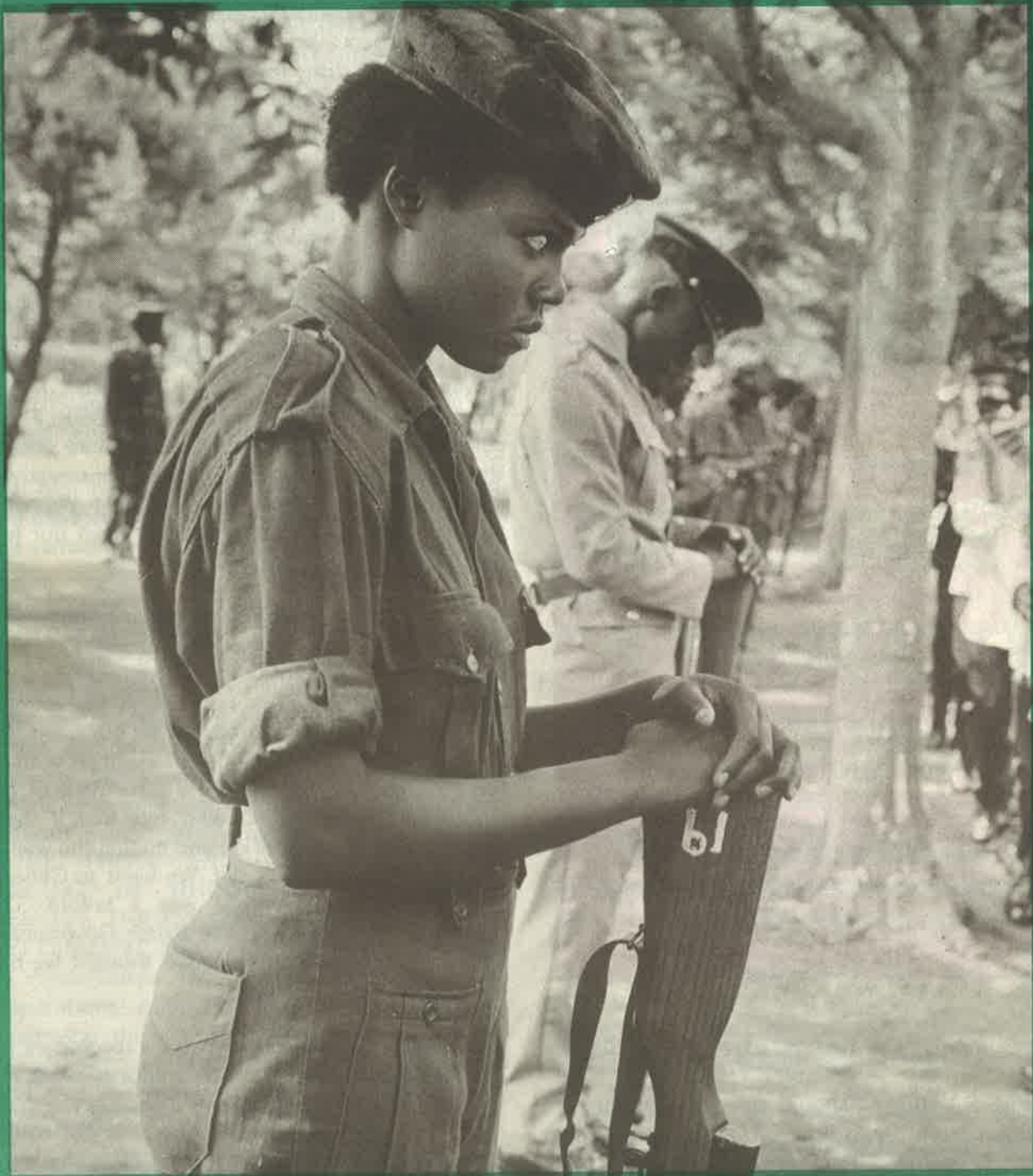


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# ZIMBABWE REVIEW



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# PRESIDENT NKOMO'S MESSAGE

TO THE FIRST EDITION OF THE  
ZIMBABWE VOICE APPEARED ON  
THE 30.4.77 IN LUSAKA

Dear Comrades and friends; I feel that at the inception of our newsletter, THE ZIMBABWE PEOPLE'S VOICE, I should give you a picture of the situation in our country. The position is that we in Zimbabwe, like all people all over the world, demand the right to determine our own destiny. We seek to be masters of our own future, our own destiny. We have tried for a number of

years to achieve this objective. To be precise, the present phase of the liberation started some 30 years ago. I am not belittling or ignoring the historical development and side of our struggle. I am referring to the current phase with its continuity on both methods and objectives.

We have had conferences many times. In 1961 we had a constitutional conference on Rhodesia. Since then there have been attempts to hold conferences and settle the Rhodesian question. Let me put it this way, several attempts failed and in 1965 the Rhodesian regime declared what it called independence. This it did unilaterally. All African leaders were seized, detained and imprisoned. The British Government at the time refused to remove people they termed rebels against the British Queen. We decided to take arms and fight for our motherland. During that period, the British Government came up with one plan after another to try to settle with their kith and kin. Their kith and kin were, however, beyond the pale and would not accept what we regarded as sell-out proposals but what they claimed to be a giving in to what they call irresponsible people. Such were the proposals discussed by the British Government leaders and the Rhodesian racists aboard the Tiger and Fearless in the 1960s. These culminated with those proposals worked out by Rhodesian racists and the British Conservatives, and announced on November 24, 1971. We rejected them all because they did not meet our just demands.

In 1974, after our brothers of the front-line states had discussed with us the possibilities of a settlement after 10 years of war, we attempted to get a settlement. It was all to no avail. A few months later, we were again approached by our front-line states brothers who have been struggling with us for a number of years to get a settlement of the Rhodesian problem, and who felt that if there was a chance of negotiation and ending the war, it should be taken up. We did. We went to Geneva. But again the conference was a failure. The regime of Rhodesia and the British Government were not interested in what we thought we had gone to discuss in Geneva.

We went to Geneva to work out a machinery for the transfer of power from the minority regime to the majority of the people of Zimbabwe, including those presently wielding power in our country. I would like to make it very clear that by a minority we mean a minority of our people who have held illegitimate power for more than 85 years now. This transfer would have included

that minority because we said they are a part of our people, they are a part of the majority. Like in previous cases, the Rhodesian regime and the British Government decided to end up the conference without consulting or informing us.

Now the British Government intends calling another conference. We have made our position very clear on this. We have said after all these years of attempting to come to an agreement with the British Government on our country's problem, we have come to one conclusion, and that is: **THE ONLY WAY TO OBTAIN OR ATTAIN OUR OBJECTIVES IS BY FIGHTING IT OUT AND DEFEATING THE REGIME IN THE BATTLE-FIELD.** We have come to this conclusion not because we are lovers of war, but because the British Government, the Rhodesian regime and their supporters have refused to give in to the demands of our people for a rightful place in our own country. Now we have told the British that as far as we are concerned, the Geneva conference is dead and buried, and we shall never go again to another Geneva conference. If the British Government is interested in a conference on Rhodesia, then it must be a new conference right from scratch, and certain things have got to be accepted right from the beginning.

The first is that the Geneva conference is dead, and the second is that the Rhodesian situation is a war situation. Having accepted that the Rhodesian situation is a war situation and not an ordinary one, we have told the British Foreign Relations Secretary, Dr. David Owen, that those to take part in any conference must be those involved in the war. We have made this perfectly clear to Dr. Owen. On our side it is the Patriotic Front, and on the British Government's side it is the British Government with the Rhodesian regime as an extension of the British Government. Without mentioning names, we are only saying: **ONLY THOSE ENGAGED IN THE WAR RAGING IN RHODESIA TODAY MUST REMOVE THE CAUSES OF THAT WAR IF A SETTLEMENT MUST BE REACHED.** It should be remembered that the conference idea and preparations came because of the war being fought by the Patriotic Front on one side, and British colonial forces of the Rhodesian regime on the other. Only these parties must participate in a conference.

Then we have said to the British Government that the next requirement is a clearly defined agenda. That agenda must have only one item and it should be the transfer of power from the minor-

ity to the majority. This means a constitution based on universal adult suffrage. This item should take from about four to five days. The rest of the time can be spent on drafting the constitution after its content has been cleared within the four to five days.

The British Government has said it would like to co-sponsor the conference with the United States Government. At one time we were made to understand that the US Government should co-chair the conference. We have made our position clear on this, and it is that Southern Rhodesia is a colony of Britain. Decolonisation of that colony is between us and the British Government. The combatants in the war in Rhodesia are ourselves and the British, and, therefore, no other power should take part in any conference between us and our colonisers. That is not to say the Americans should not assist if they can. They can do it like any other country outside the conference. They did it in Geneva. If the British Government insists on introducing the United States into the conference, then the British Government should accept if other powers demand to be in the conference too. We do not want to spend months on end trying to decide who should attend the conference when there is a conflict of and between nations demanding to attend the conference.

I must stress here that the fighting in Zimbabwe has brought about this conference idea. The Patriotic Front whose forces are inflicting heavy blows upon the Rhodesian regime, has an obvious right to decide who should attend and what should be discussed. The British Government cannot have it both ways. It refused to intervene militarily on several occasions when we called on it to step to avert a serious situation from developing in Rhodesia. Even after UDI, the British Government flatly refused to intervene. We are now fighting and the British Government says it is convening a conference to be attended by parties chosen by itself, to discuss items chosen by itself. We cannot accept this.

Lastly, we have made it clear that any document that comes out of that conference, that is any agreement made by the conference must be capable of implementation. It shall have to be implemented. We shall not go to a conference the implementation of whose decisions shall be dependent on Ian Smith, as Dr. Owen has said. Our stand is that an agreement of the conference must be capable of implementation without any regard to Smith's views or wishes. That is important.



# PEOPLE'S WAR

The liberation struggle in Zimbabwe is in its final stage. After this stage, we shall usher in a free and independent Zimbabwe; a Zimbabwe for the people of Zimbabwe; a Zimbabwe in which a person's skin-colour, race, texture of his hair, religious persuasion, tribe and any other non-important tags will not count in the exercising of one's human rights. What shall count in our Zimbabwe shall be the simple fact that one is human. This has been declared many, many times by the national leader of Zimbabwe, Comrade Joshua Nkomo.

The revolutionary war is thus a completely people's war involving every class of the masses of Zimbabwe from the peasantry to the intellectuals. The objective of the war is to liberate the people, all sections of the people. It is not the aim of the struggle to conquer the people. That is what the white minority settler regime did when it established itself against the wishes of the people. It conquered the people because its wars were meant to establish a racist, racialist and fascist minority dictatorship.

Why establishing a racist and fascist dictatorship? Because the racists want a society in which there is exploitation of man by man. In Rhodesia today, the white minority regime has established (and is protecting) a system whereby a tiny minority (that happens to be white) ruthlessly exploits a majority (that happens to be black).

The white minority enjoys privileges that are vigorously denied the majority. These practices shall be destroyed mercilessly in our Zimbabwe.

Ours is a revolutionary struggle. We mean to change the social system that has killed hundreds of thousands of our people, milked our motherland dry of its mineral and other resources, and turned us into squatters and beggars in our own land. Our revolutionary struggle is meant to re-establish our rights and dignity as a people with a past, pride, traditions, customs and aspirations.

The sacrifices being made by our people all over Zimbabwe are not made in vain. They are made because our liberation war is aimed at seizing political, economic and military power and hand it back to the people where it ought to lie. It is not the aim of our national struggle to replace one form of racialism by another; nor is it our wish, immediate or remote, to replace one class of exploiters by another. We are sacrificing so that the people exercise power in all fields and at all levels of our lives. When that is achieved, and it shall be achieved, we shall proudly declare that our revolutionary struggle has produced fruits. To attain this goal, the Patriotic Front shall not relax the intensity of the armed struggle.

**VICTORY IS CERTAIN!**

# COMBAT DIARY

This is the ZPRA(ZIPA) Combat Diary for the first quarter of 1977. In introducing this diary to the masses and combattants in Zimbabwe; to the Zimbabwe patriots in different parts of the world; to our comrades in the world anti-imperialist movement; and to our friends all over, we begin by saluting all the illustrious heroes of our revolutionary anti-colonial struggle for the independence of Zimbabwe. We pay tribute to the gallant men and women who have fallen in the course of the struggle to liberate our motherland. As we record and sing the victories of the people in 1977, we remember the sacrifices which the best sons and daughters of Zimbabwe have made for the liberation of our beloved homeland. For them, no price was too high to pay. They laid down their lives for this just cause.

The last issue of our ZPRA Diary was presented to you, comrades and friends, by one of the towering heroes of our struggle. Comrade J. Z. Moyo, whose eternal revolutionary light will for ever remain a guide to our struggle. He and others have attained revolutionary immortality out of their example to us. They are with us always in their shining acts of selflessness and revolutionary ardour. Their devotion to the struggle, their teachings and their principled uncompromising stand against colonialism and imperialism are today red beacons and signposts on the path of the Zimbabwe people's war. Their political and military leadership, and their personal life styles are touchstones to which we constantly return to measure our own effectiveness in thought and action and for inspiration.

