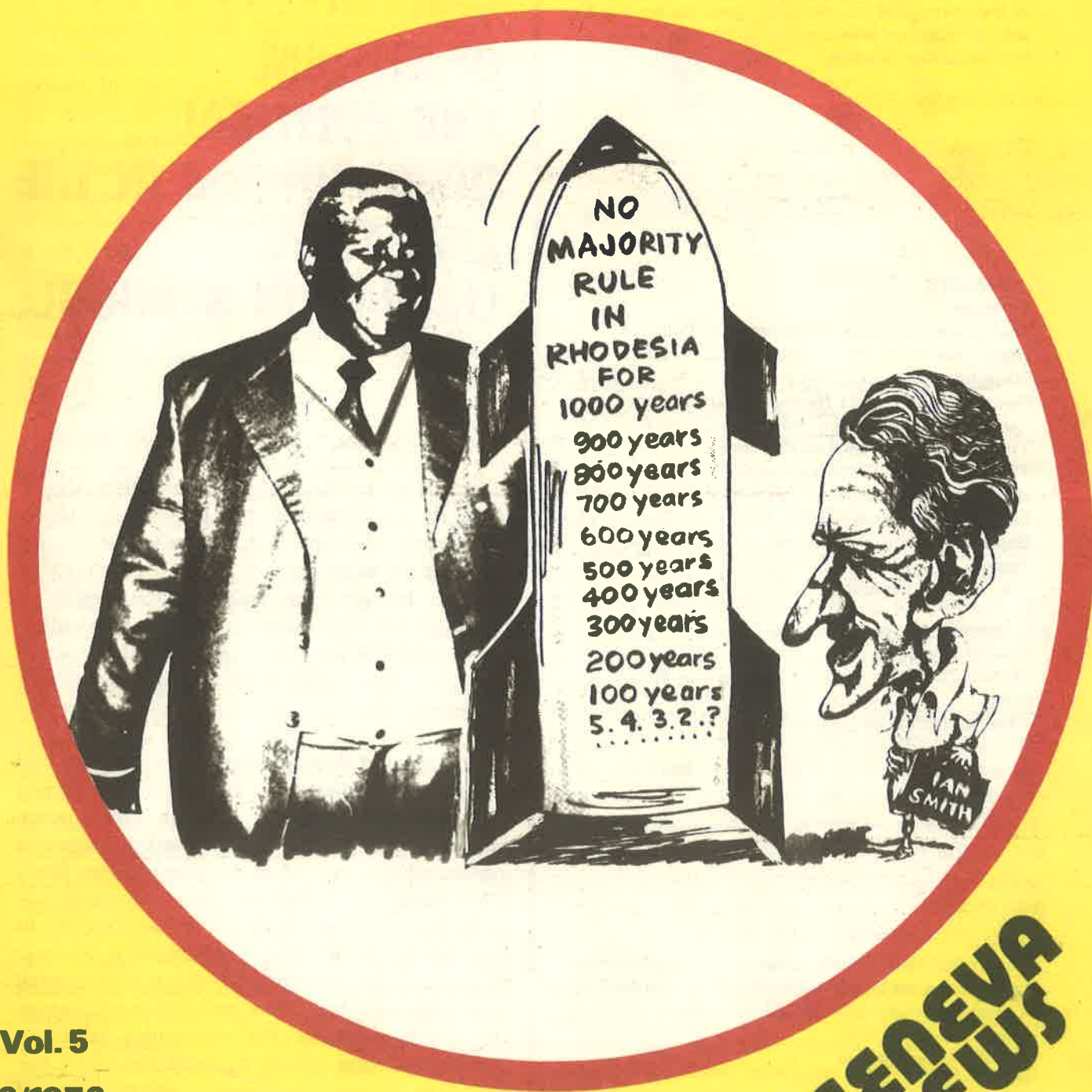


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**THE**

INTERNATIONAL ORGAN OF THE  
ANC (ZIMBABWE)

# ZIMBABWE REVIEW

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**GENEVA  
NEWS**

# THE ZIMBABWE REVIEW

## TO OUR READERS:

We extend our thanks to the hundreds of readers of "THE ZIMBABWE REVIEW" 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 Rhodesian situation.

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The Editor-in-Chief of  
The Zimbabwe Review  
PO. Box 1657  
Lusaka — Zambia

## EDITORIAL

# THE SPREADING CANCER OF ELITISM AND POLITICAL OPPORTUNISM IN THE ZIMBABWE LIBERATION STRUGGLE

Elitism is an ideology of the bourgeoisie. Unlike Marx, the elites maintain that political skill determines who rules, and that society will always be governed by some kind of elite, or combination of elites. Elitism is an ideology tailor — made to fit capitalism and bourgeois de facto domination in the capitalist society or setup. Furthermore, it intensifies the myth of educational superiority and inferiority.

With the rapid development of technology, and increasing specialisation, the strata of technocrats — an elite within middle class (in Zimbabwean case within the nationalist parties) is becoming increasingly influential in decision-making. Some Zimbabwean elitists think that a meritocracy — government by the "expert" — is now a reality. In this period of growing revolutionary violence throughout Southern Africa and world in general, new misleading bourgeois terminology has emerged which expresses the reactionary backlash. Typical examples are the myth of the 'silent majority' or average or ordinary citizen, both of which are said to be anti-revolutionary or antisocialism and are in favour of maintaining the status quo. In fact, in case of present capitalist Rhode-

sia, the workers and peasants form the majority and are far from silent, and are vocal in their demand for a radical transformation of society. In Rhodesia, the emerging African bourgeoisie, anxious to emulate European settler middle class attitudes and ideologies, are in many ways, confuse class with race. They find it difficult to differentiate between European classes since they are not familiar with the subtle differences in speech, manners, dress and etc — differences which would instantly betray their class origin to their own fellow country men. Members of the settler European working class live as bourgeoisie in the colonies. They own cars, have servants, their women do not enter the kitchen, and their class origin is only apparent to their own people. In Zimbabwe after independence, the indigenous bourgeois aspirants, in aspiring to ruling class status will copy the way of life of the ex-ruling class — the present European settlers. They will, in reality, be imitating a race and not a class. The Zimbabwe African bourgeoisie, therefore, will tend to live the kind of life lived by the old colonial ruling class, which is not necessarily the way of life of the European bourgeoisie. It is rather the way of life of a racial group in a colonial situation. In this case, the African bourgeoisie will be merely perpetuating the master-servant relationships of the colonial period.

Although the Zimbabwe emerging African bourgeoisie for the most part slavishly accepts the ideologies of its counterparts in the capitalist world, there are certain ideologies which are developing specifically within the context of the Zimbabwe western educated elite, and which is becoming characteristic expressions of Zimbabwean bourgeois mentality. Perhaps the most typical is the bogus conception of "elitism". This pseudo-intellectual behaviour serves as a bridge or link between the Zimbabwe African foreign-dominated middle class and the Anglo-American cultural establishments. It is irrational and non-revolutionary. It reflects the confused state of mind of many of the British and American educated Zimbabwe African intellectuals, and is totally divorced from the reality of the Zimbabwe African Personality.

The growing anti-international socialism attitude among the western educated Zimbabwean elite is causing some concern. The term 'African or Zimbabwe Socialism' is similarly meaningless and irrelevant. It implies the existence of a kind of socialism peculiar to Zimbabwe and derived from communal and egalitarian aspects of traditional



Zimbabwean society. The myth of African or Zimbabwe socialism is used to deny the class struggle, and to obscure genuine socialist commitment. It is employed by those Zimbabwe revolutionary and nationalist leaders who are compelled by — in the climate of the Zimbabwe armed revolutionary struggle with the help from the socialist countries — to proclaim socialist policies, but who are at the same time deeply committed to international capitalism, and who do not intend to promote genuine socialist economic development.

While there is no hard and fast dogma for socialist revolution, and specific circumstances at a definite historical period will determine the precise form it will take, there can be no compromise over socialist goals. The principles of scientific socialism are universal and abiding, and involve the genuine socialisation of productive and distributive processes. Those Zimbabwean politicians who for political reasons pay lip service to socialism, while aiding and abetting imperialism and neo-colonialism by attacking the socialist world, serve bourgeois class interests. Zimbabwe Workers and peasant may be misled for time by militant reverends, but as class consciousness develops the bogus socialists are exposed, and genuine socialist revolution is made possible in Zimbabwe.

*President  
Joshua Nkomo  
of the ANC of  
Zimbabwe*



# MESSAGE BY

# JOSHUA NKOMO

**PRESIDENT OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL COUNCIL  
(ZIMBABWE)**

Fellow-freedom-fighters, brothers, sisters and countrymen, I send this message to you from Geneva where we are meeting to work out the mechanics for the transfer of power from the Rhodesian minority regime to the majority of the people of Zimbabwe. We, of the African National Council of Zimbabwe, have entered into a working arrangement with our countrymen of ZANU under the name of the Patriotic Front primarily to intensify the armed struggle under conditions of national unity. We are negotiating in Geneva looking forward to the establishment of a transitional government within a period of 12 months as from December 20, 1976. This transitional government must reflect a preponderance of African representation as it shall be on that basis (of majority rule) that our country shall move on to independence.

I have been asked many times if I think this conference shall succeed. My reply has always been that for my part I

shall work hard to make it succeed. But if it fails, I shall not in any manner be held responsible for its failure. I have tried on many occasions to show that if talks of this nature are frustrated, it will be inevitable, indeed necessary, to intensify the armed liberation struggle until we have removed the cause of the present conflict which is bringing a great deal of suffering, and killing, and destruction of property in our country.

The cause of the conflict is the brutal denial of basic human rights to the majority of our people. This, based on a society of economic and social privileges determined by the colour of one's skin, is the cause of the war. The war cannot stop without its cause being removed and replaced by a just system that will not have any regard whatsoever for one's racial, ethnic or tribal origin. That is the system we are struggling to establish in our country. That is the way of life we would like this conference to

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all the people of Zimbabwe shall have vistas of opportunities opened to them in all spheres so that life can have a full meaning to us all. We want a nation where the qualifi- help us get by agreeing on an interim government struc- ture that will, as soon as it is installed, expedite the inde- pendence of our country.

We all have a solemn duty to create a happy nation, a nation based on human dignity, equality and justice. We want a nation that will be bound by a feeling of human brotherliness and not torn asunder by racial bigotry, hosti- lity and greed. We want to see a peaceful nation in which

cation for one to live a happy and dignified life will be nothing but one's human-ness.

I have been asked what we would do with the "whites" in an independent and free Zimbabwe. I have repeatedly stated that white people are not white ants but human beings like anybody else. They will have as much right to live with us in our country as everybody else who is pre- pared to observe and respect the laws of the nation. No section of our people in a free Zimbabwe will have a special place or privileges of any type. We cannot tolerate a privileged community after we have struggled and sacri- ficed so much to replace a system based on racial privi- leges with one based on human equality.



*The Delegation and staff of the ANC – Zimbabwe at the Geneva Conference, which begun on the 28. 10. 1976*

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We are as much opposed to racialism as we are violently opposed to tribalism. Zimbabwe is a nation of six and half million people. We belong to different tribal as well as racial groups. The racial or tribal differences do not make us less or more Zimbabwean than we are. Among Zimbabweans of African extraction, we find such tribes as Karanga, MaNyika, Zezuru, Korekore, Barwe, Kalanga, Nambya, Tonga, Nguni, Suthu, Venda, Ndau, Hlengwe, Fengu, Mahungwe and Ndebele. All these belong to Zimbabwe as much as those of English, German, Indian, Arabic, Portuguese, French or Dutch extraction who have chosen to live in a free Zimbabwe side by side with everybody else under happy conditions of equality.

