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**THE**



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**ZIMBABWE REVIEW**



**COME FORWARD AND FEED  
THE CHILDREN -  
KOMO**

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# THE ZIMBABWE REVIEW

## TO OUR READERS:

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

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# EDITORIAL

As far as we are concerned, the Rhodesian minority regime has nearly been defeated. What now remains before total victory of the people's forces is the final mortal blow which must be delivered on the colonialists only on the battlefield. The ever-increasing numbers of successful military operations conducted by the Patriotic Front forces indicate the strengthening of the liberation-war effort to achieve the impending decisive victory.

In a war of national liberation such as we are correctly involved, it is the people who must win, who must enjoy equally the fruits of national independence without the opportunistic interference of forces of reaction. To deny the people the victory that genuinely belongs to them is to go against the trend of the revolutionary process presently sweeping the whole of Southern Africa, in particular Zimbabwe.

British, American, and international imperialism poses today as the most dangerous, counter-revolutionary force poised without shame to usurp the people's revolutionary gains in Zimbabwe. It is as a result of a long, difficult struggle that the gallant patriotic forces continue to incise mortal wounds into the enemy, thus forcing the Smith regime to concede defeat in vital fronts of the struggle. In the most difficult years when our victory seemed remote, the same imperialist countries now meddling in Southern African liberation problems turned a deaf ear to our struggle and gave maximum support and comfort to the Rhodesian colonialists. When the Smith regime at present stands almost defeated British and American imperialists are making a lot of noise and offering proposals supposedly to decolonise Rhodesia, to remove the Smith regime, to bring about majority rule. Imperialism in Southern Africa is behaving like a butterfly blinded by light.

The truth of the matter is that the same imperialist countries would like the credit for the defeat of Ian Smith to be historically subscribed to them so that they might impose neo-colonialism in Zimbabwe. They seek to deny the people of Zimbabwe their well-deserved victory in the liberation struggle.





Progressive Africa and international progressive forces who are our firm allies, must not forget the Congo (now Zaire), also imperialist manoeuvres in Angola. The objective of every genuine liberation movement is seizure of political power, the winning of national independence and the creation of necessary conditions to carry through the national democratic revolution, towards socialism.

In the face of these imperialist intrigues, the national liberation strategy must frustrate imperialism by massive mobilisation of the people behind the unity programme, the political and revolutionary armed struggle as conceived by the Patriotic Front. The decolonisation agenda for Zimbabwe urgently calls for greater intensification of the armed struggle which has become as

decisively significant as ever before. Just wars breed lasting peace, in victory.

Politically, as well as militarily, the Patriotic Front is at war with colonialism in Rhodesia, and international imperialism. The complete elimination of puppet reactionary forces working in collusion with colonialism and imperialism in Zimbabwe today can only be effected as a result of country-wide escalation of the armed struggle supported by the people. In the initial stage of any peaceful negotiation leading to a settlement, it must be the combatant forces involved in the fighting which must be brought together to hand over political power to the victorious people's movement. These tasks the Patriotic Front is fulfilling and will continue to lead the people to real victory.

# „COME FORWARD AND FEED THE CHILDREN“ –

# NKOMO

By  
Absalom Sokhuni

The ZAPU-Patriotic Front, recently took some Zimbabwe nationals living in Zambia to its Kafue and Victory Camps to see the living conditions of thousands of children who fled from Smith regime's murderous campaign.

Addressing mothers at the Kafue camp, the National Treasurer, Comrade Jirira told the Zimbabwe nationals that he had come to show them the mothers with their children so that they might understand their problems better.

He said that some of the mothers' homes had been burnt and their husbands murdered by Smith's bandits, the notorious Selous Scouts. The National Treasurer added that, though the children apparently looked healthy and happy, they needed more food and clothes.

Comrade Jirira said these had to be provided by

all Zimbabwean nationals living in Zambia. "It is your duty to feed these children and clothe them. We cannot rely upon people at home to look after them and, therefore, I pass them to your care", he added.

The presence of the young mothers was an indication that the war for the liberation of Zimbabwe was coming to an end. "If these mothers failed to liberate their country, then these children born into the turmoil would not fail."

Commenting on the struggle he said: "This kind of activity needs dedication and sacrifice. Some of us have been in detention, some are still languishing in prisons others have died, but we are still bound to the objective of liberating our country."

He praised the Zambian government for its dedication to the liberation of Southern Africa. "We have managed to operate from here because of President Kaunda's understanding. The govern-





ment and the people of Zambia have vowed that they will never be free until the whole of Southern Africa is free", he added.

Asked to comment on the treacherous March 3 accord, the National Treasurer said: "We do not recognise the sell-out accord and we are convinced that the Patriotic Front is the only party to rule Zimbabwe." He said that ZAPU-Patriotic Front was determined to fight until genuine independence was attained in Zimbabwe.

The delegates were shown around the camp before leaving for Victory Camp.

Speaking at Victory Camp, the co-leader of the Patriotic Front, comrade Joshua Nkomo said that the camp had 15,000 school-going children. He said that all Zimbabweans living in Zambia should realise that they were parents of fleeing children and should give them every possible assistance.

The President said the children were victims of Smith's fascist and murderous campaign. "Some of them do not have relatives in Zambia and you should all regard yourselves as their parents and look after them," he urged.

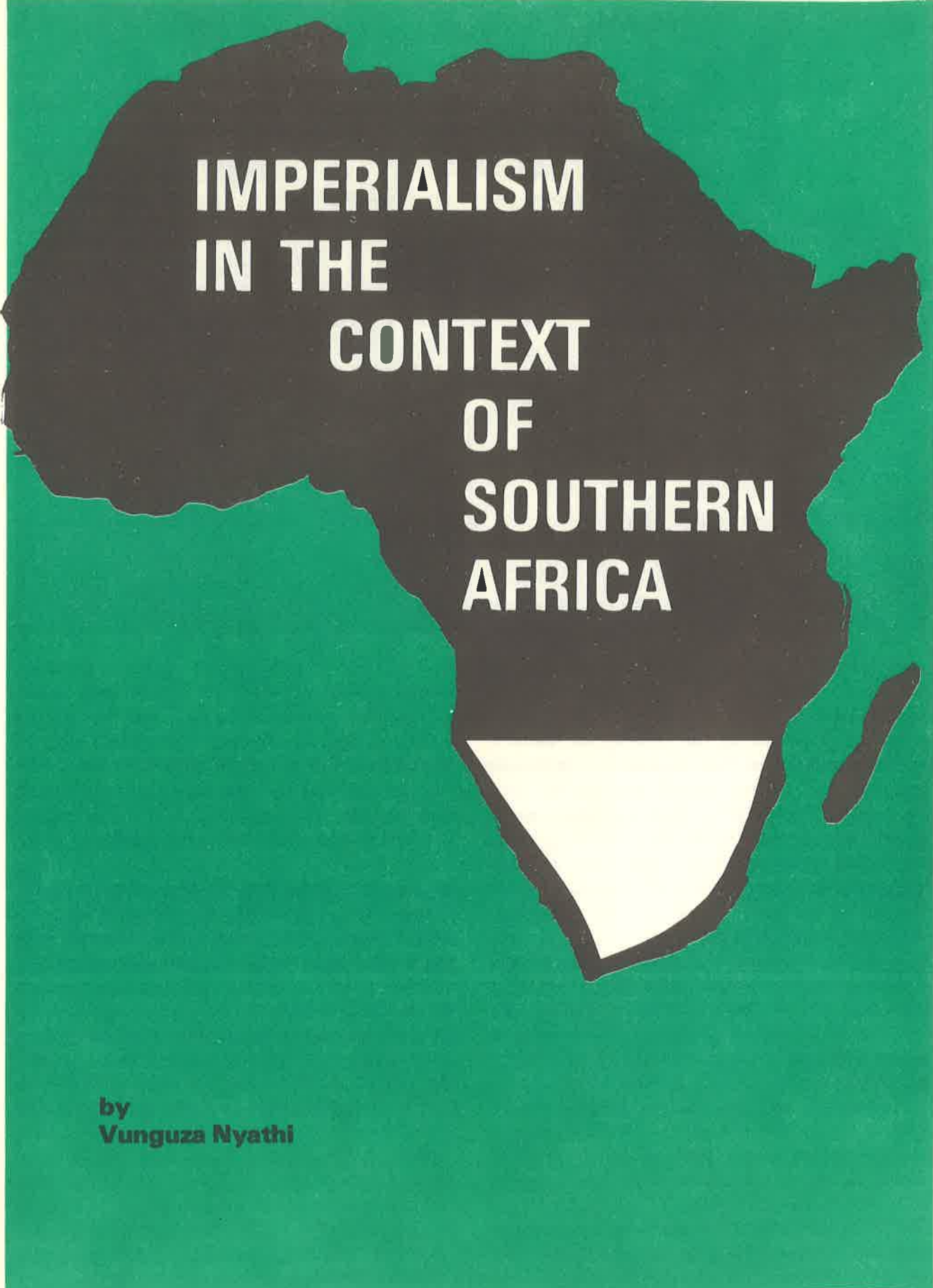
At this point most of the parents wept bitterly and they pledged their determination to assist the school children.

The ZAPU-Patriotic Front leader, Comrade Nkomo disclosed that the school used about 140 bags of mealie-meal a day, and that all the ZAPU camps in Zambia used 2,000 bags of mealie-meal to feed their occupants.

"We cannot wait for assistance from the United Nations; you, the parents should come forward and feed and help in clothing the children."

He further revealed that the three black puppets, Bishop Abel Muzorewa, the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole and Chief Jeremiah Chirau, together with the racist leader Ian Smith were increasing their murderous acts to wipe out all the opponents of the treacherous accord.

He said this made a lot of people run away from the country into Botswana. The President added that about 4,000 children were in a Botswana transit camp waiting to be flown to Zambia. The UNHCR had offered to provide transport, he said. Present at the Victory Camp was the Zambian Foreign Affairs Minister, Dr. Siteke Mwale, who had earlier attended the Dar es-Salaam talks as an "active observer." Dr. Mwale re-affirmed his country's dedication to assist in the liberation of Southern Africa.



**IMPERIALISM  
IN THE  
CONTEXT  
OF  
SOUTHERN  
AFRICA**

by  
**Vunguza Nyathi**

(1) This paper using subjective theory of social development and objective theory of social development will, in brief, attempt to examine the socio-economic product of colonial imperialism; neocolonialist instruments for the perpetuation of peripheral-capitalist mode of production; liberation struggle against colonial imperialism; and foreign policy of imperialist states for Southern Africa.

(2) The first part of the paper will focus on the socio-economic product of colonial imperialism and its creation; second part will examine the major mechanisms which perpetuate the existence of peripheral-capitalist mode of production; the third part analyses the socio-economic factors which gave rise to the liberation struggle against colonial imperialism; and the fourth part concentrates on the current foreign policy of imperialist states for Southern Africa.

(3) The analysis of these four aspects of imperialism will be done within the framework of the two stages (colonial imperialism and neocolonialism) of the historical development of imperialism.

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### 1. Socio-economic Product of Colonial Imperialism.

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One major socio-economic product of colonial imperialism in Southern Africa has been the creation and development of peripheral-capitalist mode of production. **Peripheral-capitalist mode of production is a capitalist mode of production**

**which is dominated by imperialist production relations (foreign ownership relations in the form of investment capital; technological dependence on imperialist economies; loan capital relations; and exploitative foreign trade); and whose main role within the international capitalist system is to provide imperialist countries with surplus value in the form of raw materials; loan surplus value from loan capital; investment surplus value from investment capital; and trade surplus value. These four types of surplus value are used by the imperialist countries to develop their economies.**

Peripheral-capitalist mode of production started to develop in Southern Africa during the 19th century. It developed as a

direct product of British, German and Portuguese colonial imperialism. The countries which developed peripheral-capitalist mode of production as a result of British colonial imperialism include Lesotho, South Africa, Swaziland, Botswana, colonial Rhodesia,





Malawi and Zambia. While German colonial imperialism created peripheral-capitalist mode of production in colonial Namibia, Portuguese colonial imperialism led to the development of peripheral-capitalist mode of production in Angola and Mozambique.

The driving forces which led Britain, Germany and Portugal to create and develop a peripheral-capitalist mode of production in Southern Africa were the need for cheap raw materials and markets, as well as the relative decline in the rates of profits.

The mechanisms which were employed in the creation and development of peripheral-capitalist mode of production were colonial armies and export of capital. The colonial armies in creating and developing capitalist mode of production played a decisive role. They were used to destroy the pre-colonial states of Southern Africa, and to create colonial states in their place. For example, in Angola during the 18th century the Portuguese colonial army was used to destroy the pre-colonial state of Angola, and in its place to create a colonial state. The wars of destroying the pre-colonial state of Angola, conducted by the Portuguese colonial army lasted up to 1918 when the colonial state of Angola was fully created. The same process of destroying a pre-colonial state was not only experienced by Angola but also by Mozambique.