We have a revolutionary duty to uphold what these heroes of Zimbabwe stood for. And more important, as Comrade President Joshua Nkomo our Commander-in-Chief has said the only fitting statue to the lasting glory of these revolutionary

patriots is the unity of the people of Zimbabwe for the ultimate destruction of imperialism in our country, a return of the country to the people of Zimbabwe and the establishment of a classless society.

It is to all the patriots who have fallen in the struggle that our movement and party ZAPU, spearheaded by the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (fighting as part of ZIPA), owes its recent successes. Some of the successes surpass even our most optimistic expectations. And it is to the people of Zimbabwe that these victories belong.

A review of the people's victories contained in the last and present issues of the ZPRA(ZIPA) Combat Diary, makes clear that during the intervening period the people's war has made tremendous all-round gains. It proves one truth, that is, provided we follow the general strategy of ZAPU and all its directives, we can heighten our strike capability, and no enemy can be too strong. It proves also that a military strategy built upon objective material conditions leads revolutionary armed forces to perform what might seem impossible in the eyes and minds of opportunists reactionaries.

Concretely, the diary shows that the nature of our successes is in the number of attacks, the quality of those attacks, the spread of the operations, and the revolutionary political preparedness of our fighting cadres.

First, the increase in the number of successful attacks on enemy military installations and targets of military significance is, when all factors are considered, evidence of our grown strength. In the last four months, taking only a few illustrative examples ZPRA (ZIPA) forces killed 396 enemy soldiers, police and collaborators; wounded 106 counted enemy soldiers; destroyed 20 camps



and bush bases, 8 rail and road bridges, 8 locomotive engines and 90 wagons, 50 military trucks; shot and downed 1 spotter plane; captured 30 enemy soldiers and large quantities of arms and ammunition. All these figures represent an escalation of the revolutionary war.

Second, the mere increase in the number of attacks on the enemy posts does not in itself say much. But here it is significant when read in relation to the quality of these attacks. Quality of attacks refers both to the strategic importance of what is attacked as well as to the manner of executing the attack having regard to the protection of innocent lives. In looking through the diary it is evident that no attack was made without a political and strategic justification. All attacks are directed at military targets. ZPRA(ZIPA) is not fighting the people of Zimbabwe, but the oppressive colonial regime of Ian Smith and all those who collaborate with it. ZPRA(ZIPA)'s mastery of the terrain and integration with the masses enables it to single out specific military targets and to hit them without killing or maiming innocent people. Killing and maiming of innocent peasants and workers, burning homes and crops, are established methods of the Ian Smith Selous Scouts and soldiers in their desperate efforts to intimidate the people

into withdrawing their support for the freedom fighters.

Third, the geographic distribution of our operations is eloquent proof of the strength of the revolutionary forces. Not only do the operations engulf the greater part of the country but, more significant, they show a systematic penetration by our forces of areas hitherto considered impregnable by the enemy. Our forces have struck deep into the highveld, they operate in Beit Bridge — right in between the two enemies of the people of Southern Africa, Smith and Vorster; and have penetrated right into the strategic steel manufacturing and chrome processing areas of Que Que and Gwelo respectively.

Fourth, operations are being carried out so successful on account of the overall political line of our movement which guides the strategies and tactics of the fighters as they march forward side by side with the oppressed masses in Zimbabwe. ZPRA(ZIPA) adheres to the political line laid down by the Party — ZAPU. Among other things, this political outlook instructs us never to train our guns against the people, but only against the enemies of the people; to work with the masses, helping them in their daily tasks and learning from them; to help the people to defend themselves against the enemy; to be always ready to

solve all problems among the local people; never to look down upon the people; and never to take anything from the people without paying for it unless it is a gift.

In upholding the principle of the primacy of the masses in revolution, and of the principle that struggle is revolutionary only if its ultimate goal is people's power, ZPRA(ZIPA) constantly combats divisionist tendencies (tribal or otherwise), and encourages the construction of a revolutionary army, and party on the basis of study, self-criticism and cross-fertilization of ideas. Its successes in this and on the battlefield are lowering the morale of enemy soldiers. This fact is now being admitted even by the colonial newspapers. The **Bulawayo Chronicle** of January 26, 1977 reports the court martial in Wankie of Rhodesian soldiers who were found drunk on duty and who, it is said, failed to respond to enemy fire. The situation must be very grim for many of these young men who are forced to fight a war in which they do not believe and which they have no hope of winning. It is the hopelessness of their cause and the elusiveness of the guerillas which make them strike out at anyone and everyone out of frustration. This explains the thousands of atrocities committed by the Rhodesian forces.



What are the effects of the present successes in the Zimbabwe people's war on the whole of Southern Africa? ZAPU is of the firm conviction that Southern Africa is a single theatre of imperialist designs and manoeuvres. What this means is that the forces of liberation must likewise see Southern Africa as a single theatre of anti-colonial, anti-imperialist struggle. What happens in one part of this theatre has an impact on the whole theatre. Therefore successes by our comrades in ANC (S.A.) and SWAPO advance our struggle, and vice versa.

It is now only a matter of time before Smith and his henchmen are defeated. The imperialists know this. Hence the renewed British-American efforts at attempt to put a halt to the march of revolutionary forces and blunting their thrust. The fact that the endeavours of another salesman of imperialism, Owen, come so soon on the heels of the collapse of the Geneva talks, is strong evidence that the forces for a genuine independence in Zimbabwe have the upper hand. Our daily successes on the battlefield are making such a solution a risky task for any collaborators.

Smith and Vorster must be and will be smashed. Imperialism is on the run. This is an opportunity for all Zimbabweans who were misled to come back to the people. After this the penalties for joining up with the enemy against the people will be severe. All those who collaborate with Ian Smith cannot expect mercy from the masses whose parents, brothers, sisters, and children are being killed, tortured, or imprisoned by Smith. We warn all such people to break their links with the enemy immediately. Let the execution of Chief Gambo and others serve as an example. He and others have made common cause with the enemy against the people.

We appeal to all the people of Zimbabwe, black and white, to support the war of liberation. We must close our ranks and provide our fighters with food, water, shelter, and information about the whereabouts of the enemy. We should serve as guides where necessary. We also appeal to the people not to be cheated into joining Smith's army. Those already in his army should leave and join the people's liberation army, ZPRA(ZIPA). All sons and daughters of Zimbabwe should come forward to swell the ranks of the thousands of those who have already committed themselves to fighting for the freedom and independence of Zimbabwe.

We should maintain vigilance, and prepare ourselves for a protracted revolutionary struggle against imperialist designs in our country. ZPRA(ZIPA), the vanguard of the people's war

against colonialism, has fully prepared itself for a long guerilla struggle. But the success of the struggle depends upon your active support. Every Zimbabwean patriot has a duty to contribute to the struggle. And to our comrades and friends in the international community we say give us the means by which we can effectively carry out our war of national liberation.

**Long live the spirit of comrade J. Z. Moyo and all the fallen lofty heroes! To them we say – Your names are unknown, Your deeds immortal!**

**Long live our Beloved leader, ZPRA (ZIPA) Commander-in-Chief, President, Comrade Joshua Nkomo!  
VICTORY IS CERTAIN**

#### 1. January 2, 1977:

a) *Mvuti*

Our gallant fighters successfully attacked enemy ambush position, two enemy soldiers were killed, the remainder dispersed in confusion.

b) *Deka – Wankie*

An enemy boat patrolling along the Zambezi was sunk, five enemy soldiers were killed.

c) *Binga*

An enemy landrover detonated a landmine near Kariangwe Mission in the Binga district. Three enemy soldiers were killed.

#### 2. January 3, 1977:

a) *Victoria Falls*

Three enemy officers driving a car with a private registration were killed in the Victoria Falls area.

b) *Jambezi – Wankie*

An enemy troop-carrier detonated a landmine in the Jambezi area. Three of its occupants were killed and the vehicle damaged beyond repair.

c) *Mana Pools*

ZPRA combatants attacked enemy troops being dropped by helicopter in the Mana Pools game reserve, three soldiers were killed.

#### 3. January 9, 1977:

Our combattants operating in Que Que killed two policemen who were investigating the presence of our guerillas in the town.





Photos: by Jochen Moll

**4. January 17, 1977:**

- a) *Chirundu*  
Four trainee selous scouts were killed in ambush near Chirundu
- b) *Wankie*  
An enemy landrover detonated a landmine at Sikhumbi in the Wankie district.
- c) *Urungwe*  
ZPRA commandos ambushed an enemy patrol killing four soldiers one by the name George Venturas from Salisbury.

**5. January 18, 1977:**

- a) *Wankie*  
A ZPRA commando attacked Boabab Hotel killing rifleman Kevin Green and wounding several enemy soldiers guarding the hotel.
- b) *Gwaai*  
ZPRA forces operating in the Gwaai area ambushed a troop-carrier killing six enemy soldiers and damaged it beyond repair.

**6. January 19, 1977:**

ZPRA forces captured three enemy agents in the Jambezi area – Wankie Tribal Trust Land.

**7. January 20, 1977:**

- a) *Wankie*  
An enemy troop-carrier detonated a landmine in the Jambezi area killing four enemy soldiers.
- b) *Jambezi – Wankie Tribal Trust Land:*  
ZPRA commandos successfully repelled with light casualties a counter attack mounted by enemy forces resulting in the death of two enemy soldiers.
- c) *Kamative*  
An enemy troop-carrier detonated a landmine in the Kamative area resulting in the death of four enemy soldiers and the vehicle was extensively damaged.
- d) *Bulawayo-Lupane Road:*  
Our gallant fighters broke through a road block along the Bulawayo-Lupane road and killed two police officers.

**8. January 29, 1977:**

Our combatants operating in Gatooma area derailed a goods train two kilometres from the town. The goods train was carrying war material for the Rhodesia Army.

**VOL. II. 77**

**1. February 1, 1977:**

*a) Victoria Falls*

An enemy supply truck detonated a land mine between Victoria Falls and Kazungula. The driver was killed instantly and the supplies burnt to ashes.

*b) Wankie*

Zimbabwe Peoples Revolutionary Army forces ambushed an enemy convoy killing nine soldiers and destroying two vehicles and capturing essential war material in the Lubande area.

**2. February 2, 1977:**

Our forces conducted a concentrated artillery attack at Jambezi killing several enemy soldiers and completely demolished the camp.

**3. February 3, 1977:**

*a) Sinoia*

A member of the RAR who was on leave in his home area in Sinoia was hunted down and killed by our commandos.

*b) Shabani*

Using explosives obtained from Shabani mine our commandos blew up a section of the Shabani Bannockburn branchline, resulting in the derailment of a train transporting asbestos to the main Rutenga - Beit Bridge line.

*c) Kamative*

ZPRA forces shot and killed three soldiers travelling by a private car near Kamative town.

*d) Kamative*

In the Kamative area a ZPRA detachment encircled and wiped out an enemy stick (4) on patrol and captured their weapons.

**4. February 4, 1977:**

*a) Umniathi*

Our gallant guerillas raided and completely wiped out a police patrol (6 man) who were based for the night somewhere along the Umniathi river.

*b) Kamative:*

In another encounter an enemy stick of three soldiers just dropped from a helicopter was wiped out by our forces.

**5. February 5, 1977:**

*a) Urungwe*

An enemy army section guarding road workers was attacked by our guerillas. Four enemy soldiers were killed and two government trucks destroyed. Several FN rifles were captured. This occurred in the SAPI Parks and Wild Life area.

*b) Ngezi - Belingwe*

ZPRA guerillas struck on an enemy combined support unit/army temporary base in the Ngezi area, seven enemy troops were killed.

**6. February 6, 1977:**

District assistants used as trackers by the enemy were ambushed whilst on their way from work. All five were killed. A spotter plane sent by the enemy to follow-up was fired upon and hit by our gallant fighters and crashed in the Rukoakuona Mountains.





**7. February 7, 1977:**

Two army officers travelling by private transport between Gokwe and Que Que were ambushed by ZPRA guerillas, they were killed and their vehicle destroyed. The two officers were Lt Pieter de Wet and Sgt Jack Van Roenstein.

**8. February 10, 1977:**

*a) Gwelo*

Our forces operating 10 kilometres south of Gwelo ambushed an enemy patrol resulting in the death of four enemy soldiers.

*b) Mkumbura*

ZPRA combatants operating in the Mkumbura area ambushed an enemy convoy of one landrover and two trucks resulting in the killing of 10 enemy soldiers and capturing of weapons, radios, food stuff and other important materials.

**9. February 12, 1977:**

Our combatants killed four police officers travelling in a police landrover in the Lupane area.

**10. February 13, 1977:**

Two selous scouts were captured by our forces in the Kariba area for interrogation.

**11. February 15, 1977:**

*a) Victoria Falls*

Our combatants operating in Victoria Falls had a contact with enemy soldiers wounding four.

