

# THE ZIMBABWE REVIEW



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# SECRETARY GENERAL'S XMAS MESSAGE TO ALL ZIMBABWEANS

Today is Christmas Day, a day of rejoicing throughout the Christian world. The origin of Christmas is well known to all of us as a day when Christians celebrate the birth of Jesus Christ who is described as the Prince of Peace.

But the events now taking place in our country are a sad contradiction to peace. They are the direct opposite of peace. Instead of our country enjoying peace, it is at war, a war which was started by the British colonialists when they invaded our country towards the end of the last century. Even on occasions when we have had a lull in the hostilities the country has

never enjoyed genuine peace. The reason for this being that there can never be peace in a country where the large majority of its citizens lives under oppression and humiliation inflicted on it by a tiny minority of racists and fascists.

This shows how those who claim to be the apostles of the Prince of Peace have been responsible for the absence and not the promotion of peace in Zimbabwe. Today these self-proclaimed messengers of peace will no doubt be praying for the present oppressive regime just as they prayed for the original colonisers of our country to have

long lives and boundless success in their mission of oppression.

Lest we be misunderstood, we do not wish to imply in any way that those who preach the gospel of the Prince of Peace are all oppressors. On the contrary we acknowledge and encourage the efforts of those clergymen who have stood firmly on the side of justice and peace. Many of them as we all know, have suffered torture and death at the hands of the Rhodesian Gestapo, otherwise known as the Selous Scouts. Some of them have been imprisoned and/or deported from the country because they chose to follow clo-

## 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 Rhodesians situation.

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sely the footsteps of the Prince of Peace. These men and women deserve praise from all of us and I wish to congratulate them heartily on behalf of ZAPU – Patriotic Front and our President Joshua Nkomo. To them we say "well done".

Sons and daughters of Zimbabwe: Christmas has over the years acquired the tradition of being an occasion for family get-togethers, exchange of presents and rejoicing. But also for Zimbabweans there can be no rejoicing, even on Christmas Day. As I speak to you now some innocent Zimbabwean women and children are being murdered by forces of oppression under Ian Smith.

To these innocent victims of fascism, Christmas has been turned into a day of sadness and grief, into a day of execution, not rejoicing. To their relatives who remain behind, Christmas has been turned into a day of mourning, a day of fear that tomorrow they too might be the targets of the enemy's bullets. They are at a loss, at their wits' end because they know that they have committed no crime except that they are demanding their own country. Children of Zimbabwe: I implore you to pause and think for a while what Christmas means to the oppressed masses of our country. Let us take another group of our people who will not enjoy Christmas because of oppression, that is, prisoners, detainees and those who are in death-cells. Perhaps the only difference between Christmas and other days is that none of



*Secretary General of ZAPU comrade Joseph W. Msika*

them will be executed today because the hangman is off duty. But then imagine how painful it is for them to think that the end of the Christmas holidays will also bring an end to their lives; it will be the end of the world for them. For those prisoners who are serving sentences for various durations, today they might have a rest from the daily beatings and torture. They shiver and shudder when they forecast their thoughts to the resumption of the beatings and endless sessions of torture that await them at the end of the Christmas holidays. All these victims deserve not only sympathy from us but also our active support. Each and every Zimbabwean who is free to give a hand should do so without hesitation because these unfortunate brothers and sisters of ours are in jails and death cells for their opposition to Smith's tyrannic rule. They face jail sentences and the hangman's

noose on behalf of all of us. I shall try to give details later about how we can help these and other victims of fascism in our country. At this point I would like to move on to another group of our people who will not find this day one of merry-making. They are the villagers.

It has become traditional for our people in the rural areas to celebrate Christmas by feasting and other kinds of merry-making. Social occasions such as weddings are held at this time of the year. But in the present situation villagers cannot afford feasts because of various reasons. In the first place, the Rhodesian troops and police have been plundering African property for the whole year. Forces of oppression have confiscated livestock and grain from our people, leaving them without anything for feasting. There is hardly a villager in Zimbabwe today who can spare a beast to slaughter for his family at Christmas. There is hardly anyone who has enough crops to spare a few bags to brew beer for social occasions. What all this means is that Christmas will have very little, if any, significance to Zimbabwean villagers this year.

But when we look at the Rhodesian regime's soldiers in relation to Christmas we shall find that today they will be feasting on the very cattle and crops they have grabbed from African villagers. In some areas these soldiers started a week ago to rob villagers of their property in preparation for Christmas. Some soldiers will be roa-

ming the countryside the whole of today, helping themselves to people's cattle, goats, sheep and chickens. These forces of evil will turn Christmas into a day of looting and other types of victimising our poor fathers and mothers in the villages. Yet, according to Christian teachings, this is supposed to be the season of good will and Smith and his henchmen claim to be the defenders of Christian values.

What all this amounts to is that our little children in the villages will spend the day hungry while the children on the other side of the colour line feast on food robbed from ours. There will be no new clothes or exciting gifts for village children. The more unfortunate ones might even find their village being surrounded by Smith's Gestapo and they and their parents being mowed down by gunfire using the usual pretext that they are harbouring or supporting freedom fighters. It would not surprise us in the least to hear that the regime chose this day to murder our villagers.

