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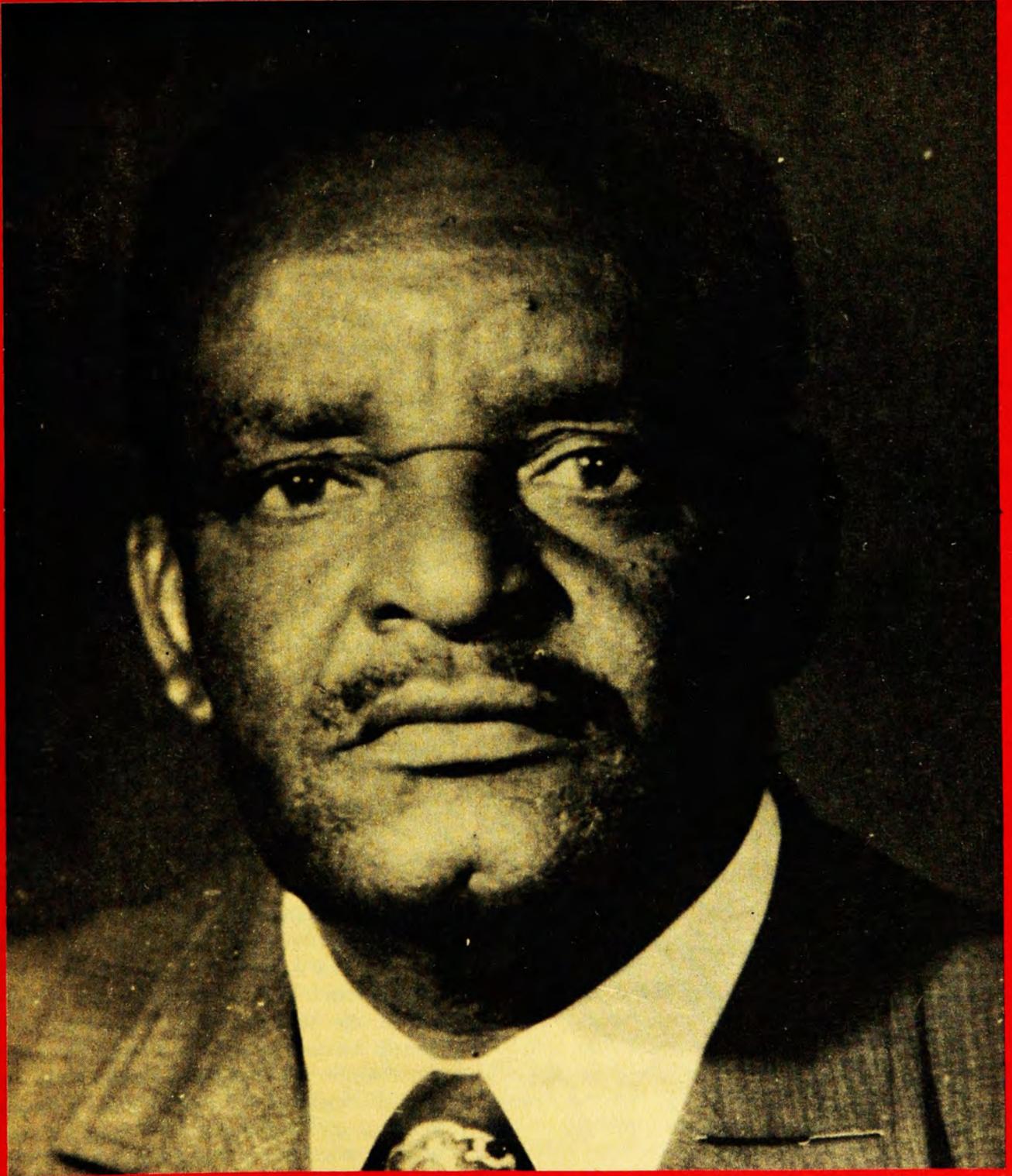
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ZIMBABWE REVIEW

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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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COVER PICTURE:

Comrade Samuel Munodawafa National Chairman of the African National Council of Zimbabwe

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EDITORIAL

For several months now the question of the leadership of the people of Zimbabwe has been on the lips of many people. Some of these people profess to support the liberation struggle of the masses of Zimbabwe. Others discuss Zimbabwe and its fight for freedom as an issue of academic interest. Whatever the motive or nature of interest, the issue has been raised at national as well as international meetings.

We, for our part, have tried to refrain from getting loudly involved in this prickly issue because we felt that the leadership of Zimbabwe was an obvious responsibility and right of Zimbabweans and no other people. We thought that it would dawn on the minds of those (outsiders) that their views, advisory as they may be, had been registered, and that the duty to make a final decision was an inalienable one to Zimbabweans. We believe that we thought wrongly because the issue is still being peddled by all and sundry.

We of the African National Council of Zimbabwe have one very basic principle which we practise in all our dealings with any nation, big, small, weak or powerful. It is that the question of leadership is a matter solely for each nation, free or not free. We express our solidarity with all struggling, oppressed, and free peoples through the leadership of those peoples as established in their own way by them. We never at any time of our dealings with, say, Tanzania, question the validity or otherwise of the country's decisions at any level and on any issue. We respect the decisions of every nation because we know it is sovereign. The only decisions we reject outright and without conditions are those of racist minority regimes of South Africa, Namibia, Rhodesia, and the colonial administrations of Djibouti and Spanish Sahara. We reject them for the simple and obvious reason that these administrations are imposed upon the majority of the people through force of arms and not through the ballot box.

That being the case, we are of the opinion that Zimbabwean leadership is our unquestionable right and responsibility notwithstanding the fact that we cannot choose it under free and unfettered circumstances because of the oppressive Rhodesian minority regime. We do not expect those who are giving us both material and moral aid to re-assert our sovereignty (within our own borders) to tamper with or seize that sovereignty even before we have fully re-asserted it. We expect them to listen to us,

consult with us, advise us, but leave the decisions to us as a matter of right.

There has been talk about supporting armed cadres in fighting zones to the entire exclusion of the political leadership. Some people have tried to argue that because FRELIMO freed Mozambique, Zimbabweans must imitate it in toto.

We definitely wish to emulate FRELIMO. There is no question about that. We have always worked hand in hand with Mozambican revolutionaries led by FRELIMO. We admire and respect their patriotic dedication and complete devotion to the liberation of the whole of Africa. When Mozambique became a free nation, we were highly pleased because its freedom brought ours many steps nearer. And just as we expected, FRELIMO has not let us down because we are fighting today using Mozambique as a friendly retreat in case of need. For this we are profusely thankful.

But we must point out that the historical development of the Mozambican and the Zimbabwean struggles must be analysed so that we should realise that Zimbabweans cannot imitate FRELIMO in toto in their revolution and expect the same results FRELIMO got in Mozambique. The Mozambican struggle was spear-headed by FRELIMO which had been founded as a guerrilla movement. Its fighting cadres politicised the masses and started party branches as they moved relentlessly deep into Mozambique from the north. Briefly, we can rightly say that FRELIMO's political machinery was virtually created by FRELIMO's armed cadres. Variations or exceptions are, of course, to be found in every situation, but here we are dealing with generalities. In Zimbabwe, there is a tradition of mass political parties. It is from this tradition that the guerrilla force was formed, not as a separate and independent body, but as an integral part of the political movement wholly subject to the Zimbabwean political leadership. The guns they wield are the fire-power of the political movement. If at any time the guerrilla forces tried to declare themselves supreme and out of the political leadership's authority and control, the very basis of the guerrilla forces would have been under-mined. They would, in this case, resort to terror and force to recruit more cadres. Such cadres would not be loyal to the cause. So, those who have been urging Zimbabwean armed cadres to usurp national leadership through the gun are advised that Zimbabweans, like many nations all over the world, say that the party commands the gun and not vice versa.

We think that it is unnecessary to remind our readers that on September 27-28, 1975 Zimbabweans chose their national leadership at a party congress agreed to in Lusaka on December 7, 1974, and also strengthened by the ANC (Zimbabwe)



Constitution. The well known unity accord signed in Lusaka on that day stated in bold terms that a national congress would be held in four months' time. The four signatories to the unity agreement were well aware of this inseparable condition aimed at consolidating the people's unity. Those who later changed their minds (Bishop Muzorewa, Rev. Sithole and Chikerema) about the congress are up to now guilty of gross unreliability and a deliberate attempt to torpedo the unity agreement. We honoured the accord with all its inseparable conditions or responsibilities. One of these was the holding of the congress which chose our national leadership. We do not understand why it is difficult for some of our friends to differentiate between dissidents (Muzorewa, Sithole and Chikerema) from genuine and honest people's leaders headed by Joshua Nkomo. We have no problem in recognising and supporting authentic national leadership in the respective OAU member-states. We hope all of them will not have any problem with or create any for us.

FARSICAL APPOINTMENT OF CHIEFS

TO SMITH'S CABINET:

DESPERATE

MOVE



On May 1, 1976, the Rhodesian racist minority leader, Ian Smith, took yet another desperate plunge that will lead to the total defeat and routing of his settler regime sooner than later. On that date, Smith announced that he had appointed some of his stooge chiefs as "ministers" in his cabinet. He went further to state an irrelevance that his appointment of the chiefs to his cabinet meant that he would never again hold negotiations with the African National Council to settle the country's political problem. But Smith's inconsistency was revealed a week later when he himself announced that he was ready to start further constitutional negotiations with Zimbabwe's nationalist leaders.

The answer to Smith's impudence was given by the ANC's Publicity Secretary, Willie Musarurwa when he said resumption of talks had been ruled out. Comrade Musarurwa went further to say that "... constitutional talks can only be resumed if Smith announces black rule before the talks start. In the absence of such an assurance, the African National Council would not consider to take part in resumed talks ..."

The chiefs who were appointed by Smith are the notorious puppets of the racist regime, Chief Jeremiah Chirau, Kaiser Ndiweni, Enock Mangwende, and Charumbira. Chief Mangwende is known as "minister" of Development for Manicaland and Mashonaland East, Chief Ndiweni is Development "minister" for Matabeleland North and South, Chief Chirau is Development "minister" for Mashonaland South and North, and Charumbira is Development "minister" for the Midlands and Victoria Province. Their cohorts in this set-up are Mungate who is known as "deputy minister" for African Education in Mashonaland, Mbofana is "deputy minister" for African Education in Matabeleland, and Mlilo is "deputy minister" for African Education in the Midlands.

These appointments show what the Rhodesian Front policy is all about. The racist leader, Ian Smith, has on many occasions called for what his party, the Rhodesian Front, calls "provincialism" or "separate development." This is just another name for a Rhodesian-type of "Bantustanism." This policy has been in the Rhodesian Front pipe-line for a long time. The Rhodesian

Front has been repeatedly returned to office on a plank of racism under the euphemism of "separate development." Hence these chiefs and sell-outs have agreed to be a cog in the machinery of the racist regime. Their sole duty will be to fulfil Smith's obsession of turning Zimbabwe into a full-fledged racist state with a sprinkling of "black" people as window-dressing. Smith's tokenism will not wash in Zimbabwe. The African people have pledged to liberate their country with blood from the vulturous claws of racism and white minority domination.

PERPETUALLY GUARDED

The chiefs who have accepted to be used by the settler regime are not new to this treacherous field. The four chiefs are all members of the 40-man so-called Chiefs' Council. They also belong to the group of 10 chiefs who are in Smith's Senate. Both the Chiefs' Council and the Senate are the watch-dogs of the ruthless implementation of the Smith regime's evil laws.

Before we discuss the futility of this window-dressing exercise of the Smith regime, a background of the chiefs' unenviable performance, erosion of their traditional power by successive settler regimes, and vassal-like status must be explained in order to expose the emptiness of this gesture together with its sinister intentions. Since the invasion of our country by British freebooters in 1890, chiefs have been reduced systematically to a status of civil servants per se. Their historical role as traditional rulers and law-givers was eroded irreparably by the Native Affairs of 1928. They have been reduced to an ignominious state of being chattels of the Rhodesian regime, and on-the-spot means of oppressing Zimbabwean peasants in the rural areas. Many of them have been forced to accept this menial and degrading role. This has subsequently plunged their popularity to an irredeemable low.

The majority of the present-day generation of chiefs are appointees of the Rhodesian regime in replacement of truly hereditary chiefs who were summarily deposed for their part in the liberation wars after 1890. They are, therefore, usurpers of this once respected institution. Enock Mangwende is one of the most recent to replace the truly hereditary chief. He is Munhuwepayi Mangwende who is still regarded by the African people as the rightful chief of Mrewa area. Munhuwepayi Mangwende is a strong-willed and very popular patriotic leader who has spent long periods in both prison and restriction areas together with the ANC President Joshua Nkomo. Despite his deposition, he still commands authority and absolute loyalty from his people, in fact from all Zimbabweans.

This is the objectionable status and role of the puppets who have been appointed to Smith's cabinet. Their claim that they represent even an iota of the Zimbabwean masses is as empty as Smith's boast that he has a big following and support among the non-whites of Zimbabwe. All these chiefs are always guarded by armed contingents of Smith's police and troops against the very people they claim to be their supporters and subjects. The unpopularity of these turncoats is widely acknowledged and has been demonstrated many a time by regular criticisms, physical attacks and public condemnation they

receive from the African masses. The chiefs' movements are restricted to their districts for fear of attacks from Zimbabwean peasantry. The feelings of the people of Zimbabwe towards the chiefs can be summarised in the words of Aron Chiota who stated: "... They are ... useful if you live in a tribal trust land and want a divorce or have a land dispute ..."

OUT-LIVED THEIR ROLE

The argument that chiefs in Rhodesia can be political leaders of Zimbabwe is

farfical, invalid and absurd. The majority of the chiefs are plainly incapable of translating what the Zimbabwean masses are fighting for — majority rule. Their role has been compromised by a series of laws that have turned the chiefs into servile tongs of successive settler regimes. The chiefs have knowingly fallen into a trap of their masters against the African people. They have been deliberately persuaded to accept as gospel truth the nonsensical propaganda that only an evolutionary rather than a revolutionary process will bring about political changes in line with the demands and aspirations of the majority.



A WEEPING FATHER CARRIES A CHILD MURDERED BY THE RACIST POLICE AT THE BEGINNING OF THE SEWETO MASSACRE — SEE PAGES 28 AND 29

It is significant that successive regimes have never allowed or encouraged chiefs to state openly and freely their political views except under "government" stage-managed shows like the infamous 1964 "Domboshawa Indaba". Later the chiefs were ordered to accept the massively rejected Tiger and Fearless constitutional proposals that had been worked out by the then British Prime Minister, Harold Wilson, and the Rhodesian racist dictator, Ian Smith. It was a whiteman-to-whiteman deal.

During the 1964 "Domboshawa Indaba" they embarrassed all concerned when they vociferously demanded independence "this afternoon" under the racist minority regime. They praised racist rule saying it was the only guarantor of peace, stability, social progress and economic development in Zimbabwe. Their naivety in political affairs can be judged from their voluble criticism of the clearly justified demands of the majority of the people of Zimbabwe, and their utter disregard for the economic and political plight of the masses. No sane person can support exploitation of a majority by a minority nor repression of the indigenous masses by a settler minority. But Rhodesian chiefs do. They make utter fools of themselves and those promoting and protecting them.

The credibility of chiefs as political leaders was dashed long ago by the institutionalisation of racism and segregation laws. The death knell came in the form of the Native Affairs Act. These factors estranged the chiefs from the mainstream of the aspirations of the majority of the masses of Zimbabwe. These factors have retarded the chiefs' political maturation, thus turning them into decadent characters who cannot assume a dynamic role in the present population of Zimbabwe. They still live in a world of "baas-ism" which is incompatible with the present generation's thinking and political goals.

Historically, successive Rhodesian regimes have always toyed with the lame idea of incorporating chiefs as window-dressing into their cabinets. The aim is to blunt the demands of the African people for their sovereign right to rule themselves in their own land. One-time Rhodesian Premier, the late Sir Edgar Whitehead, also toyed with the idea especially when there was massive sup-

port for African nationalists throughout the country and the whole world.

GENUINE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

Smith's desperate move was only a consummation of this old idea. The actual aim is to try to plant chiefs as leaders of the Zimbabwean masses instead of the nationalists. History has numerous examples of such measures where local puppets and reactionaries were imposed on the people in order to stifle popular opposition from the majority, safeguard the political interests and economic investments of the imperialist power. Vietnam is such a vivid and very recent example where imperialist subterfuge failed openly just as it will obviously flounder in Zimbabwe.

Since 1957, the people of Zimbabwe have solidified their priorities and demands. Their progress cannot be impeded, let alone strangled, by such gestures as the Smith dictatorship's chiefs' appointment. Chiefs are irrelevant in today's political development in Rhodesia. They will remain so till majority rule is attained. Smith's cheap propaganda moves cannot mislead anybody in Zimbabwe. The people have sacrificed so much for so long that they cannot be deluded by empty gestures.

