

# Zimbabwe Review

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RHODESIA

Mr. Joshua Nkomo:  
President  
of ZAPU

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# Zimbabwe Review

# OUR VIEWS

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1974-76*

## TO OUR READERS

The Information and Publicity Department of the Zimbabwe African People's Union has great pleasure in informing all its members and supporters that the publication of our printed version of THE ZIMBABWE REVIEW has been resumed. This is the first issue after a long break caused by serious circumstances which, we are happy to point out, are now relegated to history.

We hope that we shall now meet all our international obligations we could not fulfil for the past three years. It is our ardent wish and hope that no development will occur again in the course of our armed revolution for Zimbabwe's freedom to cause us to plead force majeure in connection with the regular production of THE ZIMBABWE REVIEW.

**WE INVITE ALL OUR READERS TO JOIN US IN OUR PATRIOTIC MARCH EVER FORWARD TO VICTORY!**

Editor-in-Chief

## THE NEW YEAR

The year 1973 has ended. We are now in 1974. Looking back to the past year, we are proud that we did inflict a number of casualties against the enemy forces in Rhodesia in spite of the fact that we are operating with a number of physical handicaps and wants. We would be prouder than we are now, however, if we had caused the regime greater human and material damage than we did.

To mention only a few of some of the major incidents during which we played serious havoc with the enemy forces, we remind the reader of the September 27 early morning attack by Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army on 13 billets housing 42 South African troops in the Urungwe District of Zimbabwe. Very heavy casualties were inflicted on the enemy during this attack. The ZPRA suffered no loss or injuries. The following day, ZPRA patriots operating in the Binga District destroyed three supply trucks and a troop carrier in four separate mine explosions in which eight South African soldiers were killed instantly. ZPRA sustained no casualties.

On October 13, a supply truck carrying ammunition and explosives was blown up by ZPRA mines in the Victoria Falls Game Reserve. An unknown number of its passengers was killed while a few were seriously injured. The following day, a command land-rover carrying high-ranking Rhodesian and South African military officers who had gone to investigate the previous day's incident was also blown up, killing all the officers on the spot.

The above incidents are a few of the latest very successful military operations by ZPRA against the fascist troops of Ian Smith and Balthazar Johannes Vorster. The military incidents were not decisive but they had the strong effect of demoralising both the fascist armed forces and the Rhodesian dictatorship. The latter promptly stopped tourists from visiting the Mana Pools area following several land-mine explosions resulting in casualties on the enemy side in Urungwe.

It will be recalled that on January 9 Smith had unilaterally closed Rhodesian border-post along the Zambia-Rhodesia border in a futile attempt to stop Zambia from giving shelter and encouragement to Zimbabwean

freedom-fighters. Zambia's Dr. Kenneth Kaunda stood firm and told Smith through public news media that his demand was silly and downright unacceptable. Smith unilaterally reopened the posts in February, but gallant Zambia refused to resume use of the railway passing through Rhodesia to Beira and Lourenco Marques in Mocambique.

### National Duty

This was a great cause for gratitude to Zambia from Zimbabweans. Like many similar sacrifices and self-denial for our sake, Zambia deserved the deepest thanks from every Zimbabwean. We once more take this opportunity to thank all Zambians for their staunch solidarity with our cause despite the heavy losses they are sustaining in both human and economic resources. Inside Zimbabwe, 1974 began with the Smith regime still terrorising, brutalising and

### Hard Training For the Struggle



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tyrannising the African masses for their patriotic stand against oppression. The murderous regime did not relax its hangman's noose. It did not change its barbaric and bestial actions against the African masses believed to be co-operating with freedom-fighters in any manner whatsoever anywhere in the country. It intensified its dispossessive operations against Zimbabweans for allegedly helping freedom-fighters and not reporting them to the dictatorship. ZAPU would like to tell every Zimbabwean that such moves are not new in human history. There have been cases where tyrants like Smith have committed unimaginable atrocities against people to silence their voices against oppression. Some of these tyrants have committed every conceivable crime against humanity; they have pulled out tongues of their opponents, gouged out their eyes, ripped off their toe and fingernails, crushed their genitals, burnt them alive, thrown them into dens of ravenously hungry lions, shot them publicly, hanged them upside-down. None of these blood curdling measures have ever succeeded in silencing the voices of the oppressed majority. Smith's measures too never will. Zimbabweans have a duty to put matters affecting them in a correct order of priorities so that there is no confusion about what should come first. ZAPU has repeatedly told Zimbabweans that national freedom comes first and foremost to any people anywhere in the world. Everything else comes after national freedom. Where freedom has been achieved, it is the sole duty of every citizen to defend and retain it at all cost. Where it has not been achieved and is being denied, it is the bounden duty of those suffering to fight for it till it is attained. All Zimbabweans (irrespective of their academic, social, economic and any other external qualifications, attainments or possessions) have a duty to fight for Zimbabwe's freedom. The duty to free Zimbabwe is national. Individuals, as members of the nation, should shoulder it.

We call upon those of our African brothers and sisters who are working (in various capacities) for the Rhodesian regime to withdraw their labour because it is their sweat which helps to keep the white settler regime in power over the Africans.

## Full belly

Without the services of Zimbabweans who are in the regime's police force, army, district officers' centres, and those who are working as agricultural demonstrators and district messengers, the white minority regime would find it impossible to administer and exploit Zimbabwe. ZAPU calls on all Zimbabweans in the services of the regime to pull out for the sake of the freedom of the nation as a whole. It is unpardonable for young men from any part of Zimbabwe whatsoever (Sanyati, Gutu, Charter, Mkai, Mapaneni, Inyanga, Mtoko, Sipolilo, Zvimba, Mhondoro, Seke, Inyati, Mtetengwe, Ndownoye, Tjolotjo, Wankie, Manjolo, Ndanga, Sengwa, Mangwende) to be found fighting side by side with the white murderers who have dispossessed Zimbabweans of their land and livestock. ZAPU calls on these Zimbabweans to stop this folly and come forward to join ZPRRA to fight for the liberation of the entire nation so that all Zimbabweans, irrespective of colour, creed or social standing can enjoy the fruits of Zimbabwe freely under a people's government.

It has been said that those Zimbabweans working for the settler regime are doing "only a job of work" without necessarily supporting the dictatorship. This is nonsense, of course. It is nonsense because the regime's land laws, like many others, are effected by these Zimbabweans in their course of doing the so-called "job of work". Dip-tank clerks are responsible for supervising the destocking of the Africans' cattle. Soldiers are responsible for fighting their own fellow-Africans who are freedom-

fighters. The police are responsible for terrorising and tyrannising their own fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters into submission to the white settler regime. Can any person derive pride and satisfaction from all this crime against his own people? No!

