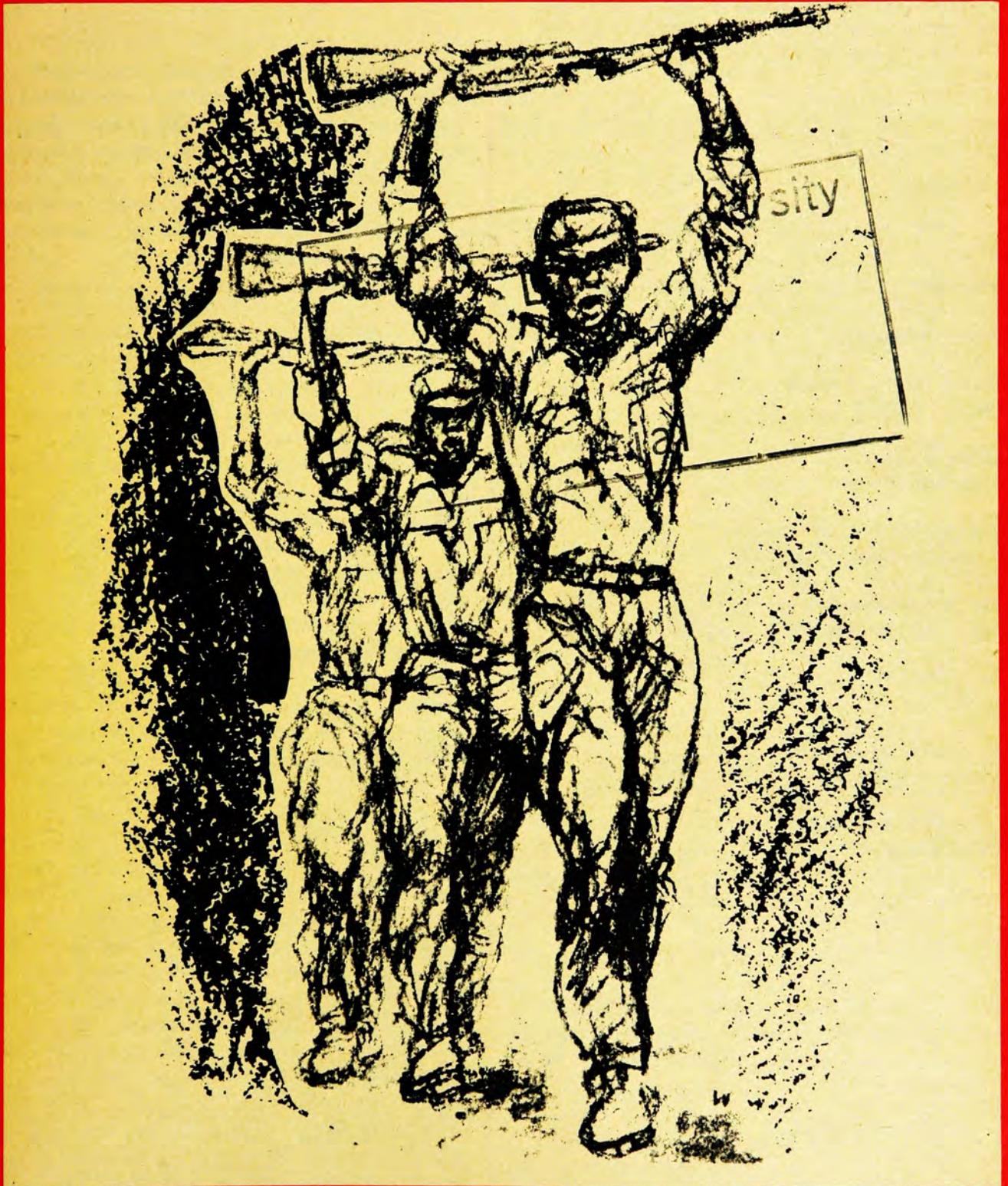


ORGAN OF THE  
ANC OF ZIMBABWE

# THE ZIMBABWE REVIEW

REGISTERED AT THE GENERAL POST OFFICE AS A NEWSPAPER



Vol. 5

2/76 MARCH/APRIL

Price: 20 Ngwee  
15 Pence

# DISTORTED SITUATION

**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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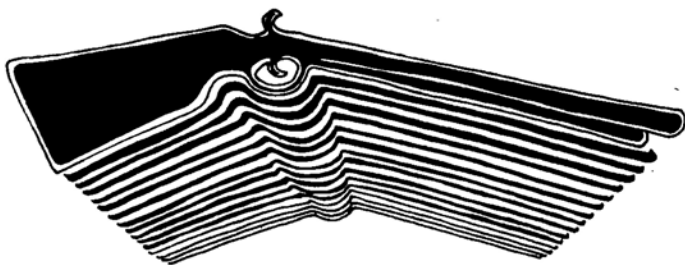
The Zimbabwe Review is produced and published by the Information and Publicity Bureau of the African National Council (Zimbabwe). All inquiries should be directed to:

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Lusaka — Zambia

*The Rhodesian situation has been distorted by various people and imperialist news media so much that even the purpose of the constitutional talks between the national leader, Joshua Nkomo, and racist minority spokesman, Ian Smith, was not correctly understood. The distortion and misunderstanding have been deliberate in many cases, and genuine in a few others.*

*Now that the constitutional talks have broken down, we are in a position to divulge what they were meant to achieve from the very beginning. But in the first instance we must point out that at no time were the talks ever meant to be an alternative to or substitute of the armed struggle. It was in pursuance of this policy that Joshua Nkomo stated when he was elected president of the African National Council last September 28 that if negotiations failed to achieve immediate African majority rule, armed struggle would be intensified. He did not say armed struggle would be resumed. The message was correctly received by all those who took the trouble to analyse the statement.*

*The aim of the talks with the Smith regime was basically to prove to both external and internal factors that the Smith regime did not want to have a peaceful transfer of power from the white minority to the Africans who are both the majority and indigenous people of Zimbabwe. We had never expected Smith to surrender power to us through such talks, but there was need to show the whole sane world that the African masses of Zimbabwe had left no stone unturned to get a settlement of the issue even by talking directly to the fascist regime. The effect of the discussions on the whites inside Rhodesia has not yet been ascertained, but it can be hoped that all responsible people who formerly followed Smith from sheer ignorance will have by now noticed that Smith is stubbornly leading them astray. He knows that Zimbabwe shall be free whether he likes it or not. But he wants to leave the country in ruins. He wants race relations to reach a fever pitch where whites will be at the necks of*



*blacks and vice-versa whenever and wherever they meet. We hope too that external factors which had formerly thought that we had not done enough to get a negotiated settlement with the racist white regime will by now have been convinced through the failure of the talks that nothing short of a full-scale armed struggle can free Zimbabwe.*

*In recognition of this fact, we mounted armed operations against the Smith regime along the Mozambique-Rhodesia border and in the North-East of the country while national leader Joshua Nkomo was having talks with Smith. We did this because we had never regarded talking to Smith as an alternative to armed struggle. It was regarded only as one aspect of a two-pronged strategy. We put our demands on a negotiating table with our left hand and fired our guns with the right hand. But western news agencies deliberately distorted this approach despite the fact that Nkomo on more than one occasion pointed out that we were "not putting all our eggs in one basket." Nothing could have been clearer than this declaration and still be discreet.*

*The stage is now set for the intensification of the armed struggle. We are in it fully till victory is attained. We mean to liberate every millimetre of our motherland even if this means turning the whole country into a pot of dynamite. In doing so we expect our supporters to give us material and moral assistance to the best of their ability. In the past there have been only pledges and promises of support, especially from some of our free African brothers and sisters. We can only hope that in future there will be more concrete evidence of these pledges and promises than in the past.*

*There has been a tendency by some of our independent African supporters to extend their voices to the field of leadership choice. This, we rightly and strongly maintain, is a sovereign right and prerogative of the people of Zimbabwe. We need and accept outside assistance from any quarter, but we regard any attempt by anybody anywhere to appoint a leader or leaders for Zimbabwe. Despite our non-*

*independent status, we feel a sense of pride to elect our own national leadership. We feel insulted if anybody tries to impose a leadership on us either by dint of his country's geographical proximity to ours, or by that of his material aid. We will resist such attempts vigorously and openly.*