Our enemies are trying to split us up into tribal groups hostile to one another. We should realise that once we fall prey to such tactics practised by people some of whom pose as nationalists, we cannot build a happy and stable Zimbabwe. Our enemies repeatedly remind us of so-called tribal wars fought by our fore-fathers centuries ago. They remind us about these wars not to help us understand our history but to make us hate those who do not belong to our tribes, those who belong to tribes with which our fore-fathers might have once clashed over, perhaps, grazing land, fishing or hunting areas. We must be vigilant and expose such divisive tactics. Similarly, we should never tolerate any form of racialism whatsoever.

There has been a lot of loose talk about civil war and things of that nature. This talk has come especially from Bishop Abel Muzorewa and his ilk. Lest the public forgets, it is timely to remind it that it was Bishop Muzorewa who changed his mind against the December 7, 1974 Unity Agreement when he rejected the holding of a national congress as enshrined in the agreement. Instead of honouring his word that he would keep to the spirit and letter of the agreement, the bishop acted like a chameleon and changed his colour a month after signing the agreement. We, for our part, kept our word and held the congress to fulfill the Lusaka Agreement.

The bishop has been going about telling all and sundry that since he comes from Mashonaland, and since there are more people living in Mashonaland than in Matebeleland, he represents more people than I do because he comes from Mashonaland and I come from Matebeleland. This is the most absurd, most dangerous tribalistic trash I have ever heard since I first became active in the struggle for the freedom of our country almost 30 years ago. I cannot understand how anybody who thinks in such a disastrously divisive way can stand up again and talk about dangers of a civil war. When I asked Bishop Muzorewa to lead the African National Council during my detention in 1971, I did not say he should regard himself as leading a region but a nation. But now he has been blinded by ambition and wants to regard himself as some type of monarch for a region of our country. Meanwhile, he is trying to present himself as a spotlessly white nationalist who is worried about the spectre

of civil war. I would like to call off the bishop's bluff by telling him publicly that he has absolutely no capacity for causing civil war. We won't let him destroy our country and unity in any manner whatsoever.

I find it difficult to comment on statements by Muzorewa's group that I have been appointed by front-line states and the UK Government to be the Prime Minister during the interim period. It is very strange that Muzorewa and his group spend sleepless nights worrying not about how best to free the country, but how best they must talk about me. They have weird nightmares about Nkomo and not about the minority regime. Their priorities are upside-down. At no time during the 30 years I have been engaged in the liberation struggle of Zimbabwe have I ever worried about whether a Muzorewa or a Chavunduka or a Nkomo would become our country's Prime Minister before or after independence. What has always been in my mind is the liberation of our country. If a Muzorewa or a Chavunduka or anybody else becomes premier, in a free Zimbabwe, fair enough. Any Zimbabwe can be premier. Why not?

There have been questions about what our relations will be with nations like the Soviet Union, the United States, and South Africa. I take this opportunity to explain that we shall have normal relations that exist between or among free, independent, sovereign states. As for South Africa, a free Zimbabwe cannot be oblivious to the sad fact that millions of people there are living under violent and murderous oppression and displacement at the hands of a brutal minority. We cannot possibly have friendly relations with a racist regime that is denying elementary human rights to our fellow people. Our relations with South Africa will depend entirely upon the political aspirations of the masses of South Africa and ways and means to achieve those aspirations. We cannot and will not hobnob a racialistic and fascist regime after we have spent such a painfully long time to rid ourselves of such a situation in our country. The masses of South Africa must be allowed to live where they please, have the right to vote for their country's national government and not tribal authorities, and share equitably in the wealth of their country through non-racial wages based entirely on the principle of rate-for-the-job as opposed to the unjust practice of determining a worker's worth by his colour.

Finally, it is very important to remember that this conference came about as a result of, among other factors, intensification of the armed struggle. If it fails to solve our country's problem, as well it may, we have no alternative but to fight ever bravely for our freedom till victory. In that case, it had better be made clear, the war shall be sharp and short. We have right on our side and shall not relent. Zimbabwe must and shall be free at any and all cost.



*Zimbabwe's national leader Joshua Nkomo along the Bulawayo airport road when he returned from an extensive trip abroad on October 10, 1976. He was met by a crowd estimated by different people from 100 000 to 250 000. On his right is the Secretary-General of the party, Comrade Joseph Msika, on the president's left is the national treasurer, Comrade Amon Jirira.*

# THE GENEVA CONFERENCE ON RHODESIA

At the time of writing this article the Geneva Conference on Rhodesia had had five plenary and several bilateral meetings between the United Kingdom delegation and the Zimbabwean delegations. The conference opened on 28 October, 1976. So far (November 29, 1976) only two subjects had been tackled with some measure of progress, conditional though that might have been. Those were the extent of British Government authority which the Chairman, Ivor Richard, carried and, the definite dates which set the limit to the duration of the conference and the date beyond which the independence of Zimbabwe could not be delayed.

There were six delegations. There was, firstly, the people's delegation of the African National Council (ZAPU) — ZIMBABWE) under the leadership of comrade President, Joshua Nkomo. Then there was the delegation of our compatriots — ZANU — under the leadership of its Secretary General, Robert Mugabe. The two delegations (ANC-ZAPU) and ZANU constitute the Patriotic Front which presented a common approach to the conference. The Patriotic Front was the major Zimbabwean delegation, being the representative liberation movement in Zimbabwe with both political and military bases for conducting the struggle.

# THE GENEVA CONFERENCE OF RHODESIA



*Right) Comrade Joshua Nkomo with His Exl. Ambassador Horne of the GDR to Geneva during a reception given by the Soviet Ambassador to Geneva*

From the colonial side there was the United Kingdom government delegation led by Ivor Richard, the UK Ambassador at the United Nations. He was quietly shadowed by a senior civil servant in the Foreign Office, Sir Anthony Duff.

Other delegations were the Rhodesia Front, under the leadership of Ian Smith, (arbitrarily appointed by the United Kingdom Government to represent the white settler community). This group was struggling to be regarded as a government delegation in which capacity it could technically be nothing more than an extension of the United Kingdom delegation since it is an agent of the colonial power.

There was also a delegation of Bishop Abel Muzorewa and another of the Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole. The site of the conference was the United Nations building in the hall of historic fame for highly controversial international conferences.

## **Under Their Thumb**

The Patriotic Front participated in the conference on the clear understanding that the purpose was to transfer power from the Rhodesian racists, who constitute a minority, to the majority inhabitants. This should lead to the immediate independence of Zimbabwe.

Before we examine the issues that confronted the conference it is necessary to put together the circumstances which led to the conference. To begin with, the issue of struggle is the elimination of British colonialism in Rhodesia and the restoration of the independence of Zimbabwe under popular rule. The people of Zimbabwe are currently in the phase of an armed revolutionary struggle.

Both the political and military liberation struggles in Zimbabwe have drawn in the world diplomatic-





*ANC Leader being received by the Soviet Ambassador, following the President is the vice President Comrade J. Chinamano*



*Right) Comrade Joshua Nkomo in conversation with left ZANU leader Robert Mugabe at the reception*

ally and through material aid. The struggling peoples of Zimbabwe have the entire support of the progressive nations at the Socialist countries and the overwhelming majority of nations at the United Nations. The United Kingdom, the coloniser of Zimbabwe, has enlisted the support of NATO and other reactionary countries for its side.

Clearly the dimensions of confrontation in the Zimbabwe struggle — indeed those of the struggle in Southern-Africa — have taken an international character. As the armed liberation struggle escalates in Zimbabwe, the ever more likely that that struggle threatens to be an issue of international armed conflict. It was in this context, and in the concern over this international threat, that 14 African states of East and Central Africa met in 1969, in Lusaka, and issued the well-known Lusaka Manifesto.

The manifesto was an offer to the racist regimes of Southern Africa-Rhodesia, South Africa and Portugal — that if they conceded majority rule and self-determination in the territories under their thumb, the African states would, in turn, advise liberation movements to abandon the armed struggle for a peaceful solution. The Lusaka Manifesto was subsequently adopted by the O. A. U. and the United Nations.

The republics of Tanzania, Zambia Botswana, Mazambique and Angola as frontline states bearing the brunt of the struggle, have, now and again, been endeavouring to seek or create opportunities for the realisation of the principles and objectives of the Lusaka Manifesto.

The racist regimes, on the other hand, have been engaged in endless manoeuvres to present a falsified implementation of the manifesto. The racist leader, Ian Smith, for example, convinced

# THE GENEVA CONFERENCE OF RHODESIA

Bishop Muzorewa, in May 1974, to accept an offer of six extra African seats (in addition to 16) in the Rhodesian Assembly of 65 dominated by White racists. But the National executive of the ANC on June 2, 1974, threw out Muzorewa's sell-out commitment.

In South Africa, Vorster worked out the so-called independence of Transkei for October 1976 and the Turnhalle Conference of puppets in Namibia. All these racist manoeuvres were rejected by the respective liberation movements, the frontline states, and the O. A. U.

With the intensification of the armed struggle in Zimbabwe and in the wake of the victory of the MPLA in Angola, the United Kingdom Government and that of the United States of America entered the Rhodesian stage more actively than before with a scheme purporting to provide a peaceful solution of the question of the independence of Zimbabwe. They made no bones about the fact that their major concern was not so much the freedom of the people of Zimbabwe as to seek protection of their economic interests and to call a halt to the march of progressive forces (in the area) which are natural allies of national liberation movements.

The first serious attempt on Rhodesia by these forces was in August 1974. The United States of America kept a discreet distance on this occasion. For its open ally, the United Kingdom enlisted the support of the South African regime (Vorster) and gave the impression to the frontline states that the Rhodesian racist leader Ian Smith could enter serious settlement talks with Zimbabwe's leaders. The talks did take place eventually, firstly in August, 1975, at the Victoria Falls Bridge and, secondly, from December 1, 1975, to March, 1976 in Salisbury. These talks collapsed when it became clear that, in fact, Ian Smith was not serious but just playing the fool.

Parallel to these talks was the intensification of armed struggle in all parts of Zimbabwe. This threw the United States Secretary of State, Dr Henry Kissinger, into the Southern African scene. He applied his shuttle diplomacy with Frontline States (Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, and Zambia) firstly in May and, lately, in September, 1976 when he also met Vorster and Smith in Pretoria.



*Members of the ANC - Zimbabwe Delegation seen here on their way from the hotel to the Conference hall*

## Firm Position

It is from this exercise that the current Geneva Conference was born. Ian Smith, for the first time on the 24 September 1976, spoke (in unspecific terms though) of majority rule coming to Rhodesia within two years. He reproduced what is now known as the Kissinger formula for Rhodesia. This formula provided for a two level transitional structure to majority rule. It suggested a Council of State as the decisive authority comprising five members, two blacks and three whites. This authority was to be assisted by a Council of Ministers comprising a majority of Africans. This plan was first exposed and rejected by comrade President Joshua Nkomo when it was brought to his notice.

The Patriotic Front rejected the Kissinger plan as a basis for discussion. It put forward firstly the question of the date for the independence of Zimbabwe. The United Kingdom Government had, as a result, to commit itself openly to the inevitable role of decolonising Rhodesia - a role it was trying to evade by proposing a Council of State under the Kissinger proposals.

The firm position of the Patriotic Front on the question of the date for Zimbabwe's independence has been regarded as trifling in certain circles. The importance of the date issue did not lie in the mere date but in the need for an absolute commitment on the part of the United Kingdom

Government to the actual independence of Zimbabwe within a definite time.

