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# ZIMBABWE REVIEW

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## EDITORIAL

Nearly every one involved or interested in the solution of the Rhodesian problem has had their word to say with regard to the present stage of the so-called British Proposals for a Settlement in Rhodesia. The United Nations, through its supreme body the Security Council, has responded positively to a British request to authorise the Secretary General to appoint a special UN Representative to assist in expediting Zimbabwe to independence. Indeed the Secretary General, Kurt Waldheim, has acted swiftly and appointed Lieutenant General Prem Chand of India, a veteran of United Nations peace — keeping forces in the Congo (Zaire) and in Cyprus. He has received his instructions and began his preliminary work.

Addressing the United Nations, on the fourth of October, President Carter of the United States of America, imbued with his ideal of human rights, made an impassioned appeal to the Vorster regime not to hamper but rather help expedite the advent of majority rule in Zimbabwe and Namibia. On the same day in England, the British Prime Minister, James Callaghan, vowed before the delegates of the Labour Party annual conference that his Government was determined to bring about majority rule in Zimbabwe by the end of 1978. He said he considered Rhodesia to be the last imperial obligation for Britain.

In Rhodesia, Bishop Muzorewa has had the exceptional courage, if not downright naivety, to claim that three quarters of the British Proposals were copied, by the British, from his proposals. His extraordinary anticipations even carried him to the dream that the settler's day, 12th of September, 1978, should be the date of Zimbabwe's independence. His clerical colleague, the Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole has not only totally embraced the British Proposals, but has even called upon the United Nations to use its troops against the Patriotic Front forces. Chief Chirau leader of ZUPO, has pleaded for a more visible unity between himself, Sithole, Muzorewa and Ian Smith in forming a government under the British Proposals. All these have pleaded for protection by the fascist armed forces of Ian Smith and for the retention of the present economy which finances the racist system. James Chikerema, the power of whom Muzorewa is just a shadow, thanked Ian Smith for receiving him back to Rhodesia by pledging that his organisation, the UANC, would fight for the white racist minority to hold such seats in Parliament as to veto whatever it did not like.

The symptom of all these characters is their chronic fear of Comrade Joshua Nkomo becoming the first President of an independent Zimbabwe. Whenever they encounter the Zimbabwe masses talking of Nkomo or read of Nkomo having had discussions at the United Nations or with the leaders of the neighbouring states, such as Dr Kaunda, they experience such mental suffocation as denies them a simple ray of thought that, by the way, the liberation struggle is still on and a long way off.

The British Foreign Secretary, Dr David Owen and his colleague Andrew Young, United States Ambassador to the United Nations, are both committed to the independence of Zimbabwe but they believe that the obstacle is factional leadership among Zimbabweans and that the gravest danger is communist support for the Patriotic Front. Hence in their prescription for the solution of the Rhodesian problem they emphasise democratic elections and the substitution of the liberation patriotic forces with a so-called 'New Zimbabwe National Defence Force'. They allege that the Patriotic Liberation forces are a political army which would, therefore, lend advantage in an election to the Patriotic Front leaders as against the candidates of the Western countries — Chirau, Bishop Muzorewa the reverend Sithole and elements from the minority racists.

The chorus of all the views expressed above could very easily give the impression that the independence of Zimbabwe is now so simple a matter that it is just there for the picking. Certainly not. The Patriotic Front in its document of analysis of the British Proposals made its position clear that the solution of the Rhodesian problem cannot proceed from wrong premises nor can it result from methods which negate the very essence of independence. Assuming President Carter and the British Prime Minister, Callaghan, now honestly believe that majority rule must come by in Zimbabwe, how do they reconcile this with their belief that the most racist and fascist regime of Vorster can co-operate towards that independence? What price are they promising Vorster for that? By the way, President Carter in his address to the United Nations did not state the United States position on the revolution which must take place in South Africa. Certainly South Africa can only co-operate in political changes in Rhodesia and Namibia provided it is assured that these new neighbouring states would not actively oppose its system of oppression and racism.

When the Patriotic Front speaks of majority rule it is actually speaking of INDEPENDENCE and



not the settlement of factional disputes between minorities and majorities. Therefore the emphasis on democratic elections and rights of minorities is secondary to the issue of independence itself. Democratic elections will be a constant fundamental feature of government in Zimbabwe but independence must be once irreversible, inalienable and absolutely sovereign. The Patriotic Front Liberation forces are therefore fighting for the achievement and defence of Zimbabwe's independence. Once independence is assured, then democratic elections are a certainty and not vice-versa. It is for this reason that the Patriotic Front has stressed that if the British Proposals are to contribute towards the independence of Zimbabwe they must show the correct priorities both in method and objective.

It is downright absurdity, if not an insult, to suggest that the Patriotic Front Liberation Forces exist and are fighting to create an election advantage over anybody. The freedom fighters of Zimbabwe have been fighting and losing their lives long before there was ever any prospect of democratic elections at all in Zimbabwe; long before such people like Bishop Muzorewa or Chirau's were ever known to exist, in fact long before Callaghan became even Chancellor or Foreign Minister of Britain not to mention Dr Owen. We notice also that some British correspondents are beginning to peddle the propaganda that the Patriotic Front insists on retaining its forces during transition because it fears to lose the elections. Absolute rubbish. The freedom-fighters of Zimbabwe are not losing their lives to oppose the British favourites Chirau, Muzorewa, Sithole or any other African. They are fighting to destroy British colonialism and gain independence for Zimbabwe. It is under these conditions of independence that the people of Zimbabwe will, through uncontrolled democratic elections, instal their government. In the meanwhile the armed liberation struggle for independence is on the march to move toward the stage of independence and democracy.

It is true the people of Zimbabwe may, in their various ways, have political differences on who and how to run their country. This is the nature of life in every society or country in the world. The essence of independence is in the people sorting out their own problems in their own way. One element of independence is unrestricted choice of friends. It is pointless at this juncture to propose a solution whose objective is to sever relations with the time proven friends of the liberation struggle, the socialist countries. The people of Zimbabwe know too well that their liberation

struggle would be nowhere were it not for the political and material support of the socialist countries. The stout friendly relations with socialist countries does not mean exclusion of friendly relations with the peoples under capitalist governments. It is the friendly and harmonious relations of ALL people in the world we seek to the exclusion of colonialist, imperialists, traitors, fascists and racists. After all our struggle receives tremendous support from people and organisations totally opposed to the imperialist and colonial policies of their governments.

We stress this argument because one element of the British Proposals is to weaken the Patriotic Front by seeking to modify its liberation forces on the threadbare ground of archaic cold-war mentality of the foggy 1950s. There is no question of modifying the Patriotic Front fighting forces under any circumstances, firstly because the armed struggle is still on and secondly because they must guarantee the advent of genuine independence in Zimbabwe and therefore the process of genuine democratic elections as a fundamental basis of government. There is, of course, no need for United Nations forces. The United Nations Representative can, with adequate arrangements, fulfill his tasks without them. It is our understanding that the United Nations Representative has not been appointed to assist the representative of colonialist Britain but rather to ensure, on behalf of the world, the immediate exit of British colonialism in Zimbabwe.

Is it possible and how will Ian Smith be removed? We also ask: Is Ian Smith as an individual the real fundamental issue? We do not think so. We believe Ian Smith can be removed by the British Government as easy as blowing off a candle flame if certain conditions demanded by some capitalist forces which maintain him in power were met by the succeeding African government. Ian Smith is, therefore, a bargaining press-button by these economic forces. However our position is straightforward; the people of Zimbabwe will declare their economic direction at independence without fear or favour. In the meanwhile the armed liberation struggle for independence is on the march.



# COMRADE NKOMO'S



## MESSAGE TO ZIMBABWE

Zimbabwe's national leader, Comrade Joshua Nkomo, broadcast a message to Zimbabwe over Radio Zambia on July 24. In the message, the leader of the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front pointed out that in Zimbabwe today there were thousands of young men and women carrying arms and searching for the enemy of the masses of Zimbabwe who murder and hang the people in scores. He said Zimbabwe had been turned into a vast prison, a vast concentration camp comparable only to the concentration camps of Nazi Hitler's

Germany.

The message read: "Once in a while it becomes necessary for me to talk to you on events of our liberation struggle. Today it is more than necessary because so much has happened in the last few weeks that I feel an obligation to define precisely where we are, what path and what direction we are following. What I say about these events is presented to you in such a distorted manner by foreign and enemy Press agencies and news media that I am obliged to address you directly.

"Daily you read you hear enemy statements through the newspapers and radio, detailing the number of guerrillas and African civilian killed by the enemy in so-called operational areas. A great number of you have not only heard but have had direct experience of seeing people falling next you, people being shot, some being wounded, some being taken to unknown destinations never to be seen again.

"Perhaps you yourself are one of those whose relatives are missing, perhaps you have the burden of looking after the children of those relatives. The mothers of some of these children, fathers, brothers and sisters of some of them were either killed by Smith or disappeared behind Smith prison walls. They have disappeared into the prisons of the enemy. By the enemy I mean the regime of the white settlers who today are led by Ian Smith.

"Because each day that dawns we are not sure what news shall we hear about the harassment of our homes, and the murder of our fellow-Zimbabweans. Our country has been turned into a vast prison, a vast concentration camp comparable only to the concentration camps of Nazi Hitler of Germany.

