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TO OUR READERS:

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

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EDITORIAL

The British Government has again sent one of its political personalities on a whirlwind tour of Tanzania, Mozambique, South Africa, Botswana, Zambia, Rhodesia and, though belatedly included, Angola, to discuss the Rhodesian issue. This time the personality is the Commonwealth and Foreign Relations Secretary, Dr. David Owen. Dr. Owen came hard on the heels of Mr. Ivor Richard whose disappointment with the Rhodesian fascist regime has very widely publicised by the British news media.

Mr. Richard visited Rhodesia after several attempts had been made to reach a settlement with Smith and his fascist league. None of them succeeded. The Smith regime made a unilateral declaration on independence in 1965. This is 1977. Since UDI, the regime has had a number of meetings with Harold Wilson (one time British Prime Minister), Sir Alec-Douglas Home (British Conservative Commonwealth and Foreign Relations Secretary), and several other British envoys like Lord Goodman. Nothing positive resulted from those meetings. Now enters Dr. David Owen also talking about talking to Smith. What chances has he of reaching an acceptable settlement with Smith?

We have repeatedly pointed out that the Smith regime is determined to remain in power at any cost. Smith has been amazingly consistent on this objective. His UDI was to effect and entrench this goal. Since then, his regime has embarked upon an openly murderous campaign against the masses of Zimbabwe. It has also mounted naked aggression against neighbouring states of Zambia, Mozambique and Botswana and has, in the process, cold-bloodedly murdered hundreds of innocent people and children. His regime is continuously recruiting blood-thirsty mercenaries from Britain itself, the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, Belgium, France, Australia, South Africa, and a few other satellite states of the capitalist camp. He hangs and murders Zimbabweans ruthlessly. In short, he is doing everything possible in the world of fascists to show how desperately he wants to remain in power.

Anybody who thinks that the Rhodesian Front together with Smith will one day be talked into transferring real power to the masses of Zimbabwe is entertaining a great deal of wishful thinking. They can only be pushed into transferring power by sheer revolutionary force such as is presently wielded by forces of the Patriotic Front composed of ZAPU and ZANU.

We of ZAPU do not want to mislead the world, least of all the British Government, that we place even the slightest hope on trips like the recent one of Dr. Owen. The trip will go down in history as one of those futile attempts by the British Government to milk a stone. We are, of course, assuming that it was made in good faith. Assuming is not the same as believing.

Dr. Owen stated during his trip that the British Government did not have power to remove the Smith regime. We say it would have been more correct to say that the British Government did not have the will to remove the Smith regime. If anything, trips like that of Dr. Owen are meant to play on our psychology by creating false euphoria and a very dangerous sense of hope. We are, however, past such a stage. **WE HAVE THE WILL AND THE POWER TO REMOVE THE SMITH REGIME. WE HAVE NO FAITH IN THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT. OUR FAITH IS IN OURSELVES. THE SMITH REGIME SHALL GO ONLY THROUGH ARMED STRUGGLE. ZIMBABWE MUST AND SHALL BE FREE.**

INTERVIEW

WITH PRESIDENT OF ZAPU J.M. NKOMO

BY THE
ZIMBABWE REVIEW REPORTERS



Comrade Joshua Nkomo, President of the
Zimbabwe African People's Union
PHOTO: — The Zimbabwe Review —
Z. Nkobi

Which political power is needed in Zimbabwe in order to harmonise the work of the Patriotic Front.

This is not the time for talking, this is the time for action. We have talked enough for the last 30 years in the recent history of our struggle, but the struggle began when the white man encompassed and, without the permission of the people of the country, decided to make themselves rulers of that country by military force.

Now that military force had to be answered by military force. Our people fought, but because of the superior weapons and assistance by the British, they overpowered our people.

But that was not the end of the struggle. The struggle continued all through, until the recent times it was resuscitated and revigourised on September 12, 1957.

This is what we call the recent part of our struggle. So that we have talked, we have gone to conferences, we have sent memorandum after memorandum, we have argued our case inside and outside the United Nations and in the OAU. It is of course our plan that this is no more a time for talking but a time for action.

Therefore some of us, after 30 years of activity with the history behind us, of attempts to settle our problem

by negotiation, we have decided that it is only through revolutionary armed struggle, it is only through sacrifice, only through our blood that will free our country.

After Geneva, we in the Patriotic Front made it clear that the only course left now for our people to get real independence is by the revolutionary armed struggle.

What the British and the Americans are trying to do is to give our people a shadow — just a shadow — of independence, while the country will be controlled by the British and their friends the Americans, and other countries in the European Common Market, and we shall be used to abett the local people to carry out exploitation of our people.

It is this type of independence the British want to use the Americans to force upon us. This plan is not only for Zimbabwe, but also for Namibia in order to bolster South Africa.

We are in a dangerous area, so at this age of 60 years old I have decided, having directed the armed struggle from within and without the country, but without myself actually getting into uniform — at the age of 60 I have decided to get into uniform and fight personal.

I said when I was in Geneva, that if the Conference failed, then I would go into the bush myself. I am in that bush myself, and I shall remain in that bush until Zimbabwe is free.

My message to Zimbabweans

throughout the world is that there is no use for people to sit down and talk, and say what they can do themselves by talking. We need them, we need every Zimbabwean. All those who have concluded their studies must come forward and be with us in the struggle.

We need people of all types: we need people in the army, we need people in propaganda, we need people to assist those in the bush to continue fighting. Diplomatically we shall need every person — nurses, doctors, teachers, economists, builders, carpenters, and all other professions.

We need them now, they must not sit back in Europe, the Americas, India and other parts of the world, and expect to get back home when the country is free, they have to join us now or they are not with us. This is very important.

Those who are still at school, who are still studying, let them continue to study, but they must cease to be professional students, jumping from one course to the other and waiting for the day when Zimbabwe will be free.

That day will come without them, everyone's effort is required and required now. This is my call: every student, every worker who is a Zimbabwean must come forward and work with us in the Patriotic Front, to free our country.

Zimbabwe must be free!



NKOMO'S ZIMBABWE DAY SPEECH IN LUSAKA

On the occasion of Zimbabwe Day (March 17) the President of the Zimbabwe African People's Union, Comrade Joshua Nkomo, spoke to members of the Press at Zimbabwe House in Lusaka. During his address, he warned that if the Smith regime did not stop its atrocities against the people of Zimbabwe (both black and white), there was a grave danger of creating very serious racial animosity. Below follows the address in full:

"Zimbabwe Day is an important occasion for us because it was on this day that our people came together as early as 1896 in a united effort to

repulse the invaders and usurpers of our country. You know that the settlement of Zimbabwe whose seeds were sown in 1888, followed by a fraudulent document, proceeded until 1893 when the white settlers provoked what they called a war. I say what they called a war because there was no formal declaration of war.

"Our people made great efforts with crude weapons to wipe off the usurpers. From 1893, and then between 1896 and 1897 our people struggled against these invaders. On March 17, 1897 our people came together,

forgot their differences and fought the common enemy. The British Government then decided to intervene with more armed forces on the side of the usurpers of our land. Our people did not surrender, however. The people of Zimbabwe never surrendered. NEVER. Zimbabweans have never surrendered to suppression.

"All these years there has been a continuous struggle for freedom and independence. The steps can be mapped up to 1923 when the settlers, in league with the British Government of course, declared their so-called responsible government after a fictitious referendum. I say fictitious because the people of the country did not take part in it.

"Throughout all these years Britain let successive settler regimes in Rhodesia pass racially discriminatory legislation despite the fact that she had the power of disallowance. The war in Zimbabwe today is a continuation of the 1893, 1896-1897 wars aimed at repulsing a system that rules us without our consent. I must make it very clear here that at no time have we ever said that we are fighting a race. There is absolutely no question of fighting white people simply because they are white. What we are engaged in today is a struggle against a system. This system is repulsive, indecent, inhuman, and gives a privilege to a minority to dominate a majority.

Remnants of Resistance:

"So, nobody must ever think that the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe is against white people. We call upon all those white people who feel that the Rhodesian regime is against human decency to join forces of the people fighting for human rights. It is high time they abandoned either sitting on the fence or siding with the Rhodesian racist regime.

"As far as we are concerned, we are in the last stage of our armed liberation struggle. The fight is virtually over. Zimbabwe shall be independent. What we are doing is to remove the last impediments in our way to establishing a free and independent

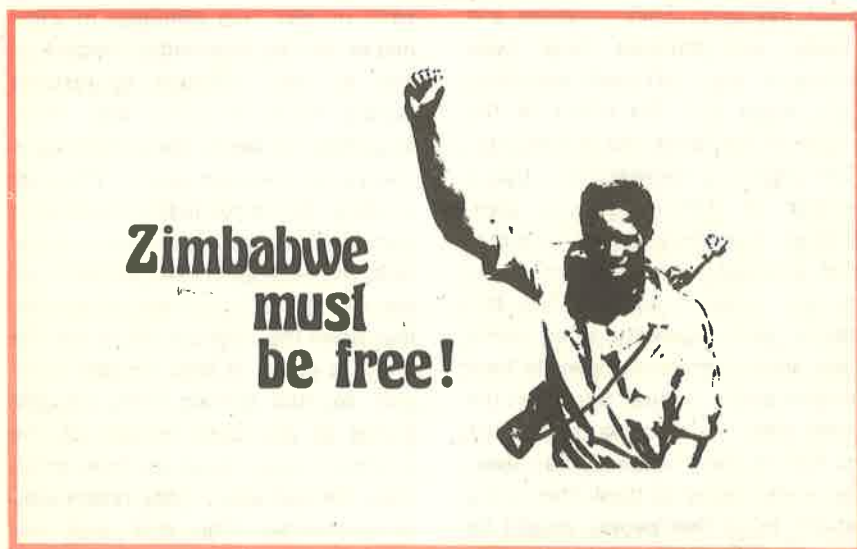
Zimbabwe. We therefore accordingly call upon the people of Zimbabwe to make up their minds. I mean those who have not yet made up their minds to join the forces of freedom. We call upon all Zimbabweans irrespective of the colour of their skins. We say to them: "Come with us; we are marching to a free Zimbabwe. We are in the last stage to a free Zimbabwe. If you have been used by the racist regime in one way or another, get off it NOW; join the people in this final assault against a tattered regime."