*The struggle is reaching serious stages. It will become more and more vicious than ever before. We have made up our minds to escalate the armed fighting. We are fully aware of the consequences this will have not only on us, but also on those nations with which we have common borders. We hope that appropriate steps will be taken by all concerned to safeguard both human life and property in such areas. We hope that we shall not be mistaken for enemies of the people of the neighbouring states (because we are their allies) but as fighters for a common goal.*

*We would like to point out to a sad tendency to be carried away by emotional pronouncements by some individuals from Zimbabwe who have openly begun to commercialise the liberation struggle. Many ignorant people all over the world have been misled by such people who have in the past masqueraded about from one nation to another collecting funds.*

*Some of these funds have found their way into private Swiss banks. Meanwhile donors have been misled into believing that the situation in Zimbabwe is what some of these emotional speakers have claimed it to be. We believe that the truth will always triumph, and that lies will always be proved to be so. We stand for the truth because we stand for the people's interests. We cannot afford to make emotional statements because we have a responsibility and duty to protect the people's struggle and its strategy. We are ideologically clear, committed and sound. We do not have to lie to anybody to sell our stand because it is both progressive and revolutionary. As the struggle gains momentum, we hope our supporters will not falter or fail. This is the last and most difficult lap of our liberation struggle. We are confident the people will win.*

# SMITH'S WORDS ARE

## EMPTY LIES:



# HE IS A RACIST

The Rhodesian white minority spokesman, Ian Smith, has lately been at great pains once more to paint himself a non-racist and a believer in equality without any regard to one's racial origin or skin colour. He recently told an Australian radio station that he did not expect to see African majority rule in his life-time, but that he was not against Africans attaining political power and positions through merit. He said he would not oppose having an African as prime minister of Rhodesia tomorrow. Smith's words are just empty lies, of course. The man is as racist as he is insincere and unreliable. The Rhodesian political machinery is based on race. This is because of economic qualifications required by the country's constitution for one to qualify as a voter. The country's economy is weighted heavily in favour of the white race especially and not the non-whites as a whole in general. Rhodesia is a capitalist state whose exploitative machinery is based on the false belief that whites are a better race than blacks. On this basis, the Africans have been systematically dispossessed and displaced for the benefit of the whites.

The white settlers have in this manner

turned themselves into a privileged community living separately from the non-whites and enjoying an incredibly inflated standard of living unlikely to have a comparison anywhere else in the world. According to population estimates as of December 31, 1974, Rhodesia had about 274,000 whites, 5 900,000 Africans, 9,900 Asians and 19,900 Coloureds. The distribution of land reflected the privileged position of the white settlers. Of the country's total land area of 150,333 sq. miles, 47 per cent is reserved for the minority whites and another 47 per cent for the blacks. The remaining six per cent was referred to as national land.

National land is made up of parks, game reserves and areas meant for public recreation. Because the Africans are too economically weak to take advantage of such recreational facilities, they are not able to be counted among people who visit these areas. This is made even worse by the country's racially discriminatory laws which prohibit racial intergration. The whites are thus able to make use of these recreational facilities because of their economic and legislative power and hegemony.

## AT EXPENSE OF OTHER RACES

Smith, like most white Rhodesian farmers, claims that Africans could be well off economically in Rhodesia if they stopped subsistence farming and got interested in commercial production of agricultural commodities. These farmers deliberately avoid mentioning the fact that African peasants live hundreds of miles away from the nearest urban areas or railway lines, and that the soil in their areas is terribly poor and unsuitable for crop production. White farmers are found in well watered regions close to communications systems and towns. In addition to this, the number of livestock that can be owned by an African peasant is stipulated by law in respective areas. Whites can own as many animals as they can afford or wish.

Comparative numbers of livestock for Africans and for whites for the year

1973 show how badly off the Africans are. At that time, there were about 5,700,000 Africans in Rhodesia, and they owned 3,037,000 cattle, 491,000 sheep, 1,930,000 goats, and 101,000 pigs. Rhodesia's 271,000 whites that year had among them 2,572,810 cattle, 246,281 sheep, 99,152 pigs, 9,464 equines (horses, mules hinnies and asses), and 34,413 goats.

If shared on a per capita basis, each African could have had only a fraction of an animal and yet each white could have had slightly more than 10 beasts. The picture in the pastoral sector was similar to that of the agricultural side where the white farmers' gross yearly output was worth the equivalent of K247,300,000, while that of the Africans was valued at only K64,100,000. Figures for 1974 showed that white farmers netted a hefty K311,800,000 while Africans got only about K100,600,000 for their agricultural produce.

Causes for these vast disparities are several and varied ranging from differences in rain content and soil fertility of the racial regions, financial assistance given to whites by the racist regime, two different prices paid to white and African farmers for the same type of produce. African peasants are paid less than whites even for livestock. White farmers are found in areas suitable for afforestation, intensive fruit and animal production. Other white farmers are found in regions suitable for drought resistant and fodder crops. Where there are occasional dry spells, the Rhodesian regime helps white farmers with finance for irrigational purposes. Rhodesia provides a typical example of a case of over-consumption of one racial group at the expense of other races. There can never be political equality under such a system.

The Rhodesian situation is what it is completely because of racism upon which all national institutions are based. To maintain this painfully oppressive situation, the Smith regime has turned the country into a police-state bristling with weaponry and seething with official terror and murders. Smith himself stated recently that if freedom-fighters "came in thousands, they would be killed in thousands . . ."

This man with an obviously sick mind delights in talking, even boasting, about killing. He wrongly thinks that his

armed forces will always remain in their present position via-a-vis freedom-fighters.

The truth, however, is that Smith's armed forces are getting more and more strained and will collapse sooner than later as the armed struggle becomes more intense in all fronts. Smith boasts about his air-force. But facts show too that this arm of his military machinery will soon find it impossible to cope with the situation as the liberation war heats up.

Smith's air-craft is old and out-moded. It is unlikely to be serviceable for more than a few more years. In 1966, Smith's air force flew a total of 12,720 hours. In 1970, this time had increased to 20,000 hours. The army covered some 4,673,710 miles (about 7,000,000 km) in 1966 as compared with 7,045,990 miles (about 11,000,000 km) in 1970, an increase of 35 per cent on the 1966 mileage. The current intensification of the armed struggle is bound to put a great deal of strain on Smith's mercenaries.

Smith has always had a lot of confidence in South Africa's readiness to assist him in hard times. Following the closure of the Rhodesia-Mozambique border by President Samora Machel, Smith sent his man responsible for military affairs, Pieter Kenyon Van der Byl, to South Africa to confer with Vorster's regime about the need to aid Rhodesia's export and import trade by absorbing all the former commodities Rhodesia used to send out or receive through the Mozambique railways. South African parliamentarians have expressed their willingness, indeed their eagerness, to meet Smith's demands. Vorster, for his part, has stated that he would assist Smith militarily if freedom-fighters have begun killing Rhodesian whites in hundreds daily. This statement should not be taken at face value but must be read between the lines to realise that Vorster is at least willing to send armed forces once more to Rhodesia.

## BASELESS DOCTRINE

Vorster's willingness to help Smith is caused by the ideological, ethnic and economic links between Rhodesian whites and South African racists. Rhodesian settlers, especially the right-