ZAPU says it is more honourable to be a free man and starve to death than be a slave-buyer's messenger with a full belly. We call on all Zimbabweans walking the streets seeking employment throughout Zimbabwe to remember that there is absolutely no reason for being out in the streets when their own brothers are fighting for freedom in the hills and valleys of Zimbabwe. We call upon them to stop walking the streets and to come forward to join the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZPRA) to strike a blow for their country's freedom. Every able-bodied Zimbabwean (irrespective of sex) is needed in the front. This is the time to show love of our own country. This is the time when every Zimbabwean, with his or her heart in the right place, his or her head in a sober state, should step forward to join ZPRA.

ZAPU regards all those who support the armed revolution as patriots, all those engaged in the armed revolution as freedom-fighters, all those opposed to the revolution and are seeking personal comfort by various means as traitors to the cause.

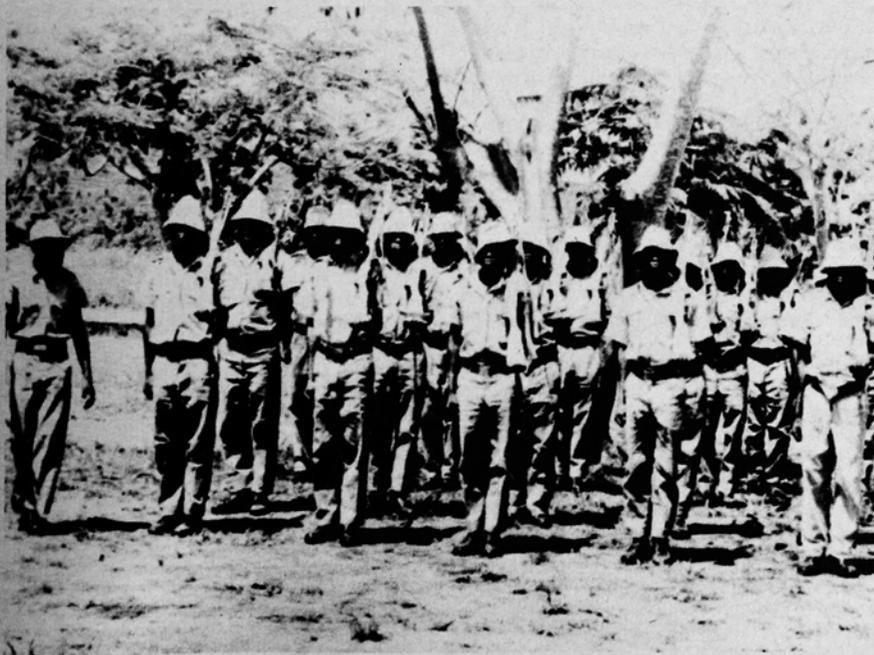
## No retreat

There has been a very erroneous tendency that freedom will come to Zimbabwe through some form of negotiations between Zimbabweans and the white minority settler regime. From 1890 up to now, there has been a great deal of pleading and appealing by the Africans to the white minority bandits. At no time have these bandits changed their course and attitude. Everyday they entrench their position over the Africans. This is plain to every honest Zimbabwean. Talking is a futile exercise to us. It gives time to the white minority regime to strengthen itself more than ever.

There are (among Zimbabweans) some people opposed to the armed struggle because, they say, it causes a lot of human suffering. They would rather ZAPU adopted a non-violent course. Many a time have Zimbabweans tried the non-violent approach through peaceful demonstrations and petitions, but as many a time have they been murdered in cold blood during such demonstrations. The armed course of action against the Rhodesian regime was adopted only after a thorough analysis of the situation had been made by ZAPU. It was found to be the only realistic and possible line to take.

We chose the armed struggle knowing very clearly that it entails a lot of dangers, suffering and unforeseen risks. But, as the only efficacious course open, it must be followed to the end, which will be freedom for Zimbabwe. We know we have a duty which we cannot transfer to any other people. It is as inalienable as the right to freedom for which we are struggling; it is a solemn duty we should all perform with dedication, determination and devotion. There is no retreat from or betrayal of this grave duty to free Zimbabwe.

### Our Duty to Free Zimbabwe



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# ZIMBABWE DAY: OCCASION FOR REDEDICA- TION

Since 1963 the African people of Zimbabwe have observed March 17 as their national day. It is an occasion for personal re-appraisal, self-examination, and re-dedication to physical participation in the revolution for the total liberation of Zimbabwe. It is a day on which all Zimbabweans of honour and with national pride recall the same day in 1897 when the gallant Zimbabwean patriot, "Captain" Makwati, led an armed contingent of freedom-fighters to over-run a settler fortification in the Mhondoro area of the country.

This year we observe Zimbabwe Day under the menacing shadow of Ian Smith's scheme to recruit a million white settlers from Europe to settle in our country. The scheme was launched at the beginning of the year with a lot of publicity by the Rhodesian settler-owned anti-African Press.

## Africans: natural owners of Zimbabwe

It came a few years after the regime launched a birth-control campaign among the five and half million African people on the false ground that if they did not control their rate of increase, the country would not be able to sustain them in future. But the white settlers, who number about 250,000, feel that their own number is too small for the country which is too small for the Africans who are the natural owners of the land!

Zimbabwe Day falls this year at a time when the Rhodesian regime has openly joined hands with its fascist allies from Portugal and the South African racists in a violently concerted bid to frustrate and foil the indigenous people's liberation struggle in Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. The evil alliance of Salisbury, Lisbon and Pretoria dates back to the days of the now defunct Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland when joint military exercises were held at regular intervals by the three armed forces.

Those exercises have now matured into daily military onslaughts against the African masses by the three fascist troops found in Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. It is too early for the world to have forgotten about the bloody massacre of innocent people of Mozambique by both Rhodesian and Portuguese forces at Wiriyamu Village. It is a daily reality that Rhodesian, Portuguese and South African forces make nocturnal incursions into Zambia to plant land-mines which have killed a score-plus people of humanist Zambia.

## Triple Alliance

We quote these facts not to remind the world and the people of Zimbabwe as such, but to highlight the practical co-operation which exists among the fascist forces of Ian Smith, Johannes Vorster, and Marcello Caetano. These forces use arms bought from

France, Italy, Britain, the United States, Belgium, West Germany and other North Atlantic Treaty Organisation's allies.

On this historic day, we make two very important calls. One is to the people of Zimbabwe, and the other is to all revolutionary forces fighting for freedom in the areas oppressed by the triple alliance of Salisbury, Lisbon and Pretoria. We call every able-bodied person among Zimbabwe's five and half million Africans to join the revolutionary forces physically today. We say for the million white settlers Smith wants to import into our country, we should have twice that number of dedicated Zimbabweans armed to free the country. We say Smith's human imports must find not only disillusion waiting for them in the mined pastures of our land, but violent revolution against them and their importers.

We re-iterate that the dirty campaign to curb the natural growth of the number of the people of Zimbabwe must be rejected without condition, but with revolutionary violence. Those of our misguided Zimbabweans who are working for this scheme are called upon to resign for the sake of their people and in the name of justice. They should realise that their services to the regime through such a dirty anti-African scheme are an unpardonable insult to their own people. Why should we help decrease the number of our people while Smith is working day and night to increase that of his white settlers? No sane, intelligent Zimbabwean can fail to see the outright folly of supporting such a campaign.