"Countrymen, Ian Smith hanged four of our comrades last Wednesday. These included Robert Bhebhe. The charge was that they had recruited young Zimbabweans for military training abroad so that they would later return to fight for the freedom of their country. Today these comrades have left us through the bloody hands of Ian Smith and his henchmen.

### Many Death Sentences

"These comrades who were murdered in cold blood by Smith are heroes of the struggle. You might have heard a report of remarks of Justice Macdonald on July 18, 1977 when he dismissed an appeal of our freedom-fighter, Isaac Mabika who was charged for possessing a gun. Macdonald sadistically called on his

regime to make public hangings of the struggling people of Zimbabwe because, in his view, very few of them are heard of by the public.

"What this man was actually saying was that his courts were turning out so many death sentences that it would please him if the figures of the people hanged were demonstrated. Mabika carried a gun to liberate and defend his country, Zimbabwe. Isaac Mabika, Robert Bhebhe and many others I have not mentioned here are examples of hundreds of gallant Zimbabweans who are being murdered by human butchers of Ian Smith. They are some of hundreds of Zimbabweans whose homes have been burnt down, their dear possessions have been destroyed. Among these people there are old men, women and young children who have been killed by Smith's police, his Selous Scouts, his soldiers and his mercenaries. These killings have been going on for years. Now Smith promises that he will be ruthless.

"Thousands more Zimbabweans, perhaps yourself too, shall lose their lives in this manner at the hands of these white racist criminals. Yes, criminals indeed, and I mean it. They are criminals all of them, criminal to their bones. I have next to me, as I am talking to you just now, a young girl aged 10 years who, with her sister, witnessed soldiers of the Rhodesian regime ransack their village and murder their parents in cold blood. She and her sister hid in an open 44-gallon drum over-night. Early in the morning they made their way on foot out of the country to join the freedom army.

"Smith has announced that he is calling for general elections for August 31. These elections do not involve us. They are an affair of the racist settlers as they have always been since 1923. But it is important to know what the subject of the elections is. The issue at stake in their competition for government is the murdering of the African people of Zimbabwe? Any voter, black, white or yellow in this system must know that he is an accomplice to Smith's crimes. The Smith regimes campaigns

by hanging and murdering our people.

"Perhaps you are one of those who enjoy a comfortable life, earning a good wage and living in a breezy farm or house.

### **Successful Freedom Struggle:**

"You may regard what I am saying as a nuisance that is far away from you. If so, it is time you understood that you are living in a fool's paradise. The war is closing in and everyone must now stand up and be counted on the side of the liberation struggle or on the side of the enemy. Countrymen, with all this cruelty facing us, cruelty that we have faced for nearly 90 years, our country having been turned into a vast prison, we have only two choices to make: either to die as disgraceful slaves or to die as people of courage fighting for our freedom. A slave in a lovely car and a slave in a cart both slaves. We will not submit to slavery.

"Among you today, in the urban locations, rural areas and bushes there are young men and women carrying weapons searching for our enemy. You have heard, and some of you might have seen, how they destroy our enemy on sight. Those are the freedom-fighters. They are the Zimbabwe People's Army — ZIPA. They are under our command, that is, they are under the command of the Patriotic Front. They are fighting for the liberation of our country. They left the country in thousands in search of arms. Smith has failed, and will fail to stop their outflow.

"They return to Zimbabwe in their thousands, arms in hand to remove the violent enemy. Smith has failed and will fail to stop their return. They are there among you. Their task is to reinforce you to defeat the racist regime which is turning our country into a den of human carcasses. Our ZIPA forces are everywhere. As their net closes in, the enemy will become ruthless as never before as Smith himself has promised. When an enemy squeals, you

must know you are making progress. Countrymen, when an enemy becomes madly cruel, it is not a moment to think of suffering. It is a moment to make greater sacrifices. This is the path of a successful freedom struggle.

"ZIPA forces are part of you. They are your children. It is your duty to receive them with open arms whenever and wherever you meet them. For them to accomplish their task, you too must play your part. A successful liberation war is brought about by a combination of many factors — a combination of many roles played by various sections of the people. He has fought he who shows a ZIPA fighter the shortest and safest way to his destination. He has fought he who shows a ZIPA fighter where the enemy forces are. He has fought he who gives a ZIPA fighter food and shelter. He has fought he who mobilises support for a ZIPA fighter in his area.

### **Some Confused People:**

"He has fought he who points out and isolates enemy agents in his area. A ZIPA fighter has fought when he has hit the target. I, therefore, call upon you, countrymen, to play your role wherever you are so that we can together defeat the enemy and establish peace and freedom in our country, Zimbabwe. Naturally, the enemy will use cruelty and threats on your lives and property. The enemy will spread deceitful lies to prevent you from playing your role to liberate yourself.

"Determination, courage and conviction to achieve your liberation are your basic weapons to be steadfast to the sacrifices of the struggle. You are aware that we do manage somehow to have weapons and ammunition, food for the fighters. We meagre shelter for the fighters, we have managed to get the world to refuse to recognise the Rhodesian regime as the country's legitimate government. "In June in Gabon we got a straight OAU position in support of the Patriotic Front as the sole representative



liberation movement of Zimbabwe. It was a recognition of the situation in which we are, that of war. Countrymen, I have referred to the facilities and means we get from friends to draw your attention to the fact that despite their own problems, our friends are prepared to sacrifice the little they have which they themselves need, be it time, material or financial assistance in support of our liberation struggle.

"Our neighbours, that is to say Botswana, Mozambique, Zambia are a fortification of our struggle. They suffer loss of lives and economic losses because of Smith's attacks on them. The front-line states, that is to say the above mentioned three plus Angola and Tanzania, battled successfully to remove confusion internationally by piloting the recognition of the Patriotic Front at the recent OAU summit in Libreville, Gabon.

"I am sure that all the front-line states and you yourselves are with me in acknowledging the special role played by Dr. Kenneth Kaunda and UNIP in Libreville to straighten the position of the Zimbabwe liberation struggle by according recognition to the Patriotic Front as the only liberation movement in Zimbabwe. We thank Dr. Kaunda dearly and deeply. "I know that some confused people are trying to pass on their confusion to you that Dr. Kaunda by struggling for the recognition of the Patriotic Front was working for my installation as leader of Zimbabwe. You must realise that individuals who spread this type of lies are persons who are ungrateful for Zambia's sacrifices for our freedom.

#### **A wrong Approach:**

"They are more concerned with what positions they are likely to hold in a future Zimbabwe than in the sacrifices they must make now to liberate that Zimbabwe. Such people are enemies of the liberation struggle. My position and sacrifices in the struggle are concretely known to you. They do not need any external support from anyone. I call upon you to

beware of devils that would like to confuse you; sometimes they also wear clerical collars to achieve fruits of their deceit. Countrymen, I also would like to talk to you on what it wrongly called Anglo-American initiative or scheme on Rhodesia. You know that last year the British and the Americans made us to understand that Ian Smith was ready to surrender to majority rule in two years. On this basis, they called the Geneva conference.

"It turned out that they wanted us to play to the tune of Ian Smith. When we, as the Patriotic Front, rejected this, they called off the Geneva talks. Today they are still within that mental frame. They have only changed the order of their approach. They want a constitution for the independence of Zimbabwe agreed upon first, and the removal of Smith would then follow. We have rejected this because it is both a wrong approach and not a serious one in a serious war situation. You know that a war is raging in our country. How can we, therefore, engage in an academic exercise of drawing up a constitution instead of tackling the problem of eliminating the war and its causes? Suppose on our way to draw that constitution Smith massacres half the African delegation, what defence would that delegation have? None!

"Secondly, even if the constitution were successfully drawn, what guarantee is there that Ian Smith and his regime would, thereafter, be removed from power and that the constitution could then be implemented? None! Verbal promises of the British Government and their American allies are utter rubbish because we are in this plight through deliberate colonial policies of the British supported and protected by successive American regimes and capital.

"The policy of the Patriotic Front is that of self-reliance. This means the people of Zimbabwe must have only one guarantee which is their own strength. We must rely on our own strength. Therefore, countrymen, the priority in our liberation struggle is the removal of the causes of war.

This means the elimination of the racist minority regime of Ian Smith and an absolute guarantee that there can never be a return to minority rule. Both the elimination and the guarantee must be made and given by us through sacrifices of the armed struggle.

#### **False Solutions:**

"If the British Government wishes to talk seriously about the Rhodesian issue, it can do so only on the subject of such transfer of power to the people of Zimbabwe through their fighting movement, the Patriotic Front. We are in a state of war, and peace in the country can be achieved and guaranteed only through the Patriotic Front through its armed forces, the Zimbabwe People's Army - ZIPA. The forces of Smith are fighting to oppose independence. The British Government would like us to believe that these same forces can be relied upon to guarantee our independence which they are sworn to frustrate and defeat. How can they be considered reliable to guarantee the independence which it is their mission to frustrate?

"It is our position that once power is passed on to you and guaranteed militarily by the Patriotic Front, then other issues such as the constitution can then be worked out and democratic elections held in conditions of peace. What we want is genuine independence. On that we cannot take chances.

"Countrymen, I have been with you in this long, long struggle for our independence for more than 25 years. We shall be together up to the last drop of our blood of sacrifice. We shall be together till the moment of victory. What I have never done and shall never do is to promise you false solutions as a substitute for sacrifice. I will continue to call for sacrifice and more sacrifice in our liberation struggle until we are all certain that the independence we seek is firmly and securely in our hands.