Portugal was not the only imperialist power which used the colonial army as an instrument for destroying the pre-colonial states, and creating in their place colonial states. Britain also did the same in South



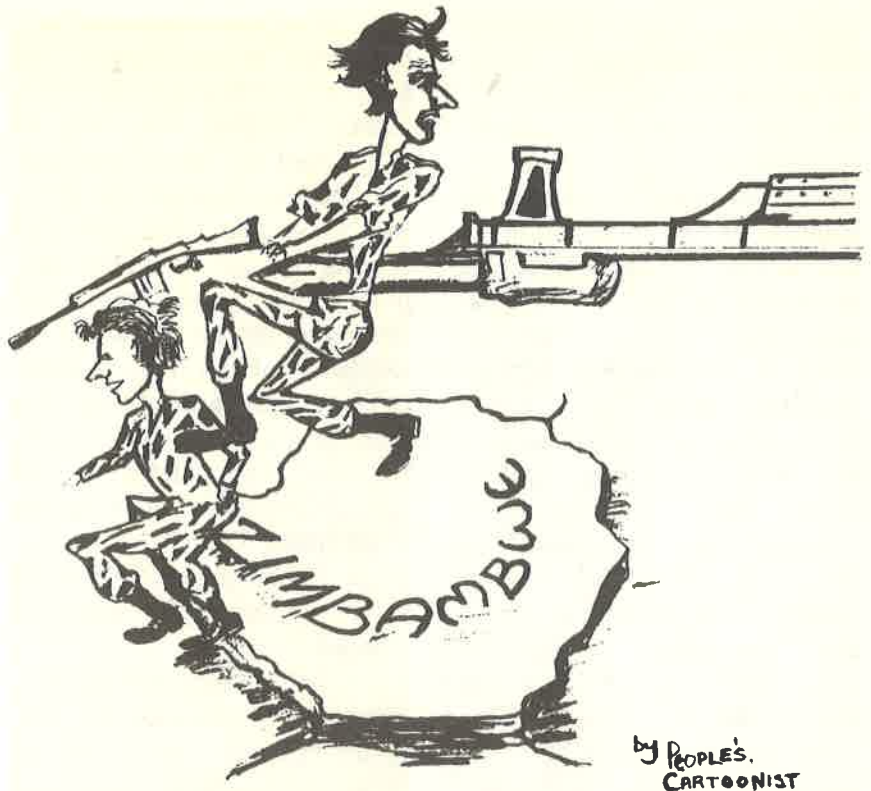
Africa, Lesotho, Malawi, Zambia and in colonial Rhodesia. Germans were not an exception to the rule when they created a colonial state in Namibia. With force of arms they smashed the pre-colonial state of Namibia, and created a colonial state for that country.

The colonial states which were created by colonial armies became decisive political instruments for destroying pre-capitalist modes of production, and for creating and developing peripheral-capitalist mode of production in Southern Africa. They enacted laws which dispossessed Africans of their land (e.g. the Land Apportionment Act of 1930 in colonial Rhodesia), as well as laws that established private property. They enacted laws that forced Africans to provide cheap labour. For instance, the taxation law which forced Africans to work in the mines or on the farms so that they could get money for paying tax. Besides enacting laws which were intended to create and promote the development of peripheral-capitalist mode of production, colonial states formulated policies to promote the development of peripheral-capitalist mode of production. For example, in the 1890s in Malawi, Johnston's land policy of dispossessing Africans of their land forced many Malawians to work for British plantation owners. Those who could not sell their labour power within Malawi were forced to go to South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Zambia. Malawi was not the only country which was subjected to land policy which was a political mechanism to force Africans to sell their labour power, all the



countries of Southern Africa were subjected to this policy. Besides using land policy as a political instrument for forcing Africans to sell their labour power, the colonial states formulated labour policies which provided capital with African cheap labour; for example, forced labour in Angola and Mozambique, prison labour and contract labour in South Africa. With this short account it is quite clear that colonial states were politically decisive in creating and developing peripheral-capitalist mode of production in Southern Africa.

Another mechanism of colonial imperialism which was used by the colonising powers in Southern Africa was the export of capital. Capital exported to Southern Africa became investment capital in the following economic sectors: mining, agriculture and communication. Mining and agriculture were developed so that they could provide imperialist economies with cheap raw materials. Communication means were needed to transport cheap raw materials to the imperialist countries, as well as to bring to Southern Africa agricultural and mining equipment, and manufactured consumer goods. While mining, agriculture and communication sectors were being developed, the pre-colonial manufacturing industries were being destroyed. The destruction of the indigenous manufacturing industries gave imperialist countries a position of monopoly over the Southern African market. Imperialist countries were, and still are placed in a position to carry on, using unequal exchange, exploitative trade with the countries of Southern Africa. The des-



truction of the indigenous manufacturing industries also placed the imperialist countries in a position of monopoly over technology. Southern Africa became technologically dependent on imperialist countries; and she still continues to be technologically dependent on the imperialist countries.

The development of the manufacturing industry, especially the production of consumer goods is a 20th century economic phenomenon. The manufacturing industry, producing consumer goods started to appear in South Africa during the First World War, and in colonial Rhodesia during the Second World War, in Angola and Mozambique in the late 1960s. In other countries of Southern Africa the development of the manufacturing industry, producing consumer goods appeared after state independence. The development of the manufacturing

industries, producing intermediate and final means of production, in most of Southern African countries, except South Africa and colonial Rhodesia, is still in its embryonic stage. Because of the lack of developed manufacturing industries, producing intermediate and final means of production, the countries of Southern Africa still find themselves technologically dependent on imperialist countries.

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## 2. Neocolonialist Instruments for the Perpetuation of Peripheral-capitalist Mode of Production

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With the attainment of state independence by the majority of Southern African countries, there have been some changes and emphasis concerning the instruments for the perpetua-

tion of peripheral-capitalist mode of production. Under neocolonialism the instruments for perpetuating peripheral-capitalist mode of production are the peripheral states and the absence of the production of technology in the majority of economies of Southern African countries.

Most of the Southern African countries (except Angola and Mozambique whose states have not been thoroughly studied) which have attained state independence are run by peripheral states. These states represent capitalist interests of the peripheral bourgeoisie whose basic capitalist interests are similar to those of the imperialist bourgeoisie. As basic capitalist interests of the peripheral bourgeoisie are similar to those of the imperialist bourgeoisie, this does not mean that there are no contradictions between the imperialist and peripheral bourgeoisie. There

are intra-class contradictions, but what brings together the peripheral and imperialist bourgeoisie is that they are all committed to defend the capitalist system against socialism. By defending the capitalist system through the state, peripheral bourgeoisie finds itself defending or perpetuating the existence of peripheral-capitalist mode of production. The anti-imperialist stand taken by the peripheral states is not against capitalism, but against imperialism which does not allow the peripheral bourgeoisie to develop into the status of independence.

Besides the peripheral states as political instruments for perpetuating the existence of peripheral-capitalist mode of production, the absence of production of technology in the majority of the economies of Southern African countries is another economic factor which plays a critical role in perpetu-

ating the existence of peripheral-capitalist mode of production. The absence of the production of technology has become a common denominator for imperialist production relations such as loan capital, unequal exchange and investment capital.

Since the countries of Southern Africa cannot produce technology, they have been forced to obtain technology from the imperialist countries. In order to obtain this technology they have to buy it or allow investment capital in their economies. The need to buy technology has forced the countries of Southern Africa to obtain loan capital from imperialist countries and international organisations (e.g. the World Bank) or to use their foreign trade as a means of obtaining foreign currencies. In trying to use their foreign trade as a means of obtaining foreign currencies to buy technology they find themselves trapped in



# Zimbabwe

# must be free!



unequal exchange, as well as forced to concentrate on the production of raw materials (minerals and agricultural products) which are in demand on the imperialist world market.

In the above discussion we have seen that peripheral states and the absence of the production of technology are the critical factors for perpetuating the existence of peripheral capitalist mode of production. It is therefore clear that in order to eliminate peripheral-capitalist mode of production there should be liquidation of peripheral states, as well as production of technology by the economies of Southern African countries. The liquidation of peripheral states is a political issue. It demands a class struggle, waged for the creation of a socialist state. It is only a socialist state whose basic economic task is the elimination of exploitation, that is, exploitation by the peripheral and imperialist bourgeoisie. Exploitation by the imperialist bourgeoisie cannot be eliminated without the production of technology, because the lack of technology is the common denominator for imperialist production relations which are the mechanisms of exploitation.

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### **3. Liberation Struggle Against Colonial Imperialism**

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The causes which gave rise to the liberation struggle against colonial imperialism cannot be sought anywhere else, but in the process of the development of peripheral-capitalist mode of production. As peripheral capitalist mode of production continued its process of develop-



ment created the African working class and exposed it to poverty and social insecurity; exposed the African peasants to the most abysmal depths of poverty and misery; and also frustrated the emerging African bourgeoisie which it had created. In short, poverty and social insecurity among African workers and peasants; frustration of the emerging African bourgeoisie to fully engage in the process of accumulation of capital, are the basic socio-economic factors which gave

rise to the national liberation struggle against colonial imperialism in Southern Africa.

The most abysmal depths of poverty and misery among the African peasants were brought about by the production of cash crops and migrant labour system.

After the First World War and the Second World War countries like colonial South West Africa and colonial Rhodesia, parts of Zambia and Malawi experienced a tremendous reduction of peasant agricultural land. The land



grabbed from the African peasants was utilized for the production of more raw materials (minerals and agricultural raw materials) which were in great demand for the reconstruction of imperialist economies which were greatly devastated by the two World Wars. As a result of the reduction of peasant land, the peasants were faced with a problem of land shortage. Because of land shortage, the peasants were forced to intensively exploit the soil; and this led to the qualitative destruction of the soil, since all the time the soil remained exposed to the forces of soil erosion which removed top, fertile soil. As a result of this the soil became unfertile, and this led to the decline in crop production. Land shortage did not only lead to the decline in crop production, but also to the decline in the livestock population. The decline in the livestock population and crop production reinforced each other to expose the African peasants to the most abysmal depths of poverty and misery. For ex-

ample, in South Africa poverty caused by the decline in crop production, as well as the decline in the livestock population has reflected itself in the following manner: hospitals are full of retarded babies suffering from acute protein deficiency, their limbs rowly pink where the skin has peeled. High proportion of children admitted for other afflictions are found to be suffering from various forms of malnutrition whether pellagra or kwashiorkor. Besides land shortage, another aspect of the development of peripheral-capitalist mode of production which brought about acute poverty to the African peasants was the production of cash crops in countries such as Angola and Mozambique. Portuguese economic policy in these two countries forced the peasants to produce cotton. The production of cotton took most of the peasants' time to produce their own food. The reduction of food production led to starvation and poverty among the peasants. The results of the cultiva-

tion of cotton in Mozambique in 1950 were described as follows: "Whoever has frequent contact with certain of the cotton zones (northern Mozambique) has no difficulty in recognizing that the principal effort of the native... is absorbed by the cotton, and that there remains not such time or effort to grow food which is needed by him and others. I know a region which used to be a granary for lands afflicted with hunger. After cotton campaign was begun there, the fertile fields ceased to supply food for the neighbouring populations and the people of the region in which for six months the black spectre of hunger reaped the lives of the inhabitants..."<sup>1/</sup>

Land shortage and the production of cash crops were not the only factors which played a decisive role in bringing about acute poverty to the African peasants. Migrant labour system was another factor that played no mean role in exposing the peasants to the most abysmal depths of poverty and misery. For example in a country like Lesotho there have been perpetual poor harvests for many decades, and these poor harvests have been blamed on climatic conditions. Though climatic conditions had a part in the collapse of Lesotho peasant agriculture, but migrant labour system also played its role. It is argued that poor harvests were because of bad weather, excessive soil erosion, poor soils and low carrying capacity of rural areas, but if labour was available, measures like soil conservation through manuring,