This meant, virtually, the complete answer to the whole purpose of the struggle. It was because of this importance in the issue that the British Government itself was trying to resist target dates. Because of the insistent demand of the Patriotic Front the people of Zimbabwe now know that the target date for the conclusion of this conference is the 20 December 1976 and that this date will not prejudice the date of independence.

The British have now stated in definite terms that March 1, 1978, is the date beyond which the independence of Zimbabwe cannot be delayed and that, in any event, it could come even by December 1, 1977.

The British have been trying to give the impression to the world that the Patriotic Front does not want to fulfil the processes towards independence hence their refusal to commit themselves to a date of independence.

#### **Continental Vanguard:**

The Patriotic Front did not only acknowledge the need for going through these processes but proved that they could be fulfilled within nine months. These processes include, in the main, the holding of elections to bring about an independence Government. The difference between the British position and that of the Patriotic Front on the question of the date of independence has been whether these processes could be fulfilled within 12 or 15 months and not whether the processes were acceptable or not. The British had no case for their 15 month-position except a clear intention to delay independence to soothe the settler regime.

The Patriotic Front, through its stand, set the conference on a definite course with sufficiently bracketed dates on independence, discussion moved to the structure and functions of the transitional government. Again, on this issue, the Patriotic Front had a clear position. The transitional government must be controlled by the authentic liberation movement. The Geneva Conference had been brought about by the armed liberation struggle. It is only those who have fought for the liberation of Zimbabwe consistently, persistently and honestly who can reliably steer the transitional government to the shores of genuine independence of Zimbabwe.

In this regard the Patriotic Front is the only representative body. Secondly only those members of the white community who have either participated in the liberation struggle or are genuinely

disposed to the true democratic independence of Zimbabwe, should participate in Government.

Such a transitional Government should have legislative powers and should control the defence of the country. Of course, on the establishment of the transitional Government all reactionary institutions such as the Rhodesian racist parliament should be abolished. The racist army and police should be dissolved and substituted by the liberation army assisted by a reorganised force. Once installed, the transitional government should not have a life exceeding 12 months.

The transitional Government, if established, must have the capacity, content and direction to steer Zimbabwe to true independence.

By this we mean that the independence Government of Zimbabwe must set itself a programme to bring about such economic and social transformation as to ensure just benefits to all. The independence of Zimbabwe must be the correct link in the continental vanguard for revolution in South Africa and Namibia.

There can be no minute to waste in the forward thrust to bring about majority rule and independence to South Africa and Namibia. Any delay would have the adverse consequences to Zimbabwe itself which could be pushed to reactionism, thus reversing the gains of years of toil. The fundamental question is: "Was the Geneva Conference likely to succeed?" In short: "What prospects did the Geneva Conference hold for the true independence of Zimbabwe?"

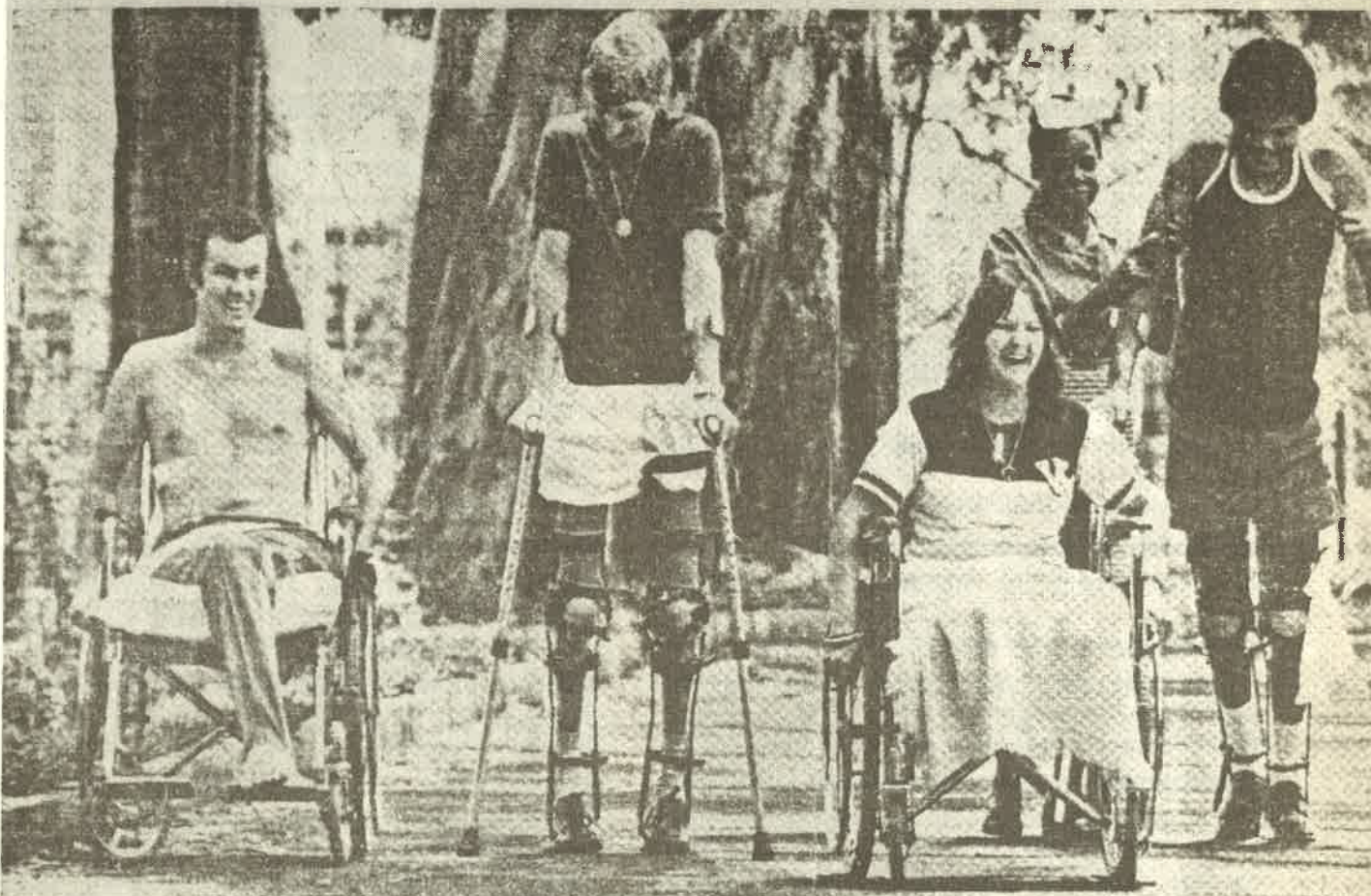
Frankly, the answer was; if a positive result emerged out of the Geneva Conference, it would have been more of an accident than an expectation. There were rather too many imponderables. Firstly, British Government assumption was that the Rhodesian Front, a racist regime, could be accommodated in a transitional government run by a liberation movement. These are forces at war and consequently mutually exclusive. How does Ian Smith, racist and murderer, share government with comrade Nkomo? It is unimaginable.

The logic of the armed struggle does not conceive the possibility of displacing an enemy at a Conference table when that enemy continues to resist in the battlefield. The Rhodesian civil service, the police, and the justice department are all staffed by personell picked at the convenience of the enemy.

Finally, the United Kingdom Government was participating in the conference in a half-hearted manner because it is endeavouring to create privileges for a racist minority which has enjoyed privileges for almost a century. In this light, the prospects of the conference were very dim.

# THE PRICE SETTLER RHODESIA IS PAYING FOR OPPRESSION

The price white Rhodesia is



Philip Jaques, aged 29, policeman from Bulawayo. Ambushed near Botswana border. Lost right leg and paralysed from chest down.

Stephen Japp, 19, from Gwelo. Ambushed and shot in back while doing his 18-month National Service stint. He is paralysed from the hips.

Shirley Wicksteed, 16, a South African attending Umtali school. Car hit landmine, killing two friends and their mother. Shirley lost both legs.

John Renders, 23, an infantryman who comes from Fort Victoria. He was ambushed and shot in the back. Paralysed from the waist down.

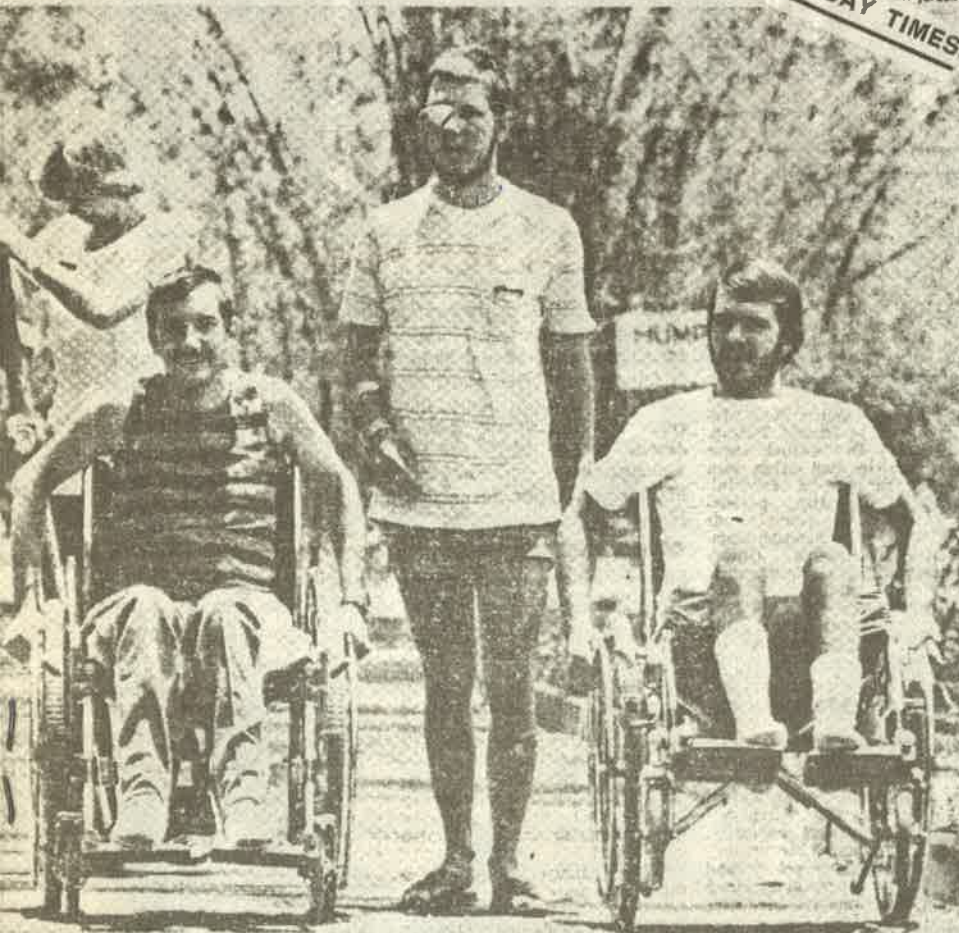
Man in wheel  
Terra  
land

... but the manpower is



# willing to pay

THE SUNDAY TIMES for Jordan



**Rademeyer, 30, a motor mechanic called up to serve with territorial forces. His vehicle hit mine. Paralysed from waist.**

**Andrew Craig, 19, from Salisbury. Got shrapnel in the brain when grenade was thrown into a Salisbury steak house. Now mentally backward.**

**Kevin Smith, 23, from Gwelo, a clerk serving with Territorials. Hit in back by shrapnel during mortar attack. He is paralysed from the waist down.**

# running low

# PEACE KEEPING FORCE: WHAT FOR?

It is now more than 15 years since the people of Zimbabwe took a decision to abandon peaceful and constitutional way of struggle in favour of a military solution to the country's colonial problem. History has since proved right the stand of the people of Zimbabwe. Thousands of Zimbabweans heeded this call by their party, ZAPU, 15 years ago and enlisted for military training.