*b) Belingwe*

An army patrol investigating the killing of one of their informers in Mataruse area were ambushed resulting in the death of three and four injured.

**12. February 21, 1977:**

*a) Matetsi*

ZPRA forces raided a store owned by an enemy agent near the Matetsi railway station. The takings will be used to finance further operations.

*b) Gwelo*

Three police reservists who were conducting firing practice in a farm between Gwelo and Somabula were killed by our gallant guerillas. Their weapons and ammunition were captured.

**13. February 24, 1977:**

*a) Victoria Falls*

A troop-carrier detonated a landmine laid by ZPRA forces operating in the Victoria Falls area. Three enemy soldiers were killed and two seriously wounded.

*b) Wankie*

Two enemy soldiers were killed and several others wounded in a contact with our forces operating in Wankie.

*c) Gokwe*

In a raid on enemy bush base in the Gokwe area, three enemy soldiers, Amos Mavunga, Ronald Robert Lomas and Luka Mavunga were killed.

*d) Urungwe*

In Urungwe east, ZPRA commandos overran an enemy combat outpost killing, Timothy Charles Hewitt from Salisbury, Stanley Madziva from Murewa and Robson Chamaiwa from Shamva.

**14. February 25, 1977:**

*a) Sinoia*

ZPRA commandos overran an enemy camp in

Sinoia killing five enemy soldiers and captured weapons, maps and kitbags.

*b) Marula*

The Bulawayo-Mafeking line between Marula and Plumtree a train carrying logistics supplies for the Rhodesian armed forces derailed. The locomotive engine was completely demolished.

*c) North Nata*

In a contact with our combattants in Pandamatenga, several enemy soldiers were seriously wounded.

**15. February 28, 1977:**

*a) Shashi*

In a raid on a store frequented by selous scouts in Shashi our forces captured useful documents and valuable material for future use.

*b) Wankie*

ZPRA forces ambushed an enemy patrol in the Wankie district killing seven enemy soldiers one of them by the name Vander Horn from Bulawayo.

*c) Plumtree*

Zimbabwe Peoples Revolutionary Armed forces successfully broke through an encirclement, killing two soldiers and sustaining light casualties in the Plumtree area.

*d) Salisbury*

Our guerillas operating in the Salisbury city killed three enemy soldiers who were on night patrol in Highfield.

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**1. March 1, 1977:**

A troop-carrier detonated a landmine along a road from Victoria Falls to the Zambezi river, nine enemy soldiers died and 11 seriously wounded.

**2. March 2, 1977:**

Zimbabwe Peoples Revolutionary Army commandos raided a shop at Nhwali irrigation scheme seizing a considerable quantity of material for operations.

**3. March 4, 1977:**

*a) Mtetengwe*

ZPRA combatants operating in the Mtetengwe/Beit Bridge area ambushed and killed a police reservist travelling in a private car.

*b) Victoria Falls:*

A Rhodesian government truck carrying four government officials was ambushed. Six of its occupants died on the spot.

*c) Victoria Falls*

In another encounter in the Falls area an enemy patrol was ambushed killing pte Stanford Dube and wounding several members of his patrol.

**4. March 8, 1977:**

*a) Balla Balla*

In Balla Balla three members of the police reserve viz Mrs Ren Herron, Peter Theron and Robert were wounded in an ambush by our forces.

*a) Wankie*

A policeman Julius Nyoni Baranda was killed in an encounter with our forces at Matetsi.

*d) Kanyemba*

Our forces operating in Kanyemba area ambushed and destroyed two trucks carrying food for the enemy forces based near Kanyemba.

**5. March 10, 1977:**

*a) Lupane*

An enemy patrol was wiped out in an ambush in the Lupane area in which the following were killed: Alexander James Bramford, Thomas Nkala and several others.

*b) Sipolilo*

ZPRA forces operating in Sipolilo district attacked an enemy base near Sipolilo town and killed eight enemy forces.

**6. March 11, 1977:**

An enemy truck detonated a landmine in the Pandamatenga area killing rifle-man Hamaikwa from Karoi. This landmine blast caused a delay in supplying one of their units based in the Wankie National Park (West)

**7. March 12, 1977:**

*a) Dett*

In a raid at a bush base camp at Dett, rifleman Robert Mantague Brewer of Salisbury was killed and large quantities of war materials captured.

*b) Victoria Falls*

Zimbabwe Peoples Revolutionary Army forces completely blew-up the railway line between Victoria Falls and Jafta. The line was demolished for a distance of five kilometres in five different places.

This has resulted in the complete paralysis of the line between Victoria Falls and Wankie.

*c) Belingwe*

An enemy special branch team carrying out reprisals against the masses was ambushed and completely wiped out in the Mataruse area.

**8. March 13, 1977:**

Four enemy mine experts detonated anti-personnel mines when accessing the damages caused by the previous day sabotage on the railway line between Victoria Falls and Jafta railway siding.

**9. March 15, 1977:**

Vigilant ZPRA commandos discovered an enemy blindfold/ambush position in the Madlambudzi area. They opened fire causing panic and confusion amongst the enemy forces who scattered disorderly leaving behind several casualties and material.

**10. March 16, 1977:**

*a) Lower Gwelo*

Acting on information from the masses, ZPRA guerillas ambushed a troop-carrier disguised as a delivery vehicle and killed five enemy soldiers, injuring several others.

*b) Victoria Falls*

A troop-carrier detonated a landmine along a dust road Victoria Falls to Kazungula in the Wankie district. Several soldiers were killed in the mine blast.

**11. March 17, 1977:**

*a) Wankie*

Our gallant combatants beat-off an enemy attack on their base in the Jambezi area with light casualties. On retreating the enemy lost six of their soldiers including sergeant Clive Mason a mercenary, from Derbyshire, Britain.

*b) Wankie*

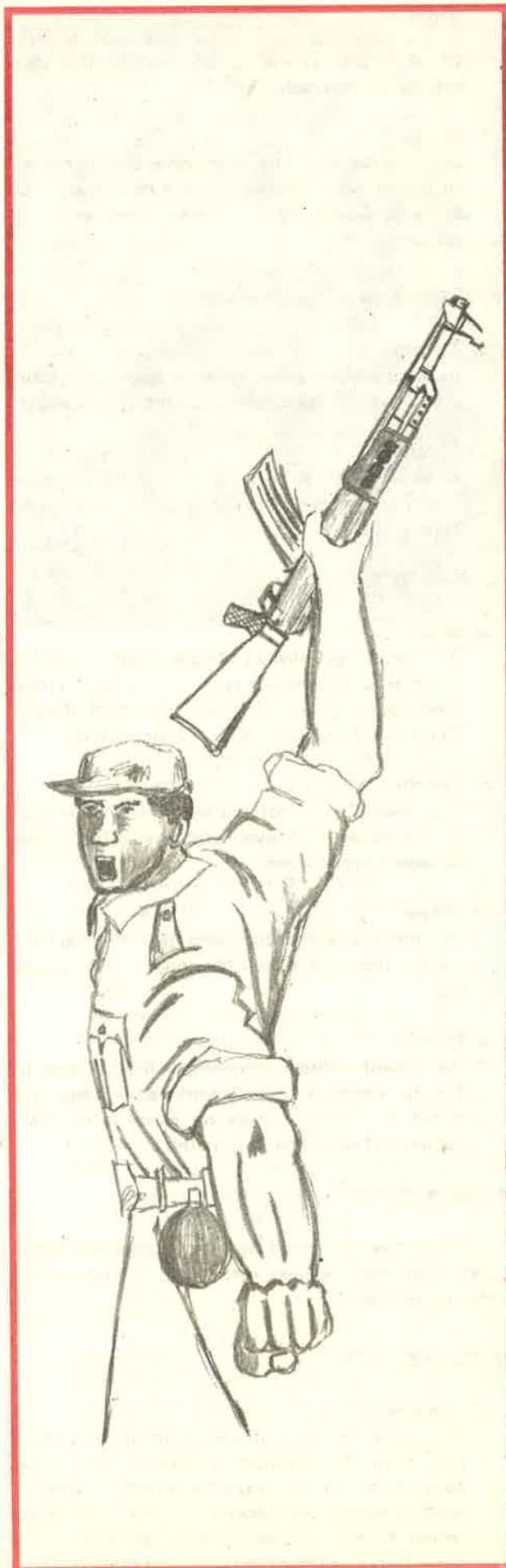
Five other enemy soldiers were killed in another encounter in the Wankie Tribal Trust Land.

*c) North Nata*

ZPRA forces raided North Nata Council offices seizing all the council taxes and destroyed all records.

*d) Tuli*

Our forces attacked a farmhouse belonging to an enemy police reservist and also used as a base by enemy PATU. The house was completely gutted and several weapons and other war materials were captured. Three members of the police reserve were killed.



*e) Makuti*

In an attack on an enemy base near Makuti, 15 enemy soldiers were killed. The buildings were extensively damaged.

*f) Belingwe*

Our guerillas operating in Belingwe area ambushed an enemy patrol section five kilometres south of Belingwe killing four of them and capturing weapons.

**12. March 18, 1977:**

*a) Kamative*

In Wankie district our forces attacked an enemy patrol unit killing four and wounding five others.

*b) Tjolutjo*

ZPRA combattants raided a store and killed three enemy soldiers and three enemy collaborators in the Tjolutjo district.

**13. March 20, 1977:**

*a) Matopo*

Our forces operating in Matopo district raided a selous scout observation post at Puku Dam, killing three, capturing one selous scout, an FN30 rifle and 303 rifle and a large quantity of ammunition.

*b) Kanyati*

Four enemy police officers were killed in ambush by our forces in Kanyati area leaving the vehicle damaged beyond repair.

*c) Gokwe*

Our forces attacked an enemy patrol killing four soldiers including Wilson Mushonga in the Gokwe area.

*d) Tjolutjo*

Our gallant fighters operating in Bubude area in Tjolutjo raided a council bottle store frequently visited by enemy soldiers on patrol killing two soldiers and wounding several others.

**14. March 21, 1977:**

A bottle store frequented by enemy troops was raided and seven enemy soldiers were killed. This occurred in the Gokwe area.

**15. March 22, 1977:**

*a) Mpoengs*

ZPRA guerillas opened fire at an enemy observation post from the direction of neighbouring enemy observation post initiating a fierce battle among the enemy's troops. Our forces withdrew safely and the enemy forces inflicted casualties amongst themselves before realising they were fighting each other.

*b) Msume*

Daring ZPRA commandos destroyed several power and telephone lines completely isolating an enemy base in the Msume area — Belingwe.

*c) Gokwe*

Rifleman Teates and Henry were killed in a gun battle with Zimbabwe Peoples Revolutionary Army combattants operating in the Gokwe district.

*d) Kamative*

A troop carrier transporting soldiers to track our forces, detonated an anti-tank mine expertly laid by our forces, resulting in the death of four and several others wounded.

**16. March 23, 1977:**

*a) Makuti*

Our gallant fighters ambushed an enemy troop-carrier killing seven including Marufu and several were seriously wounded.

*b) Kamative*

An enemy truck detonated a mine along Kamative-Binga road killing three of its occupants and injuring several others.

**17. March 24, 1977:**

An enemy escort vehicle was ambushed by our gallant fighters between Belingwe and Shabani, one enemy soldier was killed and three others injured.

**18. March 25, 1977:**

*a) Kanyemba*

An army truck transporting soldiers (two sections) from Kanyemba to Mashumbi Pools was ambushed by our gallant fighters. The truck and the occupants were completely walloped.

*b) Wankie*

ZPRA combattants operating in Wankie Tribal Trust Land killed Josphat Misini from Gokwe and Coporal John William Smith from Bindura in skirmish.

*c) Tuli*

Mashona Masarufuka was shot dead while on leave in Tuli area by our forces operating there.

**19. March 26, 1977:**

Zimbabwe Peoples Revolutionary Army combatants destroyed a bridge over Inyatue river between Kamative and Wankie.

**20. March 27, 1977:**

*a) Kamative*

Our gallant fighters demolished a bridge over Lubande river between Kamative and Binga. The bridge will take considerable time to repair.

*b) Lupane*

In an ambush in the Lupane area our fighters killed Johannes Gideon Terblancker of Bulawayo, Gaham John Evason of Salisbury and Killion Samuel Mashonganyika from Charter.

*c) Maparivane area – Belingwe*

A police informer was intercepted when returning from reporting the presence of our patriotic forces to the enemy and was duly punished. Mobile police patrol sent out to investigate detonated a landmine resulting in the death of four enemy police officers.

**21. March 28, 1977:**

A selous scout land rover detonated a landmine in the Kamative area killing three.

**22. March 29, 1977:**

*a) North Nata*

Chief Sithole Gambo a Rhodesian Front dedicated supporter, leader in ZUPO was bayoneted to death by our fighters operating in the Tjolutjo district.

*b) Bulawayo*

Our combattants operating in the City Bulawayo killed three policemen who were on night patrol in Mpopoma Township.