"I have always likened the road of

struggle to climbing on a very steep mountain. Many of us will fall by the way-side; others will begin showing you the horizons of freedom from the heights we have so far attained and ask as your rulers. They shall try to divert you from further sacrifice to reach the pinnacle of genuine freedom and independence. Genuine freedom and independence is like a blossoming fruit tree. Its strength to survive does not lie in its blossoming flowers or its fruits but in its roots which are buried underground and are not visible.

"It is to the roots that I am calling upon you to cast your minds for us to plant our Zimbabwe tree of freedom and independence and to water it with sacrifices of our own blood so that it can bear fruit for ever. Beware of those who are beginning to call upon you to lift your eyes up to the skies to watch the flowers and fruits of a floating tree which we have not yet planted. There is a tune of very exhausted individuals who want to drag the nation to fall with them by the way-side. It is the tune of opportunists and upstarts.

"These people would like to reap the fruits for which they have never sacrificed. It is this very crop of individuals that is trying to destroy the work of so many years by preaching tribalism. They see the people of Zimbabwe not as one nation but a mixture of percentages, tribal percentages that must be divided and proportioned. Their ideas are selfish and dangerous to the nation. We have to fight them as vigorously as we are fighting the racist oppressors because tribalism is equally primitive and treacherous to the cause of our revolution.

"Hundreds of Zimbabweans who sacrifice their very lives do not do so for half baked independence or for the benefit of a tribal group. We are fighting for genuine and true independence for our country, Zimbabwe. Finally, I wish to repeat my call: Come forward and play your role in the armed liberation struggle being waged by the Patriotic Front. Zimbabwe must be free through our own sweat and sacrifice."

# PATRIOTIC FRONT ON PROPOSALS

The Patriotic Front has looked through the British white paper on the settlement proposals of the Southern Rhodesia situation and have noted that the proposals contain aspects which are unacceptable to the Patriotic Front.

The aspects are;

- (1) The Resident Commissioner's legislative and executive responsibilities to be exercised at his own discretion; the British Government seeks by these powers of the Resident Commissioner to impose a solution intended to protect the racist minority settlers' interests during the transitional period and after independence.

We reject this because it seeks to give the British Government power to manipulate the war situation in Zimbabwe in order to bring about a settlement that safeguards her own interests and those of the minority settlers.

- (a) The Patriotic Front rejects that the present or para-military civil power should remain intact, and that the present Rhodesian fascist police force that has been and is still terrorising the people of Zimbabwe should be responsible for the maintenance of so-called law and order during the transitional period and after independence.

The Patriotic Front rejects the introduction of a so-called United Nations peace-keeping force into our country. The British proposals

suggest that the United Nations force would:

- (a) supervise a so-called cease-fire,
- (b) support for the civil power
- (c) liaise with the existing Rhodesian armed forces and with the forces of the liberation armies.

Our memories are still fresh with the disaster and confusion that were caused by the introduction of so-called United Nations armed forces into the Congo, Cyprus and Korea. The Patriotic Front will not accept the introduction of a similar disaster into Zimbabwe. The liberation armed struggle prosecuted by Patriotic Front armed forces is not intended to install British colonialism in Zimbabwe. The British proposals show that the British Government would like to arrest the imminent and inevitable military defeat of the Rhodesia racist regime. These proposals are calculated to make the liberation forces surrender to the British and the Rhodesian regime instead of the Rhodesian fascist surrendering to us.

We want to point out in the strongest terms that we have been fighting and are fighting for the total and immediate independence of Zimbabwe. We are not fighting for the imposition, temporary or permanent, remote or immediate, direct or indirect of British colonialism. We demand the surrender of power by the Rhodesian regime to the people of Zimbabwe.

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# STATEMENT BY THE ZIMBABWE PATRIOTIC FRONT

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## TO THE 29TH SESSION OF THE O.A.U. COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

*Presented in Libreville, June 27, 1977*

We of the Patriotic Front are grateful for this opportunity to appraise the Council of Ministers of the O.A.U. of the Political and military situation in Zimbabwe.

Mr. Chairman, there exists today in Zimbabwe a very serious war situation which can only be resolved by effective prosecution of the armed liberation struggle, the only sure way of securing a lasting genuine independence for the people of Zimbabwe. Any other method can only be complementary to the armed struggle.

The Patriotic Front has continued to intensify the armed struggle. Our forces are operating from all corners of the country inflicting heavy casualties on the enemy forces and on its economic infrastructure. Hardly a day passes without reports by the enemy himself admitting casualties to his forces and to the economy. Our forces have effectively created no-go areas for the regime and in several districts of Rhodesia.

The regime's "District Commissioners" in some of these areas have made public statements admitting that they could not continue because of total breakdown of administration. The African people in operational area are no longer paying taxes to the regime's local authorities and schools have closed down either because of pupils joining the Patriotic Forces or the parents, guided by the Patriotic Front, insisting on free education. Virtually everywhere in Zimbabwe, our forces are working hand in hand with the masses. The liberation war we are waging has reached the level of a people's war because of the fullscale participation of the masses in it. We are hitting the enemy's vital power installations and communication lines.

The enemy in a desperate move to contain our forces and in a move to booster the sagging confidence of the white oppressors, has now resorted to some of the most despicable tortures and atrocities. The regime has taken to genocide of the African population. It is taking excuse of the war to reduce the population gap between the whites and blacks by killing virtually 20 Africans for every racist soldier falling in war. The regime continues its scheme of huddling the rural population in concentration camps — so-called "protected villages"—where inmates are denied proper medical care and adequate food. Peasants in these villages and elsewhere are shot at random for alleged links with freedom fighters and for so-called curfew breaking. The intensification of the war of national liberation by the Zimbabwe Patriots, however,

- (a) has out-stretched the resources of the enemy to a breaking point. The limping Rhodesian economy is so run down that the racists are no more bothering to hide this naked fact. In introducing the 1977 budget on the 24th of February, the Rhodesian regime's Finance Minister, David Smith, admitted that he had to take measures in order to find the money for financing the war against the Patriotic Front. He announced a 10 % surcharge on income and corporate tax; an increase in non-resident share-holders tax to 20 % and an increment of sales on all basic commodities including food stuffs to 15 %. He imposed a wage freeze up to June 1978.

Defence expenditure is weighing on the regime. In the 1971/1972 Fiscal Year, the regime spent 30 million Rhodesian Dollars on defence. By 1976 the defence had rocketed to 200 million Rhodesian Dollars. Since



1976 there has been an increase of 45 % in the regime's war expenditure. Thus in 1977, 25 % of the Gross National Product is going to defence spending. This excludes the spending on police and so-called internal security where there has been an increase of over 200 % over the 1971/72 figures in both cases.

The armed liberation struggle we are carrying out is imposing the cost of over a million dollars on the regime a day. What else could illustrate the advances in the liberation war being carried out by the Patriotic Front than these figures?

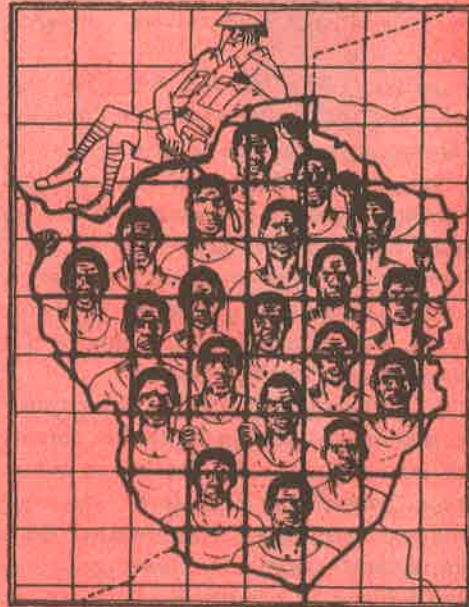
- (b) The Rhodesian regime alone could never finance the war against our forces. Multinational Monopolies operating in Rhodesia and some reactionary governments are financing the regime's war directly or indirectly through South Africa. The Johannesburg Chamber of Mines, through the fascist regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia fixed a deal to press gang Zimbabweans into slave labour on the mines. Out of this the Rhodesian regime is drawing financial benefits to finance the war. In 1976, 25,000 Zimbabweans were sold to such labour and this year more than 40,000.

The increased tempo of the armed struggle has had a drastic effect on the Foreign Exchange earnings of the Rhodesian regime.

- (a) Because the routes to and from South Africa are under persistent attack by our forces, the tourist trade has been reduced to a trickle. The following figures are a veritable testimony. In 1972, 339,000 visitors came to the country. By 1974 the figures had dropped to 229,000. In 1976 there were only 140,000 tourists turning up. On this trend hardly 50,000 tourists will visit the country in 1977.
- (b) Emigration of Rhodesian racists in flight from the war is on the increase. Over 15,000 white settlers left Rhodesia last year (1976) despite the slash on the amount of money that emigrants could take out of the country. The money has been reduced from 5,000 dollars a family to 1,000. In January 1977 alone, the regime admitted a net loss of 1,700 settlers through emigration. These figures do not give account of those settlers who disappear out of the country by taking holiday leave never to return.
- (c) To general call-up (virtual conscription) of Rhodesian racists into the army against our Patriotic forces has been widened, since 1976, to include the ages between 16 and 38 years. Since the call up is a non-productive activity the regime's firms, factories and other industries are paying large salaries to employees in uniform. The regime's economy consequently suffers man-power shortages. The exodus through emigration saps directly on the military and economic potential

of the enemy. The growth of profits is being reversed, the productivity level is falling.