1 Davidson, B. *Which Way Africa*. P. 86.



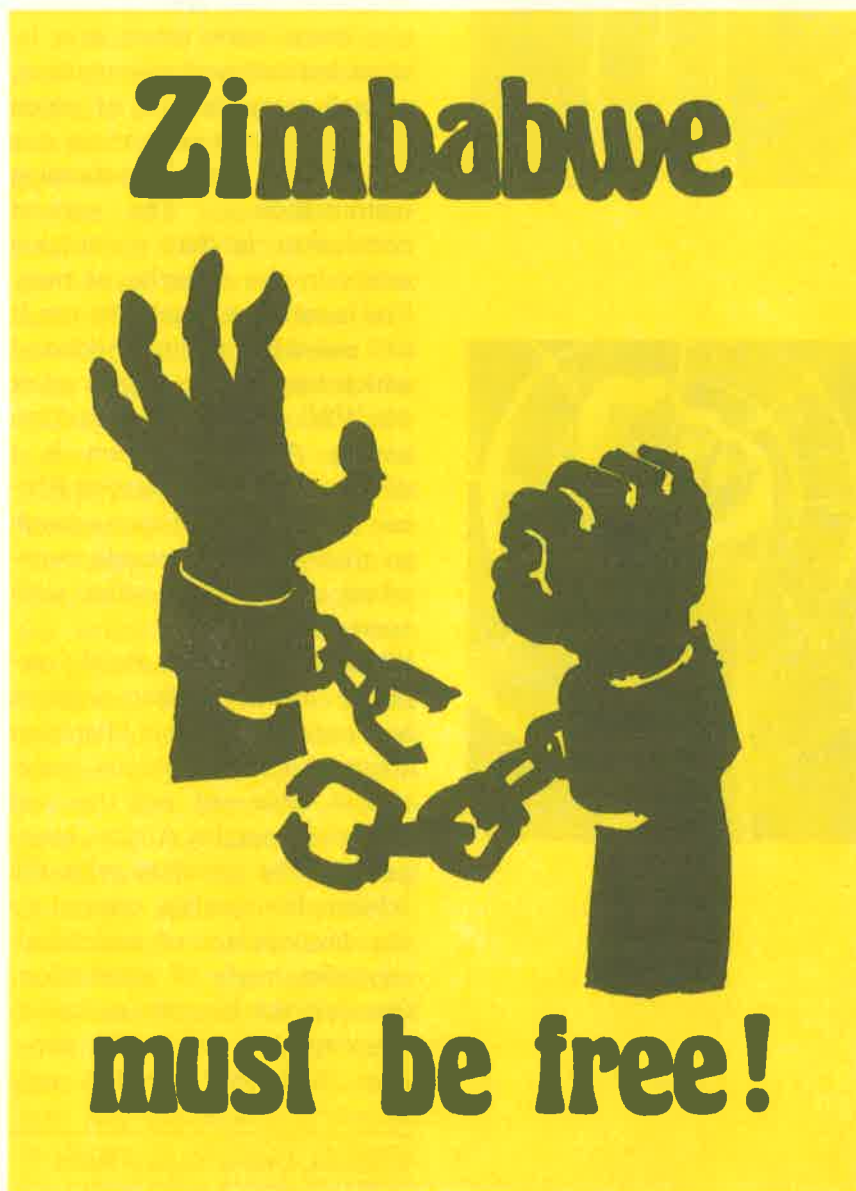
irrigation, crop rotation and afforestation could have been undertaken to improve natural conditions in agriculture. Since most able-bodied men were away from the countryside, women, children and old people who remained behind were not physically able to undertake these measures. Because of the collapse of peasant agriculture as a result of migrant labour system and other man-created factors, Lesothoes suffered from malnutrition. For example, according to a report written in 1939 about Lesotho, states that "the physique and health of Basutho today is not what it used to be. Malnutrition is seen in every village, dispensary, school or recruiting office." Furthermore, in the 1950 the World Health Organisation (WHO) revealed that in Lesotho the standard of living always appears to be sinking even lower" and "the researches of Dr. Munoz show that the birth rate, which was 30.6 per thousand in 1951, had dropped to 22 per thousand in 1957; and Dr. Munoz comments that it was lack of food that made parents infertile, it also draws attention to the fact that infant mortality rate doubled between 1951 and 1957, when it reached 116 per thousand children (the death for children under one year of age) of haunted progress and improvement, we find a steady increase in malnutrition a progressive deterioration in African physique and growth of population a certain sign of worsening conditions"/2/.

While land shortage, production of cash crops, and migrant

labour system chiefly contributed towards the impoverishment of the African peasants, the market for agricultural produce also played its role, especially in Zambia and colonial Rhodesia. The colonial states in these two countries enacted laws that were intended for undervaluing agricultural produce, produced by the African peasants. For example, in Zambia, under the 1935 Maize Control Ordinance, European maize growers received 5s. 6d per bag. The same discriminatory prices applied in colonial Rhodesia, for example, in

1957 European maize producers received £2 per a bag yet African maize producer received £1.7s per bag.

African peasants were not the only social class which was affected by poverty as a result of the development of peripheral-capitalist mode of production, the African working class also became the victim of poverty. This poverty was due to low wages. As a result of low wages African workers became exposed to starvation, malnutrition and other social ills. For instance, "A striking example of undernourishment was re-



2 Woodis, J. Africa: Roots of Revolt. P. 167.

vealed at the Dunlop factory in Durban, in South Africa. In order to examine how the nutritional state of African workers in this factory was affecting industrial efficiency, the management arranged for every second African worker in the factory to be clinically examined during the course of nutritional survey. This is what the examination disclosed: No single case was passed as completely normal. The commonest skin lesion was phrynoderma, which occurred in half those under thirty-five years of age and in approximately two-thirds of those over thirty-five . . . there were other skin lesions indicative of malnutrition, as well as eye-lesions, of which the commonest were those due to chronic and long-standing malnutrition . . . The general conclusion is that malnutrition exists in the majority of men. The lesions are largely the result of malnutrition in childhood which has continued into adult life.'<sup>3/</sup> This malnutrition among African workers is a direct result of low wages. African workers do not earn enough so that they can provide themselves and their families with balanced diet.

While poverty and social insecurity forced African workers and peasants to wage liberation struggle against colonial imperialism, this was not the case with the emerging African bourgeoisie. The problem with the African bourgeoisie, created by the development of peripheral-capitalist mode of production, was that this bourgeoisie having been created was at the same-time frustrated by the very

system which created it. Peripheral capitalism did not allow it to fully engage in the process of capital accumulation. The colonial states, especially in countries like South Africa, colonial South West Africa and colonial Rhodesia where they have been engaged in developing settler bourgeoisie, though various legislations did not allow the emerging African bourgeoisie to fully engage in the process of capital accumulation like their settler counterparts. The inability of the emerging African bourgeoisie to fully engage in the process of capital accumulation, caused by the colonial states forced it to join its hands with the African workers and peasants to wage a liberation struggle against colonial imperialism.

The socio-economic factors that we have described above as the causes of the development of the liberation struggle against colonial imperialism came into existence as a result of the operation of the fundamental law of peripheral-capitalist mode of production whose aim is the production of maximum surplus value, mainly to be appropriated by imperialist bourgeoisie. As this law operates, leads to the creation of a situation of poverty and social insecurity among workers and peasants of colonised countries. It also frustrates, through the colonial states, full development of the bourgeoisie class in the colonised countries.

Having seen how the liberation struggle against colonial imperialism came about, we shall now examine the objectives of its politics. In examining the objectives of its politics we shall consider its immediate and perspective objectives. The imme-



<sup>3</sup> Woodis, J. *Africa: Roots of Revolt*. P. 173.



mediate objective of liberation politics was the creation of national liberation movements for the destruction of the colonial states. This immediate objective, in Southern Africa was achieved in the 1950s. The need for creating national liberation movements for the destruction of colonial states is the only factor which brought together frustrated African bourgeoisie, African working class and the peasantry. After the destruction of the colonial states, the interests of the three social classes forming the liberation movements begin to differ since their perspective objectives are quite different. The perspective of the bourgeois class after the destruction of the colonial state is to create an indigenous bourgeois state that will promote and protect the economic, social and political interests of the indigenous bourgeoisie. Since the indigenous bourgeoisie usually finds it difficult to develop independently the material basis of its new state after the collapse of the colonial state, it often aligns itself with the imperialist bourgeoisie, thus turning itself into a peripheral bourgeoisie within the international capitalist system. This is what has happened in a number of Southern African countries which have gained state independence. It is not only the indigenous bourgeoisie which have become peripheral, but also its states have become peripheral in relation to imperialist states.

The perspective objective of the working class and the peasantry is quite different from that of the frustrated and colonised bourgeoisie. The perspective objective of these two classes,

after the collapse of a colonial state is to create a socialist state that will promote and defend their economic, social and political interests. In most of the Southern African countries which have gained state independence this cause has been lost.

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#### **4. Foreign Policy of Imperialist States for Southern Africa**

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Foreign policy of a state is a course of action adopted and pursued by that state in defence of its interests in its relationship with other states. The nature of interests of a state depends on the nature of the state. In the case of imperialist states, their interests are imperialist interests. It is therefore clear that the foreign policy of imperialist states for Southern Africa is to defend imperialist interests. It is these imperialist interests, the development of revolutionary armed struggle in colonial South West Africa, colonial Rhodesia and South Africa, and the support this developing revolutionary armed struggle by the socialist states that force the imperialist states, under the leadership of the United States and Britain to have a common foreign policy for Southern Africa. This common foreign policy is to keep Southern Africa within the international capitalist system. The imperialist states in order to implement their foreign policy for Southern Africa have adopted a comprehensive strategy which is a combination of political, military and diplomatic strategies. In terms of political strategy, the imperialist states are enga-



ged in an effort to create peripheral (neo colonial) states in colonial South West Africa and colonial Rhodesia so as to preempt revolutionary developments in the region. This strategy is based on the heterogeneous class character of the national liberation movements, as well as on their contradictory perspective objectives. As we have seen in part three of this paper, national liberation movements are an alliance of three different social classes (the frustrated African bourgeoisie, African workers and peasants), and their perspective objectives in political terms radically differ. The only social classes which are anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist are the working class and the peasantry. The frustrated African bourgeoisie is only anti-imperialist but not anti-capitalist. Because of the pro-capitalist stand of the frustrated African bourgeoisie, the imperialist powers would like to promote this social class so that it creates peripheral states which will promote and protect capitalism in Namibia and Zimbabwe. By protecting capitalism they will also protect imperialist interests since the peripheral bourgeoisie is not capable of developing its material base without aligning itself with the imperialist bourgeoisie. The so-called internal settlement in colonial Rhodesia, and the Anglo-American proposals for colonial Rhodesia are intended for the creation of a peripheral state in that country. The difference between the so-called internal settlement and the Anglo-American proposals is only in tactics not in objective. The Anglo-American proposals would like to see the British Resident Commissioner and the



United Nations armed forces playing a dominant role during the period of a transitional government. This is intended to frustrate the Patriotic Front guerrilla forces which are the only factor that can avoid the creation of a peripheral state in Zimbabwe. While the Anglo-American proposals intend to use the United Nations armed forces and the position of the British Resident Commissioner, the so-called internal settlement group has decided to use the present colonial state power (army, police and intelligence service) to superintend during the period of the so-called transitional government, as well as to ensure the creation of a peripheral state. The imperialist states under the leadership of the United States and Britain do not agree with the internal-settlement tactic because it does not guarantee the success of the creation of a peripheral state, as well as the international acceptability is very important because it would allow the peripheral bourgeoisie, as a decisive social class for the development of a peripheral state, to develop its material base. But without international recognition it will be difficult for the peripheral bourgeoisie to develop the needed material base because of the United Nations Economic Sanctions. In view of this the imperialist states see the internal-settlement tactic as a factor which will accelerate the revolutionary armed struggle in the country, a thing they are against. The need to create peripheral states in colonial Rhodesia and colonial South West Africa is intended to safeguard imperialist interests in the region; to sabotage the revolutionary



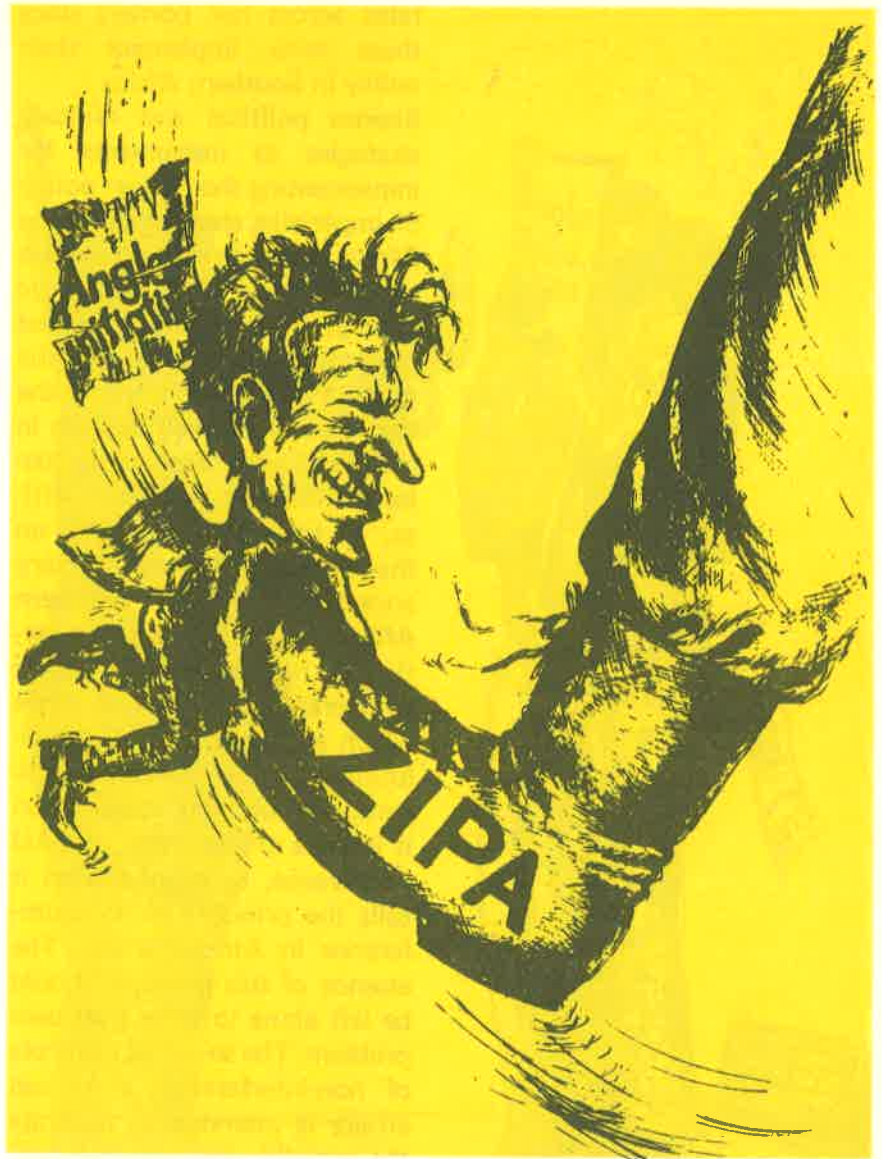
armed struggle in South Africa, as well as isolate Angola and Mozambique which have embarked on revolutionary transformation of their societies. Having isolated these two countries Zimbabwe and Namibia can be used as springboards for overthrowing revolutionary governments in Angola and Mozambique.