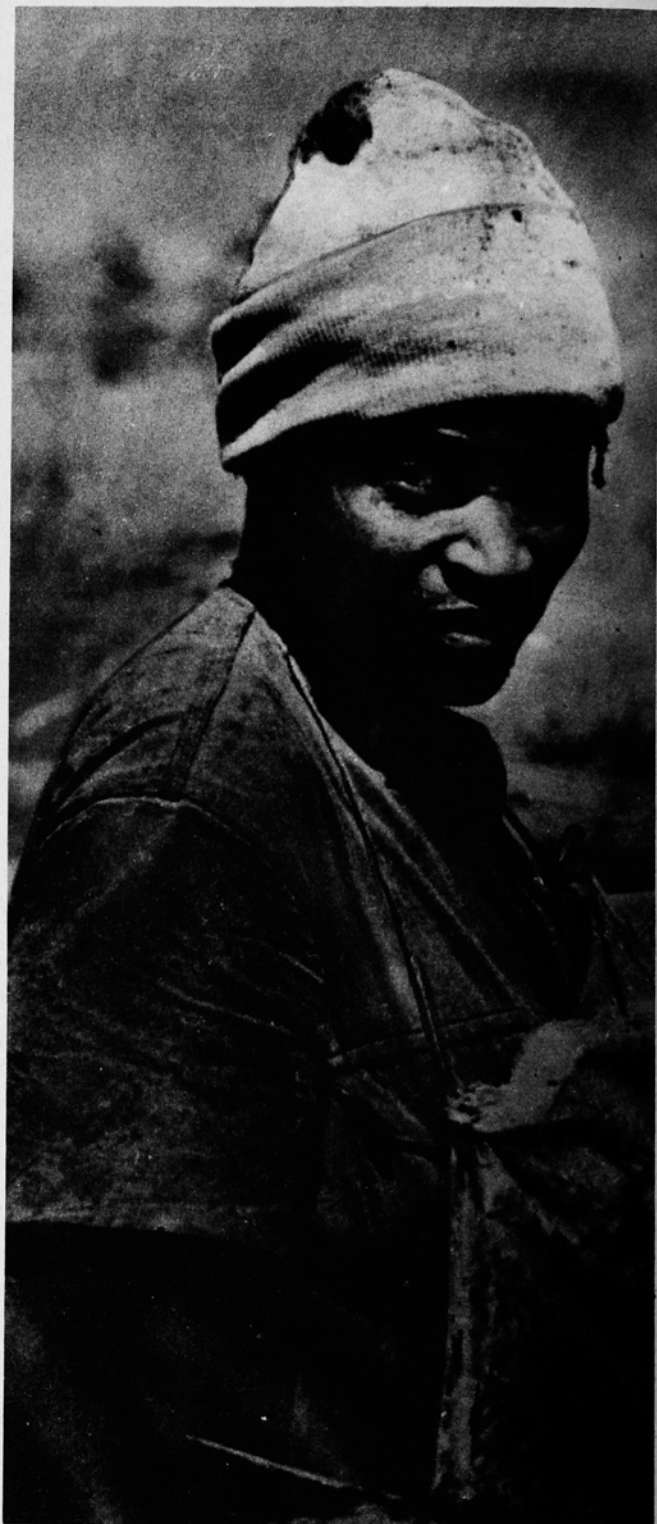
wingers, are ideologically associated with South Africa either by historical accident or educational indoctrination. These racists see their security in Rhodesia being inextricably bound up with that of South Africa's white minority. They, like their South African counterparts, falsely maintain that they belong to a master race destined to rule the non-whites in Southern Africa. Many of them believe in the Calvinist baseless doctrine of pre-destination. In the Southern African context, these misguided people believe that the non-whites were predestined to live in misery while whites wallowed eternally in lordly happiness. Such is the doctrine of the Dutch Reformed Church to which many of Smith's and almost all of Vorster's political supporters belong. Economically, Rhodesia is linked with South Africa through mining, manufacturing, distribution, finance, agriculture, transport, building and construction industries. There are in addition unclassified sectors with interests in both South Africa and Rhodesia, with South Africa as the headquarters of such enterprises. In 1963, there were 475 foreign companies registered in Rhodesia. Of these, 231 were South African-based. The other were based in various parts of the capitalistic world.

Ethnically, Rhodesia has many South African-born whites. In 1969, 60 per cent of Rhodesian whites had been born in Southern Africa, and about 27 per cent in the United Kingdom. Of those born in Southern Africa, 33 per cent had been born in South Africa. Statistics also indicate that in the same year, whereas more than half the number of Rhodesian Front (party) chairmen had been born in Britain, about 40 per cent of the mothers of RF activists had been born in South Africa, while 30 per cent of the fathers of the same activists were also South African-born.

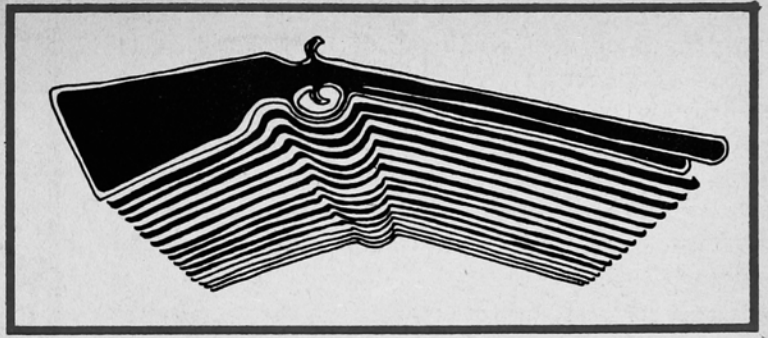
Despite South Africa's involvement in various Rhodesian fields, it is now inevitable that Zimbabwe shall be free through the barrel of a gun. The present fighting in the country's north-eastern sector and along the Rhodesia-Mozambique border, involving former ZAPU and former ZANU cadres on the one side against Smith's junta on the other is bound to gain momentum, and the Smith regime will soon collapse. Its present adamancy will end as its future defeat. The people's forces will win in spite of Smith's current lies.

# AFRICAN'S LIFE ON A WHITE MAN'S FARM

Forced African Farm Worker



*by Bekithemba Zondo*



Since the so-called detente exercise was launched in Southern Africa in 1974, many people, though not very optimistic about its outcome, have wished to reap its economic fruits and exploit it politically. Capitalist monopolists look at it purely with the hope that one day sanctions against the Rhodesian racists would be lifted and thus put their businesses into full swing once more. They hope at the same time that this would come about without majority rule which they do not wish to see in their life-time.

Others think that the exercise would bring about a situation in which although there is a change in political power, there would never be a socialist revolution. It is to this group that die-hard racists like William Harper, Smith's former internal affairs minister, belong. They have gone to the extent of

forming a new ultra-right-wing all white party opposed to any form of constitutional settlement with the non-white majority of Zimbabwe.

Others are the Muzorewas who have declared that they would not recognise any form of settlement between the Rhodesian white minority clique led by Ian Smith, and the African majority under national leader, Joshua Nkomo, never mind the nature of the settlement. They are opposed to Nkomo's leadership and personality despite whatever political or constitutional achievement he may make against the Rhodesian regime. Another group comprises freedom-fighters some of whom have been in exile for many years, and have seen many of their comrades fall in the course of fighting for their patriotic cause.

**Settler Farmer reaps Heavy Profits: and They Starvation Wages**



Inside the country there are the millions living under inhuman conditions. Perhaps the worst of this group are those in European-owned farms. Their desire is to use to their best ability a liberated land so that the country as a whole can have enough food. Today they labour for the white land-owners, latter day feudalists who make innumerable Zimbabweans toil for rations and domicile as miserable squatters in their own land. They live virtually in farm-prisons as labourers.

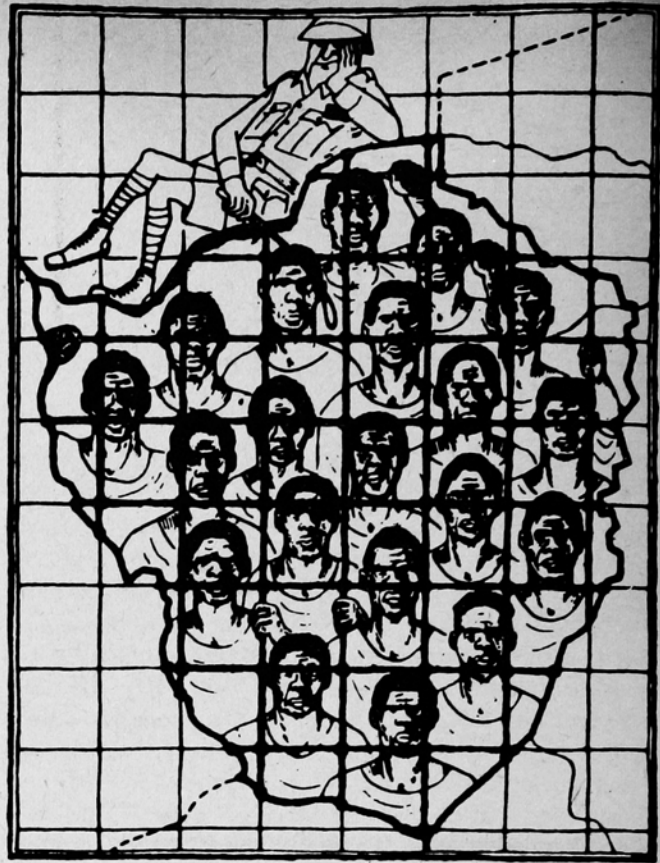
The land tenure system of Rhodesia has been condemned from all the four corners of the world by progressive forces. Most significant is the unfair distribution of land between the two racial groups of Zimbabwe. The white minority occupies the most fertile and its per capita holdings are much larger than the communally owned and infertile portion referred to as African-owned considered also on a per capita basis.

