

ORGAN OF THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE

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THE ZIMBABWE REVIEW



WE HAIL THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE UNITY
OF THE PEOPLE OF
ZIMBABWE IN THE AFRICAN NATIONAL COUNCIL

ZIMBABWE-

ONE COUNTRY-

ONE PEOPLE-

ONE VOICE-

ONE FIGHTING FORCE

IN UNITY ZIMBABWE SHALL BE TRULY FREE.

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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

At the time of writing this editorial, the Zambian Government had announced the grisly discovery of 15 badly decomposed bodies of Zimbabwean freedom-fighters of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) killed by their own colleagues during shameful intra-ZANU tribalistic squabbles. The squabbles, which resulted in an indiscriminate massacre of Manyika cadres by Karanga maniacs, began late last year and ended with the cowardly assassination of Herbert Chitepo, former ZANU national chairman in Lusaka on March 18.

UNPARDONABLE TRIBALISTIC CRIMINALS

According to reports filtering through from various sources, it is likely that more bodies are still undiscovered. The total number of people killed is put at 159 or more. All these Zimbabweans murdered in cold blood had left their country to fight for its liberation but ended up falling at the callous hands of unpardonable tribalistic criminals whose main and only interest in Zimbabwe is to get themselves into positions of strength at the expense of unsuspecting patriots.

The people of Zimbabwe, under the African National Council, would like to state most emphatically and unreservedly that they regard these crimes as unpardonable and in violent support of the Rhodesian minority regime which is the sole enemy of the revolutionaries of Zimbabwe. We call upon the Zambian law to take its relentless course with the least delay and unstinting severity. Zimbabwe supports Zambia utterly in this.

HANDS OF VERY COWARDLY BRUTES

We call upon Zimbabweans all over the world to pause and think with honesty about their comrades who perished gallantly at the hands of very cowardly brutes who have no right whatsoever to be associated with any liberation movement either in word, deed or thought. We call upon all right thinking Zimbabweans

to realise NOW that tribalism, like racism, can never perform a liberatory function in any situation. Tribalism generates hatred, bigotry, prejudice and aggressive suspicion. This is what had afflicted ZANU. This is what caused the unforgivable crimes viewed with unadulterated disgust by every sane Zimbabwean and lover of freedom and justice

INESCA PABLE REALITIES OF ZIMBABWE

Now that ZANU has joined hands with other liberation movements of Zimbabwe (ZAPU, FROLIZI and the ANC), its elements are behoved to rid themselves of any tribalistic sentiments and embrace a much broader view of the inescapable realities of Zimbabwe. Let them learn from this dastardly chapter of their brief history that tribalism is a self-inflicted blow which is always mortal to the boby politic. Zimbabweans must habe and practise discipline at all levels and shun and abhor anarchy be it attributed to tradition, tribalism or anti-communal so-callde personal freedom.

Final Meeting of Presidents of Tanzania, Botswana and Zambia with the Zimbabwe Leaders in December Last Year, in the Capital of Zambia, Lusaka



PRESIDENT JULIUS NYERERE'S SPEECH

CALL FOR UNITY AND LIBERATION



President Nyerere
of the United Republic
of Tanzania

Opening the OAU foreign ministers' conference in Dar es Salaam on April seventh, Tanzania's President Julius Nyerere declared, among other things, that "the important thing (on Southern Africa) is the united view of Africa as a whole . . ."

President Nyerere stated: ". . . the objective of this meeting, like others we have held in the past, is to promote the cause of African liberation and African unity. These are two major objectives of the Organisation of African Unity, and they are really two aspects of the same thing. Neither is possible without the other.

"The connection between unity and the freedom struggle has always been recognised by the OAU, and experience has confirmed that knowledge . . . The degree of our success in achieving unity has been reflected in the degree of our advance towards the ultimate liberation of our continent.

AFRICA'S UNITED HAMMERING

"The increasing international awareness of the Southern African problem, and the increasing world condemnation of colonialism and racialism is not the result of any one event, nor of any one nation's or group's activity. It is Africa's steady and united hammering, . . . which has led to a recognition that world peace and human dignity require justice . . . This campaign has not been waged only by Africa, but the unity and common purpose of Africa have been (and still are) essential to its progress.

VERBAL CONDEMNATION OF COLONIALISM AND APARTHEID

"There has never been any problem about united verbal condemnation of

colonialism and apartheid. But gradually, with some faltering and set-backs, Africa has also secured a large degree of unity in action. There have been many factors involved in the continued isolation of the Smith regime over nine and half years . . . not least among these factors has been the clear knowledge that recognition of this regime, or open government support for it by any country would arouse the whole of Africa to angry retaliation.

"The UN decisions on the status of Namibia, and the appointment of a full-time UN commissioner for Namibia have been achieved after years of official and unofficial united African diplomatic activity.

AFRICAN-LED OPPOSITION

"The UN embargo on the sale of arms to South Africa is not yet honoured by all nations — France in particular still seems to be able to sell arms to South Africa and retain the active friendship of many member-states of the OAU. But other powerful nations have observed the embargo simply because of strongly expressed African-led opposition to its violation . . . in the last year we have again through unity succeeded in getting South African membership of the General Assembly suspended on the grounds that the delegation cannot be representative of the people of South Africa while racialism is the official doctrine of the state . . .

". . . it is the success of the armed struggles in the Portuguese colonies which requires Africa to re-examine its strategy in Southern Africa. There has been no change of heart on the part of Africa's enemies. There was a change of government in Portugal so that the

Portuguese people's desire for peace in Africa was able to be made effective. But the leaders and supporters of apartheid in South Africa, and the leaders and supporters of the minority regime in Rhodesia have not changed their desires, their attitudes, their policies, or their beliefs in white supremacy. They still wish to maintain racial domination by whites in Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa.

GEOGRAPHY OF FREEDOM STRUGGLE CHANGED

"... Now that Angola and Mozambique are on the verge of independence, the problems facing Africa are different. In the first place the geography of the freedom struggle has changed. It is quite true that both Angola and Mozambique will have many internal problems to overcome. ... But their very existence changes the political and military situation for Rhodesia, and even for South Africa. These two minority-ruled states will therefore inevitably want to re-think and to take action designed to meet the changed circumstances created by the failure of Caetano's Portugal. This by itself would require Africa also to re-assess its strategy.