*c) Rutenga*

Our guerillas operating in Nuanetsi area derailed a goods train on the Rutenga railway line between Beit Bridge and Nuanetsi.

**1. April 3, 1977:**

An enemy tanker transporting fuel from Ngezi railway station to a base detonated a landmine mine and thousands of litres of aviation fuel were gushed.

**2. April 4, 1977:**

*a) Sipolilo*

A district commissioner's vehicle detonated a landmine between Masuku and Hamissions Keep (Sipolilo District) Four district assistants injured and two seriously.



*b) Wankie*

ZPRA forces killed an enemy soldier Heckler and wounded two others in an ambush conducted in the Wankie area.

*c) Wankie*

A Rhodesian trooper was shot dead by our forces operating in the Wankie area when the truck he was driving broke down on the way.

*d) Lupane*

A Rhodesian police truck travelling on a dirt road in the Lupane district detonated a landmine laid by ZPRA commandos. Four police officers died on the spot and the car extensively damaged.

*e) Lupane*

ZPRA commandos killed an enemy agent Nicholas in Lupane after receiving information that his place was frequented by enemy selous scouts.

**3. April 5, 1977:**

*a) Victoria Falls*

ZPRA commandos killed an enemy soldier Rfn Prinsloo in a contact and wounded two security officers.

*b) Gwanda*

A member of the Rhodesian security forces was killed by ZPRA forces in an ambush conducted in Gwanda.

**4. April 7, 1977:**

Two enemy soldiers were killed in a raid conducted by our fighters operating in Wankie Tribal Trust Land.

**5. April 11, 1977:**

*a) Sinoia:*

Our forces killed three enemy informers who were known to have received money in return for reporting local freedom fighter-sympathisers near Sinoia.

*b) Kanyemba*

A selous scouts temporary base along the Mwanja river in the Kanyemba district was completely annihilated. Four selous scouts killed.

**6. April 13, 1977:**

At Mata Pools a troop-carrier detonated a landmine killing eight enemy soldiers and wounding four.

**7. April 14, 1977:**

*a) Nyamomba*

An enemy troop-carrier detonated a landmine in Nyamomba several enemy soldiers were killed.

*b) Kariba*

A truck carrying a unit of selous scouts detonated a landmine resulting in the death of three.

**8. April 15, 1977:**

*a) Tjolutjo*

Our forces killed two selous scouts in a store near Tjolutjo district Commissioner's office.

*b) Wankie*

Two government officials and two other members of the security forces were killed by our forces in a contact.

*c) Lupane*

Our combatants ambushed and killed an enemy police officer travelling in a private car in the Lupane area.

*d) Shabani*

A south bound train on the Bulawayo-Beit Bridge line detonated a land mine near Zuruvi siding. The locomotive driver was killed and 10 wagons derailed.

*e) Sipolilo*

A police vehicle carrying several police officers detonated a land mine in the Bakasa area. Two enemy police officers were seriously injured.

*f) Sipolilo*

A culvert over the Rukute river was blown up by our commandos, seriously disrupting enemy troop movement by vehicle and cutting their supply line.

**9. April 16, 1977:**

*a) Wankie*

In an ambush in Wankie five enemy soldiers were killed including rifleman Maclaren.

*c) Belingwe*

In Belingwe a store in which four policemen were sleeping was burned down by our forces destroying all the material and killing all four policemen.

*d) Chirundu*

ZPRA forces blew up a bridge in the Chirundu area. This has disrupted the enemy's mobility in this area.

*e) Tjolutjo*

ZPRA combatants killed three enemy informers one by the name Mpofu and a Chief, Ndume when they were guiding enemy troops to their base in the Tjolutjo area.

*f) Kamative*

ZPRA commandos operating in the Kamative area ambushed and killed an enemy patrol. All four were killed.

**10. April 17, 1977:**

*a) West Nicholson*

Our gallant fighters ambushed a team of six selous scouts who were committing robberies and rapes among the masses in the Hombani area (south east of West Nicholson) and masquerading as freedom fighters. The whole stick was wiped out.

*b) Pandamatenge*

A PATU patrol was ambushed by our commandos resulting in the death of two regular and three National Service police officers. Several weapons and ammo were captured.

*c) Nyamomba*

An enemy troop-carrier-detonated a landmine between Makuti and Nyamomba. Seven enemy soldiers were instantly killed.

**11. April 18, 1977:**

Four members of the police reserve guarding a bridge along the Mlibizi were attacked and all were killed.





**12. April 21, 1977:**

*a) Enkledoorn*

Our gallant fighters halted a bus which was known to be carrying enemy special branch officers from Enkledoorn to Gwelo, four special branch officers were forced to alight and were shot dead amid cheering from other passengers.

**13. April 22, 1977:**

An enemy troop-carrier was ambushed in the Wankie district, four enemy soldiers killed and others seriously wounded.

**14. April 23, 1977:**

An enemy patrol was ambushed resulting in the death of three enemy soldiers and one seriously wounded.

**15. April 28, 1977:**

*a) Jambezi – Wankie*

Our combatants attacked and captured three enemy soldiers in a base camp in Jambezi.

*b) Gokwe*

Our invincible commandos raided an enemy police national service training camp in the Mafungabusi forest inflicting heavy casualties on the enemy. A total of ten enemy recruits were killed.

**16. April 29, 1977:**

The Masarira and Masayisayi stores were attacked by ZPRA combatants resulting in the death of several enemy soldiers who were inside. The operation took place near Chegato Mission – Belingwe district.

# JOINT CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE NATIONAL UNION OF NAMIBIAN WORKERS SOUTH AFRICAN CONGRESS OF TRADE UNIONS ZIMBABWE AFRICAN CONGRESS OF UNIONS

## TO ALL FRIENDLY LABOUR ORGANISATIONS

Dear Comrades,

Shortly after the "World Wide Trade Union Action against the South African and Rhodesian Regimes" which started on January 31, to 22, 1977, a Pan-African Trade Union Conference in Solidarity with the workers and peoples of Southern Africa, was held in Luanda on January 31, to February 2, 1977.

The out come of the Luanda Conference was a unanimous response in support of the proposal by the National Union

of Namibian Workers (NUNW), South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) and the Zimbabwe African Congress of Unions (ZACU) to set up a permanent International Trade Union Solidarity Committee in order to follow up the deliberations of the Conference and the recommendations set out in the Programme of Action. We enclose herein the Programme of Action for further discussion in the forth coming I.L.O. Conference to be held in Geneva.

On the basis of these recommendations and the memorandum which sets out the situation in Southern Africa, we appeal to all trade unions to support the establishment of the proposed Solidarity Committee.

## PAN-AFRICAN TRADE UNION CONFERENCE OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE WORKERS AND PEOPLES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

(Luanda, 31st January-2nd February 1977)

### Programme of Action

The Pan-African Trade Union Conference of Solidarity with the Workers and Peoples of Southern Africa, held in Luanda, the People's Republic of Angola, from 31 January to 2nd February 1977 (a) having examined in depth the deplorable conditions under which the peoples and workers of Southern Africa are forced to live by the racist minority regimes.

(b) having listened to the factual reports made to the conference by trade union bodies from South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe.

(c) desirous to mobilise and involve the broadest possible sector of the international, national and regional organised labour in the noble efforts to combat the racist regimes in Southern Africa, hereby recommends:

1. The setting up of a permanent international trade union solidarity committee with the workers and peoples of Southern Africa comprising representatives of international trade union organisations (WFTU, ICFTU, WCL), regional organisations (OATUU, ICATU), permanent secretariat of the anti-apartheid committee together with trade unions associated with the liberation movement, namely South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), the National Union of Namibian Workers (NUNW) and the Zimbabwe African Congress of Unions (ZACU). It is particularly recommended that trade unions of the frontline states should participate as full members in the committee.

### 2. The tasks of the Committee shall be to:

a) promote and co-ordinate international support on behalf of workers and peoples of Southern Africa through constant meetings, seminars and the use of mass media.

- b) organise material and financial solidarity aid to be channelled through the SACTU, NUNW and ZACU.
- c) draw up a list of all countries which still trade with South Africa, Rhodesia and Namibia and which grant landing rights to all aircraft and ships bound to and from South Africa with a view to expose the culprits through international organisations, such as the UN and OAU.

## II. Expulsion of South Africa and Israel from the United Nations

Since the civilised world has condemned apartheid and zionism as crimes against humanity, South Africa and Israel's membership are totally unjustified and, therefore, South Africa and Israel should be expelled from the United Nations.

## III. Support for the armed struggle

Convinced that the problem in Southern Africa is a colonial one, the conference decides to support the armed

struggle in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa for the seizure of power by the SWAPO, ZAPU and ANC (South Africa) respectively.

## IV. Support for Palestine

In view of the collaboration which exists between racist South Africa and Zionist Israel, the conference decides to support the struggle of the people of Palestine led by the PLO for the restoration of their usurped rights.

V. The conference supports all peoples fighting against colonialism, fascism and the oligarchy, be they in Africa, Asia or Latin America.

VI. The conference approves the action advocated by the resolutions of the International Trade Union Conference against apartheid held in Geneva in 1973, as well as those envisaged by the Nairobi Conference held on December 1st, 1973. The conference invites all international and national trade union organisations to implement them in a concrete manner.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The three countries, whose working people are represented by our three organisations, have certain characteristic features in common. They are:

- a) A regime of racial domination, enforced by legislation and the full power of a heavily armed state apparatus;
- b) The denial of internationally recognised human rights, among them the rights of the workers to organise in legally recognised and protected trade unions with full rights of collective bargaining;
- c) A happy hunting ground for powerful monopolist multinational corporations, whose "investments" are attracted by the unique high rates of return, facilitated by the existence of a racially oppressed and discriminated labour force, whose wages and conditions of work are deliberately kept at the lowest possible subsistence level.

This is the true meaning of the racist system operating in the three countries — Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe — no matter what euphemisms are used to cover up the

# JOINT CONSUL- TATIVE COM- MITTEE

sordid facts. Monopoly capitalism and imperialism go hand in hand with national oppression of the majority of the people, with racial discrimination, with vicious deprivation of human rights and with brutal economic exploitation.

It is not enough to say that "apartheid" is a crime against humanity; it must also be stressed that there are certain people — albeit a minority in each case — who benefit from racial oppression and discrimination. The apartheid regimes in the three countries are not accidents of fate, they are the products of a deliberate design and policy by that exploiting minority.

## II. SECTION A. NAMIBIA

The post-war mineral boom in NAMIBIA, revived racist South-African determination to intergrate Namibias economy into its own. South Africa thought then, that it was not only important to control Namibia for her own so called security reasons but also as a profitable economic possession, Namibia's economy which is central to the International dispute over the country's status, has three significant features:



- a) South Africa orientated it exclusively towards narrowly-based export industries;
- b) It is entirely dominated by foreign capital and enterprises and
- c) It is labour intensive, with a heavy demand for manual labour. In 1970 mineral sales accounted for over 60 % of the value of all exports from Namibia and mining contributed an estimated 50 % of all government revenue derived from Namibia. About 61 % of Namibia's mining and manufacturing capital is supplied by companies originating from the United States, Britain, France, West Germany and Canada. Ninety percent of the mineral output in Namibia is produced by two companies, namely, De Beers consolidated Diamond mines (CDM) at Oranjemund and US controlled TSUMED corporation.

By the same token, fish, which contributes 20 % of the country's total export is controlled by 11 South African companies. One third of Namibia's gross domestic product is in the hands of foreigners or to be exact in the hands of Western capitalists. Skilled jobs in these corporations are set aside for whites only and the indigenous African workers are forced to do the manual jobs and receive wages far below the poverty line. The development in the infrastructure of Namibia's economy has exclusively benefitted the settler community in Namibia, the South African colonial regime and the foreign capitalists. The South African regime and the Foreign capitalist who control Namibia's economy have never bothered to develop the economic sector of Namibia and as a result there has not been a real need for a large skilled labour force. The

capitalist corporations require a lot of unskilled labour to extract and export the base minerals and precious stones. This cheap labour is provided by the Namibian workers who are forced by the apartheid laws of South Africa to sell it for starvation wages. The high volume of unskilled African labourers results from two main factors:

- a) The present economic Structure in the country which is based on ruthless exploitation of African cheap labour.
- b) The South African apartheid laws which aim at keeping the African workers at the lowest layer of the social economic setup.

African workers in Namibia today work exclusively in the white controlled economic sector. A recent manpower survey shows that 48 % of African workers in Namibia are employed as general labourers, many of whom are on contract from the northern region. The colonial regime of South Africa has always underestimated the African labour force in Namibia. It has quoted a figure of 50,000; But recent South African Government figures provide a more accurate picture. The manpower survey of April, 1971 gives a total of 52,955 African workers, excluding domestics in private services and Africans engaged in agriculture and farming. In 1960, the official estimate of the number of Africans in domestic service was 3,679 and the agricultural census of 1970/71 put farm labourers at 30,000 which makes a total African workforce at about 90,000. The bulk of workers in Namibia, are employed on white owned farms, in mines, fishing and related industries or as general labourers. Farm workers suffer some of the worst pay and working conditions in the world. They are forced to work seven days a week literally for starvation wages. The mining industry, which is economically the most important sector, employs over 12,000 workers, 90 % of whom are on contract basis. The two largest employers are TSUMEB corporation and consolidated Diamond mines at Oranjemund.