Up to now, the chiefs powers have been tenuous even in traditional matters. They have been effectively and permanently replaced by an articulate generation of nationalists who demand revolutionary changes in their country. Whereas their authority has been parochial, that of the patriotic movement has been national. No chief in Zimbabwe can claim national status or recognition the same way Nkomo and other ANC nationalists can. The chiefs' traditional influence begins and ends in small localities with small population groups. Zimbabwe, a land of 150,333 sq. miles, has some 280 chiefs with additional sub-chiefs and numerous village headmen all wielding varied authority in traditional affairs only. The vast majority of these people are not conversant with the political aspirations of the masses. It is a fact that leaders like Lobengula and others were of a different calibre from the that of the present chiefs because they lived during the pre-settler racist era. They had overriding authority in all matters of national importance. But with advent of the

white settler hordes and their racism, these traditional powers and authority were destroyed by the enactment of laws like the Native Affairs Act.

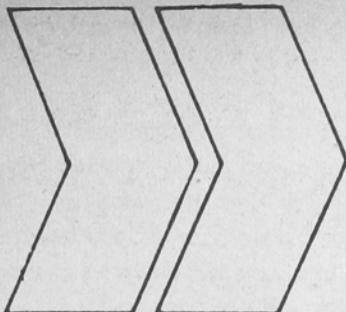
The active role as puppets and useful cogs in the huge, exploitative settler machinery is deeply resented by and ingrained in the minds of the Zimbabwean masses. Their co-operation in dastardly acts like de-stocking of peasants' livestock, their active role in the collection of the much hated "hut" and "poll" tax are well known. Attempts to resuscitate them as political leaders is completely absurd, especially at this irretrievably late hour. Their status has been badly damaged and cannot be repaired by the very regime committed to its further destruction. Smith's appointment of the four chiefs to his cabinet is further damaging to their status as traditional leaders.

RICHES AND COMFORT

The mantle of genuine political leadership in Zimbabwe can never be claimed honestly by chiefs, people whose hands are red with the blood of the oppressed masses. Political leadership in Zimbabwe entails hardship, detentions, imprisonment, physical torture, death and abject poverty. It does not mean compromise with the enemy and his repressive rule. The chiefs have always been scrapping crumbs from the sumptuous table of the white oppressor and in this manner lead a relatively comfortable life amidst grim suffering of their fellow-Africans. They have not raised a voice for fear of deposition and loss of this bit of comfort. Their acceptance of this recent measure is for their own personal riches and comfort. It was made without a single thought for the groaning six million Zimbabweans. Such people can never be regarded as leaders of the masses.

The righteous anger of the masses of Zimbabweans against these stooges will continue till the day of reckoning in a free Zimbabwe. The chiefs have done much in the past to collaborate with the Smith regime. Their last treachery, at least these four and those in the regime's Senate, has slammed the door shut against the faces of the exploited and repressed masses of Zimbabwe. They have dug their own graves, History will confirm the only sentences they so openly deserve — DEATH.

ANC STATEMENT TO LIBERATION COMMITTEE:



PRINCIPLES UPHELD

The African National Council of Zimbabwe presented a statement to an Organisation of African Unity Liberation Committee meeting in Dar es Salaam from May 31 to June four. The ANC statement, presented by Comrade Edward Ndlovu, deputy Secretary for External Relations and Member of the Central Committee, stressed the fact that the 1974 Unity Agreement by which former ZAPU, former ZANU, former FROLIZI and the old ANC of Bishop Muzorewa united in Lusaka had two vital principles, namely that of unity itself, and that of responsibility to the masses which the unity agreement was meant to bring together as one fighting force and struggling nation. The ANC document follows in full: —

"In December 1974 all political groups working for the liberation of Zimbabwe joined within an expanded African National Council with the express purpose of achieving complete unity of efforts for the struggle. All groups agreed to take steps necessary to build

this unity — to consolidate it a political level by reference to a people's congress, and at military level by uniting cadres and recruits in combined camps for military training and unified operations. "This unity was promoted by the Organisation of African Unity through front-line states for two reasons: first, it would render the liberation movement stronger and more effective than before whether for political or military action; second, it was hoped that the achievement of such unity would eliminate the possibility of civil war within Zimbabwe after the defeat of the Smith regime. For our part, we accepted and promoted such unity for the same reasons. "It should be noted that in all movements there are always some elements who have continuously proved themselves divisionistic, opportunistic, individualistic and even treasonous. Notwithstanding all these elements, we accepted the good faith of the OAU countries in advising us to take this course, and hoped that those who had taken divisive actions in the past would be forced by

African countries to retrace their steps and work on genuine unity within the people.

"In the declaration, two vital principles emerged:

- The principle of unity itself;
- The principle of responsibility.

Unfortunately the two principles clashed soon after the signing of the Declaration because the principle of responsibility of the leadership of the movement to the people of Zimbabwe was flagrantly dishonoured by some of the signatories of the unity accord. They refused to accept this principle and rejected the necessity of holding a people's congress although this principle had been explicitly recognised when all concerned signed the accord.

MEANINGLESS WITHOUT RESPONSIBILITY

"A part of the accord was that a people's congress to be held within four months. In addition to rejecting this inseparable part of the agreement, the group led by Bishop Muzorewa tried to maintain a separate identity from the pro-congress section of the expanded ANC. Events pertaining to this issue have been outlined in previous papers already presented to the OAU. Hence we do not find it necessary to repeat the already known details.

"What concerns us here is the re-action of the OAU to this situation. Rather than insisting on the inseparability of the two principles, that of unity and that of responsibility, and persuading all signatories of the Lusaka Declaration of Unity to honour their pledge to obtain a popular mandate, the OAU stuck only to one principle — that of unity — raising it above all other principles, including that of responsibility.

"Those of us who recognised and supported all the principles found ourselves in a position of being accused of destroying unity by insisting that the principle of responsibility was of equal importance. Since we believed that the agreed unity did not involve only the leaders but the broad masses of Zimbabwe, we could not compromise on this issue. Nevertheless the OAU has maintained the fiction that there are

two ANCs even if one group has a mandate from the people through a congress, and the other has none. We believe that the OAU could have done more to encourage all groups to accept that unity is meaningless without responsibility.

"... The group under Muzorewa's leadership... disregarded and violated the agreement they signed... This group continues to pursue anti-unity actions and makes irresponsible pronouncements not only against the chosen leaders of the people of Zimbabwe, but also against the OAU, against individual members of the OAU, and against all attempts by member-states (of the OAU) to assist in the Zimbabwe struggle. Some of their pronouncements are obviously intended to lower the credibility of the OAU. This naturally affects the OAU's prestige and the effectiveness of the liberation movement in Zimbabwe.

"Young men who have offered to die for the liberation of Zimbabwe are being called all sorts of names by this group. Surely, this cannot be tolerated. What guarantee can the Liberation Committee make to the peoples of Africa generally, and to those of Zimbabwe in particular that this group will ever change and accept genuine unity and responsibility? Ever since the creation of unity, ... we have initiated positive plans and programmes to consolidate the unity at the military level among the cadres of former movements.

THE "THIRD FORCE" MYTH

"Important discussions were held several times between leaders of former ZAPU and former ZANU on the one hand, and subsequently, more discussions were held between the military commands of the same former movements on the other hand. It was at this initial stage that the Executive Secretariat of the Liberation Committee invited the leadership of former ZAPU and the military command of former ZANU to a joint meeting in Dar es Salaam where both sides accepted an offer of facilities and material to make preparations for the resumption of the armed struggle through Mozambique.

"It is not necessary to recapitulate details step by step here because the Liberation Committee has been briefed about these developments. But it is important to review the main trend and highlights since the whole issue of consolidating unity arose, and how responsibilities were tackled by us in creating a unified military command.

"It is an under-estimation of and a disdain for capabilities of the people of Zimbabwe for anyone to talk about a "third force" (divorced from the national political leadership) because there has never been a guerrilla war fought in a political vacuum. Every theoretician of revolutionary guerrilla warfare (from Ho Chi Minh — the man with the longest apprenticeship in guerrilla revolutionary warfare to Amilcar Cabral) has emphasised that the political struggle goes hand-in-hand with the military strategy. All emphasise the need to integrate the cadres with the political party and the masses. The precise dialectical relationship between the vanguard and the masses has indeed been a frequent subject of theoretical debate, but the relationship must indeed be there.

"No serious guerrilla war has been ever launched without the assumption that the fighting cadres represent the wishes and follow a programme of a party, and the masses, and are responsible and answerable to the will of the masses. We claim to be fighting for majority rule. If we really mean majority rule and not just rule by whatever group of black Zimbabweans who may find themselves in power anyhow, then we cannot forsake the principle and practice of responsibility of the fighting forces to the will of the majority.

"How can this responsibility be carried out? In some revolutions, it is impossible for the guerrillas to hold effective people's congresses to ascertain the people's will. In such cases, responsibility remains hypothetical. But in our case, a people's congress has been possible even though not under the most favourable circumstances... At least the people's voice has been heard. In this case, therefore, there can be no deviation but to channel military responsibility through the leaders chosen

by the people of Zimbabwe for whom the OAU is sacrificing so much... We know that there are cadres who have taken this position, and have been attacked and ridiculed.

ENCOURAGES DIVISION

"Undoubtedly, any plan contrary to this established principle is bound to produce negative results, and the OAU may find itself projecting what in fact it is trying to avoid — a further division among the people of Zimbabwe.

"The question of channelling of aid should be referred to the OAU Charter, and all liberation movements must be consulted for all future decisions. However, we do not believe that the OAU has a right to impose itself on any liberation movement.

"The issue about the existence of two ANC (Zimbabwe) is a reflection of a fiction. By maintaining this fiction, the OAU is obviously making it possible for any irresponsible person to claim to be a leader without demonstrating the extent of his responsibility, his honesty and following. This encourages division on one hand, and discredits genuine leaders on the other. In the same way, to support a group of people who cannot even respect and honour their own pledge is to ridicule the efforts and good intentions of the OAU so that any agreement, formal and informal, can be ridiculed, dishonoured and discarded, with impunity too.

"We rightly maintain that the principle of unity is inseparable from that of responsibility. One is of little significance and meaning without the other. "Finally, we would like to point out that the people of Zimbabwe have faith in the OAU notwithstanding errors the OAU has made. We believe that these mistakes are only temporary, and that they will be corrected so that the faith and trust of the people of Zimbabwe (in the OAU) are not shaken. We also believe that the correction of some of the present errors will lead to the correction of the serious problems existing in our military camps. We believe that the problems in the camps can be solved only by the leadership and not by the cadres themselves."

STATEMENT TO STANDING COMMITTEE

OAU LIBERATION COMMITTEE

Presented by J. W. Msika
Secretary – General of the ANC (Zimbabwe)

Your Excellencies,

1. We are pleased that the Standing Committee is meeting once again to further the OAU programme in support of our liberation struggle. We are gratified.
2. Since the last session of the Liberation Committee in Maputo far-reaching developments have taken place regarding the Zimbabwe liberation struggle. Together with the neighbouring states we have made concerted efforts to consolidate establishment of a single Zimbabwe Peoples Army. Fighting in Zimbabwe has intensified. Talks with the Rhodesian regime brought about by the initiative of some OAU member states ended with the total exposure of the Smith regime, the ranks of the international forces are closing more broadly and more solidly behind the armed liberation struggle in Zimbabwe; the population is in an extremely militant mood.
3. Brothers, it is equally important to note that the regime is undertaking more dastardly and desperate measures which cannot be taken lightly. In fact the successful prosecution of the struggle will depend not only on our enthusiasm to fight but, to a very large extent, on the correct assessment and understanding of the enemy's actual strength and tactics. The Rhodesian regime has extended the call up of its forces for duties from a year to 18 months and at times, for an indefinite period. The regime is carrying out mass murders of civilians in areas of armed conflict with the freedom fighters. Commander Walls, of the racist forces, has threatened aggression on neigh-

bouring territories on the excuse of "hot pursuit". The war is really on.

Politically the regime has introduced puppets into its structure, the chiefs, as so-called Ministers. Diplomatically the British Government supported by the whole imperialist world is making a subtle and supreme effort to divide the solidarity of the anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist forces under the camouflage of supporting "majority rule". These negative forces are doing nothing to prevent the flow of military and material support to the Smith regime, through the Vorster regime.

On the contrary they are pushing a campaign to build Vorster, the arch-enemy of the liberation struggle in Southern Africa, to look like a credible factor to the advantage of the struggle by labelling him „the key" to the solution of the Rhodesian problem. The duplicity of the imperialist forces is a looming danger to the Zimbabwe liberation struggle.

4. The question of unity in our ranks in Zimbabwe continues to be an issue of concern in a number of quarters. It is a cardinal plank of our organization to do all in our power to achieve genuine and reliable unity. Unity and leadership must emanate from the source from which "UNITY" and "LEADERSHIP" are about – the masses in Zimbabwe. Any other basis is sham and will always lead to shambles. We do not believe in unity based on the "federation of leaders" – it is baseless and without a future. This method has not applied in any progressive liberation movement or country except those of fascist trends.

5. We believe that members of this Standing Committee are clearly aware that we have responded positively, at all times, to initiatives towards unity brought forward by the OAU, its members states or a combination of both. We have no record of prevarication or treachery on moves towards unity. This is because we are conscious of the advantage to our liberation struggle.

6. We, as an organization, initiated moves towards a unified force and responded to the good offices of the Executive Secretary of the Liberation Committee of the OAU in November last year in order to meet what we judged to be positive elements under conditions laid down by Mozambique for facilities in her territory for the mounting of the Zimbabwe armed liberation struggle. The positive elements were that only cadres committed to unity in the ANC should operate, that they should be of former ZAPU and ZANU and that they should be committed to the intensification of the armed struggle.

7. We are going along with these efforts in the trust that the original spirit governs all endeavours of building a unified force as an angle of fostering the unity of the people of Zimbabwe as a whole. From the angle of the people of Zimbabwe, we would like to dismiss unreservedly "theories" of the so-called "third-force" which we have heard so many people asking us about and which we have seen in news-paper reports. We are not participating in the noble effort of creating a unified Zimbabwe Peoples' Army in order to add another dimension of an already complicated situation in Zimbabwe. We do not know which are the first and second forces and whether the fourth or fifth forces would not result from this type of approach.

The unified army can neither be divorced from nor imposed upon the masses from which it emanates. There is only one force in Zimbabwe — the masses of Zimbabwe as one single revolutionary whole wherever they are.

8. The past few weeks we have been asked by some supporters of the Zimbabwe Liberation struggle, within and without Africa, as to what our position was regarding the trend that all aid should be channelled through the OAU. We see no cause for mistrust on either side assuming the intentions towards the development of the struggle are genuine and straight forward. Primarily aid is based on the direct relationship between the supporter and the supported. Choice of any other channel of support — just as that of the direction of political development lies with the supported, that is the liberation movement. Herein lies the sovereignty of a liberation movement whose assertion is the cause of the struggle. Where the sovereignty of a third party is inevitably involved in the channelling of assistance the solution lies in co-operation and not in usurping the sovereignty of the other. The existing norm of the OAU which stands for direct assistance to a liberation movement and also through the OAU depending on the choice of the donor or that of the liberation movement should be maintained to avoid misunderstandings and tendencies of paternalism in struggle.

We are part of the initiative in establishing a unified fighting force in Zimbabwe; we are contributing our human selves to it and we are vigorously recruiting towards the enlargement of this Army. We resent very strongly insinuations that, after such human commitment, we could thereafter organize and channel aid for some other purpose than reinforcement of the struggle. To concede that aid should not be channelled to us would be tantamount to cooperating with the campaign of slander on us that we could not be trusted to direct that assistance towards the struggle. We do not have such a sordid record.

9. Finally we would like, through this Standing Committee, to assure the OAU that our commitment to genuine unity of the people of Zimbabwe and the intensification of the armed struggle is absolute. So is our gratitude for the support of the OAU.