As Secretary General of the Party, I shall try to cover a wide field of activities that make Christmas meaningless to the Zimbabwe population. Since we find ourselves in the grips of a bloody and cruel war forced on us by oppressors, I am obliged to consider the position of our gallant ZIPA fighters. To them this is just another fighting day like any other. They cannot afford to lay down arms and attend to feasting and merry-making. Our fighters know only too well that the day for rejoicing shall come only when our country has been liberated and not before then. Being people who are engaged in guerilla warfare they cannot expect Christmas cakes to be delivered to them. But freedomfighters are tough men and women, politicised in the requirements of the armed revolutionary struggle. They have sacrificed all comforts and forsaken all pleasure for the sake of their country. The



only really meaningful Christmas present to them is another victory on the battlefield.

But tough and iron-willed as they are, they still need all the support they can get from you, the people of Zimbabwe, so that they can speed up the war of liberation. Do not forget that these young men and women are fighting to liberate all of us, irrespective of race or religion, that is, irrespective of whether we celebrate Christmas, Ramadan or the Passover. It is only after the liberation of our country that everyone will be able to enjoy the religious feast of his liking, be he a Christian, a Jew, a Mahomedan, Buddhist or theist. What is important is that people should enjoy freedom and peace. We are fighting in order to create a situation free of oppression so that all of us can enjoy peace.

I said before that I would like to tell you how each and everyone of us can help our less fortunate brothers and sisters who are in prison, detention and death cells. Wherever and whenever possible we should visit them and take them gifts of food, books and anything else which can help alleviate their sufferings. We should give them words of encouragement in order to boost their moral. We should do the same with widows and orphans of those

people who have died in the struggle to liberate Zimbabwe. It is the duty of everyone of us to alleviate the problems they are facing.

We do not need to be reminded that the husbands of these widows and fathers of the orphans died in the struggle so that we can live in a free Zimbabwe; in short they died for us and not for their families. Those of you who are neighbours or relatives of these unfortunate Zimbabweans should make it your duty to contribute something to cheer them up on this day. If you are going to have a special Christmas dinner, please invite one or two of them to share it with you, especially the young ones. It is nothing less than cruelly for you to over-feed your children when orphaned children next door look on with envy. Remember that in traditional African society we had no orphans, which means that all orphaned children were looked after by relatives who accepted them as their own and treated them equally.

Let me emphasize that the oppression which is in Zimbabwe makes it impossible for any African to celebrate Christmas in the manner and spirit that it should be celebrated. It is imperative, therefore, that we intensify the armed struggle so that by Christmas next year we can experience a change which will usher in an era of freedom and peace. It is only in freedom and peace that we can give some of our time to merry-making. We of ZAPU —Patriotic Front will not rest or relax our efforts until we can create conditions in which we can truthfully and wholeheartedly say

**MERRY CHRISTMAS!**

On behalf of our Party and our leader President Joshua Nkomo, I hope this will be the last Christmas we shall spend in bondage in Zimbabwe. Allow me to remind you that the armed liberation struggle will continue everyday of the year, including Christmas Day.

# ADDRESS ON THE OCCASION OF THE 60TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

(By Comrade Joshua M. Nkomo, President of ZAPU — Patriotic Front)

On behalf of our Party ZAPU — Patriotic Front and the struggling masses of Zimbabwe I wish to greet the people of USSR, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Central Committee and, in particular the Secretary General of the CPSU and President of the Presidium, Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev.

On this historic occasion of the sixtieth Anniversary of the Great October Revolution, the people of Zimbabwe are reminded of similarities in the struggle of the workers of the USSR during the revolution, and the struggle of Zimbabwean workers to free themselves from colonial and capitalist rule. In 1917 Soviet revolutionaries fought for social and economic emancipation. Later the people of this country were called upon to defend their revolutionary gains against imperialism and fascism.

In Zimbabwe we are also fighting against fascism and imperialism, the same enemy which you fought and defeated thirty years ago. Our war of liberation is aimed at establishing a truly socialist state which you were able to establish sixty years ago. These similarities in the history of your country and my country prove that we in Zimbabwe are following the same path that was pioneered by the Soviet people under the leadership of the greatest revolutionary of all time, V. I. Lenin.

The war of liberation in Zimbabwe is based on the Marxist-Leninist ideology which alone can bring genuine freedom to all the people of the world.

We note with great satisfaction that it was after the victory of the Soviet forces, which was the victory of Marxism-Leninism, that most of the colonised peoples of the world acquired the required political awareness which made them fight for independence. Today, only a few countries in the world remain under colonial and racist domination. One of these countries is Zimbabwe, my motherland.

In our struggle for independence and human dignity the people of Zimbabwe are being closely supported by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Allow me to assure you that your support is greatly appreciated.

But on the other hand we find that the Western imperialists are still supporting fascism in Southern Africa because it is giving them financial and economic gains. Whereas during World War II the West fought side by side with the East against Nazi war mongers and expansionists, today it is only the East which continues to wage the war against the same age old evil of fascism.

Let me assure you again, Comrades, that as the revolutionary forces of the Soviet Union beat the Nazis into Berlin, our forces, will capture Salisbury and establish a Socialist system for the social, cultural and economic emancipation of the people of Zimbabwe.

