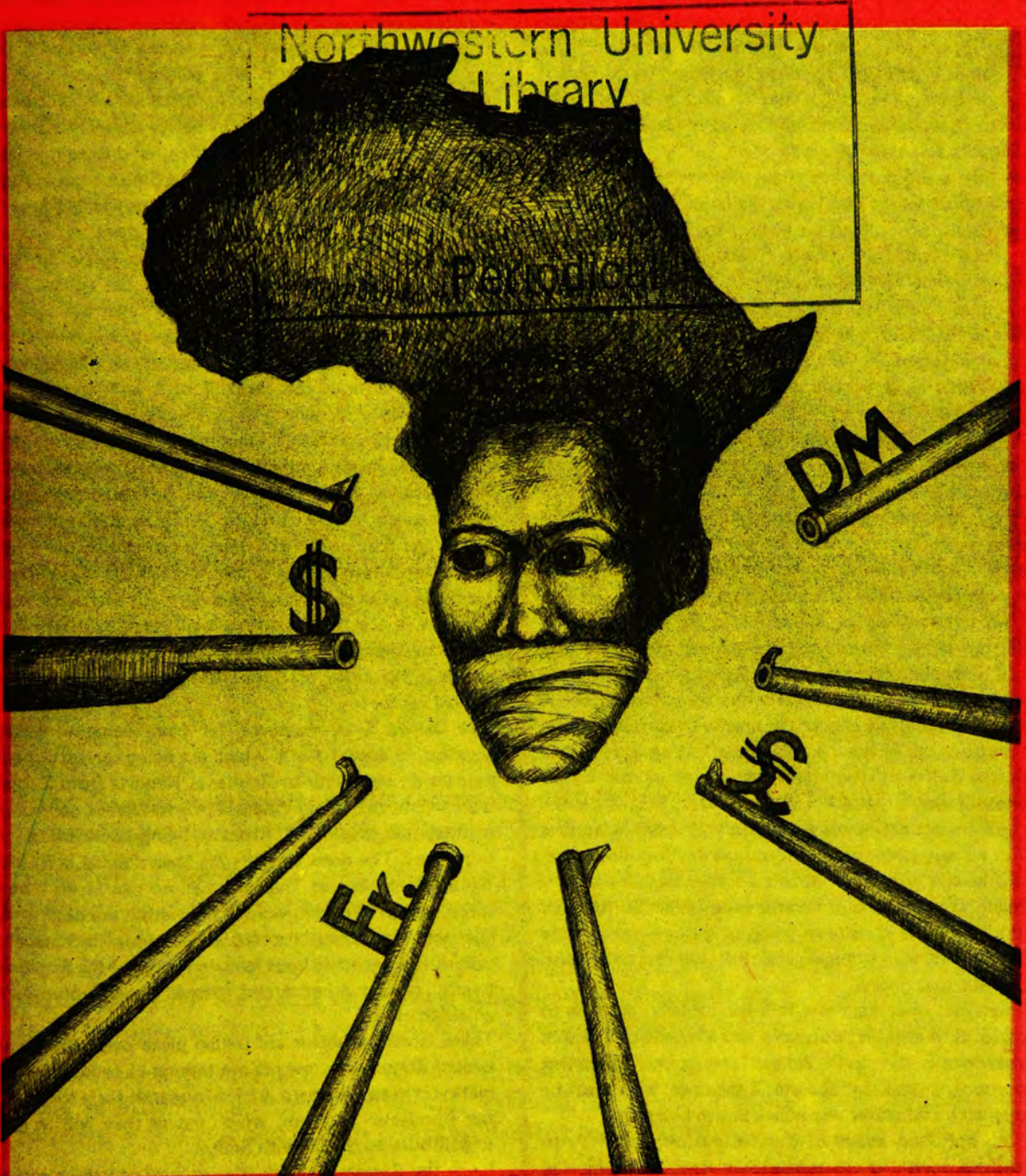


THE

ZIMBABWE REVIEW



Official Organ of The Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU)
(Patriotic Front) P. O. Box 1657, Lusaka (Phone 74230). Zambia
Registered at G. P. O. as a newspaper



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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The Zimbabwe Review is produced and published by the Information and Publicity Bureau of the Zimbabwe African People's Union.

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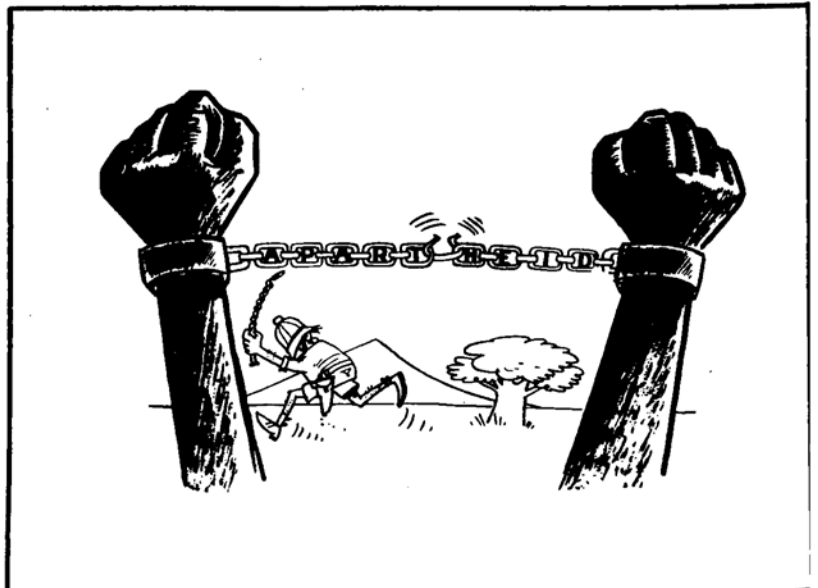
The liberation war in Zimbabwe as waged by the Patriotic Front must be recognised as an irreversible stage of political solution. It follows that since it is only the Patriotic Front conducting the armed liberation struggle in Zimbabwe, the choice before the United Kingdom is either to negotiate solely with the Patriotic Front for the transfer of power to it or face a protracted struggle. Democracy or democratic elections has never meant compromise of genuine independence. To this extent the democracy and democratic elections based on a clearcut — "one man one vote" franchise and conducted by the people of Zimbabwe are not negotiable. It is an absolute lie to say the Patriotic Front does not want elections. What the Patriotic Front does not want is British or United States interference in the conduct of such elections.

Finally on the constitutional approach, the attempt by the United Kingdom and the United States to white wash the South African regime by appearing to use it as a fulcrum to solve the Rhodesian problem is totally unacceptable. It is like asking the jackal to help release a sheep in the jaws of a hyena. It is trying to create conditions for a future government of Zimbabwe to collaborate with the South African racists. All these are aspects in the Anglo-American initiative which the Patriotic Front has no room for.