### *Fear Of Freedom War*

The vast sizes of European-owned farms surprises every visitor to Rhodesia. One of these vast estates, among many, is that of Ducly White who is locally known as Sikhuni. It is six kilometres from Lonely Mine, some 52 miles north of Bulawayo. The farm stretches to about 10 miles from Nkosikazi. Another vast farm nearby is that of McGay. It has a common border with the Nkosikazi area. Late in 1972, White fled to Bulawayo in fear of the freedom war waged against the white minority exploiters by the people of Zimbabwe. An old millionaire, White employed a poorer white to look after the estate.

Another vast land holding is that known as Kennilworth Estates. It lies north-east of Lonely Mine, and stretches for more than 40 km. Well guarded by police reservists, dogs and regular policemen, it has an African labour force of more than 800. Most of these farms produce beef, and some cotton which is hand-picked by African women and children (wives and children of the labourers). Children of the labourers on these estates cannot go to school because they have to work as, so say the white exploiters, tender hands are good for cotton-picking. Other products are maize, tobacco and sun-flower. Only a few miles east of Bulawayo there is a huge piece of land owned by a former member of parliament of the now defunct Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, a Mr. Fletcher. The estate is now under the care of Fletcher's sons.

Along the Bulawayo-Victoria Falls Road there are farms of the former Governor of Rhodesia, Sir Humphrey Vicary Gibbs. They are at Nyamandlovu. At Matetsi, along the same road, we find those of Allan Savory, former Rhodesian Front MP. He had a quite serious quarrel with his fellow-fascists a year or two ago because of a change in the land tenure laws. He felt that the change endangered his ownership of the land. Seldom spoken about are those George Ruddland, former minister of agriculture in the Smith regime. His biggest holding is only a few kilometres from Inyathi Secondary School, some 45 miles north of Bulawayo. On the farm Ruddland built a 36-roomed house. Most of these farms specialise in cattle production because they lie in a region



unsuitable for agriculture. In other parts of Zimbabwe, especially Mashonaland, estates are even bigger than those mentioned, and specialise in agriculture because the area is not suitable for pastoral farming.

### *Small Prisons Within Big Prison:*

African farm labourers live under the most inhuman conditions in Zimbabwe. Their accomodation is heart-rending. Their mud-huts with grass thatched roofs stand miserably about one or two km. from the farmer's large house. The African labourers' slums are at times thatched with plastic or paper. Labourers are not allowed to build decent or durable structure on the farms because they are really temporary workers who are usually kicked out at any time the landlord wishes.

But while still working on the farms, they are not allowed to be visited by relatives. They can go visiting only with the farmer's permission. They never go on leave. They are living virtually in small prisons "inside a big one", as Comrade Joshua Nkomo has aptly described Rhodesia.

All the farm labour is performed by the African people. A white worker hardly does anything apart from standing, gun in hand, supervising the black workers by physically assaulting those working slowly. Whenever the farmer himself or his farm-manager transports African labourers from one part of the estate to another, he sits alone, or with a trained dog, in the front of the motor-truck while the blacks or black are in the open van at the back of the vehicle. No white Rhodesian farmer sits with an African in the front of their vehicles. To them, dogs are better creatures than blacks.



The number of African farm-workers has been rising steadily in the past few years. The table below shows the trend:

YEAR	NO. OF AFRICAN WORKERS	NO. OF WHITE WORKERS
1960	270,000	4,250
1965	289,000	4,360
1970	290,000	4,590
1974	358,000	5,080

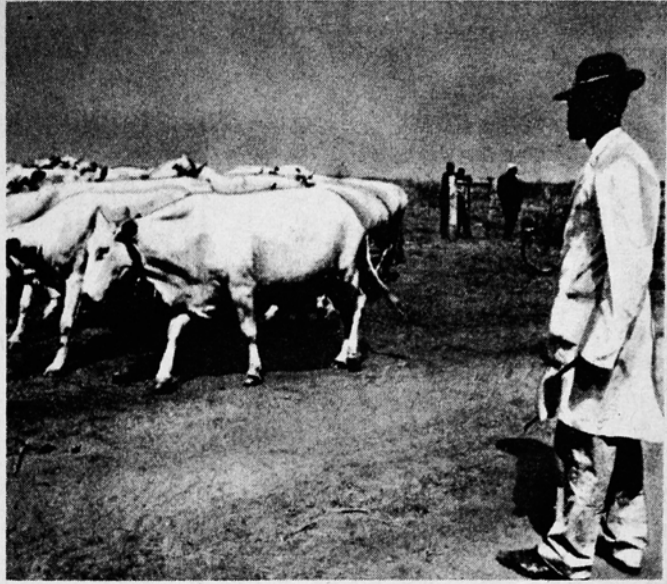
The average yearly earnings of each African labourer as compared with that for a white farm workers is shown in the table below:—

YEAR	AVERAGE YEARLY EARNINGS	
	AFRICAN	WHITE
1960	\$ 106	\$ 2,300
1965	\$ 123	\$ 2,729
1970	\$ 127	\$ 2,658

### EXPLOITED PHYSICALLY AND OTHERWISE

With this meagre wage, the African farm labourer finds it very difficult to make ends meet. With a monthly average of \$ 10, he has to buy food, clothing and maintain a family. It is a very hard life despite the fact that he gets a 25 kg bag of mealie-meal (maize meal) and about four kilogram of very poor meat (beef) known as boys' meat. The black labourer is exploited physically and otherwise. Socially, the children of the farm-owner are not allowed to play with those of the African workers. A strictly applied colour-bar is maintained. Abusive words are openly used against the blacks and the white children are actually encouraged to do the same. Life is so unbearable on Rhodesian farms that many Zimbabweans desert daily to join the liberation struggle. The regime is trying desperate measures to tighten its hold on the black farm-workers by ordering them to get permission from the regime through the so-called district commissioners. The regime realises that Africans are against this type of slavery, and are leaving to join forces of freedom. If the desertion is not stopped, so says the regime, the farms will soon run short of labour.

The people of Zimbabwe are rejecting this type of life. They want to be free now. They want to establish a Zimbabwe free of exploitation, oppression and want. They want to regain their land and use it fully for the whole nation without discrimination on any ground whatsoever. They want to enjoy the fruits of their heritage — the land — by working on it freely for themselves and not for private individuals. They want to do away with capitalist exploitation. They are joining the liberation struggle to achieve this objective.



Livestock a High Profit Making Bussiness (3 & 4)

Citrus Farming in Rhodesia for Absentee Land Lords (5)

# press review

## ARMED REVOLUTION GETS HOTTER IN ZIMBABWE

The people's armed struggle is getting hotter in Zimbabwe. The areas presently affected on a daily basis are the 1,012-km-long Mozambique-Rhodesia border and the north-eastern sector of the country where combined forces of the former ZAPU and a section of former ZANU cadres are fighting under a joint military command. The group, fighting as the African National Council, is based mainly in neighbouring Mozambique but acts on orders and directives from inside Zimbabwe where the African National Council has its headquarters.

Many clashes have taken place along the now closed borders (and in the other theatre of armed operations) resulting in casualties on the Rhodesian regime which, as reprisal measures, has been terrorising peasants in the affected areas. The fascist regime has committed several massacres in the areas where whole villages have been razed to the ground on the false excuse that peasants were responsible for the fighting in Zimbabwe.

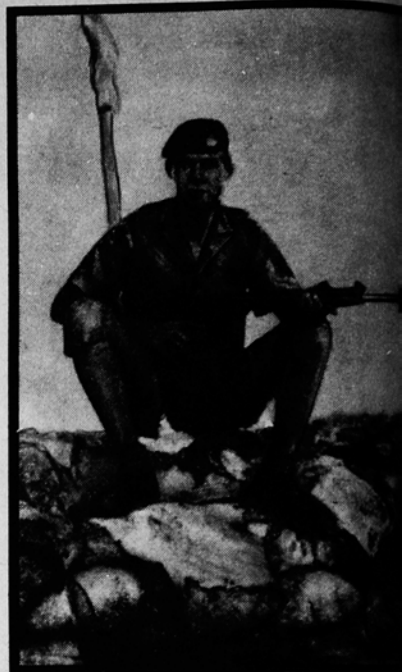
The Rhodesian regime has also committed open aggression against Mozambique some of whose border-area villages have been bombed and strafed by Smith's air-force planes. Many children, women, old and innocent people have been murdered by the Smith regime in this way. The closure of the Rhodesia-Mozambique border on March 3 followed such raids into Mozambique by Rhodesian racist troops.