"On this day we say to all those people who have been assisting us in our struggle: Zimbabwe is grateful. But the remnants of resistance are still there. We need some more of

countries. There can be no nonsense worse than that one. The fact is that we are not inspired by any country or person; we are inspired by the wants and wishes of the exploited and oppressed masses of Zimbabwe. We are inspired by our will to fight for our right, our own birthright. That is all there is to it. None of the countries assisting us has ever suggested to us any way of life that Zimbabwe should follow after independence.

Part And Parcel:

"We say to the western countries: 'Instead of grumbling and moaning, come forward now and side with the just cause of the people of Zimbabwe.'



your support in great quantities too. We have had assistance from progressive countries; I am talking about countries outside Africa; I mean progressive countries, especially the socialist countries of Eastern Europe. We have had very little, if any help at all from western countries. I mean their governments or semi-governmental organisations. We have had some assistance from non-governmental voluntary organisations, as well as from some United Nations organisations. Western European governments have shied away.

"Why have they shied away? They have made a number of allegations, one of which is that the freedom movement is inspired by certain countries, especially the socialist

Zimbabwe.' If these western countries think that by assisting us they can inspire us to become their puppets, then let them try it. Let them give us their bits of help and we shall receive it at mid-day. This is a direct challenge to the west. Let those countries come out of their dark hiding place from which they side with the Rhodesian racist regime. Assist the masses of Zimbabwe to fight against the Rhodesian racists. The Rhodesian racists are like Hitler. Why does the West shy away from us? Is it because the people carrying out this hideous system against us are part and parcel of the western way of life? Is it because of kith and kin sentiments? Right is on our side, and it shall succeed whether or not the western

nations want it. We will fight it out and win at any cost. We will not relent.

"The people of Zimbabwe are the vanguard of the struggle. Questions have been asked about who is actually in the liberation struggle. The Zimbabwean liberation struggle is composed of two organisations. These have been at odds from time to time, but have now managed to come together in the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front. Some people say that the Patriotic Front is just a marriage of convenience between ZAPU and ZANU. These people must know that they are talking nonsense because there is no convenience in the struggle. Our coming together with ZANU is a matter of reality, and we have agreed to work together on certain issues. We remain separate as political parties. ZAPU remains ZAPU. We each retain our separate political identities, but there are certain matters on which we have agreed to work together.

"One of those matters is to unite our armed forces now for the purpose of effectiveness, and to have one army in an independent Zimbabwe. That army shall defend Zimbabwe's independence. A country can have two, three, four, 10 political parties, but it cannot have more than one army. That is simple common sense. We have established a co-ordinating committee to work on these agreed areas. Another matter on which we agreed to work as the Patriotic Front is our country's constitution. Other matters will follow one after another as we move along forward together. The co-ordinating committee has a number of sub-committees to work on specific issues. We are really moving forward very fast.

Round Of Talks

Another question often asked is about constitutional talks on our country. It is well known that the British broke off the Geneva conference. We went to Geneva thinking that we were to attend a constitutional conference. But when we got there, we discovered after a few days that we had been taken for a ride. We did not in fact have any constitutional conference in Geneva. It was a

conference that never was. If it had been a conference, the late Mr. Richard Chrosland (former British Commonwealth and Foreign Relations Secretary) would not have announced in the House of Commons that it was all over without first consulting those who took part in it. The Geneva affair was nothing but a British Government inquiry. Those who may argue that the Geneva talks were continued by Mr. Ivor Richard later must remember that he too announced that the talks were over and finished without as much as consulting or informing us. The end of Richard's talks meant the end of the Geneva affair. So, Geneva is dead and buried.

We are aware, however, that some people, especially the British still entertain the idea that there should and shall be a conference. The only thing that can be done if another conference on Rhodesia is to be held is to discover first whether we of the Patriotic Front and the British Government are speaking the same language and mean the same thing when we talk about the transfer of power from the minority to the majority. If, as we believe it to be the case, we find that we are not speaking the same language, we must forget about the projected conference. The revolutionary armed struggle must continue with greater intensity than ever before. We must fight till our motherland is truly independent and sovereign.

The continuation of war is inevitable and necessary for as long as the British and ourselves do not speak the same language on our independence issue. By calling off the Geneva conference, the British and their Rhodesian kith and kin opted for war. They had earlier refused to remove the causes of the war. Those causes are the existence of the Rhodesian racist regime, its exploitative practices, its fascistic laws, its atrocities against the masses, and its commitment to oppression of the majority by a minority. So, the British Government and the Rhodesian regime must bear full responsibility for what goes on in Rhodesia today.

They Killed Missionaries:

The world knows all that is going on in Zimbabwe today; the atrocities all over the country, children, women, old men, and livestock belonging to the African people are being massacred indiscriminately by the Smith regime. The regime has embarked on a scheme against missionaries. They killed missionaries on many occasions and have tried to incite the Christian population of Zimbabwe against their liberation movement. But our people are experienced in such things. They know who their ally is and who the enemy is. They know that the Smith regime is responsible for these atrocities. They have seen them commit them in broad day-light. Their relatives and friends and children have been victims of these terroristic activities. They know that the killers of the people of Zimbabwe are in Salisbury. "The regime announces daily that a number of African women, men, children have been killed in either what is called cross-fire or for breaking the regime's curfew. The frequency and regularity with which these announcements are made have become such a natural thing that the world does not seem to realise that the figures given mean human lives. The world seems to think that it is a natural thing that people should be shot dead like vermin. I mean the capitalist world that has been protecting and promoting the Smith regime by all devious ways. It is only when a non-African is killed that the capitalist world makes a noise. This is most horrible. It is a very disgraceful thing. It is appalling. It is most criminal and beastly. We condemn it unreservedly in the strongest terms. "These massacres have caused many people to leave the country. School children have left the country to get away from all this. They have come out to join us here in Zambia. But some malicious gossip somewhere decided to tell an empty lie that some of those children have been killed by ZAPU. Not a single one of

those children has been harmed in any manner whatsoever in Zambia. They are with us and we treat them as our own children. ZAPU has never killed and shall never kill people except in actual combat and conflict for our country. The person who brewed this lie knows that his aim was to try to discourage Zimbabwean masses from joining the revolution. The liar wanted to protect the Smith regime's Selous Scouts known to be responsible for killing people in Zimbabwe. They killed Bishop Schimdt, Father Possenti and many others

Understand Human Problems

"These atrocities must stop forthwith or else race relations in Zimbabwe will be very badly affected. It will be very difficult to restrain people from thinking that these atrocities are being committed by a people of one race against those of another. The truth is that those who commit these atrocities do not represent the feelings of the majority of the people of their race, of course. But when the chips are down and the end has come, it may be very difficult to stop people from actually trying to pay back because of the bitterness engendered by these atrocities. We call upon those responsible to remember this and stop immediately all these inhuman actions against their fellow-human beings. It must just stop right away now. Smith and his sadistic killers must stop these massacres and atrocities and harassment of our people without any delay. If Smith thinks that by committing these crimes against us he can stop the armed revolutionary struggle, then he is honestly sick. We will free Zimbabwe whether or not Smith drinks our blood. We will be victorious whether or not he massacres unarmed nuns, missionaries, school-children, women and old men. We will win whether or not he burns our villages, crops and butchers our livestock. We are in the armed revolution to win, and we will win."

**Speech by Comrade Joshua Nkomo
President of ZAPU and Joint leader of the Patriotic Front
at the 28th Session of the OAU
Liberation Committee, Lusaka. 31st January, 1977**

Mr Chairman,
Your Excellencies,
Fellow Freedom Fighters,
Ladies and Gentlemen.

Thank you Mr Chairman for giving this opportunity to speak on the problem of Zimbabwe. In doing so I shall comment on the report submitted to this meeting by the Executive Secretary of the Coordinating committee for the Liberation of Africa. The report raises two important questions and these are the problems of Zimbabwe and the problem that has been created by that problem. What I am referring to here are the problems of the freedom of Zimbabwe which has in turn created the problem of disunity in Zimbabwe. I must however, make very clear at the outset, that what has been described as the problem of disunity among the people of Zimbabwe, has, in actual fact been, disunity among the leaders and not among the masses of the people of Zimbabwe.