It follows that the struggle for the liberation of Zimbabwe has a long way to go. It is vital for this International Conference to:

- (a) Declare its unstinting support to the Patriotic Front.
- (b) Recognise the war situation in Zimbabwe as conducted by the Patriotic Front.
- (c) Call upon the progressive national and international forces to give political, material and financial support to the Patriotic Front.
- (d) Condemn the use of mercenaries by the colonial regime in Rhodesia and to call upon the Governments of US, France, West Germany, United Kingdom, New Zealand and Australia to withdraw their mercenaries in Rhodesia and take steps to prevent any more going to Rhodesia.
- (e) Call upon the UN to tighten sanctions against and to outlaw mercenaries in Rhodesia.



EDITORIAL

The war lords of the Rhodesian fascist regime, after unwarranted and unforgivable incursions into Mozambique and Botswana, have now turned their guns against Zambia in what may prove to be the bloodiest phase of the Southern African crisis.

It all started with Ian Smith threatening to invade Zambia which he accuses of providing bases for the ZAPU wing of the Patriotic Front. Smith's invasion threat, obediently and promptly delivered by head messenger David Owen, drew an immediate, tough and resolute response from President Kaunda who replied by putting Zambia's National Defence force on full alert.

Since then a shoot out has taken place between Rhodesia and Zambian troops at Victoria Falls across the Zambezi River, resulting in a glorious victory for Zambia's fighting men and a humiliation for the Rhodesian racists who are still licking their wounds in shame.

The defeat forced the Rhodesians to resort to their old tactics of laying land-mines on Zambian soil killing and maiming innocent civilians.

The Patriotic Front wishes to make it crystal clear to Ian Smith, Foreign Secretary David Owen and their likes that we shall never even dream of giving up the liberation war, or for any reason, de-escalate our efforts to free Zimbabwe by force of arms.

It is our inescapable and patriotic duty to crush colonialism in Zimbabwe and make our contribution to the complete eradication of racism and all forms of oppression which bedevil the African continent today.

We are not ruffled, let alone scared by any threats to bomb our bases wherever they might be. After all — and this is important for Smith and Owen to grasp fully — when we decided on the course of war as an instrument of freedom, we did not expect the enemy to surrender without putting up resistance. We embarked on this course with the full realisation and knowledge of the consequences of war, any war.

Smith's threats against us are, therefore, meaningless and will in no way affect or inhibit our unflinching determination and absolute commitment to liberate our country through force of arms. Neither are we shaken by the trick of dressing these threats in a wig of seriousness by their being despatched through the full weight of British diplomatic machinery.

We here and now make the following solemn promise to our friends in Zambia, Botswana and Mozambique as well as elsewhere in the world: We shall not let you down. Our revolutionary zeal to liberate Zimbabwe shall not be dampened by whatever war noises Smith blurts out.

We are only too aware of our natural responsibility to Zimbabwe, to you as our comrades-in-arms, to our mother Africa and to the whole of progressive mankind. We are painfully aware of the hardships which the Zimbabwe situation has imposed on Zambia, Botswana and Mozam-

bique which have lost lives, including those of innocent women and children, for the cause of our liberation.

We cannot, indeed shall not, allow the enemy to get away with it. Our victory, together, is more than assured.

Zimbabwe must be free! Africa must be free, because freedom of one is freedom of the other. They are inseparable siamese twins.

It is with tearful eyes-tears of both sorrow and anger that we publish elsewhere in this edition the story of the Dabwa Kraal massacre. Sorrow because we as Zimbabweans, are mourning the loss of nearly a hundred Zimbabweans, mostly women and children, who were murdered in cold blood by the forces of the Smith regime. Anger because no true Zimbabwean patriot can fail to have his anger aroused by this evil and dastardly deed.

The British settler cowards in our country, suffering mounting casualties every day from the gallant ZIPA forces of the Patriotic Front, have once again sought revenge on innocent Zimbabwe villagers, including babies in their mothers' hands and 90-year old woman who cannot stand without the support of a walking stick. The British colonialists who occupy Rhodesia have indiscriminately butchered them all, not because they support freedom fighters but because they are black Zimbabweans.

The President of ZAPU, Comrade Joshua Nkomo who is also co-leader of the Patriotic Front, warned only a few weeks ago that one of the dangers brought by the actions of the Ian Smith regime is that it might be impossible to reconcile black and white Zimbabweans even after majority rule, if the Rhodesian regime does not stop the indiscriminate slaughter of any one who is black. The chances are that the fears of Comrade Nkomo are going to be proved valid.

The Dabwa Kraal massacre, far from being an isolated incident, is one of many which are being carried out with nauseating regularity in Rhodesia. Reports from Zimbabwe confirm this view. Villagers from different parts of the country tell stories of Africans being rounded up and butchered. The dead villagers are then dressed in freedom fighters' uniform so that the regime can claim that its forces are winning the war, or the victims are described as guerrilla supporters, running away with the guerrillas, caught in a crossfire between guerrillas and the Rhodesian troops, or any other stupid reasons Smith's propaganda chiefs think of.

These latest massacres are taking place when Britain and United States governments are talking of sending a diplomatic team to Southern Africa in search for a solution to the Rhodesian problem, which means they will be going to Salisbury to confer with Smith.

Since the Rhodesian crisis is a product of British colonialism and the settlers are descendants of the British, it is difficult for one to escape the conclusion that the Dabwa and other massacres would not have taken place if Smith

FOCUS ON ZIMBABWE

Exactly a week after the Patriotic Front published its position on the British "Proposals for a Settlement" in Rhodesia, the leaders of the Front Line states - Angola, Botswana, Mocambique, Tanzania and Zambia - met on the 20th of September, 1977, in Maputo, capital of Mocambique, to take their position on the same. For all intents and purposes the Front Line Presidents gave their unstinted backing to the position of the Patriotic Front. Emerging from the discussions, President Nyerere observed that the British proposals had many negative aspects and left many questions unanswered.

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As we go to press the British Government has set in motion its first step in its programme of the so-called "Proposals for Settlement" in Rhodesia. She has already convened a Security Council session of the United Nations to secure appointment of what is called a United Nations representative for Rhodesia. Dr. David Owen, the British Foreign Secretary, was leading his government's delegation to put the case.

The BBC, that agent of British policy, was repeatedly claiming that the Frontline states had given a green-light for the United Kingdom to proceed with the issue of Rhodesia at the United Nations in accordance with the so-called "Proposals for a Settlement" as if Britain was now a servant of the Frontline states or vice-versa.

Our readers deserve to know that the British had long filed a request for a meeting of the Security Council on the issue, before the Frontline states ever met.

The British strategy has always been to try to link up the appointment of a UN representative with the automatic approval of sending into Rhodesia a United Nations so-called "Peace-keeping" force.