It is this supreme sacrifice of the nation that has endeared the struggling people of Zimbabwe to the hearts of the whole progressive world. Like the Vietnamese, Palestinian, South African, Namibian and other struggles, the Zimbabwean struggle has aroused a great deal of emotions and interest internationally. The Geneva constitutional conference came as a direct result of the growing intensity and popularity of the armed struggle in Zimbabwe. (SEE ARTICLE ON GENEVA CONFERENCE IN THIS ISSUE).

The imperialist forces and their lackeys have launched a powerful diplomatic offensive to save themselves from sure defeat in the Zimbabwean battlefields. It is clear that issues involving the liberation of Africa are not moving according to plans of the imperialist camp. More diplomatic pressure, intrigues and subterfuge will have to be exerted by them against us to bring about a solution favourable to their interests.

In one hand, the people of Zimbabwe want a settlement that will open the unlimited vistas of social progress and unfettered enjoyment of fruits of life for all the people regardless of race or colour. But on the other hand, the United States, Britain, South Africa and other capitalist powers would like a solution that would not adversely touch their vast economic interests and strategic position in Zimbabwe as well as Southern Africa as a whole.

In 1969, the US National Security Council Inter-departmental Group for Africa made a special study in response to Memorandum 39 on Southern Africa in which basic principles motivating American interest in procuring what

they term a peaceful settlement of the Rhodesian colonial problem and the Namibian issue. In a section headed: "US OBJECTIVES", the memorandum gives one of the objectives of the US as to "protect American economic, scientific and strategic interests and opportunities in the region, to minimise the opportunities for the UdSSR and China to exploit the racial issue in the region for propagandic advantage and to gain political influence with black governments and liberation movement . . ."

## Newspaper Editorials:

The memorandum stated further; "The USA interest in a peaceful settlement, therefore, should take cognisance of American interests. Black governments which have been supporting liberation movements can then be used unsuspectedly to further these objectives . . ."

With this background in mind, we cannot understand why some countries, actively assisting us in the armed struggle by offering us facilities and material needs, should now support the idea of having a so-called peace-keeping force in Zimbabwe as if the people of Zimbabwe were at war against themselves. It has been suggested by some usually authoritative newspaper editorials in Africa "that African Commonwealth countries should form a peace-keeping force in Rhodesia. As the whites cannot immediately feel safe under African majority rule, a peace-keeping force could serve to allay the initial fears of both sides while a lasting defence arrangement is worked out . . ." This idea is being pursued even by some African states in league with the British Commonwealth and Foreign Relations Secretary, Mr. Anthony Crosland.

The practice of peace-keeping is not new to this world. But it has never had good results anywhere. Our memories are still fresh with the bloody role played by the UN "African" peace-keeping force in the Congo in the 1960s which ended with the coldblooded murder of the popularly elected prime minister, Patrice Lumumba, and the installation of a corrupt neo-colonialist military puppet regime.

In Vietnam, the intervention by the USA "peace-keeping" and military advisory force resulted in the war that tore the country apart and launched a war against the Vietnamese people using US-paid and appointed stooges and hundreds of thousands of US troops, bombers and herbicides. The US aim was to entrench the (temporary) division between the then South and North Vietnams created by the 1954 Accord on Vietnam. The blood-spattered marks, the misery, and ecological damage caused by the USA so-called peace-keeping force there are visible even today.

But the patriotic determination and heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people defeated the American forces of aggression and kicked them out of Vietnam which is now a re-united and peaceful nation busy rebuilding its country without external interference. In Korea, the US so-called peace-keeping force created and maintained division between the north and the south, and has imposed an American puppet regime in the south. Patriotic efforts by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (in the north) to re-unite their country is opposed by US forces.

## Present Conspiracy:

In the Middle East, there is violent tension and bloodshed because of similar so-called peace-keeping forces. Reactionary Arab forces, in co-operation with imperialist powers, have sabotaged and subverted the heroic struggle of the people of Palestine, and brought war upon the sons and daughters of Lebanon. The Zionist enemy no longer has an immediate role to play because his role has been taken and is being played by so-called peace-keeping forces.

In Cyprus, the intervention by the UN (British) troops in the name of „peace“ has brought about a conspiracy that led to the invasion of Cyprus by Turkey with, apparently, the connivance of the British forces. These historical and contemporary facts prove beyond any shadow of doubt that so-called peace-keeping forces in Africa, Asia and the Middle East have always served the interests of imperialists, divisionists and puppet regime. We cannot allow such a force to enter our country after we have fought so gallantly to free ourselves from exploitation, oppression and wanton dispossession.

We conclude by posing an question to all those who support this idea that blatantly cuts a cross the very sovereignty of the people of Zimbabwe. Our question is: "Why is it that it has not been possible or found to be necessary to put together an international force to deal with the Rhodesian racist regime whose murderous and ravaging actions against the African majority are public knowledge in both Africa and abroad? "

It is high time it was realised and accepted by all that the people of Zimbabwe shall not let such dangerous schemes to be imposed on them. The idea of a peace-keeping force for Zimbabwe is fathered by those who would like to have a military foothold in Southern Africa for purposes of recolonising not only our country Zimbabwe, but other parts of Africa as well. We reject in the strongest terms. Any suggestion that foreign forces should be stationed in our country without our sanction cannot work.

The idea of a peace-keeping force implies that there is war of fighting between or among a people, nations, tribes or whatever one may wish to call the various groups or communities. There is no such a war or fighting in Zimbabwe. If there were, we rightly reserve inalienable right to ask for any assistance from whomever we deem friendly and well placed to help us in this regard. The imposition of foreign troops on Zimbabwe under any guise or pretext would be nothing but plain aggression against our country and people. We shall resist it.

## GENOCIDAL TERROR IN RHODESIA:

# SMITH GOES BESERK

*Zimbabwe  
Review  
Reporter*

Rhodesian armed forces are on a bloody rumpage throughout the country. Seized apparently by blinding panic, the regime has begun to intensify its open war of genocide against the masses of Zimbabwe as well as the innocent civilians of neighbouring states like Mozambique, Zambia and Botswana.

In its daily war communiques, there is always mention of killings of African women who were allegedly either running with or hiding freedom-fighters. Thousands of African civilians, including many cases helpless old women and men, children and peasants have been brutally murdered in cold blood by Smith's fascist forces.

A quick look at some of Smith's war communiques shows how indiscriminately vicious the racists have become. Following the Karima Village massacre of June 12, 1975, the regime issued the following communique on June 14: "Security Forces Headquarters announced today that since the last communique was issued, further contacts have been made with terrorists. On the night of June 12 a security force patrol was alerted by the sound of a man being clubbed in his kraal (village). On approaching the kraal to investigate, the incident, the patrol came under fire from a terrorist group. In the ensuing fight, 20 persons were killed. The victim of the terrorist

atrocities was a local headman who survived his vicious assault. He was rescued by the patrol and is receiving medical attention. The injured were evacuated to hospital by air at first light the next morning. This is yet another example of innocent persons being forced to witness atrocities committed against their tribal leaders. There were no security force casualties."

The whole communique is a pack of lies except for the fact that indeed 20 people were killed. Nine of those killed were children, four were women, and the remainder included old men and innocent girls and boys. Fifteen people were injured. One of the injured died in hospital later. It did not surprise anybody that Smith's armed bandits suffered no casualty whatsoever. The reason was that there was not a single freedom-fighter in Karima Village on that bloody night. The attack was down-right genocide, plain, barbaric and inexcusable. Other communiques show just the



same trend. For instance, on January 14, 1976 the regime issued the following statement: "Security Forces Headquarters announce that during a contact an African woman running with terrorists was killed and her kraal-head husband was wounded." On March 12, 1976, a communique said: "Two local Africans were killed while fleeing from Security Forces contacts with terrorists." On March 29, the regime announced: "Two terrorists and four civilians running with them were killed." On April 19 the racists announced that five "local tribesmen" with whom terrorists were mingling were . . . . killed by the so-called security forces.

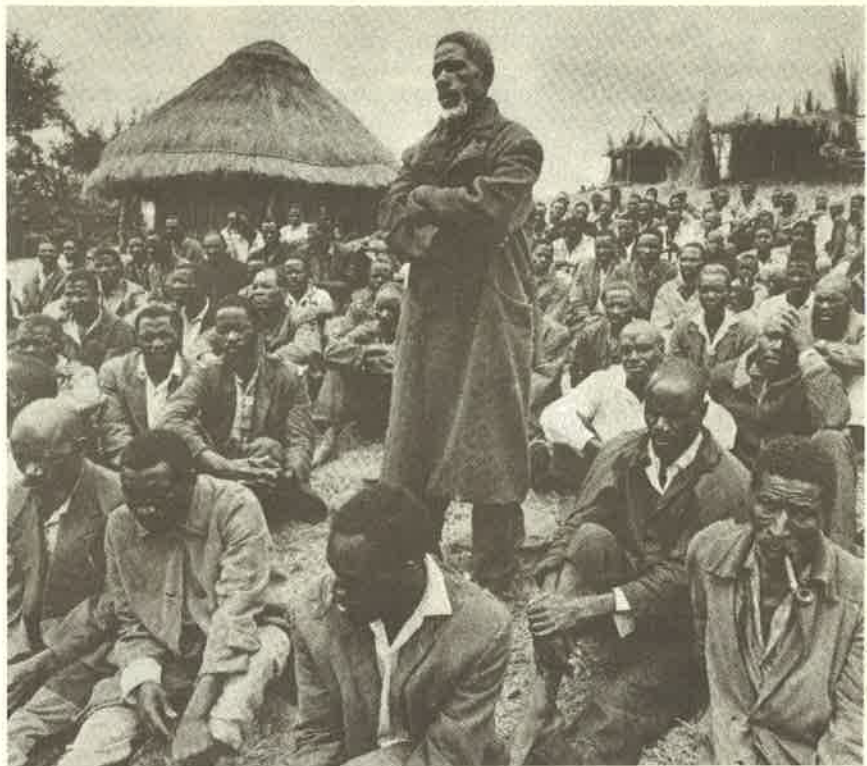
On April 21, 1976, the regime announced: "Security Force Headquarters announced this evening that further to the communique issued on Monday, April 19, in which it was reported that five African civilians were killed in an engagement with terrorists with whom they were mingling, another 12 African civilians were wounded in the cross-fire, five of whom subsequently died . . . . ."

On April 26, 1976 the regime stated: "Three local Africans have been killed and a fourth seriously wounded while running with terrorists." On May six the dictatorship announced that a woman running with terrorists was killed. On May 28 a communique said: "An African female has been killed in a contact with terrorists . . . . ."

On June 12, 1976, the regime said two tribesmen were shot dead while attempting to run away "in circumstances which indicated that they had been associated with terrorists . . . ."

On August 18, 1976, Smith's man then in charge of the armed forces, Pieter Kenyon Van der Byl, told their parliament that 326 African civilians had been killed "while running with terrorists." Since that statement was made, the Rhodesian fascists have embarked upon a deliberately planned campaign to exterminate the Africans in Zimbabwe.

The pattern now is to attack whole communities and not even attempt to explain the action. Chiefs, community leaders, teachers, African businessmen have now become helpless targets of the regime. Many have been killed. Some have been maimed. The brutal



*Chief Rekayi Tangwena and his people some of whom now live in neighbouring Mozambique*

trend continues with a Nazi-type of ruthlessness.

Among the Rhodesian forces there are American mercenaries some of whom fought in Vietnam. They have introduced their dastardly tactics that played havoc with Vietnamese civilians. They comprise such cowardly ruthless men as those who took part in the My Lai massacre in which hundreds of helpless Vietnamese were killed.