REV. SITHOLE'S ADMISSION OF GUILT:

LETTER TO ZIMBABWEANS



Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole

Following the findings of a multi-national commission of inquiry to look into circumstances leading to the assassination of the former national chairman of ZANU, Herbert Chitepo, the former president of ZANU, the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, wrote an open letter to all Zimbabweans making observations about his now defunct party. The letter, reproduced below, shows how ZANU had degenerated into even worse tribalism than at the time of its formation on August 8, 1963. What is surprising in the letter of the Rev. Sithole is that he seems to have been unaware from 1963 to

the time of Chitepo's callous assassination March 18, 1975, that ZANU had always been a tribalistic organisation. It is not possible that the Rev. Sithole was honestly unaware of this fact. If anything, his letter reveals how opportunistic he is. We are sure that if he had not been publicly disowned and discarded by his former ZANU cadres long before the letter (below) was written, he would not have written in the vein in which the letter is couched. To us, the letter is an admission of guilt by Sithole, an admission that his tribalistic party was ravaged and ruined by the very basis on which it was founded — tribalism — and that by a simple system of deduction, he (the Rev. Sithole) was responsible for whatever occurred in ZANU. We hope, however, that the cold-blooded massacres and brutal assassinations rampant within ZANU towards the end of 1974 and early 1975, tragic as they were, helped to open many minds formerly closed by tribal sentimentalism and regional centricism. Below follows the Rev. Sithole's letter: —

P. O. Box 20474,
Dar es Salaam.
Tanzania.
10th May 1976.

Dear Zimbabweans,

Since the assassination of Mr. Herbert Chitepo on the 18th of March, 1975, I have been silent on the whole matter for obvious reasons of not wishing to appear to be meddling in the affairs of Zambia and of not wishing to prejudice in any way the international investigation that was going on. But now I feel free to speak out my mind on the matter since the **Report of the Special International Commission on the Assassination of Herbert Wiltshire Chitepo** has been released to the public. I have studied the **Report** very carefully, and I must say that the findings of the Commission confirm my own findings of April-May, 1975, which I have largely kept to myself.

There can be no doubt that the events that took place in ZANU in December 1974, and January to March, 1975,

constitute a black chapter in the annals of the liberation of Zimbabwe, but we should learn a few important lessons from our mistakes of the past so that we may avoid these in future. To close our eyes to our own serious mistakes and blunders would be to do our own nation of Zimbabwe great disservice. Let us admit our blunders and let us resolve not to repeat them in future. Only in this spirit can we learn from our past mistakes.

In this long letter, I wish to make a careful analysis of the true nature of the problem that faces us as a nation. We cannot afford to think and act small without tragic consequences for ourselves and for our country.

The main thesis of my letter is that ZANU as we had first formed it became constantly subjected to a process of tribalisation or regionalisation that it lost completely the national perspective with the result that unprecedented kidnappings and killings within ZANU took place and culminated in the assassination of . . . Herbert Chitepo . . .

In order that we may see the true nature of the problem that faces us as a nation, I wish to analyse first the DARE to which the ZANU Central Committee in detention had delegated power to prosecute the armed struggle, and, secondly, the High Command which was a practical implementation of part of that armed struggle.

1. After the Biennial Review Conference of April, 1969, the DARE at its full strength comprised three Manyika or

Easterners; three Zezuru or North-Easterners; and two Karanga or South-Easterners.

This means that DARE was 37.5 per cent Manyika or Eastern, 37.5 per cent Zezuru or North-Eastern, and 25 per cent Karanga or South Eastern.

2. When the 1971 ZANU Conference was held at Kafue, Zambia, for election to the DARE, the DARE at its full strength comprised four Manyika or Easterners, three Karanga or South-Easterners, and one Zezuru or North-Easterner.

This means that the DARE was 50 per cent Manyika or Eastern, 37.5 per cent Karanga or South-Eastern, and 12.5 per cent Zezuru or North-Eastern.

3. After the Review Conference of September 1973, the DARE at its full strength comprised five Karanga or South-Easterners, and three Manyika or Easterners.

This means that the DARE was 62.5 per cent Karanga or South-Eastern, and 37.5 per cent Manyika or Eastern.

4. After the so-called Nharu rebellion of December 1974, the DARE comprised five Karanga or South-Easterners, and one Manyika or Easterner.

This means that the DARE was now 83 per cent Karanga or South-Eastern and 17 per cent Manyika or Eastern.

5. By January 1975, the DARE, for all practical purposes, had become nearly completely tribalised or regionalised as the following diagram illustrates.:

Year	Karanga or South-Eastern		Manyika or Eastern		Zezuru or North-Eastern	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1969	2	25	3	37.5	3	37.5
1971	3	37.5	4	50.	1	12.5
1973	5	62.5	3	37.5	—	—
1974	5	83	1	17	—	—
1975	5	83	1	17	—	—

6. When we formed ZANU in 1963, it was called the Zimbabwe African National Union, but by 1974 and at the beginning of 1975, it had become in practice "Zimbabwe African Tribal Union" masquerading under the respectable (sic) garbs of the ZANU of 1963. The tribalised or regionalised DARE had therefore ceased to represent ZANU as we knew it. It had come to represent in effect ZATU (Zimbabwe African Tribal Union) or ZARU (Zimbabwe African Regional Union).

7. Even a superficial examination of the ZANU military High Command also shows a corresponding process of tribalisation or regionalisation.

8. After the Review Conference of 1973, the High Command comprised five Karanga or South-Easterners, three Zezuru or North-Easterners, and one Manyika or Easterner. This means that the ZANU's High Command was 55 per cent Karanga or South-Eastern, 34 per cent Zezuru or North-Eastern, and 11 per cent Manyika or Eastern.

9. After the so-called Nhari rebellion. . . ten new additions were made to the High Command so that at its full strength

it comprised 15 Karanga or South-Easterners and one Manyika or Easterner.

This means that the new High Command of December 1974 was 79 per cent Karanga or South-Eastern 16 per cent Zezuru or North-Eastern, and five per cent Manyika or Eastern (sic).

10. At this point the High Command had become completely tribalised or regionalised. It had therefore lost its true ZANU character. It had become ZATU or ZARU High Command. A tribalised or regionalised DARE could not possibly avoid an equally tribalised or regionalised High Command.

11. By December 1974, both DARE and the High Command had become completely tribalised or regionalised, and the liberation politics of ZANU then followed tribal or regional lines resulting in the present confusion (sic) among former ZANU supporters. The tribe or region, instead of the new nation of Zimbabwe, became the centre of ZANU politics which have had tragic consequences vis-a-vis the organisation itself and the armed struggle which is our only credible alternative.

Year	Karanga or South-Easterners		Manyika or Easterners		Zezuru or North-Easterners	
	% DARE	% H. Command	% DARE	% H. Comm.	% DARE	% H. Comm.
1973	62.5	55	37.5	11	—	34
1974	83	79	17	5	—	16
1975	83	79	17	5	—	16

12. The table shows clearly tribalised or regionalised DARE and High Command.

It should be noted that after Chitepo's death, the DARE became 100 per cent tribalised or regionalised.

13. The present High Command which was formed without consulting and involving the ANC (Muzorewa group's) leadership consists of nine ex-ZANU and nine ex-ZAPU officers. All the ex-ZANU officers have connections with the tribalised or regionalised DARE and belonged to the tribalised or regionalised High Command of the former ZANU.

14. The so-called Third Force which has been unfortunately projected as a rival of the ANC . . . has had the effect of resuscitating the tribalised or regionalised DARE and High Command which have already resulted in armed conflict since the majority of the cadres are utterly opposed to the whole idea of the Third Force.

15. It is significant that ex-ZANU supporters in the UK, USA and Zambia who refuse to work within the ANC as required by the Zimbabwe Declaration of Unity of December 7, 1974, are those who strongly and effectively promoted the tribalisation or regionalisation of the DARE and the High Command which resulted in the kidnappings and killings within ZANU culminating in Chitepo's assassination in March 1975.

16. The problem which we now face as a new nation is essentially a tribal or regional one . . .

17. If the death of . . . Chitepo is to be associated with any "ism", it cannot be directly or immediately be with colonialism, imperialism or capitalism, but rather with tribalism or regionalism. This is to say tribalists or regionalists are responsible for Chitepo's death. If it is to be associated with any political party, it can only be with ZANU which had been perverted into ZATU or ZARU. If it is to be associated with any persons, it can only be with those who worked closely with him within ZANU itself.

18. Those who have essayed to justify the kidnappings and killings within ZANU . . . have put forward a punitive thesis which is not acceptable on the following grounds:

(I) If those who had been killed as a matter of disciplinary measure had been dealt with when the ZANU Central Committee had been in prison or detention, the punitive thesis would probably be acceptable. But as it is, the DARE to whom the Central Committee had delegated power to prosecute the armed struggle during their . . . detention took an extreme punitive measure when the ZANU Central Committee was out of prison or detention and free to attend to such matters.

(II) The fundamental question then arises: Why did DARE have to take such an extreme action when the Central Committee from which they derived their power was free to attend to such matters? The answer to this question is self-evident. With the tribalisation or regionalisation of ZANU, the Central Committee had ceased to exist in the minds of the tribalised or regionalised DARE and the High Command, and the DARE had, by a process of usurpation become the Central Committee to the exclusion of the ZANU Central Committee. In other words, the genuine ZANU Central Committee had become irrelevant to the DARE, and hence the latter took such serious matters into its own hands to the exclusion of the former.

(III) A new orientation had already been introduced in ZANU that the gun commands the party, and not the party the gun. The present High Command . . . in fact a continuation of this new and foreign thesis that the gun commands the party. Our fundamental teaching in ZANU was that the party commands the gun, and not the gun the party. In Zimbabwe, we maintain without reservation that the gun cannot decide the question of national leadership, but the collective will of the people of Zimbabwe. The so-called Third Force is also an unwitting extension of this wrong-headed doctrine that the gun leads the party instead of the party leading the gun. National leadership through the barrel of the gun is anathema to the people of Zimbabwe.

19. . . . We cannot afford tribalism or regionalism in matters that involve life and death. The present effort (by former ZANU) delays freedom . . . I want everyone to know that this tribalism or regionalism which went on in ZANU did not originate from the people at home, but from the people outside Zimbabwe. The Karanga, Manyika, Zezuru, Korekore, Ndau, Ndebele, Kalanga and other tribes in Zimbabwe are solidly united and determined to become one nation. Our only hope lies with those people from all the tribes of Zimbabwe who have made up their minds to think and act together as one nation rather than as various tribes.

Yours . . .

(Signed) Ndabaningi Sithole.

NB: — In paragraph 19, the Rev. Sithole's reference to "the present effort . . ." is in reference to the former ZANU's promotion of one tribe or region in both military and political affairs of the liberation struggle . . . (Editor).



**Comrade Joshua Nkomo,
President of the
African National Council of Zimbabwe**

ACCEPTANCE OF THE PRESIDENCY OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL COUNCIL BY JOSHUA NKOMO



Sons and Daughters of Zimbabwe, you have today thrust upon me the honourable and stupendous task of leading the people of Zimbabwe as the President of the African National Council. This task is a great challenge to me and I hereby assure all the people of Zimbabwe that I dedicate my life now, as in the past, to the Liberation Struggle to achieve **MAJORITY RULE NOW**. I call upon the people of Zimbabwe, wherever they may be, to come forward and make their contribution towards the creation of an Independent and Free nation in Zimbabwe. I particularly call upon the younger generation of Zimbabwe, in whose hands the future of this country rests, to fully participate in the Liberation of Zimbabwe.

In accepting the Presidency of the African National Council I humbly present to the people of Zimbabwe this **DECLARATION OF ACTION**.

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL COUNCIL DECLARATION OF ACTION

This historic Congress of the African National Council, assembled at Gwanzura Stadium, Highfield and representing the people of Zimbabwe, is a manifestation of the continuing struggle of the Zimbabwe Nation to realise its victory over those who have oppressed it for nearly a century.

Since 1890 physical and psychological violence has been inflicted on the people of Zimbabwe to hold them in perpetual subjugation. Many sons and daughters of Zimbabwe have made many sacrifices, including the laying down of their lives, in the struggle to eliminate this subjugation.

Since December 1974 the people of Zimbabwe, in a concerted action with fraternal African Governments and peoples, have engaged in a genuine effort to achieve **MAJORITY RULE NOW** by negotiations. The people of Zimbabwe are prepared once again to realise their goal of **MAJORITY RULE NOW** by negotiations in accordance with the efforts

of the four African Presidents but it must be absolutely clear that should negotiations fail an intensive armed struggle will be inevitable.

We have, therefore, assembled here to mark the beginning of a new era in Zimbabwe, an era which will be characterized by our determination to create one nation in which all the people of Zimbabwe, regardless of race, colour, creed, tribe, region, or cultural heritage will find a home. This Congress is the symbol and affirmation of the **UNITY** of the people of Zimbabwe. The people assembled here come from all parts of the country and from all walks of life.

In order to consolidate and cement the **UNITY** which we speak of every son and daughter of Zimbabwe is called upon to contribute towards the building of one Nation by burying all past differences among ourselves. The past should serve as a valuable guide to a constructive future rather than haunt us as the spectre of disunity tearing us apart. From this day forward we resolve to march in a firmer unity and to successfully strive for liberation, and a common identity and nationalism which transcends all differences.

The Zimbabwe Nation, which has bled and suffered since 1890 and in whose rescue many sons and daughters and friends of Zimbabwe have dedicated their time, their energies, their creative talent, their special skills, their financial resources and ultimately their lives, now summons all of us her children present here in this Congress, living in all parts of our beloved country and everywhere in any part of the world, to accept the challenge and to make any necessary sacrifices. The arms of the African National Council remain outstretched to welcome and embrace all the sons and daughters of Zimbabwe and enjoins them to rededicate their supreme loyalty to the Zimbabwe Nation by working through the African National Council.

The call for **UNITY** by the African National Council should not be interpreted by anyone, friend or foe, as a sign of weakness. On the contrary this Congress, representing the

people of Zimbabwe, is ready to confront and resist any challenge from any quarter which seeks to divide the people of Zimbabwe. Let it be known in Zimbabwe and elsewhere that any attempt to fragment the Zimbabwe Nation on the basis of race, colour, creed, tribe, region, or cultural heritage, or any other basis, will fail dismally.

This Congress representing the people of Zimbabwe living in and outside the country:

a.) acknowledges and accepts the efforts of the four African Presidents and the Zimbabwe Declaration of Unity signed in Lusaka, Zambia, in December 1974, as genuine efforts in the Zimbabwe Struggle for Liberation,

b.) expresses its profound gratitude to the four African Presidents and Statesmen, namely, President Kenneth Kaunda of the Republic of Zambia, President Mwalimu Julius Nyerere of the United Republic of Tanzania, President Samora Machel of the People's Socialist Republic of Mozambique, and President Sir Seretse Khama of the Republic of Botswana for their and their peoples' immeasurable sacrifices for the cause of UNITY and LIBERATION of Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe owes these four great sons of Africa and their people an immense debt which can only be repaid by the unification of the people of Zimbabwe in a common and successful conclusion of the Liberation Struggle,

c.) extends its profound gratitude to the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), the United Nations, the Commonwealth, and other friendly, progressive, and peaceloving nations, for their untiring efforts towards the achievement of the liberation of Zimbabwe,

d.) acknowledges the attempts at negotiations to resolve the "Rhodesian Constitutional Dispute" in which the Republic of South Africa has taken part. However this Congress hereby declares that for South Africa's role in Southern Africa's affairs to be meaningful she must relinquish control of Namibia so that Namibians can achieve self-determination and full independence in accordance with the resolutions of the OAU and the UN,

e.) further declares that all the people of South Africa must enjoy all the political, economic, and social rights of a COMMON citizenship and have the right to COLLECTIVELY decide the future of their country. Towards this end South Africa must release ALL political prisoners e.g. Nelson Mandela and others, and immediately embark on substantive discussions with African Nationalist Leaders in and outside South Africa. The people of Zimbabwe, and indeed all the people of Africa, maintain that "charity begins at home" and therefore South Africa's policy of dialogue and detente in Africa is meaningless without dialogue and detente within South Africa itself,

f.) strongly deplors the infighting among Zimbabweans in Zambia which have resulted in the tragic deaths of Zimbabweans and Zambians and further expresses its deeply felt regret at the insults which have been hurled at President Kaunda personally and at the people of Zambia by a few misguided Zimbabweans. The people of Zimbabwe weep over these irresponsible actions.

This Congress, realising that the task of building a unified Zimbabwe Nation requires the fusion of the varied talents of the people of Zimbabwe, here institutes Special Ad Hoc Committees in which all these talents can be utilized to achieve MAJORITY RULE NOW. These Special Ad Hoc Committees will be led by a member of the Executive

Committee of the African National Council and in which committees any Zimbabwean may make the necessary contribution apertaining his or her special talents. The main objective of these Special Ad Hoc Committees is to involve the various sectors of the Zimbabwe Society in a unified and concerted attempt at the successful resolution of the going conflict and to systematically plan for the future direction of an Independent Zimbabwe.

SPECIAL AD HOC COMMITTEES:

1. COMMITTEE FOR EXTERNAL RELATIONS:

This committee is charged, in the first instance, with the task of restoring the good name of the Zimbabwe Nation. In performing this task the committee will work with the fraternal governments and peoples in various countries especially of Zambia where the good name of the Zimbabwe Nation has been particularly tarnished by the actions of a few misguided and unrepresentative Zimbabweans. This committee is also charged with the essential task of streamlining and consolidating the various external organs of the African National Council.