## Revolutionary solidarity - against common enemy

Our second call goes to all liberation movements faced by the triple alliance of the Rhodesian dictatorship, the Portuguese fascist regime, and the South African worshippers of racism. We feel that a time has come when the people of the areas affected ought to be made aware of their revolutionary commitment to the struggle of the whole region instead of our present micro-national attitude circumscribed by our limited political borders.

It is time we realised that our enemy is not confined to his political boundaries. His forces fight us wherever and whoever we are. They attack in Namibia, in Angola, in South Africa, in Mozambique, and in Zimbabwe. They are tied by one bond of hatred of freedom for the majorities of these countries. We ought to put our revolutionary solidarity into practicable effect by standing shoulder-to-shoulder against this one enemy. We ought to translate our progressive slogans into deeds, and co-ordinate our forces, consolidate our masses, and forge an irresistible power against our united enemy. We view these two calls with a serious hope. We re-affirm our solidarity with our Arab and Palestinian allies, and our total commitment to a genuinely people's goal.

# THE ZIMBABWE LIBERATION STRUGGLE AND INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT

The world today is getting more united or more divided depending on which side one stands in relation to the dividing line of the polarisation of international forces in the attitude taken by different countries on the all-important question of the national liberation struggle.

There are other factors such as disarmament, methods of solving territorial disputes and the question of peaceful coexistence. Picking one of them, to illustrate the point, like the question of national liberation will ultimately lead to a common result. In the main the two forces poised against each other are those fighting for the national liberation and social justice on the one hand and those seeking perpetual domination by the minority and continued exploitation of the majority on the other. In familiar terms the confrontation is between national liberation and socialism on the one hand and colonialism and imperialism on the other.

## Genuine freedom and human justice

The confrontation is not a new but the momentous gains of the national liberation and social justice. The conservative forces of colonialism and imperialism are being overtaken and are giving way to the advancing forces of the struggle for genuine freedom and human justice. The people of Zimbabwe are engaged in this march. The coordinated development of the issue of the liberation of Zimbabwe with the corresponding international support has been under focus now for over a decade. Internally the Zimbabwe liberation struggle has undergone many phases. There was the initial confrontation, a military one, in the last decade of the last century when Zimbabwean rulers took measures to eliminate the British settler regime.

Using the gun as their most effective weapon, the British managed to impose their colonial rule over Zimbabwe. At that time there was no coordinated international voice to expose and denounce colonialism. Rather the colonialists of Europe, inspired by the savage spirit of the 1885 Berlin Conference which schemed the dismemberment of Africa, were on the rampage. Those were the high-days of imperialists.

Following the lull in the military confrontation the people of Zimbabwe entered the politics of appeal to the British against seizure of land and stock and the imposition of taxation by resented rule.

## International anti-colonial spark

The British took no heed since all colonialists then acted with impunity. The international community was awakened to German fascism as the second world war broke out.

People from colonial countries, including Zimbabweans were trucked to fight in the general war against Germany. The absurd policy of equality at the death-front and white supremacy back home spelt sharply against the exploitation of the African—particularly the African ex-soldier from the battle front. Currents of struggles for national liberation began moving in various parts of the world on the clear conclusion that if German fascism could provoke unified condemnation, why should colonialism not be condemned too. An international anti-colonial spark had been ignited.

It is not suggested here that this was the sole anti-colonial spark. The pan-African movement had long begun in New York, and also in London by black African scholars. This movement proclaimed, like King Massinisa of ancient history. "Africa for the Africans."

## October Revolution: The horizons of national liberation

But by far the most dynamic event which sparked off the spirit of revolution with the widest international impact and expanded the horizons of national liberation, was the October Revolution of the Bolsheviks which led to the first Marxist state in the world, the USSR. For the first time a new state linked the success of its revolution with the extension of a policy to support national liberation struggles for the attainment of genuine freedom and social justice.

This started off an international trend in which state after state in Europe overthrew fascist and capitalist regimes, ending the exploitation of the worker and the peasant, and placing the means of production firmly under the people's control.

Not all European countries have gone socialist. Hardcore conservative and imperialist countries like Britain, France, and others did not undergo socialist revolutions but developed communist and social democratic parties.

What impact did this have on Africa? In Zimbabwe, a Worker's Movement — the Industrial and Commercial Worker's Union — sprang up in the early twenties, deriving inspiration from South Africa where the impact of the Russian Marxist revolution had made its impression

## Class struggle

The Rhodesian ICU was then propounding the concept of a class struggle in the context of developing capitalistic industrialisation. A clarification of the mechanics of capitalist exploitation was dawning. An element of international support — the philanthropic movements — deserve mention. Whilst some of them really restrained their regimes from some extreme measures, some of them were double faced and served as dopes to weaken the resistance of the colonised people.

Philanthropic bodies were of a religious character and, therefore, tended to appease than displease for a principle. In Rhodesia it was the English philanthropist Harris who gave the excuse to the British government in the late 1920s to go ahead with the enactment of the Land Apportionment Act, simply because after earning some trust of the Africans, he turned round to recommend apportionment of Zimbabwe by the settlers. The Land Apportionment Act was passed in 1930.

## New turn of events and co-ordination of support

It was, however, after the Second World War that the tide of national liberation gained greater momentum and demonstrated results, this setting a new turn of events.

The attainment of independence by Ghana under Kwame Nkrumah in 1957 sparked a flaming tide of African Nationalism and struggle for independence of nearly as deep a proportion as the effect of the Marxist-Leninist revolution in Russia.

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah also declared on Ghana's attainment of independence the fundamental principle that "Ghana's independence is meaningless as long as an inch of Africa is not free." Thus Dr. Nkrumah committed the resources of his country and his personal energy to supporting the national liberation struggles in Africa. By the same words Dr. Nkrumah summarised the latent feelings of Africa and set the pace for the future policies not only of pending free Africa, but also of a united free and independent Africa.

The African national liberation struggle was given special attention by the Organisation of African Unity at its formation in 1963. A Committee for the coordination of support of Liberation movements was set up. A special Executive Secretariat for the Committee was instituted. This is the now famous Liberation Committee of the O. A. U. based in Dar es Salaam.

The O. A. U. has virtually moved mountains to get its members to contribute their best in material, financial and political support to the liberation movements. By a string of initiatives, the O. A. U. supported by socialist and other progressive nations, has virtually changed the face of the world on the resolute stand against colonialism and in support of liberation struggle in Africa.

The O. A. U. was preceded by non-governmental organisations like the All-African Peoples' Conference initiated by Dr. Nkrumah and the Pan-African Movement for East, Central and South Africa initiated by Dr. Julius Nyerere, and the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation — a follow up — on the Bandung Conference of 1955.

AAPSO has the most impressive record of linking up and keeping the dynamism of all the anti-colonial and anti-imperialist forces. It continues to soldier on. The Secretariat is in Cairo, run by the Secretary General Youssef El Sebai.