British Colony: BRITAIN HAS RESPONSIBILITIES

"... there is a second factor too. Africa will in future be dealing with a pattern of administration different from that with which we are familiar. Until now, each nationalist movement has had to contend with a particular colonial power securely based in Europe... This was true even for the Portuguese colonies. The difference between their situation and that of the rest of Africa was only that Portugal had not accepted the principle of African independence, whereas Britain, France, and even Belgium had done so. But in Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa there is no effective power external to Africa which is central to the problem.

"Rhodesia is a British colony. But the Smith regime does not recognise the sovereignty of Britain (over Rhodesia), and - what is more important, the UK Government has always claimed that it is powerless to enforce its authority in Rhodesia. Thus Britain has responsibilities and rights in international law, and her political support can still be valuable...

ENEMY OF SOUTH AFRICAN LIBERATION IS RACIALISM

"But more directly important to the present phase of the struggle in Rhode-

sia is the fact of Rhodesia's economic and military dependence upon South Africa. South Africa has not given legal recognition to the Smith regime, but without its military and economic support, the Smith regime would quickly collapse. In Namibia also, we have a difference between a de jure and a de facto administering authority. Legally Namibia is a UN trusteeship territory directly administered by the UN. In practice South Africa controls Namibia and excludes the legal authority.

Then there is South Africa itself. Here we are not dealing with a colonial situation at all. Our aim there is to help the mass of the people of South Africa to free themselves from the vicious oppression of apartheid, and to demonstrate that racialism is outlawed by the whole world. The enemy of the South African liberation forces and of Africa is thus the doctrine of racialism which is being imposed and enforced by white South Africans.

METROPOLITAN POWER

"Whether we are talking about Rhodesia, Namibia or South Africa itself, the effective authority is South Africa. This fact must be taken into serious account when Africa considers its future strategy... In the past the nationalist movement of a particular colony frequently ignored the local colonial authorities when it was engaged in political campaigning - whether this was replacing or supplementing an armed struggle.

"Instead it dealt directly with the metropolitan power (through) its government or its parliament. In South Africa there is no such power. Power is held by South Africa. In Namibia the effective external influence which could have any real effect is held in South Africa. In fact South Africa has troops in Rhodesia helping to maintain minority rule. Thus Africa's confrontation in Southern Africa now is basically with South Africa; this means that South Africa is a colonial power in Namibia and, to all intents and purposes, in Rhodesia, and is a racist regime in South Africa itself.

LUSAKA MANIFESTO: MAJORITY RULE EVERYWHERE

Africa's commitment to the total liberation of our continent from colonialism and racialism has been repeatedly reaffirmed. Its meaning was spelled out in the Lusaka Manifesto adopted by the OAU in 1969. We then stated our determination to support the freedom strug-



gle in all the colonial territories of Africa, and in South Africa, and to give this support until independence on the basis of majority rule had been attained everywhere.

"Further, we said clearly that Africa would conduct the struggle for freedom by peaceful means wherever and whenever that is possible. But if peaceful means are excluded by the actions of the oppressor, then an armed struggle by the people of that territory would have the full and active support of all the free states of our continent.

"The Lusaka Manifesto was a statement of principles. It was not an outline of strategy. It said if independence be won peacefully, then people should not die unnecessarily; . . . further that if independence cannot be achieved peacefully, the people concerned must use violence rather than accept permanent domination.

"When those to whom the Lusaka Manifesto was primarily addressed proceeded to ignore it, we issued the Mogadishu Declaration and intensified the armed struggle. What we are now calling the changed circumstances in Southern Africa are in fact the results of that intensified armed struggle in the Portuguese colonies."

NOT ABOUT DIALOGUE OR DETENTE:

President Nyerere said the conference would have been a success even if it achieved one thing only. He said: "It will have succeeded if it leaves South Africa in no doubt at all that we are still ready to use peaceful means to achieve independence in Rhodesia and Namibia, but that if this is made impossible we shall resume and intensify the armed struggle. It is important that both our friends and our enemies should know that we mean what we say.

"But we are not going to make ourselves credible if we waste too much time at this conference talking about talking to South Africa. This conference is not about so-called dialogue or detente with South Africa. This conference is about the liberation of Southern Africa: its purpose is to make quite sure that we are clear in our own minds about how we should proceed now after the successes of freedom-fighters in Angola and Mozambique.

"I believe that whether we are dealing with Portugal or South Africa, the principle is the same. If they are ready to talk about decolonisation, we talk; if they are not ready to talk, we fight until

they are ready. My considered advice to this conference, therefore, is that it should not allow itself to degenerate into a conference on dialogue or detente."

"Let us simply reiterate our determination to liberate Southern Africa, and repeat that we are ready to back up talks between Vorster and Smith and the liberation movements concerned. Having done that, most of the time of this conference should be spent on discussing how to help the African National Council and SWAPO to strengthen their armed forces. Neither the advocates of constitutional talks nor those of the armed struggle can make themselves credible without the existence of an armed force . . . it is vitally important that we should be credible . . . constitutional talks can fail, and an armed struggle requires an armed force. In any case, both the ANC and SWAPO will need armed forces whether independence is achieved peacefully or violently."

". . . I know also that ministers will constantly remain aware of the paramount importance of safeguarding the unity of Africa as we press ahead to the final victory of African liberation."

stop press

stop press

stop press

Thirteen Africans shot dead by Rhodesian armed forces in Salisbury's Highfield, Harare and Glen Norah townships following a meeting of the African National Council. Scores of others seriously injured. Beerhalls burnt down, shops destroyed and many vehicles damaged by angry Africans following the massacre. Bishop Abel Muzorewa, leader of the

ANC, condemned the killing and said it would never deter the people of Zimbabwe from fighting for their freedom. National leader Joshua Nkomo condemned the Smith regime for the wanton and unjustified opening of fire on helpless demonstrators and criticised factional demonstrations as „misdirection of efforts” by some divisive elements of the former ZANU.