2. COMMITTEE FOR EDUCATION:

This committee will deal with the problems of the education of our people within the country and especially to deal with the educational problems of Zimbabweans studying abroad where recently special problems have arisen in a number of countries particularly in Britain where hundreds of our students have become stranded. The special talents of Zimbabwean students and teachers living in and outside the country will be for the work of this committee.

3. COMMITTEE FOR COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY:

This committee will be responsible for contact with employers and employees in order to involve them in an attempt to resolve immediately the present "Constitutional Crisis."

4. COMMITTEE FOR MANPOWER REQUIREMENTS:

This committee is charged with the seeking out and planning for the proper placement of Zimbabweans of specific skills in the future administration of an Independent and Free Zimbabwe. Other Special Ad Hoc Committees which will pursue the objectives outlined above are the COMMITTEE FOR CULTURAL AND TRADITIONAL AFFAIRS, the COMMITTEE FOR SOCIAL WELFARE, the COMMITTEE FOR RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS, the COMMITTEE FOR SPORTS AND RECREATION. The National Executive Committee of the African National Council is hereby authorised to institute additional Special Ad Hoc Committees as it deems fit.

This Congress calls upon all the people of Zimbabwe to join the African National Council and to rededicate themselves to the Zimbabwe Liberation Struggle which will result in the creation of an Independent and Free Nation in Zimbabwe, a nation in which men and women will be judged by their ability rather than by race, colour, creed, tribe, region, or cultural heritage or any other dimension.

LONG LIVE ZIMBABWE

Gwanzura Stadium, Highfield.

28th September 1975.

**THE AFRICAN
NATIONAL
COUNCIL (ANC-
ZIMBABWE)**

**FACTS
ABOUT
THE
ANC**

Many observers and even friends of the Zimbabwe liberation movement have been confused in their attempts to assess our situation correctly. This problem arises partly from the unique position in which we currently find ourselves, but mainly from deliberate campaigns by some misguided Zimbabweans. These individuals have used the news media to direct a barrage of propaganda which twists the truth, fabricates lies and quotes out of historical context, in order to promote their own subjective interests. The major points with which they have attempted to mislead world opinion are the following fictions, which they try to promote as facts:—

a) There is an ANC outside Zimbabwe and an ANC inside Zimbabwe; this is based on the false assumption that a leader by himself constitutes an organization and where he is, physically, is necessarily where the organization is; it implies that the wishes of the masses of the people are not the source of leadership.

b) Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole leads the so-called "militants" merely because he has tunelessly repeated the "slogan" of "armed struggle" and Comrade Joshua Nkomo is a "moderate" merely because he has insisted on consistency and honesty in honouring conclusively agreed and signed lines of policy including that of tactical pursuit of negotiations with the Rhodesian regime.

c) The leadership is divided but the cadres are united; the intent of this illusion is to suggest that all the cadres support Sithole and Muzorewa and none support Comrade Nkomo. The story is put out in order to disguise the fact that the opposite is true — while Comrade Nkomo's cadres have remained loyal to him, Sithole and Muzorewa have been rejected by the cadres they sought to control. Obviously they cannot bear to sink into oblivion alone, and they wish to drag Comrade Nkomo with them.

The main purpose of this document is to set out truths about the ANC for the benefit of the genuine supporters of the Zimbabwe liberation struggle and to assist such supporters in making their own assessment.

1 **The Armed Struggle
in Zimbabwe**

The decision to launch the armed revolutionary struggle in Zimbabwe was made at the beginning of the early sixties. The decision did not descend from the blue. It was a direct consequence of the realisation through experience, that political pressures such as constitutional demands and active boycotts, strikes and demonstrations by themselves, could not dislodge minority rule and its oppression. It is significant and necessary to note that this conclusion and the decision to launch the armed revolutionary struggle was made by Comrade Joshua Nkomo at the time as President of the National Democratic Party — predecessor of the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union and the present African National Council. He proceeded thereafter to seek the support and co-operation of external progressive forces towards realisation of this policy in Zimbabwe. It is equally important to note that — but for Kenya and Algeria at the time, because of the tide of national independence which was sweeping Africa through constitutional struggle, Comrade Nkomo's advocacy for the armed struggle in Zimbabwe was least

understood, doubted and often opposed by some leaders of present day Africa, who, belatedly realising the correctness of his strategy, now claim it did not originate from him. Similarly, within the Zimbabwe leadership in the NDP and ZAPU there were individuals like the Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole who, at that time opposed the idea of the armed struggle – (in 1962). They linked up with the wavering and doubting external forces and made common cause already then to undermine Comrade Nkomo's leadership in an attempt to offset the burden of the armed struggle which he advocated for. This is how the Reverend Sithole caused the split in the Zimbabwe liberation movement and he formed ZANU – a split which but for support witting and unwitting by some external forces would not have developed to the tragic proportions that it is today and resultant tragically confused assessment of the Zimbabwe liberation struggle.

It was hardly a year from the event of the split of (1963–1964) that the march of events proved Comrade Nkomo right in his advocacy of the armed struggle. The Rhodesian Front regime grew more ruthless in its suppression, imprisonment and detention of African political leaders whilst the African masses grew equally violent in their resistance to violent oppression. Comrade Nkomo and hundreds of other political leaders were detained and put out of active scene in April, 1964, leaving the opposing forces – the minority regime and the struggling African masses – fully geared towards intensified violent conflict which Comrade Nkomo had visualised and prepared for as inevitable as far back as 1960.

The elaborate political machinery of ZAPU covered every element and corner of Zimbabwe and it was this machinery under the leadership of Comrade Nkomo which kept Zimbabweans in this frame of effective struggle after April 1964. Following years of intensive organization and mobilisation during the African National Congress, the National Democratic Party and the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union itself (which constituted a continuity of the struggle and consistency of leadership, despite bannings by the regime – several levels of organization existed, to ensure survival in carrying the struggle through hazards and harassments from the regime. This resilience brought it through the early years of armed struggle until ZAPU emerged as the main base of the African National Council in 1971 and as the decisive power in the total rejection, through the Pearce Commission, of the Anglo-Rhodesian fraudulent constitution in 1972. It is through this power that, but for the temporary disturbance through the abortive emergence of Frolizi only four years (1971) ago, ZAPU all along was the main fighting force in the field of the armed struggle in Zimbabwe. It is as recent as 1973 after the formation of the Joint Military Command (JMC) between ZAPU and ZANU – that our brothers of ZANU also came effectively on the fighting scene through their north-eastern district operations.

The point for illustration here is that both in the political scene and that of the armed struggle, forces of former ZAPU constitute the only base for the organized coherence of the Zimbabwe nation.



The African National Council – Enlarged in 1974

In 1971 the Anglo-Rhodesian constitutional fraud provoked the formation of the ANC by Comrade Joshua Nkomo (then

in detention) – after consulting a wide spectrum of the Zimbabwe political opinion (ZAPU and ZANU). It was on this basis as already indicated, that the African National Council (ANC) emerged with Bishop Muzorewa designated as interim leader. In December 1974, Presidents of Zambia, Botswana, Tanzania and Mozambique assisted in cementing this unity between the different liberation movements of Zimbabwe which finally merged into the African National Council with the dissolution of ZAPU, ZANU and Frolizi. This culminated in the addition of 12 to existing 57 members of the National Executive of the ANC, making a total of 69. Considering those in prisons and the Frolizi quota (4) which had no substitute within Zimbabwe, the National Executive membership in regular attendance was 57.



Lusaka Declaration of Unity – 7th December, 1974:

1. ZAPU, ZANU, FROLIZI and ANC hereby agree to unite in the ANC.
2. The Parties recognise the ANC as the unifying force of the people of Zimbabwe.
3. (a) They agree to consolidate the leadership of the ANC by the inclusion into it of the Presidents of ZAPU, ZANU and FROLIZI under the Chairmanship of the President of the ANC.
(b) ZAPU, ZANU and FROLIZI shall each appoint three other persons to join the enlarged ANC Executive.
4. The enlarged ANC Executive shall have the following functions:–
 - (a) To prepare for any conference for the transfer of power to the majority that might be called.
 - (b) To prepare for the holding of a Congress within four months in which:–
 - I) A revised ANC Constitution shall be adopted.
 - II) The leadership of the united people of Zimbabwe shall be elected.
 - III) A statement of policy for the ANC will be considered.
 - (c) To organize the people for such a Congress.
5. The leaders of ZAPU, ZANU and FROLIZI call upon their supporters and all Zimbabweans to rally behind the ANC under the enlarged executive.
6. ZAPU, ZANU and FROLIZI will take steps to merge their respective organs and structures into the ANC before the Congress to be held within four months.
7. The leaders recognize the inevitability of continued armed struggle and all other forms of struggle until the total liberation of Zimbabwe.

Signed:–

1. Abel Tendekayi Muzorewa
PRESIDENT OF ANC
2. Joshua Mqabuko Nkomo
PRESIDENT OF ZAPU
3. Ndabaningi Sithole
PRESIDENT OF ZANU
4. James Robert Dambadza Chikerema
PRESIDENT OF FROLIZI

In January 1975, the Organization of African Unity Liberation Committee in Dar Es Salaam was presented with a

formal application for the recognition of the African National Council as the sole representative organization of the struggling people of Zimbabwe in place of the dissolved former organizations ZAPU and ZANU. The application was based on the Lusaka Declaration of Unity of 7th December, 1974, which established a single organization out of the previous Zimbabwe liberation movements. The Lusaka Declaration of Unity was a culmination of the hardest ever possible synthesis of divergent attitudes. It must be pointed out for those who easily or conveniently forget that it was neither the former ZAPU nor its leader then, Comrade Joshua Nkomo who were the obstruction to the unity effort. On the contrary, they were the principal basic unifying factor.

What was presented before the OAU for recognition was the organization — the ANC. It was not an individual that was presented for recognition and no individual was ever meant to be the condition for the unity of the people of Zimbabwe. For anybody to have regarded an individual as the "unifying factor" was a tragic misconception of the unity of the people of Zimbabwe as tabled before the OAU. The ANC is the organization and its rules and constitution govern and bind all its members towards the fulfilment of its objectives. And, this is what the OAU accepted and recognized in January and subsequently by heads of states. The binding rules and principles of the ANC are contained in the Lusaka Declaration of Unity and the ANC Constitution.

Adventurism to launch a political trend in Zimbabwe, with or without external encouragement in disregard to inside or in contradiction to the above historical basis of reality, which is the frame of the outlook on national unity, can have only two consequences: disastrous failure or disastrous divisions even if the adventure were charged with the pitched emotional chorus of the catch-word "militancy".

We draw attention of this fact because tendencies of over enthusiasm and, as it appears, also those of wearing the garb of revolutionaries through the Zimbabwe struggle seem to trample over fundamental facts of all genuine revolutions — concrete historical conditions and objective realities of a situation as against the upsurge of fancy under the impulse of subjective considerations.

4

Convening of Congress as provided in the Lusaka Declaration of Unity and ANC Constitution

On the convening of Congress the Constitution of the ANC — Clause 7 provides that:—

"It shall meet in ordinary session once every year provided that it may at any time meet in extraordinary session if so summoned by the president or at the requirement of at least two thirds of the Central Committee members, National Assembly and the Provinces or the Branches".

The Lusaka Declaration of Unity of 7th December, 1974, Clause 4 provides that:—

"(b) To prepare for the holding of Congress within four months at which—

- "I) a revised ANC Constitution shall be adopted".
- "II) the leadership of the united people shall be elected".
- "III) a statement of policy for the new ANC will be considered".

"(c) To organize the people for such a Congress".

As can be observed, there is no provision for any officer or organ of the ANC, for any reason whatsoever, to postpone the stipulation for the annual Congress to any period beyond its limit; on the contrary there may be more congresses within the period. Accordingly, the Congress was scheduled for March 2, 1975. It was in recognition of this provision that the Lusaka Declaration of Unity scheduled Congress to be held within four months from the 7th December, 1974. None of the signatories of the Lusaka Declaration of Unity was coerced to attach his signature to this declaration and from all evidence everyone of them and their supporters was within their five senses in binding themselves to the spirit and letter of the declaration.

The next stage was implementation. The National Executive session which took place on the 1st June, 1975 set the date of the Congress — 21 — 22 June, 1975, though belated, was attended by the full compliment of 55 members of the National Executive — with Muzorewa being absent. In setting Congress date, in spite of the vocal opposition by the former ZANU minority, at voting only Dr. Edison Sithole voted against and the absentions were two — Enos Nkala and Morton Malianga. This left 52 members finally voting for the date of the Congress. Add to this fact the requirement for Branches, Provinces and the National Assembly to call for Congress had already been fulfilled, then you have the unquestionable "VOICE" of the ANC — the VOICE of the people of Zimbabwe fully geared for a Congress — at which all the purposes of congress were to be realised, among these being the election of the national leadership.

It was in the face of these constitutional and popular demands for the congress that Bishop Muzorewa faltered and took risks against the popular will within the organization in the misguided hope that he could use external support as a leverage to turn the tide against congress and thus warm the seat of presidency a little longer to gain sufficient votes to make him the final compromise candidate for ANC leadership. He increasingly suffered dangerous illusions on Zimbabwe leadership which were anchored — (for their own purposes), by experienced intriguers the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole and James Chikerema.

Assuming that all members of the OAU attach cardinal importance to adherence to discipline, integrity in and scrupulous honour of agreements for the identification of members with the survival of their organization, we would like hereunder to illustrate how Muzorewa, then leader of the ANC measured to the provisions of the ANC constitution and the principles and programme of the Lusaka Declaration of Unity.

In an attempt to reach his illusions and painfully conscious of the fact that he was acting outside rules and regulations of the ANC and worst of all against the popular will within the organization Muzorewa —

- (a) made common cause with the Rev. N. Sithole and James Chikerema assumed the "POWER" of decision of the ANC.
- (b) exiled himself from Zimbabwe and the people he was supposed to lead by seeking sanctuary in neighbouring independent states.
- (c) fabricated the excuses that he stayed away from Zimbabwe for fear of arrest because of "statements" to the press on the armed struggle and that in any case he had accepted president Nyerere's advice to stay out of Rhodesia.
- (d) he failed to fulfill his executive duty of convening national executive meetings from June, 15 to September, 1st 1975.
- (e) in an attempt to sabotage the national executive, which overwhelmingly stood for the constitutional line, he tried in July to create an unconstitutional organ which he hoped would give him powers to smother opponents and direct the

ANC solely on the advice of the Rev. Sithole and James Chikerema. This was the so-called Dar es Salaam meeting in July to which he decoyed a few of his executive colleagues in Zimbabwe by a blatant lie that they had been called by the Presidents of Zambia, Botswana, Mozambique and Tanzania. (f) in common cause with the Rev. Sithole and James Chikerema, the Bishop sought to distract the people of Zimbabwe and supporters of the Zimbabwe struggle away from the basic issue of the oncoming congress and divert them to attacks on Comrade Nkomo over all sorts of hotly manufactured stories such as a supposed deal between Comrade Nkomo and the racist leader Ian Smith.

(g) acting on false assumptions and on the typical style of imperialist inspired coup-d'etats, the Bishop, in common cause with the Rev. Sithole and James Chikerema, conspired to seize the externally based machinery – the Zimbabwe Liberation Council (ZLC) – which had been planned to seek international support for the Zimbabwe struggle and to promote the armed struggle. He believed the Zimbabwe armed forces were just inanimate instruments which could be picked and rattled to silence opponents and stand upon them as pinnacles of prestige for exclusive leadership. Still their target for this move was Comrade Nkomo, hence their exclusion of all officers who saw truth and honesty in Comrade Nkomo's leadership.

(h) the Bishop has remained a presiding director of a Zimbabwe factory for the manufacture of the most filthy political lies – through pen and propaganda. The object of hate is Comrade Nkomo and the source of fear being the

Zimbabwe masses and the Congress – the concrete base off Comrade Nkomo's leadership.

(i) unable to hold back the tide to hold congress and misled by the fiction of a leadership which does not submit itself to the mandate of the people the Bishop took the precipitate step of "expelling" Comrade Nkomo. Picking on Comrade Nkomo for a political tide generated by the people themselves pin-pointing the Bishop as an enemy of the peoples' will and congress became even more inevitable.

It was in this atmosphere that the executive of all the eight provinces of the ANC met in August under the Chairmanship of the then Secretary General Gordon Chavunduka and made it very clear that their patience had run out and that unless the national executive met and set out final date for congress, they would suspend it and assume that task. Bishop Abel Muzorewa received this clear message of these organs of the ANC through more than 70 telegrams whilst in Zambia and abroad.