The colonial regime in Namibia pursues two contradictory policies. On

one hand there is the goal of economic growth and intensified industrial output, which requires a sizeable and, at present, largely unskilled work-force. On the other hand, the so-called complementary policy of separate development or Bantustans, is designed to halt the influx of rural population to urban areas which usually accompanies such economic expansion.

## WAGES

White settler workers in Namibia can expect not only high wages but extensive benefits and bonuses. An assistant farm manager at Tsumeb receives £ 250 or 450 Rands per month plus standard benefits which include 35 days annual leave, a leave bonus of R 200, a service bonus of three month' salary every five years, an unfurnished rent free house, a compulsory pension plan at nominal cost and subsidised medical and free life insurance. Reasonable transportation expenses are reimbursed after one year's service. There is also financial assistance for the education of children, if necessary, and sport facilities. A white electrician at Omaruru earns 314-365 Rands per month, plus benefits. The starting salary in the personnel department of TSUMEB mine is over R 700 per month. Consolidated diamond mine offers apprenticeships for 16-20 year olds for whites only. Starting salary is R 120 per month plus an allowance for education qualifications. The African wages stand out starkly by contrast with those of white standards. The wage distribution for an African is approximately 6-120 Rand a month.

TSUMEB Corporation pays underground mine workers a minimum wage of about R 24 a month. African workers in Namibia live in allmale compounds, sleep on concrete bunks in dormitories, with a piece of half-inch thick felt as a mattress and eat the food provided. According to the 1970-1971 agricultural census, the average cash wage paid to farm workers, based on information supplied by white farmers, was R 10 per month. Many settler farmers pay the workers only after the completion of their contract, thus confining the worker to his farm. According to the

Windhoek poverty datum line, the sum required to keep a family of five in reasonable health or at subsistence level on a short term basis, has been conservatively estimated by the colonial regime as R 81 per month. This figure does not take into account the high level of food prices in Windhoek due to the cost of transportation from racist South Africa. Inflation in Namibia now runs at 20 % per annum, as against 10 % per annum in South Africa itself. While food prices in Namibia are increasing at an alarming 25 % per annum, African wages are virtually stationary. Africans in Namibia can never hope to earn even as much as the poverty datum line, and the majority of the Africans actually earn far below half that amount. Although the South African regime in Namibia has presented a so called "new method" of recruitment as a change in its labour policy, all the features of the old contract labour system remain the same. The workers still have to carry passes; They cannot choose their employers or the kind of work they want to do; they cannot leave their job as they desire and during the course of their contract the workers are separated from their families.

In order to look for work in the so-called "pocke-zone", an African must have his so-called native identification pass, his permit to leave the so-called "homeland" and a valid travel permit. He must, in addition, be referred by his so-called homeland bureau. If one examines the above outlined conditions of the Namibian worker one can draw the obvious conclusion that the Namibian worker is a double victim of the combined evils of colonialism and apartheid. In colonized Namibia the workers don't have the right to organise themselves in Trade Unions in order to air their hazardous working conditions or the starvation wages they are receiving.

## III. SECTION B - SOUTH AFRICA

In all three countries - Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe, the roots of the system go down to the basic question of land. It is significant that in Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe the first product of conquest by imperialism was the

deprivation of the indigenous people of their traditionally held lands. In South Africa more than 70 % of the population (black) is squeezed into 13 % of the total land area, whilst 87 % of the best and wealthiest parts of the country is reserved for whites. Forced into the least productive, most overpopulated and most eroded land areas, the people were further coerced into the economic structures of Imperialism by the imposition of a variety of taxes which had to be paid in cash. This cash could only be obtained by going to work for the white masters. But these white masters were not interested merely in obtaining the labour of the black workers, they wanted to ensure that this labour would be supplied at the **cheapest** possible level. And so there was added to the deprivation of land, the imposition of taxes a further condition: the labourer was not to be permitted to become a stable force on the white man's land. He was to be a "temporary sojourner", a migrant worker who remained to some extent dependant on his so-called "homeland". Thus imperialism tried to make sure that wages could remain at the lowest level, that the meagre produce of the land would subsidise the capitalists' own exorbitant rate of profit, and that, moreover, the labourer should have no opportunity to organise in protection of his own rights. That was, remains to this day and is intended to remain forever the grand design of Imperialism. And to further ensure the "eternal" perpetuation of this clever design, of this "1 000-year Reich", the people were deprived of any say in their own affairs, of any right to amend or even ameliorate the condition of perpetual serfdom, by removing them completely from the realm of political decision making. They have remained voteless, right-less and landless to this day and all so-called "reforms" and "changes" have so far been nothing but camouflaged attempts to save the basic system in the face of the tremendous upsurge of popular opposition and resistance.

### What Are The Results?

It is arising out of this overall design that the wages of workers in South





\$ 716, i.e. a disparity of over 10 times. Out of the total population of 6,000,000 in 1974, the workers constituted 1,045,000 and the average wages were:

So that the African worker suffers not only of racial bias but he also has to put up with economic bias against him.

This disparity, by no means limited to economic, has to be seen in the context of the overall principles inherent in the Rhodesian system in addition to the normal principles governing any capitalist economy.

#### The Economy.

- 1) The colonial Rhodesian economy was an extension of the metropolitan economy, its chief function being to supply raw materials for the metropolitan industry. This was subject, perforce, to the employment of cheap labour and, therefore, legislation was enacted to create a cheap labour pool of immense dimension.

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Whites	.....	\$ 7,644 per annum
Blacks	.....	\$ 686 per annum

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Moreover, this labour force was to remain permanently on a casual basis. Thus for many years African workers worked in the gold mines, asbestos mines, copper mines, on the plantations and in small manufacturing industries as casual cheap labourers. This was facilitated by depriving the Africans of their land to remove the possibility of any alternative source of income. (The Land Apportionment Act and the Land Husbandry Act).

- 2) Special laws legalising wage disparities were enacted.
- 3) Laws were also enacted to bar Africans from attaining technical and professional education.
- 4) A Job Reservations Act was enacted. According to these laws, even if an African qualifies outside the country, he cannot be employed in a reserved occupation, if this entails him supervising white workers:

which is illegally occupying Namibia and the adventurist invasion of Angola last year.

In addition to this giant buildup of weapons of force and destruction, the regime operates a vicious system of police repression and dictatorial persecution of the liberation and trade union movement.

Thousands of people have been imprisoned or detained during the past eight months alone. Hundreds are banned, house-arrested or otherwise restricted. The number of people killed during "interrogation" and torture in police cells is growing by the day. The weaponry of the army and the police is being used to shoot down innocent children, men and women in the streets and those who bury the victims are prey to murderous police bullets.

Even this field of human persecution, coercion and oppression is regarded as a source of profitable investment by the greedy armament manufacturers of the west. The Governments controlled by the monopoly trusts

vie with each other to pour millions upon millions of expensive and sophisticated weaponry into the arsenals of apartheid, not only in order to suck out huge profits from the blood and sweat of the working people of the three countries, but also primarily to bolster up these shaky and doomed outposts of Imperialism.

#### IV. SECTION C. - ZIMBABWE

The role of the workers of Zimbabwe transpires clearly from their position in the economy of the country. The disparities that face them have forced them to realise that their place is in the liberation movement, for only that way can they achieve their political freedom as a preliminary to safe-guarding their rights to trade unions and collective bargaining.

The 1974 per capita income in Zimbabwe shows that whites were receiving \$ 7800 per annum and blacks

## The Land.

Successive Rhodesian administrations have always claimed that the land is divided equally amongst "Europeans" and Africans. But the facts are otherwise.

- 1) Six million Africans have title to the same amount of land as 20.000 Europeans.
- 2) Africans have been deprived of the best arable and fertile land.
- 3) African lands are in areas far from commercial centres as far as transport is concerned.
- 4) Africans constantly face eviction even from areas designated for them.
- 5) Settler farmers are in a position to commercialise their agriculture, but the African farmer is limited by law as to the number of cattle, goats, sheep, etc, he can own: he is also limited by law in the acreage he is allowed to cultivate.
- 6) The settler farmers are afforded financial assistance by the government and various financial institutions, but this is unthinkable for any African.

It is important to note that the one half of Zimbabwe allocated to Europeans is actually owned only by a few families, financial institutions and international companies, some of whom are not even situated in Zimbabwe.

The majority of the Europeans live in the commercial centres and it is only the Bos Lilfords, the Smiths, the Duponts, the Johnson and Fletcher families, the Wiltshire Estates, the land speculators who call themselves estate agents, the Liebings and a few other companies who use the land for ranching. These are, naturally, the groups that most strongly back the racist regime. Some of them, like Smith and Bos Lilford are leading members of the Rhodesia Front.

The workers in the agricultural industry are very numerous and almost all the product of their labour goes into the pockets of the exploiters. Wages are a miserable pittance, and part of the payment is in kind: sometimes it is in kind only. There are no social services provided for their families, no hospitals, no

schools. It is said that the son inherits his father's job. The only people with whom these workers come into contact is the Manager of the Plantation and the local policeman who is called in from time to time to discipline the "cheeky kaffirs". In some cases the whole family, including children, have to work in lieu of rent for being permitted to stay on the settler's farm.

## Industry.

The situation is not much different in the manufacturing industries of Rhodesia. The Africans are the major work force with whites only doing supervisory work. This applies equally to the textile, iron and steel, food processing, chemical and other industries. All these industries have another thing in common - Africans are invariably paid less than whites even for the same job. But the African worker is not allowed by law to have an organisation to champion his right. He can only join an organisation pegged to the European trade unions, whose members are hostile to the Africans because they feel themselves, justly or unjustly, threatened by them. The white settler workers approve of the disparity in wages, although they must realise the exploitative character of it and although they cannot fail to recognise the right of African workers to Trade Unionism. But they blindly believe that the attainment of such rights endangers the whole system of white domination and supremacy which they are fighting for. The fact that they receive wages ten times higher than Africans, though this comes out of the sweat and blood of the African workers, prompts them to fight for the preservation of their power.

## The Army.

All Europeans are subject to compulsory military service from the age of 18. Those who are not at any particular time in the regular army are in the Reserve and the entire enormous financial outlay for this aggressive war apparatus comes again from the toil of the African workers. These African workers even have to work in order to provide the finances

to pay exorbitant allowances for foreign mercenaries who are recruited into the Racist Army by the prospect of earning easy money at the expense of the people of Zimbabwe.

## V. THE ARMED STRUGGLE MUST GO ON.

It must be obvious that the suffering and exploited masses in the three countries will not remain silent, but will increasingly organise to oppose the system and eventually to remove it from the face of the earth. The question as to how this was to be done has already been answered by history itself. In all three countries there have been the same developments: at first peaceful attempts to achieve amelioration of the conditions. These were invariably answered with firm denials, but were also always followed up with violent repression, arrests of leaders, persecutions, frame-ups and detentions, even deliberate killings. No wonder, that in all three countries these peaceful demonstrations were eventually relegated to the status of secondary importance and that everywhere the people eventually took to armed struggle as one of the means to enforce their political demands. Realising that no basic changes in the system could be achieved without political rights, our people have overwhelmingly opted for the seizure of political power, for revolutionary overthrow of the regimes.

The trade union movements in all three countries have independently of each other reached the same conclusions. The basic rights of the workers, the freedom of association recognised as a sacred principle by the entire civilised world, cannot be achieved without political rights. All three trade union movements have therefore decisively thrown in their support behind their respective Liberation Movements, the South West African Peoples' Organisation (SWAPO), the African National Congress of South Africa and the Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union (ZAPU). We base this decision on the elementary rights of all peoples recognised as sacred even in such an immortal document as the Declara-



tion of Independence of the United States:

"Whenever the people shall grow weary of the existing government, they shall exercise their right to amend it or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it".

But this decision, inevitable and justified by the historic process, also imposes tremendously increased and heavier burdens of sacrifice and suffering upon the leaders and the members of the trade union movements. We shall willingly shoulder these responsibilities and we know that our members are ready, as they have shown in practice, to make the necessary sacrifices. But we are entitled, in view of our own commitment, to call upon the Trade Union Movement of the world to stand by us in the true spirit of international working class unity. What is a threat to the trade union rights of the blacks workers of Southern Africa is equally a threat to the workers of all lands. Those who exploit us in Southern Africa can be shown to be the same exploiters of the workers in other parts of the world.

### **AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL!**

We therefore all have a common interest in defeating apartheid and we, representing the workers of Southern Africa, have the right to call upon the workers of all lands to come to our aid, not only morally, but in practical and material ways.