The victories we are scoring daily have driven the Salisbury Nazi regime to desperation. Hundreds of white settlers, as indicated above, are being forcibly drafted into the army having been manifestly disgruntled by the military weakness of the regime. The Rhodesian regime has expended its criminal units of mercenaries and the Selous Scouts. The Selous Scouts are a unit of black collaborators mixed with racists who are absolved from criminal charges in advance and assigned, specifically, the mission to hoodwink the African population and lure it to mass killings and destruction of their property and villages. The mercenaries now exceed 4,000 and are recruited from the Western Countries which today pretend to seek democratic solution of the Rhodesian problem, the U.S.A., Britain, Australia, West Germany, France and of course South Africa.



Dear Brothers, the Ian Smith racist regime has borrowed from the evil pages of Israel in the Middle East and the U.S.A. during the Viet Nam war, the practice of constant aggression on neighbouring countries. Mozambique, Zambia and Botswana are being provocatively aggressed by the Rhodesian regime with two objectives:

- (a) to intimidate them from supporting our war of national liberation,
- (b) to provoke an internationalized conflict in the region with a view to compromising the independence of these Frontline States.

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The conduct of the regime is a direct reaction of the effective development of the national liberation war being waged by the Patriotic Front. We are encouraged by the Frontline States in their determination to share all sacrifices with us until our victory. We are, ourselves, committed to intensifying the war to its victory.

Under the guise of a "peaceful settlement" Britain and the United States are scheming to install a puppet regime in Rhodesia by 1978. They are pretending that a war situation does:

- (a) not prevail in Zimbabwe today. Consequently they are indulging in constitutional manoeuvres aimed at creating an independence of Zimbabwe based on power sharing between adversaries of genuine independence and their collaborators with the true patriots of Zimbabwe who have shed a great deal of patriotic blood for the true independence of our country. It would be unmitigated treachery to let the victory born out of the sweat of so much blood and other forms of sacrifice to pass over to collaborators, with imperialists, clever-talkers, pretenders and waylayers.
- (b) The position of the Patriotic Front has been stated clearly now and again. Because the Zimbabwe national liberation struggle is in a stage of war, settlement can only mean settlement of the war. This means settlement can only be between forces locked in combat, that is the Patriotic Front on the one side and the British Government on the other, with the Ian Smith regime as its appendage. Total power must then be transferred to the people of Zimbabwe without reservations of any kind.
- (c) British diplomacy on Zimbabwe is currently in desperate need for justification to transfer power to some black puppets and collaborators and then call the exercise "independent Zimbabwe." The whole objective is to undermine and outmanoeuvre the purposes of the national liberation war being carried out by the Patriotic Front. It is imperative, at this juncture, for the O.A.U. to be extremely careful not to encourage elements in Zimbabwe which could be used by the British Government to push on the sell-out deal. The O.A.U. should concentrate its support materially, politically and diplomatically on the single effort of the armed liberation struggle being carried by the patriotic forces of Zimbabwe. This is the only way we can, together realize the independence of Zimbabwe sooner and without confusion.

We are aware that the O.A.U. is seized, certainly with good intention, with the question of unity of the people of Zimbabwe. This is a subject nearly as old as the O.A.U. itself. Zimbabweans and the O.A.U. alike must be able to

draw certain conclusions and priorities at this stage to enable the unhampered development of the national liberation war. The basic movements with historical and popular roots are ZAPU and ZANU. It is these two movements which have developed the liberation war in Zimbabwe and command the armed forces currently fighting for the liberation of the country. Today we of ZAPU and ZANU on our own initiative, at our own pace and gratefully encouraged by the Frontline States with whom we share the burden of physical sacrifices on the ground in the war have bound ourselves into a Patriotic Front. We have unified objectives and we are progressively moving towards a union. We have demonstrated this and we continue to do so in practice. We have never, at any time, pretended to have become a monolithic organization, taking into account the realities of the past. (a) Any difficulty in concept as to the nature of our front we refer any such doubts for clearance to the experience of Viet Nam. To speak of unity with fractionists and opportunists at this serious stage of the Zimbabwe struggle is to reverse progress for the benefit of British manoeuvres. It is an irrelevance and a retrogression.

- (b) The facts must be faced squarely and these are: —
- (I) the war of national liberation and all its burdens are being borne by the Patriotic Front,
  - (II) the issue to support in Zimbabwe is the war of liberation only, if the support is to be clear-headed and genuine,
  - (III) the sacrifices of the Frontline States and those of the Patriotic Front constitute a single war effort for the liberation of Zimbabwe,
  - (IV) the Patriotic Front is open to any Zimbabwean that is committed to promotion of the war of liberation.

We, of the Patriotic Front, therefore consider that the priority question on the liberation of our country, Zimbabwe, is the urgent need for material, financial and diplomatic support to the war we are carrying out vigorously today. This is the urgent challenge to all the supporters of the struggle for the liberation of Zimbabwe. We have in our command thousands and thousands of Zimbabweans, who are unclothed, inadequately fed who are stretching out their hands for weapons to defeat the desperately cruel racist enemy of white settlers.

We therefore appeal to the O.A.U. to play its role and give us this much needed assistance so that we could quickly shorten the life the Ian Smith regime and thereby realize our victory for the genuine independence of Zimbabwe. Our appeal is not unmindful of the fact that the O.A.U. and all its member States continue to make contributions for the benefit of our struggle for which we would like to register our gratitude. As the struggle escalates the demands increase hence our appeal.



# GIRLS' ROLE

## IN THE STRUGGLE

by *Thokozile Ushe*

Today women play a great part in politics all over the world. Not long ago women were not allowed to vote. They belonged to the house and their husbands. National affairs were an exclusive matter for men. One such prominent woman is Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike of Sri Lanka. She became her country's Prime Minister after her husband's assassination. Another is Mrs. Indira Gandhi of India who became Premier after her father's death.

Though both these women were defeated in the elections this year, what they did during their term of office remain significant to the whole world. Another prominent woman is Angela Davies of the USA, a black American she has worked relentlessly against oppression and exploitation for several years. She worked with the late Dr. Martin Luther King during the black American's civil rights in 1963 when she organized marches all over the country.

Throughout national liberation processes, women have played a crucial role by taking part in all aspects of the fight. Some care for the injured comrades, others supply vital information to freedom fighters. All these facilitate and lighten the struggle. Mrs. S. Machel, the late wife of the President of Mozambique, is another example of a determined and dedicated woman who played a major role in the struggle for her country's liberation. She struggled for a long time side by side with her husband under very difficult and trying conditions. Mozambican women as a whole play a very decisive role in produc-

tion fields and those of construction in their country. Another shining example is that of Mrs. Winnie Mandela of South Africa. She has been detained, restricted and imprisoned but she has refused to bow down to the wishes and pressures of the South African racists. She is continuing the struggle for freedom for her country. Zimbabwean women have been playing a major role too in the fight for their country's freedom. They have joined their men in large numbers and assumed active role at various levels of their national organisation. They are found in military, political, and socio-economic wings of their national organisation, ZAPU-Patriotic Front. Some of them have stood firm till their last breath. Such was the heroic stand of Mai Mushambia who died in detention. Others like Jane Ngwenya, Mai Makwavarara, Mrs. Ruth Chinamano, Mrs. Dhlomo have served long and painful spells in detention in Rhodesian cells. They are all involved fully in the liberation despite these attempts to intimidate them.

Among girls who join the Zimbabwean armed struggle quite a number is sent abroad for various studies. After completing their academic assignments they are all expected to return to the Party, and continue with the struggle alongside with other comrades. Some years ago, a few of these girls did not return. After their courses or studies, they were attracted by bright possibilities of earning large sums of money abroad and buying themselves clothing. These girls betrayed the struggle and their fighting people.

These days, however, Zimbabwean



girls do not desert the struggle after completing their studies and courses. They do not look for or create excuses by getting permanently or temporarily attached to foreign friends. They feel that it is their duty to return and fight side by side with their brothers and fathers as equals. They take part in teaching, radio-broadcasting and in other fields to alert the world about the atrocities and crimes of the Rhodesian regime. Women's organisation have helped a lot of female students to understand how the struggle needs them. Those who deserted might have thought that their services were not needed. This could have been a result of traditional thinking. Nowadays girls are not inhibited by such feelings. They contribute as equals of their menfolk. They have shown in many difficult situations that their determination to liberate their motherland is second to none. As more of them get political education more will get more deeply committed than ever before. Zimbabwe needs everybody's service. Zimbabwe shall and must be free. Our girls are playing a big part in this patriotic struggle.

# NEED FOR NATIONAL UNITY

*by Shully Mashingaidze*

The recognition of the Patriotic Front by the recent summit of the OAU was a very important move in direction towards consolidating the national unity of Zimbabwe. The people of Zimbabwe deeply thank Zambia's president Dr. Kenneth Kaunda whose voice on the Southern African situation represented the stand of the leaders of the front-line states. Now that the Patriotic Front is recognised by the OAU as the sole liberation movement of Zimbabwe, victory is certain.

The recognition of the Patriotic Front by the OAU emphasises the importance of national unity in Zimbabwe, we know and appreciate national unity. We have learned through history that divisionists can cause serious situations where brother can fight against brother. We have seen how puppets in the South of Korea were used by imperialists to divide the country into two hostile parts that tore each other in the

1950—1953 war. We are also aware of the Angolan case where reactionaries and puppets in the pay of foreign powers misled the people and caused a great deal of bloodshed.