Smith's terror cannot be challenged or exposed anywhere in Rhodesia because of the country's stringent laws and blanket state of emergency. One such law is the Indemnity and Compensation Act of 1975. The Act, applicable retrospectively to December 1, 1972, gives the regime, its employees and appointees immunity from criminal and civil court action for harm or damage done in what is referred to as action committed "in good faith" to suppress terrorism or to maintain public order. All that has to be done to stop prosecution or civil court action against Smith's bandits is for the racist so-called minister concerned to produce a certificate that the actions were done "in good faith." The so-called minister can issue such a certificate even when he himself is the defendant.

This fascistic law, like many Rhodesian acts of parliament, is meant to protect the regime by legalising terror against the masses. The situation now is such that no individual can pretend to be safe from Smith's wanton banditry. The armed forces and the police can, when they so desire, pounce upon anyone anywhere and later claim to have done so "in good faith" that they were suppressing so-called terrorism. The open truth is that terrorists are Smith, his forces and fellow fascists.

They employed naked terror against the people of Chief Rekayi Tangwena, those of Chief Huchu who were forcefully kicked out of their residential area near Umvuma and dumped hundreds of kilometres away in the tsetse-fly infested Gokwe region. They have committed naked extermination at numerous places one of which was the Madziwa Village near Mount Gura in the Mount Darwin area. From Beit Bridge in the south to Mtoko in the north, and from Umtali in the east to Plumtree in the west, the Smith regime is madly killing innocent people. It is a very sad and unpardonable insult to humanity that such a regime should be allowed to exist even for a single day.



# THE RHODESIAN ECONOMY

The Rhodesian economy has been described in varying terms depending on who does it. The Smith regime and its apologists would like to paint it as being buoyant and thriving. Critics of the racist regime as well as its international protectors like the British Government say it is crumbling. These do it for differing reasons, of course. Whereas the British Government would like the world to believe that economic sanctions have eroded Smith's economy and that no other action should be taken on an international level against the regime critics of the Smith regime would like to show Smith's supporters what folly it is to continue backing up a regime leading the country to an economic disaster.

Before Smith's unilateral declaration of independence, this journal argued strongly that economic sanctions could not topple the Smith regime because of three main reasons. One, the journal pointed out, was the assistance Smith's dictatorship would get from South Africa. Two, the regime would diversify its economy, especially the agricultural sector so as to get away from areas where sanctions could be effectively applied to those where it would be difficult to do so. We said the tobacco farmers would switch over to other crops which could not be identified easily as originating in Rhodesia and that such crops would be shipped to the outside world through South Africa. Three, we observed that it would be possible to restructure in such a manner that some commodities originally imported would be made in side Rhodesia. We have been proved correct in all respects.

In general terms, the Rhodesian economy is strong enough to continue defying sanctions for many years from now. While it is true that some tobacco farmers were badly affected by sanctions, the picture must be viewed from the fact that between 1965 and 1975, the value of European agricultural production in Rhodesia increased from \$140 m (Rhodesian) to \$351 m. Production in the manufacturing sector increased in gross value from \$430.6 m (Rhodesian) to \$1,388.9 m in the same period. It is true that Rhodesia is in foreign exchange difficulties. But this affects mostly its fuel needs and heavy machinery for the mining industry mainly. The picture would be very bleak if Rhodesia paid for all its war materiel. But South Africa pays half of this.

## Helping Rhodesian Economy

Apart from giving Rhodesia all the transport facilities she needs for its exports and imports, South Africa serves as Rhodesia's military reservoir both in terms of weaponry and personnel. A secret memorandum circulated to Rhodesian Front officials in Bulawayo by racist member of parliament, Sutton-Price on October 7, 1976 revealed

that South Africa had paid 50 per cent of Rhodesia's defence bill up to June 1976. This removes a strain from the rather meagre Rhodesian Foreign Exchange reserves. The United States is also helping the Rhodesian economy by its continued importation of chrome and other minerals. It is true that the USA's economic interests in Rhodesia are mainly the country's chrome deposits. In 1975, the USA imported 139,464 tons of its chrome from Rhodesia. This was just about 11 per cent of the USA's chrome imports for the year.

Details about other mineral exports to the USA are not available easily because some are hidden in South African statistics. South Africa's involvement in Rhodesian defence matters can be shown by the fact that it is prepared to pay as much as 50 per cent of the bill.

The table below shows how the defence bill has been rising over the 1971-1977 period excluding the 1973-1974 fiscal year whose statistics are not available. (All figures in 1,000s of Rh. dollars).

	1971/2	1974/5	1975/6	1976/7
Defence Ministry:	19,981	45,119	57,014	84,427
Internal Ministry:	9,670	25,663	31,007	Not Available
Police Force	16,738	29,958	33,328	44,117
Roads etc	7,843	24,301	28,024	Not Available

The per centage increases show how drastically high the racists are placing their defence considerations. The above figures show that there was increase of 280 per cent in 1975/6 over the 1971/2 expenditure for defence alone. The corresponding per centage was 320 for the Internal Affairs Ministry for the same period. It was 199 per cent for the police division in same periods. But for the roads and road traffic department which actually includes defence expenditure, it was a hefty 357 per cent. This trend can be seen right through the years as the 1976/7 figures show that they were 40 per cent higher than the 1975/6 amount. South African racist role and involvement should be seen in the light of this ever rising defence expenditure. In fact the overall 1976/7 defence expenditure approximated at \$130,000,000 (Rhodesian) is 45 per cent on the 1975/6 total.

## Cushioning Rhodesia

One very effective blow against the Rhodesian regime is the closure of Rhodesia Railways by Zambia and Mozambique. This year alone (1976), the railways received \$28,400,000 as a subsidy to allow it to continue operations. Tobacco farming was also subsidised to the tune of \$10,000,000. This brings the total of subsidies to the

# STATEMENT BY JOSHUA NKOMO – PRESIDENT OF THE A. N. C.

10th October, 1976

*We have made considerable advances in our liberation struggle. As a result there have been many comings and goings of British and American envoys making vague promises about majority rule which capture the imagination.*

*For us Zimbabweans, however, who have borne the burden of oppression for scores of years, the simple and straightforward test is not excitement over promises, but whether the actual power of majority rule and independence is in the hands of the majority and whether the colonising – power, the United Kingdom government, is seriously committed to decolonising Rhodesia.*

*So far, actual power is still in the hands of a privileged racist minority. True enough there is a proposed conference due in a few weeks time to set up a transitional government. But this conference can only be meaningful if its role is to transfer power to the people.*

*There is no clear evidence that the colonising power, the United Kingdom government, is seriously committed to decolonising Rhodesia. Her posture is not different from the previous ones when she attempted "the Fearless and Tiger" settlements. In all these, as in the present exercise, she makes the transfer of power to the majority conditional on acceptance and being brought into effect by the Rhodesian regime and not by herself the colonising power.*

## THE RHODESIAN

## ECONOMY

tobacco farmers to \$123,000,000 since UDI. Another \$600,000,000 was granted for cattle ranching. These facts prove that the regime is coping with sanctions even if at a rather costly rate.

Rhodesia, like many other capitalist countries, has a balance of payment problem. But last year showed how South Africa and the financial institutions of the west have been cushioning Rhodesia (through South Africa). Apart from transport difficulties, there did not appear to be any reason to believe that Smith's economy would tumble "in weeks rather than months" as Britain's former premier once incorrectly predicted.

Economic reports issued by Rhodesian banks (branches of British banks) indicate that the country's current account would remain in substantial deficit but rather below last year's figure of \$128 million, and even lower than 1974's deficit of \$96 million.

The table below shows the country's balance of payments for the past four years, excluding 1976.

	1972	1973	1974	1975
Trade	58	83	51	33
Invisibles	-57	-100	-146	-161
Current Account	1	-17	-96	-128
Net Capital	-2	52	63	101
Basic Balance	-2	34	-33	-27

In addition to indirect assistance from western financial

institutions, Rhodesia's foreign exchange also came from tourism. Tourists came mainly from South Africa, the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom. Other western European countries contributed to in this field. But the intensification of the armed struggle has had an adverse effect on this industry. The table below proves this fact.

1972	1973	1974	1975
339,210	243,812	229,570	244,404

A sharp fall in tourism was recorded in the first six months of 1976. For instance, in June alone, there were only 9,011 tourist visits to Rhodesia, the lowest monthly total since November 1966. This decline was caused by the escalation of the armed liberation war. As some tourists get caught between the fire of the Rhodesian racists and the freedom-fighters, those intending to visit Rhodesia change their minds. Tourists to Rhodesia under the existing political conditions are rightly regarded by freedom-fighters as enemies of the masses of Zimbabwe because they lend respectability, give financial and moral support to the Smith racist regime. Zimbabweans are at war against the Rhodesian dictatorship of Ian Smith. Those who would like to be feted and feasted and shown around our oppressed country by the racials will not be regarded as innocent visitors but international collaborators against our national freedom.

*This, the United Kingdom government knows, is the trapping which has undermined all attempts to solve the Rhodesian question. In any case we have to rely on our own strength. As I have made it clear several times in the past, we want the power of independence to be anchored in the majority to guarantee a truly democratic independent Zimbabwe. All the institutions of public life must be democratised to ensure that power rests with the people. The objective is "POWER TO THE PEOPLE".*

*We are not interested in the prestigious glory of empty ministerial posts or in the display of the glamour and glitter of a wealthy few.*

*We cannot either, after the sacrifice of so many lives and so many years in struggle, allow opportunist and waylayers to slide into the shoes of the privileged minority to maintain the same system but with black faces. It must be "POWER TO THE PEOPLE",*

*Power to elect a government of their choice,*

*Power to end all minority privileges, racism and tribalism,*

*Power to end all exploitation of labour and to ensure that workers get the just earnings of their sweat,*

*Power to ensure that the economic system functions for the benefit of all the people,*

*Power to ensure that all social services like health and education reach every home and every child,*

*Power to guarantee the security of the life and opportunities of every Zimbabwean as opposed to the nightmares of today where security officers are objects of hate and fear by the people.*

*I must repeat that by Zimbabwean I do not refer to colour but to every citizen of this country by birth or by choice.*

**THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES! ZIMBABWE MUST BE FREE.**

Comrade Clement Muchachi speaking to the Rally



Joint Statement by the Solidarity Committee of the G.D.R., the National Executive of the Confederation of Free German Trade Unions (FDGB), the Central Council of the Free German Youth (FDJ), the G.D.R. Peace Council, the League for Friendship Among the Peoples, the G.D.R. Committee for Human Rights and the G.D.R. Committee for the Decade of Struggle against Racial Discrimination, issued on the occasion of the Week of Solidarity with the Peoples of Africa Fighting for National and Social Liberation which took place in Berlin the Capital of the German Democratic Republic from 10th to 16th December 1976.

The African National Council of Zimbabwe (under the able leadership of Comrade Joshua Nkomo) sent a Delegation which was headed by Comrade Clement Muchachi Secretary for External Affairs to the Week of Solidarity.

Part of the crowd which attended the Rally where Comrade Muchachi spoke



# SMITH'S HOSTAGES:

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# POLITICAL PRISONERS IN RHODESIA

Smith's prisons are bursting with detainees and political prisoners some of whom have been held incommunicado for many years. We reproduce here-under a list of nearly 1,700 names of Zimbabweans by the Rhodesian racists in various jails. The list is reproduced from a fact paper prepared and published by the International Defence and Aid Fund based in London.

## PRISONS AND PRISON CAMPS

Convicted political prisoners, detainees, and those detained for interrogation or awaiting trial may be held in any of the enormous number of prisons, police and army camps throughout Rhodesia.