Zimbabwe has had a long history of struggle and during the past two decades the people of Zimbabwe have fought against oppression as a united people.

Mr Chairman, before I discuss the present situation, particularly the formation of the Patriotic Front, let me present to Your Excellencies a brief historical background to this historic development. In dealing with the background to the formation of the PATRIOTIC FRONT (PF) I shall necessarily refer to the problem of disunity. Since 1963 there has been two liberation movements in Zimbabwe and these are ZAPU and ZANU. These two organisations have been waging a war against the racist regime of Ian Smith. But these organisations as you will recall Your Excellencies were banned by the racist regime. The banning of these organisations in 1964, created a political vacuum in Zimbabwe. I must however, emphasise that despite the banning of these organisations, the armed struggle has continued with varying degrees of intensity during the past decade. Before ZAPU and ZANU we had the African National Congress which was banned on 26th February, 1959 and following that ban thousands of

ANC leaders and members were imprisoned, detained and restricted. The same course of action was followed when ZAPU and ZANU were banned. My colleagues and I spent more than 10 years in detention without trial. The intention of the regime in banning these organisations and detaining the leaders of the African people was to try and achieve a complete regimentation of African political thought and the eradication of African Nationalism. But, as you very well know Your Excellencies this was an impossible thing to achieve because on the contrary, African Nationalism appeared to be stronger than it had ever been before. This was clearly demonstrated in 1971 when the people of Zimbabwe spoke with one voice in rejecting the Anglo Rhodesian proposals of 1971.

Let me now turn to the formation of the African National Council on the 16th December, 1971. I do not wish to bore you with the details, but I think it is very important to put the record straight. When the Rhodesian racists and their kith and kin reached an agreement in 1971, the people of Zimbabwe were mobilized to a man to reject the Anglo-Rhodesian constitutional proposals. The African nationalist leaders who were in detention, including myself, played a vital role in establishing an ad hoc committee that was to spearhead the rejection of the 1971 proposals. Those of us who were involved in setting up this committee thought it prudent to try and find someone who was neither ZAPU nor ZANU to lead the committee. I personally recommended that Bishop Muzorewa, who had no record of involvement in either of the two liberation movements, be appointed chairman of the ad hoc committee, that became the ANC. It is important to point out that when the ANC was formed it used the existing ZAPU/PCC structures, ie, cells, branches, districts and provinces throughout the country. It need not be stressed that the existence of these structures facilitated speedy communication that was necessary to coordinate ANC activities. Through use of these structures, the ANC was able to achieve total mobilisation of the masses of the African people to give coherent and unified expression of African people's abhorrence of the 1971

Anglo-Rhodesian proposals. The objective of the ANC was limited and that was to defeat the Anglo Rhodesian proposals. Muzorewa's role was equally limited. At the end of the Pearce Commission exercise, Bishop Muzorewa asked what to do next and I urged him to continue his leadership of the ANC in order to keep the fires of African Nationalism burning, until elected leaders were in a position to take over. All the members of the ANC ad hoc committee were not elected but appointed to perform a specific function for a limited period of time. It must be stressed that ANC was made up of ZAPU and ZANU and a few individuals who, hitherto had no political affiliation of any kind. Muzorewa, as I have already stated earlier, was one of such individuals.

In 1974, as a result of a number of developments, notably the collapse of Portuguese colonialism in Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, the intensification of the armed struggle in Zimbabwe and through the intervention of the Presidents of the Frontline states, African nationalist leaders including myself were released by the regime from prisons. Upon our release we were summoned to Lusaka in December to attend a meeting whose objective was to examine the problem of Zimbabwe. The main leaders present at the Lusaka meeting were Rev Sithole, Robert Mugabe, James Chikerema Bishop Muzorewa and myself. The meeting culminated in the Lusaka Declaration of Unity. But the President of the Frontline states realised that the unity could not last until the people of Zimbabwe were given the opportunity to elect their leaders. It was in this connection that the Lusaka Declaration included the holding of a congress within four months and the date of such a congress was to be in March 1975. The ANC by embracing the leaders of the various organisations, had become an amorphous movement with several heads. Indeed, the ANC had become a multi legged creature whose legs moved in different directions according to desires and political ambitions of these various leaders that now formed the leadership of the ANC. It was obvious that sooner or later, the ANC would fall as under and the only way to rectify that situation was to hold a congress for the people of Zimbabwe to choose their own leaders.

When the months of March arrived congress was not held. Instead it was postponed despite the demand made by the various organs of the ANC that there be a congress to end the confusion that had been created by the amorphous nature of the ANC. Bishop Muzorewa and a few of his men in the ANC refused to hold a congress stating openly that they stood no chance of being elected against ZAPU leadership. In July 1975 another attempt was made at the Dar-es-Salaam meeting to ensure that there was unity among the leaders of Zimbabwe. Bishop Muzorewa and his colleagues in the ANC stated once again that they could not face ZAPU at a congress, and rejected the idea of congress. The various organs of the ANC demanded that congress be held immediately. The eight provinces threatened to expel the leadership if the people of Zimbabwe were not given the opportunity to elect their own leaders at a congress.

The next important development was the Victoria Falls Bridge conference. You will recall Mr Chairman, that this

conference was called by Vorster and agreed to by the Frontline heads of State. The Lusaka Declaration which I referred to earlier urged that the African nationalist leaders agree to hold talks with Smith. They stressed that it was necessary to exhaust all peaceful means before resorting to the armed struggle. The arrangements for the holding of a conference with Smith were agreed between Smith and Vorster in Pretoria. When the "Pretoria Agreement" was announced on 13th August, 1975, Muzorewa accepted it without consulting his executive. The agreement stated among other things, that the conference be called by Smith in Salisbury. ANC executive rejected that aspect of the Agreement. Thus Muzorewa was forced to renege on his acceptance of the Agreement. The practical implications of Muzorewa would have been the exclusion from the conference a number of leaders notably, Rev Sithole, James Chikerema, and other of leaders who were in exile. Finally, it was agreed to hold the conference at the Victoria Falls Bridge. The result of the conference is known to Your Excellencies. It collapsed.

At this stage, the holding of congress had become extremely vital in order to put the ANC in the right path. Muzorewa continued to evade the issue of congress and he finally left the country in order to ensure that congress was never held. While away from home in Lusaka he announced the expulsion of those members of the executive who supported the holding of congress and those expelled included myself. You will forgive me Your Excellencies if I appear to bore you with these details but you will agree that it is necessary to put the record straight.

The expulsion of ZAPU leadership precipitated a split in the ANC. It is therefore wrong to state that the split came when I held congress in September 1975. The split had long occurred. The majority of the members of the ANC executive left Muzorewa. On September 27 and 28th congress was held and attended by 6,000 delegates from the various organs of the ANC. It must be noted that 6,000 was the limit, placed by the regime. At that congress the leadership of ANC (Zimbabwe) was elected. In February 1976 the Muzorewa group sought permission to hold its own congress. The regime granted the group permission to hold its own congress and placed a similar limit of 6,000 delegates to attend such a congress. But the Muzorewa group realising that it had no structures of its own from which to draw the delegates turned the meeting into a church revival conference which the group called "a consultative meeting".

Let me move very quickly to the formation of the PF. In September 1976 the Frontline heads of states called a meeting which was attended by Bishop Muzorewa, Rev. Sithole, Robert Mugabe and ZIPA cadres and myself. The objects of the meeting was to discover how the armed struggle could be intensified in conditions of unity. In order to do so, it was necessary to find out who the political leaders of ZIPA were. On the ZAPU side of ZIPA there was no problem as to who the political leader was. It was in the course of this process that the name of Robert Mugabe was presented among a list of ten other names as leaders of ZIPA on the ZANU side. Mugabe headed that list and followed that he was the leader. Rev. Sithole's name did not appear on the list. As you will

recall Mr. Chairman, Rev. Sithole had been expelled from ZANU by the ZANU cadres. When the question of intensifying the armed struggle under conditions of unity was to be effected it is logical that those organizations that had armies should come together. I was asked to initiate discussions on this question. I asked my second Vice President the late J. Z. Moyo to travel to Maputo to meet Mugabe and his colleagues there to formulate principles upon which an alliance between ZAPU and ZANU could be based. You will recall Your Excellencies that ZIPA had been created from ZAPU and ZANU and it was necessary to bring these two organizations into political alliance in order to reinforce the military union. ZIPA has now been in existence for some time and operating against the racist regime effectively. It is true that ZIPA has had problems but ZIPA is an entity and a reality. The fact that the ZANU and ZAPU sides of ZIPA operate from different geographical areas does not mean that it does exist as a unit.

After lengthy discussions, between ZAPU and ZANU in Maputo and agreement was reached to form the Patriotic Front. In October I travelled to Dar-es-Salaam where we finally launched the Patriotic Front on 9th October, 1976. We in the PF agreed to present a common approach at the Geneva Conference. We agreed as part of our strategy that before any substantive discussion could take place Britain's sincerity and seriousness of purpose had to be tested and we demanded the setting of a definite date for the Independence of Zimbabwe, as a first step to be agreed upon. A great deal of time was spent on this issue because Britain was unwilling to commit itself to a definite date. But, finally we secured from Britain a sealing date. Britain agreed that independence will be granted no later than 31st March, 1978. After agreeing on this issue, we in the PF submitted to the conference our proposals attached hereto. As you will see our proposals include the holding of elections, on the basis of "one man one vote" before independence is granted. It is therefore a lie to suggest that the PF is opposed to elections.