## Colonialism: an international crime

In 1966, AAPSO took a significant move when it constituted the Organisation for the People of Asia, Africa, and Latin America OSPAAAL with headquarters in Cuba. Though OSPAAAL has had difficulty in taking shape since then, its impact is noticeable in concerted action at the international forums like the United Nations.

Many countries, in particular the socialist nations have established solidarity committees in response to AAPSO. These national committees give by far the most effective means of support to liberation movements in Africa, Asia and Latin America, in terms of quality, quantity and range.

O. A. U. initiatives at the United Nations in particular, have resulted in highlighting colonialism as an international crime, opening the way for colonialists to be denounced at all international forums, and also creating conditions for greater possibilities of assistance in every way from various governments and organisations the world over. The racists of Rhodesia, South Africa, and Portugal and the powers behind them, like Britain, the United States and France, have nowhere to hide or camouflage themselves today.

The latest most distinguished initiative of the O. A. U. was in getting the United Nations, the Scandinavian countries and the O. A. U. itself to convene an international

conference of experts on colonialism and apartheid in Southern Africa, held in OSLO from 9 to 14 April, 1973.

With the full and equal participation of the liberation movements this conference, for the first time, systematised approach and manner of assistance to liberation movements on the broadest international scale. Effects of the decisions of the conference are beginning to show. Many international organisations are now using liberation movements as the cornerstone of reference for all questions relating to the countries of respective movements. It is hoped that in 1974 or soon after, another conference by the same sponsors will be convened beyond the level of experts to obtain firmer commitment to action.

Given all these international developments in support of the liberation struggle, given the fact that in the polarisation of international forces colonialist and imperialist countries like Britain have been exposed, denounced and forced into a corner by a stoutly growing bulk of the anti-colonial and anti-imperialist forces, what are the prospects of the national liberation struggle?

## Under optimum conditions

The gains of the national liberation movements, whilst a source of satisfaction are, nonetheless, not the ultimate victory. Some African countries, taking their own historical achievements as a point of reference, often argue that they fought and achieved their independence under circumstances of minimal (if not zero) international support and yet they succeeded quicker than countries struggling now under optimum conditions of international support.

The temptation to conclude that national liberation movements are now being spoiled by this increase of international support is a great one to simple minds.

The first principle is that success of the current national liberation struggles in Africa depend almost entirely on the efforts which the liberation movement exert and the extent of the sacrifices they make.

Secondly, it must be appreciated that the nature of colonialism in South Africa, Rhodesia, Mozambique etc. is of a far more resistant kind comparatively because of the element of settlers and the intentions of the colonial power to make their last-ditch stand in these areas.

Thirdly, it should be recognized that as the anti-colonial forces bind themselves together and thrust with a greater momentum in support of the national liberation movements on one hand, the colonial and imperialist forces on the other hand also sharpen their counter-strategy using all their experience and the materials they plundered.

Fourthly, an admission must be made on both the liberation movements and their supporters that neither throws in their maximum that should be advantageous continue to be missed by both sides. Consolation with successes being achieved should be linked with a firm resolution for 1974 to cooperate on a basis of firm confrontation with reality.

Hands Gu Up Tu Approve The Decision To Embark On An Armed Struggle To Free Zimbabwe



# ZIMBABWE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

The first international preparatory Meeting for the "International Conference in Support of Zimbabwe People's struggle for Freedom and Independence" met in Aden, capital of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen 1973 and adopted the following resolution.

(1) Due to the progress of the armed revolutionary struggle in Zimbabwe in its qualitative stage, the first international Preparatory Meeting further reiterates that the Zimbabwe struggle is organically linked to the struggle of Africa, Asia and Latin-America against colonial oppression, economic exploitation and cultural subjugation.

(2) Due to the intensification of the people's revolutionary activities, the Smith regime is retaliating with the introduction and strengthening of more oppressive laws such as communal or "Collective Punishment", detentions, restrictions, tortures and murders of thousands of Africans inside Zimbabwe, which are part of the escalating colonial activities by the settler minority against the Zimbabwean people.

(3) While the International community has attempted to evolve an honest policy intended to solve the Zimbabwe problem, Britain has frustrated these attempts by pretence and intrigue with the purpose of protecting and entrenching the agent settler minority regime.

(4) This first International Preparatory Meeting calls for the recognition of the armed struggle as the only weapon chosen by the people of Zimbabwe as the solution to their struggle for independence and freedom, and, appeals to the International, National, Progressive and other democratic forces as well as governments to make the Zimbabwe International Conference a historic success.

Preparations for holding the International Conference in support of the Zimbabwe Struggle are going on amidst very encouraging response from the supporters of the liberation struggle of various persuasions all over the world.

The conveners of the conference are the Afro-Asian Solidarity Peoples' Organisation based in Cairo, Somalia — which is the venue of the conference at Mogadishu and the Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union representing Zimbabwe. Co-sponsorship to the conference is, however, open to a wide range of international and national organisations which are keen to participate at

various stages of preparation for the conference.

The conference was due to take place in mid-1973 and was postponed to an almost definite date at the end of October. This also has had to be changed very much for the better because the end of October coincided with two occasions of great importance to the liberation struggle from which it could not have been correct to detract international attention.

The World Congress of Peace Forces which took place in Moscow from the 25th to the 31st of October and the conference of Arab and African writers which was due on the 27th of October, 1973.

Considering this, ZAPU then suggested the postponement of the conference in support of the Zimbabwe struggle for a date to be fixed in 1974. The date of the Zimbabwe conference should be fixed on or before the session of the Executive Council of AAPSO in early 1974, which shall take place in Bagdad — Iraq.

The postponement of the conference to 1974 does not only give opportunity for more effective preparations for the conference but also increase chances for the participation of many more international and national organisations, representatives of popular parties and individuals of standing and influence in the respective areas in their support for the liberation struggle.

Both the AAPSO Secretariat, in Cairo, and the ZAPU provisional Headquarters in Lusaka, (Zambia) continue to receive telegrams of inquiry and of indications of desire to participate. Everyone of these peoples and organisations must be given opportunity to make their contributions on how best to promote concrete and effective support of the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe. As indicated above, responses are encouraging. To take but a few examples: The President of Tanzania, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, has accepted to send a message to the conference. President Senghor of Senegal has offered patronage to the conference. The Prime Minister of Mauritius, Dr. the Rt. Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, has also agreed to be patron and has already sent in his message of support for the conference.

The following message was received from the Secretariat of the World Peace Council, Helsinki — Finland: —

"We are most grateful for information regarding the International Conference in

support of the Zimbabwe Peoples' Struggle for Freedom and Independence. We assure you of World Peace Council's active participation in this important conference. In view of changed dates for the 'World Congress of Peace Forces' held in October in Moscow, we would be happy if the Zimbabwe conference would be postponed to a suitable date after the Congress . . ."

Considering this request and other factors the Zimbabwe International Conference has been postponed to some date in 1974 and this date will be announced as soon as it shall be fixed.