Convicted prisoners are usually held in maximum security prisons, the largest being Khami Maximum Security Prison (Bulawayo). At least 500 people are thought to be held here, 275 of whom are named on the list. Detainees and those awaiting trial may also occasionally be held at Khami, in a special detention and holding section.

The other main maximum security prisons are at Salisbury and Gwelo. Detainees are held in special sections of both these prisons, i.e. Salisbury Remand and Holding Prison and Gwelo Prison Detention Section. Executions are normally carried out in Salisbury.

Convicted political prisoners, principally those serving shorter terms are also held in prisons in the following towns. All these have detention sections: — Que Que, Fort Victoria, Umtali, Rusape, Gatooma, Marandellas, Enkeldoorn and Gwanda.

Women political prisoners are held at Chikurubi Prison (Salisbury) where there is also a female detainees section. Other prisons, principally holding prisons before transfer, include, Chembira Prison (Chiweshe TTL), Gutu Prison (at Gutu 35 miles north east of Fort Victoria), Mtoko Prison, Mrewa Prison (Mangwende TTL), Beit Brigade Prison, Wankie Prison and Bindura Prison.

A few convicted political prisoners and detainees are held at Grey Street Prison (Bulawayo), also used for interrogation.

The largest detention camp, Wha Wha is situated outside Gwelo. Prisons, police and army camps known to be used principally for interrogation and notorious for their use of torture include Connemara Prison, Goromonzi Prison (20 miles east of Salisbury), Tjolotjo (in Tjolotjo TTL), and Bindura (the headquarters of the para-military Selous Scouts, a special security unit under the direct control of the Prime Ministers office).

**ANTONYO, Enock**—Wha Wha (D)  
**BAKASA, Ephraim**—Chikurubi  
**BALUTU, Nicholas** (19)—(Where held unknown) (C)  
Received a prison term for attempting to go for guerilla training. Sentence reduced on appeal to 5 years (3 suspended) in September 1976.  
**BANDA, Langton Kufa** (33)—Wha Wha (D)  
Detained following 9 year prison sentence under L&O(M) Act for receiving military training, served in Salisbury and Khami.  
**BANDAMA, Anson**—Wha Wha (D)  
**BANGWAYO, William**—Wha Wha (D)  
**BARIKAYI**—(Where held unknown) (C)  
Sentenced in October 1973 to 30 years imprisonment following capture in an engagement with Rhodesian security forces.  
**BASIKORO, Kaloloh**—Mt. Darwin (R)  
Served 12 month prison sentence, subsequently detained for 6 months at Wha Wha and now restricted to St. Albert's Mission, Mount Darwin.  
**BASSAPO, Pitati**—Wha Wha (D)  
**BATSIRAYI**—(Where held unknown) (C)  
Sentenced at Mtoko Magistrates Court in January 1975 to 5 years imprisonment for failing to report guerillas.  
**BAURENI, Lampkeni**—Wha Wha (D)  
**BAUTI, Manyika**—Wha Wha (D)  
**BEBE, Stephen**—Khami (C)  
**BEN, Gibson**—(Sentenced to death)  
Sentenced to death in Salisbury High Court in February 1976 on conviction of murder as an accomplice, by aiding and abetting guerillas to execute "sell-outs". Married with 5 children and several other dependants. Appeal dismissed in May.  
**BENHURA, Mackenzie R.**—Que Que (D)  
Arrested in 1966 and sentenced to 12 years hard labour under L&O(M) Act. Detained in Wha Wha on completion of term in 1975, and subsequently in Que Que.  
**BERE, Jeremiah Fungayi**—Khami (C)  
**BEREJENA, Nicholas**—Wha Wha (D)  
Held since around 1965 in various prisons and detention centres, including Khami, Salisbury and Gwelo.  
**BFREJENA, Stanislus**—Wha Wha (D)  
**BERI, Isaiah**—Wha Wha (D)  
**BEZVERO, Godfrey** (19)—(Where held unknown) (C)  
Received a prison term for attempting to go for guerilla training. Sentence reduced on appeal to 5 years (3 suspended) in September 1976.  
**BHEBE, Ndaba**—Wha Wha (D)  
Detained after being sentenced in September 1975 to 1 year's imprisonment (suspended) for failing to report a guerilla.  
**BILLIAT, Joseph**—Wha Wha (D)  
**BIRIMIRI, Mushambadowa**—Wha Wha (D)  
**BISHOP, Munomo**—(Where held unknown) (C)  
Sentenced to 4 years imprisonment in January 1973  
**BLOOMTON, Elliot**—Wha Wha (D)  
Detained after being sentenced in September 1975 to 1 year's imprisonment (suspended) for failing to report guerillas.  
**BOMBA, Joe**—Mt. Darwin (R)  
Detained in 1973 and subsequently restricted to a protected village.  
**BONGWANE, Fred**—Gwelo (D)  
Detained after serving a prison sentence at Khami.  
**BOROMA, Mavura**—(Where held unknown) (C)  
Sentenced in January 1976 to 6 years imprisonment (2 suspended) for failing to report guerillas.  
**BOTA, Edward**—Wha Wha (D)  
Detained since August 1975. From Goromonzi, married with 11 children.  
**BOTE, Obed**—Wha Wha (D)

**BRUURE, Newton**—Khami (C)  
**BUMHIRA, Luke** (30)—(Sentenced to death)  
Sentenced to death at a Special Court sitting in Inyanga in July 1976, on conviction of possessing arms of war.  
**BUNHU, Kenneth**—Wha Wha (D)  
**BURE, Adam**—Wha Wha (D)  
**BURE, David Ngoni**—Wha Wha (D)  
**BURIRE, Tiki**—Wha Wha (D)  
**BUTSU**—(Where held unknown) (C)  
Sentenced in June 1976 to 3 years imprisonment (1 year suspended) for assisting guerillas. A member of the Tangwena tribe.  
**BVEKE, Munezi**—Rusape  
**BVUNZAWABAYA, Tigere**—Wha Wha (D)  
**BWANYA, Oliver**—Wha Wha (D)  
Arrested in December 1974. Detained indefinitely in October 1975 after charges under L&O(M) Act of recruiting guerillas had been withdrawn by the state. Married with 4 children.  
**BYABEZE, Asa** (35)—(Where held unknown) (C)  
Sentenced to 5 years imprisonment by a Special Court sitting in Inyanga in July 1976, for failing to report guerillas.  
**CGANADA, Rushande**—Wha Wha (D)  
**CHABVUTAGONDO, Leonard**—Gatooma (R)  
Arrested in 1962 and sentenced to 15 years imprisonment. Detained at Gwelo on release in 1973 and subsequently restricted to Gatooma in 1974.  
**CHABWANA, George**—(Where held unknown) (C)  
Sentenced to an unknown term of imprisonment by a Special Court in Umtali in July 1976, on conviction of inciting a group of guerillas to execute two African police constables who had been abducted. Resident of Muradzikwa Kraal, Muromo TTL, south of Umtali.  
**CHADAWO**—(Where held unknown) (C)  
Sentenced by Mtoko Magistrates Court in January 1975 to 5 years imprisonment for failing to report guerillas.  
**CHADEREKA, Tobias**—Wha Wha (D)  
**CHADOKA, Amon Rasai** (32)—Wha Wha (D)  
Sentenced to 10 years imprisonment in 1965, served in Khami. Indefinitely detained at Wha Wha on release in May 1972.  
**CHADOKA, Manyika Jairos**—Wha Wha (D)  
Released from detention in Wha Wha in April 1975. Re-arrested and charged with recruiting guerillas. Charges withdrawn but redetained.  
**CHAGADAMA, Solomon** (e46)—Salisbury (D)  
Detained in Gonakudzungwa, Gwelo and Salisbury almost continuously since 1964. Married with 6 children, from Sipolilo TTL, north-eastern Rhodesia.  
**CHAGUTA, Scott**—Wha Wha (D)  
Detained in February 1975 at the termination of a 12 year prison sentence served in Khami and Gwelo. Has been in captivity since 1966 or 1967. Married with 3 children.  
**CHAKA, Dick Chizura**—Wha Wha (D)  
**CHAKABUDA, Jorosia**—Chikurubi  
**CHAKABVAPASI, Stone** (19)—(Sentenced to death)  
Sentenced to death in August 1976 by a Special Court sitting in Salisbury for his involvement with 7 others, in bomb attacks and acts of sabotage in the Greater Salisbury area.  
**CHAKANYUKA, N**—Khami (C)  
**CHAKATI, Simburero**—Wha Wha (D)  
**CHAKAVANDA, Titus C**—Gwelo (D)  
First arrested in 1965 and held in Khami and Gwelo.  
**CHAKUSA, Langtone**—Khami (C)  
**CHAMBA, Jeremiah**—Gwelo (D)  
Formerly worked as a bricklayer. Known to have been in detention since at least August 1974.  
**CHAMBARA, Jordan**—Wha Wha (D)

**CHAMISA, David**—Wha Wha (D)  
**CHANDAEDZA, Wireles**—Khami (C)  
**CHANDO**—(Where held unknown) (C)  
Sentenced at Mtoko Magistrate's Court in January 1975 to 5 years imprisonment for failing to report guerillas. Resident of the Mrewa area.  
**CHANGACHIRERE, Tongai**—Wha Wha (D)  
First detained in 1966, and sentenced in 1968 to a 9 year prison term. Released in August 1974 but immediately served with indefinite detention order. Since held in Gwelo and Wha Wha.  
**CHANOKIRA, Baiden**—Wha Wha (D)  
**CHAPEYEMA, Nyamina**—Wha Wha (D)  
**CHAPUNGU, Steven** (30)—(Sentenced to death)  
Sentenced to death by a Special Court sitting in Umtali in May 1976 for carrying arms of war. Was alleged to have entered the country in the early part of 1976 in the company of 65 other guerillas. Arrested after being severely wounded. Appeal dismissed in July.  
**CHARANGWA, David**—Salisbury (D)  
**CHAREKA, Saul**—Wha Wha (D)  
**CHARUMBIRA, Phineas**—Khami (C)  
**CHARWADZAH, George S.K.** (39)—Gwelo (D)  
Arrested in 1963 and served a 12 year prison sentence. Detained on release in November 1973  
**CHATAGWE, Bernard**—Gwelo (D)  
**CHATAIKA, Abraham**—Wha Wha (D)  
**CHATAIKA, Ezekiel Matienga**—Wha Wha (D)  
**CHATEMA, Jotham**—Wha Wha (D)  
**CHATSAMA, Naison Julius**—Wha Wha (D)  
**CHATYOKA, Enos**—Khami (C)  
**CHAVANDUKA, Kenneth Makuto**—Wha Wha (D)  
**CHAVUNDURA, Kamupira**—Mtoko  
**CHAWANDA, Charles Tichagaiq**—(R)  
Held in detention in Gwelo up to September 1976, when he is believed to have been released into restriction.  
**CHAWANDE, Rushande**—Wha Wha (D)  
**CHAWASRIVA, Nawu**—(Where held unknown) (C)  
Sentenced to 5 years imprisonment in March 1974 for failing to report the presence of guerillas in the Mount Darwin area.  
**CHAYA, L**—Wha Wha (D)  
**CHENGETAI**—(Where held unknown) (C)  
Sentenced at Mtoko Magistrates Court in January 1975 to 5 years imprisonment for failing to report guerillas. Resident of the Mrewa area.  
**CHEREWI, Jonathan Gibson**—Wha Wha (D)  
**CHETSANGA, Lot**—Wha Wha (D)  
**CHETSANGA, Maxwell**—Salisbury  
**CHEZHIRA, William**—Khami (C)  
**CHIAMBATA, Mariseni**—Wha Wha (D)  
**CHIBAGIDI, Abel**—Wha Wha (D)  
Arrested in November 1974 and charged with recruiting for guerilla training. Charges withdrawn in May 1975. Since detained. Married with 3 children aged 9, 6 and 4.  
**CHIBAYA, Chamboko**—Khami (C)  
**CHIBWE, Muchineripi**—Salisbury  
**CHICHETU, Dzawanda**—Wha Wha (D)  
**CHIDANDA, Phinias Marufu**—Wha Wha (D)  
**CHIDARA, Muzondiwa Johane**—(Where held unknown) (C)  
Sentenced to 6 years imprisonment in June 1976 by a Special Court in Chiredzi for failing to report guerillas.  
**CHIDAVAENZI, Enock**—Wha Wha (D)  
**CHIDAVAENZI, Josiah Tshikai**—Wha Wha (D)  
**CHIDAVAENZI, Mazoe**—Wha Wha (D)  
**CHIDEYA, Timothy**—(Where held unknown)  
Charged in June 1976 with recruiting for guerilla training.  
**CHIDIKI, Herbert**—(Where held unknown) (C)  
Sentenced in March 1976 to 15 years imprisonment under one of the "hanging clauses" of the L&O(M) Act.