Hemmed between the people and a Bishop fearing to return home to respond to the demands of the people, the rest of the members of the national executive had to make up their minds whether to fall with the Bishop or to respond to the people's demands. By constitutional right, after establishing that the then Vice-President Elliot Gabellah was wavering, the national Chairman Comrade Samuel Munodawafa convened the National Executive meeting to set out a date and agenda for Congress. This was held on the 7th September, 1975. The following quorum established the executive meeting:—

- | | | |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Comrade T. V. Mpfu | 13. Comrade W. H. Khona | 26. Comrade B. M. Guduza |
| 2. Comrade J. M. Nkomo | 14. Comrade T. V. Lesabe | 27. Comrade R. Mleya |
| 3. Comrade J. W. Msika | 15. Comrade J. Padzakashamba | 28. Comrade M. E. Chilimanzi |
| 4. Comrade L. M. Nkala | 16. Comrade J. M. Chinamano | 29. Comrade J. Dabulamanzi |
| 5. Comrade Willie Musarurwa | 17. Comrade J. Ntuta | 30. Comrade A. F. Jirira |
| 6. Comrade George Marange | 18. Comrade M. A. Ndabambi | 31. Comrade B. Mguni |
| 7. Comrade J. L. Nkomo | 19. Comrade J. M. Mangwende | 32. Comrade S. Mdhlongwa |
| 8. Comrade K. B. Bhebe | 20. Comrade J. J. Dube | 33. Comrade C. Marange |
| 9. Comrade S. T. Bgoni | 21. Comrade J. Mthimkhulu | 34. Comrade J. Mayinga |
| 10. Comrade S. B. Mthinsi | 22. Comrade F. Guduza | 35. Comrade T. D. Moyo |
| 11. Comrade P. C. Takundwa | 23. Comrade S. N. Ncube | 36. Comrade M. G. Mziramasanga |
| 12. Comrade Sam. Munodawafa | 24. Comrade B. Bango | 37. Comrade S. P. Hlongwane. |
| | 25. Comrade M. Musarurwa | |

The date of the 27th – 28th September was fixed. Congress was duly held and the following is the National Chairman's report.

5

CHAIRMAN'S REPORT

We quote in full the analysis of the National Chairman of the ANC, Comrade Samuel Munodawafa in his presentation:—

"Countrymen, Sons and Daughters of Zimbabwe;

It is with much pleasure that I welcome you to this second congress of our great movement, the African National Council. The first was held in March last year. At the same

time I wish to apologize for the delay in holding the congress. As you very well know this congress was supposed, in terms of our constitution, to have been held in March, but, as you can see this is now September. Why has it taken us so long to hold this congress? It is my duty to answer this question as best as I can, and I crave your indulgence if I may hold you too long in my effort to answer this important question.

At the end of last year all Zimbabwe nationalist leaders, including those who had been in detention for over ten years, suffering for liberation of their country, met in Lusaka, Zambia, and signed what has come to be known as the Lusaka Declaration of Unity. The Declaration which was signed by Mr. Joshua Nkomo, Bishop Muzorewa, Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole and James Chikerema on behalf of their respective former organizations, states in clear terms that a congress of the ANC shall be held in Zimbabwe within four months – that is in March. It allowed the inclusion in the

ANC Executive of four leaders each from the former ZAPU, ZANU and FROLIZI.

The Declaration also states that at this congress a new constitution of the movement shall be approved, a new policy formulated, and leaders elected. This had to be done because the Unity had brought together four organizations which had previously operated in separation.

It had also brought in one fold four leaders all potentially contending for the leadership of the ANC. By this arrangement a new situation and problem had been created which nobody else could solve but congress.

On the 12th January, 1975, the first enlarged executive of the ANC met in Highfield and made the item of the pending congress its priority number one on the agenda. Two committees were appointed in anticipation of the congress in March. They were the ANC Constitution Committee and the Congress Committee – designed to make all the relevant and necessary preparations for the congress. The same meeting decided on the dates of 9th and 10th March for the holding of the Congress.

At the National Executive meeting held on 17th February our brothers from the former ZANU organization proposed the postponement of the congress dates. They argued that many of their former followers had either been left out of the ANC or had not joined because they did not agree with the policies of the ANC, particularly its nonviolence policy. The postponement of the congress dates would give the former ZANU members an opportunity to join the ANC and to be present at the congress.

They said that current branches, districts and provinces were dominated by former ZAPU members. The proposal was rejected by the majority of the National Executive members who argued that:—

1. At the initial stages of the ANC the National Executive Committee was dominated by former ZANU members who logically had the effect of attracting former ZANU members into the ANC.

2. The first National organizing Secretary of the ANC was a former ZANU leader who by the nature and logic of things was bound to attract more former ZANU members into the ANC than former ZAPU members.

3. It was strongly argued that the real reason why the former ZANU members and many other Africans did not come forward to assume official positions in the ANC was fear of arrest and detention, since in those early days of the ANC. Those who accepted official positions in the organization did so at their own peril. Thus the proposal was formally rejected by way of a vote.

At the executive meeting of 2nd March the same issue was raised again and almost the same arguments were advanced for the postponement of congress. Even if the meeting rejected the arguments, it was eventually felt that in the interest of the fledging unity and of Zimbabwe the complaints of the former ZANU people though they were patently groundless, must be investigated and, where necessary, righted. So a committee was appointed and charged with the task to investigate existing complaints in branches, districts and provinces from former Zanu officials who felt that they had been left out of the ANC for one reason or the other.

The Committee sat at Kambuzuma and Glen Norah from where complaints had been received by the committee. But to the shock surprise of the committee it was discovered that those people who had made complaints did not care to attend the committee meetings even though they had been given sufficient notice to attend.

At the same time former ZANU leaders were holding secret meetings, outside the established organs of the ANC at which efforts were made to revive the former ZANU. They visited various areas trying to form ZANU branches parallel to ANC branches. The former ZANU leadership took the position that they could not go or allow the holding of a congress until and unless they had formed sufficient ZANU branches in all places to counter the ANC branches which, they alleged, were full of former ZAPU members.

What this amounted to was that they would not go to congress or allow the holding of congress unless they were thoroughly sure of winning the leadership contest. And they said so in clear terms.

It was in these circumstances that an inter-provincial meeting was held and called upon the Branch Investigation Committee to stop proceedings forthwith. They also resolved to have nothing to do with the committee's proceedings. The National Executive Committee met on 27th April and called for an end to the Branch Investigation Committee's proceedings and for the fixing of a new date for the holding of a congress. No formal decision was taken on the matter, and it was formally agreed that a special executive meeting must be urgently convened at which the sole item on the agenda will be the question of congress. The meeting was to be convened within two weeks time.

The President, Bishop Abel Muzorewa, gave notice that he had been invited to the Jamaica Commonwealth Conference and he would therefore be absent from the special meeting, but the meeting should go ahead, chaired by the Vice-President E. M. Gabellah. But Gabellah did not convene the special meeting urgently as had been decided by the executive that is, within two weeks. Instead he convened the meeting for the 1st June, and what was most astounding was that he had deliberately omitted the most important item of congress from the agenda. The meeting demanded that the item be included as a top priority. This was done.

I am sorry to bore you with a lot of detail but I feel it my bounden duty to give you full information on this vital question. You are the people. You are the organization. As such I feel you need the full information, and not bits and pieces, to enable you to make correct decisions and judgments.

The National Executive Committee on this 1st June unanimously decided on holding this year's ANC Congress, and set 21 and 22nd June as the dates for the congress. It was resolved to do away with the Branches Investigation Committee, and instructions were given that the committee stop any further investigations and proceedings. Expectedly the former ZANU leaders declared their hostility to congress and stated that they were going to boycott the congress. This was no surprise to us.

What greatly surprised us was that when the Bishop came back from Jamaica through America, he defied the decision of the majority executive and sided with the anti-congress minority of largely former ZANU leaders. He pulled up a new defensive theory stating that the question of congress must be decided by four signatories to the Lusaka Declaration of Unity. He could not say where the four signatories derived the right and power to impose their will on the national executive and on the people of Zimbabwe since neither the ANC constitution nor the Declaration of Unity gave them those powers.

Later on the Bishop said he was going to convene an emergency meeting of the National Executive to discuss the question of congress with a view to changing the dates (21–22nd June) since the emergency meeting the Bishop

called some of us went with them to Dar es Salaam under the false guise that they were wanted there by the Presidents Nyerere, Seretse Khama, Kaunda and Samora Machel, and yet he was the one who had invited the presidents.

Ever since that trip to Dar es Salaam in early July the Bishop has not returned home to his people. He has not told his National Executive about his desire to stay in Zambia and he has not given any reason for doing so. Some say he is afraid of being arrested and detained if he comes.

Some say he has some work to do in Zambia. What work is it which he does not want to tell his executive? We are left guessing. Is it the proper thing for a president to stay away from his people? I leave that question to you to answer.

Because of the absence of the president many months have passed without a meeting of the National Executive Committee and the organization has almost come to a stand still. Numerous events have taken place but which have not been reported to the National Executive and thus to provinces, districts, branches and the people. The executive has been rendered redundant and useless. No report has been given about the Jamaica Commonwealth meeting; no report has been given about the David Ennals meeting; nor report has been given about the Dar Es Salaam meeting where several recommendations were made, no report has been given about the trip to Mozambique for the Independence Celebrations, no report has been given about the historic constitutional talks on the Victoria Falls Bridge; and no report has ever been given about the moneys of the organization. How the moneys are being spent is a closely guarded secret known only to a privileged few — a small clique within the organization. This is a most abnormal way of running an organization let alone a people's movement.

When I used my constitutional powers to convene a meeting of the Executive Committee on 7th September, 1975 it was in response to a popular call by various organs of your movement, and it was with the intention of reviving the powers of the National Executive which is the supreme decision making organ after congress. We made no new decision about the congress. The decision was made by the Executive meeting of 1st June and what we merely did on the 7th September, was to set new dates for the congress.

Now I come to the question of the congress. There are some people who say they do not want a congress and they accuse others of wanting a congress. It is quite clear that most of those people have little or no experience about the organizations. No organization can survive for long without a congress. Congress is the people; it is the totality and unified will of all the people belonging to an organization. To say that there should be no congress for an organization is as good as saying there should be no people in that organization.

Congress is the link between the led and the leaders; congress rejuvenates the organization; it removes the dead wood from the organization; it shows the real power of the people; it acts as a check on the dictatorial inclination of the leaders. It is through congress that the people maintain a concrete control over their leaders who are in actual fact their servants and not their masters. That is why congresses are enshrined in

all constitutions of all organizations. In our organization, the ANC people who are anti-congress are divided into two; there are those who fear congress because they have never been popular with the common man — in — the — hut and they therefore know that by going to congress they are putting their political heads on the chopping block; and there are those who fear congress because they have no political history or record and they have also committed many political sins, both of omission and commission.

We have convened this congress in response to the demands of the ANC Constitution which states that there shall be an ANC Congress every year at which, among other things, the people shall elect or re-elect leaders. You are free to do your will and to obey your conscience. Here at congress you are the sole master of the organization and the leaders are at your back and call. This is as it should be. This is what it is. Our president Bishop Muzorewa has done a good job. He led us ably and successfully against the iniquitous Home-Smith constitutional proposals. He united all the people of Zimbabwe. He correctly and honestly told all and sundry that he was filling the gap of the detained leaders. He made many political mistakes but we turned a blind eye, preferring only to see his good side rather than the other.

But let me say that of late the Bishop has taken up the wrong path. He has linked up with one group of the ANC against the other, instead of maintaining his neutralist and central position acting as a centripetal rather than centrifugal force. By doing this he is responsible for undermining the unity that we had built. By keeping away from his people and trying to run the organization from Zambia he has become a liability rather than an asset. He has attempted to usurp power from the people and to repose it in a clique of three people.

The Bishop's greatest blunder was his attempt to remove Comrade Joshua Nkomo from the liberation struggle. Who ever advised him to do that must be his greatest enemy. I am stating an objective fact when I say that the liberation of this country has been associated with Comrade Joshua Nkomo for the past 20 years.

He started the struggle when most of us were at school or unconcerned, and taught us how not only to fight, but also to suffer and sacrifice for the liberation of our motherland. It is most uncalculating and callous for the Bishop to think that he can uproot Comrade Nkomo from the struggle just by the waving of a magic hand. I can only hope the Bishop will think better than that.

Before I resume my seat I wish to reiterate our position on the question of a constitutional settlement. We want majority rule now. We shall not accept any constitutional settlement that leaves effective power still in the hands of the white minority. Our desire has already been stated and is well known. But let me assure you that whatever settlement we arrive at shall be subject to approval by you, through a special congress that shall be convened for the purpose.

The world is watching today's deliberations with keen interest and I hope that you will tackle the task before you with enthusiasm, wisdom and foresight. I therefore declare this Second (2nd) Congress of the ANC opened.

**LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLE! LONG LIVE
ZIMBABWE!
FORWARD EVER! BACKWARD NEVER!**

The anti-congress elements have made allegations that the National Chairman's convention of the National Executive on the 7th September, 1975 was unconstitutional. The constitution of the ANC on the National Executive provide under Clause 6—

"It shall meet in ordinary session once every two months but shall meet in extra-ordinary session when summoned by the president or at the request of at least half its members"

From the last session of the 1st June to the 7th September, three months had expired without Muzorewa calling even the ordinary session of the National Executive — when by the course of events, he should have convened extra-ordinary meetings for his Commonwealth Conference report and Dar — July fraudulent meeting he convened. In addition more than half the members of the ANC National Executive had petitioned for the National Executive meeting.

Clauses 7 and 8 under provisions on the National Executive the ANC Constitution lays down—

7. "President shall preside over all meetings. In his absence the Deputy President, or, in the absence of both, a person elected for the purpose shall preside."

8. "Its quorum shall be half its members"

For the National Executive session of the 7th September, 1975, the National Chairman, Comrade Samuel Munodawafa was not only the highest officer available by order of precedence but was also elected by the National Executive members present — who were in excess of the quorum laid down — to preside.

On the National Conference — Congress — the National Chairman, Comrade Samuel Munodawafa was within his Constitutional right and obligations to preside over congress because the ANC Constitution provides under Clause 9—

9. "The National Chairman or in his absence the Deputy National Chairman or in the absence of both, a person elected for the purpose shall preside".

Thus the congress was constitutionally convened, constitutionally presided over and therefore took constitutional decisions. It is important to take note of the fact that the National Executive session of the 7th September, 1975 offered Bishop Muzorewa an opportunity to return home and preside over it on the 21st of September, before congress, in spite of the very evident subversive conduct of the Bishop. What better opportunity could be offered to a leader to re-establish himself and put his house in order? Bishop Muzorewa ill-advisedly refused to come and preside over his executive. Nothing else was left to stand against congress to put the leadership question right. Once again the question was whether to preserve the Bishop and his tactics of wearing down the organization itself — on the ANC. The ANC had to be served. The cancerous conduct of the Bishop and junta had to be cut off as quickly as possible by the people of Zimbabwe themselves at congress. This is what the congress of the 27th—28th September, 1975 had to do and did exactly that!

We wonder at the mentality of people who expected the majority of the National Executive and other organs of the ANC to continue after eight months of patience to stand watching whilst the Bishop and his junta usurped the powers of the organization, rendered every other organs useless and irrelevant, refused completely to implement the programme on which the unified ANC was founded. This was reducing

the ANC as a liberation movement into a churchdom in which the powers of the hierarchy descended from heaven and not from the people to the leader. To have expected any more patience from the membership of the ANC was contempt and insult to the intelligence of the people of Zimbabwe.

6

ON THE MUZOREWA CONSULTATIVE MEETING

The reasons put forward by the Muzorewa faction for their opposition to a congress of the organization were that—

(a) a decision to disengage from the constitutional task and embark solely on the armed struggle had already been taken. (b) in the circumstances a congress of the people was a luxury and had to await the victory of the armed struggle. In order to angle for FRELIMO'S support they put across the fictitious theory that all movements committed to liberation through armed struggle have had to postpone congresses until after victory of the armed struggle. They instanced FRELIMO to substantiate their case. This was an argument which was as mischievous as it was dishonest and, opportunistic.

Firstly, notwithstanding the different historical processes and conditions of the development of the political struggle in Mozambique and Zimbabwe, it is a historical fact that FRELIMO is democratically based and has resolved its problems in the course of the armed struggle, through Party congresses to which former ZAPU was represented as observers. In any case all genuine revolutionary movements, past and contemporary, relied and do rely on congresses as their cardinal stages of development. It is equally an historical fact that only fascist dictatorships (Franco — Spain, Hitler — Germany, etc) oppose people's congresses because they were conscious of the unpopular line they were pursuing.

Secondly, no decision to disengage the constitutional talks with the Rhodesian regime was ever taken by any organ of the ANC. The legitimate organ to take such a decision is the National Executive of the ANC. It never sat anywhere to reverse its decision to engage in talks with the regime.