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"The Zimbabwe Review" wishes to remind its readers that the British tactic of passing over to the United Nations its unsolved colonial mess is not new.

The United Nations is almost permanently saddled with having to maintain UN forces between the Israelis and the Arab states and between the Turks and Greek Cypriots as a consequence of British colonial policies.

For Zimbabweans the death of Lumumba in the Congo in 1961 because of manouvres by Western countries despite the presence of United Nations forces is too unbearable an experince to concede a similar force for Zimbabwe.

In fact we expect members of the United Nations not to permit Britain to hang another albatross (Rhodesia) around the neck of the United Nations following the permanent dillema of Israel and Cyprus.

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Views, Without Fear or Malice

Fellow Zimbabwean, do not forget three lessons which must be drawn from the Vietnam and Cambodian liberation wars at their last stages,

- 1) the dressing up by the United States of Air Marshall Cao Ky and Big Minh as individuals of popular stature in North and South Vietnam who could bring about a "settlement of the war",
- 2) the programme of building, by the United States, of a new army of the (South) Vietnamese (Vietnamisation of the army) for these men,
- 3) the determination of the liberation forces in the face of the most painful and inhuman cruelty to fight on until victory.

Cao Ky and Big Minh were puppets; the Vietnamisation military policy collapsed; the sacrifices of the Vietnamese and Cambodians won them totally free countries; above all they have no malice against the people of the United States.

The parallel in Zimbabwe is that we have Chirau, Ndabaningi Sithole, Bishop Muzorewa, James Chikerama and Dr. Elliot Gabellah, who are leading a host of opportunists who were never prepared to sacrifice for the liberation of our country but now want to be the first to pluck the fruits of the tree of freedom watered by the blood of the gallant freedom fighters. These are the Cao Kys and Big Minhs of Zimbabwe who are being put up by the British and United States manoeuvres and press as popular hopefuls in their proposals of "controlled democratic" elections.

The British, through a suspected intelligence agent called Professor Hutchinson, lecturing in the United States and through the CIA, through a host of agents infiltrated into Rhodesia despite sanctions, are known to have been sampling and manipulating the Rhodesian situation towards the above-mentioned line-up - hence the rush of the so-called "Proposals".

Bishop Muzorewa, the political mosquito-weight, is, of course, the shadow of James Chikerema the supposed power - draught-piece.

What is important to keep in mind, however, is that Chirau, Sithole, Muzorewa, Chikerema and Dr. Gabellah have all, without exception, called for the retention of the army, police and administration of Ian Smith, not only during transition, but even at independence. In straight language they are saying that they want these murderers of thousands of Africans to continue as instruments of Government if they came to power reinforced by the so-called NEW ARMY.

In fact Sithole and Chikerema, have this additional question to answer before the people of Zimbabwe!

What bargain did you, Sithole and Chikerema, offer to Ian Smith over the thousands of freedom-fighters whom you once led to shoot your way into Zimbabwe and today lie murdered by those Rhodesian forces of Ian Smith or are imprisoned or detained by them - for you to walk and speak as free men in this country?"

To the loud mouthed, swagging and bourgeoisie oriented opportunists led by these men, we demand an answer to the following questions:

- 1) "Do you think the freedom-fighters have forgotten that you were playing a "neutral", "hedging" and "hide and seek" game whilst, together with the toiling masses, they were fighting the enemy?"
- 2) "What makes you believe that you can be protected by the army of the enemy when your sons and daughters, of even ten years old, have left you to join the patriotic liberation forces?"

The Patriotic Front is determined to fight until victory.

History Repeats

In November 1960 the Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole was one of the major participants at the so-called "Ndaba" convened by the British in Salisbury to precede the 1961 Constitutional Conference.

Through this strategy the British secured an advance endorsement of only 15 seats for Africans in a Rhodesian Legislative Assembly of 65. The British formalised this proposal at the 1961 Constitutional Conference which President Nkomo denounced and walked out of.

The Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole participated in this "Ndaba" against the ruling of the people's party then, - The National Democratic Party.

On the 24th of September, 1977, history repeated itself. The Reverend Sithole, himself now, convened a Salisbury meeting of leaders of all walks of life to give advance endorsement to the British "Proposals".

His meeting even called upon the proposed Resident Commissioner to use United Nations troops to quell what was called factional fights. Which factions?

Whose agent is Ndabaningi?

The Patriotic Front and the Zimbabwe masses rightly ignored this sell-out stunt. When ZAPU pointed out at the dangerous political doings of the Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole in 1963, there were many doubting Thomases then. The truth can never be concealed for ever. It is there now for you to see. If you cannot see, then you can never see.

PRESIDENT JOSHUA NKOMO AT THE UNITED NATIONS

Comrade Joshua Nkomo, co-leader of the Patriotic Front, arrived New York on the 26th of September, 1977, to attend the Security Council of the United Nations which was convened to consider the request by the British Government for the appointment of a Special United Nations Representative for Rhodesia. The Security Council carried out two days of consultations behind the scenes before sitting in plenary to take a decision on the matter.

Putting across the view of the Patriotic Front, comrade Joshua Nkomo said that if it could be ascertained beyond doubt that the appointment of such a representative should advance the attainment of genuine independence by the people of Zimbabwe, then the Patriotic Front would have no cause to object. He however stressed that the appointment of the representative must not imply consideration or acceptance by the Security Council of the provisions of the British Proposals for a Settlement in Rhodesia because these contained many unacceptable features. Comrade Nkomo further pointed out that in the event of the appointment of such a representative, the United Nations Secretary General would have to carry out close consultations with all members of the Security Council and the parties concerned in Zimbabwe.

Libya moved that the statement of President Nkomo be noted by the Security Council for any further consideration of the issue. It was noted.

Comrade Nkomo addressed the Security Council on the 29th of September. The resolution adopted stated clearly that the limited task of the Special representative was to carry out consultations with the parties involved in Rhodesia on the military questions, on the question of a ceasefire, if ever, and on other arrangements for the transitional period. The parties involved in the war situation in Rhodesia are the Patriotic Front on the one hand and the British Government and their settler kith and kin on the other.

Comrade President Joshua Nkomo immediately left for Lusaka to attend to the pressing tasks of the armed liberation struggle.

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On Friday the 30th of September, 1977, the racist, Ian Smith, issued a statement complaining why the Security Council had listened to the views of the Patriotic Front as put forward by Comrade Joshua Nkomo to the exclusion of the views of Bishop Muzorewa, Chief Chirau and the reverend Ndabaningi Sithole who, presumably, were to present the views of the Rhodesian regime.

had thought they would upset his British and American masters and threaten the latest efforts allegedly being made to solve the crisis.

As far as the Patriotic Front is concerned, the Dabwa massacre will make it more determined to free Zimbabwe at the shortest possible time, that is before too many lives are lost and before race relations are damaged beyond the point of repair.