We have people who are being used by the Smith's regime. People like the REV. SITHOLE, chief Chirau and chief Kaiser Ndiweni and bishop Abel Muzorewa directly or indirectly serve the divisive purposes of the Smith's regime. Smith is trying desperately to use them to divide us. There is propaganda being spread about that, that there is tribal strife between Shonas and Ndebeles. All this is absolute rubbish propagated by malicious critics. In the Patriotic Front (ZAPU) we have neither Shonas nor Ndebeles. We have Zimbabweans. We do not attach tribal tags to people. We do not care about their race or colour. All that matters is that they are Zimbabweans and human beings.

We are not fighting in order to have a divided nation. We are fighting for a free Zimbabwe for all regardless of

whether they are black, white or yellow. Everybody is welcome in the Patriotic Front. The armed struggle is not against the white people. (We do not care about their race and colour.) It is against a system practised by the minority regime, the majority of whose members are white. We are fighting against this evil of the white minority regime. We are fighting against racism, fascism and brutal oppression. We have repeatedly made very clear to the whole world that if Smith painted his regime black and but continued to practise the same evil system of government we shall continue to fight.

Scores of non-Zimbabweans have lost their lives for our sake. Their sacrifices are unforgettable expressions of international support and unity for our struggle. What more can these people display to show the importance of unity with the fighting people of Zimbabwe. The liberation struggle continues not for the freedom of Zimbabwe alone but for the rest of Africa and the entire freedom loving world.

Zambians, Tanzanians, Mozambicans and Batswanas are prepared to sacrifice their lives for Zimbabwe, we too in Zimbabwe should be and are prepared to sacrifice for South Africa's and Namibia's case and freedom. As human beings, we share common feeling with our brothers and sisters in Namibia and South Africa. We have an internationalist duty to free the whole of Africa.

We are fighting for freedom and liberty in Zimbabwe, we want to be treated as human beings, to live as free and equal people in decency and happiness, peace and love. This we shall achieve because we are fighting as a united people in the Patriotic Front. The Patriotic Front is for all Zimbabweans and not for a particular tribal section or region. We are matured enough to know that a divided nation cannot defeat its enemy, it cannot develop fast industrially, culturally, politically and otherwise. Hence we have the Patriotic Front for all Zimbabweans, to bind them together as one nation.



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The Rhodesian regime is increasing its ruthlessness against the masses of Zimbabwe. As the patriotic Front forces of ZIPA intensify the armed struggle daily Smith's racists increase their madness against the innocent masses of Zimbabwe. In almost every part of the country there have been cases of blatant and unprovoked massacre of the African people and white Missionaries known to support the cause of the majority.

In the Beitbridge area, Smith's forces attacked many villages and killed many people accused of having sheltered and helped freedom fighters with food. Among those shot and wounded is Mrs. Mbedzi, mother of

razed to the ground. Smith's forces later accused freedom-fighters of these inhuman atrocities.

In the Belingwe area, Rhodesian armed bandits have been on the rampage for many months. In one incident they grabbed two African shopkeepers, tortured and assaulted them so badly for several days that they were later hospitalised at Mnene Mission hospital for about two weeks. The two, Miss Maybe Gumbi and a Mr. Sibanda, were accused of having sold foodstuffs to Guerrillas at Maranda Township in the Belingwe area. In the same area, a pupil from Makuva School was shot in the leg as he was running away from a Pack of



breaking. The curfew hours are between 18 and six hours. Another victim of the so-called curfew hours was chief Nyamondo of the same district who was shot dead by the Smith's armed criminals who were supposed to be guarding him. They said he broke the curfew hours. But some of them stated that they had killed him because their lives were in danger because of guarding him. They said freedom fighters wanted to eliminate him and other sellouts, and that they would like to attack the chief's guards first in order to get at him. The terror that reigns in Rhodesian rural areas today is so vicious that the masses have decided to make the ultimate sacrifice by joining the armed struggle through the ZIPA forces of the Patriotic-Front.

Meanwhile, ZIPA forces operating in the Gokwe region of the country have killed a number of enemy forces including private Michael Chikozo. In Goromonzi area, ZIPA eliminated several agents among whom there was assistant District Commissioner Tobias Marufu. Details of the operations are still coming in the Patriotic Front office in Lusaka.

## IAN SMITH'S RUTHLESSNESS

ZAPU Patriotic Front radio Broadcaster, John Mbedzi. Her neighbour, Saul Ndlovu, (not the ZIMBABWE REVIEW editor — in — chief) was killed instantly when the fascists destroyed his village and hundreds of cattle. He was accused of having given food to ZIPA forces. Many other villages in the same area were also

armed Rhodesian bandits who were viciously assaulting his girl friend. The boy, a son of a certain local Sithole, was later treated for serious gun-shot wounds at Belingwe hospital. In the same area the armed brutes coldbloodedly killed a man who was coming from a church service at 16 hours. He was accused of curfew

# NKOMO CORRECTS DISTORTIONS

by Ray Takavarasha

Lusaka: Comrade Joshua Nkomo, co-leader of the Patriotic Front and President of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) on July 26 corrected malicious lies broadcast by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) about a summit of five front-line heads of states in Lusaka that received a report about measures to unify the armed forces of the Patriotic Front. The lies were sent to the BBC by the Corporation's Lusaka-based representative, John Borrell was reported to have said moves to unify the armed forces of ZAPU with those of ZANU were difficult because of what he described as "deep-seated differences".

Explaining what transpired at the mini-summit, Comrade Joshua Nkomo said: "certain things have been said following the meeting of the heads of states. I want to make our position very clear regarding statements that have come from some of you people of the press reporting what you said was told to you by President Julius Nyerere. I was present at the conference, and what went on there was a meeting between us, that is to say the Patriotic Front, and four heads of states plus the Vice-President of Botswana. The meeting took about two and half hours.

The Presidents then met Sam Nujoma of SWAPO after which they met

the President of the ANC of South Africa, Oliver Tambo. It is not correct that the Presidents met the Patriotic Front for five to six hours, and that the Presidents tried to unite the Patriotic Front. One of you said this was found to be very difficult because of what he called deep-seated differences between ZAPU and ZANU. This is malicious reporting for malicious purposes. I clearly understand the sources from which this report came and why. It follows certain statements made by leaders to Ministers of the British government.

Dr. David Owen, British Foreign Relations and Commonwealth Secretary, says there is a problem in Zimbabwe of a tribal nature. What fiction this is! What is the British Government trying to do? When a man of Owen's standing makes a public statement saying one of the problems facing the British Government in Rhodesia is a tribal one between the leaders, we must ask what he is up to. If Dr. Owen means tribalism that possibly some of his friends are trying to create in Zimbabwe, we shall expose such people.

Certain upstarts who, because they lack political standing want to rise on debased subject of tribalism. Bishop Abel Muzorewa is the man who talks of tribal war in Zimbabwe, and then Dr. Owen echoes the same thing that the Bishop Muzorewa talks. One wonders what this is meant to ach-

eive if it is not for the British Government to create another area of conflict as many have been created by the British Government in various parts of the world. Now here is somebody, somewhere who wants to create a tribal problem that does not exist in Zimbabwe.

"I am now going to, talk about one man who is here. He is your colleague John Borrell who is supposed to have reported to the BBC that the heads of states had tried to unite ZAPU and ZANU people who have long standing differences. What nonsense? He said when we met in Dar es Salaam that there was a deadlock and he goes on to say that this comes from nationalist sources. When a man wants to create what he hear from himself, he must say so. He must not attribute this to some other source. There is no such thing as nationalist sources apart from ourselves. After we have met in Dar es Saalam, we issued out a statement that we had agreed on a unified programme. What could not be progress in that decision. Where did John Borrell get this nonsense about a deadlock in Dar es Salaam, and that the Presidents had tried to unite us. There was no such thing.

What we did was to give the presidents information about what we were doing. The presidents do not decide for us. They listen to us. They hear what we have to say as leaders of Zimbabwe. Let me make it very clear here that we met in Dar es Salaam and agreed on a unified military Programme. If there is someone here who thinks he can divide the Patriotic Front by telling lies, or wishes to maintain Ian Smith's regime because it protects certain interests, let me tell him that we are going to destroy that regime.

One other reason John Borrell gives for ZAPU and ZANU allegedly not coming together is because out of 10,000 trained people, ZAPU has less than half. What is 10,000? If you think that our strenght is 10,000, tell your kith and kin in Rhodesia to believe that lie and they will get what they deserve. I know that the aim of such liars is to try and encourage the



Rhodesian regime to believe that we have no military strength. Military strength we have, I can assure you. No matter what the BBC and other British news media shall do to destroy the armed struggle in Zimbabwe, it shall not be destroyed by them, I can assure you about that. So I should inform you that the presidents listened to us yesterday. They

did not discuss what some of you call unity problems in ZAPU und ZANU. We discussed in Dar es Salaam and agreed on a unified military programme. We are on the process of implementing our agreements of Dar es Salaam.

Another issue we discussed was the so called Anglo-American scheme. I

do not know why it is called Anglo-American scheme, but as far as we are concerned, we are discussing with the British government. Whatever Programme is brought to us is a British government's programme and not an Anglo-American one. This must be perfectly clear to all concerned. We agreed with the five leaders on our course of action.