As I indicated earlier, the revolutionary path blazed by the Soviet forces on behalf of freedom and justice, has been followed by many countries. Since World War II some

2,000 million people throughout the world have been liberated from colonial rule. It is my contention, Comrades, that had it not been for the Great October Revolution, had it not been for your great Patriotic War which ended in 1945, those 2,000 million people would not all be free today. That is how your revolutionary Soviet people have contributed to the freedom and emancipation of the down trodden peoples of the world.

It is also my conviction that many former colonies would not be free today had it not been for the efforts of the Soviet Union at the United Nations and other international forums. Efforts of this great country have exposed the machinations of the imperialists and embarrassed them into accepting the realities of life by granting independence to colonised peoples.

Your socialist ideals have provided a strong foundation for the world-wide socialist revolution of all peoples. We in Zimbabwe wish to assure you that we are on the same socialist path and that we shall not let you down. We cannot afford to fail and we shall not fail.

Once again, allow me, dear Comrades, to thank you for the co-operation you have given and will continue to give us. Thank you for the solidarity which you have demonstrated so many times. Zimbabweans are indeed grateful for your support. May the revolutionary ideals of V. I. Lenin inspire us all to move forward relentlessly with the prosecution of the struggle in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

# Kaunda on Zimbabwe



President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia

A deliberate impression is being created that Zambia is against the anglo-american proposals. We have stated time and again that we are not against the anglo-american proposals. But we said then and reaffirm now that any formula which makes Smith an central authority will never succeed. We know that there are many serious flaws in the anglo-american proposals. We also know that there are positive points. We said that much as we did not believe that the anglo-american proposals will succeed. We were willing to give it the benefit of the doubt. We did.

We only accepted the anglo-american proposals in principle and only as a basis for negotiations. We did this because of the obvious flaws referred to. We also did so because that was the stand of the Patriotic Front. We are a rear base for the Patriotic Front. We assist them whether they are fighting or negotiating.

Our conviction is based on what is happening in Zimbabwe internally:

a) Arrests and detentions are increasing and not decreasing.

b) Hangings of Zimbabweans for political offences are increasing.

c) Massacres of innocent Zimbabweans by rebel forces are increasing and not decreasing. There are few parallels in history of man compared with what is now taking place in Zimbabwe.

The rebels are mobilising for total war against nationalists and nationalists' camps. The army is being expanded and not reduced. The military budget is increasing, not decreasing. The rebels are buying more sophisticated arms and wider range of people in Zimbabwe are being given arms. Black doctors are being conscripted in the army with effect from next year.

Smith is once again dangling the idea of an international settlement in the midst of the anglo-american initiative. This will result in civil strife.

South Africa, which had adopted a policy of military disengagement from Rhodesia

is now adopting a political and military engagement. We believe South African soldiers are on Zambia's borders with the rebel colony.

All this testifies to the fact that nothing has changed in Zimbabwe to excite Zambia into committing her efforts in negotiations about ceasefire and other issues of a peripheral nature.

Against this background, Zambia's view is that focus must be on independence first, that is on the transfer of power to the majority under the leadership of the Patriotic Front. They are the people who are fighting. All the peace initiatives are a product of the Patriotic Front efforts. They hold the dagger behind Smith and if you remove that dagger Smith will continue to buy time. The world must have no doubt about that. So we must not throw away the Patriotic Front as if the war has ended and we have no need for the Patriotic Front and their unity which is the basis of their strength.

This is why we do not think that elections under the Anglo-American initiative should come before independence, therefore, want to record our views. We have been accused of delaying independence by advocating the postponement of elections until after independence is attained. This is ridiculous. We are saying, let the people of Zimbabwe have independence in December 1977 or in January, February, March, April, May or June 1978, but not later. This can be achieved on the basis of our proposals. But, under the Anglo-American plan, there is a distinct possibility that agents of imperialism and agents of the rebels, trained in the tactics of disrupting meetings of opponents, will use their tactics and this will result in the cancellation and possible postponement of independence. We have many lessons in the past which we must learn. But it seems as if people never learn lessons. As a result, we now believe that we have made our case. We have warned everybody about the consequences of their action.

Now, as in the past, we will not stand in the way of those who firmly believe in the Anglo-American initiative as an answer to everything. We now say we withdraw from the debate. Let the Anglo-American proposals go ahead. But let it be known that, in the event of any mishap, we will not be held accountable. Zambia will not be involved in trying to rescue the Anglo-American mission. We have tried to help, but we can only wish those who are involved good luck. In the meantime, let the people of Zimbabwe know that if they stop fighting, independence will not come next year and possibly not even in the year after.

State House  
Lusaka  
6th December 1977



*President Joshua Nkomo talking to the Kijanas in their Camp*

## JOURNALISTS VISIT CHILDREN'S CAMP

By Thokozile Ushe.

The President of ZAPU — Patriotic Front, Comrade Joshua Nkomo, led a team of Zambian and international journalists to a ZAPU children's camp located in Zambia where he showed a school project for the 3,971 young girls living there.

Introducing the Press corps to the place, Comrade Nkomo said the Patriotic Front had 6,400 children living as refugees in Zambia, and about 3,000 were in Botswana on their way to Zambia. He emphasised that the figures changed daily as more youngsters left Rhodesia to escape from the Smith regime's bloody slaughter, inhuman torture and reign of terror.