The question of the unity of the struggling masses of Zimbabwe is on many people's minds these days. Some of our sisters and brothers in Africa and abroad are on record as calling for national unity among the Zimbabweans. We deeply appreciate such calls because we believe that the effectiveness of our armed struggle depends to a large extent on the revolutionary unity of the masses of Zimbabwe.

In pursuance of this fact, we formed the Patriotic Front with our comrades of ZANU. We pointed out very publicly and most honestly that the Patriotic Front was not an exclusive going political concern, but an inclusive one. All the Zimbabweans must join it in order to strengthen the struggling people's unity, and in this manner sharpen our armed revolution against the Rhodesian fascist dictatorship. The five front-line states took a very wise decision by according recognition to the Patriotic Front early this year. That decision has done a great deal to consolidate the Patriotic Front and its revolutionary forces of the Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA).

It has done much to increase the morale of the fighting masses of Zimbabwe and to demoralise the racist troops of the Rhodesian regime. It has done a great deal to show the seriousness and honesty of the front-line states about the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe.

But it is clear that while the Patriotic Front is doing its best to strengthen the Zimbabwean revolutionary unity, they are certain reactionary forces at work to keep the semblance of disunity alive.

They have attempted to distort the motives of the front-line states in recognising the Patriotic Front as the only authentic liberation movement in Zimbabwe. These reactionaries have falsely alleged that the recognition of the Patriotic Front by the five states was an imposition of the Patriotic Front leadership.

We are aware that behind these reactionaries are a few regimes. The false semblance of disunity will persist for as long as the reactionaries are given encouragement, succour and protection plus promotion by some quarters.

The Zimbabwean unity should be seen through the revolutionary approach and schemes of the Patriotic Front instead of the treacherous, tribalistic and opportunistic tinted spectacles of political inept, military sterile, incorrigibly miserable renegades. The Zimbabwean national unity is through the Patriotic Front, victory of the armed revolution of Zimbabwe (ZIPA) of which the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZPRA) of ZAPU is an integral and effective part.

Political renegades who base their political goals on wishful thinking and imperialist calculations and schemes must be ignored with the contempt they brutally deserve.

Zimbabwe shall be free!

Recently, Rhodesian fascist forces invaded the indepen-

dent state of Mozambique. They killed thousands of innocent people including women, old men, young children and anybody they met or came across their mission of slaughter.

That was not the first time Smith's bandits entered Mozambique. In August 1976 they attacked a refugee-camp at Nyazonia and killed hundreds of unarmed civilians who had left Zimbabwe to seek shelter and succour in Mozambique.

In November 1976, Smith's criminals crossed into Mozambique and committed wanton murder and destruction in another area. The current one, a third piece of blatant aggression by an international rejected and discredited band of racists supported by a few capitalist nations like France whose armoured cars and helicopters are used against free neighbouring nations.

What we of the Patriotic Front would like the world to know is the fact that without support and encouragement from the western nations, the Smith's bandits would not ever think of invading neighbouring states.

Without material assistance from the capitalist bloc, Smith and his rabid murderers would never dare attack Mozambique, Zambia and Botswana.

Material assistance of a military nature plus straight forward economic aid supplied systematically through South Africa enable the Smith regime to mount repeated and unjustified attacks against these three front-line states.

France sells its fighter planes to South Africa, and South Africa passes on its military hardware to Rhodesia, Rhodesia uses this military hardware to attack neighbouring African states. Rhodesian fighter-pilots are trained in South Africa. Spare parts for Smith's equipment come from capitalist countries via South Africa.

The Smith regime takes advantage of this military and economic support to play havoc and cause destruction to human lives and property in Zimbabwe, Zambia, Botswana and Mozambique.

The Rhodesian regime should not be condemned without first condemning those who supply it with military and economic needs. We unreservedly condemn all these nations. We call upon them to stop forthwith supporting this criminal band. The Rhodesian regime must go at all costs.

We take this opportunity too, to point out to free African and progressive nations that it is high time practical and effective solidarity was shown against the Smith regime to punish it severely for its unpardonable crimes against mankind.

This is not the time to pass resolutions that are not backed up by action. Smith does not mean to be reasonable now or at any time. His regime is composed of incorrigible, rabid and obsessed racists whose aim is to keep political power and economic power in Southern Africa in white minority hands at best, or, at worst, in reactionary hands.



If he is not punished immediately and severely, he (Smith) shall not stop his mad attacks. His regime must be destroyed at all costs.

It is important to note that the current invasion has come at the same time as the British attempts to hold a constitution on Rhodesia. The conference will not solve anything at all, of course. It is an attempt to sow confusion in

Southern Africa so that the Rhodesian regime entrenches itself. The Rhodesian regime attack on Mozambique is aimed at causing alarm, fear and despondency among masses of free neighbouring states of Botswana, Zambia and Mozambique so that they do not support the liberation struggle. This cannot succeed. We, for our part are determined to win, at any cost.

THE DABWA KRAAL MASSACRE

Once again the fascist regime of Rhodesia has let loose its soldiers to carry out a massacre of the whole village of two hundred people in the Chiredzi district. The village of Dabwa was surrounded by Rhodesia troops under cover of darkness and its occupants, mostly women and children, innocent and unarmed, were rounded up and murdered in cold blood. The troops opened up machine-gun and rifle fire and within a few minutes bodies lay strewn and bleeding everywhere.

Death cries and pleas for mercy or innocence were completely ignored as the murderers fired indiscriminately at any, every moving shadow. Not even the pleas of a 90-year old woman could save her or the two great grand children she was clutching in her hands. This old soul was in a well lit hut with children, one aged three and the other aged five, so there could be no question whatsoever of the Rhodesian troops having mistaken them for freedom fighters. As usual the Smith regime claimed that the villagers had been holding a meeting which was addressed by freedom fighters. But the truth of the matter is that no freedom fighter was anywhere near the scene of the massacre and there was no meeting of the kind taking place at Dabwa village. The true reason for the massacre was that a Selous scout, pretending to be a passerby travelling from Chiredzi to Fort Victoria, had been given a

bundle of sweet reeds by an old woman in keeping with the traditional African hospitality to strangers. The scout later reported that Dabwa villagers were supporting the guerrillas by giving them sweet reeds and other produce from their fields and gardens.

So the people of Dabwa were invaded and massacred simply because an old woman had mistaken a Selous scout for a hungry traveller who needed something to eat.

To give credibility to their story the Rhodesian troops then dressed one of the dead villagers in a freedom fighters' uniform and brought in a hand picked group of white journalists to see the dead "guerrilla." It must be noted here that, that no villager was brought to identify and confirm that the body was that of a freedom fighter.

The Rhodesian regime knows that no local resident was allowed anywhere near the body as such resident would at once have identified the dead body as being that one of the villagers disguised in guerrilla uniform.