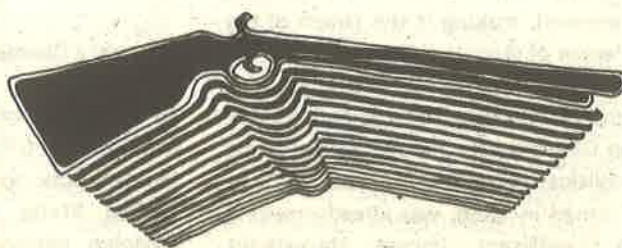
The Geneva Conference was adjourned on the 15th of December, 1976. We concluded that Britain was merely conducting an inquiry to find out the views of the various delegations. When the conference was adjourned, the chairman of the Geneva conference Mr Ivor Richard informed us that the next stage of the conference would entail the shuttle within Southern Africa by the chairman of the conference. Before embarking on his trips to Southern Africa, Richard was to send us a document containing British proposals. But when Richard met Mr. Mugabe and I in Lusaka he had no proposals, all that he had were floating ideas. We told him as joint leaders of the PF that we were not prepared to comment on his floating ideas. We asked him to submit to us concrete proposals in a written form. We agreed to meet on 28th January, to examine the proposals. But when I was in Ghana I received a message from the British High Commissioner that Mr Richard was not ready to meet PF leaders as he was not ready with his proposals.

The next thing I heard through the radio was that Britain had concrete proposals. But the document that had been handed to me while in Tehran contained concrete British

suggestions and not proposals. It would appear that these were put to Smith and Vorster as British proposals and to us as concrete suggestions. We heard that Smith had rejected the British proposals and all other delegations were being asked to condemn Smith for rejecting British suggestion. My reading of this, Mr Chairman is that what Britain was trying was to get us all to condemn Smith for rejecting proposals which in our view would have the effect of disarming our army completely. The idea here appears to be that after we had all condemned Smith, then at some stage pressure would have been brought to bear on him to accept these proposals and ourselves would have automatically have had to accept these proposals as they were we would have destroyed our army completely. Ivor Richard announced that because Smith had rejected British proposals, the Geneva conference had come to an end. The logic of this announcement is that the conference was in actual fact between Smith and Britain. All the other delegations seem to have been outside this conference otherwise the conference should have ended in Geneva by the agreement of all the delegations. Since his announcement that the conference had ended, and confirmed by the British Government, Mr Richard requested to meet the PF leaders. We refused to meet him not because we had anything against him, but we did not know in what capacity we were to meet him as he was no longer the chairman of the Geneva conference. The conference had ended. It had been ended by him unilaterally. Mr. Chairman, Your Excellencies, the PF is a living reality that is forgoing the armed struggle through ZIPA. We have submitted an application for recognition of the PF as the sole representative of the people of Zimbabwe. There is no other liberation movement in Zimbabwe beside the PF. We are here discussing a war situation in which we cannot discuss burial societies. We are talking about waging a war and this requires one liberation movement with one army. We ask the OAU to give full support, concrete support to the PF to intensify the armed struggle. You know yourselves that the Geneva conference was brought about as a result of the intensification of the armed struggle alone, and it is the armed struggle alone that will bring freedom and independence to Zimbabwe.

Thank you Mr Chairman

31ST JANUARY, 1977
LUSAKA



ANGOLA:

FACTS AND PERSPECTIVES

by Enos Malandu

(Continued From August 1976
Special Number)

The protestant Bakongo who had emigrated organised to instal a protestant chief of their own. To effect this chieftainship change, the Union of the People of North Angola (UPNA) was founded in 1957. Holden Roberto's uncle, Barros Necana, was its president. The UPNA programme was exclusively limited to the "people of the north." This meant the protestant Bakongo. The right of the protestant Bakongo to be ruled by a protestant chief was universalised by invocations of the past grandeur of the Bakongo kingdom.

Tribal hegemony, once exercised by them over other small tribes before Portuguese incursions in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were revived by an unrepresented section of them. When Holden Roberto took over the leadership of the UPNA, he immediately attempted to transform this narrow tribal nationalism of the Bakongo and the UPNA into "an Angolan people's struggle" under Bakongo leadership. The word "north" in the name UPNA was removed, making it the Union of the People of Angola (UPA).

Several developments led to this change. Holden Roberto had studied in Ghana where he under-went some political evolution. The MPLA, formed in 1956, was already making a significant impact throughout Angola. At the All-Africa People's

Conference in Ghana in 1958, Holden Roberto maintained his right to Angolan leadership by what he termed virtue of his leadership of the Bakongo. These tribalist claims were rejected by most African leaders of the time, among them Patrice Lumumba and Kwameh Nkrumah. It had been clear earlier on that to gain African acceptability and international solidarity, a modification of the UPNA programme was necessary. This was more so in view of the rising tide of African nationalism.

UPA's ideological posture and recruitment programme remained limited to the Bakongo tribesmen in Zaire. Most of these Bakongo had been born in Zaire and had never been to Angola. In 1960-1961, the UPA became known as the Revolutionary Government of Angola-In-Exile (GRAE). The ill-fated GRAE later became the Angolan National Liberation Front (FNLA). Formed at a turbulent period of African politics generally, and in the then Congo (now Zaire) in particular, a period of direct imperialist military involvement and intervention in the newly independent states, the neo-colonialist nature of the FNLA was discovered and exposed.

Savimbi's Claims:

In the words of the former Foreign Minister of GRAE, Jonas Savimbi, Holden Roberto was "created by the United States in order to divide Angolan nationalism." (SIC) As a political statement with wide impli-

cations for the Angolan people, how accurate was Savimbi's claim?

The lack of an anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist, and anti-neo-colonialist ideology in a national movement makes it an easy target of imperialist subversion and re-action. Holden Roberto's claims to Angolan nationalist leadership and the puppet role of GRAE-FNLA was devoid of any ideological clarification. It found very little support among the people. Collaboration between the FNLA and the Central Intelligence Agency of the US (CIA) came to the open when Jonas Savimbi broke away from GRAE, and as we shall show later, exposed the neo-colonialist programme of the FNLA.

But Savimbi's break from the FNLA to form the Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) was followed by UNITA's political programme aimed at collaborating with the Portuguese intelligence service (PIDE), and, at a later stage, with South Africa and western imperialism. UNITA's programme was also committed to tribal nationalism. Born in central Angola, Savimbi at first had the intention to co-operate or even joining the MPLA in order to seek support from his own tribal grouping, the Ovimbundu. This would have enabled him later to pose as a direct rival to the FNLA. It was for this reason that the over-all performance of the UNITA and the FNLA contrasted very sharply from the revolutionary programme and performance of the MPLA.

The FNLA was based in Kinshasa. It quickly lost favour with the OAU,

and was always beset by internal tribal strains. It never entered into any significant guerrilla confrontation with the Portuguese colonial regime. Its military build-up of up to about 15,000 men was largely meant as a preparation against the MPLA. Had this scheme succeeded, it could have prevented Angola from achieving full political and economic independence. The FNLA was committed against the MPLA. According to *COURIER d'AFRIQUE* of February 5, 1962 financial aid given to the FNLA by the CIA through the American Committee On Africa was made with the strict proviso that UPA or its successor the FNLA "does not join forces with the MPLA or with any other from of which the MPLA was a part."

Such aid meant to bolster American interests in Angola. UNITA too was propped up by Portuguese and South African capital. The South African Bureau of State Security (BOSS) and the Portuguese PIDE were in constant contact with UNITA. Monopoly firms also played a part.

Overwhelming Support

According to the MPLA September 1974 programme which up-dated its 1956 programme, the anti-colonialist struggle was viewed as a totality of struggle. The up-dated programme of 1974 differentiated between a major and a minimum (minor) programme. The major programme called for "immediate and complete independence, unity of the nation, establishment of a democratic regime, economic reconstruction, and development of production, agrarian reforms, a just and progressive social policy, and a full development of education and culture." The minimum programme stated "essentially and constantly to defend the interests of the worker and peasant masses — the two most important groups in the country . . ."

The struggle for and the war of national liberation waged by the MPLA were in close solidarity with other liberation movements in other Portuguese colonies. These movements were the PAIGC of Guinea-Bissau, FRELIMO in Mozambique, the MLSTP of Sao Tome and Prin-

cipe. Co-operation among these movements brought together as early as 1961 leaders like Dr. Neto of the MPLA, Dr. Eduardo Mondlane of FRELIMO and Amilcar Cabral of the PAIGC. The MPLA enjoyed support from the socialist nations, progressive governments and liberation movements. In South Africa it co-operated with the African National Congress, in Zimbabwe with the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), and in Namibia the South West African People's Organisations (SWAPO).

The overwhelming support given to the MPLA by the masses in Angola itself made it possible for the movement to launch a revolutionary struggle whose record is summarised below:

- February 4, 1961: The MPLA attacked a prison in Luanda and released a number of prisoners. This marked the beginning of the armed liberation struggle under the MPLA. The MPLA guerrillas withdrew to the Dembros and Nambuangongo Mountains, some 200 km from Luanda, and established the MPLA's first guerrilla region.