CHIDODO, Kandoda—Waha Waha (D)  
 CHIDOPUSA, Kamutashu—Waha Waha (D)  
 CHIDYAKURIMA, Smith (26)—(Where held unknown) (C)  
 Sentenced to 8 years imprisonment (3 suspended) in September 1976 by a Special Court for failing to report the presence of guerillas. Resident of Urungwe.  
 CHIDZIVA, Christopher Nhokwara—Waha Waha (D)  
 CHIDZIWO, Bernard (e23)—(Where held unknown) (C)  
 Sentenced in January 1975 to 16 years imprisonment on an unspecified charge under the L&O(M) Act. Alleged to have taken part in a guerilla attack on a police post in Madziwa TTL, between Bindura and Mount Darwin.  
 CHIEDZA, Blessing—(Where held unknown) (C)  
 Sentenced to death in June 1976 by a Special Court in Umtali on conviction of assisting a group of guerillas by warning them of the approach of 2 policemen. In August the sentence was commuted to life imprisonment.  
 CHIGANGO, Tobias—Waha Waha (D)  
 CHIGARIRO, L.—(Where held unknown)  
 CHIGAYO, Muzvondiwa—Salisbury  
 CHIGAZIRA, Aaron—Waha Waha (D)  
 CHIGIYA, Cleophas—Waha Waha (D)  
 CHIGODORA, Elijah Rakafe—(Salisbury) (C)  
 Sentenced in May 1975 to 21 years imprisonment on charges of recruiting others for guerilla training.  
 CHIGODORA, Hamilton—Waha Waha (D)  
 CHIGODORA, John—Waha Waha (D)  
 CHIGORA, Elijah—(Where held unknown)  
 CHIGORA, Joel—Waha Waha (D)  
 CHIGUDU, Nzirasha E—Waha Waha (D)  
 CHIGWADA, Brown—Khami (C)  
 CHIGWANA, Mutandwa Lloyd—Waha Waha (D)  
 Former student of the University of Zambia, detained in Rhodesia whilst on holiday in December 1974.  
 CHIGWENDERE, Eshumael—Waha Waha (D)  
 CHIGWENDE, Herbert—Waha Waha (D)  
 CHIGWEREWE, Moses—(Where held unknown) (D)  
 CHIGWIDA, Gabriel (50)—Salisbury (D)  
 First detained in 1964 at Gonakudzingwa. Released in 1970 and active in the ANC. Re-detained in 1973 at Gonakudzingwa and transferred to Salisbury Prison in 1974.  
 CHIHUMBIRI, Rangson—Mzarabani New Village (R)  
 Detained in 1973 and released into restriction around July 1975. His home and property were burnt by Rhodesian security forces when his family was removed to a protected village.  
 CHIHUMBIRI, Stancilious—Gwelo  
 CHIHWAI, Timothy—Waha Waha (D)  
 CHIJOKWE, Nelson—Waha Waha (D)  
 CHIKADINI, Zwidzai Jairos—Waha Waha (D)  
 Detained at Marandellas in August 1975 facing charges under L&O(M) Act. Subsequently indefinitely detained at Waha Waha.  
 CHIKADZA, Chishawa—Waha Waha (D)  
 Former resident of Mt. Darwin. Detained in 1975.  
 CHIKANDAKANDA, Kimpton—Salisbury  
 CHIKATA, Ben—Waha Waha (D)  
 CHIKONYORA, Charles—Chikurubi  
 CHIKUBANYANGA, Emmanuel—Waha Waha (D)  
 CHIKUHLWA, Pedisai Andrew—Waha Waha (D)  
 CHIKUKWA, Francis—Khami (C)  
 CHIKUKWA, Michael—Waha Waha (D)  
 CHIKUMBA, Mapfupfu Seven (70)—(Where held unknown) (C)  
 Sentenced to 10 years (4 suspended) in Chipinga in June 1976 for failing to report the presence of guerillas.  
 CHIKUNGURU, N.—(Sentenced to death)  
 He and five others were sentenced to death by

a Special Court in Inyanga in June 1976. Appeal dismissed in July 1976.  
 CHIKUWANYANGA, Emmanuel—Waha Waha (D)  
 CHIKWAKA, Masawi—Waha Waha (D)  
 CHIKWAKA, Mhizha—Waha Waha (D)  
 CHIKWAKWATA, Amen—Khami (C)  
 CHIKWAYI, T—Waha Waha (D)  
 CHIKWEN, Vitalis—(Where held unknown) (C)  
 Sentenced to 7 years in May 1976 for attempting to leave the country for guerilla training.  
 CHILIMANZI, Ernest Choruwa—Waha Waha (D)  
 CHILIMANZI, John—Waha Waha (D)  
 CHIMANGA, Enock Wisdom—Waha Waha (D)  
 Detained after serving sentence. Former resident of Mt. Darwin area, where his family have recently been moved into a protected village.  
 CHIMBIZI, Naison—Waha Waha (D)  
 CHIMEDZA, Julius—(Where held unknown) (C)  
 Provincial organising secretary of the ANC in the Victoria Province. Charged under the L&O (M) Act in April 1975 and sentenced to 7 years (four suspended). Trial held in camera.  
 CHIMHAU, Tayengwa Misheck—Waha Waha (D)  
 CHIMOMBE, Samuel Mutambo Simon (50)—Que Que (D)  
 Detained in June 1973 and held at Salisbury and Waha Waha until May 1976 when he was removed to Que Que. Married with 8 children and 5 other dependants.  
 CHIMPOPO, Ariot—(Where held unknown) (C)  
 Charged under the L&O(M) Act in November 1975 and sentenced to 16 years in March 1976. He and two co-defendants complained of assault by the police.  
 CHIMPUNZA, Lovemore—Waha Waha (D)  
 CHIMUCHEKA, M.—(Where held unknown)  
 CHIMUFOMBO, Canaan—Waha Waha (D)  
 CHIMUNGONDORO, Brazio (31)—(Where held unknown) (C)  
 Sentenced to life imprisonment by a Salisbury High Court in August 1975 for participating in an attack on a group of South African policemen, in which 4 were killed. During the trial he showed the court marks on his body which he said were made by electric shocks administered by the police.  
 CHIMUTONDO, Morris Dejera—Waha Waha (D)  
 CHIMUTSA, Cephas—Waha Waha (D)  
 CHIMUTSA, Ms.—Chikurubi (D)  
 Cephas Chimutsa's wife detained at Chikurubi in April 1976. The 5 young children were left at home by themselves.  
 CHINAMIRA, Doben—Fort Victoria  
 CHINEMBIRI, Geoffrey—Waha Waha (D)  
 CHINEMUNGU, Fanuel (21)—(Where held unknown) (C)  
 Sentenced to 24 years in March 1976, on conviction of committing an act of terrorism and possessing arms of war.  
 CHINGARANDI, Patrick—(Where held unknown) (C)  
 Sentenced to 14 years in September 1975.  
 CHINGEDE, Paul—Waha Waha (D)  
 CHINGIRA—(Where held unknown) (C)  
 Sentenced at Mtoko in January 1975 to 5 years imprisonment for failing to report the presence of guerillas.  
 CHINGODZA—(Where held unknown) (D)  
 CHINGURA, Amidio—Khami (C)  
 CHINGWARU, Batsirai—Mtoko  
 CHINGWARU, Phelix—Mtoko  
 CHINHAMO, Charles—Waha Waha (D)  
 CHINONI, P.—(Where held unknown)  
 CHINOWAITA, Paul Pasiparowa—Gwelo (D)  
 Arrested in 1966 and sentenced to 12 years. On completion of the sentence he was indefinitely detained. In April 1975 he was charged under the Prisons Act for smuggling letters out of prison.  
 CHINYADZA, Godson A. (21)—(Sentenced to death)

Sentenced to death in August 1976 for having arms of war and taking part in an attack on the home of Chief Mangwende (newly-appointed African Cabinet minister).  
 CHINYAMUDEDU, Isiah—Khami (C)  
 CHINYANGA, Godfrey—Waha Waha (D)  
 CHINYANGA, J—Umtali  
 CHINYANGA, Mobiri—Mtoko  
 CHINYANGANYA, Godfrey E—Khami (C)  
 CHINYANI, Willy—Khami  
 CHINYERE, Robert—Waha Waha (D)  
 CHINYOKA, Amon—(Where held unknown) (C)  
 Sentenced to 20 years in November 1975 for receiving guerilla training and possessing arms of war. On entering Rhodesia, early in 1975, it was said that he had been instructed by ZAPU leaders not to take offensive action during the settlement talks.  
 CHINYOKA, David Chisombo—Waha Waha (D)  
 CHINZARA, Freddie—Connemara  
 CHIPAMURANDU, Maicot—Mzarabani New Village (R)  
 Previously detained at Waha Waha and currently restricted to Mzarabani protected village.  
 CHIPAMURANDU, Maikoti—Waha Waha (D)  
 CHIPANERA, Charles Chimiso—Umtali  
 CHIPANGA, Shadreck—Gwelo (D)  
 Detained since at least 1969.  
 CHIPIKA, Michael—(Where held unknown) (C)  
 Sentenced to 12 years in January 1976 under the L&O(M) Act. Appeal dismissed in May.  
 CHIPONDA, Jackson—Waha Waha (D)  
 CHIPU—(Where held unknown) (C)  
 Sentenced at Mtoko in January 1975 to 5 years for failing to report guerillas.  
 CHIPUNZA, Loveridge Rewayi—Waha Waha (D)  
 CHIPUNZA, Tarisai—Mtoko  
 CHIPURIRO, George M—Waha Waha (D)  
 Sentenced to 15 years in 1965 under the L&O(M) Act. Completed the sentence at Khami in May 1975, served with indefinite detention order and transferred to Waha Waha.  
 CHIPUSIRE, Gotsi—Waha Waha (D)  
 CHIRADZA, Tamburayi Kefasi—Khami (C)  
 CHIRAMBAUMURE, Mudzamisa Maita—Waha Waha (D)  
 CHIRAU, Alexander—Khami (C)  
 CHIRAU, Thompson (22)—Khami (C)  
 Former resident of Centenary area, sentenced to 18 years in August 1973.  
 CHIREMBWE, Keziyasi—Waha Waha (D)  
 CHIREMBA, Josephat—(Where held unknown) (D)  
 Charged in March 1976 under the L&O(M) Act with assisting or encouraging persons to undergo guerilla training. Charges withdrawn in August 1976 and served with indefinite detention order.  
 CHIRENGA, S.G.—(Where held unknown)  
 CHIRENI, Michael—(Where held unknown) (R)  
 Held in detention up to September 1976, when he is believed to have been released into restriction.  
 CHIRESHE, Kufakurinani—Khami (C)  
 CHIRIMUTA, Francis—Waha Waha (D)  
 CHIRINGANYAMA, Runwell—Waha Waha (D)  
 Arrested in 1973 in the Centenary area, when his family were moved into a protected village. Sentenced to 5 years, on completion of which he was served with indefinite detention order.  
 CHRISERE, Robeson Chengaose—Waha Waha (D)  
 CHIROMBO, David—Waha Waha (D)  
 CHIRONDA, Arnold M—Gwelo (D)  
 Detained in 1965 and sentenced to 9 years in 1968. Detained in August 1974 on completion of his sentence. He has been seriously ill since his time in Khami with asthma, ulcers, chronic bronchitis and internal bleeding. His complaints about conditions have resulted in his receiving several convictions, under the Prisons Act.