## Session

### of the Bureau of the World Peace Council Presidential Committee

"This session of the Bureau of the World Peace Council is taking place in the background of a sharpened struggle between the progressive and reactionary forces on a world scale. Through this meeting it is hoped that the peoples of the world will raise a clear voice in defence of what the whole of humanity holds dear — world peace and security . . .", stated Alfred Nzo, Secretary General of the African National Congress of South Africa. He was addressing the Bureau Session of the Presidential Committee of the WPC which held its sittings in Berlin (GDR) from 9—12 September, 1977.

The Session dealt with a wide range of questions and problems confronting the world. Special attention was paid to the areas of conflict especially that which faces the liberation movements in Southern Africa.

We print hereunder some of the resolutions which were unanimously adopted by the Session in which delegates from all over the world participated.

## RESOLUTION ON ZIMBABWE

The World Peace Council Bureau Meeting considers that the development of the struggle for national liberation, independence and social emancipation in Zimbabwe has reached a crucial stage. The illegal Smith regime faced with imminent collapse resulting from the successes achieved by the Patriotic Front is now, in desperation, engaging in daily killings and massacres of the people of Zimbabwe. It is embarking on unlawful acts of aggression against the Peoples Republic of Mozambique, where its troops are violating its sovereignty, and have massacred hundreds of civilians and destroyed scores of towns and villages. The Republic of Botswana has also been a victim of this criminal aggression.

In order to bring about a peaceful settlement of the prevailing war situation in Zimbabwe, the Bureau fully supports the position of the Patriotic Front for a direct transfer of power to the people of Zimbabwe.

The participants condemn the Western powers who in collusion with the Apartheid regime continue to give economic and military support to the Rhodesian illegal regime. This support is directed at strengthening the Smith regime in its resolve to defy world public opinion and allows it to buy time for the so-called internal settlement, a sinister scheme the motive of which is to turn Zimbabwe into a neo-colonialist pro-imperialist puppet state. It has become the urgent task of World public opinion to condemn and expose the so-called Anglo-American initiative as a conspiracy designed to prevent the Patriotic Front from assuming political power and thereby to subvert the genuine independence of Zimbabwe by retaining it in the imperialist camp.

The participants strongly condemn efforts of the Western powers to project Vorster as the liberator of Zimbabwe by involving the Apartheid regime in the so-called „peace settlement talks“ on Zimbabwe.

The meeting draws attention to the fraudulent elections that have been undertaken by the Ian Smith regime, and calls for actions to expose them as designed to isolate the Patriotic Front and to give credibility to the racist minority and its African puppets.

The meeting appeals for vigorous actions to be undertaken, especially by support and solidarity movements within the Western countries, to ensure that these countries comply with the UN resolutions calling for sanctions against Rhodesia.

At this time when many innocent Zimbabweans are being subjected to brutal massacre it has become a matter of urgency to engage in campaigns to prevent the recruitment and sending of mercenaries from Western countries to Rhodesia to bolster the racist army of Ian Smith.

The Bureau calls upon all progressive and peace-loving forces to increase their moral and material support to the people of Zimbabwe through the Patriotic Front.

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## RESOLUTION ON SOUTH AFRICA

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The World Peace Council Bureau Meeting views with serious concern the intensified campaign of terror by the racist regime in South Africa since the uprisings which started in Soweto on June 16, 1976, and condemns the continued repression and atrocities committed against the South African patriots, including school children, who are courageously struggling to end the fascist system of Apartheid.

In view of the Apartheid regime's unabated brutal repression of the African people, (who constitute the overwhelming majority of the South African population), in arrogant defiance of the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations, other international bodies, organisations, and the world community; and in view of its unprecedented military build-up and criminal acts of aggression against the neighbouring independent African states;

The Bureau meeting reaffirms that the existence of the Apartheid regime constitutes a threat to peace in the whole continent of Africa and consequently in the world, and therefore: calls on governments, political parties, international and national organisations, on all progressive and peace-loving peoples of the world, to support the just national liberation struggle of the people of South Africa, led by the African National Congress for national self-determination through the transfer of power to the people and the establishment of a non-racial democratic South Africa. Redoubled efforts in organising campaigns of political, moral and material support for the liberation movement led by the ANC have become an urgent and important means of eradicating Apartheid.

The participants, noting that the United Nations has condemned Apartheid as a crime against humanity denounce the imperialist countries and their multinational corporations, especially the United States, France, FRG, Britain, Japan and some other countries for the continued polit-

ical, economic and military support they render the Apartheid regime.

Of particular concern is the supply of arms (including nuclear collaboration with South Africa by France, the FRG and Israel), which makes these countries undisguised accomplices in the crimes of the Apartheid regime.

The participants view with serious concern and strongly condemn the advanced preparations for the detonation of a nuclear device by South Africa. It is clear that the possession of nuclear weapons by the South African fascists poses a real danger to the peace of the African continent and the world. It has thus become the urgent task of the progressive forces to mount effective actions against the nuclearisation of the African continent.

The Bureau calls on the United Nations Security Council to impose a mandatory arms embargo and economic sanctions against South Africa and to urge all states to strictly observe these measures.

The participants fully support the decision of the UN Economic and Social Council to declare 1978 as the International Year of Victory over Apartheid and in this regard calls on the international community to intensify campaigns:

- for the total isolation of South Africa in the political, economic, military, diplomatic and cultural fields;
- for the non-recognition of the sham „Transkei Independence“ and that of any other Bantustan in the future;
- for the release of all political prisoners and detainees. In this aspect strenuous efforts should be made to save the lives of 12 patriots who are accused of having planned and organised to overthrow the Apartheid regime as members of the ANC and consequently face the possibility of being sentenced to death;
- for the ending of South Africa's acts of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola and Zambia, and of the continued illegal occupation of Namibia;
- for the implementation of the Programme of Action of the World Conference Against Apartheid, Racism and Colonialism in Southern Africa, held 16–19 June in Lisbon, and the UN Conference of Actions Against Apartheid, held in Lagos.

The participants in the Bureau meeting undertake to mobilise world-wide solidarity actions with the people of South Africa until the victory is achieved against the Apartheid regime.

The African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) and the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe place on record their profound appreciation for the consistent assistance they receive during the course of the struggles of their people from the Socialist countries; the organisation of African Unity and in particular from the front-line states and also from all democratic and peace-loving forces of the world.



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## RESOLUTION ON NAMIBIA

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The World Peace Council Bureau Meeting deeply concerned about the continued illegal occupation of Namibia by the Apartheid regime of South Africa in defiance of the expressed aspirations of the Namibian people, the Resolution of the United Nations and world public opinion draws attention to the urgent need for ending the occupation and thereby the increased reign of terror which that regime perpetrates against the people of Namibia.

The participants strongly condemn the economic, political, military and diplomatic support which the imperialist countries especially the USA, France, FRG, Britain and Japan continue to give to the South African regime thus helping the racists to consolidate their stranglehold over Namibia.

The participants draw attention to the increasing military build up in Namibia by the Apartheid regime of South Africa, and to the use of that territory by the racist army as a springboard to carry out acts of aggression against the African independent states of the Peoples Republic of Angola and Zambia and therefore, calls on the UN, the OAU and world public opinion to undertake actions aimed at halting these acts of aggression.

The Bureau denounces as fraudulent the proposed so-called Turnhalle interim government whose main purpose is to deceive world public opinion; isolate the SWAPO, which is the genuine representative of the people of Namibia, and unilaterally transform Namibia into a neo-colony of South Africa and her Western allies. It calls for campaigns to expose this manoeuvre and similar conspiracies currently being carried out by the FRG, USA, France, Canada and Britain.

Since SWAPO is the only vanguard organisation leading the just struggle of the people of Namibia, all diplomatic action aimed at handing over power to the Namibian people must be taken only in consultation with SWAPO and with its approval. To do the contrary will only lead to the intensification of the war and internationalisation of the conflict.

The meeting fully supports SWAPO's readiness to negotiate with South Africa strictly on the mechanics of transferring political power to the Namibian people provided South Africa unequivocally complies with SWAPO's preconditions, which include the unconditional release of all political prisoners and a commitment to withdraw the South African army and police force from Namibia.

The Bureau condemns and denounces South Africa's annexation of the port of Walvis Bay and the seven coastal islands of Namibia and demands that South Africa respect the territorial integrity of Namibia.

The Bureau condemns and denounces South Africa's development of nuclear weapons, especially its establishment of nuclear testing sites on the territory of Namibia.

The Bureau calls on World public opinion to mobilise effective actions against those Western countries, particularly the FRG and France, which continue to collaborate with South Africa in the manufacture of nuclear weapons. The Bureau condemns economic collaboration of the U.K., the USA, the FRG, France, Japan and other imperialist countries with South Africa since this helps to maintain the illegal regime in Namibia, and demands that all the activities of multinationals in Namibia be stopped.

The Bureau joins the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO in rejecting South Africa's so-called Administrator General for Namibia, since to accept his authority would legitimize South Africa's presence in Namibia.

The Bureau declares its unconditional support for the national liberation struggle waged by the people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO and urges governments, international and national organisations, and all progressive and peace-loving peoples to increase their political and material support to SWAPO.