- 1964: The MPLA opened its second guerrilla region (in the Cabinda enclave).

- 1966: The MPLA opened its third guerrilla region (in the Mexico and the Cuanda-Cubango districts).

- 1967: The fourth guerrilla region was opened (in Luanda and Malanje).

- 1968: The establishment of MPLA headquarters inside Angola, and the holding of a regional assembly in the third region.

- 1969: The fifth guerrilla region opened in Bie and Huambo.

Vast Capital Investments

- 1970—1974: The consolidation of the guerrilla fronts and the generalisation of the war under very difficult conditions.

When the military coup took place in Portugal on April 25, 1974, the US administration concocted and redefined US policy as outlined in Memorandum 39 (also known as Operation Tar Baby). This can be summed up in three points:

- To prevent decolonisation in Africa by establishing puppet and neo-colonialist regimes in Africa;

- To provide US-oriented regimes and organisations on the African continent with increased financial and military aid. In Angola American assistance was to be given to the UNITA and the FNLA;

- To create a communist scare in Africa by labelling popular political organisations "communist."

To put this into effect, the US was to co-operate with puppet states and political personalities. East-West detente to reduce ideological tension between the capitalist and the socialist states was to be introduced into African, especially Southern African, political relations. In the Portuguese territories and colonies, General Antonio de Spínola was to be supported. This support was to be given also to the CIA-cum-PIDE-created "Portuguese Liberation Army" whose objective was to defeat genuine liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies. South Africa's racist leader Johannes Balthazar Vorster had to be made conciliatory by inducing him to call for "detente" in Southern Africa. He had to relax racism and fascism in South Africa itself at least in words only.

African states which could be used to provide aid to US-approved liberation movements would not only be used to channel aid to the puppet liberation groups, but were promised increased aid as well. In short, the strategy of world imperialism, led by the US considered the priority to be the protection of its vast capital investments in Southern Africa, and the need to continue exploiting Africa's resources in the Portuguese colonies. To achieve this objective, the imperialists resorted to direct sabotage and intervention against authentic liberation movements. The top CIA chief, former US ambassador to Chile, Nathaniel Davies, was to be US Secretary of State for African Affairs. His appointment was vigorously opposed by some African leaders. In Angola, in addition to the American Committee on Africa (which channeled funds to the FNLA) there was to be an anti-communist league linking Pretoria-Windhoek-Kinshasa-Nova Lisboa (now Huambo) and Uige. This was to be used for financial and military aid to UNITA. (CONTINUED NEXT ISSUE)

SANCTION



VIOLATION

HOW OIL REACHED RHO- DESIA

by A Special Correspondent

At the time of writing this story, the British Government was ostensibly examining and investigating the activities of petroleum companies like Shell-British Petroleum to see if they have been violating sanctions against Rhodesia, and, if so, to prosecute them. This is what the world has been told by the British Commonwealth and Foreign Relations, Dr. David Owen. The British statement was made as a result of repeated exposures by Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda, and Zimbabwe's Joshua Nkomo. Both leaders have stated that if the British Government had wanted sanctions to work against the Smith regime, it would have long prosecuted petroleum companies based in the UK for busting sanctions against the Smith regime.

Dr. Owen's statement about investigating the issue might have created the wrong impression that the British Government has not been aware of these violations of sanctions all along. A brief look at the operations of Shell-BP and especially the American-based Mobiloil companies shows that both the United States Government and the British administration have been aware of these violations for many years.

In the late 1960s, that is, after the introduction of oil sanctions against the Rhodesian regime in 1968, it became known that oil companies mentioned above plus Caltex were sending oil and petroleum products to Rhodesia either directly from South Africa or through Lourenco

Marques (now Maputo) in Mozambique. The facts were known to such an extent that a South African newspaper, THE RAND DAILY MAIL, published a news item revealing that 35,000 gallons of fuel were being sent from South Africa into Rhodesia daily. A similar quantity was being sent from Lourenco Marques. It is public knowledge too that some British television crews had discovered that as much as 140,000 gallons of fuel were sent everyday by rail from Lourenco Marques to Rhodesia. The Portuguese and the South Africa fascists made no secret about the fact that they were assisting the Smith regime in all possible ways. How was this done? Very simply. The petroleum companies in South Africa and Rhodesia, working closely with the Rhodesian regime, established dummy companies in South Africa. Letter-heads were printed, postal box numbers were acquired, fake order sheets and invoices were produced.

Transferred And Reshipped:

This arrangement enabled the petroleum companies' subsidiaries in South Africa to import large quantities of crude oil and refined oil products from Iran and South African sources. On arrival at South African ports, the fuel would be carried first by trucks across the Beit Bridge on the Limpopo River border between Rhodesia and South Africa) *As the quantity increased, rail tankers were used from Durban, Johannesburg and

other towns to Lourenco Marques whence the stuff was transferred and reshipped to Rhodesia. Later, even ships were used from Durban to Lourenco Marques where they discharged their cargo. From there, it was carried by rail to Rhodesia. Aviation fuel was also carried in this manner. Mozambique is no longer used now, of course. Large quantities of fuel are carried straight from South Africa to Rhodesia.

Conservative estimates point out that by 1974, business between the Smith regime and the oil companies was so high that it was worth \$20 million per year to the Mobiloil Company alone. Shell-BP must have been (and is still) making a quite big fortune. Both the British and the American governments are obviously aware of these facts. It is in this manner that the Rhodesian regime has been kept alive, alive enough to attack neighbouring states of Zambia, Botswana, and Mozambique.

It will be recalled that at the time of the imposition of oil sanctions against the Smith regime, the Rhodesian racists seized a large quantity of petroleum destined for Zambia. Instead of ordering the regime to release the stuff immediately, both the US and Britain sent 'planes to carry fuel for Zambia from East Africa. They expected to be thanked for this gesture. The correct step was to take immediate and effective measures against the Rhodesian regime and not to appear to be allies of Zambia. How can creators and protectors of Zambia's enemy claim to be Zambia's ally? The US later followed this oil aid to the Rhodesian regime by passing the Byrd Amendment by whose authority the country resumed the importation of chrome ore and other so-called strategic minerals from Rhodesia. Britain allowed Jordan to sell its British-made war-aeroplanes to Rhodesia via South Africa. All that time, the two western administrations were talking about the need to get a peaceful settlement of the Rhodesian issue.

What do the two imperialist powers want in Rhodesia? One thing they definitely do not want is a Zimbabwean government with the interests of Zimbabweans genuinely promoted. They would rather have the Smith regime than such a people's government. The worst they can accept is a puppet regime headed by a black-face.



PATRIOTIC FRONT PRESS STATEMENT

Following a meeting of the co-ordinating committee of the Patriotic Front in Lusaka on April 20, a Press statement was released outlining briefly what had been achieved up to then. The Press statement pointed out: "The co-ordinating committee of the Patriotic Front held a one-day meeting in Lusaka on April 20, 1977. The meeting took far-reaching decisions on the consolidation of the political and military fronts of the Patriotic Front. The Patriotic Front has decided immediately to establish its headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania. The office will open as soon as practical arrangements can be made with the Tanzanian Government.

"The Patriotic Front has also decided to open

regional offices in Maputo and Lusaka. The Patriotic Front has taken steps to guarantee a further stepping up of the armed liberation struggle in Zimbabwe. The Patriotic Front considers it completely futile to look up to any British initiative for the resolution of the Zimbabwe conflict. It is only through our own sweat and blood that true independence shall be achieved in our country.

"The Patriotic Front calls upon all the patriotic and democratic forces inside and outside Zimbabwe to close ranks behind the Patriotic Front, and to make resolute efforts to defeat imperialist machinations and to ensure a speedy advent of genuine independence for the people of Zimbabwe."



INSIDE ZIMBABWE

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES OF ZPRA (ZIPA)



Photo: Jochen Moli

Revolutionary activities of the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army, ZPRA, which is a part of the Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA) composed of ZAPU and ZANU forces, are spreading all over Zimbabwe. This much has been publicly admitted by the Rhodesian dictatorship. Addressing a Press conference in Salisbury on May 2, 1977, racist leader Ian Smith said that freedom-fighters' activities had spread to new areas of Rhodesia. His so-called Law and Order chief, Hilary Squires, later confirmed that freedom-fighters had opened up new fronts. This is in pursuance of the Patriotic Front's decision to intensify the revolutionary armed struggle, to ignore Anglo-American trickery to another round of futile talks on Rhodesia. Areas full of revolutionary activities include the south-eastern sector of Zimbabwe where the Gonakudzingwa concentration camp, at which Comrade Joshua Nkomo spent more than 10 years, is situated. Other areas are the Beit Bridge region, the Gwanda-Filabusi area, the Plumtree-Marula-Figtree sector, the Lupane-





Comrade J. Z. Moyo addressing ZPRA forces before murdered by the hands of imperialism on the 22. 1. 1977. PHOTO: — ZPRA Forces

Shangani-Nkai-Wankie regions and the whole of the country's eastern and northern and western parts.