It is a lie that a look-out had been posted by guerrillas to warn the so-called meeting of the approach of any security forces. The so-called look-out was none other than the Selous scout who had abused the old woman's generosity some days earlier. Being familiar with the area the scout had been detailed to lead the troops along the bush paths to the village.

This is proved by the fact that the so-called look-out, being nearest to the approaching invaders, was not killed or captured. Instead those who are alleged to have been at a safer distance, were the victims.

THE WAR AND THE YOUTH IN ZIMBABWE.

Reports reaching the Zimbabwean midlands town of Gwelo confirm that a general massacre of school aged youths is being carried out systematically by Rhodesian security forces. Although the fascist laws of the regime make it impossible to acquire figures of victims so far killed, a picture has emerged showing that this is part of a general plan by the

Smith regime in its efforts to quench the fires of revolution which are raging throughout the country.

It has now become clear that when a child from a certain school is reported to have joined the freedom war, the regime accuses the whole school of aiding the guerrillas and the notorious Selous scouts are then immediately despatched "to punish"

all the children and the staff of that school. There is hardly any African school in Zimbabwe's rural areas which has not had some of its students joining the freedom war, but this has always been the action of the individual students or just a small group.

Only a few schools such as Manama Mission, had their students volunteering on mass for the struggle. But the Rhodesian regime is bent on senseless revenge against any and all African students and youth in general. Any school child beyond the age of twelve years is suspected and can be shot on sight at any time, including herd boys who tend cattle. The killing of youths is not limited to boys only, also girls have many a time been victims too. It is no longer safe for any one between the ages of twelve and twenty-five to be seen outside the radius of their homes. Some youth have even given up going to school as they run the risk of being murdered on their way to and from school.

The whole bloody campaign has however, boomeranged onto the Rhodesian regime's face as many of these youths continue to find their way out of the country to join the liberation forces. The youths have concluded, quite logically, that since they are not safe in the country however ignorant or innocent they might be about guerrillas they are still killed out of the slightest suspicion.

The campaign has backfired to such an extent that it is the liberation movement, the Patriotic Front, which is benefiting as more and more youths are forced to seek refuge with freedom fighters as a means of escaping murder by the regime. The youths concluded that it is more noble and patriotic to throw in one's lot with freedom fighters, if death should come, let it be during a shoot out against the enemy on the battle field.

Another reason for many youths deserting schools to join armed comrades is that they have realised that unarmed civilians are being murdered in large numbers by the Rhodesian security forces yet very few gun-carrying guerrillas are ever killed. Naturally they weigh their chances of survival and conclude that one is



safer among freedom fighters than in one's village or school.

The Zimbabweans joining the struggle give many and varied reasons for their decision. The main one is of course, that they want to contribute to the liberation of their country. One of the other reasons for students giving up their education in favour of the rough, tough, bush life of guerrillas is that the Smith regime reached an agreement with the puppet African chiefs and their party, the Zimbabwe United People's Organisation, ZUPO, aimed at swelling the party's membership through blackmail and methods of compulsion.

Late last year the regime quickly introduced a regulation which demands that every African child must produce a ZUPO membership

card before such a child is admitted to any school in rebel Rhodesia. Children who are too young to buy a card are required to produce that one of a parent or guardian.

The regulation so annoyed the youths that some of them choose to leave the school than to fulfil such a humiliating and insulting regulation. Having refused to buy ZUPO cards they could not remain in their homes for they knew that the special branch of the police would pounce on them sooner or later.

So they left the country to train as the freedom fighters.

Unfortunately, not all children are able to join their armed brothers and sisters in the bush. Those who succeed to leave are just a handful compared to nearly two million Zimbabweans of school going age.

It is those who remain in Zimbabwe who are being butchered daily like those of a school in Buhera District south of Salisbury, who were killed within their on school premises when Rhodesian troops suddenly opened fire on them.

If these poor children had followed the path of their colleagues and joined the guerrillas the chances were that they would be alive today. That is one of the reasons why the Patriotic Front keeps advising and urging Zimbabwean youths to join the

struggle so that they bring a quick end to the suffering of the youths and the Zimbabwe population in general.

The young people of Zimbabwe have realised that the only way to freedom is by joining ZIPA, the Zimbabwe People's army, military wing of the Patriotic Front. It is no use staying at home as the Rhodesian soldiers will constantly invade their villages and kill them before the eyes of their parents.

Neither are they safe within the

school grounds because the soldiers will come and shoot them together with their teachers. The Zimbabwean students also know that the missionaries are as unsafe as they are and can no longer plead with the Selous scouts on their behalf.

Not even a ZUPO card can save them because they are shot before they get the chance to produce it.

These nauseating murders by the Rhodesian forces are the reason for the closure of many schools in the country, particularly this year.

THE IMPACT OF THE LIBERATION WAR IN ZIMBABWE

The performances of the Zimbabwe Peoples Army for the period of January–April, 1977, reveal why Britain and her allies are now trying to prevent the Rhodesian settlers from leaving the country before and after the change of government from the racist minority regime to the people of Zimbabwe. Reinforcing this plan is the treacherous American manoeuvre of offering billions of their dollars as a package to induce the settlers to stay on. The Americans intend to buy Zimbabwe indirectly from the British because of their financial and military might.

Thus the Americans would be able to control Zimbabwe permanently. This exercise, if not halted by Zimbabwe's revolutionary forces, depicts an unholy alliance – a handover of political power from one colonialist to another colonialist.

This development comes in the wake of many Rhodesian settlers leaving the country in large numbers as a result of the intensification of the armed revolutionary struggle throughout the country. The settlers are not certain about the future in an independent Zimbabwe. These fears may be summarised as fourfold: the

intensification of the guerrilla war; the assured victory of the revolutionary forces; the people's future control of the industry and commerce; and the disappearance of cheap labour.

The settlers will lose the privileges through which they make Africans hewers of wood and drawers of water.

There is virtually no peace throughout Zimbabwe today. Revolutionary forces operating all over the country make life impossible and unsafe for all reactionary forces – racist armed forces, civil servants, collaborators and all enemies of the people and their revolution.

The ZPRA (ZIPA) forces fight the racist army and other reactionary forces in the bush, in their camps and their homes; they attack installations such as roads and railways; they hit the enemy in the air and water as well as in the towns and cities. In short the war is now being fought everywhere in Zimbabwe.

Convoys of trucks full of victims of guerrilla bullets and landmines are a common scene in many parts of the country. But the regime's war communiques are so rigidly controlled

that they never reveal the exact number of its soldiers killed in action against ZIPA guerrillas.

However, according to information defectors from the regime's army, only commissioned or rank officers have their names announced publicly when they are killed in action. Some of the so-called official communiques are issued weeks or months after those concerned have been killed.