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## RESOLUTION OF SUPPORT TO THE FRONT LINE STATES

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The Bureau of the World Peace Council held in Berlin from September 9–12, 1977 and dealing with the problems of apartheid, racism and colonialism:

- sure that the existence of apartheid, racism and colonialism in Southern Africa constitutes a permanent threat to world peace and security;
- taking into account the fundamental role played by the Front Line States of Angola, Botswana, Zambia, Mozambique and Tanzania as a safe base in support of the liberation fight of the peoples of Southern Africa, South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe;
- considering that the Front Line States, supporting the liberation fight of Southern Africa, have consolidated their own national independence and, at the same time, applied the resolution approved by the Organisation of African Unity and the United Nations Organisation which corresponds to the appeal of the international community as a whole;
- considering that, in this situation, it is essential for the international community to take an active part in all actions of support, solidarity and defense of the Front Line States;
- concerned about the expansionist policy of South Africa and the fascist regime's ambitious move to acquire nuclear weaponry;
- in conformity with its repeated condemnation of the frequent acts of aggression by the minority regimes of Southern Africa which pose a threat to the stability of the region and the entire continent.

1. Ascertains with deep concern that the acts of sabotage and subversion, the provocations and aggressions against the Front Line States are part of a global strategy of imperialism in Southern Africa which aims at provoking destabilisation in progressive countries, threatening them in order to stop their militant support to the fighting peoples, forcing them to capitulate before the diplomatic initiatives of imperialism, and internationalising the conflicts.
2. Considers Great Britain as the power directly responsible for the aggressive acts carried out by its colony of Southern Rhodesia, once it bears full authority in the solution of the colonial problem of Zimbabwe.
3. Reaffirms its support to the Front Line States and recognises their full right to take all necessary measures to safeguard national sovereignty and territorial integrity, including the right recognized by the UNO Charter to have recourse to the support both of friendly countries and of progressive organisations all over the world, in order to face the aggressions of which they are the victims.
4. Urgently appeals to all progressive organisations, all peace and justice-loving states and peoples in the world, to manifest in practice their total political, diplomatic and material solidarity with the Front Line States and any other States situated in the same geographical area which can be direct targets of imperialist manoeuvres.
5. Calls upon the United Nations and all progressive forces of the World to expose, denounce and condemn those Western countries, especially the USA, FRG and France, and also Israel and Japan, for cooperating with and assisting the Apartheid regime in the production of nuclear weapons of mass destruction.
6. Appeals to all peace-loving nations to unequivocally support our proposal to proclaim the year 1978 "The International Anti-Apartheid Year" with the view to complete liquidation of the system.

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GDR, 116 Berlin

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# CABLE

to UN Secretary General and copy  
to UN Committee

## Against Apartheid

Your Excellency World Peace Council Bureau Meeting 9-12 September in Berlin to plan actions supporting Southern Africa peoples in their fight against evils of apartheid racism and colonialism has honour inform You unanimous decision urging United Nations proclaim 1978 International Anti-Apartheid Year stop World Peace Council Bureau adopted an elaborate programme of actions to promote during International Anti-Apartheid Year increased assistance South African liberation movement by governments organisations and peoples of the world for further all-round isolation South African regime and will alert world public opinion to its growing nuclear capability which poses a serious threat to world peace and security.

# ON THE OCCASION OF NAMIBIA NATIONAL DAY

## STATEMENT BY NATIONAL CHAIRMAN OF ZAPU: COMRADE SAMUEL MUNODAWAFA.

*Members of the Central Committee of SWAPO,  
Your Excellency the Representative of the Zam-  
bian Government,  
Your Excellencies, Diplomatic Representatives,  
Fellow Comrades of the African National Con-  
gress of South Africa,  
Comrades,*

"It was with great honour that our organisation, the Patriotic Front, was invited to this great occasion of the people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO. My task, and a very pleasant task at that, is to extend to you Comrades of SWAPO our fervent congratulations. We recognise that this day is not only a day of pleasure but a day of renewed dedication and resolution to pursue the struggle for the liberation of Namibia

with greater determination. The greater significance of the day lies in the fact that the fighting forces of SWAPO have advanced considerably within Namibia and the people of Namibia have rallied behind SWAPO in their entirety.

"Comrades, let me assure you that the Patriotic Front follows the progress of the struggle in Namibia with a conviction that the struggle for the liberation of Namibia is at the same time a struggle for the liberation of Zimbabwe. The victory of Namibia shall be the victory of Zimbabwe and the victory of Zimbabwe shall be the victory of Namibia. Therefore, we have to march together to achieve our common victory.

"My mention of this should not sound like familiar routine talk. From the African point of view we are one people in one continent and therefore bound by common fate or fortune. Historically we both faced the disaster of the Berlin Conference in the last century when the

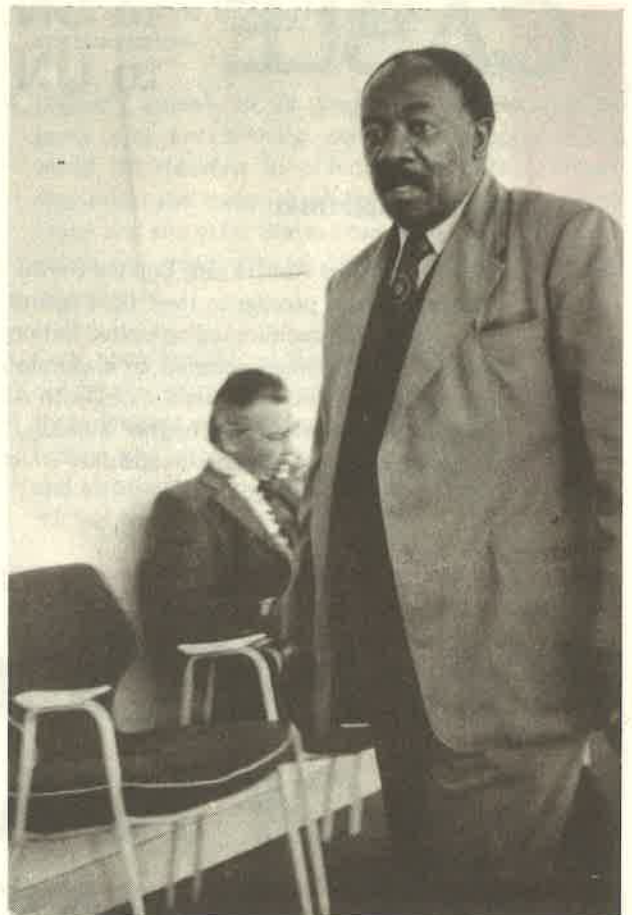
imperialists of Europe chose to share us and our land amongst themselves. We have now both taken up arms to liberate ourselves and the same capitalist nations of Europe have come together to face us by common strategy, seeking to circumvent the United Nations and lead us to another trap which ensures nothing else but their economic interests. We both face the Vorster-Smith device of so-called internal settlement. All these are efforts to seek a compromise between our liberation forces and reactionary elements.

"You have your chief Kapuas, we have our chief Chiraus, You have your Kerinas, we have our Muzorewas, you have your Turnhülle settlement attempt, we have our Smith's so called 'Broad-based national government, Together, the Patriotic Front and SWAPO, we are facing diplomatic hoverings of Britain, the United States, West Germany and France speaking about one man one vote elections but remaining studiously vague about what decisive security force shall guarantee security in the country when such elections take place. "In any case we do not have to be told what security forces can and should guarantee the security of our countries. It must be acknowledged in first instance that it is the liberation forces that have sweated blood to bring about the realisation that a solution must be found quickly. It is only those forces which understand and have known sacrifice for the people which can and must guarantee the safety and security of the people and country.

"The Patriotic Front, therefore wishes to congratulate SWAPO for the firm stand that no elections can be tolerated in the presence of reactionary South African forces, forces which have opposed the independence of Namibia all along; forces which are currently training puppet forces for the subversion of neighbouring independent African states. Out with the reactionary forces of the Vorster South African regime!

The Patriotic Front holds that the Vorster regime plays one single role in Southern Africa and that is that of subverting the liberation struggle and the independence of African states.

"Let me assure you comrades in solidarity, the Patriotic Front stands by the position that unless power to the people of Zimbabwe is transferred through their liberation movement, fighting will continue relentlessly. We are aware that any slackening we make in Zimbabwe will have adverse effects to the liberation struggle in Namibia and South Africa.



Alfred Nzo – General-Secretary of the ANC South Africa

"I am sure this day is appropriate for us the liberation movements to share with SWAPO gratitude to those countries and organisations which have for years sacrificed their time and material resources in support of our struggles. I have in mind the socialist countries, the Scandinavian countries, the United Nations and, of course, lately those organisations in western countries which have moved mountains to raise support for the struggle.

"As this occasion is that of reflection and re-dedication to the liberation struggle. I will not extend further. Our challenge is to extend our areas of victory. I am sure SWAPO will make it.

*"May Namibia Day be celebrated in Namibia next year!*

*Forward with the armed liberation struggle!  
Forward with the Solidarity of SWAPO and the Patriotic Front!*

*Down with the Reactionary Turnhall puppets!  
Victory to SWAPO FORCES!*

**LONG LIVE THE SOLIDARITY OF THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA AND THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE."**



# FOCUS ON ZIM- BABWE

Exactly a week after the Patriotic Front published its position on the British "Proposals for a Settlement" in Rhodesia, the leaders of the Front Line states - Angola, Botswana, Mocambique, Tanzania and Zambia - met on the 20th of September, 1977, in Maputo, capital of Mocambique, to take their position on the same. For all intents and purposes the Front Line Presidents gave their unstinted backing to the position of the Patriotic Front. Emerging from the discussions, President Nyerere observed that the British proposals had many negative aspects and left many questions unanswered.