OAU RESOLUTION ON SOUTH AFRICA:

Rejection of detente with Vorster

The Organisation of African Unity's Council of Ministers meeting in its ninth extraordinary session in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, from April 7 to April 10 passed a wide ranging resolution on South Africa and called for a rejection of the so-called detente with apartheid premier Johannes Vorster.

The ministers also noted the victories won by liberation movements in the former Portuguese colonies and passed a resolution:

- Strongly condemning the policy of apartheid of the racist government of Pretoria, instrument of international imperialism and zionism, in its policy of domination of the African peoples;
- Categorically rejecting the policy of detente with African states or so-called outward-looking policy advocated by Vorster, the spokesman of imperialism, calculated to confuse world public opinion and to under-mine African unity and the struggle for the elimination of apartheid in South Africa;
- Recognising the right and duty of the peoples of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe to regain by all means, including the use of force, their sovereignty which was usurped;
- Unconditionally and vigorously supporting the legitimate liberation struggle of the peoples of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe against racist minority regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia.
- Appealing to the independent states of Africa to increase effective moral and material assistance to the peoples of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe in order to help them face the constant repression and repeated aggression of apartheid;
- Requesting the Arab and African oil-producing countries to continue the application of the oil embargo against South Africa and also urging the other oil-producing states which have not yet done so to take a similar measure;
- That the OAU committee on Afro-Arab co-operation should continue to supervise the oil embargo against South Africa in

order to ensure the use of this weapon against South Africa;

- Recommending to member-states to continue to boycott and refuse port facilities to all South African tanker fleets, including those on hire, and calling upon other members of the international community to do the same;
- Solemnly appealing to all members of the international community to take measures contained in Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter against any country which, like South Africa, continues to violate the resolutions of the UN and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;
- Entrusting the OAU Administrative Secretary with the following functions:
 - a) to monitor and ensure the observance of the economic sanctions against South Africa;
 - b) to identify those multinational corporations which operate in South Africa while at the same time operating in independent African states;
 - c) to establish contact with and offer active support to antiapartheid movements in the world;

- Encouraging African states bordering on South Africa to phase out their labour force in South African mines;
- Recommending to member-states to assist those neighbouring countries in the rehabilitation of their labour force thus withdrawn from South Africa;
- Inviting the South African liberation movements to:
 - a) adopt urgently necessary measures with a view to ensuring the unification of their movements;
 - b) mobilise in the most effective manner the population of South Africa against the apartheid regime;
 - c) adopt necessary measures with a view to launching guerilla warfare suitable to the conditions prevailing in South Africa;
- Expressing the session's profound gratitude to all friendly countries and international organisations for the substantial moral and material assistance which they grant to the liberation struggle of the people of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe and requesting them to increase this assistance in order to ensure the total elimination of apartheid and colonial and imperialist exploitation;

- Inviting member-states to continue:
 - a) to boycott all naval vessels and refuse landing and overflying rights to all aircraft departing to and arriving from South Africa;
 - b) to bar South African tourists, businessmen and technical personnel from entering their territories;
 - c) to exert pressure on the allies of South Africa with a view to putting an end to diplomatic, economic and other relations with South Africa;
- Demanding the immediate expulsion of South Africa from the UN since the South African Government systematically and continuously violates the UN Charter and disregards all its resolutions until the South African regime abandons once and for all its policy of apartheid and racial discrimination in South Africa and recognises the total and effective independence of Namibia by strictly implementing the UN resolutions;
- Urging the speedy ratification of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid;
- Reiterating the OAU's condemnation and urging the rejection of any Bantustan policy and practice and calling on all UN member-states to resist from establishing any contacts with the "homeland leaders";
- Deciding to undertake urgently to intensify information and propaganda activity in our respective countries to sensitise and mobilise the peoples in support of the struggle for the total liberation of the continent, and to this end to request the gov-

ernment of the OAU headquarters to establish a radio station to encourage broadcasting facilities to the liberation movements in all countries;

- Strongly condemning the imperialist countries, principally France, the United States of America, the United Kingdom, Italy, the Federal Republic of Germany, and Japan for their continued military collaboration and alliance with the South African regime aimed at increasing its aggressive potential against the African continent, and urging the UN Security Council to make the arms embargo imposed on South Africa mandatory;
- Strongly condemning the main investors and multinational companies as well as trading partners of the apartheid regime for sustaining its (the regime's) economic power and resolving to take appropriate measures against them;
- Calling for the unconditional release of political prisoners as well as those in detention and other restrictions, and for an end to torture in South Africa;
- Urging the adoption and implementation of the Draft Resolution of the UN conference on the representation of states in their relations with international organisations.

**SPEECH DELIVERED
BY MOLA OA M.
NOKO - AAPSO
delegate to the
meeting of the
(Week of solidarity
with African
Liberation movements)**

WEEK OF SOLIDARITY WITH AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

- Berlin, GDR - 22 nd to 27 th May, 1975.

Comrade Chairman, High-ranking friends from the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, COMRADES IN ARMS!

On behalf of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation, AAPSO, and its teeming millions of anti-imperialist freedom-fighters, allow me to express sincere appreciation and gratitude to the comradely GDR Committee of Solidarity for once again organising the Week of Solidarity with the African Liberation Movements.

Today we are in Berlin - the city from which in 1884 Africa was caked by the colonialist forces, the city from which fascists launched World Wars. And yet at all times, the German Communists and other democratic forces were struggling from within the camp of the monster for a creation of a Workers' state and in complete solidarity with the colonised, oppressed, tyranized and the now developing countries. Our presence in today's socialist Berlin with its warm hospitality and comradeship is clear proof that fascism and colonialism are doomed.

The week of Solidarity with the African Liberation movements is being commemorated in a drastically changing world. Last year, this occasion was marked here in Berlin by proceedings of the UN Anti-Apartheid Committee after the admittance of Socialist Germany to the UN. And exactly at that time Mozambique and Angola in Africa were engaged in bitter armed struggle against Portuguese domination. These countries after over a decade in bloody revolution, will be attaining their independence on June 25th and November 11th, 1975, respectively - thanks to their struggle and that of the Democratic forces in Portugal which resulted in the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship in Lisbon. Victories continue to be scored by the people and freedom-fighters in Zimbabwe, Namibia, and South Africa, though these countries are not yet liberated.