In short, apart from the names of the enemy's usual pawns, only the names of those who matter in the army or civil service are released to the public albeit with much scrutiny.

The war in Zimbabwe, now is fast approaching its peak, has forced the Rhodesian regime to admit publicly that it cannot contain the guerrilla onslaught even with the help of mercenaries from Australia, U.S.A., Britain, West Germany, Belgium, Canada, France, New Zealand, Portugal, Spain, South Africa and other parts of the world.

Local administration in the so-called operational areas are hampered; rural council offices have been closed down; almost every farm has been abandoned; school and colleges have been deserted and transport to and from those areas is virtually at stand still.

The ZIPA onslaught has caused the Rhodesian soldiers to retreat from the scene of fighting; they either go into hiding or seek safety in the underground shelters where their supplies are sent by helicopter. Some of them cover their shame by murdering innocent and defenceless villagers and presenting their bodies to their masters as "killed terrorists."

The British and Americans are trying

desperately to control and contain the situation. Britain, a spent force, has persuaded the Americans to take over the Zimbabwean hot potatoe. Having sealed the billion dollar deal for British settlers, the British and the Americans are now moving into the second stage of the conspiracy. It involves the direct participation of the United States in any future conferences on Zimbabwe. Hence the announcement that the two powers will in future be joint chairmen of any conference on Zimbabwe. Fortunately, the Patriotic Front saw the trap and rejected the whole scheme. But the two western powers are still hell bent on carrying it out.

The third stage of the Anglo-American master plan is timed to coincide with the cessation of hostilities in Zimbabwe. It envisages the sending of a peacekeeping force to Zimbabwe composed of African and Asian troops. The Americans will then pour billions of dollars to finance pro-Western African and Asian countries who will be said to be uncommitted to either side in the Zimbabwe conflict. This means that those countries in Africa which have suffered so much to support the liberation struggle will be left out because they are not the blue-eyed boys of the British and Americans. They will be simple be labelled as "committed and having vested interests".

If this evil plan succeeds the people of Zimbabwe will simply have been transferred from the frying pan to the fire as the struggle for genuine freedom will have been made more difficult for them.

We reveal these facts so that the world can understand why the Patriotic Front refused to accept direct American involvement in the conflict such as co-chairing a conference on the future of Zimbabwe. The Front cannot accept an arrangement whereby they will be made to go from one colonialist to another. What the British and Americans are asking us to do is to choose between being executed by hanging, British style, or by the electric chair which is American fashion. The people of Zimbabwe are saying they are not going to be executed at all, by anybody, instead they will fight to live and live

in freedom and human dignity. The Zimbabweans are fighting a revolutionary war, not just an independence war, anybody, however powerful, who thinks of imposing the dreaded capitalist system on us through making us his puppets is advised to lay off.

For close to a century the people of Zimbabwe having suffered and laboured under colonialism and capitalism. Time for our freedom cannot be delayed any longer. Let our oppressors and their settler agents get this message clear: true and genuine independence or war to the finish.

SMITH'S ATROCITIES

The Rhodesian forces have been committing brutal atrocities against the masses of Zimbabwe for many years now. These have increased in both intensity and extent in recent years. The increase has been an attempt to match the intensification of the revolutionary struggle. There is a very strong element of desperation in Smith's armed forces' attempts to stop the people of Zimbabwe from liberating themselves.

Many times Smith has claimed that his regime has the support of the majority of Africans in the rural areas. His flimsy claim has been that the majority of the Africans were behind the traditional chiefs, and that the chiefs supported his regime and, therefore, the Africans supported fascist dictatorship.

It is false of course that the majority of the masses of Zimbabwe support the traditional chiefs. Chiefs, for their part are craven stooges of the racist regime used as administrative and political tongs against their fellow-Africans.

To prove that the African majority is not for the racist regime, the dastardly massacre committed against them by the Salisbury junta are being increased. No-one can kill his own supporters. Only one's enemies fall at one's blows. The masses are part and parcel of the armed revolution and the Smith regime is out to exterminate them ruthlessly, as ruthlessly as the Hitler's Nazi forces went on the rumpage against the Jews during the Second World War.

What may differ is the method of

extermination but not the objective. Smith and Hitler are one and the same murderous beast.

Governments whose nationals are serving the Smith's regime as policemen, regular troops or mercenaries as well as trade contacts must be held responsible for these hideous atrocities against the Zimbabweans.

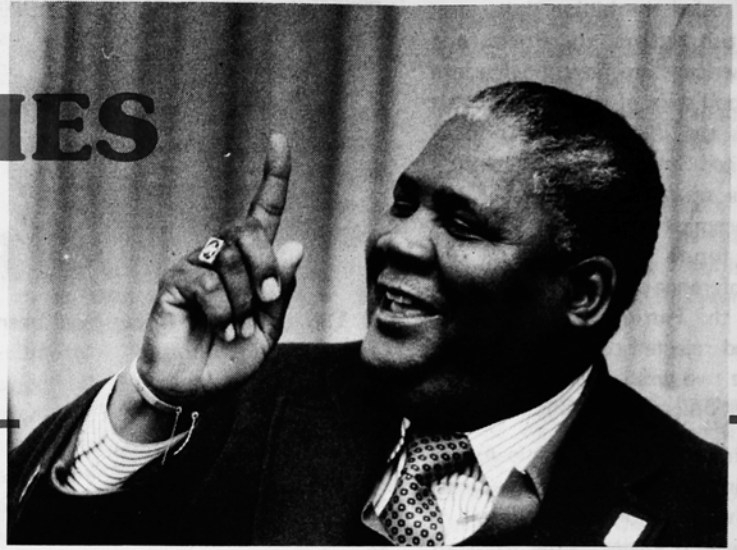
Many time we have pointed out publicly, that France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United States, Belgium, Japan, Austria and a few others, including the United Kingdom, of course, must spell out their position on the question of mercenaries in Rhodesia.

France and Japan have now taken over the car industry in Rhodesia. France has gone even further by supplying the Smith regime with armoured cars and helicopters. Japan imports Rhodesian iron-ore, nickel and other minerals in open violation of the United Nations sanctions against the Rhodesian dictatorship.

The United States, Britain and others openly permit their nationals to be recruited (in their own territories) as mercenaries for the Rhodesian fascist regime. We take note of these unfriendly acts no less than we heartily take note of the fraternal and massive material assistance we get from some OAU member-states, the socialist nations, non-aligned group and progressive non-governmental organizations.

The hour is close at hand when we shall associate with our genuine friends (friends in deed) and identify our enemies (Smith's allies).

NKOMO CLARIFIES STAND



Lusaka: President of ZAPU of the Patriotic Front, Comrade Joshua Nkomo, clarified the stand of the Patriotic Front on the current inquiry of the British Government into the possibility of holding a constitutional conference on Rhodesia.