The military strategy pursued by imperialist states so as to ensure the creation and the existence of peripheral states in Southern Africa started to be employed in Angola in 1975. The United States used South Africa to implement this strategy. Round about September or October, 1975, South Africa sent its troops to Angola. The aim of sending the troops to Angola was to support UNITA and FNLA (neocolonial organisations) to subvert the MPLA government when Angola became independent in November, 1975.

In order to strengthen South Africa's military power so that she can effectively implement the military strategy the imperialist states are supplying South Africa with technology and finance. For example, Japanese electro companies provided South Africa with equipment and finance to develop uranium enrichment plant at Valindaba. Still in connection with the enrichment plant, West Germany provided technology. The establishment of uranium enrichment plant has provided South Africa with the capability of producing atomic bombs. The imperialist states, in order to increase South Africa's military strength, do not only supply her with technology and finance, but they are also prepared to co-operate with her

militarily. For instance, in 1973, the United SACLANT at its headquarters, Norfolk in Virginia undertook contingency planning for the South African region. According to the plans of SACLANT there will be a joint air naval task force co-operating with South Africa. The Military attacks made by South Africa and colonial state of Rhodesia on neighbouring states, Angola, Botswana, Zambia and Mozambique are part of the military strategy. These attacks are intended to

demoralise the Frontline States so that they stop supporting the revolutionary armed struggle in colonial South West Africa and Colonial Rhodesia. Though imperialist states denounce these military raids, but when a resolution is tabled at the United Nations to impose comprehensive economic sanctions against South Africa they oppose such a resolution. Their opposition to economic sanctions against South Africa indicates that clandestinely they support South Africa's military



raids across her borders since these raids implement their policy in Southern Africa. Besides political and military strategies as instruments for implementing the foreign policy of imperialist states in Southern Africa, the imperialist states are also engaged in a diplomatic strategy. This strategy is geared towards splitting OAU, stop the support of socialist states to the revolutionary armed struggle in colonial South West Africa, colonial Rhodesia and South Africa. In trying to split OAU on the question of revolutionary armed struggle in Southern Africa the United States in particular, has decided to closely co-operate with African states which are against socialist revolutions in the African continent. Through this co-operation it intends to urge them, at OAU Conference, to support what it calls the principle of non-interference in African affairs. The essence of this principle should be left alone to solve their own problem. The so-called principle of non-interference in African affairs is intended to frustrate the socialist states in their support for the revolutionary armed struggle in Southern Africa, as well as the support they give to those frontline states which are rear bases for the liberation movements from colonial South West Africa, colonial Rhodesia and South Africa.

At the beginning of this section of the paper (section four) it was stated that the foreign policy of imperialist states for Southern Africa is to protect their imperialist interests by keeping Southern Africa within the international capitalist system. Here below we shall look at those interests. Their

interests are economic and strategic. Economically and strategically, Southern Africa is of critical importance for the survival of the international capitalist system. Economically, it supplies the imperialist world with raw materials (especially minerals), surplus value in the form of raw materials, loan surplus value investments surplus value and trade surplus value. It also provides the imperialist states with a sea route around the Cape.

To a larger extent, the industrial and military might of imperialists rests on minerals from Southern Africa. The sub-continent supplies the imperialist world with over 50 per cent of minerals such as asbestos, copper, gold, diamonds, uranium, nickel, chrome, manganese, vanadium, antimony, crocidolite, etc. Countries like the United States are heavily dependent on minerals from Southern Africa. For example, the United States is about 75 per cent dependent on imported nickel; 85 dependent on imported asbestos, and 100 per cent dependent on imported platinum, 65 per cent on imported antimony; 28 per cent on imported cobalt, and 77 per cent dependent on tin. Most of these minerals come from Southern Africa. "The sub-continent as a whole produces an important portion of world's supply of these essential raw materials... In many countries now as much as 40 to 65 or 70 per cent of the total consumption of these raw materials is coming not from the Third World, but from Southern Africa."/1/

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1 Fasculo, G. *The Power Behind Apartheid*. P. 227.



The sea route around the Cape is of importance to the imperialist countries. 75 per cent of oil and 45 per cent of the trade of NATO countries, as well as 31 raw materials which are vital to the United States economy are shipped round the Cape. Furthermore, there are about 2,083.3 ships from imperialist countries that pass daily around the Cape. These ships carry vital cargoes. The ships besides carrying vital cargoes, bring a large amount of profits to NATO countries, especially to countries like Britain which to a large extent are dependent on invisible trade.

Besides economic interests, the imperialist world has strategic interests in Southern Africa. Colonial South West Africa and colonial Rhodesia occupy strategic positions in defending South Africa against South African Liberation movements. If colonial Rhodesia and colonial South West Africa at the attainment of their political independence become revolutionary states, it means that they will form a rear base for South African revolutionary liberation movements. If South Africa falls under the blows of these revolutionary liberation movements the strategic interests of the imperialist world will be lost. NATO's international military strategy for defending the international capitalist system against the expansion of socialism will be disrupted. At present South Africa plays in NATO's military defence strategy. She provides NATO countries with ship repairs facilities as well as with landing and over-flight facilities. These facilities have a level of technical competence that cannot be obtained anywhere else on the African



continent. South Africa also provides NATO countries with a missile tracking station. NATO's military stations in South Africa, have their operational range stretching from South Africa to North Africa, Bangladesh in Asia, and South America. Linking these, with

those military stations of NATO in North America and Western Europe, as well as with those of CENTO in Middle East; the whole of Africa, Americas, Western Europe and the Middle East fall under the imperialist international defence strategy.

# COMMUNIQUE

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1. The Presidents of the Republic of Botswana, the Peoples Republic of Mozambique, the Republic of Zambia, and the United Republic of Tanzania and the co-leaders of the Patriotic Front met in Dar es-Salaam between March 25–26, 1978 to review the present state of the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe and map out the requisite strategy for the development of the struggle.

2. They recalled that Africa and the international community have always supported the stand of the Patriotic Front and the Front-Line States that given the intransigence of the Smith regime, the armed struggle was the only recourse for the liberation of Zimbabwe. This position on the part of the Patriotic Front and the Front-Line States has never excluded genuine efforts to achieve a negotiated settlement.

3. Thus, the Patriotic Front and the Front-Line States accepted the invitation from the colonial power, the United Kingdom, to the Geneva Conference in 1976. The Conference was adjourned at the request of the U.K. Government in order to allow for further consultations. After receiving positive and constructive views both from the Patriotic Front and the Front-Line States, the U.K. unilaterally called off of the Geneva Conference.

4. Consequent upon this unilateral calling off of the Geneva Conference, the U.K. put forward a fresh set of proposals aimed at ending

the Rhodesian rebellion and achieving independence for her colony. These proposals had the full backing of the United States Government. They were officially submitted by the U.K. and U.S. Governments to the Patriotic Front, the Front-Line States and Africa and were accepted as a basis for negotiations. At the same time these proposals were formally submitted to the United Nations and subsequently at the request of the U.K. and U.S. Governments, the Security Council gave a mandate to the Secretary General to appoint a Representative to enter into discussions with the British Resident Commissioner designate and the Parties concerned, concerning the military and associated arrangements that are considered necessary to effect transition to Majority Rule.

5. The U.K. and U.S. Governments held a meeting in Malta in January, 1978 with the Patriotic Front Leaders on these proposals. The U.N. Secretary General's representative and representatives of the Front-Line States attended as observers. All the Parties at the Malta talks agreed that the meeting had been positive, and that similar talks should be held shortly afterwards.

6. Right from the outset the illegal minority and racist regime in the British colony of Southern Rhodesia has been opposed to the Anglo-American proposals. The regime has engaged in sinister manoeuvres aimed at neutralising the proposals, lifting the sanctions



# ISSUED BY THE DAR ES-SALAAM SUMMIT

imposed by the U.N., perpetuating the illegal minority rule, camouflaging the colonial war as civil war and internationalising the conflict. These diversionary manoeuvres have culminated in the so-called internal agreement. The Patriotic Front and the Front-Line States wholly and unreservedly condemn this agreement. The "agreement" has also been condemned and rejected by the OAU while the U.N. Security Council has declared it unacceptable and illegal. The Front-Line States and the Patriotic Front have noted that the colonial power has publicly stated that it considers the present regime in the colony of Southern Rhodesia to be "as illegal as the previous regime".

7. The Front-Line States and the Patriotic Front have however noted with grave concern that rather than condemn these Smith manoeuvres which aim at defeating their own proposals and the current negotiations, the U.K. and U.S. Governments have equivocated with a view to abandoning their previous commitment to the Patriotic Front, the Front-Line States and the Security Council on the Anglo-American proposals.

8. The Front-Line States and the Patriotic Front call upon the British and American Governments to make known their position vis-a-vis their own proposals. If they still support these proposals they should then move ahead and convene in the shortest time possible, a meeting to follow up what was agreed

in Malta. If on the other hand, they have decided to abandon their commitment to their own proposals for which they had requested and obtained the support of the Patriotic Front, the Front-Line States, and the international community, they should so declare unequivocally without any further delay. In particular they should go back to the Security Council and move a revocation of the mandate given to the Secretary General to appoint a Special Representative.

9. The present circumstances demand an intensification of the just armed struggle for the liberation of Zimbabwe. The Front-Line States therefore reaffirm their total and unwavering support to the armed struggle being waged by the People of Zimbabwe under the leadership of the Patriotic Front for the attainment of complete independence and the establishment of a genuine democratic government.

10. The Patriotic Front and the Front-Line States appeal to the OAU, to all progressive and anti-colonialist states and forces of the world to reaffirm their support for the national liberation struggle of the people of Zimbabwe and further isolate the illegal minority regime. They call upon the International Community to further tighten and widen the U.N. Sanctions.

**A LUTA CONTINUA!**



# Zimbabwe African People's Union

THE PATRIOTIC FRONT (ZIMBABWE)

## NEWS BULLETIN

By our U.N. Reporter

PRESS RELEASE:

March 27, 1978

United Nations:

1. Since the Rhodesian regime and certain African elements reached an agreement that co-opts the latter into the illegal regime, the western news-media has been drumming up propaganda to the effect that President Joshua Nkomo and his Zimbabwe African Peoples Union wing of the Patriotic Front may be persuaded to participate in the so-called internal

settlement arrangement of Ian Smith. The chief object of this tendentious piece of propaganda is to sow seeds of disunity within the Patriotic Front in order to lend a false lease of life to the shaky sellout arrangement that the Smith regime has been able to concoct exploiting the desperate opportunism of Abel Muzorewa and Ndabaningi Sithole. The stand of the Patriotic Front on the manoeuvres of racist and reactionary Smith to gain his illegal regime international recognition is clear and unequivocal. It is remarkable that despite the Patriotic Front's categorical rejection of the

so-called internal settlement, that one should continue to read speculation in the western newsmedia on the possibility of some members of the Front joining the puppets in Salisbury. The danger of this self-fulfilling prophecy lies in the probability that it could mislead those responsible for making policy into making false moves on the issue. We hope that those in positions of making policy decisions are aware that such speculation is nothing more than dangerous nonsense. We wish to repeat that under no circumstances can any section of the Patriotic Front ever con-



template joining those that have decided to help Smith win recognition for his unilateral declaration of independence.