The Smith regime is known to be prepared to destroy whole African communities in Zimbabwe and neighbouring states of Botswana, Zambia and Mozambique before it collapses before the Zimbabwean patriots' onslaught. The Smith

# Daily Mirror

Friday, February 27, 1976 No. 22,420

# I helped Smith's troops massacre a village



**A HORRIFYING** story of a bloody massacre by Rhodesian troops was told last night by 22-year-old Londoner Tom McCarthy. He was one of the men in an army patrol which attacked an African village. There were about sixty people there. Most were wiped out—first by rockets,

and then cold-bloodedly with machine guns and automatic rifles. McCarthy claims that even babies were shot. The bodies of men, women and children were burned in a pit after the massacre. And the mission behind the massacre? To intercept £1,000 intended for guerilla 'funds.'

regime's scorched earth policy will include important installations like the jointly-owned Kariba lake on the Zambezi River, boundary between Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Zimbabweans have stepped up their recruitment schemes and thousands of patriots are joining the revolutionary forces. The regime is also increasing its conscription campaigns and hundreds of white and coloured young men have been seized and sent to the fighting zones to defend a lost cause. Many whites are leaving Rhodesia instead of fighting for the racist dictatorship.

Unlike the whites, some coloureds plus some badly oriented blacks, Zimbabwean patriots are not coerced to join the struggle. Smith may continue to terrorise and intimidate the masses of Zimbabwe, but the people's indomitable will to fight for their freedom is supreme. More and more join the liberation forces as the Smith regime increases its crimes against the people.

## SMITH'S TERROR AGAINST MASSES

*Zimbabwe Review Reporter*

The Rhodesian regime is increasing its terror against the African people. Unwarranted searches of travellers are conducted along all roads leading to and from urban areas. Women with babies on their backs are ordered at gun-point to climb on the roofs of buses to take down their luggage to be searched. After the luggage has been roughly and thoroughly searched, each traveller is required to put it back on top of the buses.

School children must carry their school passes all the time or else they are summarily arrested and detained incommunicado on the false charge that they are freedom-fighters. Thousands of Zimbabweans working in urban areas are not allowed to visit their villages in the



*THIS is Londoner Tom McCarthy (ringed) on parade with a detachment of the Rhodesian Light Infantry during an inspection. The man in civvies is Clifford Dupont, appointed "Governor" of Rhodesia by the illegal Smith regime.*

rural areas. Those in the rural areas must procure special permission to go to the urban areas. This fascistic regulation is especially true of the areas where Smith has established concentration camps he euphemistically calls "protected villages."

Thousands, probably millions, of Zimbabweans, in all areas where liberation battles have taken place are being forcibly removed by the regime and dumped in hostile areas thousands of kilometres away where there are no provisions for either water, shelter or food. Whole fields and gardens have been deliberately destroyed by the Smith regime in all the areas of active combat.

Rhodesian troops are notorious for looting from African peasants in areas of combat. In numerous cases they have slaughtered African owned livestock without the owners' permission and eaten up the meat. Owners who have tried to resist or take up the matter further have been murdered in cold

blood and listed as some of the guerrillas killed during operations.

Farmers (white) have been given permission, indeed encouragement, to shoot to kill anybody they suspect to be trespassing their estates or politicising their unbelievably exploited labourers. The regime has openly decided to use naked bloody and terroristic methods to silence and slow down the guns of liberation. But Zimbabweans are optimistic despite all these untold atrocities that the liberation war will end up in their favour sooner than later. They are prepared and ready to die and kill for the sake of their national freedom.



**Smith's Killer Settler Soldier training European Settler Girls to kill unarmed African Villagers (8)**

# END OF THE TALKS:

## WHAT IS NEXT?

The talks aimed at a negotiated settlement of the Rhodesian political crisis came to their „logical conclusion“ they breakdown on March 12, 1976. The talks had been between the African National Council of Zimbabwe under the leadership of the President Joshua Nkomo on the one hand, and the racist settler party, the Rhodesian Front, led by Ian Smith, on the other. They started on December 1, 1975, holding, in all, 13 sessions spread over three months.

The talks broke down, as Ian Smith himself cried out, and as the ANC delegation exposed, on Smith's refusal to concede to the ANC's insistence for the immediate dissolution of the minority racist regime, establishment of a transitional government comprising equal number of Africans and settlers, with a British Chairman whose specific function would be to transfer power from the minority to the majority through elections under a constitution put forward by the ANC to this effect.

The emergence of this firm position of the ANC over the ruins of the talks established in one stroke how much of political liars the Muzorewa - Sithole - Chikerema clique was in misleading the world with a host of fabricated stories about the national leader Joshua Nkomo; such baseless stories as a supposed secret deal between him and Smith. Comrade Nkomo's quality as a leader in his own right, based on the sovereign authority of the people of Zimbabwe themselves in Zimbabwe, and unswayed by opportunistic waverings of unreliable friends, both internal and external, was vindicated.

Very many people know, and some do not care to remember for fearing the truth, that the Rhodesian regime, during the period 1964 to 1974 when Zimbabwean leaders were detained, made several overtures to all detainees to compromise their resolute stand against it by offering them jobs and so-called rehabilitation schemes.

Comrade Nkomo and an overwhelming majority of the detained patriots consistently rejected these overtures and any act that could have been construed to imply recognition of the Rhodesian regime as a power with which to settle the political issue of the country.

Of a few unstable individuals that compromised themselves with some of the overtures in exchange for release from detention was the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole.

### VERITABLE RENEGADE

He even condemned in court the use of violence as an instrument of liberation. It was for this reason, among others, that he was deposed by his former ZANU colleagues in Connemara Prison in 1974 in preference for Robert Mugabe, the then Secretary-General of ZANU. Today, the Rev. Sithole, as a master of phrases and a veritable renegade to principle, masquerades the world as a propagandist of militancy with his finger pointing at Comrade Nkomo.

It is necessary to bring home over and over again the fact that it was at the insistence of President Nkomo himself that the ANC was formed in December 1971 whilst he was still in prison. The ANC was formed for two purposes:

- To register the rejection of the Smith-Home fraudulent constitutional proposals by the entire African population of Zimbabwe.
- To unite the people of Zimbabwe more solidly by a single voice, hence the inclusion of ZANU elements in the ANC.

Bishop Muzorewa was nominated by Nkomo to lead the ANC to achieve the above mentioned objectives. The Bishop then began to taste the fruits of prestige and prominence more promising that the church hierarchy. He thus caught the fever of revolting ambition for clinging to office, sought allies to oppose Comrade Nkomo and abandoned the "godly"

principle of truth. It was Bishop Muzorewa who started off talks with Ian Smith towards a peaceful, negotiated constitutional settlement of the Rhodesian problem. This was in April 1974. Comrade Nkomo and other patriots who were then in prison gave the Bishop the benefit of the doubt though they did not believe in the efficacy of contacts with the Rhodesian regime on political issues. It was Bishop Muzorewa's negotiations with Ian Smith which attracted the President of Botswana, Zambia, Tanzania and Mozambique into the taking moves to put to test the Lusaka Manifesto with South Africa's Vorster, and eventually with Smith. These led to the release of the detained patriots. The OAU still carries in its files a declaration passed at a council of Ministers special session held in Dar Es Salaam in April 1975. The Dar Es Salaam Declaration (as it is officially called) adopted the policy of negotiations between the ANC of Zimbabwe and the Rhodesian regime. The ANC, under Comrade Nkomo's leadership, has proved its honour by consistently and conclusively pursuing the negotiations to a definite position.

### NEITHER SINCERE NOR SERIOUS

That is what was envisaged by the OAU through the Lusaka Manifesto and the April 1975 Dar Es Salaam Declaration. There were some who were trying to embark on early leadership manoeuvres for Zimbabwe. These, both inside and outside Zimbabwe, put forward the argument that the talks between the Rhodesian Front and the ANC should have been abandoned following the procedural wrangle on immunity in August 1975 at the Victoria Falls because, they claim, it was clear by then that negotiations with Smith could not succeed.