Describing the conditions at the camp, Comrade Nkomo pointed out that there were not enough houses, so some of the children slept in tents. Most of the tents were donated by Cuba. Middle-aged women helped with cooking. "Most of the children's food comes from the Food and Agricultural Organisation — FAO. Sugar and transport have been

donated mostly by Cuba. Eggpowder and concentrated soup are supplied by the German Democratic Republic — GDR — our greatest friend that has donated more to our struggle than all other nations put together," Comrade Nkomo observed.

Until recently when UNICEF donated some plates, the children had only a few plates. The camp has a clinic manned by three doctors and five nurses. The small medical staff has to move from one camp to another.

Comrade Nkomo told the visitors, who included some diplomats, that all the children had horrifying stories to tell about the dastardly acts of the Rhodesian regime against the children's parents, relatives and neighbours. He presented four children two of whom had spent a night in a 44-gallon drum whose top side had been removed earlier for cooking purposes. Their parents had been killed by Smith's inhuman butchers for no reason whatsoever. The children, all of whom are too young to go for military training, will begin formal

academic lessons when the classrooms are finished. It is not possible to hold such lessons under trees presently because of rains. In addition to classrooms, two companies engaged in the project are putting up dormitories as well. Both companies, one a Yugoslav enterprise, and the other a Zambian-Yugoslav combine, are not making profits.

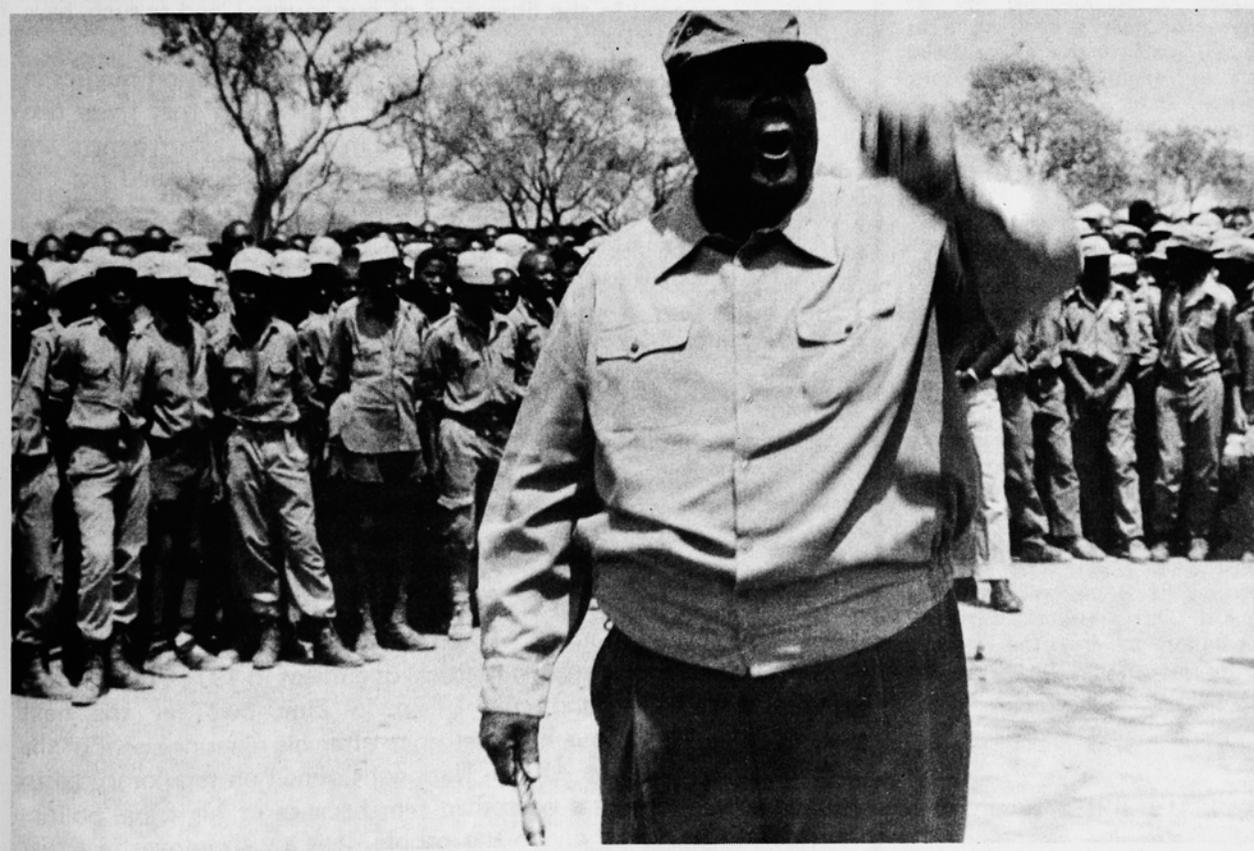
Initial funds for the project were given by the Federal Republic of Germany. More funds are urgently needed. The British Government has promised to contribute, so have the United States and Canada. The school has K18,000 worth of books, chalk and other teaching aids. It is a primary school. More funds are needed for secondary and technical schools. The United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) is playing a major role in the current project. The present phase shall cater for at most 1,000. On completion, the school shall have 60 dormitories, 30 classrooms and 16 ablution blocks. There are 47 teachers.