Speaking to newsmen at Zimbabwe House in Lusaka on May 31, President Nkomo pointed out that the Patriotic Front would not attend what he called a spider-type conference. He said that the British Government must not try to consult one group at a time and call that a conference.

He said: "We won't go to a conference which will not discuss the removal of the causes of the war. The causes of war are well known. All we want is Zimbabwe. If the British Government gives us back our Zimbabwe, we shall accept that and the war will stop. We are fighting not because we love fighting. We are fighting because we want our country back in our hands."

Comrade President Joshua Nkomo, stated that during his eight nation tour he had met the American Secretary of State, Cyrus Vance, whom he had told about the Patriotic Front's opposition to the US co-sponsoring or co-chairing the projected conference.

"If the US co-chairs the conference, who will keep out of it? If the British Government wants to consult

the US, we can not stop them. We have nothing against the US. We are not anti-anybody. We are anti-imperialism, colonialism and the evils of the Smith regime".

Comrade Nkomo said that the American ambassador, Mr. Stephen Low, may be in the British team as a morale-booster to the British Government.

"Mr. Vance clearly understood me. The US UN representative, Andrew Young, is in agreement with us. He pointed out in London recently that there was no question of the US co-chairing the conference," Comrade Nkomo stated

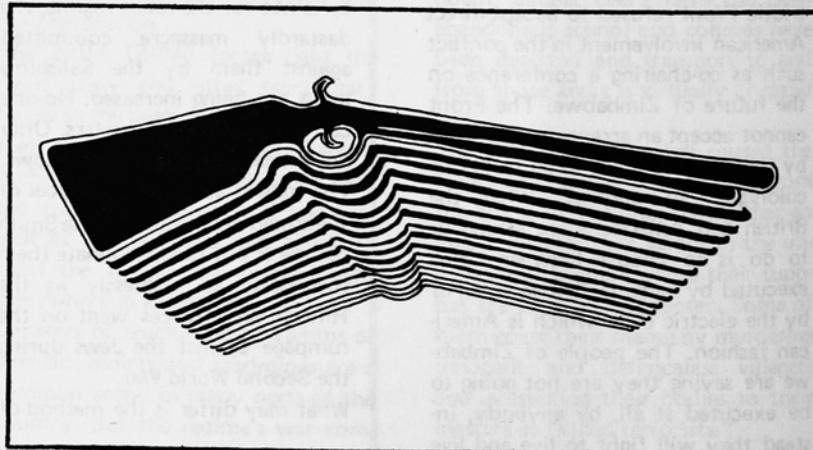
Asked about President Kaunda's call to Bishop Muzorewa to join the Patriotic Front, Comrade Nkomo

said: We in ZAPU welcome any Zimbabwean who would like to join the struggle . . .

Bishop Muzorewa can join us as an individual any time. We might need a chaplain."

Comrade Nkomo pointed out that instead of talking about and praying for civil war in Zimbabwe, Bishop Muzorewa ought to realise that ZAPU (Patriotic Front) has an army. He said the role of that army was to liberate Zimbabwe, territorial integrity and sovereignty.

"There shall be no civil war. That is why we have the Patriotic Front. The Bishop ought to realise and accept this. What he should do now is to realise that we are fighting and not imagining civil wars."



"When American Vice-President Walter Mondale met Vorster in Austria, what did he get? He got the same declaration from Vorster. Vorster told Mondale that they could not mix with the Kaffirs . . . We rule our natives and that is all.

South Africa shall always be ruled by the white men. This is what Vorster told Mondale.

"Vorster is the same man Britain and

hell in Rhodesia. We are appealing for help for these children.

"As far as we are concerned, we have made up our minds. I stated in Geneva that if that conference failed, then I am going personally to the bush. I have had assistance directing the ZAPU army on my behalf for a number of years. Now I have decided to direct the army myself. I have this task we have set ourselves to do must

NKOMO EXPLAINS ZIMBABWE'S INDEPENDENCE

Lusaka: President of ZAPU, Comrade Joshua Nkomo addressed a packed up Lusaka Press Club dinner at Lusaka's Intercontinental Hotel on June 2, 1977. He explained the type of independence ZAPU of the Patriotic Front would like for Zimbabwe. President Nkomo pointed out that the British Government and some western nations want Zimbabwe to have a type of independence they can control.

They do not like the Patriotic Front because they think that the type of independence we are fighting for is not the same as that they, these western nations, would like us to have.

"This brings me to the present British Government diplomatic exercise. It is aimed at getting this type of independence. Let us declare to the world that if Britain wants to confront us in this way, then confrontation shall come, and we shall stand for it.

We have been patient; we have tried to end the problem of that country by negotiations, and we have failed. "We have failed because Smith, the racist, is being encouraged by his big brothers in Europe, and of course, through the big brother in South Africa whom the British and the Americans aim to use.

America want to pressurise Smith to grant Zimbabwe majority rule. Can you believe it? Unless we are fools we will believe that a wolf can protect a lamb from a jackal. How can that be?

How can we go to a wolf and say please save us from a jackal. The wolf will of course eat up the lamb. We will not give ourselves to the wolf in South Africa. We can't. We will free ourselves.

"As a result of these comings and goings and because of the intensification of the armed struggle, the regime has now become vicious. So many of our people are shot daily so much that the parents have encouraged their children to leave the country.

Five year-old children have been pushed out by Smith's viciousness.

"A lot of our people have been killed because they could not account for their children's whereabouts. We have thousands of young people here in Zambia, in Mozambique, in Botswana, in Tanzania and in other countries.

"We have asked the world community for help. We want this help. These young people are fleeing from torture, from murder and come out of Rhodesia stark naked. They come out naked because they go through

be completed within a specified period. That shall be done. We have gone through hell for too long. We must free ourselves."

Comrade Nkomo described Ian Smith as a criminal, murderer, outlaw, bandit. He was referring to the current invasion of Rhodesian forces by the Rhodesian outlaws. Comrade Nkomo stated that Smith can do anything because he is an international bandit.

"As President Kaunda has pointed out, if he tries to invade Zambia, he shall get what he deserves. He says he is exercising his right of hot pursuit. What does he mean? The fighting is around Salisbury, Bulawayo, Gwelo, Umtali and other areas right inside Zimbabwe.

If he wants to pursue Patriotic Front forces, they are right there in Zimbabwe. They are not in Zambia, Mozambique or Botswana," President Nkomo stated.

He strongly condemned the Smith regime for the serious atrocities committed by its armed bandits against the unarmed civilians of Zimbabwe. He said those atrocities must stop forthwith.

"We cannot allow our people to be butchered like that. Smith must stop these atrocities forthwith," Comrade Nkomo emphasised.