This argument was neither sincere nor serious. If it were to be stretched further, we would pose the question:

"Since Ian Smith had declared in 1964 and never withdrawn his statement that there would never be majority rule in his life-time, what would have been the point, in the face of this statement, of adopting the Lusaka Manifesto and the Dar Es Salaam Declaration when it was a foregone conclusion that Smith would never yield?"

We understood the Lusaka Manifesto and the Dar Es Salaam Declaration to be serious positions of strategy in the stages of a developing revolution in Southern Africa. The manifesto and the declaration are not ends in themselves. Their purposes could be accomplished only by reaching a conclusive and substantive position (rather than a procedural one) in order to clear the way for the next stage of the struggle. This is the strategy that Comrade Nkomo was entrusted by the ANC to apply.

President Nkomo applied the strategy skillfully and successfully. The objective was to expose the enemy finally and conclusively, and thereby remove any lingerings in anybody's mind that Smith and his Rhodesian Front could ever negotiate a settlement with anybody committed to the establishment of immediate African majority rule. Comrade Nkomo has established concretely to the

world that the Lusaka Manifesto and the Dar Es Salaam Declaration are inapplicable to Ian Smith's Rhodesian Front. We have completed our part. It is now up to those who adopted the Lusaka Manifesto and the Dar Es Salaam Declaration to withdraw them.

Withdrawal of these documents does not mean withdrawal of the principle of talking to the enemy in certain circumstances advantageous to the progress and prosecution of the struggle. We believe in a cumulative effect of a multi-lateral strategy in pursuing our liberation struggle.

### TACTICAL FLEXIBILITY

This was the course of development of all successful revolutions all over the world. The Soviet, the Chinese, the Laotian, the Viet Namese, the Angolan, the Mozambican and the Guinea-Bissau revolutions followed such a pattern. All forms of struggle, that is, military, diplomatic, labour, political and propaganda must be used in co-ordination and pushed forward as a single revolutionary thrust. It is on this basis that we regard as both a conceptual and tactical error in a revolution to suggest that talking to an enemy is an alternative to fighting the enemy.

Talking to an enemy and fighting the enemy, in addition to the others stated above, may be applied in a complementary manner either simultaneously or in different stages of the struggle according to the tactical demands of each given phase of the struggle. To take the position that one is exclusive of the other is to impose limitations on tactical flexibility, and to expose the revolution to destruction by adventurists.

What was the international impact of the break-down of the talks? Emerging from the break-down of the talks, Smith declared: "I do not believe in black majority rule ever, not in a thousand years!" This statement of Smith sent ripples of disgust all over the world. Even the staunchest supporters of his regime in Britain, France, and the United States and throughout the whole NATO complex have changed their tactics. Temporarily, at least, they not want to be associated publicly with the minority racist regime. They have joined the chorus demanding majority rule for Zimbabwe. For the first time the entire UN Security Council jointly sponsored and adopted on April 6, 1976 a resolution extending sanctions against the Rhodesian regime.

militarily. The purpose of Britain, France, the FRG and the US in stoking the fire of anti-communism in Africa is to cut off from the ANC (Zimbabwe), SWAPO of Namibia, and the ANC of South Africa such military supplies and skills from socialist countries as made victory possible in Viet Nam, Cambodia, Laos, and, lately, in Angola. In meanwhile, they are sure that there is no way of cutting off their military supplies to Vorster and Ian Smith.

Could there be any more skillful way of ensuring the failure of the liberation struggle and guaranteeing the permanent survival of the minority regimes than the above mentioned one? Why should we be lectured in Africa on the so-called dangers of communism in this day and age? The sooner it is made clear that the purpose of our liberation struggle is to assert our sovereignty, choose and chart our course of ideological development, and reject any power in the world claiming us and our country to be its area of influence or interest, the better.

These new converts to the demand for majority rule for Zimbabwe and Namibia are firstly, still putting on maximum effort to create an illusion that a peaceful, negotiated settlement with Ian Smith is still possible despite national leader Joshua Nkomo's plainly conclusive demonstration to the contrary; and, secondly, they are carefully avoiding assertion of majority rule for South Africa. We do not have to labour the point, but we would like to state that if Britain, the US and their NATO allies want to make their Southern African policies credible, they must stop supplying arms to South Africa (and thus to the Smith regime), stop telling us what friends or ideology we should choose, stop making empty gestures on majority rule, and openly and unconditionally support the ANC of Zimbabwe, the ANC of South Africa, and SWAPO of Namibia.

What is the perspective of the struggle? The political stage is clear for an intensified armed liberation struggle. Zimbabweans can no longer have illusions about this historical demand for their liberation. Truth is a vital factor in the conduct of a struggle.

### STIFFEN OUR SINEWS

Zimbabweans must realise that the liberation war shall be a long and protracted one, and will be costly in human sacrifice. The armed struggle will not achieve its victory in a simple manner as blowing a candle-light. We have to stiffen our sinews and fight relentlessly. The Zimbabwean liberation war shall be determined by Zimbabweans, and shall not be conducted in the cast of carbon-copy of any other resolution, remote or recent, because but for scientific principles, the objective conditions are not identical.

Some people have exploited the political misfortunes of the people of Zimbabwe and invented leadership theories such as an emerging so-called "third force". We are bound to ask: "Which are the first and second forces? When, where and by whom will the

### THE UNITED NATIONS SANCTIONS AGAINST THE SMITH REGIME EXTENDED

We quote a telegram given to all member states of the United Nations.

"Security Council extends sanctions against Southern Rhodesia UN, New York, April 6 — the UN security council in a unanimous Resolution has re-affirmed the sanctions against the illegal Smith-Regime in Southern Rhodesia and described the present situation in the country as constituting a threat to international peace and security.

The body also resolved to extend the sanctions existing since 1968 to the field of the insurance of export and imports, the ending of licence contracts and the use of trade names.

The resolution was sponsored by all 15 council members".

The Tanzanian Representative to the United Nations Organisation Salim A. Salim said that the decisions taken by the security council were an important contribution to the just cause of the people of Zimbabwe for freedom and independence, even if these decisions were short-lived in content.

He emphasized that the sanctions against the Smith clique cannot be so much effective as long as they are not carried out in their totality by the entire international Community. In this connection, the Representative Salim mainly condemned the United States of America which keep on jeopardising the decisions of the Sanctions by importing Chrome and Nickel from Southern Rhodesia.

The Soviet Union representative, Dr. Richard Owinnikow also pointed out the facts that the collaboration of imperialist states with Salisbury only assists the racist regime towards the continuation of its policy of oppression. He declared that it is necessary to finally make a stop to this assistance of Smith. Dr. Owinnikow said categorically that the USSR will by all means render support to all those who are fighting for freedom and independence like the people of Zimbabwe.

— The Editor —

In joining the chorus for majority rule, are imperialist countries such as Britain and the US sincere? They are not. We believe they are carrying out a tactical manoeuvre based on the theory that "if you can't beat them, join them." Their motive is still to destroy the struggle but now from within. This is the greatest danger to the liberation struggle in Southern Africa today.

The tactic is calculated to divide and destroy the solidarity of the now powerful international anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist front by making the claim of support for

majority rule in Zimbabwe conditional upon disengagement of support from Cuba and the Soviet Union, these two bulwarks of support for all liberation struggles.

### PROPS OF SMITH AND VORSTER

They are not enemies the liberation struggle anywhere in the world, least of all in Southern Africa. It is Britain, the US, France, the Federal Republic of Germany and other NATO allies — not Cuba and the Soviet Union — which are props of the Smith and the Vorster regimes politically, economically and

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## DEMANDS OF THE SITUATION:

# FEATURES AND PHASES

Every revolutionary struggle for national liberation has its particular and peculiar features and phases that do not only characterise it but also distinguish it from other revolutionary struggles, both past and contemporary. The Zimbabwean liberation struggle is not an exception to this rule. It has its own distinctive features and phases by which it is characterised.

The present phase through which the Zimbabwean struggle is passing has given rise to special demands to the oppressed people. The phase has come about as a direct consequence of the "detente" exercise in Southern Africa. It is characterised by a two-pronged tactical move featuring an armed process and negotiating with the enemy.