Thirdly the ANC never, at any time, reduced its policy over a complex struggle like the Zimbabwe one to a simple choice between the armed struggle and talks with the enemy as alternatives as if they were opposites in strategy. The ANC has never regarded talks with the enemy and the armed struggle as mutually exclusive processes of struggle. On the contrary the ANC regards talks and the armed struggle as complementary depending on the objectives created by the circumstances of that given phase of the struggle.

As it should be clear that the reasons put forward by the Muzorewa junta in opposition to congress were a pack of dangerously misleading lies, the real reason must now be exposed. Each of the junta-Muzorewa, Ndabaningi Sithole and James Chikerema, separately, under all sorts of guises, had a burning pathological desire for the leadership of the ANC and therefore that of Zimbabwe.

The stark reality among the people was that, popularly, whether combined as a junta or separately as individuals, they had no chance whatever. They were conscious and bothered by this painful fact. The only thing they shared, hated and feared in common was the rooted and popular standing of Comrade Nkomo with the masses and consequently the inevitable choice for leadership of the ANC and that of

Zimbabwe. They could not relent. They gambled for their political fortunes on the path of discrediting Comrade Nkomo, deceiving and dodging the Zimbabwe public, engaging in political deviousness and prolific lying and counting on certain sentimental external forces for propaganda and financial support.

Though lies are fast in capturing a moment, they, however, cannot withstand the truth in the long run. This is one of the complexities of the Zimbabwe struggle. Realising that the so-called expulsion of Comrade Nkomo had no effect and was in fact irrelevant to the march of the people towards congress, the Muzorewa junta, using Dr. Gabellah and Dr. Gordon Chavunduka inside Zimbabwe, decided to make a cautious test of its strength among the people by convening what was called a "Consultative Meeting" of Branches and Provincial Executives of whatever was left in their support. Discovering that they had lost almost everything and could not draw any response from the formal structure of the organization, they turned to the public in the streets of Salisbury and to the church followers of Muzorewa inviting everyone and anybody to a rally at the Gwanzura stadium the venue of the supposed "Consultative Meeting". Having no formal delegates they were selling at five cents delegates' labels to anyone curious enough to hear what sermon was to be preached in the stadium. True enough they drew large crowds to the stadium. The limit of 6,000 allowed them by the Rhodesian regime as had been allowed to the ANC congress was exceeded. But what did that mean in political terms? The crowds were not an organization, they were not representative of anyone but curiosity as crowds milling around a circus lion.

Dr. Gabellah was aware of this and realised that he could neither effect discipline nor conduct even a "Consultative Meeting" with a crowd whose credentials he did not know. He decided to make the quantity of the people the issue. He created a farce over numbers with the police as a way out and, on that excuse, dismissed the crowd, despite the fact that his junta group had accepted a written permit for a limit of 6,000.

The group had noticed that drawing a crowd against formal organization by whatever deceitful methods has a confusing effect on some supporters. It is thus currently engaged in trying to carry out another experiment on crowdcatching without giving the people any chance of telling it off.

7

ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL TALKS

A delegation of the ANC led by Comrade Joshua Nkomo is currently engaged in constitutional talks with the Rhodesian regime. The talks are a continuation of the talks which broke down on the South African coach at the Victoria Falls Bridge on the 25th August, 1975. All these talks are sequel of talks originally initiated by Bishop Muzorewa in 1974, April. At that time Bishop Muzorewa as leader of the ANC pulled into the talks a non-member Chad Chipunza to assist him. Chad Chipunza is a distinguished traitor in Zimbabwe. The results were tragic. Bishop Muzorewa found himself signing a deal with the racist leader Ian Smith which accepted the 1971 Douglas Home-Smith constitutional fraud as a basis for finding a settlement.

The National Executive of the ANC met on the 2nd of June, 1974 to consider the deal. It was thrown out Bishop

Muzorewa offered to resign. The National Executive pardoned him and asked him to continue as leader.

In the fever of the fall of Portuguese colonialism on the 25th April, 1974 and the brilliant victories of the PAIGC and FRELIMO, the frontier states in Southern Africa, Botswana, Zambia and Tanzania judged the moment ripe to test the racist regimes — Vorster and Ian Smith — on the demands of the Lusaka Manifesto, an OAU and United Nations policy document for Southern Africa. Their immediate objective was how best they could salvage the talks initiated and later plunged by Bishop Muzorewa himself. The initiatives of these states led to the release of the leaders in prison — Comrade Joshua Nkomo and others to Lusaka first and finally on the 12th of December, 1974, to Rhodesia. Before their release the "Lusaka Declaration of Unity" was initiated on the 7th December, constituting the unified ANC and laying down a definite programme of future development.

Quite naturally there was some concern within the OAU as to whether the talks being fostered by the frontier states with Ian Smith through contact with Vorster were being carried out on an acceptable interpretation of the Lusaka Manifesto. This led to the Special Council of Ministers' meeting in Dar es Salaam on the 7th April, 1975. The council of Ministers emerged with a Dar es Salaam Declaration which laid down —

- (a) that the racist regimes should talk to liberation movements first.
- (b) contact between OAU states and the racist regimes could be made providing this did not suggest "detente" with these regimes.

The OAU summit conference held in Kampala in July, 1975 endorsed the Dar es Salaam Declaration. This cleared the atmosphere for the frontier states and for the ANC (Zimbabwe) on the talks.

It was in this African context that the talks on the South African Coach were held at the Victoria Falls Bridge at the end of August, 1975.

We would like to stress that the talks at the Victoria Falls Bridge broke down on the mechanics, in other words procedural question, of the conference and NOT on the substance of the talks. It has always been understood as a matter of elementary logic that the vital point of breakdown can only be considered on the matter of substance — majority rule itself — and not the question of immunity which was just a tactical question which could be varied considering that the future of Zimbabwe could not hang on a few individuals outside whatever their rank. The refusal of the British Government to allow the Hon. Mbiu Koinange to enter the constitutional conference for the independence of Kenya in spite of the spirited tactical pressure of KANU did not end the constitutional conference nor did it prevent the independence of Kenya.

Once congress was held on the 27th—28th September, 1975, it was up to the new National Leadership of the ANC to decide how best to respond to the overtures of the racist regime for the resumption of the talks. In the event the talks were resumed with the ANC aiming at three immediate objectives —

- (a) clearing the immunity hurdle.
- (b) eliminating the factor of South African involvement in the talks.
- (c) reaching the substantive issues to determine as to whether it is any worthwhile to continue the talks.

This is where the talks are at present. This is what Comrade Joshua Nkomo has always meant by saying these talks should be carried to their logical conclusion.

We have to repeat that these talks are being deliberately conducted on the clear approach that they are neither a substitute nor an obstruction to the armed liberation struggle. The talks will not stop just to appease destructive speculators and the armed struggle will not stop just because there are talks being conducted with the regime.

Allegations have been made by the Muzorewa junta that the people's leader Comrade Joshua Nkomo has a deal with the racist leader Ian Smith on the settlement of the Rhodesian problem. These allegations are pieces of mischievous nonsense manufactured for credulous and cheap minded politicians. No such deal exists, none will ever be made and none has ever been concretely produced but for empty malicious allegations. To believe this nonsense is to be part of the lie and to treat it any further is to waste space and time. Whatever is being talked or negotiated now is being discussed and directed by the ANC National Executive as a whole and the public is kept informed of every stage.



THE ZIMBABWE LIBERATION COUNCIL (ZLC)

Immediately following the Unity Declaration, the National Executive decided to create an external Administration under the name of the Zimbabwe Liberation Council (ZLC). The ZLC was to consist of four persons appointed by each of the four former movements: ZAPU, ZANU, FROLIZI and the old ANC, making a total of sixteen altogether. The National Executive further decided to appoint an Administrative Secretary and an Assistant from among the members of the National Executive, they were John Nkomo then ANC Assistant Secretary General (no relation to Comrade Joshua Nkomo) and Simon V. Muzenda. Some of the regulations governing the ZLC passed by the National Executive were to be:—

- (a) The Chairman was to be appointed by the National Executive from among the sixteen names.
- (b) The Administrative Secretary was to be the Secretary of the ZLC.
- (c) All decisions of the ZLC were to be mere recommendations to the National Executive.
- (d) Members of the National Executive based outside Zimbabwe would be ex-officio members of the ZLC and were not to hold positions in it.

Some of the functions were:

- (a) Consolidation of unity outside Zimbabwe with particular emphasis on the army cadres.
- (b) Prosecution of the armed struggle.
- (c) Improving external relations with Governments and International Organizations.

The ZLC became the main focus of the power struggle which eventually caused the split in the ANC in September, 1975. The primary issue was the source of the authority within the organization. It is clearly stated in the ANC Constitution, and was accepted by the signatories of the Lusaka Declaration of Unity, that the ultimate authority is the Annual

Congress, while between the congresses, the National Executive carries that authority. It was in order to establish this principle that it was made clear that the ZLC must derive its authority from, and be responsible to, the National Executive.

When Sithole discovered that his forces were in a minority in the National Executive as well as in the districts and branches of the ANC, and that through tricks and manipulations of the National Executive in alliance with Muzorewa could change that position, instead of accepting the will of the majority, he attempted to usurp the authority of the National Executive by using the ZLC. Sithole and Chikerema discovered that by joining their forces and by making use of their positions as ex-officio members of the ZLC, they could control a majority of the ZLC. They used Muzorewa to appoint ANC members of the ZLC who were not from home but were living overseas, and were not approved by the National Executive.

The Muzorewa — Sithole — Chikerema clique, while trying to conduct the affairs of the ANC without any reference to the National Executive, developed the tactic of claiming the ZLC as their authority, and ignoring the regulations laid down by the National Executive for the operations of the ZLC. It was a deliberate attempt by these men to set up an administration not only independent of, but actually in opposition to the Party organization in Zimbabwe. The reason, of course, was their failure to take control of the organization and their refusal to accept that they were not the chosen leaders of the people of Zimbabwe.

The crunch came in August, 1975 when the ZANU — FROLIZI clique, joined by Muzorewa, tried to allocate all key positions in the ZLC task committees to themselves. It will be seen from the minutes of the ZLC meeting quoted below that their moves contravened all the rules laid down by the National Executive:

- (a) They wanted to appoint people to positions, when this was the prerogative of the National Executive.
- (b) They wanted to appoint Sithole and Chikerema to positions, even though they were only ex-officio members and not entitled to positions in the ZLC.
- (c) They disregarded the appointment of Comrades John Nkomo and Simon Muzenda by the National Executive as Administrative Secretaries of the ZLC and demoted them to committee members.

Furthermore, it will be obvious that they simply wanted to control the entire external operation by taking the Chairmanship of every task committee. It was a very blatant attempt not only to defy the National Executive, but to push all former ZAPU members out of the external operation — a deliberate destruction of the fragile unity created eight months earlier. The only former ZAPU member present at this meeting (Comrade Edward Ndhlovu) felt compelled to leave the meeting before the fraudulent elections were held, so as not to appear to condone the attempt to usurp the authority of the National Executive and eliminate the majority of the ANC from effective participation in the struggle. The ultimate aim of this clique was to gain control of all the military cadres and mould them to their own political ends.

This attempt to achieve such a goal through control of the ZLC failed, because it was exposed and denounced, and the congress followed soon afterwards.

The Muzorewa — Chikerema — Sithole clique have since September, attempted to maintain their fiction of an external wing which controls the army and is prosecuting the armed struggle.

In fact since the demise of the ZLC the National Executive elected by congress has appointed members of the external Wing which is currently engaged in promoting the armed struggle through the large proportion of the army, joined by large numbers of new recruits who support the decision of the majority of the people at congress, including the leadership of Comrade Joshua Nkomo.

"ANC - ZLC - MINUTES - 16TH AUGUST, 1975"

Present - Nyandoro, (Ndhlovu); Mukono, Mtambanengwe; Munyawarara; Msangomai; Parirewa; Gamanya; Parirenyatwa, Chikerema, Sithole (Chairman)

Elections to ZLC:

Chairman - N. Sithole - 10 for - ZANU
"Vice - J. Z. Moyo - 8 for - 1 abstention - 1 against
Secretary - J. R. D. Chikerema - 9 for - Frolizi

Diplomatic Committee.

- (a) Mtambanengwe, S. (Chairman - 9 for) ZANU
- (b) Munyawarara, L.
- (c) Nkomo, J.

Finance Committee.

- (a) Nyandoro, G. B. (Chairman - 9 for) Frolizi
- (b) Masangomai, J.
- (c) Muzenda, S.

Publicity Committee.

- (a) Gamanya, Z. (Chairman - 9 for) Frolizi
- (b) Masangomai, J.
- (c) Makoni, Rev.

Welfare Committee.

- (a) Parirewa, G. S. (Chairman - 9 for) ZANU
- (b) Nyandoro, G. B.
- (c) Makoni, Rev.

Party Organization.

- (a) Mawema, M (Chairman - 9 for) ZANU
- (b) Tekere, E.
- (c) Madimutsa, M.

Military Committee.

- (a) Mukono, N. (Chairman) ZANU
- (b) Parirenyatwa, S. D.
- (c) Dabengwa, D.

interests within the Zimbabwe movement. At this point everyone of them has started their bid for the top post in the nation by smearing the National Leader Comrade Joshua Nkomo, with allegations of weakness, corruption and self-outism. Everyone of them has first attempted an internal coup-d'etat within the National Executive leadership by trying to usurp powers for an attempt to expel Comrade Nkomo. Everyone of them has had their plans collapse and fail at this point. On failure everyone of them has then resorted to seeking refuge in tribalism, pathological lying and retaining a clique for a split. The favourite theme for stirring tribalism is that original inhabitants of Zimbabwe are Shona speaking Peoples; they are the majority after all having the greatest number of the most highly educated persons who can man a government. It is anathema, according this tribal theory, to tolerate Zimbabwe National Leadership moving to government under a person who is not of pure Shona Stock. This is how the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole rose and fell, appointed by Comrade Nkomo to take charge of the Party from an external base in Dar es Salaam in 1963 and ended up generating a split and finally formed ZANU.

This is how James Chikerema, as Vice-President, entrusted by Comrade Nkomo with the charge of the Party from an external base rose and fell with his tiny FROLIZI, in 1971. This is how Bishop Muzorewa, appointed by Comrade Nkomo who was then in prison, to lead the unifying ANC, rose and fell in 1975.

In the company of James Chikerema and Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole who are his predecessors on the splitist road, who have the experience of having burnt their fingers by splitist names, you can imagine that their common dilemma with the Bishop is on what name to use for their clique since they no longer have room in the ANC.

The love between them is mutual consolation over tribulations resulting from the collapse of their subversive power bids against Comrade Nkomo in the Zimbabwe liberation struggle.

It is needless for us to point out that the majority of Zimbabweans have not been taken in by subversive tendencies of this junta. The danger of the tribal atmosphere they are generating cannot, however, be taken lightly. It is on this issue that we would like to draw the attention of and warn the external forces which have encouraged these elements as to what dangerous tribal brink they are pushing Zimbabwe to.

It is important to conceive and understand properly the operative nature of these tribal dynamics which are concealed in slogans of militancy. When the Muzorewa junta claims majority support it is presuming upon the success of the tribalist mentality it is to engender within the Zimbabwe population, in the army and among students - especially abroad.

It is the awareness of this evil movement that has kept the Zimbabwe population tightly together behind Comrade Joshua Nkomo in order to preserve the gains of national unity achieved under him.

Fresh persons on the Zimbabwe political scene and some external forces under the sway of sentimentality and slogans regarding the Zimbabwe struggle must enter into deeper analysis of the historical base and the nature of factors affecting the Zimbabwe struggle before passing judgement on superficial impulse and in this way multiplying confusion.