President Nkomo thanked the people of Zambia, Botswana, GDR, USSR, Sweden Holland, Canada and other nations for their material assistance for our armed struggle. He appealed for urgent help to accelerate and facilitate the completion of the project.



# VICTORY IS CERTAIN

In the last 6 months of the year 1977, according to a report in the ZIPA Diary the liberation forces of the Patriotic Front have stepped the armed struggle throughout Zimbabwe. For the successes of ZIPA the following have the gains of the ZIPA achievements: „Taking on a few illustrative examples ZIPA (ZPRA) forces killed 896 soldiers, 1,106 were wounded, 50 camps were destroyed as well as 13 bridges, 30 strategic installations, 6 power installations, 2 tele installations, 26 locomotive engines 90 waggons, 50 military trucks, gundowned 2 Helicopters and 1 spotter plane, captured 80 enemy soldiers and large quantities of arms and ammunition.



*ZAPU freedom fighters and their Commander In-Chief comrade Joshua Nkomo*

## SHORT NEWS

### School for ZAPU

The UN High Commission for Refugees has agreed to pay for the building and staffing of a 1 000-place school on the outskirts of Lusaka to provide for the growing number of school children among refugees from Rhodesia arriving in Zambia. The High Commission will provide £280,000.0 and has agreed to assist in raising a further £575,000 to enlarge the school to cater for 3,000 pupils between the ages of 6 and 16 years old. The school will come under the control of ZAPU. According to the High Commission the number of refugees of school-going age has increased from a few dozen to 5,000 in a little over a year. Daily charter flights from Botswana bring about 1,000 refugees a month. The majority are recruits for the ZAPU army.

### Assistance

Botswana is to get more than R5m from the High Commission for refugees. The money is to be used for the development of the main refugee transit centers at Silebe Pikwe. SAPA reports that a major change is being made regarding refugees from South Africa. Low cost houses are to be built for married and single people who will be placed in family units. Meanwhile Botswana is pressing ahead with a R40m emergency operation to free the country from dependence on Rhodesian railways.

### SPECIAL COURTS

Although there have continued to be few reports of trials in the Rhodesian press, Special Court

# THE MANACE OF BOGUS

By E. D. Kumalo.

It is very unfortunate that many people in Africa and throughout a great part of the world, especially in the Western countries, who do not understand Zimbabwean liberation politics still believe that the Bishop Abel Muzorewa and the Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole are actively engaged in the liberation of our country, and as such, have total support of the people.

Those, however, who have observed practical liberation politics in Zimbabwe especially since the early 1950s know that these two clerics who are given glaring headlines in certain Western papers, are bogus politicians whose pre-occupation is leadership, and not the liberation of the country.

A brief analysis of these clergymen reveals that they are not, in fact, what some of these Western mass media make people believe they are. What they are to these people is a matter of gross distortion of liberation politics in Zimbabwe. Both Muzorewa and Sithole never really associated themselves with the Zimbabwe national liberation movement in matters involving recruiting, training, maintaining, arming and commanding liberation forces. They both apologised to Ian Smith separately for merely having opposed his rule — for „militant“ words which were merely camouflage for their reactionary deeds.

As for Bishop Muzorewa, he is a political nonentity, without any practical experience of hardships involved in the struggle for our national liberation—hence his serious mistake when he got himself involved in signing away a political document in 1974 which would have left Smith and colonialism in Zimbabwe for the next 100 years. Throughout his emergence after his renouncement of the mandate to lead the African National Council on temporary basis, the racist regime has welcomed him because of his tribal politics which is geared to divide the people. It is a well known fact that Muzorewa has never organised the people politically for national liberation, but along tribal lines in order to satisfy his own leader-

# POLITICIANS IN ZIMBABWE

ship aspirations. When he claims that he has 98 per cent support of the people of Zimbabwe, a motor driver who finds himself in a street accident and as a result surrounded by expectators would be naive to think that those people support him. They have assembled there to identify the victim-out of curiosity rather than support. Besides no politician worth his salt would make such a wild, 98 per cent claim of support from the people. It is no wonder that his obsession with leadership has led to massive resignations from his high-ranking officials who in turn blamed him, in fact, of lack of support among the people. It would be helpful to the public for these biased Western mass media, including the BBC to tell us if Muzorewa and his little lieutenant, James Chikerema command any guerrillas, if they have any military ware. Interestingly two points are not reported concerning both Muzorewa and Sithole.

First, in support of the British proposals, these men are encouraging their young supporters to enlist in Smith's security forces because, so the two clerics maintain, a black government must inherit Smith's forces intact, Selous Scouts and all. Second, South Africa is training men for both Muzorewa and Sithole in Namibia and it seems that after training, these so-called guerillas are turned over to Ian Smith for command.

As far as Sithole is concerned, his claims to be ZANLA leader are as bad as those made by Muzorewa, what army does he command? If any, why had he to renounce the armed struggle? Why did Ian Smith agree and never press on Sithole to ask latter to tell his guerrillas to cease fighting. There was no army at all. All the people know is that his master introduced him to the Selous Scouts and other bandits as their "new commander-in-chief".