From Paris the Confederation Generale du Travail sent the following message:

„Our Trade Union Organisation, which has always supported the national liberation struggle of peoples under colonial domination and which is lined up alongside those who are fighting for the freedom of peoples and national independence has considered your invitation sympathetically and contemplates participating at the Mogadishu conference. Recently the delegation of the C.G.T. advocate therefore sending two delegates to the conference . . ."

The support message of the C. G. T. was directed to the Secretary General of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation, Youssef El Sebai, with a copy to the Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union and signed Gilbert Jullis of the International Department.

The Secretary General to the World Federation of the United Nations Associations' Horace Perera, responding to the invitation to the conference wrote,

"we are taking part in your Conference and we shall not only try our best to participate in it, but we shall also give due publicity to the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe for national independence and freedom from the racist illegal regime to which they are subject. In fact we have been conducting sustained campaign against racialism and colonialism as well as neo-colonialism for some time."

The International Organisation of Journalists, based in Prague taking a prospective view of its role regarding the conference on the Zimbabwe struggle declared:

" . . . we shall express the solidarity with the just struggle of your people and shall call upon all our Member Organisations as well as progressive journalists throughout the world to support the struggle of your people

and your organisation and to popularise the ideas voiced and the decisions made at the Mogadiscio Zimbabwe Conference."

The message was sent by H. Brauer, Secretary to the International Organisation of Journalists.

There is yet a further message from the workers: this time from the International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions. Abdel Latfi Boltia, the Secretary General of the Confederation communicated the following:

"... ICATU is pleased to participate in this conference as it considers the cause of liberty and independence anywhere, is the workers' issue all over the world. We would like to inform you that we are doing our best through our information media, in order to acquaint the people with the Zimbabwe liberation movement. No doubt that the objectives of this conference will enrich the information published about the cause of the Zimbabwe people."

The above responses to the International Conference in support of the Zimbabwe Struggle for Freedom and Independence, has carried us through a spectrum of organisations and leaders committed to the anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggle. Last but not least among these is a message to the conference by the President of the Republic of Togo, General Etienne Eyadema, in which he declares his personal support and that of the entire people of Togo for the success of the Zimbabwe liberation struggle against the settler racists in Zimbabwe. The precise text of this and other messages will be released at the appropriate moment.

It is now possible for those who have come across the information about this conference rather late to make inquiries and make preparations for participation comfortably, since it is now due in 1974. Correspondence should be directed to the addresses below. It is necessary to clarify that since this conference is in support of the Zimbabwe struggle, all forces from within Zimbabwe contributing positively to the advance of the liberation of Zimbabwe will be attending and all have been duly notified. Here we refer to organisations as ZANU, Trade Unions and other forces in Zimbabwe. The conference will open contrary to the propaganda which traditional splitists of the Zimbabwe struggle were beginning to give currency.

Since the conference is in support of the liberation struggle, participants, whether organisations or individuals, should, as much as possible meet the costs of their fares and maintenance during the conference and indeed, such organisations as can contribute to the general costs of the conference should come forward with the support. Other details on the conference are obtainable through the following addresses: —

MR. EDWARD NDLOVU,  
Deputy National Secretary,  
Z.A.P.U.,  
P. O. Box 1657,  
Lusaka, Zambia.

MR. YOUSSEF EL SEBAI,  
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# LAND IN ZIMBABWE THE RACIST APPROACH

Land in Zimbabwe, more than any other problem, is the focal point of all economic, political and social contradictions. Land in Zimbabwe does not belong to those who till it but to the few who exploit other peoples' labour. Its distribution does not reflect the numerical proportion of the population of the country. Larger part of the income from the land does not go into the pockets of those who work on it. According to the Land Tenure Act (1970) — 250,000 European settlers own much land as the 5.5 million Africans have communally.

The agrarian changes that have been pushed through by the successive settler colonial regimes have not reflected the interest of the peasants. The increase of the African population in the last 40 years has seen the population density rise in the African areas and the per capita income land ratio relatively decrease from 20 to 2.5 hectares in 1970. Should the present areas available for use by the Africans remain as they are, then the overcrowding will reach the ceiling. The paradox of all this suffering by the African is that with the pressure on land on the African areas, large estates and farms in European areas remain unoccupied and undeveloped. Indeed some land-lords (in Rhodesia) have never seen their estates and live in other continents.

It is under these conditions of pressure on land that the Smith regime decided in 1969 to scrap the Land Apportionment Act, hitherto the cornerstone for European domination and land security in Zimbabwe, and replaced it with a fundamentally similar act — the Land Tenure Act (1970).

If under the Land Apportionment Act land was divided into a number of categories, in the Land Tenure Act there are three categories — European Land, African Land and National Land. In the Land Tenure Act the "African Reserves" are replaced by Tribal Land (TTL).

The main difference between the Land Apportionment Act and the Land Tenure Act is that freehold titles in the TTL. This is made possible by an additional Act, the Tribal Trust Land Development Act. This vehicle of Private business was coined by the regime and operated under the Tribal Trust Lands Development Corporation (TILCOR).

## Land reforms

The question of granting freehold titles to private capital in the TTL cancels the long upheld convention under the Land Apportionment Act, that land in the "reserves" is for use by the African peasants only on a communal basis. Tilcor establishes its own industries in the TTL and employs African peasants. Here it is worthy noting that in South Africa, private business is allowed to establish what are termed "border industries" on the fringes of the "Bantustans". But we are not getting into that mechanism of the border industries here.

Tilcor is a big private business with an initial capital of ten million pounds (Sterling) whose interests cannot and will never be reconciled with the interests of the largely illiterate African peasants. It is nothing other than a vehicle for unbridled exploitation and expropriation of African land by big business.

The whole question of European title due to TTL does not define how the corporation is to surrender some of its shares to the peasants. Neither are we informed in the Tribal Trust Land Development Act where the poor peasants in Zimbabwe will get the capital to buy shares.

The colonial regime is once more strengthening its nefarious tactics, designed to take away land and then destroy the very fabric of African tradition in Zimbabwe.

Tilcor is a private corporation and its interest in investing its capital in the TTL is motivated by the profits derived therefrom. At no stage of the corporation's future is it envisaged that freehold titles will pass to individuals or groups of African peasants. What is paramount to the racists is that the white men's needs are satisfied.

African peasants, therefore, will not be bound to accept this racist Act or to co-operate with their oppressors. Their resentment and resistance will increase at every stage of the implementation of this Act. They know that colonialists are indeed taking over the TTL, the last piece of (infertile) land left for them. There is no security for their future.

In June 1973, the regime made an Amendment to Tilcor, which (according to the regime) was to enable "Tilcor to guarantee loans to its employees for housing purposes". On the surface, the amendment looks good, but when taken in the context of the jumble of the Rhodesian agrarian legislation, then it becomes obvious that no Building Society or any finance house can loan money to Africans for this purpose.

Under the law governing Building Societies

and Finance Houses, "Building Societies do not accept giving loans to any individual who goes to build on land for which he does not hold a title deed, or land which is not in urban areas."

African areas are regarded as communal lands. The African worker (in urban areas) is regarded as temporarily residing in town whilst his services are still needed there. As soon as he goes out of employment he is required to go back to the rural area.

