity. This anachronistic colonialism could not have survived without the concealed or open support of their imperialist allies and the sub-imperialist system of South Africa and Rhodesia. The horrors reported from Mozambique and Angola are further tragic chapters in their grim history. We denounce these in the strongest terms. Ways must be found for giving more effective support to the liberation struggles of the people of Zimbabwe, Angola, Namibia, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau." At the Colombo conference again the Indian Prime Minister Mrs Gandhi condemned the apartheid policies of the terrorist regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia.

In its political resolution, the head of the states and the governments of the non-aligned world condemned unanimously the repeated and wanton criminal acts of aggression committed by the illegal minority regimes of Southern Rhodesia against Mozambique and by the racist regimes of South Africa against Zambia and Angola. And further the summit conference pledged its firm and committed support to the complete elimination of colonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination in South Africa.

The non aligned movement has grown into a mature stage, a movement which started with a meager strength of 25 countries has been joined by 85 countries. The non-aligned conference of Colombo will be as important in the history of the newly liberated developing countries, if its decisions and declarations are implemented in letter and spirit, as last year's Helsinki, and Colombo shows that not only has the era of the cold war ended but that the days of political colonialisation are coming to an end.

The Colombo conference has set new tasks and aims before it. The Indian Foreign Minister Mr Y. B. Chavan said in 1975: "If in the fifties and sixties the main thrust of Non-

alignment was against the division of the world into two Cold War camps endangering world peace as well as the independence of countries, today it is directed against the iniquitous and explosive division of the world into the developed and the developing nations. To narrow and eventually to bridge this gap and to establish balanced and co-operative relationship between the developed and developing worlds is the principle objective today." The main thirst of the non-aligned movement today is in this direction. After the colonialism and the political imperialism disappears from earth, steps should be taken so that the economic imperialism also comes to an end. With the passage of time the movement has ceased to be merely a political one. Its horizons now extend to economic co-operation and co-operation in other sectors too. The establishment of a just economic balance between the developed and the developing countries is essential not only from the point of view of social justice and human equality but for the creation of peaceful and stable world order free from the threats of violent upheavals. With these aims the Colombo con-

ference passed the economic resolution in which they have agreed upon to establish a "new economic order" in the world. Another important decision arrived at Colombo was the agreement on the establishment of the common Press Agencies Pool. Mrs Gandhi at Algiers only, had warned about the dangers of the monopol of the press medias by the western countries. She said: "It makes a painful reading that the major news media of the world are still controlled by the big monopoly houses having vested interests. The smaller nations, especially those part of the Non-aligned movement, should develop their own news media to counter the nefarious propaganda carried by the imperialist-controlled mass media. Such a move would accord better status to the developing nations and they will develop a sense of equality with dominant partners in the world. The steps were taken in this direction after the Algiers. This year in the first week of July the Ministerial Conference of Non-Aligned countries on Press Agencies Pool was held in New Delhi. The Conference at Delhi decided to establish a Common Press Agencies Pool. The Colombo

Conference of the Head of the States adopted the resolution of the New Delhi Conference. Thus a new beginning was made at Colombo to promote the pooling and sharing of the work of the national news agencies. The decisions taken at Colombo have been welcomed by the Socialist Community also. The socialist world led by the Soviet Union has supported the Non-Aligned movement from a long time. The Non-Aligned World has always hailed the true appreciation of their stand by socialist countries. As a matter of fact the USSR was the first major power to understand and support the Non-Aligned movement as a significant contribution to the world peace. The Non-Aligned movement has ushered into a new era after the Colombo conference. The 5th summit conference of Non-Aligned movement is going to determine the future course of human history. If the sense prevails upon the Western Countries and they agree to sit together to chalk out the "new economic order", the world shall see a new era of peace, where the mankind would enjoy the fruits of peace. The message of Colombo is very clear and distinctive.

POET'S CORNER

FORWARD GREAT, WARRIOR OF FREEDOM

By A. Nikita

*Forward sons of Africa!
Forward hail the great warriors of Zimbabwe!
Forward in Unity with material and moral aid,
Forward, Forward Africa, till Zimbabwe comes back to Africa!*

*Forward Progressive forces of the World!
Forward with the struggling masses of Zimbabwe,
Forward with your material and moral word,
Forward, Forward greatest freedom army of the world!*

*Forward victorious soldiers of Zimbabwe!
Forward under shot, shell and torture and hanging!
Forward warriors, let's avenge our fallen Heroes!
Forward, Forward final Victory will be ours!*

*Forward great warriors of freedom!
Forward with guns in hand,
Forward to liberate glorious Motherland!
Forward, Forward great warriors of freedom!*

*Forward gallant soldiers of freedom!
Forward with bayonets fixed,
Forward and charge the enemy encircled!
Forward, Forward great warriors of freedom!*

*Forward gallant sons of Zimbabwe!
Forward with kits on your backs,
Forward let's make the Boers pay their blood debts!
Forward, Forward warriors of Zimbabwe!*

*Forward Peoples' Revolutionary Army!
Forward armed with hand-grenades,
Forward hurl them gainst enemy squads!
Forward, Forward gallant Peoples' Revolutionary Army!*

*Forward great warriors of freedom!
Forward armed with daggers and spears,
Forward in the darkest hour of the night
Forward, Forward warriors annihilate the enemy!*

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