The people of the AAPSO Movement have also registered great victories since we last met here. After over 30 years, the heroic peoples and courageous

fighters have liberated South Vietnam and re-named the capital Ho Chi Minh City in honour of uncle Ho. The people of Cambodia have smashed the puppet regime and regained their sovereignty. The people of Laos are gradually taking over Government in the "Kingdom of a million Elephants". We wish to reiterate our salute to these people remembering to the martyrs through whose blood, the dear independence was won. The international Community has an internationalist duty in assisting these nations in their new tasks of reconstruction and building new societies.

On this week of Solidarity with African Liberation Movements, we once more declare our known Solidarity with the people of Chile struggling against a fascist military junta imposed by US imperialism. We also support the struggle of the people of Puerto Rico and others in Latin America.

Our Solidarity goes to our Arab brothers in the middle east, struggling to recover their occupied lands and the re-establishment of the rights of the Palestinian people to freedom and independence. We support the people of Cyprus in the struggle to maintain their sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity

and non-alignment. We call for the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from that island.

Comrade Chairman, Within three days it will be exactly 12 years since the creation of the Organisation for African Unity and this Week of Solidarity coincides with the heroic occasion when the independent nations of Africa decided to create the OAU liberation committee which coordinates assistance to their brothers and sisters in unliberated areas on the African Continent.

We believe that the purpose of this week of Solidarity as organised by our GDR Comrades is to re-dedicate ourselves even more in support of the struggling people of Africa. The freedom-fighters in Zimbabwe, Namibia, and South Africa, need urgent material support to dislodge minority rule from Southern Africa.

Yesterday it was Indochina, today it is Southern Africa - Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa. This is the area which produces most of the gold, lithium, uranium, chrome, diamonds, sugar, tobacco, iron, manganese, beef, maize and fruit exports. It is an area with huge imperi-

Comrade M. M. Noko AAPSO Delegate Addressing the Solidarity Meeting in Berlin on the 22nd of May 1975



alist interests as well as national and transnational monopolistic investments. As we speak the guns of liberation continue to thunder as the revolutionary forces of Zimbabwe meet the enemy bullet for bullet in operational areas called "Danger Zones" by the Smith regime in the north west, north, north east, and towards the centre of the country. Just four days ago the Smith regime issued a military communique on freedom fighters operations which occurred at Mangula the main copper region which is less than three hour's drive from the capital Salisbury. The people of Zimbabwe are left with no other option but intensification of the armed liberation struggle to regain their country. We, in AAPSO, will do our best in supporting them, by all our means, as well as in assisting them to consolidate their Unity in the African National Council (ANC of Zimbabwe). We endorse their position on constitutional settlement that independence is not negotiable but that what is to be

negotiated is the mechanics of transfer of power from the Minority to the AFRICAN majority.

The situation in Namibia is witnessing the continued activities by SWAPO as it punishes and drives away the racist South African forces of occupation and as the masses reject the criminal Bantustans and the bogus elections. It is clear beyond any doubt that racist Vorster is coming out with more political machinations all aimed against the independence of that country and for its continued occupation.

The resistance in the apartheid monster - South Africa, is escalating as the broad masses and nationalities heighten their opposition to the criminal and hated system which dehumanises other races. The African National Congress of South Africa continues to lead the struggle. We hail the role of South African workers and students who continue to act positively against the Pretoria regime.

We cannot accept the balkanization of

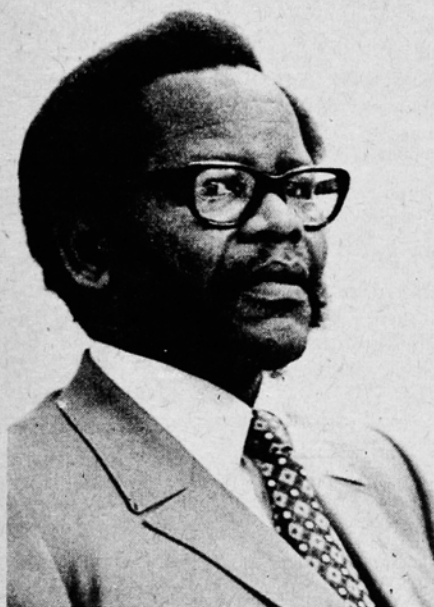
that country into tribal and hostile racial segmentations for the sake of rapacious imperialist criminals.

Comrade Chairman,
Allow me again through you, to make special mention that since 1975 is Women's Year, we praise those beautiful sisters in the African continent who, together and along side their men-folk are contributing by heroic sacrifices to the liberation of the continent and hence towards democracy and world peace.

We wish to mention our appreciation of the active support to the African liberation movements from all Socialist countries, African, Asian, and Caribbean states.

Long live the friendship and Solidarity between the GDR and the African Liberation Movements!

Long live the GDR - AAPSO Comradship!



**COMRADE
OLIVER TAMBO,
ACTING
PRESIDENT
GENERAL
OF ANC OF SA**

SOUTHERN AFRICAN LEADERS VIEW

The problem that Africa has to face in South Africa is essentially a colonial problem, and like colonialism elsewhere it has to be removed root and branch. Attempts to bring about reform within the existing system can never provide a satisfactory solution and can never be a substitute for resolute anti-colonialist struggle for national liberation.

The OAU in our opinion, must adopt a strategy, which recognises not only the indivisibility of the enemy, but also the dominant role of the South African regime in the area. In Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, which share common borders, there are liberation movements and revolutionary forces committed to revolutionary struggle, and capable of confronting the common enemy on the three fronts simultaneously.

We therefore, call upon this august assembly to reaffirm the correct stand of the OAU and the UN of recognising the liberation movement as the authentic representative of the struggling people in our country and spokesman of the South African people as a whole.