The sooner the British Government transfer power to the Patriotic Front the safer it will be for all people of Zimbabwe. Bogus politicians, if put in power by their ambitious masters will not end the fighting. The war will continue until the liberation movement of the people, led by the real people's leaders wins victory.

## SHORT NEWS

sittings are known to have been taking place, particularly in Salisbury and Bulawayo. Very large numbers of people are known to have been arrested in all parts of the country in recent weeks, many of whom are now awaiting trial. It appears highly likely that a considerable backlog of cases has built up.

### Recruiting of Mercenaries

The recruiting of mercenaries for the Southern Rhodesian Smith regime continues in full swing in the western world. According to afp, two journalists of the french Le point du jour daily have to "protect farmers in Southern Rhodesia". The Smith clique was acting as an "employer", hiring to "protect farmers in Southern Rhodesia." the Smith clique was acting as an "employer", hiring prospective killers through french middlemen for threeyear periods of duty. Visas were being provided by the South African Embassy.

Two groups of mercenaries are said to have already been flown out. Another could be expected to leave in two weeks.

### To Bolivia

Bolivia has confirmed that it is offering land to selected white immigrants. Many of them are white Rhodesians running away from Zimbabwe. It is also reported at preference will be given to married couples and that the first 30 families will be expected in Bolivia by the middle of 1978. The Rhodesian applicants will be allowed to take with them about 1,000 Rhodesian Dollars.

# Terror

## and atrocities in Zimbabwe

The Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Rhodesia has published a detailed report on the atrocities committed by the Rhodesian army and police against the civilian population of Zimbabwe. Excerpts of the report, entitled *Rhodesia — The Propaganda War*, are reproduced hereunder. The Report is published by the Catholic Institute for International Relations, London which acts as the Commission's international agent.

**On protected villages:** At the last count there were approximately 203 protected villages in Rhodesia, housing more than half a million people. This puts the number double to what the regime's official estimate of 250,000. It is difficult to get the correct figures of the villages, not only because they are going up so fast, but because they also come down just as quickly. These are the

popular targets for the freedom fighters who cut down the fences and liberate the people. About the end of June the rebel Provincial Commissioner for Internal affairs admitted that since the beginning of the year there had been more than 70 villages liberated by the freedom fighters. The guerillas have also played havoc on the village administration who are responsible for the running of the villages. These are mostly the administration personnel of the regime's internal affairs. The rebel Minister Jack Musset stated that his department had suffered high casualties with 144 killed, 25 missing and 243 wounded. On June 30, Musset made a statement in which he said: "I will not try and pretend (as the case has always been) that the exercise has been without hardship for the African men and women and children. However, these temporary

disadvantages must be balanced against the overriding advantage of being to live in comparative safety." The people affected do not think much about the advantages. Few have anything to fear from the guerillas and feel no need to be protected from them. People fear more the regime's police who can collect and do collect these defenceless people for interrogations which in most cases end in the disappearance of those whom the regime's police might only suspect that they should have some contacts with the liberation forces in Zimbabwe. These people are still in danger from the regime's so-called security forces. The interrogations include in most cases torture and beatings. They are also many cases of rape in these villages "keeps" locally called. The District Assistants are known to confiscate the passes (situpas) of the women which allow

*The bodies of dead freedom fighters being bundled aboard a waiting helicopter*



them to move in and out of the village, and to force these women to have relationship with them in order to retrieve their passes.

The "urban type of the existence" in Zimbabwe consists of a small amount of space (15 square meters per family), lack of sanitary facilities, clean water and sufficient food. These people built new houses from whatever they can salvage from their former dwellings and receive no compensation for the property they lost or lose. Their cattle are kept out side the villages and are frequently stolen. The education of their children is interrupted and sometimes terminated forever. They are kept behind fences almost like prisoners and must call out their numbers and be registered when entering and leaving the village.

**Systematic Torture:** Reports of the regime's security forces continue to be the rule of the day rather than the exception. The regime's army intensifies its efforts to harass and terrorise the civilian population. The practice of torture has become a common event in the lives of the people in the rural areas. Schools are frequent targets and one common method of torturing students which leaves no tell-tale marks is the towel and hose method. The students are stripped naked, towels are put over their faces and running water is sprayed in their mouths and noses through a hose pipe. "It gives the impression of suffocating or drowning", explained one headmaster.

The regime accuses the freedom fighters of victimising and intimidating the people. That could be far from the truth. Our freedom fighters have a national conscious mission to fulfill and one of them is to politicise the masses and protect them from the regime's terror. Most of the african people turn and point a finger at the regime and declare that it is responsible for most of the terror in the country.