CONCLUSION

It is important to notice that all splitists of the Zimbabwe liberation movement have risen and fallen by common pattern. Everyone of them has had their desperate power ambition break open at the peak of entrustment of the highest party duties by the National Leader Comrade Joshua Nkomo. Everyone of them has had their power ambitions stirred to the surface, and propelled, after exposure to and tasting the glory and wealth of the support of external forces some of which have developed alliances for factional

Finally we would like to clarify the question of unity. It is our stand-point that unity of the people or any quarrelling leaders can be solved finally and peacefully by the people of that country exercising their sovereignty in congress. Herein lay the value of the Lusaka Declaration of Unity of December, 7, 1974. Treachery to unity emanated in those who from December 7, 1974 to September 1975 — 9 months — hatched one sabotage scheme after another to prevent the people meeting in congress to put their seal on unity, lay down discipline and elect their leadership. It was in the interest of unity that the majority Zimbabweans stretched their patience to nine months in the hope that the saboteurs of unity (the Muzorewa junta) would find accommodation. They worsened and worsened the situation. If the opportunity to meet in congress to solve the question of leadership

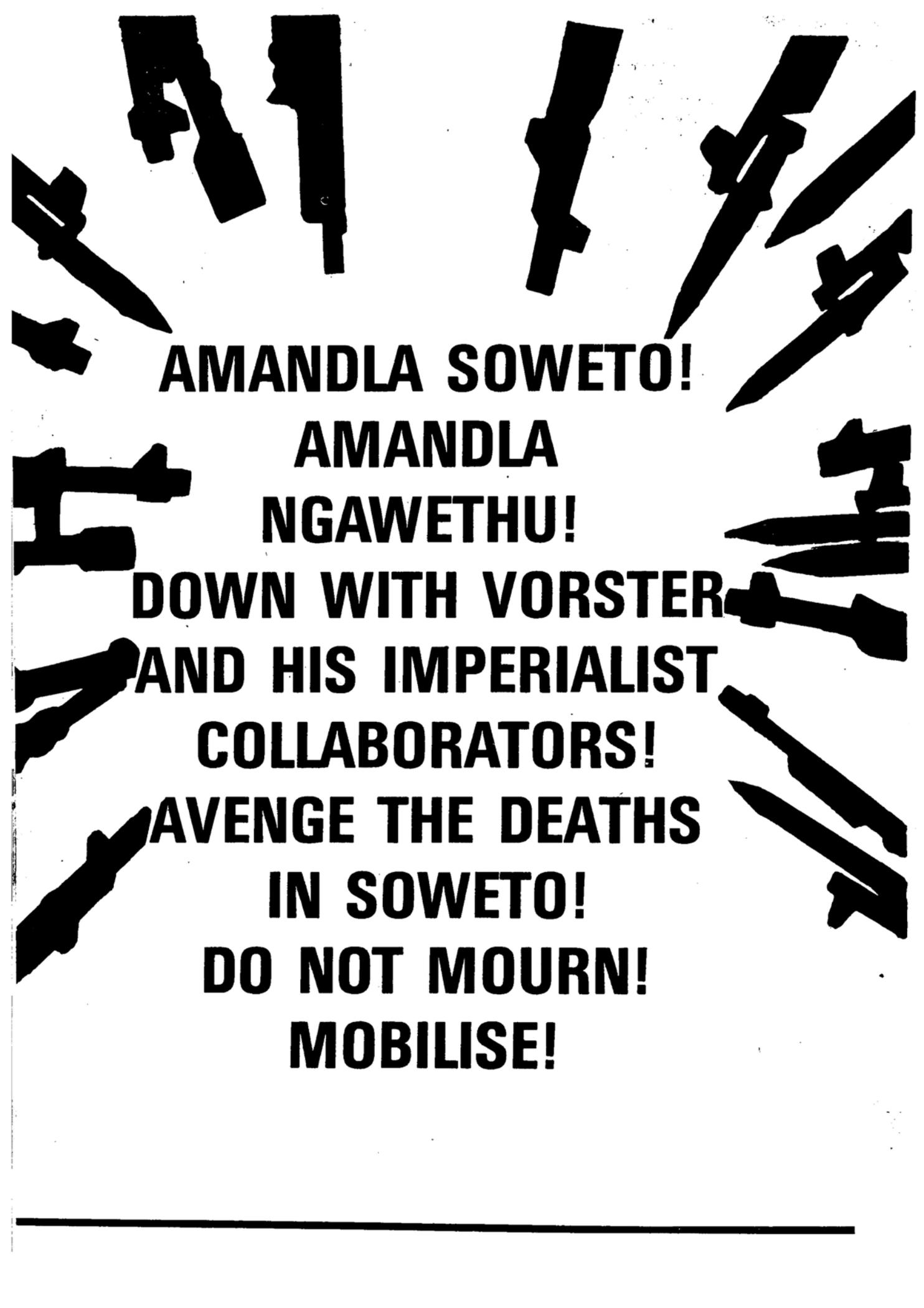
and unity is not open to the people who else and what else can exercise that right for them? Nobody and nothing else. The people themselves must do it. It is then for the external forces to support what the people of Zimbabwe have chosen in congress.

There are people toying with the dangerous idea that the Zimbabwe population must be ignored and that decisions of those carrying arms be imposed on the entire population. These are elements, internal and external, who are, in fact, opportunists and adventurers who want the world to believe that revolution is the gun and that the man with the gun is the sole revolutionary to the exclusion of the masses.

This is treachery to and corruption of the revolution. The people of Zimbabwe with or without guns are a single revolutionary whole in struggle. What prevails in the course of the struggle is their democratic decisions through their organized instrument — the ANC. To suggest anything otherwise is to advocate chaos.



**Zimbabwe
must be free**



AMANDLA SOWETO!

**AMANDLA
NGAWETHU!**

**DOWN WITH VORSTER
AND HIS IMPERIALIST
COLLABORATORS!**

**AVENGE THE DEATHS
IN SOWETO!**

**DO NOT MOURN!
MOBILISE!**

STATEMENT OF THE ANC (SA) ON THE MASSACRES

IN SOWETO 16. 6. 76

On the 16 June 1976, the South African fascist regime brutally murdered at least 27 school children in Soweto, Johannesburg. The true and unchanged face of Vorster's fascist repression against the oppressed black majority of our country is again manifest. Helicopters, Saracen tanks, Teargas and sub-machine guns, supplied to South Africa by the governments of France, Italy, Belgium, the UK and the USA were used with great effect. The result: 29 people killed, 220 wounded, 130 people arrested.

This massacre was precipitated by a mass demonstration organised by the high school and primary school students, in the black township of Soweto. The school students had been on strike against a state imposed policy designed to deny black pupils the same educational opportunities as whites. The South African white racist regime responded to this peaceful protest with its usual arrogant refusal to change or modify its policy. This response is indicative of the hollowness of Vorster's promises to "move away from racial discrimination".

The student strike culminated in the massive demonstration of the 16th June, registering our youth and students' total abhorrence of the entire apartheid system.

Faced with unarmed school children, the racist police force opened fire with machine guns and tear gas grenades. The response of the people of Soweto was a night of pitched battles. The most recent press accounts say that at least 30 people have died. To "restore order" the white fascist regime moved in with tanks, armoured cars, helicopters and

its "crack antiterrorist unit". The whole of Soweto is now under a state of siege surrounded by thousands of troops equipped with modern arms kindly supplied to them by the major western powers!

We do not ask you to mourn the death of these brave young fighters. The only response we can make is to mobilise even more effectively to isolate the whole racist regime of Vorster and the powers that back him. To give more and more assistance to the liberation movement led by the ANC.

We call upon you to mobilise massive demonstrations against these massacres and the continuing brutality of the South African regime, its troops and police!

We call upon you to denounce and do all in your power to prevent the projected summit between Vorster and Kissinger!

We call upon you to intensify your support for the national liberation movement of the people of SOUTH AFRICA, the ANC. We call upon you to ensure that your government should observe fully all the UN resolutions calling for an arms embargo against South Africa!

Amandla Ngawethu!

Power to the People!

Amandla Nga Soweto!

Power to SOWETO!

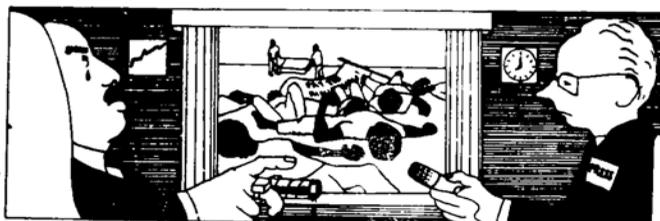
African National Congress
(South Africa)

At the time of going to press:

About 200 killed, 1.500 wounded and 3.000 arrested---. Editor



"I am calling on you to deal with this situation."



"How could such a tragedy happen?"

**SOLIDARITY
WITH**



chile

SPEECH BY

Stephen J. Nkomo

ANC REPRESENTATIVE to the
43rd Anniversary to the Socialist Party of Chile,
held on the 19. 4. 1976 in Algiers, Algeria

Dear Comrades,

On the occasion of the 43rd Anniversary of the founding of the Socialist Party of Chile, the office of the African National Council (ANC) of Zimbabwe, in Algiers, seizes this opportunity to convey revolutionary greetings to the comrades of Chile, who, like the people of Zimbabwe, are today face to face with a junta that takes no value of human life.

Since 1973, when the fascist militarist junta murdered the courageous leader of the Chilean people, Comrade Salvador Allende, and seized state power, untold suffering has been perpetrated unabated upon the Chilean people. Imprisonment without trial, torture, cold-blooded murders, detentions, etc; have become the order of the day in today's Pinochet's Clique.

Notwithstanding all the plunders, looting and murders perpetrated by the fascist regime of Pinochet, the people of Chile have stood firm in resistance. They have mobilised international public opinion in support of their struggle and, as a result, the Pinochet fascist regime now stands condemned before the eyes of all progressive forces the world-over. The life-span of the Pinochet fascist junta is temporary; in this temporary fascist exercise, the junta enjoys overwhelming support of the imperialists, funnelled through the multinational corporations that are managed by the CIA against the aspirations of the Chilean people.

Comrades, the struggle of the Chilean people is linked by revolutionary bonds with the struggles of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. In Latin America itself, the patriots of Chile have a natural ally in revolutionary Cuba. With its clear internationalist policy, revolutionary Cuba has stood firm in support not only the Chilean people but, all the oppressed peoples all-over this planet. Our solidarity with the Cuban revolution and people is therefore permanent.

While celebrating the 43rd anniversary of the SPC, we wish to place it on record that our solidarity with the Chilean people, extends to include all the struggling comrades in all Latin America, particularly the people of Puerto Rico, who are victims of USA colonialism and imperialism. On this occasion, we remember as well the peoples of Bolivia, Uruguay, Paraguay and Brazil, who are victims of neo-colonialism, perpetrated by USA imperialism. In Chile itself, we greet all revolutionaries of the left who are carrying forward the struggle to restore democracy in Chile. We greet all comrades, including Comrade Luis Corvalan, who are today tortured in fascist prisons in Chile.



Comrades, we of the ANC-Zimbabwe, are engaged in a similar struggle as yours. The fascist Rhodesian regime of Ian Smith, continues to murder our people in cold-blood. Many of our patriots are tortured and hanged in secrecy inside the Central Prison in Salisbury. Similar methods of torture as those carried out by the Pinochet junta, are as well used against our people in fascist Rhodesia. Although in late 1974, the regime released temporarily, some of our leading members from concentration camps, including national leader, Comrade Joshua Nkomo, after torturing them for over 11 years, tens of thousands of our comrades are still in various prisons and concentration camps all over Rhodesia. Comrades, we are, however, happy to inform you that the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe continues and is gaining momentum day after day.

Comrades, with these few words of solidarity, we look forward to our joint successes in the struggle against a common enemy.

INSIDE ZIMBABWE



Body of a brutally bayoneted Zimbabwean left in the bush by the Smith racist murderers. The fascist troops now butcher innocent African civilians whom they count later as Freedom-Fighters Hundreds of Zimbabweans have also been shot dead along the Mozambique and Botswana — Rhodesia borders for allegedly breaking the regime's dust-to-dawn curfew.

MERCENARY MENACE:

WHAT IS SOLUTION?

The African continent has been bedeviled by a scourge, mercenary scourge, for more than a decade now. It is clear that the continent will have to contend with this menace for some years to come, at least for as long as the democratisation and decolonisation of some parts of Africa have not yet been completely achieved.

The United Nations is the right arena at which this issue should be solved once and for all. But the UN has proved impotent because of manouvres by imperialist nations to block any effective moves to liquidate the scourge from the face of the earth.

Since the world body has failed to deal with the problem effectively, Africa must take steps to defend itself because it has been the playground of these miserly human bloodhounds. African states should be utterly merciless in their measures against mercenaries so that they can ensure the safety and security of their people and governments.

Africa must act through the Organisation of African Unity to make sure that mercenaries defeated in one country cannot cross into another state for sanctuary, and thereby escape punishment they deserve through their criminal activities. Nor should they be granted transit facilities for their cold-blooded murders merit nothing but ruthless justice.

It is necessary that a country which has suffered from the plunder of mercenaries should claim reparations from those nations which permit or elbow their nationals to enlist as mercenaries, or fail to stop them from enlisting.

The mercenaries' home-governments should also make sure that those of their nationals who engage in this crime should be punished on returning home. Presently, governments whose nationals go abroad as mercenaries allow them to live untroubled by the arm of law when they return from their bloody adventures. The case of Belgian Jean

Schramme, and that of British and others (recently returned from Angola) comes to mind. They are living happily after wantonly destroying human lives and a lot of property in Angola.

In Zimbabwe, white settlers are seriously affected by the liberation war and are leaving the country in large numbers. This affects the manpower reservoir on which the smith regime depends

for its fascist army. But the loss is made good by mercenaries recruited in Britain, the USA, France, Australia, Belgium, Federal Republic of Germany, Portugal and South American states like Brazil and Uruguay. Smith also depends on some 20,000 Portuguese nationals who left Mozambique at the time of independence of the African state and settled in Rhodesia.

Zimbabwean freedom-fighters cannot

show any mercy to these professional criminals and murderers. Zimbabweans shall employ the toughest measures to rid themselves of this scourge. Only the most effective means will be used in Zimbabwe to stamp out international scoundrels of any hue or race. Mercenaries cannot and should not be treated as prisoners-of-war. They are cold-blooded murderers who must be eliminated without mercy, delay or apology.



EDUCATION

FOR

REVOLUTION

"The revolutionary's role is to liberate, and be liberated, with the people — not to win them over."

PAOLO FREIRE

Our oppressors always tell us that what we need most is education — education — the great panacea which will liberate us from poverty, hunger and disease! Education, they say, is like technology, a non-political agent for progress.

No, we say, education is one of the subtlest weapons that the oppressors have used against us. With education they have colonised even the inner recesses of our minds; with education they have tried to weld us forever into obedient servants of their own malicious purposes.

Yes, we want education. But we want an education which liberates, not one which oppresses and manipulates. We want a revolutionary education.

Developing a programme of revolutionary education is an essential aspect of our Zimbabwean struggle. But this must be done with a sound understanding of basic educational principles and a clear analysis of how education and schools have been used among our people as a tool of capitalist imperialism.

I. PRINCIPLES OF EDUCATION

a) How Societies Educate Their Members

Education, of course, has a place in every society, whether or not formal schools exist. Any society expects its children to be educated in two ways:

- 1) learning technical skills e.g. ploughing, cooking, building etc.
- 2) learning social attitudes and customary behaviour.

In modern societies technical skills are learned mainly in formal schools; in traditional societies they were learned within the extended family or the village. But what is much more important in a political sense is the learning of behaviours that accompanies all learning of skills. It is the teaching of behaviours, attitudes and ideals which enables any society to perpetuate itself — Whether that society be

capitalist, socialist, feudal or communist. The crucial issue is the context in which skills are learned — are they learned in order to contribute to the life of a community, in order to qualify for continued membership in a hereditary ruling class, or in order to raise oneself above the level of the rest of the community? Each society creates its own context in order to teach its children its own values. The school or institution of education is usually an embodiment of the society in which it exists, and its function is to educate children in both skills and behaviours. Thus we can consider the school in a capitalist society a place where capitalist values and behaviours are learned, even though they may not be on the curriculum.

Socialisation is the total process whereby a child learns what is acceptable behaviour in the society into which he was born. It begins within the family, where he learns the manners and traditions which reflect the basic economic and social relationships of his society. These are later reinforced by the nature of the social, economic, and political structures he encounters when he goes out from the family. As he grows older, he learns what kind of behaviour will advance him in his society, and which will retard him, and he learns to act accordingly. His behaviour is encouraged by the punishments and rewards operating within his society.

The process of socialisation in a capitalist society is known to all recently colonised peoples. A child quickly learns to consider his individual person more important than any other. He learns that the greatest rewards will come if he pushes himself ahead through competing with others, rather than by seeking to co-operate. He learns that real freedom depends on economic success, so he puts all his efforts into acquiring for himself the wealth which will enable him to purchase adequate housing, nutritious foods, medical care, and the time and means to pursue intellectual interests and leisure. If a person learnsthrough his social conditioning to adopt the values and behaviours of capitalism, then he is considered a well-adjusted, stable member of that society. But if something of his free spirit and concern for other individuals resist the conditioning, then he is considered

maladjusted, unstable and a failure. We could draw a parallel picture for a socialist society, or any other, for all societies attempt to impart their values to their youngest members through family and institutional education.

What is significant for both the coloniser and the revolutionary is that a new kind of society can be created by teaching new behaviours.

b) How People Learn

If we want to develop an idea of how education can serve the revolution, we must also understand how people learn. It should be clear to everyone that the basic truths and skills of life are not learned by reading books, and are not learned by listening to "teachers". No one "teaches" a child to walk, to talk, to play with other children. He learns. The adult learns in the same way as the child — by experimenting, watching and listening, and finally discovering the truth for himself. In other words, what a person genuinely learns, he learns through his own experience. The armchair revolutionary who has read all the history and theory of revolutions knows less about revolution than the illiterate peasant who has fought the oppressor with his own brain and an obsolete rifle.