On April 22, a ZPRA unit ambushed and wiped out a contingent of the Smith regime in the south-eastern portion of Zimbabwe. Later the regime mounted an indiscriminate attack on unarmed villagers in the vicinity of the area of operations and killed in cold blood at least 16 civilians, including two old women. In the northern areas of Plumtree, ZPRA forces liquidated a number of enemy troops in March and April. These included an incorrigible craven stooge of the Rhodesian regime, Chief Frank "Maleya" Gambo. Chief Gambo's wish to co-operate with the Rhodesian racists against the masses of Zimbabwe knew no bounds. He was mourned only by the regime and by not a single sane Zimbabwean.

In the last week of April, ZPRA forces attacked a police station in the Siphepho area of Lupane and wiped out several enemy troops and wounded many more. Announcing the incident on April 22, the racist regime said three policemen had been killed instantly, and an unknown number injured. The ZPRA forces sustained no casualties in the well planned and meticulously executed raid.

Co-operation between ZPRA forces of ZIPA and the masses is very high,

and thousands of young Zimbabweans join the revolutionary struggle daily. Meanwhile, the regimes attempt to exterminate the masses of Zimbabwe is being strengthened with unbelievable ruthlessness. Weapons used by the regime come from South Africa, Belgium and other western nations. Addressing a news conference at Zimbabwe House in April, the ZAPU President, Comrade Joshua Nkomo, pointed out that France was supplying the Rhodesian fascists with armoured cars and helicopters. He said the French Government had not taken any steps to stop this obviously anti-Zimbabwean association with the Rhodesian regime. Other nations co-operating with Smith are Japan whose car industry has literally taken over in Rhodesia. Japan's is a shameless regime without any regard for morals whatsoever. Its aim is to make money at any cost without regard to what is right or wrong.

Despite these stabs at the backs of the masses of Zimbabwe by nations like France, Japan and others, the revolutionary struggle in Zimbabwe is gaining ground. Thousands of white settlers are leaving the country monthly. The regime is desperately trying to strengthen itself by massive conscription and mercenary recruitment in Britain, the USA, the Federal Republic of Germany, Australia,

South Africa and certain European nations like Belgium.

ZPRA forces have made administration in the rural areas where they are operating impossible. District commissioners have been withdrawn, their offices demolished and houses dynamited. The regime has closed down clinics, schools, grinding mills and other essential amenities in most operational areas. The masses have answered by increasing their active support for ZAPU in the Patriotic Front. They know who their enemy is. They know who is collaborating with the Rhodesian racist regime under the guise of being a nationalist — and that traitor is Bishop Abel Muzorewa and his mercenary turncoats.

As the situation unfolds in Zimbabwe today, the workers and peasants and all progressive intellectuals and clerics are realising who their protectors are. They now know more than ever before the organisation that stands for their interests, all types of interests (political, social, economic), and who is striving for a Zimbabwe riddled with class distinction. They know that the Patriotic Front is the genuine people's representative. The Patriotic Front stands fights for a socialist free Zimbabwe, but Muzorewa talks about replacing the Smith regime with his own capitalist and tribalist regime.



THIRD FRELIMO CONGRESS

The Third Congress of FRELIMO was held in the Mozambican capital city, Maputo, from February 3, to February 7, 1977. It was attended by some 250 FRELIMO delegates from all over Mozambique.

The delegates comprises heroes and veterans of the Mozambican liberation struggle, regional governors and elected members. Invited to the congress were some 80 foreign guests from fraternal parties all over the world as well as progressive individuals. Guiding the congress was the FRELIMO Central Committee headed by President, Comrade Samora Machel.

The President of ZAPU, Comrade Joshua Nkomo, was one of the leaders of fraternal organisations invited to attend. Others were acting African National Congress President Oliver Tambo, and the SWAPO President Sam Nujoma. Other organisations represented were FRETILIN of East Timor, PLO of Palestine, and POLISARIO of Western Sahara. Socialist nations like the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Bulgaria and others were represented by central committees of their communist parties. Other guests were from the Social Democratic parties of the

Scandinavian nations. Zambia was represented by the UNIP Secretary-General Grey Zulu, and Somalia by its vice-President.

The Third FRELIMO Congress was a milestone in the consolidation of the hard-won independence of the people of Mozambique. Having achieved independence, the congress embarked upon the phase of transforming FRELIMO into a full-fledged Marxist-Leninist party. In this way, FRELIMO braced itself for the long and hard task of destroying fetters of exploitation and establish a socialist system whereby means of production and distribution would be in the people's hands. The purpose of the congress was to strengthen FRELIMO along the path of scientific socialism. President Machel set the pace of the congress by presenting a report on the background and state of the nation. The report exposed and explained the dirty and dangerous role of Portuguese fascists and colonisers who tried to sabotage Mozambique's economy. It spelt out the new path charted out by FRELIMO to create a new society through socialism. The objective was to transform the Mozambican society by re-orienting the people along this progressive line.

Established Relations:

ZAPU has attended FRELIMO congresses in the past. Attendance of the Third FRELIMO Congress was a continuation of established relations. President of ZAPU, Comrade Joshua Nkomo gave a message to the congress. Before he delivered his speech, Comrade Nkomo first called the joint leader of the Patriotic Front, Robert Mugabe, who is Secretary-General of ZANU, to share the stage with him as sign of the serious intentions of the Patriotic Front to achieve its objectives of unifying the people of Zimbabwe. This act was received with great applause by the delegates. In his address, President Nkomo stated: "... It is my most honoured task today to convey, on behalf of the struggling people of Zimbabwe and my central committee, to you Comrade Samora Machel, President of FRELIMO, to your central committee as well as to this congress for FRELIMO, our warmest greetings, our congratulations for the holding of the congress and our profoundest wishes for its success. "The holding of this congress is one of the significant expressions of genuine and absolute independence won by the compatriots of Mozambique through sweat, blood and sacrifice of lives. No greater honour could be given to those who sacrificed in the struggle than to continue the revolution from where they left into the phase of socio-economic transformation which is the task of this congress.

"My second task before this congress is to register our gratitude and utmost appreciation for the commitment and sacrifice which FRELIMO, the government and people of Mozambique have undertaken to ensure the successful liberation of Zimbabwe, our motherland. This invaluable contribution of FRELIMO to our liberation cannot be sufficiently thanked in words save to say that it will be a monument immortal in the life of Zimbabwe. Heroes of Mozambique are heroes of Zimbabwe, and heroes of Zimbabwe are heroes of Mozambique.

"May I say that ZAPU (now in the Patriotic Front) is neither a stranger nor a guest to this congress. Through-

out the years of my imprisonment by the Rhodesian racist regime, I was fully aware of the deep fraternity and the extent of mutual collaboration that existed between our two organisations in many fields of the struggle. By the way, many years of my detention I spent at Gonakudzingwa, a few yards from the Rhodesia-Mozambique border.

Common Destiny:

"There, with our unbending spirit of struggle, despite enemy vigilance, we did our modest best to promote both FRELIMO and ZAPU in their respective areas. In this sense, comrades, we are attending FRELIMO congress as part of FRELIMO rather than as its guests. Even if we did not have had much in common through our history, we are culturally one people, sharing a common territory and inevitably a common destiny whether it be of peril or prosperity. The Rhodesian racists are demonstrating this fact by murdering our people on both sides of the border. This leads me to a brief comment on the Rhodesian situation. You know, comrades, that with the support of the OAU, socialist and progressive countries we are engaged in an armed revolutionary struggle. We are determined, together with our ZANU comrades in the Patriotic Front, to see the revolutionary armed struggle to victory.

"At the same time, together with the front-line states, and Mozambique is one of them, we have never failed to respond to what has appeared to us to be a positive initiative towards a settlement by way of a transfer of power from the minority regime to the majority of the people of Zimbabwe. That is how the Geneva conference on Rhodesia came about. However, the Patriotic Front has exposed the British imperialists for what they are — political cheats. It became clear during our stay in Geneva that we had been invited to Geneva as camouflage to a conference that was in reality that between the British Government and the Rhodesian fascist Ian Smith. We had been invited there with the hope that as an oppressed people we would settle for

of the Zimbabwe liberation as between revolutionary and re-actionary forces.

Tremendous Impetus:

"It was a correct reading of a historical moment for the front-line states to put their weight behind the Patriotic Front because the Patriotic Front represents revolutionary progress in every sense. The news we have just learnt of the support and recognition of the Patriotic Front by the OAU Liberation Committee adds tremendous impetus to the advance of our struggle. I would like to thank FRELIMO and the Government of Mozambique for the great role they are playing. We will not settle for anything. NEVER!

"Our stand is that it is either a straight-forward and immediate transfer of power to us the liberation movement (Patriotic Front) or the intensification of armed struggle. The Rhodesian racists are difficult now because they have not yet felt defeat. We are also guided by the obvious truth that one cannot procure at a conference table what one has not procured in the battle-field. THAT IS NOT POSSIBLE. Therefore, comrades, the revolutionary struggle in Zimbabwe continues. Let me assure you of one very important fact about our situation. It is that the Patriotic Front represent a qualitative change in the ideological and strategic level

have played towards this achievement. We intend to maintain the steady pace of progress of the Patriotic Front towards the unshakable unity of the people of Zimbabwe on the basis of revolutionary struggle.