Following is one example: According to the Report, on the 21st December 1976 Mr. P. M. was walking with his wife and children on his Land when a group of soldiers 22 blacks and 2 whites approached. One of the whites asked him about the whereabouts of the guerillas and Mr. P. M. replied that he did not know. Then the whiteman accused him of harbouring "terrorists" and beat him



*In the ruins of her home, an African woman sees oft how the Smith bandits burn down homes*

up on the lower back with a large stick until he fell down and then bound his wrists with wire and tied him to a tree. Thereafter the white man ordered that some boiling beer be brought to him, since when the soldiers came, there was some one brewing some african beer in the nearhood where this man was being tortured by the Smith's boys. The white man then took some boiling beer and poured about 15 cups of boiling beer on Mr. P. M.'s head and about 5 cups over his shoulders, and also countles cups of this boiling beer on the feet of his victim. Then Mr. P. M. was later taken as an inpatient at the hospital for nine weeks and is now permanently disabled. Another example of horror in the regime's method of torturing our people. Also in December the same as about, a 19 year Noah Chirema of Gezi Reserve, Mtoko District, was out herding cattle with a friend when they were stopped by the rebel's security forces on patrol. After being questioned, Noah was beaten and then shot through the right buttock.

A high velocity missile entered the buttock, shattered the right half of the pelvis and caused extensive destruction of muscle and disruption of the bowel. He died five days after the shooting.

The examples of this nature of torture of the unarmed civilians in Zimbabwe are many. Let alone the most cruel escalation of the Smith's army bandits in an attack on children in a camp near Chimoio Mozambique. It is reported that after the attack of the Rhodesian on the ZIPA Camp at Chimoio, the death toll was still not known 28.11.77. About 700 wounded have reached the Chimoio Hospital and more than 100 bodies mostly children had been found dead. Those mostly affected were school children. That is the crime Smith and his regime are committing against the peace loving people of Zimbabwe. These criminals shall not be let to run away with these crimes. We shall fight to defeat the racists and their henchmen. Victory is certain, the struggle continues!

# ORIGINS AND TIES (2)

## Crop Production

Lastly, on the question of agriculture there are African farmers who constitute agrarian bourgeoisie. This class in numerical terms is very small and its development is being frustrated by the settler-agrarian bourgeoisie which does not allow it to grow profitable cash crops like tobacco, as well as to occupy fertile land (so-called European land). Land restriction is imposed by the Land Tenure Act.

Having looked partly into agricultural production relations, as part of capitalist mode of production in the agricultural sector, the following discussion will briefly examine the most essential physical aspect (climatic factors) of this capitalist mode of production. In bio-climatic terms, it is estimated that about 2,976,000 acres are not suitable for any type of agricultural production. 25,152,000 acres are only suitable for extensive ranching since they are semi-arid. 31,680,000 acres are suitable for semiextensive livestock raising. There rainfall is low and unreliable. 16,704,000 acres are suitable for semi-extensive livestock raising and for the production of crops which are drought-resistant. 17,952,000 acres are suitable for intensive crop production since they receive a moderately high rainfall. On this land livestock can also be raised. The part of the country which is suitable for all types of agriculture is only 1,536,000 acres, and has

enough rainfall. Those parts of the country which have low and unreliable rainfall, their productivity can be raised by introducing large scale irrigation schemes so as to overcome their unsuitable climatic conditions. For example, the area around Chiredzi which was once only suitable for ranching now produces various crops because of irrigation. It must be noted that the success of putting those areas unsuitable for arable farming under crop production will largely depend on the availability of water resources, as well as on the destruction of the present peripheral capitalist mode of production, so that profits generated in the country by other economic sectors can be used in improving unsuitable climatic conditions. The destruction of the present peripheral capitalist mode of production will be the task of an independent state of Zimbabwe, since no mode of production can destroy itself. In destroying peripheral capitalist mode of production the state will be expected to adopt an industrial development strategy, Branch A industries under state ownership playing a decisive role.

## MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY

Before we embark upon the discussion concerning the manufacturing industry, it will be helpful to divide the manufacturing industry into two branches A. and B. Branch A can be

divided into two sectors – Sector I and Sector II. Branch A as a whole produces the means of production (instruments of production e.g. machine tools) which are indispensable in the manufacturing of other machines as well as a crucial base for developing an independent economy; products of metallurgical industry, electric power, products of chemical industry, tractors, trucks etc.

Sector I of Branch A produces machinery, and Sector II produces intermediate means of production, e.g. steel and iron (in colonial Rhodesia Sector II is represented by the Rhodesian Iron and Steel Corporation (RISCO). All other sectors of economy, their growth and development are dependent on Branch A. This should not be taken to mean that other economic sectors have no influence on the growth and development of Branch A.

Branch B produces consumer goods (e.g. cigarettes, shoes, radio and television sets, clothes, tinned food, cooking utensils, and private cars etc.). The backbone of Branch B is Branch A which produces the instruments of production which are to be used as inputs in Branch B.