We are conscious of the tremendous wave of sympathy and solidarity which the struggle of our people has evoked in every corner of the world and we are grateful to those progressive forces who unreservedly support our cause. But the time has come for more serious commitment and we call particularly on the International Trade Union Organisations to come together in a firmer and more consolidated struggle against apartheid. It goes without saying that we expect trade unionists everywhere to support our just cause, but in particular we ask that the Trade Union Movement should:

- i. Support the creation of a Permanent International Trade Union Solidarity Committee on the basis of the recommendations of

the Pan African Conference on Solidarity with the Peoples of Southern Africa (Luanda);

- ii. We appeal for recognition of the three labour movements, the National Union of Namibia Workers (NUNW), South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), and Zimbabwe African Congress of Unions (ZACU), as the true and authentic representatives of the workers of the three racist dominated countries;
- iii. We further appeal that the OAU should recognise the above three labour movements in order to facilitate free movement in all member States of OAU;
- iv. that the International Labour Organisation ILO, should grant the three labour movements observers status;
- v. that the three organisations should each be represented in all organisations, committees, councils and organs in which the interests of the workers of Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe are considered and discussed.

# **Zimbabwe must be free!**



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Speech given by ERNIE CLARKE,  
representative of the Communist Party  
of Great Britain, at

# ZIMBABWE HEROES DAY MEETING

Firstly I want to thank you for the invitation to the Communist Party to speak at this Solidarity meeting to mark Zimbabwe International Solidarity Day.

Comrade Jack Woddis, head of the International Department of the CPGB apologises for not being present as he has a previous engagement.

He sent official greetings and expressions of solidarity of the Communist Party from the Executive Committee to all members who are fully committed to solidarity with the Zimbabwe peoples' struggle for liberation.

We greatly appreciate the role of the ZAPU section of the P.F. and the consistent way in which Nkomo and his supporters have struggled for unity — not on the basis of unprincipled opportunist manoeuvre but a principled unity of forces supporting liberation.

They showed this in working to make a success of A. N. Council in the face of the disruption of Sithole, Muzorewa and Chikerema.

They showed this in working to establish the P.F. not only for the Geneva talks but as a united liberation movement for struggle.

They showed this in working to build a united military arm of the political movement.

Efforts by some people to pose those involved as armed fighters against the political leaders are aimed at division and disruption and must be rebuffed. Such ideas play into the hands of imperialism and only serve Ian Smith and reaction. In Britain we are conscious of the very great responsibility we have in relation to Zimbabwe.

The British Government has a heavy responsibility not only in relation to Zimbabwe but to Southern Africa as a whole, especially South Africa.

Britain is still the main overseas backer of Apartheid. It is the largest investor in South Africa. It takes more of S.A. products than any other country. More than 50 % of foreign investment in S.A. is from the U.K. The big firms investing in S.A. are household names in Britain: I.C.I., G.E.C., British Leyland, Barclay's Bank, British Steel Corporation.

The 1974 Election Manifesto called for disengagement from Britain's unhealthy involvement with S.A.

But the Labour Government dominated by the right wing, has not only rejected this but has encouraged further investment.

Radio Equipment, radar and explosives are exported from Britain to South Africa without hindrance.

Loopholes allow S.A. to obtain military equipment from Britain via third countries.

The total British investment in S.A. now stands at around £ 3,000,000,000 — the reason — Profit.

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Successive British Governments have refused to back moves at the U.N. to compel S.A. to abide by U.N. sanctions against the Smith regime.

The sending of S.A. troops into Rhodesia was flagrant aggression but the British government did nothing about it.

We should not be taken in by these manoeuvres.

Some have argued that we should support Smith and his despicable regime in Rhodesia because they are our kith and kin. But we should make it absolutely clear that the Labour and progressive movement in Britain has nothing in common whatsoever with the racist settlers who are the enemies of democracy and the working class.

The interests of white workers in Britain, as well as their black class brothers and sisters who are fighting for the same goals, are not with the white rulers of Rhodesia who are opposed to everything which our Labour Movement represents.

One of the subjects almost certainly discussed between Carter and Callaghan in Washington was how to keep Zimbabwe safe for capital.

Within the context of a new closer U.S.-U.K. coordination the long term issues of Southern Africa are under continuous consideration.

In February last a conference was held in Britain organised by the Ditchley Foundation to discuss "U.S. and European relations with the Countries of Southern Africa". Attendance included British and U.S. foreign office officials; Senior Executives of Big Business operating in Southern Africa; Head of Foreign Affairs Rhodesia Dept.; Deputy Undersecretary of State for African Affairs; Chairman of Barclays Bank International; Director of British Leyland International; Head of Rio Tinto Zinc group public affairs dept.

How it could ensure the supply of strategic materials from Southern Africa was considered.

Britain was concerned that their cheap supplies of uranium should not be cut off by the Liberation forces in Namibia.

The Ditchley Conference is part of a pattern. Southern Africa is important for the West and President Carter beans to keep well briefed and on top of events.

After the failure of Kissenger's efforts in Africa the U.S. have been trying to regain their lost initiative and prestige through Andrew Young, the roving U.S. U. N. Ambassador. Young has developed for African consumption a myth about a new tough U.S. line on Apartheid.

The difficulties encountered at the Geneva Conference were primarily the responsibility of the British Government.

They refused to accept the justified demand of the Liberation Movement for an early independence date. The Government followed the line of appeasing the white settlers.

The issue between the Zimbabwe people and the British Government is one of the transfer of political power.

To bring about the end of the racist colonial type Smith regime of the white minority, the people of Zimbabwe were prepared to negotiate at Geneva while stepping up the armed struggle inside Zimbabwe. This was not contradictory — they are two sides of the same struggle.

If the British Government sincerely want to have a meeting with the P.F. in order to arrange with them the transfer of political power then we are sure that the P.F. would give sympathetic consideration to such a proposal.

But in the absence of any such intention the P.F. and their military forces will step up the armed struggle in order to liberate their country.

The U.S., alarmed by the victories of the Liberation Movement in Mozambique and Angola, and the growing struggle of the African people in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, is striving to stop the people's advance.

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The U.S. is desperately trying to safeguard its main field of investment and profit in this region — mainly in South Africa. To this end Kissinger attempted to find a neo-colonialist solution to Zimbabwe and Namibia.

The aim was to use a handful of African puppets to present a black presence in government, whilst the U.S. and British monopolies and their white settler supporters retained real economic and political power. To its shame the British Labour government prepared to connive with this plan.

To secure support from the U.S. and Britain Smith is constantly posing as a defender of the free world and helping to keep out the communists. The movement in Britain needs to be aware of this and not fall into the trap.

We need complete support and commitment by the British T.U. and Labour progressive movement for the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe for liberation; to refuse to support any manoeuvre which aims merely to refurbish the Rhodesian system without giving power to the majority.

The U.S. with the support of Smith and Vorster is working hard to divide the Zimbabwe liberation movement. The capitalist press tried to confuse opinion by contrasting the armed fighters with the political movements and the leaders who took part in the Geneva talks.

It posed an External Wing of ANC against an Internal Wing and labelled this leader moderate and that one militant.

This tendentious propaganda can be combatted by further unity of the forces fighting for National Liberation.

The Agreement reached between Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe to act jointly at Geneva in a Patriotic Front was a significant step towards unity and helps to create a degree of accord between all Zimbabwe representatives on the essentials of an early date for the transfer of power.

Joshua Nkomo, explaining the ANC slogan "power to the people" said that this power is being sought in order to elect a government of their own choice; to end all minority privileges, racism and tribalism; to end all exploitation of labour and ensure that the workers receive the just reward of their labour; to ensure that all social services reach every home and every child. We will work to win the British people to insist that the British Government end its connivance in the plot against Zimbabwe and to give support to the Liberation forces.

The British government must stand by its commitment not to lift sanctions against Smith nor recognise any government in Salisbury until agreement has been reached on the transfer of power from the minority to the majority, with provision for universal suffrage.

The CPGB from its foundation 57 years ago consistently supported National Liberation movements and opposed all forms of racialism.

We will always oppose all forces of imperialism and reaction which holds nations in subjection and support the right of all peoples to national liberation.

No outside force, no matter how strong, has the right to lord it over the indigenous peoples, to rob them of their rights, their freedom, their land and riches.

Not only do the imperialists not have such a right, they no longer have the power to exercise it. This is the significance of the period in which we live. Nearly the whole continent of Africa is now free of colonial or white settler governments. Southern Africa clings on. White rule in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia is an anachronism. History has passed its verdict.

Long live the unity of the British and African peoples!

Long Live the solidarity with Zimbabwe!



# IN ZIMBABWE- WHO IS THE ENEMY?



*Naison Khezwane*

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## WHAT IS THE ENEMY AND WHAT IS OUR OBJECTIVE?

The answer to these questions do not depend simply on our desire to be free, they also depend on knowledge and on concept of the world and life, on lived experience. This means that they cannot be dissociated from acquired political ideas, from ideological positions which generally result from the origins of each and everyone of us.

The illegal minority racist regime of Ian Smith is merely a consequence and a special form of colonialism in which links with the British colonial power have become slack and less distinct in favour of a white minority dictatorship in Rhodesia. This visible clear and open form of colonialism does not prevent the existence in future Zimbabwe of another more subtle form of domination which goes by the name of neo-colonialism (hidden hand), in which he who exploits is no longer identified by the name coloniser, but acts in the same way at various levels. The correctness of attitude and the emotional intensity with which we embark upon action for liberation depend on how we Zimbabweans see the world, how we foresee our country's future and the extent to which we feel in our skin the action of the foreign forces. The national liberation struggle in Zimbabwe is therefore influenced not only by the historical factors determining colonialism, neo-colonialism or racist regime, but only by its objectives and the way each person sees the world and life. Reaction to foreign domination, whether individual, collective or organised, must of necessity be influenced by the two factors mentioned, which have to do with both past and future history.

This is why in Zimbabwe the importance of the armed liberation struggle is much greater than is usually ad-

mitted, because through its activity it is transforming itself into an accelerator of history, of the development of the Zimbabwe society within which it is acting and also outside it, imparting fresh dynamism to social process to transcend the present stage, even that in politically independent African countries.

I am sure the world is aware that Zimbabwe is not dominated only by British Stock Settlers. We are sufficiently enlightened on this point to know that the political and economic interests of several world imperialist powers are involved in the exploitation of Zimbabwe. The British settler's administration has not prevented the presence of its partners, a presence which has been there for decades. The racist Ian Smith regime is not the chief factor of colonisation in Zimbabwe. Without the capital of Western countries, without complicity at various levels, the Rhodesian regime would have collapsed many years ago. The role of the Western Governments led by Britain, America and France is to contain international opposition by all manner of tricks including their veto power at the U.N., the role of the settler regime is to carry out internal repression of the African masses, the role of multinational corporations is to exploit Zimbabwe economically and the three organs combine to reap the profits.

Therefore if we can say that the Smith regime is the manager of a series of politico-economic deals, we will see that it is not our principal enemy, but merely our direct enemy. The enemy of Zimbabwe is often confused with the white man. Skin colour is still a factor used by many of us to determine the enemy. There are historical and social reasons and lived facts which consolidate this idea

in Zimbabwe (Southern Africa). It is absolutely understandable that a villager in the so-called protected village, a worker in the tobacco farm or in the South African mines who is segregated and coerced, and whose last drop of sweat is wrung from him should feel that the white man he sees before him, for whom he produces wealth, is the principal enemy. It is for him that he builds cities and well-paved roads and maintains hygienic conditions which he himself does not have. Consciousness, is formed chiefly from one's experience of life. The experience of our people under the Smith regime could lead to this immediate conclusion, which is to a certain extent logical and emotionally valid.

All the more so in our society that was created by the colonialists, who created various racial defence mechanisms which were made to serve colonialism. The same poor, wretched and oppressed European worker who is exploited in his own country is the object of special attention when he establishes himself in colonial Rhodesia. He is not only imbued with a lot of jingoism, but he also starts to enjoy economic and social privileges which he could never have in his country of origin. Thus he becomes a part of the system. He starts to get a taste for colonialism and becomes a watchdog of the interests of the fascist oligarchy.

However, deep in their hearts both the watchdog and the exploiter nonetheless feel themselves slaves of the system as a whole. We can therefore say today that the phenomenon of colonial oppression in our country cannot be seen in terms of the colour of individuals. The same system as oppresses and exploits the worker in Britain also oppresses and exploits the Zimbabwean worker, using different motivation, different techniques, but always with the same goal — to exploit.

An ideological understanding of this problem also makes it easier to solve it, once the objectives of the liberation struggle are defined. In terms of what we basically want, I do not think that the liberation struggle is directed towards inverting system of oppression in such a way that the master of today will be the slave of tomorrow. To think in this way is to go against the current of history. Attitudes of social range can never be what we want, which is the freedom of humanity.