2. The western newsmedia will recall that this is not the first time that Ian Smith has tried to use Africans to win recognition for his illegal regime. He first tried it when he made certain members of the so-called Chief's Council "senators" in his illegal parliament. When this would not wash with the broad masses of Zimbabwe, he made these puppet chiefs "cabinet ministers". These same "Chiefs" were later stage-managed into forming a political party called the Zimbabwe United Peoples Organization (ZUPO), whose acronym was chosen to confuse it with ZAPU in order to mislead the masses. The impact of this puppet organization has been zero. Its President, Chief Jeremiah Chirau, and its Vice-President, Chief Khayisa Ndiweni, are the men Mr. Smith made "senators" and later "ministers" in his illegal regime. These two sworn puppets of the regime have now been joined by Abel Muzorewa and Ndabaningi Sithole, whose co-option into the regime was believed to represent a master stroke by Smith against the liberation movement, because both Muzorewa and Sithole had nationalist credentials until they sold to the Smith regime. Seen in this historical light, the so-called internal settlement represents nothing but Smith's trials and errors in his saga to find a durable formula to entrench white privilege in Zimbabwe. Essentially what has happened is that Muzorewa and Sithole have agreed to join forces with the illegal regime in its efforts to gain itself international recognition. In short the two clerics have abandoned the liberation movement to throw their lot with a regime whose security forces continue to murder and massacre innocent women and children in its desperate attempts to stem the tide of revolution, the conditions of which are the results of a century of humiliation of the African people at the hands of "civilized" barbarians. Given this naked mano-

euver by Smith to entrench white privilege in Zimbabwe, the so-called internal settlement becomes nothing more than a historical curiosity, because it does not deal with the fundamental issue of African liberation.

3. The newsmedia has also been making claims about who commands the support of the vast majority of the African people of Zimbabwe. First we were told that 90 per cent of the people of Zimbabwe support Bishop Muzorewa. Now we read that the percentage has dropped to about 55 per cent. The belief that Muzorewa's organization enjoys majority support is based on two facile arguments namely, that he is an ethnic Shona, and that his rallies in Salisbury have attracted large numbers of people. Those who subscribe to the simplistic view that the Muzorewa organization has majority support of the people of Zimbabwe appear to be totally oblivious to the fact that the numbers of people joining the Patriotic Front freedom fighters have been increasing by leaps and bounds. If the Patriotic Front's support within the country is small where do these people come from? Any critical analyst would have by now recognized the fact that rallies Muzorewa has addressed have been limited to Salisbury and nowhere else. The population of Zimbabwe is (to be conservative) 7 million, and that of Salisbury is above 1/2 a million. Even by the standards of Salisbury alone, the rallies of Bishop Muzorewa have never (as reported by the western press) attracted as many as half of that city's population. To say that because 100,000 or so people from Salisbury and from areas where the Bishop's United Methodist Church has a membership of 50,000 faithfuls, means that he has majority support of the people of Zimbabwe, is to distort the reality that is Zimbabwe. In the last rally reported by the western press to have been attended by about 150,000 supporters of the bishop, there were many European farmers among the audience, some of whom had brought their

African farm peons to the rally. The rally was also attended by a junior "Minister" from Smith's cabinet, who presented the Bishop with a bullet-proof vest! That the rally was organized with the active support and logistical assistance of the regime is very obvious. But considering the fact that the organizers of the rally spent two weeks trying to raise a crowd of 1,500,000, the rally was a resounding failure. A great number of those who attended the so-called rally were helpless farm squatters who were herded to the Bishop's welcome rally by white farmers who support the so-called internal settlement.

4. Thanks to the support that we received from the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the Third World Countries and Socialist Countries, the people of Zimbabwe won a major victory when the United Nations Security Council voted to reject the so-called internal settlement at its last meeting on Zimbabwe. We believe that we have sufficiently exposed the real intention of Smith's last stratagem to entrench minority privilege in our country. The position adopted by Presidents of the Frontline States meeting in Dar-es-Salaam over the weekend is a further blow to the so-called internal settlement. We are now convinced that the international community has totally rejected the Salisbury fraud.

*DR. CALLISTUS DINGISWAYO  
NDLOVU ZAPU Patriotic Front  
Representative, U.N.*

# THE EFFECTS OF THE WAR ON THE RHODESIAN ECONOMY

The recent devaluation of the Rhodesian dollar, the second in six months, has highlighted the rapidly deteriorating economic situation in the country. The so-called transitional administration takes office with the economy facing its fourth successive year of falling output. Following the one per cent fall in 1975, the GNP fell again four per cent and eight per cent in 1976 and 1977 respectively. If the economic performance of the first four months of this year continues, then an even bigger percentage fall can be expected in 1978.

Investments and share markets were at a standstill in 1977. Business morale and productivity are both victims of the extended call-ups of able-bodied men.

Indirect taxes have risen three times in the last three years. In March 1977, the regime was forced to add a separate 10 per cent corporate tax surcharge to finance the war.

Building output fell by 20 per cent in 1976 and some reliable indication now put the value of building plans approved at the 1964 level. Shorter working hours, retrenchment and bankruptcy are the problems facing the builders today. Between April 1976 and April 1978, the value of building plans approved in Salisbury alone fell from R\$15 million, to R\$9 million.

Industrial production fell in volume in 1977 for the third year running. This was largely due to cutbacks on foreign exchange allocations and the

shrinking local market. There is no prospect of an improvement in 1978. Agriculture suffered from erratic climatic conditions in 1977 and with the heavy rains a considerable fall is expected in crop yields. Production of tea and coffee in the Chipinga districts is grinding to a stop due to the war. Some of last year's tobacco crop was stockpiled and a similar measure this year is bound to severely affect price level for the crop. Since UDI, the mining industry has been enjoying a steady expansion. It is the only industry that effectively eroded the UN imposed economic sanctions. Mining output as a whole is still expanding. Details on this industry are scanty due to the secrecy imposed by the regime on operations in this industry.

The Rhodesian Chamber of Mines President Mr. Ivan de Zwaar, addressing the Chamber on April 20, 1978, announced that the search for new mineral resources has had to be stopped because of the deteriorating security situation in the country. "This cessation has resulted in redundancies and retrenchment of labour onto a rapidly increasing unemployment situation. But perhaps even more worrying is that experienced officials and skilled technicians have either been transferred out of Rhodesia or have emigrated" he said. This means that the mining industry may have a fall in output for the first time this year. This will have ominous repercussions considering that the export of mine-

rals is the major foreign exchange earner.

## World recession

In 1976 balance of payments recovered remarkably due to the high mineral prices. Since then the fall off in world trade has adversely affected the economy. The 1977 current account went into deficit for the first time wiping out the R\$15 million surplus for 1976. The regime is unable to control the effects of inflation. The consumer price index figure for 1977 show that inflation is now running at the rate of 10.9 per cent. While export prices for Rhodesian goods remained stagnant last year, prices for imports went up by 10 per cent.

As a result of the border closure with the Republic of Zambia in 1972, Rhodesia has been facing extreme difficulties in exporting her produce. With the border closure with Mozambique, figures issued by Mozambique authorities in fact show that over 60 per cent of the country's traffic 1975 went through the ports of Beira and Maputo. The loss of this outlet left South Africa as the only export/import route with the outside world. The difficulties of moving Rhodesian exports were highlighted, among other things, by the decision by Hippo Valley Estates to destroy more than 16,000 tons of citrus fruits in 1976.

On February 8, 1978, Botswana took a bold step to close its border with Rhodesia at Kazungula following the wanton murder of 15 Botswana Defence Force soldiers by the fascist regime Selous Scouts. As a result of this measure by Botswana Government, essential supplies to Caprivi Strip in Namibia were halted. A number of firms established at Victoria Falls in Rhodesia to consign goods to Caprivi and hauliers handling these goods stopped operations. Mr Doug Finaughty, President of the Victoria Falls Chamber of Commerce commenting on the Kazungula border closure, last week said, that already 12 firms and two road hauliers closed down as a result of the



border closure. Victoria Falls has borne the burden of freedom fighters' attacks on several occasions. Last year, one of its tourist hotels — The Elephant Hillsmotel was burnt out by freedom fighters. The tourist trade has since stopped. This new blow to this town should spell a complete close down of the town in the near future, unless Botswana authorities decide to rescue it by opening the Kazungula border post.

The closure of businesses, retrenchment and redundancies all point to a potentially explosive unemployment problem in Rhodesia. A recent Rhodesian Standard Bank Review, estimated that at least 1,000 Africans were losing their jobs each month. Already, the African unemployment backlog stands at over 250,000 jobs. This is happening at a time when the country should be creating 60,000—80,000 new jobs a year, if it is to cope up with this problem. This huge background of African unemployment, is in contrast with the settler manpower shortage. As a result of the intensification of the armed revolutionary struggle and the increased call-ups of the population's economically active manpower, more professional people have been leaving the country. The Rhodesian monthly migration and tourist statistics show that in 1977 more than ten thousand whites, or 4.4 per cent of the white population left the country. This number is five times more than the

emigrants in 1965. The first two months of last year saw a drain of people in professional and technical fields of nearly 1,131 compared with 881 for the same period in 1978. The January and February, 1978 professional losses were as follows:

- 37 engineers
- 32 accountants and auditors
- 26 teachers
- 10 doctors

Should this trend continue then the country will soon find itself without skilled workers to keep both the economic and war efforts going.

### The Cost of the War:

Since the beginning of the armed struggle nearly fifteen years ago, the Rhodesian defence budget has increased by over 70 per cent. With the intensification of the armed struggle, the regime now spends 26 per cent of the national budget on war or 960,000 Rhodesian dollars a day. The breakdown of the defence vote is as follows (in million Rhodesian dollars):

	1976/77	1977/78
Army	107.8	141.8
Airforce	28.6	—
Guard force	5.2	—
Ministry of Internal Affairs	42.0	39.9
British South Africa police	48.0	55.6
Ministry of Roads	7.5	6.0
Ministry of works	5.1	—
Treasury for call ups	17.00	48.213
Law and order	—	1.17

In conclusion, it is possible to state that the Rhodesian economy is at a very low ebb in many vital fields. There are four factors that lie behind the present economic difficulties — the increasing cost of the war, the inability to sell abroad, shortage of foreign currency and skilled manpower. There are no prospects for improved economic situation, at least

for the foreseeable future. If anything (by the year's end) economic forecasts show that the economy will be in bad shape indeed.

In real terms, the new Zimbabwe administration in the future will run into real problems, if it is to strive for the satisfaction of the real aspirations of the black majority.

## CONDEMNING RHODESIAN AGGRESSION

### The Secretariat of the All India Peace and Solidarity

The latest Rhodesian aggression against Zambia following the earlier attacks on Mozambique and Botswana are not at all surprising or unexpected. At the much trumpeted talks with the so-called internal leaders, the illegal Smith regime had made a sham show of signing a constitutional agreement supposedly leading to black majority rule while

it retained all the levers of real power. The main purpose, of course, was to bypass the true representative of the freedom-fighters and the people of Zimbabwe, namely the Patriotic Front, which is supported by all the Frontline States in Southern Africa and the O.A.U. as a whole. The military attacks on the Frontline States is in the same vein to deter them from their consistent support for the Patriotic Front and the armed struggle it is leading.

The All-India Peace and Solidarity Organisation while strongly condemning the racist Rhodesian regime for committing its latest criminal act

of aggression against Zambia, reiterates its total support for the people of Zimbabwe in their struggle for independence and African majority rule under the leadership of the Patriotic Front. The AIPSO also demands that the U.N. Security Council presently considering the Zimbabwe situation and hearing the leaders of the Patriotic Front, take effective action to prevent the Smith regime from taking such aggressive action and work out procedures for the earliest transfer of power from the illegal white regime to the Patriotic Front, the true legitimate representative of the people of Zimbabwe.

# THE PROBLEM IN SOUTHERN AFRICA – RHODESIA IN PARTICULAR – NICOSIA, CYPRUS

Mr Chairman,  
Comrades,

I am grateful for the opportunity to open the debate on the contentious issue of my part of the world.

The problem in Southern Africa is simply one of the remnants of colonialism bolstered and buttressed by the Western powers. In S.Africa the white settlers intend to retain political power for all time while sublimating the natural desire of the African people to rule themselves or enjoy political power by providing them with political crumbs that go by the euphemistic name of Bantustans. These Bantustans are outstanding examples of the refusal by the white settlers in that country to accept majority rule and to give genuine independence to the African people.

In Namibia the intentions of the white settlers are the same: to create a huge Bantustan – a beggar state that is permanently subservient to S. Africa and perpetually dependent upon her for sustenance and survival.