African workers do not have the privileges enjoyed by their European counterparts employed by the same companies. Even if the Africans have worked for many years under the same firm and would want to build their own houses in urban areas or in Tribal Trust Land — they cannot get loans.

The African peasants in Zimbabwe have a long experience of colonial oppression of our country under the Land Apportionment Act, Land Husbandry Act.

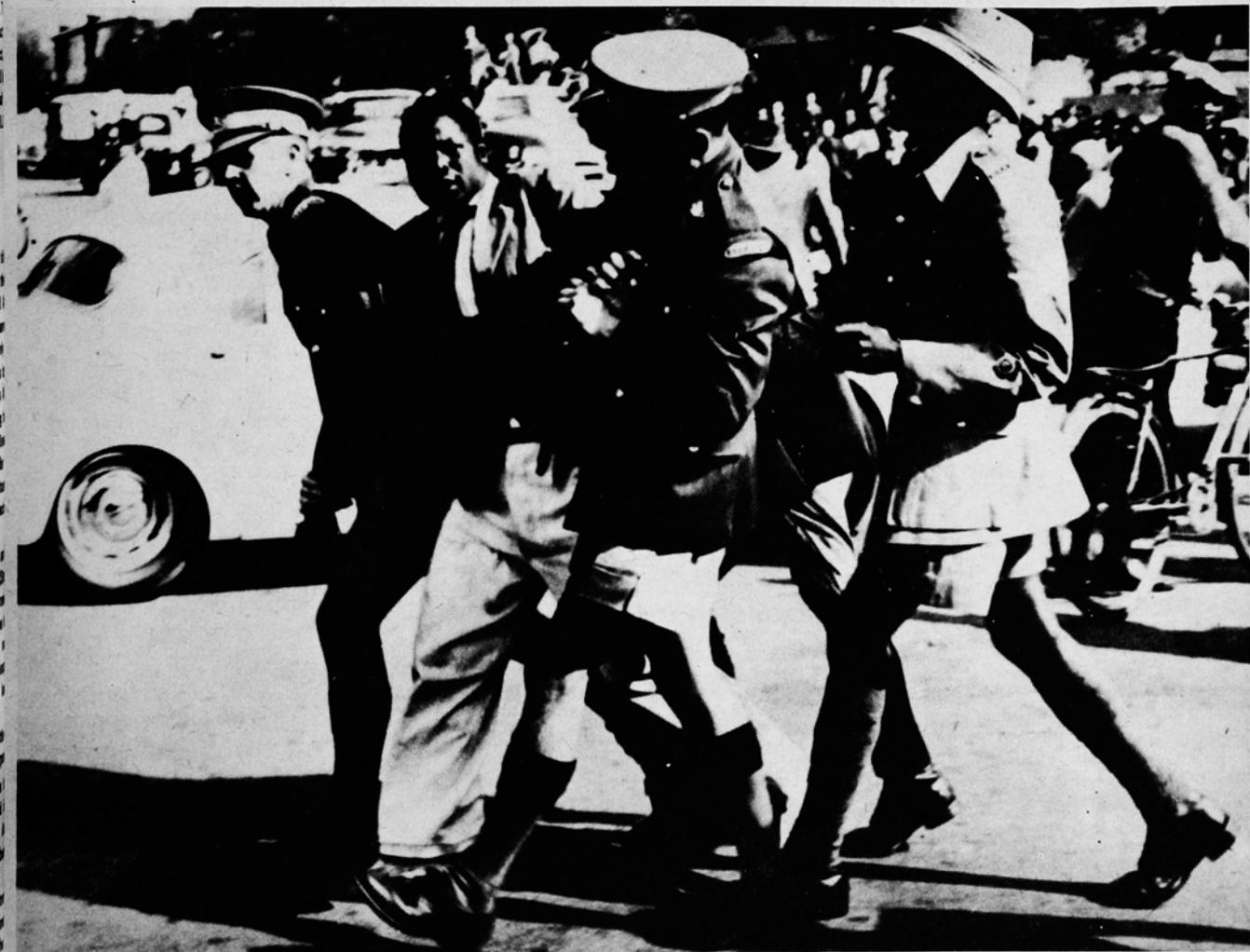
The agrarian laws of the colonial regime were enacted in such a way that they were only beneficial to the white settlers. In the last 30 years, the regime spent only £ 7.57 Million (Pound Sterling) on agricultural development in African areas. This is only one tenth of the sum spent on European

agriculture in the same period. The alternative to this tyrannic oppression and impoverishment is to struggle to rid ourselves of the colonial regime and the system under which it operates, for the attainment of freedom and national independence. Only under a revolutionary democratic system can the peasants in Zimbabwe transform their way of life from a subsistence to a cash economy by adopting modern farming methods.

ZAPU in its agrarian programme has stipulated that land will be given back to those who till it, while the party will implement a mechanism which involves and corresponds with the traditions of the people. There are many practical examples of such mechanism operating in different African countries. In Tanzania, they have adopted Ujamaa, in Guinea — collective farms, in Congo — co-operatives etc. All these have met with popular support from the peasants.

In Zimbabwe, therefore, the problems of land-use, landownership and distribution have not been solved. Its solution is tied up with the solution of the colonial problems and the establishment of a democratic state with popular support to work for genuine national independence and social progress.

Police Brutality Against Peaceful Demonstrator in Zimbabwe



# ALLIANCE IN EVIL: RACISTS' MILITARY POWER

In view of increased military operations spear-headed by FRELIMO freedom-fighters in the Tete area and the bothersome mining of certain routes by SWAPO in some parts of the Caprivi Strip, coupled with land-mine blasts by ZAPU cadres in many incidents in Zimbabwe, it is quite clear that the fascist regimes of Portugal's Caetano, Rhodesia's Smith and South Africa's Vorster, will necessarily strengthen their unholy alliance which actually dates back to the dark days of the now defunct Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

South African forces are openly known to be stationed in both Rhodesia and Mozambique. In Mozambique they are said to be guarding the construction of the Cabora Bassa Dam because South Africa has poured colossal sums of money into the project. In Rhodesia, they are supposed to be helping Smith's groggy troops as well as to intercept liberation forces of the African National Congress of South Africa which might, it is alleged, try to reach the land of racism via Rhodesia.

A brief analysis of the armed forces of these three fascist nations will help show not only their strength, but also the powers behind their adamant defiance of world opinion, the greater part of which is against them. According to figures compiled by the usually reliable Institute for Strategic Studies (based in London) for the period 1969 to 1970, military power stood as follows:—

## Rhodesian Army: Total strength was 3,400.

It had one special air service squadron; two infantry battalions, one of which has a few Ferret scout cars; one artillery battery. Rhodesia has three brigades, two of which are based on regular infantry battalions. These brigades can be brought up to strength by bringing out territorial battalions to which we will refer to later.