The OAU should reaffirm its condemnation and total rejection of the Bantustan policy and puppet figureheads imposed upon the people by the Pretoria regime. In particular, the OAU should refuse to recognise the projected pseudo-independence of the Bantustans. Africa must reaffirm its adherence to the diplomatic, political, military, economic and cultural isolation of white South Africa and call upon all Member States to refrain from establishing any such contacts. In particular, Africa must continue to work for the immediate expulsion of the Pretoria regime from the United Nations Organisation.

Finally, and above all, the OAU must call upon all the member States and the world to spare no effort in helping increase the striking power of our liberation movement in the struggle for the seizure of power in South Africa, but also the striking powers of the ANC of Zimbabwe and the striking power of SWAPO and the people of Namibia in the struggle against domination by the fascist regime in South Africa.



COMRADE SAM NUJOMA, PRESIDENT OF SWAPO NAMIBIA

In our opinion, contact between the racist and free Africa should be parallel with positive internal change in the nonliberated territories. In our interpretation positive internal change simply means one thing: Independence based on majority rule.

In this context we wish to make it abundantly clear that SWAPO is not opposed to talks with the South African Government provided such talks are based on the following conditions: That South Africa recognises and states publicly the right of the Namibia's territorial integrity is inviolable and must be respected; and that South Africa recognises and accepts the fact that SWAPO is the only authentic representative of the Namibian people.

Unless these fundamental principles are unconditionally accepted, SWAPO will not participate in any talks whatsoever. We refused to have anything to do with the so-called Multiracial Council set-up by Vorster in 1973 because it is nothing but Bantustan in another guise. Similarly, we refuse to participate in the so-called multi-racial talks because they is tribally oriented and do not involve

the true leaders of the Namibian people. Our position remains unchanged.

Apart from the three fundamental principles stated above, South Africa must accept the following pre-conditions if there are to be meaningful talks to solve the Namibian question: Release of all political prisoners who are currently held in Namibia as well as in South Africa itself; Return to Namibia of all those Namibians in exile without fear of arrest or any form of victimisation; and prior commitment by the South African Government that she will withdraw all her troops and police from Namibian territory.

Again, unless these pre-conditions are met, SWAPO will have no choice but to continue the armed struggle no matter the cost involved both in human and material loss. Let it be perfectly clear that we do not wish this. The onus is on the South African Government to show its good faith by accepting the conditions already stated. In the absence of this, our position is clear; the armed struggle must continue to its logical conclusion.

BISHOP ABEL MUZOREWA, PRESIDENT OF ANC OF ZIMBABWE

Since its inception, the OAU has been grappling with the complex problems of decolonisation throughout Africa. We in Southern Africa are the first to appreciate the efforts of the OAU in this regard.

In looking at Southern Africa we need to draw attention to the Lusaka Manifesto of 1969. I quote from point 12 which says among other things: "We would prefer to negotiate rather than destroy, to talk rather than kill. We do not advocate violence; we advocate an end to violence against human dignity which is perpetrated now by the oppressors of Africa. If peaceful progress to emancipation were possible, or if changed circumstances were to make it possible in the future, we would urge

our brothers in the resistance movements to use peaceful methods of struggle, even at the cost of some compromise on the timing of change."

It is in the light of this historic declaration that the presidents of Botswana, Tanzania, Zambia and Frelimo have tackled the problem of liberation in Southern Africa, and particularly in solving the grave and immediate problems of Zimbabwe and Namibia.

In Zimbabwe our objective is immediate independence on the basis of majority rule. If this can be attained through peaceful means, all efforts must be made to achieve it. If on the contrary this fails, the ANC of Zimbabwe recognises the inevitability of armed struggle as the only other alternative."



COMMON-WEALTH AND RHODESIA



Comrade Joshua Nkomo one of the leading African Nationalist leaders of Zimbabwe who attended the Commonwealth Conference in Jamaica recently

Ever since the Rhodesian problem became a matter of international concern, the Commonwealth (formerly the British Commonwealth) has played a very major role in trying to reverse the pro-fascist trend of the Ian Smith regime.

Both before and after Smith's unilateral declaration of independence, Com-

monwealth leaders tried their utmost to probe and assist the British Government to crush the Rhodesian white minority regime and establish African majority in the African country of Zimbabwe.

It is not our intention here to relate how the British Government has rejected and resisted meaningful suggestions and measures to oust the white Rhodesian

an minority dictatorship. Suffice it to state that the United Kingdom government acted more in protection of the Rhodesian racists than in support of the legitimate demands of the Africans. The pro-racist British stand was repeatedly shown even at the United Nations where the UK representatives vetoed several otherwise very effective proposals to cripple the Smith regime.

British pronouncements sounded very plausible, however, and misled some people into believing that Britain's sympathies were for the African cause and not for the Smith regime. We repeatedly and emphatically stated that British interests lay more with Smith than with us, and that actions spoke louder than words.

During an emergency meeting of the Commonwealth leaders in Nigeria in January 1966, Britain's Harold Wilson misled the world by declaring that the Smith regime would "be toppled in weeks rather than months". The baseless euphoria his speech created in uninformed circles robbed the African revolutionaries of a lot of support inasmuch as potential donors of material help saw no reason to fight Smith's forces physically and sacrifice lives when Smith's regime would "be toppled in weeks rather than months" as Wilson had predicted. It took only a few weeks to prove Wilson wrong.

Presently the tendency is to convince Smith that it is in his best interests to talk to Zimbabwean leaders and reach a settlement peacefully. He says he is willing to talk. But what are the chances of reaching a settlement peacefully with Ian Smith and his racist clique?

We, for our patriotic part, are irrevocably committed to immediate African majority rule without any qualifications. We have declared many times that we do not compromise on this stand. *Majority rule is not negotiable. We are prepared, however, to discuss the mechanics of hand-over of power but not the principle. We stand solidly united on this declaration.*

Smith and his fellow-racists are irrevocably sworn to the maintenance and entrenchment of white minority rule. They are prepared to talk to us about the partial participation of the African majority in a white minority dominated government. They would like to appear to be compromising.

At no time has the Smith dictatorship ever said it would like to hand over power to the African majority. It has, however, been amazingly consistent in its avowed intention to remain in firm control of power in Rhodesia for all

time. Discussions will and should take place. But their fate is not difficult to guess for as long as the Smith regime is in control of the reins of government in Rhodesia.