Similar intentions to create a Bantustan in S.Rhodesia where white settlers will continue to retain political power through chiefs and puppet Africans, are distinctly visible. The white settlers are not prepared to lose their political power and



By  
W. D. MUSARURWA



perquisites. All that they want to do is to change their colour, to change their tactics and to manipulate the situation in order to ensure the retention and perpetuation of their minority political power through the back door.

The so-called internal agreement which was signed in Rhodesia on March 3, by one African Chief, two African clergymen on one side, and Mr Smith on the other, provides a splendid example of white settler manipulation of politically desperate and naive Africans in order to achieve white settler purposes — the retention of political power by indirect rather than direct means.

In order to make myself intelligible let me begin at the beginning: the internal talks which gave birth to the internal agreement were initiated by Mr Ian Smith after he had rejected the Anglo-American proposals and refused to attend a cease-fire conference convened by Britain and America which had been scheduled to be held in Malta on 16th November, 1977. The refusal by Mr Smith to attend the conference killed the whole idea stone-dead.

After this hiving off from the Anglo-American proposals, Mr Smith, in spite of the fact that he had no authority or legal standing, proceeded to convene his own conference: and for this he hand-picked the Africans with whom to negotiate and settle the problem. He announced that Africans who would be allowed to attend the conference had:

1. to be moderates,
2. to denounce what he called (and calls) terrorism and terrorists.

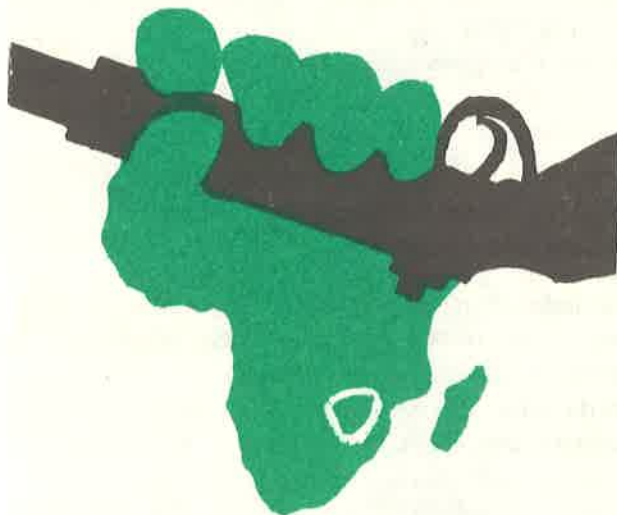
It was quite clear that Smith did not want the presence of the Patriotic Front (the movement prosecuting the war) at this conference, since he knew very well that such conditions would be regarded as absurd by the Patriotic Front and be dismissed with the contempt they deserved, and he knew he could not manipulate the Patriotic Front.

It was interesting to note that before starting the talks Mr Smith announced that his paramount objective in starting the talks was to end the war which, he said, was claiming the lives of 200 people every week, and yet went ahead to negotiate with Africans who were irrelevant to the war and were incapable of stopping it since they were not involved in it.

The war could only be ended by talking to the people who were fighting it from the other side — and these were (are) the Patriotic Front leaders.

There is no alternative to the ending of the war and the mending of the broken peace. It is a basic principle of any war situation that if you want peace, you must talk with your foes, and not your friends, let alone your stooges.

All that Mr Smith needed to do to lend credibility to his conference and to prove that it could deliver the goods was to manipulate the mass media in the country, with the willing and active connivance of the Western press in order to create the false impression that:



1. Bishop Muzorewa had majority African support, even if no test, let alone a scientific test, had been made to arrive at this fallacious conclusion.
2. Chief Chirau commanded the support of the Africans in the rural areas; again not an iota of proof could be advanced to substantiate the absurd claim.
3. Rev. Sithole commanded the support of the guerilla-fighters, even if it was and is well known that he had been rejected by his ZANU guerilla-fighters who had taken Mr Robert Mugabe as their leader in his place, and that he, in turn, had denounced them as "terrorists" to meet Mr Smith's condition for participation in the internal talks.

But it was obvious to the African people and to objective observers that Mr Smith's conference was never intended to give majority rule and independence to the African people, but merely to manipulate the African people whom he had carefully chosen to negotiate with and give the shadow of majority rule and independence while retaining the substance.

The test was and is the simple and pertinent question: if Mr Smith seriously intended to give real majority rule and independence, why did he hive off from the Anglo-American proposals and conference which had the same objective? Why did he prefer his own conference to that convened by the British and the Americans?

The outcome of the internal talks has confirmed what we had foreseen. The so-called internal agreement shows quite clearly that Mr Smith wanted to give the shadow of majority rule and retain the substance. In other words, he has given majority rule with the left hand and has taken it with the right.

In order to prove the point let me get to brass tacks:

According to the agreement there will be 28 whites and 72 blacks in a parliament of 100 members in an independent Zimbabwe. The 28 white members will constitute a blocking mechanism — that is, they will have power to veto any legislation by the black Government which they think is not in the interest of the white settlers as a separate privileged group. In other words, the Black Government elected by the majority people in the country, will not be able to do the will of its electors. This means that the African Government will not be able to repeal such an evil law as the Land Tenure Act which divides land equally between 7 million Africans and 250,000 white settlers, which is a great source of racial bitterness in the country. Is it majority rule where a government elected by the people is not able to do the will of its electors, but the will of a small minority? Such is not majority rule as it is known the world over; such is not independence, let alone sovereignty as it is known the world over.

Furthermore the agreement constitutionalises apartheid (racial discrimination) by the act of establishing two racial voters' rolls, viz:

1. There is an exclusively white roll to elect 20 white members of parliament;
2. There is a common roll to elect 72 black members and 8 white members who will be picked from a list of 16 candidates nominated by the Rhodesian Front.

As the above shows, whites will have two votes each, because in addition to electing their own members of parliament, they are entitled to vote for African members of parliament, while Africans are not allowed to vote for any of the 20 white members of parliament. This exagger-

ated value placed on white citizens of our country, is a source of genuine grievance among the African people and it, like the separate voters' rolls, emphasises the separateness of the people of our country on the basis of skin pigmentation, and this is detrimental to the building of a nation and its integration. The whites will have 28 per cent representation in parliament and yet their population ratio is only 4 per cent. The Africans who are fighting and dying for Zimbabwe cannot be expected to accept such palpable injustice.

According to the agreement whites are going to be in full control of the Government during the interim period, and they are going to be in effective control of the machinery of government (though from behind) for at least ten years after the attainment of independence. The only difference is that they will control from the back on the fashion of the donkey-cart driver rather than from the front as they are doing now in the interim period.

The agreement entrenches a justiciable Bill of Rights and the independence of the judiciary. In a normal situation where all things are equal a justiciable Bill of Rights is most acceptable, but any Bill of Rights should be judged not only by its content but also by its intention. The proposed Bill of Rights is negated by the fact that it intends to entrench special rights and the artificial privileges that the whites presently enjoy.

Under normal circumstances, the idea of the independence of the judiciary and security of tenure for judges, is the proper thing, but given the fact that the judiciary in Rhodesia has been used as an instrument for the effective suppression of African nationalism, and given the fact the judges have been used as willing instruments for giving legal status to the illegal Smith regime, and for jailing, or sentencing to death and executing thousands of freedom-fighters, the idea becomes morally repugnant to the African people.

The idea could only be acceptable to the African people if it were contingent upon the restructuring of the "judiciary to reflect the wishes and feelings of the majority and the removal of those elements in it that have been used to support and buttress illegality. In the eyes of the African people and of any objective observers, the judiciary in our country has been and is highly and openly partial, particularly in cases involving African nationalists and freedom-fighters. It has been, and is, part and parcel of Smith's oppressive and murderous machinery against the African people.



One of the guarantees for the white minority entrenches civil service positions in the constitution, and this includes the army, the police, the judiciary, the prison service and the Public Service Board. In practical terms, this means, the entrenchment of the present white incumbents in their respective civil service positions. This necessarily results in the retention of the whole civil service, which is presently almost exclusively white, in its present form which is unacceptable to Africans.

The real essence of any government lies in its control of the instruments of power — which are the army, the police force and the civil service, but these instruments, according to the agreement, will remain in the hands of their present incumbents for at least ten years after the attainment of majority rule and independence, supposedly on 31st December, 1978.

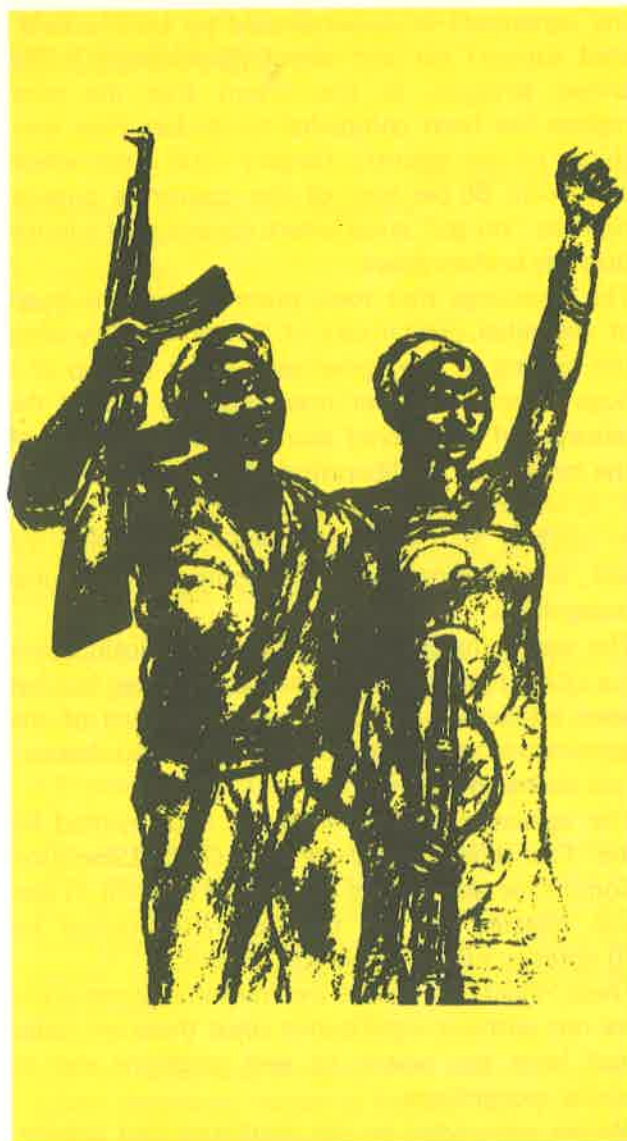
I say "for at least ten years" advisedly, because the entrenched white guarantees will not end automatically at the expiration of ten years. The agreement stipulates that at the end of ten years a commission shall be set up to determine whether the white guarantees should continue or not. The Commission is to be led by a judge of the High Court, one of those whose positions are entrenched in the constitution.

Is it realistic to expect that such a judge will recommend that his position and that of his fellow-white judges be unentrenched? Such an expectation is extremely naive and born of an extreme ignorance of human nature and the principle of self-preservation.

The entrenchment of the positions of the white incumbents in the army and the police ensures that there will never be any democratic alteration of the constitution in response to the popular will of the people, except with the consent of at least 6 whites out of the 28.

As far as the Patriotic Front, is concerned and as the objective situation reveals, the agreement signed on March 3, 1978, is just an agreement. It is not a settlement and does not, by any stretch of the imagination, constitute a settlement. The fact is that the problem in Zimbabwe has been militarised, and any talks designed to settle the problem but which ignore this vital fact, are as unrealistic as they are a futile indulgence.

A settlement of the Rhodesian problem means the ending of the raging war and the mending of the broken peace. This can only be achieved when those who are locked up in combat — the Patri-



otic Front on the one hand, and the British with the Rhodesian Front on the other — decide to confront each other at a negotiating table and hammer out a peace plan. Only such a plan, emanating out of such a confrontation by belligerents, can constitute a settlement, and no other. The agreement is regarded as a betrayal of the liberation struggle by the African masses who back the struggle to the hilt and form its rock base. For their support they are daily being shot dead on sight as "curfew-breakers" or as "terrorist collaborators" or as "running with and actively assisting terrorists"; or they are hanged, or imprisoned, or detained, or herded in their thousands in concentration camps which are euphemistically called "protected villages".

The hostility of the Zimbabwe masses towards

the agreement is demonstrated by their accelerated support for and direct involvement in the armed struggle, to the extent that the rebel regime has been compelled to declare over two-thirds of the country (largely rural areas which constitute 85 per cent of the country's population) as "no go" areas where normal civil administration has broken down.

The bombings that took place right in the heart of the rebel capital city of Salisbury a day after the signing of the agreement is but the tip of a huge iceberg of bitter mass hostility against the betrayal of the sacred sacrifices and suffering of the masses for the liberation of their country.