"I cannot fail, dear comrades, to remind you at this juncture how only a few days ago the enemy murdered our colleague, Jason Ziyapapa Moyo, in the same manner, at about the same time of the year, when the same enemy deprived us of our dear colleague, Dr. Eduardo Mondlane, first President of FRELIMO, in 1969. We lost but we shall take our victory as the best honour we can pay our lost comrades. They are our heroes.

"Comrades, I am sure you are all aware that our heroes have not sacrificed for the replacement of white faces in the name of independence. Our movements have been charting their course against capitalism and imperialism, and towards socialism. Your Excellency, Comrade President Samora Machel, members of the Central Committee of FRELIMO, distinguished guests, fellow-freedom-fighters, and delegates to the FRELIMO congress, may I thank you in conclusion for the great solidarity you extend to our struggle. DOWN WITH IMPERIALISM! LONG LIVE THE SOLIDARITY BETWEEN FRELIMO AND THE PATRIOTIC FRONT! LONG LIVE PRESIDENT SAMORA MACHELI!"



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

Contribution by the Zimbabwe
African Congress of Unions
by Aaron G. D. Ndhlovu
Secretary for External Affairs

Comrade Chairman,
Distinguished delegates,

In the name of Zimbabwe workers and people allow me to convey to you all revolutionary greetings and our profound thanks for the kind invitation extended to us to come and participate at this important and historic Pan-African Trade Union Conference convened to examine the acute problems confronting the people of Southern Africa.

Allow me also to convey special greetings to the MPLA, the government and people of this revolutionary country, the Peoples Republic of Angola and the Angolan National Workers Union (UNTA) for the cordial and friendly attention accorded to us during our stay here and in particular for offering its soil for the holding of this important conference. I have also been intrusted by the Zimbabwe National Leader and President of ZAPU Comrade Joshua Nkomo to convey, on his behalf sincere and profound greetings to all delegates attending this Conference and to inform you about the tragedy which occurred in our organisation.

On Saturday January 22, 1977 at 12 a.m., Comrade Jason Ziyapapa Moyo, the second Vice President of our Liberation Movement ZAPU and head of the external mission, was killed by a parcel bomb, in Lusaka. Comrade Moyo was a builder by profession. He was trained at Mzingwane Training College, Comrade Moyo worked for a short while and later, together with others, formed the Artisans and Builders Workers Union, and served in various capacities of the Unions leadership. In 1953 Comrade Moyo joined the African National Congress of Zimbabwe the first Political Party which covered the entire country. In 1960 Comrade Moyo served in the National Democratic Party on full time bases and in



Comrade Aaron G. D. Ndhlovu, Secretary for External Affairs of the Zimbabwe African Congress of Unions (ZACU)

other parties which were banned until last Saturday, January 22, 1977, when he met this tragic and untimely death. The barbaric and tragic murder of Comrade Moyo is a challenge to the revolutionary people of Zimbabwe and their armed liberation forces. The death of Comrade Moyo has increased our determination to liberate Zimbabwe. For this reason the perpetrators of this crime must know that they will pay heavily for Moyo's life. We shall fight relentlessly until we achieve the objectives for which comrade Moyo fought and died. This is not an empty threat. I wish to remind the enemies of peace, justice and democracy that the murders of the late President of FRELIMO Comrade Eduardo Mond-

lane of Mozambique and that of the late President of PAIGC Comrade Amílcar Cabral did not stop the revolutions in these countries. They fought and fought hence we see to-day free independent states in Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau.

Comrade Chairman,

I would like now to make a brief remark on the week of solidarity with the workers and people of Zimbabwe, South Africa and Namibia. Two weeks ago the international campaign against fascist regimes of Ian Smith and John Vorster of South Africa took place all over the world. This followed the decision of the 15 Session of the Executive Bureau of the World Federation of Trade Unions, reached at a meeting held in New Delhi on December 3 to 4 1976. The decision by the WFTU to launch an international campaign was taken in the light of increased military and economic support granted to the minority fascist regimes of Smith and Vorster by NATO countries and in particular Britain, the United States of America, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Italy and Japan. Efforts were made by these countries to frustrate the campaign but failed. They failed because of the joint actions and measures taken by workers all over the world. Thanks to the world working class and in particular the WFTU for its initiative and tireless efforts and concrete support it has extended to the struggling workers and people of Zimbabwe and Southern Africa as a whole.

But if we carefully examine the situation in Southern Africa, the attitude and actions of the western imperialist powers, it becomes evident that new tactics and strategies to strengthen the military and economic positions of Ian Smith and John Vorster are going on behind scenes. For this reason we strongly appeal to the world working class to NOTE that the end of the campaign against the Southern African regimes is not the



end of the struggle. More sustained efforts to frustrate the economic and strategic interests of these regimes must be employed. We, on our part, would like to assure you that we shall fight till total victory is achieved.

Having said this, Comrade Chairman, I would like now to make my contribution on the subject of this important Pan-African Trade Union Conference.

The workers and masses of Zimbabwe, in their struggle for national liberation and the attainment of their human rights as enshrined in the UN and OAU Charters and upheld by all progressives the world over, are today faced with multiple and complex problems created by British colonialism and settlerism. Some of these problems are peculiar to Zimbabwe, in view of the peculiar regime created by British colonialism. This peculiarity is, of course, the development of British colonialism into settlerism. As you are all well aware, by this method Britain has managed to delegate her colonial role to its settlers and created a falacy of rebellion. Other problems are of course general, in the sense that they only exist as a logical and inevitable crisis that

frequently bedevils capitalist economies. I herewith, therefore comrades, expose and avail to you some of these problems which I hope will help you understand even better the plight of the African people of Zimbabwe. Here therefore is how the situation presents itself:—

The British settler and racist regime that forcefully rules Zimbabwe today is a protege and frontier state of both world imperialism and capitalist monopolies, a special method of colonialism. That being the case, it suffers from all the problems characteristic of capitalist economies. Compounding this in Zimbabwe is the fact that all progressive states in the world and a few capitalist states apply economic sanctions against the British settler dictatorship of Ian Smith. This being the case, the severe effects of the general crisis of capitalism and the inconveniencies of so-called economic sanctions are all shifted to the workers and people of Zimbabwe like this:—

Whenever the capitalist crisis and the effects of so-called economic sanctions force the closure of some factories or the sacking of some workers, it's the African workers of Zimbabwe who bear the sufferings. Thus

it can be seen clearly that the economic problems faced by the British settler regime are all shifted to the people of Zimbabwe. This therefore ever increases the army of the unemployed in Zimbabwe among the African population. As for the few white workers thus displaced, the regime immediately places them in other places, and if no such places exist the African workers are sacked elsewhere to provide such jobs for opportunists.

With an ever increasing army of the unemployed, strike action by the Zimbabwe workers as a means of improving their working conditions has been rendered impossible. Besides, strike action under the British settler regime of Ian Douglas Smith is illegal in Zimbabwe. But in the absence of this massive unemployment situation, our workers could easily strike. After all the efforts of liberation in Zimbabwe are illegal since colonialism itself is illegal in the eyes of Zimbabwe. Now with this massive unemployment, any worker who ventures to strike faces both imprisonment and unemployment since the regime has enough reserve labour force to scoop any number it so desires at any moment.

There are several examples of this in Zimbabwe today, the most recent being the strike action taken by 850 Salisbury city drivers. On Christmas eve last year, these drivers went on strike over a dispute with their management. As soon as they had resorted to strike action, they were immediately arrested and remanded in custody pending some Kangaroo trials and at the same time sacked from their employment. Of course the regime went to the army of the unemployed and immediately replaced them. Well this is how the British imperialist government maintains its imperial domination in Zimbabwe.

However due to the organisational and political work undertaken by our labour movement the Zimbabwe African Congress of Union ZACU, in conjunction with our political party, the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), many positive results have been achieved. For instance, solidarity between workers of various trades, on one hand and between workers and the masses on the other, have been achieved. The actions of any group of workers is taken by other workers and the broad masses as part of the national effort for the liberation of the motherland from British settler colonialism. For example, when the Salisbury City Omnibus drivers, I mentioned earlier, went on strike and were subsequently sacked and imprisoned, all other workers and the masses in Salisbury in solidarity with the 850 drivers decided to boycott the services of the city buses. That boycott is still in force today.

Besides, workers in Zimbabwe are increasingly getting aware of the fact that strike action or waiting for some remote employment opportunity within the present system is not the answer to their problems. Consequently, in ever increasing numbers they are joining the ranks of our fighting forces as the sole method for liberation in Zimbabwe. The British settler regime is also getting aware of this development. As a result it has developed a special trade with apartheid South Africa, a trade where the commodity for sale is the labour of the Zimbabwe workers to South African Gold Mines. Obviously this is intended to draw the attention of Zimbabwe workers away from the armed struggle for national liberation

by giving them some hope of getting employed. Already recruiting centres for this trade in human lives have been established. Salisbury, Bulawayo and Fort Victoria are among the biggest.

The British settler clique does not only exploit and oppress the workers, it suppresses the entire population of Zimbabwe. With the escalation of armed liberation struggle waged by the oppressed people of Zimbabwe, the regime becomes more brutal in its repression. Collective punishment of people accused of helping freedom fighters, use of the settler commando units to massacre the masses and blame that to freedom fighters, are among many repressive methods used to intimidate and frighten the masses from supporting the liberation struggle. And more recently the regime is massacring villagers under the guise of mindling with freedom fighters or curfew breaking since the country, now is not only under the state of emergency but under martial law. In so-called operational zones there is a curfew between 4 p.m. and 6 a.m. every day. Very obviously villagers have no watches and are therefore unable to keep time. What the regime does, in such cases is to massacre all those who break the curfew.