For any talks between the Africans and the white regime to be meaningful and fruitful to Rhodesia, they must be preceded by the resignation of the Smith fascists and a creation of a non-fascistic administration determined to harmonise the interests of the people of Zimbabwe irrespective of race.

Smith has claimed that he loves Rhodesia too much to let it drift into economic chaos. We do not think it important to challenge him on his love for Rhodesia as such, but we would like to point out that if he does love Rhodesia so much, he must make room for people whose political views are more national than racial. He cannot honestly claim that his political doctrines are national. If he does not quit now with what little dignity he still commands among the rabid racists in the white community, he will drag the whole country into a bloody, racial clash that will usher in African majority rule but leave a heritage of racial bitterness and fear between the white settlers and the black masses.

The Rhodesian settlers would be well advised at this point to accept the inevitability of African majority rule, as national leader Joshua Nkomo, aptly put it in Kingston a few weeks ago. If they chose to remain stiff and unyielding, they will be broken both physically and economically by the Zimbabwean people's armed revolution. About this there is absolutely no doubt. The white Rhodesian settlers had better accept the fact that the African majority is struggling for a cause that is indisputably right, and that it is the white minority which must concede power to the presently powerless and exploited Africans. Africans have nothing to concede to the privileged and power-wielding white community.

We cannot emphasise the need to assist an independent Mozambique financially more than the Commonwealth leaders' conference has already done. But we would like to point out that South Africa is still untouched by the world over its blatant violation of sanctions against Rhodesia. We feel really grieved that some of our African brothers are parties to the violations of anti-South African communications sanctions. We ask Commonwealth leaders to use their influence to bring about changes in attitudes militating against the cause of freedom for Zimbabwe.

Notwithstanding the application of sanctions against Rhodesia by an independent Mozambique, South Africa will still lend massive support to the Smith regime through its railways and sea-ports. Their services will necessarily be strained to meet Rhodesian needs. We have been told that South Africa cannot cope with a diversion of Rhodesian exports and imports from Mozambican to South African ports. The capacity of Rhodesian goods South African ports and railways can absorb is of little significance. What should concern the world (and the Commonwealth) is the willingness by South Africa to absorb these commodities. We are convinced that South Africa will cushion the impact of the closure of Mozambican ports and railway services to Rhodesia. Where there is a will there is a way. To make sanctions really effective, South Africa must be made inaccessible to the Smith regime.

Our minimum demands at this point are:—

- Resignation of the Smith regime to make room for a conciliatory and non-racialistic administration;
- An immediate release of all political prisoners and a stop to trials and executions of freedom-fighters;
- A lifting of the state of emergency and a cessation of Smith's reign of terror by his armed forces throughout the country;
- A blanket amnesty to all exiled patriots;
- An immediate abolition of all racially discriminatory laws, including the anti-African and intolerable Land Tenure Act;
- An immediate stop of all South African aid to the Smith regime. Our urgent requirements are:—
- Financial assistance through the African National Council;
- Food, medicine, clothing and motor vehicles;
- Academic training facilities;
- Printing and publishing facilities and materials.

We call upon all freedom loving nations to support Zimbabwe at this crucial stage of their struggle for freedom. We believe that right is on our side and that support given to Smith is support given to evil forces. Zimbabwe must be free.

RHODESIA IN FOREIGN CASH TROUBLE

Rhodesia had a serious balance of payments deficit on capital and current accounts last year of a staggering \$15,700,000. Figures carried by the Economic Survey of Rhodesia for 1974 show that the net surplus on merchandise account last year was \$52,400,000. This was almost \$31,000,000 less than the 1973 figure. Deficit on invisible transactions went up to \$131,400,000 from 1973's \$100,500,000.

According to the survey, the high deficit for 1974 compares unfavourably with 1973's surplus of \$34,200,000. The country's gross domestic product for 1974 is claimed to have reached between nine and ten per cent in real terms as compared with five per cent for 1973. The increase has been attributed to a "notable recovery" in agriculture. Commenting on the adverse balance of payments situation, the survey states that "severe strains" were imposed by a deterioration of five per cent in the country's terms of trade last year. Transport difficulties were also quoted as having contributed to the alarming situation. The second half of 1974 was full of transport problems which contributed greatly to the situation.

Taken altogether, the figures show that the current account deficit for 1974 was the largest since economic sanctions were imposed against Rhode-

sia in 1965, almost \$62,000,000 higher than the 1973 current account deficit.

The regime's exchequer, however, had some slight consolation through a net inflow of capital which, at \$63,300,000 was the highest since 1965, and \$12,000,000 above that of 1973.

The survey points out that while the price index of Rhodesian exports increased by 31 per cent, the average cost of imports rose by 36 per cent. Deficit on transfers rose to \$18,800,000 while that on investment income fell to \$37,300,000. On transfers, migrants' funds accounted for \$6,700,000.

The value of building plans went down by 6,7 per cent to \$105 million. This was due to a reduction in residential building plans caused by lower net immigration than that of 1973, and an \$8,000,000 fall in commercial buildings plans. This was a clear reflection of lack of confidence in Rhodesia by white immigrants as well as the business world.

Although the number of Africans in employment rose to 933,000, from 848,000 for 1972, their average wages went up by a meagre 4,6 per cent in real terms as compared with 11,5 per cent in money terms. White, Coloured and Asian work force total went up by 2,1 per cent to 118,000 with an average

of 3,4 per cent with a wage rise in real terms of 3,4 per cent as compared with 11,1 per cent in money terms.

Despite a world-wide campaign by the regime to recruit one million white settlers last year alone, Rhodesia got only 9,650 as compared with 9,430 for 1973. Of the 9,650 white settlers who went to Rhodesia, the country saw the backs of 9,050 who left for better and more secure places than Rhodesia. In 1973, Europeans who quit Rhodesia totalled 7,750.