It is important to note that the agreement failed to achieve all its three objectives — ending the war; ending sanctions; and winning international recognition.

The war being prosecuted by the Patriotic Front (i.e. ZAPU and ZANU) is not only raging but has been intensified further since the signing of the agreements, resulting in more deaths and destruction in the country.

The agreement was condemned and rejected by the Frontline States, by the OAU Liberation Committee and by the Ministerial Council. It was also rejected by the UN Security Council by 10 votes to nil, with five abstentions.

These rejections by the international community are not without significance since these are states that have the power to end sanctions and to confer recognition.

We are astounded by the vacillating and ambivalent posture of the British Government to the agreement. She is hunting with the hounds and running with the hares, to a point where she is beginning to lose confidence in her own proposals, the Anglo-American proposals which the Patriotic Front has accepted as a basis for discussion.

To us the choice for Britain is a simple one: She has to choose between legality and illegality; between the rebels and those fighting the rebels; between criminals and policemen fighting to bring the criminals to book. But she seems incapable of seeing the distinction.

The fact that Bishop Muzorewa and Rev. Sithole have joined the regime does not change its rebel and illegal nature. There have always been Africans in the regime — in Parliament, in the Senate and in the Cabinet, chiefs Chirau and Ndiweni having been some of the members of the cabinet. The short and the long of it, is that Bishop

Muzorewa and Rev. Sithole have joined UDI and illegality and they are now part and parcel of the illegal and oppressive set up that is shooting and killing Africans and which the African people are waging a war against.

They were sworn to office in terms of the illegal Republican Constitution of 1969, by a man who forcibly removed the Governor, the Queen's representative, and they swore allegiance to the laws of Rhodesia under which Africans are being discriminated against, detained, tortured, persecuted against and hanged.

The British Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary Dr. David Owen's declarations that if the enlarged illegal regime held elections to ratify itself, Britain will recognise it, is as dangerous and as indiscreet as the former Prime Minister Harold Wilson's statement just before UDI that if Smith declared an illegal independence, Britain would not use military action to kill the rebellion. This was an act of conniving at, if not directly supporting, the rebellion. It had the effect of not only encouraging but also urging Smith to go ahead with his UDI which has claimed and is claiming the lives of thousands of people both black and white.

In a war-ravaged country where guerrillas are controlling about two-thirds of the country the "if" set by Dr. Owen for recognising the regime, is an obvious mirage, but since this is a target and a challenge for the regime, Smith is going to pursue a ruthless course in his desperate chase for a mirage and in the process more people are going to be killed and more property destroyed.

In short, what I am trying to say here is that in our war situation elections are not possible — let alone free, fair and democratic elections.

Britain must act correctly. She holds the key to a peaceful solution of the problem in our country. Expediency and lack of resoluteness on her part can spark off a conflagration that will consume the entire Southern Africa, with all the attendant consequences.

The Patriotic Front leaders are not war-mongers. They want peace. They have accepted Anglo-American proposals as a basis for discussion, and they are willing and ready to attend a conference convened by Britain. But as is well known, the enlarged illegal regime in Salisbury has refused to attend such a conference; what alternative have the Patriotic Front leaders, but to fight on until reason on the part of Smith and his African puppets is restored to its seat?





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

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

*The Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole participated in this "Indaba" against the ruling of the National Democratic Party then, — the Peoples' Party. On the 24th of September, 1977, history repeated itself.*

*The Reverend Sithole, himself now, convened a Salisbury meeting of leaders of all walks of life to give advance endorsement to the British "proposals".*

*His meeting even called upon the proposed Resident Commissioner to use UN troops to quell what he called factional fighting. Which factions? Whose agent is Ndabaningi?*

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

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## REV. SITHOLE'S LETTER TO DR. OWEN

19th February 1978

The Secretary of State for Foreign and  
Commonwealth Affairs,  
Dr. David Owen,  
Foreign Office,  
London

Dear Dr. Owen,

I am writing you this letter to bring to your attention certain attitudes on your part which do not in any way help us to solve the problem which had bedevilled our country for the last 13 years.

1. There is an unfortunate tendency on your part to regard the externally based Patriotic Front (P.F.) which has been massively rejected by the people of our country, as though Zimbabwe began and ended in the P.F. when, in fact, it begins and ends in the people.
2. The Conference you held at Malta without inviting other parties involved in the effort to find a solution to the 13 year old problem facing Zimbabwe, gave the unfortunate impression that you were conspiring against those you did not invite but favouring those you invited.
3. The two documents emerging from that most unfortunate conference tended to indicate that you proceeded from false assumptions and that you took little note of the decisive reality of the internal settlement talks currently going on in Salisbury.
4. You seem to give the unfortunate impression that those who make Wild Military Claims bearing no material relation to the political and military situation in Zimbabwe, call the tune to which everyone else in Zimbabwe should dance, and thus further giving us the unfortunate impression that you subordinate the democratic principle to the military principle, then, in fact, the latter should be supportive of the former as the people of Zimbabwe would have it.
5. You do not appear to be sufficiently appreciative of the fact that what is important in our situation is the Blacks, and Whites, Asians and Coloureds who live there. You seem to devote more energies to a reconciliation between what you want done and what the P.F. wants. What is more important is not what the P.F. or any other organisation wants, but what the people of Zimbabwe want.

6. You appear to belittle and almost disregard the tentative agreement resulting from the current internal settlement talks. We think that such an attitude cannot be justified on any moral and democratic grounds, and cannot help us to solve the present problem and to effect a reconciliation between ourselves and Britain.

In the light of the above analysis of our impressions of you, and in the interest of solving the problem which has bedevilled this country for the last 13 years, and in the interest of establishing a free, independent and sovereign state of Zimbabwe, I plead with you to take full cognizance of the following points emerging from the current internal settlement talks;

1. That for the first time, the Whites since 1890 have conceded the principle of majority rule on the basis of one man, one vote.
2. That blacks and whites in Zimbabwe are coming to terms with one another on their own initiative.
3. That an agreement has been reached between blacks and whites to effect a transfer of power from the white minority to the majority.
4. That blacks and whites in Zimbabwe have agreed in principle to integrate their two opposing fighting forces to form the new National Army of Zimbabwe.

That the leaders, on a temporary basis, have agreed that in a house of 100 there shall be 72 representatives, and that 28 shall be whites, and thus the black leaders, in effect have purchased the independence of their country with

28 white seats, and thus have prevented the further loss of thousands of lives for the next ten years.

It is extremely important, Dr. Owen, that you view the present effort to solve the problem internally in the context of the people of Zimbabwe as a whole, and not in that of the Patriotic Front which has openly declared its unequivocal opposition to free elections and its determination to destroy the ballot box without which democracy cannot be born. You should constantly bear in mind that the Patriotic Front has neither political nor military standing with the people of Zimbabwe and their fighting forces, and that the only decisive realities in the present situation of Zimbabwe are ZANU and ZAPU, both of which reject the mythical P.F. After all, the P.F. only began in September, 1976, but the armed struggle currently going on inside Zimbabwe began in 1966, and the supposed relationship between the P.F. and the armed struggle is simply non-existent except in fictitious terms.

I would strongly appeal to you, Dr. Owen, to note that any realistic solution to the problem facing Zimbabwe must be Zimbabwe-Centred and not P.F.-Centred. The co-leaders of the P.F. are welcome to participate in the affairs of our country before, during and after the elections, but, like everybody else in Zimbabwe, no special place should be made for them. Like everyone else, they must get involved in the terms of the agreement resulting from the internal settlement terms and not on their own terms otherwise a wrong and dangerous precedent is set as such a precedent could hardly serve the practical interests of our country.

Yours sincerely,  
PRESIDENT





# SUMMARY REPORT OF THE SITUATION OF REFUGEES IN ZAMBIA AND BOTSWANA

By  
Terence Ranger

I spent five weeks in Zambia this Easter. During this time I met the representatives of the International Red Cross; the United Nations High Commission for Refugees; and the Zambian Council of Churches. From

them I learnt the present state of refugee relief. I also discussed the broader situation with many Zimbabweans and read the local press. The following account is based on these sources.

There are currently, as of the end of April, 8,700 Zimbabwean refugees in

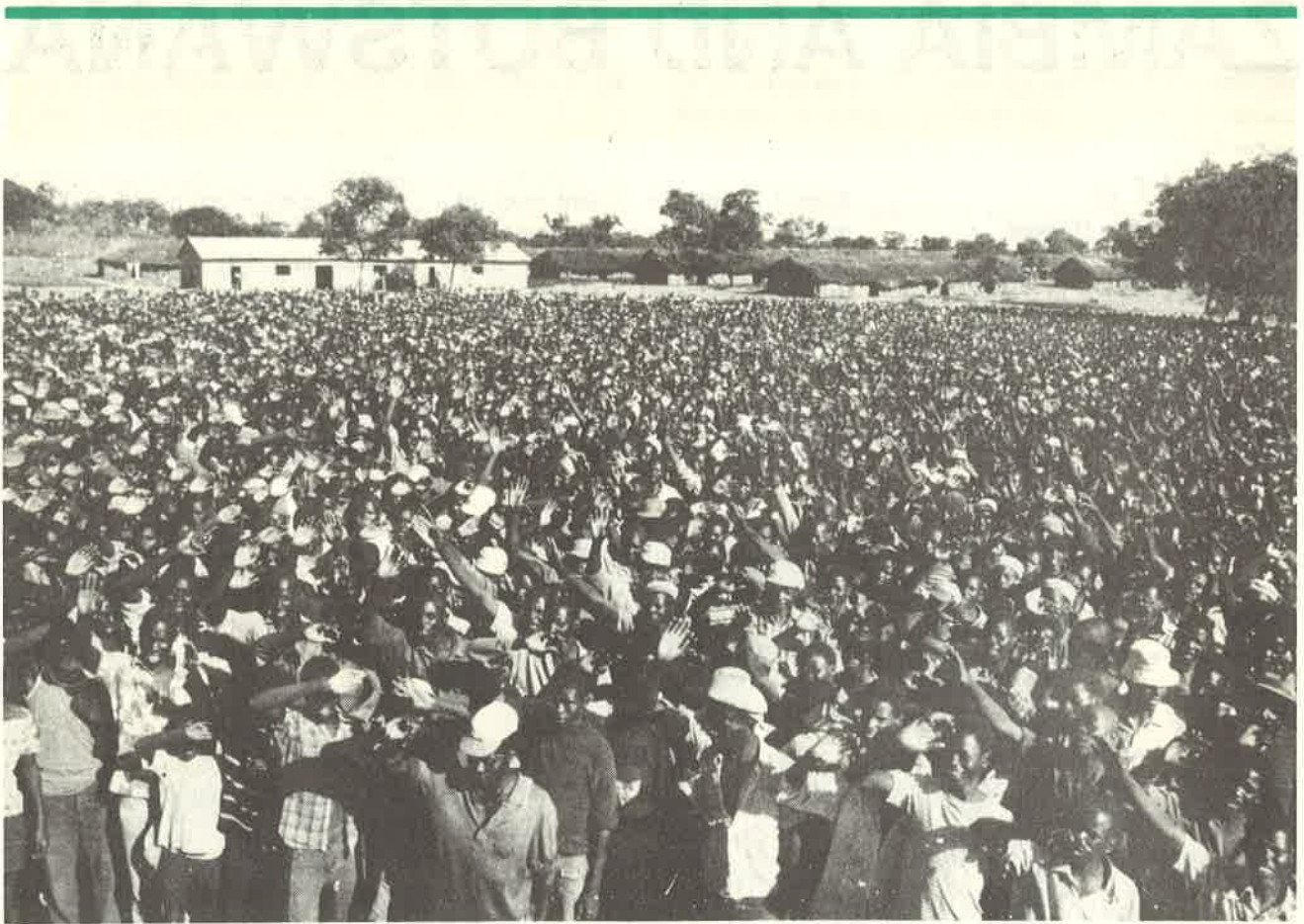
Botswana and an estimated 35,000 in Zambia. (The United Nations Commission says that it can account for 25,000 but there are undoubtedly many more. Joshua Nkomo says that he expects 40,000 total in a few weeks). These numbers are a great increase over the figures for six months ago. A striking feature of the



numbers is the high proportion of young children involved; especially young children unaccompanied by their parents. In camps in the vicinity of Lusaka there are some 13,000 boys and girls between the ages of 10 and 14 – 6,000 girls in the Victory Camp, where there is a United Nations school; 3,000 boys in another camp; and some 4,000 juveniles in the 'transit' camp. Other young people are among the

improbable; certainly no-one need abduct any children for a long time yet! It is all ZAPU and the international agencies can do to feed and clothe the ones they have already.