And I should like again to emphasize that the liberation struggles in Southern Africa are not aimed solely at violently correcting the relations between peoples and especially the production relations within the country — they are an important factor for the positive transformation of the entire continent of Africa and the whole world. The national liberation struggle we are waging in Zimbabwe is also a means of overthrowing a whole unjust system of oppression existing in the whole world. Let us look at the question pragmatically: — We do not find a single country in Africa which does not maintain preferential relations with its former colonial power, even through the absorption of the inevitable cultural values of a regime of colonial type. What is more, the forms of exploitation do not end and neither, consequently, do the forms of racial discrimination, accentuated to a greater or lesser degree. In such cases, liberation is not yet complete.

Under independence in which there is not merely apparent political independence, but also economic and cultural independence, where respect for true national values exists, so as to make it possible to abolish exploitation, I believe that the Zimbabwe Society would find true freedom.

To answer our question in Zimbabwe, we should say the enemy is colonialism, the colonial system, and also international imperialism, which sustains the former, to the point of being the principal enemy. These enemies use on their own behalf all the contradictions they can find in the dominated society: racial, tribal, class and other factors. On them they build their foundation for exploitation and maintain it, changing its appearance when it can no longer be maintained.

The Zimbabwean experience has already shown that pure anti-white struggle cannot permit the full development of the progressive anti-imperialist struggle. For decades our society has within it white people who came as occupiers, as conquerors, but who had time to establish roots on our country. This white population dominates the urban centres, giving rise to the fact of people who are racially mixed, making our society interlinked in its racial components. If the liberation struggle overlooks the realities of Zimbabwe, and if formulations are taken up which are pleasing nationalists who are sincere but not over-concerned about the aspect of the people's socio-historical development, it weakens itself and cannot attain its political and human objectives. Everyone in Zimbabwe who wants to participate in whatever way in the armed liberation struggle should be able to do so.

The preoccupation in Zimbabwe of making the liberation struggle a racial struggle of blacks against whites is not only superficial, but we can say that it is reactionary and that this view has no future at the very time when we see more contact between blacks and whites on the AFRICAN continent than in the era of total colonialism. The expanding relations with socialist countries and with countries which are against colonialism, more than there have ever been in any era of Africa's history. Therefore, to pose the problem as one of black against white is to falsify the question and deflect us from our objective.

I would say that in Zimbabwe the struggle also assumes a racial aspect since discrimination is a fact. The black man is exploited in Zimbabwe. But it is fundamentally a struggle against the colonial system and its chief ally imperialism. I also reject the idea of black liberation, because the problem of Zimbabwe cannot be purely racial. So long as there is imperialism, it will be possible to continue colonialism.

What we want is to establish a new Zimbabwe society where all its citizens can live together. Naturally, and so as not to be misinterpreted, I must add that the democratic process must be exercised in such a way that the most exploited masses (who are black) have control of political power, since they can go furthest in establishing proper rights for all. A people's struggle for political power, for economic independence, for the restoration of cultural life, to end alienation, for relations with all peoples on a basis of equality and fraternity — these are the objectives of our struggle for Zimbabwe.

These objectives are set by defining who is the enemy, by defining who are the people and what is the character of our struggle which is a revolutionary struggle affecting not only the foundations of the colonial system but also the foundations of our own Zimbabwean society, as a nation and as a people. But can such liberation take place at this stage?

We are in a period in which the imperialist forces are deploying themselves on the Southern African scene with dynamism and tenacity. Together with racist regimes in Southern Africa, either the fast emerging African puppetry, imperialism is present in Zimbabwe. Its influence can be felt. Its activity is causing alarm in the life of Africa. Neo-colonialism is a fact. Everywhere in Africa there is still the need to struggle for independence, whether political in some areas, economic in others, or cultural almost everywhere. Imperialism is doing everything it can to maintain sources of raw materials and cheap labour. This is a phenomenon which is being debated not only in the unliberated Southern Africa but in the whole of the so-called Third World.

Having defined and identified who is the enemy of the people in Zimbabwe, the masses resort to armed liberation struggle to achieve what? This to my view signals the start of the anti-imperialist struggle. In other words it means the destiny and future of social development of the masses shall no longer be obedient to the will of the settler colonialists, who are in fact agents of international imperialism. All anti-imperialist struggles are directed to overthrow the system of oppression and exploitation. In the Zimbabwe context the struggle has been directed against foreign domination, (colonialism) but due to protracted armed liberation struggle the whole struggle is fast transforming itself into a clear anti-imperialist confrontation. This is so because more and more emphasis is now centred on the definition of the principal enemy in Zimbabwe rather than on direct enemy. The present feeling within the liberation movement will definitely help the struggling masses of Zimbabwe to consolidate unity behind the party (Z.A.P.U.) and strengthen the determination of the armed struggle by the patriotic forces against all manifestations of aggressive policies of oppression by the imperialist powers.

After the collapse of the Anglo-American **STAGE ONE** plot against the liberation of the Zimbabwean people, the **STAGE TWO** plot hatched by Callaghan/Carter and Owen/Vance combination is being launched by these two well known world imperialist powers. But with people of Zimbabwe under their vanguard party (Z.A.P.U.) armed with revolutionary determination this new imperialist onslaught is bound to be frustrated. This was borne out by the example of curbing of United States imperialist aggression against the Vietnamese people and most recently against the Angolan people. The armed intervention by combined imperialist and racist forces from Vorster South Africa proved once again that in present day conditions, characterised by the continuous strengthening of the liberation forces, coupled with the weakening of the positions of the imperialist circles, a policy based on recourse to military strength, crude pressure and intimidation of African independent states as a means of

suppressing the national liberation forces by way of arming racist Vorster regime with sophisticated weaponry including the Nuclear Knowhow, can no longer yield the desired results. In other words the experience of Angolan War demonstrated that a policy of aggression, domination and exerting pressure from positions of imperialist military strength has already become a historical anachronism. The combination of the staunchness of the Zimbabwean people with progressive international assistance, moral, political and material is an important factor that contributes to the stamping out of the dangerous source of war that exists in Zimbabwe today.

What should be clear to Zimbabwe people is that imperialism never gives up any position without resorting to a bloody battle, and its resistance grows all the more bitter as its ability to determine the course of international developments according to its arbitrary will becomes more feeble. This is the case in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa today.

It should be borne in my mind that today the defenders and articulators of the decadent system of oppression and exploitation are no less alarmed than they were at the time of the intensive disintegration of the colonial empires of the western powers — notably Britain. In its new phase the armed liberation struggle in Zimbabwe directly affects the foundations of the capitalist establishment not only inside racist Rhodesia itself but also in imperialist headquarters in London, Washington, Paris, Bonn and Tokyo, as was the case in Portugal when the Caetano reactionary dictatorship collapsed under the weight of the armed revolutionary onslaught in the then Portuguese colonies of Angola, Guinea Bissau and Mozambique. The revolutionary struggles in Southern Africa and other areas of conflict are therefore threatening the life line of imperialism, because they are not only a material but also an ideological catalyst of change.

The objective is **POWER TO THE PEOPLE.**



# M. P. NAICKER

M. P. Naicker, Director of Publicity and Information of the African National Congress of South Africa, died in the plane on Friday 29 April, 1977. He was on a mission on behalf of the ANC to Berlin. He was 56 years old.

"M. P." as he was known to his comrades, was born into a working class family in Durban and started his first job in a factory at an early age. He was soon established as a leader among his fellow workers. He joined the Communist Party and rapidly rose to a leading position in that organisation, serving for some years on its central committee.

An outstanding organiser, M. P. was appointed Secretary of the Passive Resistance Council which fought General Smuts' Ghetto Act of 1946 prohibiting property deals by Asians, and served a four months term of imprisonment for defying the law. He was later elected organising secretary of the Natal Indian Congress during one of the most difficult periods in Congress history. After the passing of the Suppression of Communism Act he was banned from all trade union and Indian Congress work.

M. P. was Editor/Manager of the Durban office of the newspaper 'Guardian' which survived several bannings and changes of name until finally crushed by the Nationalist Government in 1963. He was one of the 156 accused in the great Treason Trial of 1956-1961 and was also one of those jailed

for several months without trial during the 1960 emergency which followed the Sharpeville shooting. After being jailed twice by the Security Police - this time under the notorious 90-day No-Trial Law - M. P. was forced to leave South Africa in 1965. In exile he was appointed the ANC External Mission's Director of Publicity and Information, based in London and represented the organisation at international conferences in many parts of the world. He was a member of the Executive of the International Organisation of Journalists and was awarded their pin in gold in 1971 and the Julius Fucik Medal in 1976.

His remains were cremated at the Golders Green Crematorium in London on May 8 amongst a large gathering of friends and relatives who had travelled from far and wide to pay their last respects.

Those who paid tributes to him at the funeral service were Comrades Oliver Tambo, Acting President-General of the African National Congress, Dr. Yusuf Dadoo, Chairman of the South African Communist Party and Brian Bunting, Secretary of the South African Journalists Circle.

A memorial meeting was also held in Durban attended by a large gathering of friends and relatives. He is survived by his wife Saro, children Suganya and Prenaven, mother, sister, brothers and two grandchildren.

SECHABA







*The Patriotic Front Leaders at a Press Conference in Geneva 1976*

# PATRIOTIC FRONT

## **SUMMARY OF THE CONCLUSIONS OF THE FIRST MEETING OF THE CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE (C.O.C.) OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT (PF), APRIL 10 – 13, 1977, DAR ES SALAAM, TANZANIA.**

1. The conclusions of the Co-ordinating Committee were based on the guidelines spelled out in the PF Maputo Document of January 16, 1977.
  - ii) Venue to be decided at the end of each C.O.C. session.
2. Procedural Matters: Decisions
  - i) Decided that the C.O.C. should meet on the first week of every month.
3. Tasks of the PF.
  - a) Extensive Programme of political education in order to properly orientate all Zimbabweans toward national democratic revolution and national unity.

**Decision:**

i) Agreed to set up a sub-committee consisting of the national commissars of the two organisations to work out a joint political programme guided by the Maputo Document with a view to integrating the existing political programmes of the two organisations so as to project the position of the PF.

ii) Sub-Committee to report on its work to respective parties a week before the next meeting of the C.O.C.

iii) Sub-Committee also to make a report at the next meeting of the C.O.C.

b) Promoting programmes aimed at consciously improving working relations between our two political organisations, and encourage a joint approach to foreign relations.

**Decisions:**

Agreed to set up a two-man sub-committee consisting of Information and Publicity Secretaries of the two organisations to draw up guidelines to be followed in carrying out propaganda work and dissemination of information through newspapers, radio and press releases.

ii) Agreed to set up a two-man sub-committee consisting of Secretaries for External Affairs charged with the responsibility of drawing up a common programme of co-ordination of the activities of our foreign relations, in particular to

a) Co-ordinate and harmonize relations between our representatives;

b) Open offices on the conditions stipulated by the host country or countries;

c) Accept the principle that where contributions come directly in the name of the PF, they should be treated as PF contributions. Equally so, where contributions come directly in the name of ZANU or ZAPU, they should accordingly go to the respective organisations.

c) To study the problems that affected ZIPA with a view to its re-organisation.

**Decision:**

Agreed to set up a sub-committee comprising two members of the Co-ordinating Committee and three officers from each of the military commands to

i) carefully study and sum up the problems which affected ZIPA;

ii) visit camps of both organisations to acquaint itself with the situation obtaining therein;

iii) establish the mechanics of the re-organisation of ZIPA;

iv) work out methods of joint training programmes and, in this respect work out a standardisation training syllabus;

v) work out the strategy of joint military operations;

vi) work out standardized code of discipline and conduct of administration;

vii) submit its report and recommendations to the heads of both organisations a week before the next Co-ordinating Committee for consideration and action at that session.

**4. Gabon Strategy. Decisions:**

i) Agreed that the two Secretaries for External Affairs should immediately organize joint visits of the PF to countries that have so far speared to doubt the position of PF.

ii) Agreed that single documents should be presented at

a) The Maputo U.N. Conference on Zimbabwe and Namibia to be held in May;

b) The forthcoming Standing Committee of the O.A.U. to be held in Dar es Salaam;

c) The O.A.U. Liberation Committee meeting to be held in Luanda in June;

d) The O.A.U. Summit in Libreville, Gabon on July 2 – 5, 1977.

**5. Strategy for Luanda Summit of Frontline States.**

**Decisions:**

i) to brief President Mwalimu Nyerere verbally on the conclusions of our meeting here in Dar es Salaam before issuing a press release;

ii) to submit written reports to President Machel of Mozambique and President Kaunda of Zambia before Angola Summit;

iii) Comrade Mugabe to brief Comrade Nkomo immediately they meet in Luanda;

iv) Comrade Mugabe and Comrade Nkomo to seek the first opportunity to brief Presidents Kaunda and Machel in detail in Luanda on our position.

# POET'S CORNER

## *From Santiago to Soweto*

By: N. A. Khezwana.