One of the perversions which western education bequeathed to Africa is a heavy reliance on knowledge gained from books and lectures. In western capitalist society the person considered learned is the one who has read and written the most books, not the one who has experienced the most in life. Thus the capitalist scholar finds his knowledge is often something divorced from his experience of life — he is often something divorced from his experience of life — he is intellectually alienated.

Anyone who is thoroughly socialised in a western type of school has learned to trust the knowledge he gains from books in preference to what he gains from his own experience. The end result is a severe mental oppression, since that individual loses the ability to make his own judgements based on his own experience — he can only quote other people's judgements, and his actions reflect not his own judgements, but someone else's.

Let us take just one example from our own situation. Many Zimbabweans, while they know from their own experience that they are not inferior to the white race, nevertheless come to believe that they are inferior, and act as if they were. There is a conflict between what they are taught in schools and what they learn in their own experience. But they ignore their own experience, and believe what they are told, because that is what will advance them in the capitalist society in which they live. Only an African who behaves like a servant can advance in Rhodesia. Such people become slaves to other peoples' instructions, machines, not free agents, and are simply objects to be manipulated by oppressors. Such is the enslaving education process of capitalist schools. A truly free education is one which helps the individual to learn from his own experience, by reflecting on it and analysing it, and making moral judgements on the environment in which he lives.

II. THE ZIMBABWE CONTEXT

In Zimbabwe before the European conquest and colonisation, our societies had their own form of social education.

We taught children to become responsible members of communities whose emphasis was not on the individual, but on collective enterprise. We did not have formal schools, except in some cases for military training. But in all cases, our children learned through their own experience of the society of which they were members.

The European conquest brought to us two new educational — processes — the informal socialising process of European capitalist society, and the formal schools of European missionaries. Only gradually after the conquest of Zimbabwe did the imperialists begin to realise the possibility of using formal education as part of their colonising programme. The white farmers and miners who settled in the new colony called Rhodesia at first wanted to keep the Africans uneducated in order to prevent them from advancing in competition with Europeans. But the settlers were soon overshadowed by imperialists abroad who wanted to make money by developing the colony's resources. They planned to make Rhodesia an integral part of the capitalist world. They soon saw that they could only exploit African labour efficiently if they educated at least some Africans. They needed to teach Africans some basic western technical skills. But more important, they needed to introduce a process of capitalist socialisation which would destroy the collective, independent community spirit of economic endeavour present among the Zimbabwe people, and replace it with the individualistic, profit-motivated mentality of the European coloniser. Only in such a way could "Rhodesia" be truly integrated into the capitalist world, and its resources fully exploited for the benefit of Europe and North America. The imperialists aimed to create a different society in Zimbabwe, one which would suit their own purposes. They were able to persuade the settlers that they too could benefit from the education of Africans, and that they need not fear competition from educated workers, as that would be controlled. Thus education was to be used as a tool to enable capitalists to exploit African labour more profitably.

It was not until the late 1930's and 1940's that a strong drive was made for formalised African education. But once the push began, the imperialists found that the ground-work had already been laid for them by the missionaries. Missionaries had been operating schools in some parts of the country since the day of the conquest. They were prepared to teach elementary skills which would result in making African labour more profitably exploitable, but they put their main emphasis on evangelising and "civilising" the natives. In most cases "civilising" meant teaching the customs and simple technology of the West, but it also included the teaching of capitalist attitudes towards economic enterprise. Missionaries brought us the message that it was bad to rest after providing sufficient for the community by collective family and community effort; in order to be truly acceptable to God and the white man, we must also strive as individuals to produce more than we needed. Such efforts would be rewarded with profits, which would open the door to each of us as individuals to advance beyond our fellows and acquire material wealth. The missionaries were strong in their faith in the European model of economic development. It is probable, however, that most did not understand that the evils of exploitation, injustice, corruption, and deteriorating human relations were products of this same form of progress.

We Zimbabweans were divided in our response. While some remained sceptical for a long time, others clamoured for the white man's education, unsuspecting of the trap into which it was to lead us. By 1910 we had come to believe that armed resistance was no longer a viable option — as indeed, at that time it was not — and we began to try a new line of attack: to learn the European's way in order to take over the new system which were erecting in our land, and make it work for our own benefit. We were promised, especially during the Federation, equal opportunities for advancement within the European environment. This was called "Partnership". But since few of us understood that capitalism operates by a hierarchy of oppression, we could not imagine the dangers inherent in accepting the capitalist society — in fact, we did not see the system as a "capitalist" one, but as a "European" one.

Thus we flocked to schools. First the small rural mission schools, and later the more sophisticated government and mission secondary schools. And the schools performed relatively efficiently their work of "educating" and socialising the Zimbabwe people into what might be called Christian capitalism. The schools carried out both the skill-training functions and the socialising functions of education. In the classroom they taught skills — reading, writing, arithmetic, religion, industrial arts, and some factual general knowledge, usually biased to show the superiority of the European way of life. The social attitudes necessary to capitalism were taught in two ways:

a) by methods used to teach skills — competition was encouraged, fostering individual rather than collective effort.

b) through the social context created at the school; every mission station was a little Europe. Its order of the day, its system of rewards and punishments, its methods of social mixing and hierarchies of privilege, were a silent lesson every day in the "right way of doing things".

Here it was that new behaviour patterns of young Zimbabweans were moulded. Here it was that we learned to respect the European and despise our traditional ways. We were being socialised, not only into European customs, but also into a capitalist way of life, so that we could be better used as tools of exploitation of our own people. Whether or not they understood what they were doing, the missionaries were very effective agents of imperialism.

But while schools have been the prime tools of capitalist education, they are not the only ones. In many spheres of endeavour, technical skills were imparted only with accompanying socialisation. Take for example, the work of the agricultural extension officer. While his main thrust should have been technical — use of fertilizers, prevention of erosion, breeding methods etc., his principal effort always was to insist on individualised land-holding with commercialisation and the profit motive at the base. Only by this encouraging excess production could the Europeans hope to support a cheap labour force in the towns for their industrial enterprises.

Every African who undertook employment — and most men were forced to, in order to pay tax — was subjected to capitalist socialisation. Not only was he required to learn the

particular technique needed for the job; he was also required to learn new attitudes to work, to family, and to himself. Imperialist-capitalist education has achieved some considerable success among the Zimbabwe people. We learn certain behaviours in order to survive in the society in which we live, and after practising these for years, we come to believe that they are right — or at least that it would be too much effort to change them. Those few who have been most effectively socialised have been allowed to rise to the top of African society in Rhodesia and now have a vested interest in keeping things the way they are. They have joined in the hierarchy of oppressors and are being used by the settlers and imperialists to help in the oppression of their own people.

But the capitalists have not completed the socialisation of the majority of Zimbabweans. They have failed due to one of the contradictions inherent in the capitalist system. Capitalism exists as a series of hierarchical steps of exploitation, each step controlled by a group of oppressors. Since Europeans are at the top and manipulate the whole system, they have been able to make sure that the non-white races are always found at the bottom levels of the hierarchy. Capitalism breeds racism, since it depends on exploitation. When it becomes distasteful or impolitic to exploit one's own race, it is convenient to find another race to exploit. Every black Zimbabwean, if he took time to analyse the situation, would have to admit, no matter what he has been told, that the system in which he lives cannot be ultimately acceptable. The vast majority do not yet see the evil as capitalism itself. They interpret the problem as racism, and are prepared to accept the struggle against racism. But they have been so heavily "educated" that they still believe in capitalism and have lost the ability to correctly analyse the true nature of their oppression. Thus their economic oppression is in part maintained by their own mental oppression which prevents them from seeing the direct connection between racism and capitalism.

III. REVOLUTIONARY PRINCIPLES

It should be quite clear, that the revolution must create a new type of educational process which will liberate people from their mental oppression and will help to build a new type of society. But what kind of society do we want — in other words, what is our ultimate revolutionary goal? We want to create a society which is free of exploitation and is based instead on the principle of community co-operation.

In aiming at this goal we embrace certain basic assumptions about the process of revolution itself:

a) The revolution is not merely a seizure of power by one group of militants from another.

b) In order to effectively change social, economic, and political institutions, the revolution must also change people's attitudes and their behaviours.

c) The changes brought by the revolution cannot take place in isolation from each other — they must all be pursued simultaneously to create a totally new revolutionary society. The first requirement of the revolution which can be served by an educational programme, is the creation among our people of a "revolutionary consciousness". Our people, oppressed by the capitalist society, share common belief with all other oppressed people: they believe that they are victims

of a cruel world which always works to their disadvantage. However, having been well trained in capitalist morality, they believe the lie which capitalism propounds – that if they are at the bottom of the social scale, it is in some way their own fault – they are too lazy, too stupid, too self-indulgent to bring themselves from their low position. This is another manifestation of the mental oppression which the ruling class uses to make it easier to maintain economic oppression. These people believe the lies they are told about themselves, and are convinced there is nothing they can do to change their environment. They resign themselves to their fate, and hope that one day the wheel of fortune might turn to their advantage or the advantage of their children – or their grandchildren. They have lost that human quality of the free spirit which believes that it can influence its own life.

In their oppression, our people understand very well the basic truth of their situation – that they are poor and other people are rich; they also have some vague notion of the fact that they are poor because other people are rich. But at the same time, since they have been told it is their own fault that they are poor, they tend to believe that, rather than what they sense for themselves. They lack understanding, then, on two levels:

- a) they are unable to analyse correctly the nature of their exploitation and the reason for it.
- b) they do not know how they can proceed to bring about a revolutionary change in their own position, because they do not believe it is possible.

It is the duty of a revolutionary education programme to create a revolutionary consciousness among our people by helping them to

- a) analyse their own situation
- b) understand their exploitation in a global context.
- c) believe that revolutionary action can be successful.

An education programme which can achieve these will have succeeded in its first task. The creation of a revolutionary consciousness can be seen as a liberation from mental oppression – a liberation which frees the spirit to enable us to proceed with the political, economic and military struggle. The second task of a revolutionary education is to prepare our people for the creation of the new society free of the exploitation and oppression of the old. It must begin new socialisation process to counteract the old capitalist socialisation. Some revolutions have succeeded in changing the social order but have failed to liberate people and create a free society because they have used the same type of manipulation as capitalism does. We too might easily fall into this practice if we are not careful. For example, we might very successfully manipulate the feelings of our people by instigating race or tribal hatred. But this would be dishonest, for we know that racism is not the cause of oppression but one of its aspects. The end of white oppression does not necessarily mean the end of all oppression. People are only really free when they understand the basic principles governing their lives and are able to make their own decisions and take their own actions to determine how they want to live. We cannot free our people by trying to manipulate them. We can only free them by allowing them to use the revolutionary party as a context in which to practice and learn freedom in understanding, in decision-making and in action.

IV. EDUCATION WITHIN THE PARTY

The temptation to manipulate instead of to liberate results from arrogant elitism. We must be careful to avoid both of these when developing a theory and strategy for revolutionary education. As members of a revolutionary party, who are we really? Are we not ourselves members of those same masses whom we seek to liberate? Many of us have had even more capitalist education than most of our people. Can we claim ourselves to be fully conscious and completely liberated? Of course not. We must all struggle, with ourselves as much as with the enemy. For capitalist education has put the enemy within our very souls. Yes, we have overcome the despair which is a symptom of oppression, and we have placed our hope in revolutionary action, but we are no different from the masses whom we seek to liberate. As products of a capitalist socialisation ourselves, we all still possess – attitudes and behaviours which can only be described as reactionary – the desire for individual praise, position and power; the love of bourgeois comforts and material things. Therefore, as a party of revolutionaries we must begin with ourselves; we must be constantly engaged in a process of educating ourselves and each other.

We could divide our education within the party into three mutually dependent parts:

1. skills
2. political, economic and social theory
3. behaviour.

1. All of us must acquire certain technical skills in order to contribute effectively to the revolution – whether these be purely military, political, administrative, medical or scientific – we must all be prepared to work in the field to which we are suited both before and after the actual seizure of power. These skills may be learned from other members of our own party or from foreign friends, but the most important thing is that we be learning in a revolutionary surrounding. We must learn skills in order to advance the cause of our people, not to advance our individual careers.

2. It is the duty of each of us as individuals and all of us as a party to increase the level of our own understanding of the concept of revolution and the specific details of our own revolution. We must, through constant study, observation and discussion learn thoroughly (a) the nature of the enemy (b) the forces shaping the consciousness of our people (c) the revolutionary experiences of other struggling peoples (d) successful and unsuccessful revolutionary strategies. It should be the duty of the party to conduct a continuing programme of group study for all members regardless of their length of experience as militants.

3. We must educate ourselves in revolutionary behaviour and attitudes. This is the most difficult aspect, for behaviours learned as children are difficult to break. Again this can take two separate forms:

- a) direct revolutionary action, whether military or political, which gives physical expression to our opposition to the capitalist regime and our desire to liberate the masses.
- b) the creation of a revolutionary context through our personal relations with each other and outsiders – this must include the open demonstration of a feeling of equality and

respect for other human beings, of the refusal to oppress others through attempts to manipulate.

It is especially important that within the party we attempt to throw away those capitalist behaviours of personal power struggles, individualism and materialism, and turn to the practice of collective action. If we cannot do this within our own party, how can we ever hope to create a society free of such behaviour? Such an educational process can only be conducted through frequent sessions of criticism and self-criticism in which we examine the progress we are making and give each other support in aiming for constant improvement.

V. EDUCATION OF THE MASSES

Many very promising revolutionary movements have ultimately failed because of an arrogant elitism. They fall into the trap of believing that they know the truth and that because they have undertaken revolutionary action they have some kind of moral superiority. They want to "teach" the people the "truth" they have discovered, and "tell" them what they must do. Such an attitude amounts to no less than a betrayal of the revolution itself. For it replaces the old oppressor with a new oppressor.

If we believe we can discover the truths of exploitation and revolution, so can the masses we seek to educate. They need only assistance in being liberated from the morass of oppression which makes them unable to analyse correctly their own situation, and they must learn first by analysing their own experience so that they may draw conclusions from it. In our effort to educate the masses we must put great faith in their ultimate judgement; in choosing our methods, we must remember that we are seeking to create a truly free people, not objects for further manipulation.

With these factors in mind, let us proceed to the crucial questions of what should be the content of our education programme, and what should be the method. Following are the most important subjects of study:

a) The Enemy

1. Analysis of the existing system of exploitation and oppression in the local economic relations of village, factory, shop etc.; in the district, in the country, in southern Africa, in the world. This must include a study of the following points — who is the exploiter, who is the exploited, why does the exploiter exploit, how does he exploit, how do we react to our own situation as exploited and oppressed people.
2. A study of how the political system is used by the exploiters to make their exploitation effective and efficient, to retain their position as exploiters, and to suppress any move of resistance from the exploited.

b) Our Liberation

A study of ways in which we can free ourselves from the oppression of the exploiters.

1. by resisting the system in which we live, and refusing to accept oppression or to become oppressors ourselves.

2. by assaulting the political and economic power of the oppressors.
3. by learning from the experience of other oppressed people who have liberated themselves or are in the process of liberation.
4. by introducing alternative systems of economic relations on a local scale.

Action

Actions themselves are the best educators. Hence revolutionary actions must be considered as part of the education programme.

In proposing a method appropriate to our programme, we must keep before us both our revolutionary principles and an understanding of how people learn. People learn by reflection on an analysis of their own experience. Thus the most effective method of revolutionary education must be the small group, which becomes the focus of both discussion and action. The duty of the revolutionary activist is not to lecture, to tell, but to stimulate and guide the people to find the truth themselves. This method will begin to restore the confidence of the people in their ability to learn from their own experience as a group, rather than from information imparted by others. It will prepare them to be free agents in the free society which we hope to build together.

VI. PRESENT STRATEGY

Such an education programme may seem difficult to implement in the underground situation in which our cadres are compelled to operate given the conditions of guerrilla warfare. However, it is intended as a core and a guide which will develop as our struggle progresses and will continue and expand during the period of reconstruction after the oppressors are overthrown politically. Meanwhile, there is a pressing need, as the moment of climax approaches, to intensify education of ourselves as revolutionary activists. Most of our recruits will come to us with a degree of revolutionary consciousness but little theoretical understanding and no experience of non-capitalist behaviours. We must be diligent in creating a revolutionary environment within the party in which they can learn revolutionary behaviours. We must be extra vigilant that all party institutions are free of exploitation and oppression, so that they replace the institutions of capitalism and produce a party membership which will be able to take the lead in achieving our ultimate goal — a liberated people.

TO OUR READERS AND SUPPORTERS:

We are glad to have been able to include conference materials in this issue of our magazine to satisfy the many inquiries that we have been receiving. We hope these documents will be of use and assistance to you in our common struggle. — Editor

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