## Air Force:

Total strength during the already stated periods was 1,200 with about 80 combat aircraft most of which were handed to the racists by Britain at the dissolution of the Federation in 1963. Rhodesian combat aircraft are divided as follows:— one squadron Hunter day-fighter/ ground attack; one squadron Vampire day-fighter/ ground attack; one squadron Canberra light bombers, one squadron Provost reconnaissance; one squadron of transports which include C-47s; one squadron Alouette 111 helicopters. In addition to this, all white Rhodesian settlers who have completed 12 months of military training are sent to the Territorial battalions for three years of part-time training.

They form what are called reserve units which are divided between Territorial battalions which are stationed in rural districts, and active Territorial battalions based in urban areas. The establishment of the reserves is for eight battalions and one field artillery battery. Most of the ground personnel servicing regular Air Force units are in effect Air Force reservists or civilians working as employees of the Air Force.

## Para-Military Forces:

The total strength of the para-military forces in 1969 to 1970 was 6,400 active; 28,500 reservists. The reservists played a major role during the Pearce Commission's tour of Rhodesia. The white settlers comprise about a third of these para-military forces. The majority are non-whites, many of whom come from Malawi and Mozambique.

These para-military forces are called British South Africa Police and have been so called since the time the force was formed by Cecil John Rhodes' British South Africa Company whose armed brigades, who composed the Pioneer Column invaded Zimbabwe from South Africa on the strength of a Charter granted to Rhodes by Queen Victoria of Britain. The so-called royal Charter was given in 1889 and the invasion occurred in 1890. Rhodesian para-military forces are all armed.

Rhodesia's population today is about six million, that is five and a half million Africans, 249,000 whites, 15,000 coloureds and 9,000 Asians. In the 1968-1969 financial year, Rhodesia's Grand National Product was the equivalent of U.S. \$ 1,142 million. The country's defence budget for the same year was the equivalent of K 7,700,000. It should be remembered that Rhodesia's weaponry is now supplied clandestinely through South Africa. Portugal cannot be reasonably ruled out of this as she is Smith's ally too.

South Africa's racist minority Premier, Johannes Vorster, has been known to be rather boastful about his military strength. This is because out of the country's approxi-

mately 20 million people, 3,800,000 are whites, most of whom must under-go compulsory military service for as long as nine to 12 months in what is called and known as the Citizen Force. When fully mobilised, Vorster is said to be capable of raising almost 88,000 armed forces. A breakdown of his military set-up shows, however, the following facts for the year 1969 to 1970:—

## South African Army:

Total strength was 28,000. These comprised 5,700 regular and 22,300 Citizen Force personnel under training at any one time. Up to the end of 1970, Vorster had about 60,000 personnel who had been trained through the Citizen Force Scheme. South Africa had during that period 100 Centurion "5", 100 Sherman and Comet medium tanks. It also had several hundred AML-60, AML-90 and Staghound armoured cars and Ferret scout cars; Saracen armoured personnel carriers and Cessna light reconnaissance aircraft. The racialisists manufacture most of their light arms and ammunition under licence from Britain, France, Italy, West Germany and Belgium.

## Navy:

The total strength of the South African navy was 2,500 regulars plus 1,200 Citizen Force personnel under training during one given period. The Boers had two destroyers which carry Wasp ASW helicopters. They also had six frigates, including three which were modernised for ASW detection; 12 minesweepers, 10 seaward-defence boats; three Daphne-type deepdiving submarines were on order during the period under review and two of which were actually delivered in 1970 and 1971. These came from France whose government maintains that as submarines cannot be used against guerrilla forces or against an internal uprising, they do not intend stopping selling them to South Africa.

## Air Force:

The total air force strength of South Africa between 1969 and 1970 was 5,000 regulars and 3,000 Citizen Force trainees (at any one time). Vorster had 230 combat aircraft which included those of the Citizen Force; 15 Buccaneer Mark 50 light jet bombers; nine Canberra B-12 light jet bombers; 20 mirage 111-EZ fighterbombers equipped with AS-20 and AS-30 air-to-surface missiles. It also had 16 mirage 111-CZ interceptors; four mirage 111-RZ; 30 F-86 Mark 6s and at least 40 Vampire FB-5; seven Shaktleton maritime reconnaissance aircraft; 44 C-47s; seven C-130B; one Viscount and four Skymaster transport aircraft; (nine

Transalls were on order from France); more than 80 helicopters, which included 60 Alouettes, eight Wasps and 16 Super Frelons.

Training aircraft included 60 Macchi jet trainers; (at least 225 were due to be produced in South Africa under licence and the designation "Impala" and Crotale surface-to-air missiles were on order from France). The Citizen Air Force operates eight squadrons with C-47s and about 100 Harvard aircraft each of which is capable of carrying eight 19-lb (nearly 9 kilograms) fragmentation bombs. There were almost 150 Harvards in storage or used for training purposes during the period in question. Some of these Harvards were to be replaced by Impala jet-trainers in the Citizen Force.

## Para-military forces:

South Africa had 32,700 plus 12,000 reservists who were equipped with 430 patrol trucks and 80 APCs. In addition to the above, there were 58,000 Kommando or what some people term part-time rural militia. These were organised in 205 units which included infantry; armoured car and air sections. There were at that time 250 privately owned light aircraft in South Africa which could be commandeered by the regime in case of need. It must be stressed that the greater part of South African Forces is recruited from the whites. Non-whites are numerically insignificant. South Africa's Gross National Product for 1968 was estimated at R 9,800 million. The defence estimates for 1969-70 were put at R 272 million. Rhodesia cannot run short of small arms and ammunition as Smith can quickly and easily purchase them from South Africa where they are manufactured under licence as it has already been stated. Portugal had the biggest armed forces of the three fascist regimes. During the 1969-70 period, Lisbon had a total of 182,000 troops. Of these, 55,000 (including locally recruited) were in Angola; 40,000 in Mozambique and 27,000 in Guinea-Bissau. In Angola, they are losing ground to MPLA patriots, in Mozambique to FRELIMO freedom-fighters, and in Guinea-Bissau to the liberators fighting under the banner of the PAIGC. In Mozambique and Angola they are known to have been joined by South African troops. The actual military situation of the Caetano fascists was as follows in 1969-70: —

## Portuguese Army:

The total strength of the Portuguese army was 148,000. Of these, some elements of the infantry divisions were stationed in metropolitan Portugal, as the Caetano regime would wrongly like to refer to its country. One of those elements which had

some M-47 tanks was earmarked for NATO but was reported at one time to be about up to half its strength. Another division which was meant for what is called joint Iberian defence was smaller than the agreed number. Those were equipped with some 105 mm and 155 mm howitzers. As it has already been stated, the remainder (which included 25 infantry regiments) was stationed in the Portuguese colonies of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau, the last became free last September 24.

## Navy:

The strength of Caetano's navy in 1969-1970 was 16,500. This included 500 marines. The navy had four submarines; 13 frigates; (among which there was one ASW frigate); 13 coastal escorts; four ocean minesweepers; two coastal minesweepers; 43 patrol launches, many of which weigh less than 100 tons each; and five landing craft of the LCT type.