Faced with these problems, and many more not mentioned here, the people of Zimbabwe have resolved to liberate themselves through armed struggle. Nobody in Zimbabwe places any hope in the Geneva talks or the so-called Anglo-American shuttle diplomacy in Southern Africa. The people of Zimbabwe know very well that the liberation of their country lies barely and squarely on themselves. That is why they are appealing to progressive mankind to render them that material, financial and diplomatic aid that will enable them to carry on the tasks of liberating their motherland through the barrel of the gun.

Comrades,

I wish to end up my contribution by quoting the declaration of the national leader and President of ZAPU Comrade Joshua Nkomo made on October 10, 1976 and I quote: "We are not interested in the prestigious glory of empty ministerial posts or in the display of the glamour and glitter of the wealthy few. We cannot

either, after sacrifice of so many lives and so many years in struggle, allow opportunists and waylayers to slide into the shoes of the privileged minorities to maintain the same system but with black faces". President Nkomo declared.

"It must be power to the people.
"Power to elect a Government of their choice.

"Power to end all minority privileges, racism and tribalism.

"Power to end all exploitation of Labour and to ensure that workers get the just earnings for their sweat.

"Power to ensure that the economic system functions for the benefit of all the people.

"Power to ensure that all social services like health and education reach every home and every child.

"Power to guarantee the security of life and opportunities of every Zimbabwean as opposed to the night-mares of today where security officers are objects of hate and fear by the people".

Dear Comrades,

This is precisely what we are sacrificing our lives for and we shall fight until victory is achieved.

Comrade Chairman,

Before we retire from this rostrum, we wish to make the following proposals:

In view of the great importance we attach to this historic Conference the first of its kind on Southern Africa, ZACU proposes the formation of a permanent International Labour Committee or Commission to follow up the deliberation of this Conference.

We feel that the reference of this Committee should be the following:

1. to mobilise international support on behalf of the workers and peoples of Southern Africa through constant meetings, seminars and mass media.
2. to organise material and financial aid to be channelled through ZACU (Zimbabwean African Congress of Unions), SACTU (South African Congress of Trade Unions) and NNWU (Namibian National Workers Union).

STATEMENT ON „THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS”

By **GEORGE SILUNDIKA (ZAPU)**
– Zimbabwe 24–28 May, 1977

Friends!

1. May I begin by extending my congratulations to the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, and to the Academy of Sciences, both of the USSR, for having organised this profoundly stimulating conference on the question of the experience of the Soviet people through the “Great October Socialist Revolution” and the related experiences of struggling peoples, through their liberation movements. It is a very timely moment internationally, to reflect upon these issues in order to reassert the direction of the revolutionary struggle with greater clarity.

2. Let me, on behalf of the people of Zimbabwe, extend our sincere thanks to the respective organizations here in Baku and to the people of this famous city of Baku, as a whole, for the very warm hospitality they have stretched themselves to welcome us and make our stay a happy and fruitful one.

3. It is just appropriate, before discussing the subject that I should express the great honour with which the struggling people of Zimbabwe regard the valiant people of the USSR for the occasion which has brought us together here – the 60th Anniversary of the “Great October Socialist Revolution”. The heroism of Lenin that great exponent and practitioner of Marxism, the achievements of the “Great October Socialist Revolution” have lit the human path of development for centuries to come. May I, on behalf of the people of Zimbabwe, pay tribute to Lenin and all the other heroes of that historic occasion. We congratulate the Communist Party of Soviet Union for having maintained the course of the “Revolution” through its national and international concrete achievements and contributions. We fervently share celebrations of the 60th Anniversary of the “Great October Socialist Revolution” with the friendly peoples of the USSR because of the occasion’s universal value and significance.

4. Dear Friends, our subject is a very challenging one. We however, have past and contemporary history at our disposal to pick our facts from. It is in the nature of man to struggle for survival and to resist any threat to his life. Society, conscious of itself behaves likewise. Nations sustain themselves by defence of their sovereignty and integrity. Whether it is in the relations of man to man or of one society to another or of one nation to another, the



Comrade T. G. Silundika, Deputy National Secretary of Publicity and Information of ZAPU

PHOTO: – The Zimbabwe Review – Z. Nkobi

crucial issue lies in the extent of the harmony or otherwise of their nature of interaction and/or interdependence, Marx has demonstrated, from lessons of history, class formations in society some of which, through predatory instincts or systems of greed, tend to prey on others. The task of survival is not only to crush these tendencies of greed but to substitute a way of life which positively guarantees a productive, prospering and peaceful society. 5. Liberation struggle is man’s age long occupation. Contemporary struggle is, however, characterised by the quest for socialism as a way of life. Definition of this objective has helped to clarify the real essence and perspective of the anticolonial struggle, giving it the necessary depth and

vision to fortify itself against neo-colonial manoeuvres. It has also forged the natural and necessary ideological links between national liberation movements and the international forces against exploitation, colonialism and imperialism. It is much easier today to remove the camouflage and expose the links of the national bourgeoisie with international capital and imperialism. The threshold of real and genuine freedom is clearer and the alignment of forces as between those of true liberation on the one hand and the enemies of freedom on the other is distinct.

6. The teachings of Marx and the emergence of the Soviet State through the "Great October Socialist Revolution" (spearheaded by the great Lenin) paved the way, both in content and method, for the liberation struggles which have since attained their goal and those still in progress. Nothing could have epitomised better the idea of the liberation struggle — its sweat, achievements and direction — than the "Declaration", to the citizens of Russia, by the Revolutionary Military Committee of the Petrograd Soviet Workers and Soldiers Deputies on the 25th of October 1917 which stated:

Quote: "The cause for which the people have fought, namely the immediate offer of a democratic peace, the abolition of landed proprietorship, worker's control over production, and the establishment of Soviet power — this cause has been secured.

Long live the revolution of worker's, soldiers and peasants".

This Declaration crystallises the hopes of virtually all liberation movements genuinely committed to freedom through revolution. This is the impact and universal significance of the "Great October Socialist Revolution".

7. Liberation movements in various countries rise in various ways and develop in all sorts of manner but, as they develop, they inevitably lead to the pattern of the "Great October Socialist Revolution". This is because the workers and peasants of the world are confronted by one class enemy — the capitalist exploiter who uses the machinery of statepower to suppress the majority in the service of his selfishness.

8. Following the end of the last world war, a swift tide of the African national liberation struggle brought about the swift collapse of colonialism in our continent and the establishment of free independent states. These states have bound themselves into the Organisation of African Unity as a fortification against the stubborn forces of exploitation and imperialism. Of course, the most difficult part of Africa, Southern Africa — comprising Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe — is still locked up in an intense liberation struggle. The obvious reason is that it is in these countries that the capitalist forces have dug and established their roots most firmly and widely.

9. Even if industrialisation had not developed in Africa to the same extent that it had in Europe in the post war era, the pattern of the development of the liberation struggle still reflected the intolerance of exploitation. The workers unions, linking up with the exploited peasantry constituted the thrust force which broke the chains of colonialism in most African countries. One need only refer to the worker's strikes in Ghana, to the revolutionary worker's movement led by Sekou Toure which brought about the independence of Guinea and several other examples in Tunisia, Kenya and elsewhere.

I must explain myself here clearly that I am referring only to the historical forces of the liberation struggle in those countries and not to the nature of the governments that have followed subsequently. We all recognise that in Africa, as elsewhere, several stages towards the emancipation from economic strangulation by capitalist forces have yet to be accomplished. In this sense the liberation struggle in many parts of Africa continues.

10. I have referred to the post war era of national liberation in Africa and to the armed liberation struggles waging in Southern Africa, today. How does this link up with the Great October Socialist Revolution? In the first instance, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has relentlessly carried on the banner of the Great October Socialist Revolution by its support, materially and diplomatically, to liberation struggles all over the world from 1917, in an ever increasing manner, to this date.

As a result revolutionary forces of Europe, Africa, Asia and Latin America are linked in a powerful movement in all international forums in defence of human rights and for the advancement of the cause of socialism. The vision of Lenin has permeated continents through the Communist Party of the USSR for example when in November 1919 he said:

"The imperialist war, likewise, contributed to the growth of the revolutionary movement, because the European imperialists had to enlist whole colonial regiments in their struggle. . . . Britain and France armed colonial peoples and helped them to familiarise themselves with military technique and up to date machines.

That knowledge they will use against the imperialist gentry".

It is historically true that the two world wars had this effect in the liberation movements of Asia and Africa.

11. Of course the imperialist forces are devising new methods to stem the world revolutionary tide which was set on by the Great October Socialist Revolution. However these efforts will fail, Power belongs to the people.

Long live the Great October Socialist Revolution!

Long live the Unity of the forces of Socialist Revolution!

KNOW YOUR LEADERS:



Comrade W. Musarurwa, National Secretary for Publicity and Information of ZAPU



Comrade T. V. Lesabe, Deputy National Secretary for Education of ZAPU



Comrade A. F. Jirira Treasurer General of ZAPU

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