In fact the situation of these refugees, and once again especially the children, has become increasingly serious. In Botswana the 8,700 refugees are concentrated at a single camp, Selebi Pikwe, built to cater



8,700 refugees in Botswana. The presence of these refugees, and in particular of the youngsters, is a matter of some controversy; the parties to the internal settlement allege that they have been 'abducted' and call on international agencies to 'repatriate' them. It is alleged that children have been abducted in order to be sent to Cuba for indoctrination and military training. The sheer numbers involved make this highly

for a thousand. (The small camp at Francistown is now closed for alterations; a third camp is still under construction). In Zambia there is a serious problem of feeding and clothing. Refugees, including the children, are provided with food by the World Food Organisation, but they offer only mealie meal, with no fruit, vegetables or meat. ZAPU was given land by the Zambian government and seeds, fertilisers and equipment by



various agencies to grow supplementary food for the refugees and especially for the children. But the rains have been heavier and more continuous this year in Zambia than ever before in recorded history and the plantings have been washed away. Food is going to be very short in Zambia as a whole this year and the diet of the refugees remains very inadequate. Moreover, the rains are being followed by an unusually early

the children and not rely on international aid alone.

On the strictly medical side, it seems that the two ZAPU doctors are managing to control epidemic by dint of tremendously hard work. UNICEF, the Red Cross and other organisations have sent drugs, and a recent Red Cross medical team report that the greatest need is not drugs or equipment but further



and sharp cold season; the children need blankets. UNICEF, which is deeply involved in seeking to assist the child refugees, has recently sent 15,000 blankets, and the Red Cross is committed to providing 10,000 more, but an estimated 40,000 are needed. Because of all this, Joshua Nkomo made an appeal on Sunday, April 17th, that all Zimbabweans living in Zambia should seek to provide food and clothing for

trained personnel and public health and preventative measures in the camps. In short, in Zambia the health needs are more for improved diet and clothing and public health measures than for drug kits.

In Botswana the medical situation is better than it was six months ago, at least in terms of the medical personnel now available. Six months ago there was no-one exclusively involved in refugee health care. Today the

Red Cross is employing two Botswana nurses and a cleaner at the clinic in Selebi Pikwe and a Zimbabwean nurse at the clinic/hut at Francistown. There is currently a Red Cross medical team consisting of a nurse and doctor based for three months at Selebi Pikwe. Their task is to inoculate all refugees before they are flown on to Zambia; to carry out preventative and curative medicine at the camps; and to report on longer term necessities. There, too, there are apparently enough drugs available and the main problem is rather one of diet, clothing and above all accommodation.

The Red Cross urges, however, that the main priority of all is the plight of the rural people inside Rhodesia-Zimbabwe itself, which they say is worse than that of the refugees.

Especially in the protected villages, people are suffering badly from malnutrition and medical services in the rural areas have fallen away drastically. Hence the International Red Cross have sent in three medical teams, a doctor and a nurse in each; they operate their own plane which flies these teams to the protected villages; they have ability to travel anywhere within the country and to do so without government escort; and since their involvement was especially invited by Mugabe and Nkomo, they operate with reasonable security.

Meanwhile in Lusaka the Christian Council of Zambia is working for what are called 'urban refugees', that is to say refugees who have managed to remain outside the camps. They

seek to make a maintenance allowance until such time as the refugees can find a job. They especially need gifts of clothing and will accept earmarked funds.

The British Government has recently made a grant of £240,000 to Christian Care which looks after detainees and their families inside Rhodesia. While I was in Zambia they made a presentation to the Victory school of just over £1,000 value. This was accepted but with a good deal of understandable resentment as quite inadequate in face of the scale of the need. People interested in the whole question should do what they can to urge upon the Government large-scale support for the Red Cross and United Nations appeals for Southern Africa. Other addresses to which relevant support can be sent:



We regret to announce the death in action of one of our most dedicated Comrade-in-arms, Comrade Alfred Nikita Mangena, commander of ZAPU – ZIPRA Forces.

He gave his life to fight and remove the evil system in Zimbabwe, the land of his birth. Full text and biography to follow in the next issue.



## SMITH'S HOSTAGES: POLITICAL PRISONERS IN RHODESIA

going guerilla training in January 1975. In July 1975 the State withdrew charges and he is believed to be detained.

ZHOU, Gabriel—(Where held unknown) (D) Charges of recruiting persons for guerilla training were withdrawn by the State in the early part of 1976, and he was detained.

ZHOYA, J.M.—Wha Wha (D)

ZHUWARARA, Vitalis—Khami (C)  
A former junior official of the ANC at the time of its formation, he was sentenced to 12 years in late December 1971.

ZIKHALI, Colman—Khami (C)

ZIKHALI, Michael—Khami (C)

Serving life imprisonment.

ZIKHALI, Norman—Wha Wha (D)

The ANC Bulawayo District Treasurer, detained in July 1973.

ZIMBANGINJE, Simon—Khami (C)

ZINDI, Ferayi—(Where held unknown) (C)

Sentenced to 2 years by a Special Court at Umtali in June 1976 for failing to report the presence of guerillas in the Inyanga district.

ZINDI, Onias Nhombe—Wha Wha (D)

ZINDI, Stephen—(Where held unknown) (C)

He was sentenced with his brother Ferayi to 2 years by a Special Court at Umtali in June 1976 for failing to report the presence of guerillas in the Inyanga district.

ZINDI, Tera—Wha Wha (D)

ZINGUWO, D—Umtali

ZINHU, Danisa—(Where held unknown) (C)

Sentenced to 8 years in September 1975 for attempting to undergo guerilla training.

ZINJEKE, Zwirebo—Khami (C)

ZINYEMBA, Rhodwell—Wha Wha (D)

ZINYEMBA, P.R (36)—Chikurubi (C)

Serving a 15-year sentence.

ZINZOU, Johnson—Wha Wha (D)

ZIOME, Mutenuwemhamo S—Wha Wha (D)

ZIYACHECHA, Washington—(Where held unknown) (C)

A bus conductor, sentenced to 6 years for failing to report the presence of guerillas in the Chipinga area. 2 years were suspended by the Appeal Court in June 1976.

ZIYENGWA, T.N—(Where held unknown)

ZONDANI, Sandi—(Where held unknown) (C)

Formerly employed by 'Ma's Luck Mine' Urungwe TTL, sentenced to 8½ years (4 suspended) by Special Court in September 1976 for failing to report the presence of guerillas.

ZONDIWA, Luke—Khami (C)

ZOROMEDZA, Manveck—Wha Wha (D)

ZUAUYA, M—(Where held unknown) (D)

ZULU, Cephas—Wha Wha (D)

ZULU, S. Godfrey—Khami (C)

Serving a 20-year sentence.

ZUNGU, Redfani—Wha Wha (D)

ZUZE, Benjamin Jonas—Wha Wha (D)

ZUZE, Kenneth—Sowe New Village (R)

Formerly detained at Wha Wha and now restricted at Sowe Protected Village.

ZUZE, Sisten—Khami (C)

ZVAHWEDZA, Simon M—Wha Wha (D)

ZVAREVAMAMBO, Tozowawepi—(Where held unknown) (C)

Sentenced to 4 years by a Special Court at Umtali in June 1976 for failing to report the presence of guerillas in the Inyanga district. 2½ years were suspended on appeal in September 1976.

ZVIKARAMBA, Bobbin Shame—Gwelo (D)

Previously served a sentence at Khami.

ZVINAVASHE, Stephen Musungwe—Gwelo (D)

In March 1976 he was charged under the Prisons Act with assaulting a prison officer, refusing a medical examination and making a false allegation against the prison officer. He was convicted on each count, but in April 1976 the first count was set aside on appeal and the sentence reduced to 8 weeks hard labour.

ZVOGBO, Abisai Jones M—Wha Wha (D)

Detained after serving a 4-year sentence.

ZVOURERE, John—Wha Wha (D)

ZWANGOBANI, Didizela—(Where held unknown) (D)

Sentenced to 6 years in September 1975 for attempting to undergo guerilla training.

ZWANGOBANI, Lucas—Gwelo

ZWAWEDZA, Timothy—(Where held unknown) (C)

Sentenced to 8 years in April 1975.

## CORRIGENDA

CHONGO, Rotani (30)—Wha Wha (D)

Partially paralyzed in his right hand and left leg.

CHORUWA, John—(Where held unknown)

CHOTO, Sonny—Khami (C)

CHTONGO, Siriro—Wha Wha (D)

CHUMA, Kufakunesu—Salisbury (D)

Recently transferred from Wha Wha.

CHUMA, Sainet—Khami (C)

Serving 18 years.

GONDO, James—(Where held unknown) (D)

Awaiting trial in September 1976 on charges of assisting guerillas.

HLAHISI, Joseph—(Where held unknown) (D)

Awaiting trial in September 1976 on charges of assisting guerillas.

HAMADZIRIPI, Mathew (23)—(Where held unknown) (C)

Sentenced to 9 years by Special Court at Umtali in September 1976 for failing to report the presence of guerillas.

KANOKENDA, Maziya—Wha Wha (D)

First arrested in 1960 and detained almost continuously since then. Married with 8 children.

MABHENA, Welshman—(Where held unknown) (D)

Sentenced to 3 years in 1962, on completion of which in 1965 he was detained at Gonakudzingwa. Was released in January 1975 and rearrested in September 1976.

MADUNA, Chief Vezi—Wha Wha (D)

Arrested in June 1976 on suspicion according to the Minister of Law and Order of "involvement in subversive activities". The ANC (Nkomo) had been organising a meeting at his kraal in the Filabusi district, Matabeleland.

MANDARA, Paul—(Where held unknown) (D)

Detained awaiting trial in September 1976 on charges of recruiting persons for guerilla training.

MANHOKWE, Chibwe (60)—(Where held unknown) (C)

Sentenced to 3 years at a retrial in March 1976 for failing to report the presence of guerillas in the Gokwe area. (See DAKA, Jeremiah)

MPOFU, Findo—Wha Wha (D)

Detained since at least 1967 and released around December 1974. He was arrested in Bulawayo in May 1976, on the eve of his departure with Mr. Joshua Nkomo on a tour of African and European countries.

MPOFU, Rex—(Where held unknown)

Appeared before a Special Court in Bulawayo in August 1976 on charges of assisting guerillas and failing to report their presence.

MUNYARADZI, Oliver (42)—(Where held unknown) (D)

Rhodesia's first African surgeon, was reported to have been arrested in August 1976 and is currently detained.

MUSEKIWA, Musoro (55)—(Where held unknown) (C)

Sentenced to 2½ years at a retrial in March 1976 for failing to report the presence of guerillas in the Gokwe area. (See DAKA, Jeremiah)

MUSHANGWE, Jotham—(Where held unknown) (D)

Awaiting trial in September 1976 on charges of assisting guerillas.

MUTASA, Aiden—Khami (C)

Sentenced to 10 years in 1975.

MUTASA, Chidukai (70)—(Where held unknown) (C)

Sentenced to 18 months (9 suspended) at a retrial in March 1976 for failing to report the presence of guerillas in the Gokwe area. (See DAKA, Jeremiah)

NDLOVU, Millarick—Khami (C)

NJANI, Teruva—(Where held unknown) (D)  
Detained in December 1975 on completion of an unknown prison term.

SIBELO, Cosmas Ngwenya—Khami (C)

VAMBE, Felix—Salisbury (C)

Sentenced to 8½ years in December 1974.

ZIYENGWA, N.J—Wha Wha (D)

Detained in 1975. Married with 8 children.

### Unnamed prisoners

In addition to those named above, many Zimbabweans whose names are withheld by the state are known to have been convicted and sentenced. Over the period June 1975 to September 1976 for example, 98 unnamed convicted persons were reported in the press to have received prison terms on political charges.

### Details uncertain

The names of 150 people known to have been detained, detained awaiting trial or serving prison sentences within the last five years, but whose continued imprisonment cannot be confirmed, have also been excluded from the list. It is possible that many of these are still in prison; others may have been released, possibly into restriction.

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GDR, 116 Berlin



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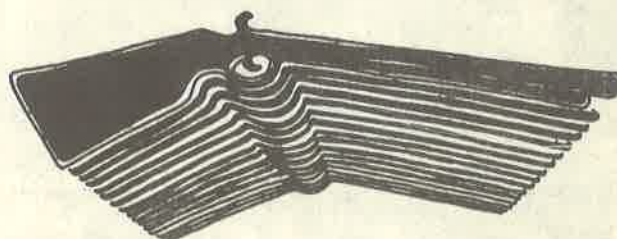
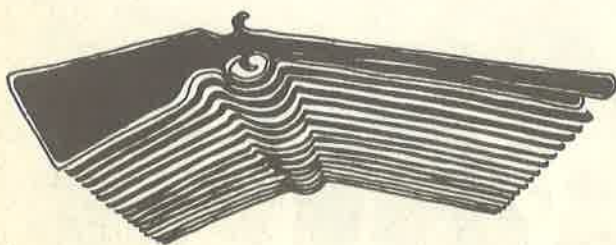
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