The above statistics show in what a mess Rhodesia has been put by the Smith regime. Lack of confidence in the country is shown by the high number of people leaving the country. The dwindling value of building plans is a pointer to the absence of security for real estates. The only way to put the country on a sound and even economic keel is for the Smith regime to give room to a people's government based on one man, one vote. If the present regime stubbornly remains in office, it must be forced through an armed revolution to make room for freedom and justice upon which the country's economy can be reconstructed and re-structured along a basis that does not place the people's interests into sections, racial or otherwise.

INSIDE ZIMBABWE

SLAVE LABOUR RECRUITMENT IN RHODESIA



*View of Park Street in
Salisbury City Center (Europeans only)*

The South African mine recruiting organisation, the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (WENELA) has been reported to be satisfied with its recruitment scheme in Rhodesia. By mid-April it had got 1,880 African labourers at centres in Salisbury, Bulawayo and Fort Victoria. These have been railed to South African mines where they will slave under intolerable conditions.

Revealing this, the president of the Rhodesian Chamber of Mines, Mr. Craig Gibson, said South Africa was looking for as many mine recruits as she could get.

He pointed out that in 1975 alone, WENELA was expected to recruit up to 5,000 Africans from Rhodesia. This figure would rise to at least 20,000 in future years, he said.

The recruitment scheme follows an agreement between the Rhodesian minority regime and the South African racist administration that the South African mines must turn to Rhodesia for cheap African labour following demands by thousands of Malawians, Mozambicans and Basuthos to be sent back to their respective countries because of the inhuman conditions African miners face in South Africa.

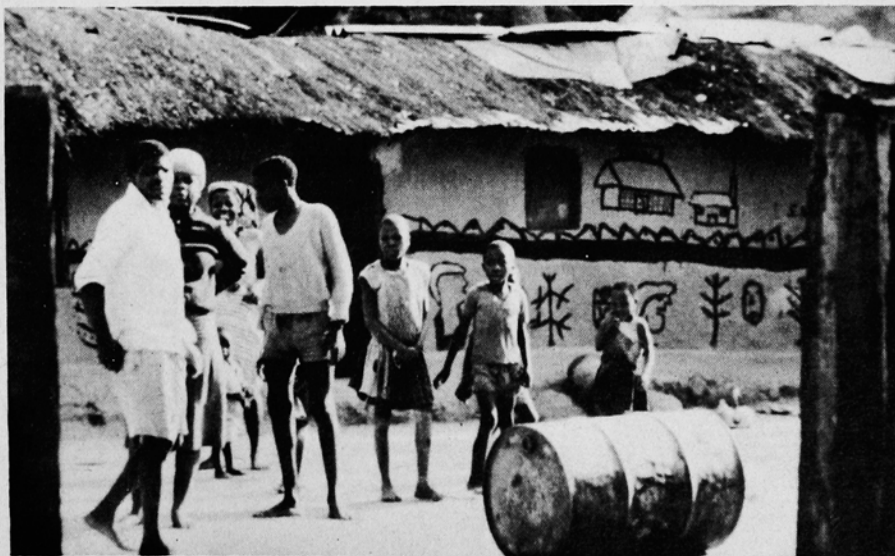
The president of the South African Chamber of Mines, A. W. S. Schumann, visited Rhodesia in January to finalise

discussions on and arrangements about recruitment and transportation of the labourers from Rhodesia to South Africa.

According to the scheme, recruitment is presently confined to urban areas and to the north-eastern sector of Zimbabwe. Africans who have worked in Rhodesian mines in the past year may not be recruited by WENELA.

WENELA's recruits are distributed to various mining companies in South Africa. The organisation is paid for its recruits. The labourers leave in enclosed compounds where several men sleep in one room.

(FOR BACKGROUND INFORMATION, SEE "THE ZIMBABWE REVIEW" Vol. 4 JANUARY-FEBRUARY No. 1/75).



*African slum houses near Salisbury –
(What a difference)*

INSIDE ZIMBABWE

The Gun and Determination is the only answer

FREEDOM-FIGHTERS' GALLANT ACTIVITIES

Three Europeans were killed in two separate incidents north of Wankie when they tried to tackle freedom-fighters. One of the dead settlers was a Mr. Parnell, former Rhodesian motor-racing champion.

Several other people were seriously injured during clashes and by land-mine explosions in northern and north-western Zimbabwe. Other incidents have been reported in several parts of Zimbabwe.

Meanwhile, South African forces based in Rhodesia are said to be in the urban areas having been temporarily withdrawn from the front. The African National Council has demanded their outright removal from Zimbabwe and a cessation of any military co-operation between Vorster and Simth.