CHIRONGOMA, S.F.A.—Gwelo (D)  
Detained since at least 1967 at Gwelo and released in 1970. Redetained in 1976.

CHISAKA, I.—(Where held unknown)

CHISAWIRA, Michael (19)—(Where held unknown) (C)  
Sentenced by the Salisbury High Court in May 1976 to 9 years for attempting to undergo guerilla training.

CHISHIRI, January—Wha Wha (D)

CHISHIRI, Joel—Khami (C)

CHISIMUKA, Shame Desiderius—(Where held unknown)

CHISORA, Edwell—Khami (C)

CHISORA, N.L.—(Where held unknown)

CHISUMBU, Peter—Wha Wha (D)

CHISUNI, Benjamin—Khami (C)

CHITAURO, Taimoni—Wha Wha (D)

CHITEKWE, David—Wha Wha (D)

CHITENGA, Nyerere Claudius—Enkeldoorn

CHITEWO, Charles (20)—(Where held unknown) (C)  
A former junior official of the ANC from Nyamaropa TTL. Sentenced in February 1976 by the Salisbury High Court to 12 years (4 suspended), on charges of recruiting persons for guerilla training.

CHITSA, Admore—Fort Victoria (D)

CHITUWU, Pedro—Salisbury

CHIUDZI—(Where held unknown) (C)  
Sentenced at Mtoko in January 1975 to 9 years for failing to report the presence of guerillas.

CHIUNYA, Taurayi—Chikurubi

CHIUNYE, Charles—Wha Wha (D)

CHIUNYE, January—Wha Wha (D)

CHIUNYE, William—Khami (C)

CHIUNYE, Wilson—Khami (C)

CHIURA, Mathew—Wha Wha (D)

CHIURIMBO, Mutsana—Wha Wha (D)

CHIUTSI, Matongore—Mtoko

CHIUTSI, Samson—Wha Wha (D)  
Detained in 1973 having served a prison sentence.

CHIVAMBA, S.A.C.—Salisbury (D)

CHIVARKO, Wilfred—Wha Wha (D)

CHIVI, Mahozo—Khami (C)

CHIWAKIRA, Persuade—Wha Wha (D)

CHIWANDIKA, E—Umtali

CHIWASHIRA, Ferasi Kufa—Wha Wha (D)

CHIWASHIRA, Raymund Muchineripi—Wha Wha (D)

CHIWAYUYAYU, Maikoti—Wha Wha (D)

CHIWEDERE, I.—(Where held unknown)

CHIWOGCHA, E—Wha Wha (D)

CHIYOKWE, N.T.—(Where held unknown)

CHIZANGA, Jairos—Wha Wha (D)

CONRADIE, John Andrew—Salisbury (C)  
A South African born white, currently the only white person serving a sentence under the L&O(M) Act. At his trial in February 1967 evidence was led that Conradie, a lecturer at the University of Rhodesia, was head of an underground group involved in recruiting and training guerillas. Sentenced to 20 years imprisonment.

DABGURWA, Tommy Nyahwa—Wha Wha (D)

DAKA, Jeremiah (55)—(Where held unknown) (C)  
Sentenced to 2½ years at a retrial in March 1976, for failing to report guerillas. At the trial of the 11 accused allegations of assault were made. Daka alleged that he had been assaulted by Detective Inspector K. McKay and Sergeant Major Mabena. He showed the court scars on his head, and a doctors report indicated a perforation of his left eardrum. (For further details see *Civil War in Rhodesia—A Report from the Rhodesian Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace*, CIIR September 1976)

DAMBA, Siniwa Maxwell—Wha Wha (D)

DAMBUDZO, Jamu Robert—Wha Wha (D)

DANDAWA, Obert—(Where held unknown) (C)

Sentenced to 10 years (2 suspended) in November 1975 for attempting to undergo guerilla training.

DANGIRWA, Ethel (45)—(Where held unknown) (C)  
A widow from the Rusape district, sentenced to 9 years by a Special Court in Umtali in September 1976, for failing to report guerillas.

DANGIRWA, Lucian (28)—(Where held unknown) (C)  
The son of Ethel Dangirwa, he was sentenced by the same court to 12 years for failing to report the presence of guerillas.

DANGWA, Togora Rutendomari—Wha Wha (D)  
Arrested in May 1975 and charged with two offences under the L&O(M) Act. Acquitted in November 1975 and detained at Wha Wha.

DEDZA, Allen—Wha Wha (D)  
One of Allen's brothers, a high school student, (name unknown) has also recently been detained.

DEDZA, Marvius—Wha Wha (D)

DEKA, Elias—Khami (C)

DEMBEDZA, E.W.—Wha Wha (D)

DENDE, Rakafa—(Where held unknown) (C)  
Sentenced at Mtoko in January 1975 to 8 years for failing to report the presence of guerillas.

DENYA, Chipameso—Fort Victoria

DERERA, J.P.—(Where held unknown)

DERERE, A.P.T.—(Where held unknown)

DEWA, Lazarus—Khami (C)

DEYERA, M.—(Where held unknown)

DHIWAYO, N—Umtali

DHLAKAMA, Lazarus G—Gwelo (D)  
In prison or detention from 1965 to August 1974 when he was released from Khami and detained at Gwelo. In March 1976 he was sentenced to 6 weeks hard labour on conviction under the Prisons Act of smuggling a letter out of prison.

DHLAMINI, Phillimon—(Where held unknown)  
He and 7 other residents of Tjolutjo TTL were charged with assisting guerillas and failing to report their presence in January 1976. Dhlamini fell ill shortly after pleading not guilty and was unable to stand trial.

DHLAWAYO, Samuel—(Where held unknown) (D)  
Detained awaiting trial on charges under the L&O(M) Act relating to the recruitment of persons for guerilla training.

DHLODHLO, Mbijana Walter—Khami (C)  
Charged under the L&O(M) Act in November 1974 and refused defence at his trial in 1975.

DHUVU, Joshura—Wha Wha (D)

DIKANI, P.—(Where held unknown)

DINDINGWE, Moses—Wha Wha (D)

DOMBODZUKO, Sherdar—Khami (C)

DONGO, Bennie—Wha Wha (D)  
Detained on 21 July 1975. Married with 11 children.

DONORA, Jeffrey—Wha Wha (D)

DUBE, A.M.—(Where held unknown)

DUBE, Adam—Wha Wha (D)

DUBE, Alfred—Wha Wha (D)

DUBE, Ben—Wha Wha (D)

DUBE, Ben Mbeji—(Where held unknown) (C)  
Former chairman of the Wenlock District Committee of the ANC, he was sentenced to life imprisonment by a Special Court in Bulawayo in September 1976 for failing to report guerillas and possessing arms of war.

DUBE, Congo—Wha Wha (D)

DUBE, Ethan—see under Missing Persons

DUBE, E.G.—(Where held unknown)

DUBE, E.M.—(Where held unknown)

DUBE, Elliot—(Sentenced to death)  
Sentenced to death on 3 counts of murdering 3 members of the Rhodesian security forces in April 1975, and of being in possession of arms of war between November 1974 and

April 1975. Appeal dismissed in May 1976.

DUBE, Essau—Wha Wha (D)  
National Assembly Member of the ANC. Charged in December 1975 under the L&O(M) Act with assisting persons to leave the country for guerilla training, acquitted in January 1976 and detained at Wha Wha.

DUBE, Fred Vincent—Gwelo (D)  
Detained since at least 1967.

DUBE, Gede—Wha Wha (D)

DUBE, Hakabe—Wha Wha (D)

DUBE, Jeremiah—Salisbury (D)  
Previously detained at Gonakudzingwa.

DUBE, Joseph John—Wha Wha (D)

DUBE, Juda Mtembo—Wha Wha (D)

DUBE, Levison—(Where held unknown)

DUBE, Makhalmela Elias—Wha Wha (D)

DUBE, Malala Albert—Wha Wha (D)

DUBE, Maliba Machaya—Wha Wha (D)

DUBE, Nelson—Khami (C)

DUBE, Nicholas—Khami (C)

DUBE, Teke—Khami (C)

DUBE, Terry Silumba—Khami (C)  
Sentenced to 18 years in 1967.

DUDZO, Samson—Connemara

DUHWA, Machaya—Wha Wha (D)

DURI, Timothy—Gwelo (D)  
Detained since 1965. Sentenced to 6 weeks hard labour in March 1976 for smuggling letters out of prison.

DZATSI—(Where held unknown) (C)  
Sentenced at Mtoko in January 1975 to 5 years for failing to report the presence of guerillas.

DZEDZERE, Jorum—Wha Wha (D)

DZIMWASHA, Solomon—Wha Wha (D)

DZIMWASHE, Timothy (58)—(Where held unknown) (C)  
A Kraalhead from the Ruda area, sentenced to 8 years in April 1976 for failing to report the presence of guerillas.

DZINGAYI, Phineas—(Where held unknown) (C)  
A Kraalhead sentenced to 5 years by a Special Court in Umtali in June 1976 for failing to report the presence of guerillas in the Inyanga district.

DZIRUNI, Sebasten (45)—(Where held unknown) (C)  
Resident of the Ruda area, sentenced to 7 years in April 1976 for failing to report the presence of guerillas.

DZIRUNI, Tawora Chitiza (68)—(Where held unknown) (C)  
A Kraalhead from the Ruda area sentenced to 8 years in April 1976 for failing to report the presence of guerillas.

DZITI, M.—(Where held unknown)

DZOPASI, Mbambe—Fort Victoria

DZUKAMANJA, John—(Where held unknown)

DZUMBUNU, T.J.—(Where held unknown)

DZWINAMURUNGU, Kembo S—Wha Wha (D)

DZWITI, Muchemira—Wha Wha (D)

ERIC, Robson—Khami (C)

FAKIRAMU, Tom—Marandellas

FAMREPI, Fidelis—(Where held unknown) (C)  
Sentenced to 8 years in 1976.

FANI, Ezroni—Khami (C)

FANI, Zwikayi—(Where held unknown) (C)  
Sentenced to 6 years by a Special Court in Umtali in June 1976 for failing to report the presence of guerillas in the Inyanga district.

FEREMBA, Nicholas—(Where held unknown) (C)  
Sentenced to 4 years by a Special Court in Umtali in June 1976 for failing to report the presence of guerillas in the Inyanga district.

FEREMENGA, Makore—Wha Wha (D)

FERO, R.R.—(Where held unknown)

FIBION—(Where held unknown) (C)  
Sentenced at Mtoko to 5 years in January 1975 for failing to report the presence of guerillas.

FIDERISI, S.—(Where held unknown)

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