In dealing with the manufacturing industry in Rhodesia we shall concentrate on Branch B since Branch A is not so developed. Branch B is a late phenomenon in the development of capitalist economy of colonial Rhodesia. It assumed some proportions of recognition after World War II. The emergence of Branch B

can be dated to the inter-war period, but its foundations got strengthened after World II. The two world wars, especially the second became a stimulating influence on the development of Branch B. During the war the country was cut from her overseas suppliers, and she had no choice but to develop Branch B industries so as to meet local demands in consumer goods. The first industry of Branch B to be developed was food processing industry; for example creameries and other agricultural processing industries were established. During the Second World War textile industry started developing in the country, but it received impetus of development after the War. Another phenomenon

agricultural produce were processed in colonial Rhodesia. Zambia sold, as she does now, her copper to the world market (capitalist world market) but part of the wages received by Zambian mine workers was used in buying consumer goods from Rhodesia. The third factor which influenced the expansion of Branch "B" industries is the United Nations Economic Sanctions Programme against the country. In 1965, Rhodesia declared unilateral independence from Britain, and this led to the imposition of United Nations Sanctions. Being barred from the world market, the country decided to manufacture some of the consumer good since she cannot import them from outside.

meet the requirements of Branch B. Apart from these buildings there was also a need for road and railway construction so as to expand roadmotor and railway services in the country. These economic veins are needed so that raw materials can be easily transported to the manufacturing centres, and at the same time are used for distributing goods within the country. With the expansion of Branch B industries, there was a need to increase electricity supply. Before the second World War, the country for its powers supply depended on coal, but with the arrival of Branch B industries more and cheaper power was needed and this led to the construction of the Kariba Dam which is now a major supplier of electric power in the country. Concerning trade, particularly external trade, the country began to export finished goods and these included meat, foodstuffs, beverages, textile clothing and footwear.

Besides Branch B, the country has a few industries of Sector II of Branch A which produce intermediate means of production. These include the Rhodesian Iron and Steel Corporation (RISCO) which was established by the colonial state, sold this industry to a private company (Britain and South Africa). Another industry of Sector II which has developed in the country is the fertilizer producing industry. This industry also uses locally mined phosphate. While the manufacturing industry is a new branch in the capitalist economy of colonial Rhodesia, but is now leading. It began to play a leading role in the late 1960s. The leading role of the manufacturing industry in the economy can be seen in the following table.

Colonial Rhodesia does not have developed Branch A industries, especially Sector I, not that the country does not have mineral resources which can form the base for development of Branch A industries. The country has enough variety of minerals that can form the foundation for the development of Branch A industries. Some of the minerals produced in the country include chrome iron ore, copper, tin, nickel, asbestos, lithium, coal, bauxite, etc. The reason that has hindered the development of Branch A is that the capitalist eco-

## INDUSTRIAL ORIGIN OF GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT

### (PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION)

	1960	1965	1970	1972	1973	1974
Agriculture	19	19	17	17	18	17
Mining	7	7	6	6	6	7
Manufacturing	16	19	22	23	23	25
Construction	7	4	6	6	6	6
Electricity & Water	3	4	4	3	3	3
Transport & Communication	9	9	6	7	7	5
Wholesale & Retail Trade	15	14	13	14	14	14
Banking & Insurance						
Real Est.	6	6	6	5	5	5
Public Admin. Deren.						
Ed. & Heal	8	9	10	11	10	10
Services	10	9	10	8	8	8
Gross Domestic Product						
(i) %	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Factor Cost)						
(i) R \$ Million	562	707	958	1,298	1,419	1,681

which influenced the development of Branch B was the formation of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The two territories, Northern Rhodesia (new Zambia) and Nyasaland (presently called Malawi) provided Branch B with a protected market. The two territories did not have Branch B; they were supplied by colonial Rhodesia. Zambia specialised in the production of copper and Malawi in agricultural produce, like tobacco and tea. These two

The industries which received a boost included textile and footwear industries.

Branch B had great influence directly and indirectly on the development of other economic sector, for example, building and construction, commerce, transport, electricity and agriculture. In the case of building and construction, Branch B had direct influence on this sector. There arose a need to industrial, commercial and residential buildings to

nomy of Rhodesia was created to solve Britain's economic problems by supplying Britain with cheap minerals and other raw materials, as well as to provide a market for Britain's Branch A products. An independent Zimbabwe, of course, will need to develop Branch A industries if she is to succeed in solving problems of socio-economic underdevelopment. For a country like Zimbabwe, with a peripheral capitalist mode of production, the development of Branch A industries is of critical importance since they are strategic in eliminating peripheral capitalist mode of production; and they are a determining variable of economic development. The absence of Branch A industries has led the country to be dependent for her machinery on central capitalism. The dependence of the manu-

facturing industry on central capitalism is enhanced by the ownership of the industry by foreign companies. In 1963, about 62 per cent of capital in the manufacturing industry belonged to foreign companies. Out of 147 foreign companies operating in the manufacturing industry during the same year (1963) 72 belonged to South Africa. This means that about 49 per cent of the manufacturing industry in the country is South African-owned. If we take into account that South African capital, e.g. the Anglo-American Corporation and Hulets supply manufacturing with raw materials like sugar from their estates, and phosphate from the mine owned by the Anglo-American Corporation, then South African capital has a strong control on the capitalist economy. Some of the

foreign companies in the manufacturing industry include David Whitehead and Sons which is a subsidiary of Lonrho (British). David Whitehead and Sons is the largest textile manufacturer in the country. Rothmans of Pall Mall Limited is also a British company which manufactures cigarettes and pipe tobacco in the country. Rhodesia Sugar Refineries is another large British company which engaged in sugar refinery. In addition to its refinery activities the company owns the Chirundu sugar plantations. Besides British transnational corporations there are also South African companies which actually dominate the manufacturing industry. Some of these companies include Springmaster which has six furniture factories in the country; and Plate Glass industries.

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