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As we go to press the British Government has set in motion its first step in its programme of the so-called "Proposals for Settlement" in Rhodesia. She has already convened a Security Council session of the United Nations to secure appointment of what is called a United Nations representative for Rhodesia. Dr. David Owen, the British Foreign Secretary, was leading his government's delegation to put the case.

The BBC, that agent of British policy, was repeatedly claiming that the Frontline states had given a green-light for the United Kingdom to proceed with the issue of Rhodesia at the United Nations in accordance with the so-called "Proposals for a Settlement" as if Britain was now a servant of the Frontline states or vice-versa.

Our readers deserve to know that the British had long filed a request for a meeting of the Security Council on the issue, before the Frontline states ever met.

The British strategy has always been to try to link up the appointment of a UN representative with the automatic approval of sending into Rhodesia a United Nations so-called "Peace-keeping" force.

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"The Zimbabwe Review" wishes to remind its readers that the British tactic of passing over to the United Nations its unsolved colonial mess is not new.

The United Nations is almost permanently saddled with having to maintain UN forces between the Israelis and the Arab states and between the Turks and Greek Cypriots as a consequence of British colonial policies.

For Zimbabweans the death of Lumumba in the Congo in 1961 because of manoeuvres by Western countries despite the presence of United Nations forces is too unbearable an experience to concede a similar force for Zimbabwe.

In fact we expect members of the United Nations not to permit Britain to hang another albatross (Rhodesia) around the neck of the United Nations following the permanent dilemma of Israel and Cyprus.

## Views, Without Fear or Malice

Fellow Zimbabwean, do not forget three lessons which must be drawn from the Vietnam and Cambodian liberation wars at their last stages,

- 1) the dressing up by the United States of Air Marshall Cao Ky and Big Minh as individuals of popular stature in North and South Vietnam who could bring about a "settlement of the war",
- 2) the programme of building, by the United States, of a new army of the (South) Vietnamese (Vietnamisation of the army) for these men,
- 3) the determination of the liberation forces in the face of the most painful and inhuman cruelty to fight on until victory.

Cao Ky and Big Minh were puppets; the Vietnamisation military policy collapsed; the sacrifices of the Vietnamese and Cambodians won them totally free countries; above all they have no malice against the people of the United States.

The parallel in Zimbabwe is that we have Chirau, Ndabaningi Sithole, Bishop Muzorewa, James Chikerema and Dr. Elliot Gabellah, who are leading a host of opportunists who were never prepared to sacrifice for the liberation of our country but now want to be the first to pluck the fruits of the tree of freedom watered by the blood of the gallant freedom fighters. These are the Cao Kys and Big Minhs of Zimbabwe who are being put up by the British and United States manoeuvres and press as popular hopefuls in their proposals of "controlled democratic" elections.

The British, through a suspected intelligence agent called Professor Hutchinson, lecturing in the United States and through the CIA, through a host of agents infiltrated into Rhodesia despite sanctions, are known to have been sampling and manipulating the Rhodesian situation towards the above-mentioned line-up - hence the rush of the so-called "Proposals".

Bishop Muzorewa, the political mosquito-weight, is, of course, the shadow of James Chikerema the supposed power - draught-piece.

What is important to keep in mind, however, is that Chirau, Sithole, Muzorewa, Chikerema and Dr. Gabellah have all, without exception, called for the retention of the army, police and administration of Ian Smith, not only during transition, but even at independence. In straight language they are saying that they want these murderers of thousands of Africans to continue as instruments of Government if they came to power reinforced by the so-called NEW ARMY.

In fact Sithole and Chikerema, have this additional question to answer before the people of Zimbabwe!

What bargain did you, Sithole and Chikerema, offer to Ian Smith over the thousands of freedom-fighters whom you once led to shoot your way into Zimbabwe and today lie murdered by those Rhodesian forces of Ian Smith or are imprisoned or detained by them - for you to walk and speak as free men in this country?"

To the loud mouthed, swagging and bourgeoisie oriented opportunists led by these men, we demand an answer to the following questions:

- 1) "Do you think the freedom-fighters have forgotten that you were playing a "neutral", "hedging" and "hide and seek" game whilst, together with the toiling masses, they were fighting the enemy?"
- 2) "What makes you believe that you can be protected by the army of the enemy when your sons and daughters, of even ten years old, have left you to join the patriotic liberation forces?"

The Patriotic Front is determined to fight until victory.



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# History Repeats

In November 1960 the Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole was one of the major participants at the so-called "Ndaba" convened by the British in Salisbury to precede the 1961 Constitutional Conference.

Through this strategy the British secured an advance endorsement of only 15 seats for Africans in a Rhodesian Legislative Assembly of 65. The British formalised this proposal at the 1961 Constitutional Conference which President Nkomo denounced and walked out of.

The Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole participated in this "Ndaba" against the ruling of the people's party then, - The National Democratic Party. On the 24th of September, 1977, history repeated itself. The Reverend Sithole, himself now, convened a Salisbury meeting of leaders of all walks of life to give advance endorsement to the British "Proposals".

His meeting even called upon the proposed Resident Commissioner to use United Nations troops to quell what was called factional fights. Which factions?

Whose agent is Ndabaningi?

The Patriotic Front and the Zimbabwe masses rightly ignored this sell-out stunt. When ZAPU pointed out at the dangerous political doings of the Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole in 1963, there were many doubting Thomases then. The truth can never be concealed for ever. It is there now for you to see. If you cannot see, then you can never see.

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## PRESIDENT JOSHUA NKOMO

### AT THE UNITED NATIONS

Comrade Joshua Nkomo, co-leader of the Patriotic Front, arrived New York on the 26th of September, 1977, to attend the Security Council of the United Nations which was convened to consider the request by the British Government for the appointment of a Special United Nations Representative for Rhodesia. The Security Council carried out two days of consultations behind the scenes before sitting in plenary to take a decision on the matter.

Putting across the view of the Patriotic Front, comrade Joshua Nkomo said that if it could be ascertained beyond doubt that the appointment of such a representative should advance the attainment of genuine independence by the people of Zimbabwe, then the Patriotic Front would have no cause to object. He however stressed that the appointment of the representative must not imply consideration or acceptance by the Security Council of the provisions of the British Proposals for a Settlement in Rhodesia because these contained many unacceptable features. Comrade Nkomo further pointed out that in the event of the appointment of such a representative, the United Nations Secretary General would have to carry out close consultations with all members of the Security Council and the parties concerned in Zimbabwe.

Libya moved that the statement of President Nkomo be noted by the Security Council for any further consideration of the issue. It was noted.

Comrade Nkomo addressed the Security Council on the 29th of September. The resolution adopted stated clearly that the limited task of the Special representative was to carry out consultations with the parties involved in Rhodesia on the military questions, on the question of a ceasefire, if ever, and on other arrangements for the transitional period. The parties involved in the war situation in Rhodesia are the Patriotic Front on the one hand and the British Government and their settler kith and kin on the other.

Comrade President Joshua Nkomo immediately left for Lusaka to attend to the pressing tasks of the armed liberation struggle.

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On Friday the 30th of September, 1977, the racist, Ian Smith, issued a statement complaining why the Security Council had listened to the views of the Patriotic Front as put forward by Comrade Joshua Nkomo to the exclusion of the views of Bishop Muzorewa, Chief Chirau and the reverend Ndabaningi Sithole who, presumably, were to present the views of the Rhodesian regime.



# press review



**Fidel sees off Joshua Nkomo,  
president of the Zimbabwe  
African People's Union,  
at José Martí International Airport**

## **JOSHUA NKOMO REAFFIRMS HIS PEOPLE'S DETERMINATION TO FIGHT UNTIL FINAL VICTORY IS ACHIEVED**

● Gives press conference



● HAVANA (AIN). — Joshua Nkomo, president of the Zimbabwe African People's Union and co-president of the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front, reaffirmed his people's determination to fight until final victory was achieved. He was speaking at a press conference he gave here for national and foreign journalists.

The African leader analyzed the causes for his country's decision to engage in armed struggle as the only way to gain liberation.

He said that the revolutionaries in Zimbabwe reject any form of intervention by the United States — which was proposed by the British — in the search for a solution to their country's problems, adding that any analysis of the present situation must take into account the armed struggle.

He said that, if the British wanted to negotiate with ZAPU and the Patriotic Front, they would have to base themselves on one thing alone: the cause of the war, the racist regime of Ian Smith.

He denounced the fascist nature of the Rhodesian racists and the acts of genocide that were being perpetrated against the black population day after day.

In answer to questions put to him by

foreign correspondents, Nkomo said neither Cuban internationalist fighters nor fighters from other countries were participating in the war alongside the patriotic forces nor had they been requested to do so.

He announced that he would be visiting Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana and the United States shortly — not to negotiate but to talk to people.

Speaking of the Zimbabwe people's resistance against the racist regime, Nkomo stressed that the struggle of Zimbabwe was a struggle being waged by the people everywhere in one way or another and that the armed struggle was only part of it.

He said that 75 percent of the country was the scene of struggle and that Ian Smith's administration had no control over that area.

Nkomo concluded the press conference with a message to the people of Cuba to the effect that his people held in high regard the relations that existed between them and the people of Cuba and appreciated Cuba's solidarity and that they hoped and were convinced that relations would be strengthened in the future.

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# 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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