*I can hear the anguish of mothers, their pain echo the intensity  
of having lost*

*sons and daughters  
husbands, companeros*

*fathers, and even their  
own mothers*

*I envision loneliness in the eyes of the children who saw the  
starkness of terror*

*And my own love for freedom bears witness to those now enslaved  
Oh, but yes, in spite of that acting in defiance!*

*From Santiago, the long lines of ITT remain. They no longer  
carry the conversations of the peasants, the workers*

*Those calls only go now to Washington and Wall Street to the  
secret police*

*"Las Mujeres Chileano" I know you are now a part of the resistance  
which one day will restore sanity to your country*

*And*

*what will Kenne Cott do then?  
when treason to dominate/and  
what about the CIA?  
And ITT when the lines are cut again?*

*American business will retreat and Pinochet and the likes  
of him will find themselves like monkeys in a cage whose cries  
for mercy will be met with the people's rage*

*Until then*

*Oh "Mujeres Chileano"*

*I share in your anguish*

*The intensity of your pain reaches my land*

*The loneliness of your eyes is imprinted upon my mind and the  
hunger of your children fills my belly with such bile/upon excretion  
will drown the vultures of greed!*

*And my own love for freedom bears witness to your enslaved—*

*our own defiance in America will put all tyranny  
in its gravel  
Onward to Soweto,*

*I cross a million miles, and black faces stare me in the  
eye  
Women lead struggles, thinking of tomorrow*

*Except that freedom comes not from a Kissinger Plan, or  
Andy Young's negotiable nonviolent style of the past*

*I see young people willingly give their lives and black  
mothers stand on street corners defying pass laws, jail, and  
for those who might survive, they leave finding themselves in  
foreign lands as exiles.*

*Soweto is characterized*

*as South Africa in a moment of crisis  
but crises have a basis  
they don't happen without cause  
there are reasons for their being*



*I cross a million miles, and black faces stare me in the eye/where workers have a number not a name, this all reminds me of slavery without chains!!*

*Soweto is South Africa*

*Its destiny is all Africa*

*And when the ruthlessness of apartheid is destroyed, and racism cease to be/when to diamond minds are restored/where black people are now dying in order for the next generation to be free/I will not be plagued with black faces staring me in the eye. I will be plagued with black faces staring me in the eye—*

*Only after:*

*black mothers stop standing  
mourning at mass graves  
dug for burying their young  
who dared to defy a brutal system  
which could not exist if it were  
not for American Big Business!!*

*The heritage of Africa is too rich to allow*

*what is now happening in Soweto to go unnoticed  
like a merry-go-round  
unscathed in the world's eye  
a future will be forged out of this tragic present.*

*I embrace you the black African Freedom Fighter you are  
the young women and men-sun of tomorrow—*

*So there/I'm not afraid of those black Faces that stare  
me in the eye, for those Faces are a thousand me-from Santiago  
to Soweto, it's all about struggling to be FREE!!*



## SMITH'S HOSTAGES: POLITICAL PRISONERS IN RHODESIA

- Inyanga in August 1976. Appeal dismissed in September 1976.
- MULENYA, Tompson M—Wha Wha (D)
- MULEYA, Mafandaza Josias—(Where held unknown)  
Detained in November 1974 facing charges under the L&O(M) Act. At his trial in April 1975 he refused defence and is presumed to have been convicted.
- MULISWA, S—(Where held unknown)
- MUNETSI, Peter—Wha Wha (D)
- MUNGAZI, David (61)—Wha Wha (D)  
Detained at Gonakudzingwa in 1964 and released in 1965. Re-arrested in 1966 and detained at Gwelo. Released in 1970 and re-detained in 1973 at Wha Wha.
- MUNGOFAL, Ben—Khami (C)
- MUNGUNYANA, David—Wha Wha (D)
- MUNJOMA, Baisayi—Wha Wha (D)
- MUNJOMA, Ian—Wha Wha (D)  
Arrested in 1975 with 4 others, allegedly part of a guerilla recruiting ring. The charges were withdrawn in November 1975 and Munjoma was held at Que Que in solitary confinement before being detained at Wha Wha around February 1976.
- MUNJOMA, Leonard—Wha Wha (D)
- MUNJOMA, Silas—(Where held unknown) (C)  
Sentenced to 18 years in December 1975.
- MUNJOMAH, R—(Where held unknown)
- MUNYAMA, Basopo—(Sentenced to death)  
Sentenced to death by a Special Court in Umtali in July 1976. A deputy kraalhead from the Muroma TTL, he was alleged to have urged guerillas to execute 2 captured policemen
- MUNYANGADZI, Smart Pinduka—Wha Wha (D)
- MUNYANYI, Clever—Wha Wha (D)
- MUNYARADZI, Eric C.N. (40)—Gwelo (D)  
Detained in 1966 and sentenced in 1968 to 9 years which he served at Khami. Detained on completion of the sentence. In December 1975 he was convicted under the Prisons Act of refusing to wear uniform and assaulting a prison officer. Sentenced to 6 weeks deprivation of privileges and 6 weeks hard labour.
- MUNYEMBE, Gamariel—Wha Wha (D)
- MUNYONGANI, Wilbert—Khami (C)
- MUNYORO, George—(Where held unknown) (D)
- MUNZWANDI, Magwaza (50)—Wha Wha (D)  
Detained in 1964 at Gonakudzingwa and released in 1965. Redetained in 1966 at Gwelo and released in 1970. Redetained in 1973 at Wha Wha.
- MUPATSI, Moffat—Khami (C)
- MUPESA, Elliot—Marandellas
- MUPFAIPARI—(Where held unknown)
- MUPFUNDE, Peter—Wha Wha (D)
- MUPFURA, Stanford—Wha Wha (D)
- MUPINDA, Lovemore—Wha Wha (D)
- MUPONDA, John—Khami (C)
- MURANZI, R—Wha Wha (D)
- MURAPA, Shadreck—Wha Wha (D)
- MURAZA, Rodgers—(Where held unknown) (C)  
Sentenced to an unknown term of imprisonment by a Special Court in Umtali in July 1976.
- MUREMEREDZO, Clever—(Where held unknown) (C)  
Sentenced by a Special Court at Umtali in September 1976 to 5 years (2 suspended) for assisting guerilla recruits.
- MURENGA, Ezekiel—Wha Wha (D)  
Arrested in 1975 with 4 others, allegedly part of a guerilla recruiting ring. The charges were withdrawn in November 1975 and Murenga was held at Que Que in solitary confinement before being detained at Wha Wha around February 1976.
- MUREREKWA, Enock Adaarewa—Wha Wha (D)  
Detained in 1965 and sentenced in 1968 to 9 years. On completion of the sentence in August 1974 he was detained.
- MUREZA, Chinzara—Khami (C)
- MUREZA, Dickson—Khami (C)
- MURIMIRA, Herbert T—Gwelo (D)  
Detained in 1965 and sentenced in 1968 to 9 years. On completion of the sentence he was detained.
- MURINGAZUVA, K—(Where held unknown)
- MURINGAZUWA, Abel Chawonza (63)—Wha Wha (D)  
Detained in January 1973. Married with 14 children.
- MURINGAZUWA, Mandaza Ketero—Wha Wha (D)
- MUROMBE, John C—Khami (C)  
Serving life imprisonment for possessing arms of war.
- MURONDA, Tavengwa K—Wha Wha (D)  
Detained in July 1975.
- MURONGA, Njera—(Where held unknown) (C)  
Sentenced in January 1975 to 9 years for failing to report the presence of guerillas.
- MURONZI, John—Gwelo (D)  
Arrested in 1967 and sentenced to 15 years. In September 1975 he was informally discharged and indefinitely detained.
- MURONZI, Reuben—Wha Wha (D)
- MUROPA, Morris—Khami (C)  
Serving life imprisonment.
- MURTAGH, Cecil—(Where held unknown) (C)  
A Coloured member of FROLIZI, sentenced to 25 years in June 1973, for possessing arms of war.
- MURWADZI, Artwell G—(Where held unknown)
- MURUWADZI, Kiliford—Wha Wha (D)
- MURWIRA, Josiah—Wha Wha (D)
- MUSAKA, C.J—(Where held unknown) (D)
- MUSAKA, Ephraim—Gwelo (D)  
Previously served sentence in Salisbury and Khami Prisons and a period of detention at Beit Bridge. Currently detained at Gwelo, where in July 1975 he was convicted under the Prisons Act for smuggling letters out of prison.
- MUSAKASA, Machingura Cephas—Marandellas (R)  
Detained at Wha Wha on completion of a 10 year sentence. He contracted TB in prison and was released from Wha Wha in 1974 seriously ill, and restricted to Mahusekwa in the Marandellas area.
- MUSANHI, Petros—Salisbury (D)
- MUSANTE, Joseph—Wha Wha (D)
- MUSEKIWA, Dick Constantine—Wha Wha (D)  
Charged under the L&O(M) Act with recruiting in July 1975. After a lengthy trial he was acquitted and immediately detained. His appeal to the Review Tribunal in April 1976 for release was refused. Former official of the Shona Cultural Association.
- MUSERE, Naasson Webb—Wha Wha (D)
- MUSHAMBADOPE, John—Wha Wha (D)
- MUSHAWEMHUKA, Katonje Sami—Wha Wha (D)
- MUSHAYADURA, Edward—Wha Wha (D)
- MUSHIPE, Crispin (20)—(Sentenced to death)  
Sentenced to death in August 1976 by a Special Court in Salisbury for his involvement, with 7 others, in bomb attacks and acts of sabotage in the Greater Salisbury area.
- MUSHONGA, George—Wha Wha (D)
- MUSHONGA, Jasi Mutizwa—Wha Wha (D)
- MUSHORE, Goliath (18)—(Where held unknown) (C)  
Sentenced to 25 years in September 1975, for possessing arms of war, laying a landmine and firing at a Rhodesian Air Force helicopter.
- MUSHORE, Philip M. (35)—Gwelo (D)  
Detained in 1965, brought to trial in 1968 and sentenced to 9 years. Detained on completion of sentence in August 1974 at Gwelo. In March 1976 he was sentenced to 6 weeks hard labour for smuggling letters out of prison.
- MUSHUMA, Norbert (23)—(Where held unknown) (C)  
A former resident of Dzingire Kraal, Melsetter, sentenced to 9 years in July 1975 for attempting to leave the country for guerilla training.
- MUSIKA, Kenneth—Wha Wha (D)
- MUSIKAVANHU, K—Wha Wha (D)
- MUSIRA, Maxwell (25)—(Where held unknown) (D)  
Detained awaiting trial under L&O(M) Act charges relating to recruiting persons for guerilla training, in August 1976.
- MUSIVAZVIRIYO, Sunkel—(Where held unknown) (C)  
Sentenced to 7 years in late 1975, for attempting to attend a course or undergo training outside the country.
- MUSKWEI, Nzwana Felton—Khami (C)
- MUSONI, Thomas Charles G—Salisbury (D)  
Detained since at least 1969 at Gonakudzingwa and Salisbury.
- MUSTELE, P.P—Wha Wha (D)
- MUSUKA, Smart—Wha Wha (D)
- MUSWAKA, Edward—Wha Wha (D)
- MUSWAKA, Onias—Wha Wha (D)
- MUSWETE, Tendani—(Where held unknown) (D)  
Known to have been held in detention in August 1975, charged under the L&O(M) Act and brought to trial for attempting to recruit persons for guerilla training, in November 1975. The state subsequently withdrew all charges and he was indefinitely detained.
- MUTANDA, Defence—Wha Wha (D)
- MUTANDADZI, Wilfred—Fort Victoria
- MUTANDWA, Damson (55)—(Where held unknown) (C)  
Sentenced by a Special Court in September 1976 to 6 years (3 suspended) for failing to report the presence of guerillas.
- MUTANDWA, Nesbert—Wha Wha (D)
- MUTANGA, Godwin—Wha Wha (D)
- MUTANGIRI, Patrick—Wha Wha (D)  
In September 1975 he was found guilty by Bindura Magistrate's Court of supplying medicines to guerillas and failing to report their presence. The Appeal Court remitted the case for re-trial, and in July 1976 he was acquitted and detained.
- MUTANHO, C.T—(Where held unknown)
- MUTARIRI, Clarkson—Gwelo
- MUTASA, John (58)—Umtali (C)  
A former director of the Nyafaru Development Company, an agricultural co-operative near the Mozambique border. Detained in March 1975 and charged under the L&O(M) Act with recruiting persons for guerilla training. He was sentenced in October 1975 to 20 years (8 suspended).
- MUTASA, Phillip—Khami (C)
- MUTAYAMATE, Kangachep—Khami (C)
- MUTEMA, Clarkson Mada Nyengeterayi—Gwelo (D)  
Served a 10 year sentence at Khami and Salisbury, completed in October 1972 and immediately detained at Gwelo. Detained in solitary confinement for periods in 1972 and 1973 on conviction under the Prisons Act.
- MUTEMA, Thomas—Khami (C)
- MUTEMURO, Antoni—Wha Wha (D)
- MUTENDADZAMERA, Mwashinga—Wha Wha (D)
- MUTENGAMBIRI, Kaputeni—Wha Wha (D)
- MUTERO, Joseph—Salisbury
- MUTESWA, Charles—Wha Wha (D)

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