This situation has its own demands which sometimes frustrate certain people among Zimbabweans, causing some confusion to our international supporters. This confusion is worsened by some Zimbabweans who, due to their own weaknesses in withstanding the demands and stresses of the phase, have resorted to deliberate distortions, naked lies and mud-slinging, character assassination and abuse of supporters of the Zimbabwean liberation struggle. All these are done to paint those respon-

sible as revolutionaries or, currently, as "militants".

This propaganda exercise is meant to steal the show in the international arena. Proponents of this confusion misunderstand one cardinal point of factor about all liberation struggles; it is that no revolution can ever be imported. All revolutions must necessarily develop within their own respective areas and peoples. It is because of this cardinal fact that we are pleased to inform all our friends, and foes too, that the elected leadership of the African National Council is keeping in step with the people of Zimbabwe.

Manifestation of this principle is in the fact that Zimbabwean youth dedicate themselves daily to the prosecution of the armed struggle in ever increasing numbers. This trend has its own peculiarities too, some of which result in frustration and distress for eager youths who want to be trained without any delay in order to take part in the liberation of their motherland.

Arrangements for getting the youths prepared to participate in the struggle for the freedom of their country sometimes take long periods to be completed. This does increase to the

frustration and mental strains Zimbabwean youths must endure. The situation demands a higher price than would otherwise be required if everything were easily available. Zimbabwean youths have a responsibility to be aware of all these demands.

This is especially so in the present phase whereby those spreading confusion within our own ranks and midst seek to project themselves through the frustration of the struggle by deliberate distortions and lies. Like all armed liberation struggles, the bearers of guns are mainly the youth. Any frustration of the revolutionary process, therefore, is hardest felt by them. It is because of this understanding that the Zimbabwean youth must be prepared for whatever difficulties might come their way, or might be imposed deliberately on their path to freedom. The present situation is fraught with such dangers some of which are already being felt.

What the youth of Zimbabwe have already proved to be up to now must be re-inforced by extra vigilance against the divisive and destructive machinations and activities of opportunists, counter-revolutionaries and confusionists now masquerading in the arena of the Zimbabwean liberation struggle.

# AFRICAN NATIONAL COUNCIL [ANC - ZIMBABWE]

## DECLARATION

### SALISBURY [RHODESIA]

We, the people of Zimbabwe, meeting in this historical Congress of the AFRICAN NATIONAL COUNCIL to;

- a) Assert our national Unity and our sovereign rights in the choice of our national leadership;
- b) Chart the course and conduct of our liberation struggle;
- c) Fight and expose the evils of colonialism and imperialism;
- d) Analyse, outline and decide on our national policies and programmes for present and future development, note that: -

The present colonial system of life in Zimbabwe is exploitative in practice and orientation. The sole purpose for the penetration and settlement of the British settlers from 1890 onwards, was to grab and exploit the natural and human resources of Zimbabwe for the benefit of the settlers and their sponsors in accordance with the system.

• The military occupation of our country by the so-called Pioneer Column in 1890, the enactment of land seizure laws, the privileged status of the settlers in all fields - such as education, wage structuring, etc, imposition of discriminatory and oppressive laws, are all devices aimed at perpetuating this system of life in our country.

• Settler racism is a by-product of British colonialism

used to protect exploitative interests in Zimbabwe in the hands of the settler community as well as an attitude and practice of degrading and undermining the human dignity of the African.

• Colonialism and exploitation are the two basic evils facing the people of Zimbabwe today. Faced with this, a revolution was and still is not only inevitable, but necessary to eradicate colonialism, exploitation and racism in Zimbabwe.

• The establishment of colonial rule in Zimbabwe had the character of military aggression and its perpetration has depended on the military might of the settlers. Recognising this fact, we, the people of Zimbabwe, have no option but to defend and liberate ourselves in the same manner.

• The present liberation struggle is, therefore, a continuation of the resistance put up by our forefathers, as from the time of colonial aggression.

Therefore, the liberation struggle as recognised in the Lusaka Declaration of Unity, is a legitimate means of overthrowing oppression and establishing democratic rule. The present economic system is geared to benefit the settlers and international capitalism at the expense of the African majority.

## POLITICS OF OPPRESSION

Ever since the advent of racist settlers in Zimbabwe, power and constitutional considerations have always pivoted around the concept of privilege. Privilege has been motivated by the selfish craving and greed for profiteering and economic monopoly at the expense of the African majority.

The legal system has been so manipulated to cushion and give maximum protection to this privileged minority and their economic interests, hence, giving maximum power of degrading, intimidation, deprivation and exploitation of the indigenous population.

Brutal oppression is the order of the day in Zimbabwe. Naked terror has been perpetrated to intimidate the people of Zimbabwe in an attempt to force them into submission. Mass expulsion of people from their homes into concentration camps has been mercilessly executed.

Hundreds of young Zimbabweans have lost their lives in the struggle against settler oppression. Thousands more have been thrown into death cells, detention and restriction camps and prisons for their political convictions.

The systematic dispossession of our land and livestock has deprived us of our age-old means of livelihood, thereby forcing us to seek alternative means in European owned

farms and urban areas. In the cities, we are confronted with "job reservations" in favour of the settler minority, low wages paid to the Africans, acute African unemployment, discriminatory legislation such as "pass laws", the Vagrancy Act, the Land Tenure Act and a host of other laws calculated to harass and humiliate the Africans. African labour is the major contributor to industrial production and yet receive the lowest wage for it. Worse still, their wages are whittled away by the exorbitant prices for the goods they produce and high rents for the poor African housing.

In the rural areas a similar situation prevails whereby the prices of agricultural implements, fertilizers and seeds are inflated. And yet the prices for African agricultural products and livestock, which are maliciously classified as second grade, are deliberately down-graded. The sum total of all this is the general impoverishment of the African people and the country. This is the vicious system of exploitation and oppression over which the African people have no power of control at present. This vicious system cannot be eradicated by any reformist methods. It has to be overthrown and power controlled by the majority for the establishment and securing of a socio-economic order equitable to all.

## LAND

The Land Apportionment Act 1930, and subsequent supplementary agrarian legislation divided the country into European and African land with the result that 50 per cent of the most fertile portion belongs to only 5 per cent of the population, the settlers. Whereas about 40 per cent of the largely infertile and disease infested land is portioned to 95 per cent of the population, the African majority.

In a free and democratic Zimbabwe we are fighting for, agrarian reforms will be instituted in order to ensure equitable distribution and use of the land by the people of Zimbabwe. The priority on land use shall be selfreliance and self-sufficiency in food production.

Since land is the common heritage of all the people of Zimbabwe and the mainstay of the economy, land should not be a monopoly of a few landlords and speculators, let alone absentee land-lords. Land belongs to all the people.

## INDUSTRY

In order to ensure an efficient development and diversification of the economy, the means of production should not serve the interests of a few.

Industrial development must be geared to generate more employment opportunities so as to eliminate unemployment. Every citizen in a free Zimbabwe will have the right to work, freedom from exploitation, the right to live according to one's work and protection of one's private property.

## LABOUR

The right to work is an inalienable right of every Zimbabwean. Hence, it is the obligation of the state to provide employment for all its citizens. This entails the scrapping off of the obnoxious "job reservation" system existing today in favour of the settler minority.

Therefore, there must be an organised labour movement to serve the interests of the workers and the nation as a whole. In order to eliminate industrial conflicts, it is necessary to involve workers in decision making on all matters affecting them.

## EDUCATION

The present system of education is discriminatory and biased in favour of the settlers. Whilst settler education is free and compulsory, African education is neither free nor compulsory.

It is our determination, following the victory of our struggle, to establish a free and compulsory education for all. Unlike in the present educational system, in a free Zimbabwe, diversification in the fields of study and provision of a widely embrassive curricula in the primary, secondary, universities, technical and vocational schools, as a foundation for a technically and scientifically oriented type of education, will be instituted to rescue people's attitudes from the rut of colonial type of education. Education must be free, universal and compulsory.

## HEALTH

Because of the colonially and racially conceived health services, development of these services has dismally failed to cater efficiently for the vast majority of the population. Health services will have to be expanded so as to encompass all sectors of the country and cater for all the citizens of the state.