International
Women's Year
1975



GDR AS HOST TO THE INTERNATIONAL WORLD CONGRESS OF WOMEN



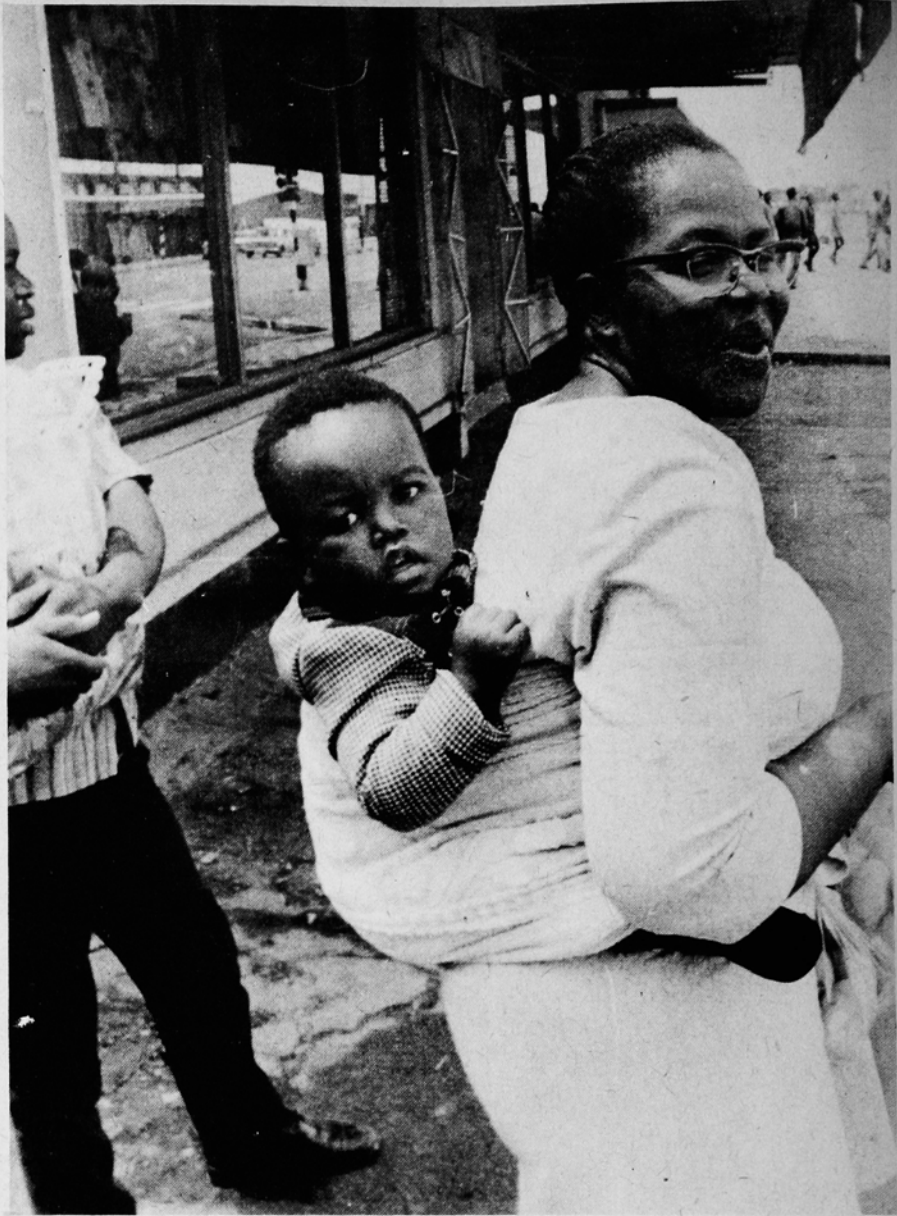
Zimbabwe Youth and Students
at the tenth World Festival
of Youth
and Students in Berlin 1973

From the 20th to 24th of October, 1975, the Democratic Womens' League (DFD) of the GDR will play host to the World Congress of Women in Berlin, capital of the GDR. It is anticipated that more than 2,000 delegates from all continents will attend this conference. It is of great significance that Berlin which opened up its doors for the 10th World Festival of Youth and

Students in 1973 should again be chosen for the World Congress of Women. Viewing the contributions and successes the GDR made to the 10th World Festival, there is no doubt that the women of the GDR will manage to make the deliberations of the World Congress of Women a great success. The President of the International Preparatory Committee Freda Brown (Australia) announced in a

International Women's Year

1975



**Comrade Jane Ngwenya
Secretary of The Zimbabwe
African
Womens' Union (ZAWU)
with her Son Shingirayi
after office hours**

communique of the Executive Committee held in Berlin recently that the World Congress of Women will be the worldwide forum of public opinion and will promote its objectives which are equality, development and peace in accordance with the International Womens' Year declared by the United Nations.

It is in this spirit that the Zimbabwe African Womens' Union (ZAWU) is prepared to participate fully in this womens' forum. Comrade Jane Ngwenya who is the Secretary of ZAWU and who was detained by the Smith racist

regime for 6 years as one of the leading members of the National Executive of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) will lead the womens' delegation to this World Congress of Women.

Comrade Ngwenya is well known for her activities and stand in the struggle against imperialist oppression & fascism, against colonialism and racism in the world at large. She is an ardent advocate of freedom and human rights and for the cause of women internationally in their struggle for equal rights, self-determination, against any discrimination of women.

POET'S CORNER

MY INSULTED CULTURE

by Saul Ndllovu

Not a scream,
Not a cry
Did my mother make
When she bore me!

Had she not been tattooed around the waist
And been duly initiated
With her skin apron on
And red ochre to adorn?

But you came
And tore away her apron
Then defiled her virgin womb
And called your action civilisation.

Not a joy,
Not a visit
Did you ever make
When she gave birth!

Had she not carried your own blood
And been painfully scorned
By all elders
And proud peers?

But you grinned
And seized my very life
By sending me into a hole
And termed that progress.

Not a tear,
Not a wink
Did you once give
When I emerged crawling!

Had I not made you aggressively rich
And been pitiably disabled
In both body
And proud soul?

Loud of tenor
Many a time
Did I implore you
Not to disinherit me!

Had you not grabbed all our beasts
And made us hopeless
In both pot
And pastoral prestige?

Your sisters came
And wrenched off mother's shame
To teach him prayers
Plus your racial bias.

He was bi-coloured,
I am black
And am father's child
Whose loin-cloth he despises!

Had father not spelt traditions in tune
And been called savage
By the missionary
And miserly trader?

But you ordered
That father wear cotton pantaloons
Or be in stokes
And said 'twas enlightenment.

My sister turned up in compounds
Reduced to a strumpet
And you detained her
For weakening your labour.

Hardly a look,
Never a pat
Did you once spare
Your own loins' crime!

Had you not broken mother's clay pots
And hanged our medicine-man
Shot our rain prophets
And enslaved us?

Your brothers arrived
And drilled me the psalms
To make me able
To insult my culture.

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PEOPLE TO CONTRIBUTE REVOLUTIONARY ARTICLES, COMMENTS AND
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IMPORTANT: Please note that our frequencies are changed in March, May, September and November. The details are announced at the end of our programmes

GDR, 116 Berlin



**COMRADE SAMORA MOISES MACHEL —
FIRST PRESIDENT
OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF MOCAMBIQUE**

After 500 years of oppression and 10 years of strenuous armed struggle of the Mocambiquan people against Portuguese fascist colonial regimes, Mocambique achieved political freedom and independence on 25th. June, 1975.

The people of Zimbabwe send their warmest comradely greetings and best wishes to their neighbouring People's Republic of Mocambique under the leadership of FRELIMO with its leader Comrade Machel who has become the first President of the state.

The Editor

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