## Air Force:

The total strength of Lisbon's air force during that period was 17,500 with 100 combat aircraft. These were as follows: 20 B.26 piston-engined light bombers; one interceptor squadron with F.86F Sabre; two light-strike squadrons with G-91; one fighterbomber squadron with F-84G Thunderjet; one ASW reconnaissance squadron with P-2 Neptune which was assigned to NATO; nearly 60 medium transport planes which included 12 Nordatlas, 40 C-47s, C-54s and DC-6s; and one squadron of Alouette III helicopters.

The Portuguese Air force had in addition to the above military paraphernalia, a para-troop regiment of 4,000 which was under the direct command of the Air Force Chiefs. One battalion was serving in each of Portugal's three African colonies.

## Para-military forces.

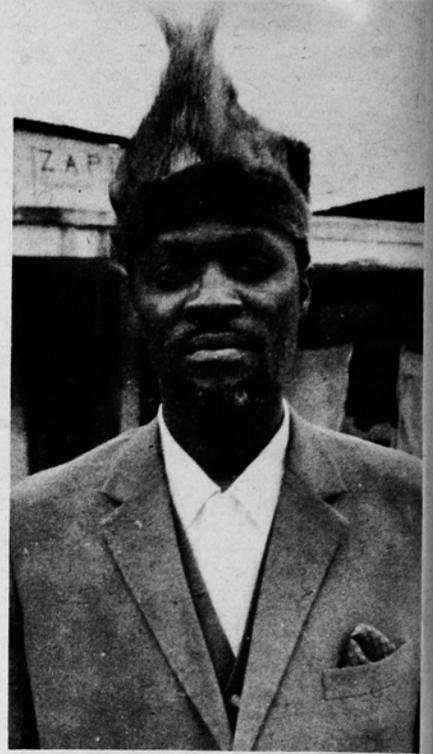
There was what was called the National Republican Guard of 15,000 plus about 500,000 reservists who are trained militarily. Portugal's Gross National Product for 1968 was the equivalent of K3,430,000,000 (4,9 billion dollars), and its defence estimates for 1969 were about K224,700,000 (321,000,000 dollars). If we add up the defence expenditure of the three racist regimes for that period, we find that it comes to a staggering annual sum of K503,700,000. Most of this was spent on military exercises against the oppressed Africans of South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia and Portuguese colonies.

# WORKERS MARCH FORWARD

by Aaron G. D. Ndlovu – Secretary General (ZACU)

The Zimbabwe African Congress of Unions (ZACU) charged with the tasks of educating the broad masses of the working people about the political, social and economic future of our country, takes the liberty to inform the public about the prospects of the armed liberation struggle, based on positive

actions which place in the past two years. In 1972 to 1973, the Zimbabwe workers went on strikes managing to affect adversely the regime's economy. The flare-up of strikes was due to political provocation by the racist regime. The presence of the British Pearce Commission which was



Comrade Aaron Ndlovu Secretary General of ZACU



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The fascist Rhodesian depends on its armed forces not only to keep freedom-fighters at bay, but also to maintain essential services whenever Zimbabweans attempt to paralyse them by striking. In the pictures, Smith's armed troops can be seen ferrying people to work following a very successful bus-strike in the country's main urban areas.



testing the acceptability of the British/Rhodesian constitutional proposals was also one such occasion.

One of the big and well organised strikes occurred at Shabani Mine. Armed police and troops, brutally forced the striking workers to return to work and 13 people were killed on the spot. The same situation occurred in Gwelo. On February 25, 1972, more than 6,000 farm-workers went on strike, burned down sheds and uprooted hundreds of citrus trees on the Hippo Valley Estates. These workers were also forced back to work at gun-point.

The longest and most effective strike ever called during 1972 was in transport. It was called by the Transport and Allied Workers' Union, started in June and ended in July 1972 after the introduction of emergency powers to clear the way for military drivers to break the strike.

## The exact powers which were given to the fascist armed forces:

"The Commander of the Rhodesian army to take what steps he considers necessary to maintain public transport in the event of a strike by employees or any other cause of disruption and authorise him to

— Take possession or control of any bus or other vehicle, equipment, spare parts, or fuel necessary for the operation of a bus service.

— Use any motor vehicle, equipment, spare parts, fuel or any other property owned by the defence forces.

Conscript people who are not members of the defence forces; but who have appropriate licences to operate a motor vehicle, in the event of there being insufficient military drivers available."

## Commander to commandeer individual property

"Any person who fails or refuses to hand over any property requisitioned by the army Commander, or who fails or refuses to comply with any directions or instructions given by the Commander, will be liable to not more than one year's jail."

What is most significant in the emergency regulations are the powers given to the Commander to commandeer individual private property. This action reveals beyond doubt that the Ian Smith regime has gone beyond the dictatorial stage and is now practicing absolute fascism. Commenting on the causes of the strike, the manager of the Salisbury branch of the United Omnibus Company, Mr. P. A. Hornblow, said: "I think the strike had a political background." Naturally, exploitation is not only an economic but political action requiring counteractions.

## 65-Trade union leaders arrested

During and after the strike, large numbers of drivers were sacked, some were re-employed

later, some were arrested and charged for having incited strike. The merciless shooting and killing of the workers and the torture of many others, did not produce the desired results. On August 9, 1973, 150 workers who were on shift duty at the Salisbury branch of the cigarette manufacturers, Rothmans of Pall Mall (Rhodesia) Ltd., went on a one-day strike which was ruthlessly crushed by the fascist armed forces.

A few days after the strike, mass arrests of leading trade unionists followed. Sixty five trade union leaders were arrested and sent to the regime's detention camps Wha Wha and Gonakudzingwa, where our national leader, Comrade Joshua Nkomo, ZAPU president, has been confined since April 16, 1964. Some were sent to Salisbury, Gwelo and Bulawayo prisons.

The combination of strike actions and activities of the armed liberation forces, all under the command and the direction of ZAPU, the programme and the military strategy for further effective armed struggle, make the prospects of the struggle more brighter than ever before.

Consequently, more grassroots work, in preparation for knowing our position and what is involved in the armed liberation struggle. We are satisfied that 1974 will witness remarkable changes in our struggle. The year 1973 witnessed achievements and setbacks — this is normal in an armed struggle.

The prospects and success of our struggle are not only measured by the achievements and victories of other anti-imperialist forces engaged in similar liberation struggles. The recent proclamation of independence by the National Popular Assembly of the African

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DAY	CENTRAL AFRICAN TIME	WAVELENGTH (S. W.)
RADIO ZAMBIA	Monday 1915 - 2030	31 and 60 metres
	Wednesday 1915 - 2030	31 and 60 metres
	Friday 1915 - 2030	31 and 60 metres
	Sunday 0800 - 0915	16 and 41 metres
RADIO TANZANIA	Tuesday 2130 - 2145	19 metres
	Thursday 2130 - 2145	19 metres
	Saturday 2130 - 2145	19 metres
	Sunday 2130 - 2145	19 metres
RADIO CAIRO	Daily 1845 - 2015	16.93 metres
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