## APPRECIATION OF INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE

We note with special appreciation and gratitude, the sacrifices and assistance made by the neighbouring independent states of Zambia, Botswana, Tanzania, and Mozambique. We note with satisfaction and gratitude, the material, moral and diplomatic assistance rendered to us by the Organisation for African Unity, (OAU) member countries, by the Socialist countries and by the overwhelming members of the United Nations Organisation and its specialised agencies. We further appreciate and express gratitude to the unswerving solidarity and assistance by the International and National progressive organisations.



## SOLIDARITIES

We express our solidarity with peoples and countries fighting against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism in Africa, Asia, and Latin America such as the struggle for the restoration of the rights of the Palestinian people in their own land, the struggle for the independence of the so-called French Somaliland and Spanish Sahara.

We wish to declare that the struggle for the liberation of South Africa and Namibia is our struggle and the liberation of Zimbabwe is inextricably linked with the liberation of these two countries. We hail the peoples of Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands, Sao Tome and Principe and the Comoros for attaining their independence. We applaud the victories scored by the Angolan people against the Portuguese colonialism and wish them further victories in the struggle for complete independence. We hail the heroic victories of the peoples of Viet Nam, Cambodia, and Laos against United States imperialism.

## CONDEMNATIONS

We condemn and as self-appointed enemies of the people of Zimbabwe those countries and organisations which are giving all-round support to the Smith regime, such as: —

- a) Britain, USA, France, West Germany, Japan, Switzerland, Israel, and Italy.
- b) South Africa for propping the Rhodesian racist regime militarily, economically, and politically.

We condemn and reject in toto the reactionary concepts of racism and tribalism. Colour, race or tribe must be treated as accidents that they are and must never, under any circumstances, be treated or exploited as passports to fuller life, power or privilege.

We call upon all Zimbabweans, in particular the white residents whose leaders have been the main perpetrators of racism, to abandon such leaders and join the African National Council so that we, altogether, go forward to build a society and government in which each citizen shall be treated for his human worth and racism outlawed as a crime.

## RESOLUTIONS

Hailing the great sacrifices of our heroic Zimbabwe Freedom Fighters who have laid down their lives, those in death cells, detention and imprisonment.

Conscious of and committed to our natural obligation to liberate ourselves, we resolve: —

1. To give the highest national honour to those who have laid down their lives for the liberation of our country;
2. To rededicate ourselves to the cause of our liberation;
3. To mobilise and educate the masses of Zimbabwe to abhor and fight colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism and racism;
4. To intensify the liberation struggle and to take all such necessary measures to ensure our victory and the total eradication of exploitation and oppression;
5. To defend, protect and nurture the unity of the people of Zimbabwe against all divisive and destructive elements, tribal or splitists inside and outside the country;
6. To uphold the party as the only political vanguard of the people of Zimbabwe now and in the future;
7. To reject and fight outrightly the balkanisation of the country under such guises as the so-called policy of "provincialisation";
8. That any negotiations can only be on the basis of the transfer of power from the minority to the majority;
9. To call upon the international community never to recognise, support and encourage splinter groups in or outside Zimbabwe.

## APPEAL

1. We call upon the international community to intensify its material, moral and diplomatic support to our liberation struggle.
2. We call upon the international community to recognise the Party as the sole authentic representative of the people of Zimbabwe.

Salisbury 28. September 1975

# POET'S CORNER

## *KNOW YOUR ENEMY*

by Saul Ndlovu

Stand up, brother, and be counted,  
Speak up, sister, and be heard  
Shoot straight, comrade, and be felt  
The revolution is ripe  
The road is long, hard and but is there.

Aim correctly, patriot, and fire,  
Reload quickly, hero, and charge  
Stand firm, revolutionary, and prevail  
The revolution is calling  
The road is tough, stony and but is there.

Know your enemy, country-man, and fight,  
Shun racism, colleague, and advance  
Detest tribalism, friend, and struggle  
Talk less, liberator, and perform  
The road is narrow, hilly and but is there.

Defend your right, partner, and attack,  
Protect the masses, freedom-fighter, and instruct  
Avoid falsehoods, leader, and direct  
Consult much, citizen, and act  
The road is trying, devious and but is there.

## *DOWN WITH THE BOER-SETTLER*

by Gift Musarurwa

In the first days of our country  
When the buffalo roamed the land,  
The old peaceful folks-men used to mine and farm the land,  
But when the Boers trekked in they grabbed it all by force  
Settled and started farming and sold it to their own friends.

You've heard of pain and sorrow,  
You've heard of misery,  
You've heard of Ian Smith and his gang in Zimbabwe  
Who kill unarmed people and rob away their crops.

If you like Ian Smith you must be a fascist,  
If you liked Adolf Hitler  
You'll love Ian Smith.  
And if you think that Vorster is a hero,  
You must be a Boer pig!

Let us now remember, boys,  
Let us not forget  
Pick up your bags,  
Cork your rifles  
Get the peace back again.

## **OUR EARTH**

By David Sibanda

With the eye of my heart  
Visualising the heart of our earth  
The heat forces the bleeding heart  
To pity the drought of the earth.

Desolate, fearful and lonely  
No simple solution and justice  
Anarchism, blunders in practice  
All rivers 're dry and the dead valley.

Loud voices scream for revolution  
Destruction deems the appreciation  
Progressive forces 've tried to fight  
The might of the enemies of light.

Let justice triumph over evil  
We will destroy the devil  
Our earth hence is our inheritance  
The enemy's violence will meet our vigilance.

This is our earth for ever  
Forward ever, backward never  
What is ours is what we 'll preserve  
For that is what we deserve.

## **TORN APART**

By Thandekile L. E. Ndiweni

To be torn apart,  
To be fattened to be torn apart  
How bitter is the lot!  
Living a life one hasn't sought.

None was ever so fair  
As I thought you!  
Not a word can I hear  
Spoken against you.

Thinking of how things used to be a time ago  
Days ladden with memories so slowly go  
Some vestiges of dreams so deep remain  
And happiness seems hard to retain.

So bitter and so sad  
The days that are no more,  
Days that have turned so bad  
Each day painful than before.

Do stars and the moon above  
Hear of my disturbed love?  
The dove could not fly enough above  
Now I don't have the love I used to have.

It's so sad to be torn apart  
So gloomy to be fattened to be torn apart  
Oh, how bitter is the lot!  
Just to live the life one hasn't sought.

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in English and Hindi on the following metre bands: 25, 19, 16 and 13.

**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

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multiple dimensions of the fourth, fifth and, perhaps, sixth forces be created; and when and why will they emerge to compound the situation?"

We do not know of any leader in any revolution, remote or recent, who emerged outside the institutions of a political party.

There is only one force in Zimbabwe — the people of Zimbabwe themselves in Zimbabwe itself. Functionaries of the struggle outside Zimbabwe the right to usurp the sovereign authority of the people of Zimbabwe in Zimbabwe. They are organs sent out to acquire certain skills and advantages for the promotion of the struggle (and the people's sovereign authority) but being part of the revolutionary whole — the people of Zimbabwe.

There is a wave of resentment in Zimbabwe among the masses over some external forces which, despite the good faith consistently depise and dismiss the sovereignty of the

people of Zimbabwe in congress in order to forge their own fancies for our struggle. There would have been no leadership issue or theories regarding the Zimbabwean struggle had some of our brothers and sisters externally recognised and respected the decisions of the people's congress held on August 10, 1963, and lately another one held on September 27-28, 1975.

This contempt of the sovereignty of the people of Zimbabwe has had the effect of deluding some Zimbabweans like Bishop Muzorewa into believing that they could campaign and be imposed as leaders of Zimbabwe by the outside world. Imperialist propaganda has been quick to capitalise on the situation, and given currency to such fictitious ideas as the External Wing and the Internal Wing of the ANC.

**Clearly Oriented Party:**

There is only one ANC, that of the people in

Zimbabwe itself. That is where leadership must emanate and reside. We would like to conclude on one fundamental note. It is that the Zimbabwean struggle is no longer a nationalist one. The stage of establishing our singularity as a people of Zimbabwe was campaigned for and accomplished in the early 1960s, the era of nationalism in Africa. We no longer need to remind one another that we are Zimbabweans. That stage was sealed and exceeded.

We are now conducting a revolution of the social system in Zimbabwe. The tasks of our liberation struggle now are to eliminate exploitation of our human and natural resources, to destroy racism and oppression, and move towards a social order equitable to all. The immediate task is to build a clearly oriented party, and to break-down the pillars of racism and exploitation through armed struggle.