ANGLO- AMERICAN MOVES

The President of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and co-leader of the Patriotic Front, Comrade Joshua Nkomo, has on many occasions told the world that the Rhodesian fascist leader Ian Smith will never hand over political power peacefully to the people of Zimbabwe.

The British government knows this, but have been trying to play it down as they are trying to clear the ground to launch their joint anti-African manouvres on Zimbabwe.

Last year, underestimating the strength of the Patriotic Front, the British government convened the ill-fated Geneva conference on Rhodesia. It invited all types of individuals hoping to use them to thwart the establishment of a people's government in Zimbabwe.

Their attempts failed because the Patriotic Front insisted on a revolutionary and as the name implies, patriotic approach to the issue.

While the conference was in session in Geneva, the Smith regime committed numerous crimes which included the dynamiting of a ZAPU house and vehicles in Botswana. Earlier, the murderous regime had attacked refugee-camps in Mozambique (at Nyazonia) and cold-bloodedly massacred thousands of innocent woman, children and old men.

Neither the United States nor the British Government unreservedly criticised or condemned these wanton atrocities. They knew that Smith was behind these crimes, and they knew that he was serving the capitalist interests. The news media of the western countries did not give prominence or to condemn these inhuman crimes.

Racist passion is so excessive in the ruling circles of these western nations that the death of thousands of Blacks at the hands of white minority regimes in Southern Africa generally do not mean anything to the governments of these capitalist nations. We are aware of the fact that if only a few hundred whites were killed in a few battles against freedom fighters, the western nations' governments and their news media would scream hysterically against the struggling people of Zimbabwe.

The Rhodesian regime is planning yet more and worse crimes than it

AFRICA FREEDOM DAY MESSAGE

(MAY 25, 1977).

This year Africa Freedom Day comes at a most critical time when the forces of freedom are increasing the intensity of the armed revolution in our country, Zimbabwe, and those of our brothers and sisters in Zambia and Botswana and Mozambique are posed eye-ball against the fascists of Rhodesia.

On this historic occasion, the struggling masses of Zimbabwe, behind their national organisation ZAPU of

has perpetrated up to now. We are quite sure that no meaningful comment will come from the western countries just as there has not been any in the past.

The regime is known to be preparing its forces to attack ZPRA camps "in neighbouring states." To enable the regime to carry out such crimes effectively, the regime has received large consignments of arms and sophisticated military hardware from certain western nations.

These are sent to Smith through South Africa. Israel is busy training the Smith regime's solidiers. South Africa is training Rhodesian pilots how to fly French-made designed war planes. Israel is known to have offered the Smith regime some of its 1967 war veterans to help lead Rhodesian bandits in their projected aggression of neighbouring states under the pretext of the so-called hot pursuit exercise.

The Patriotic Front is ready to meet the Rhodesian racist anywhere, any time under any conditions.

We mean to establish peace through victory and freedom, victory or death!

the Patriotic Front, rededicate themselves to the complete over-throw of the racist minority regime through armed struggle.

The masses are fully committed to the continuation and intensification of the revolutionary struggle despite attempts by the British and American governments to derail and immobilise the armed revolution by posing a fictitious possibility that talks between the oppressed majority of Zimbabwe represented by the Patriotic Front, and the white fascist

minority led by Ian Smith can bring about a free and independent Zimbabwe.

We of the Zimbabwe African People's Union in the Patriotic Front have no reason whatsoever to believe that the talks can free Zimbabwe. The Smith regime is as deeply married to racism as ever before.

The British government in its capacity as the colonial oppressor of Zimbabwe, continues to handle its protege (the Rhodesian regime) with white kid-gloves. The British government says that it does not want what it terms a radical approach to the Rhodesian issue.

It is opposed to the intensification of the armed revolution by the Patriotic

Front, and would like the masses of Zimbabwe to talk and talk and talk to the Smith dictatorship.

On this very important day, we reiterate our known position on the armed struggle. We are in it to the end; that end is the defeat of the Rhodesian colonial regime. This is our contribution to the unity of our continent.

Present moves by the western nations to hold consultations with the South African racist regime on the future of Namibia, and the Anglo-American attempts to resuscitate constitutional discussions on Rhodesia are a well calculated ploy to destroy the only

effective means by which Zimbabweans can free themselves.

That means the armed struggle. The capitalist nations of Europe do not honestly want a change in Southern Africa. Their economic and global military interests and strategy in the region are better protected and served by the present political status than independence on the basis of majority rule.

On this solemn day, ZAPU and its armed wing, the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZPRA), an integral part of the Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA) vows to continue the intensification of the revolution till total victory. Africa must and shall be united!



PRESIDENT NKOMO'S SPEECH AT THE WORLD CONFERENCE AGAINST APARTHEID, RACISM AND COLONIALISM IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

LISABON 16.6-19.6.77

This is no time for speeches, we have come here to talk about business. We have not come here to make declarations about apartheid, we had enough. We have come here to agree what to do, to bury apartheid, fascism, colonialism and zionism. These are the same declarations passed at the United Nations, OAU, Non-alignment conferences and Solidarity Organisations. But what is important for the people of Southern Africa today is not to continue, Comrades, making resolutions. It is to plan and act. We of the Patriotic Front have come to say to you, Comrades the people of Zimbabwe have taken an attacking action and they need your solidarity.

If you can kill racism and colonialism in Zimbabwe, you would have killed and destroyed apartheid. The young people of Soweto did not stand up to make declarations but they stood up to act. In their action, they were appealing to the people of the world, the progressive organisations to join in with the people of Southern Africa to destroy racism, colonialism and fascism.

Some people may say "South Africa is very powerful, South Africa is having gold." But that gold is African gold, and it must be used to destroy apartheid, racism and colonialism.

The fascism which existed here in Portugal for more than 40 years has been destroyed. It was destroyed in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau. When people talk of Portuguese, people might think they were very evil people, but it was only a handful of fascist dictators. We are here to share with the people of Portugal their great struggle against fascism. When we were in Gonakudzingwa in detention near the border of Mozambique, we heard that the Caetano regime was overthrown, we couldn't believe it. We had no radios for we were not allowed to have any. But we had something that resembled a radio. It was hard for us to believe that Caetano had been overthrown. Surely the forces of freedom, the progressive ones in the

world can never be defeated by the reactionaries.

Comrades, we in Zimbabwe as part of the people of Southern Africa, have made up our minds that talking to an imperialist is like talking to a rock.

I started talking to the imperialists when my hair was dark and beautiful, now its grey and almost withering. I have been talking and talking for the last thirty years and finally I ended up in prison because of talking. But my Comrades of ZAPU and ZANU carried out the armed struggle. When our friends of the Front-line States said to us, „Comrades we have made it possible for you to get out of prison and talk to these people after 10 years of war.“ We knew that it was impossible talking to Ian Smith. But I had understood something that was important and it was that this talking with Ian Smith which came about as a result of our friendly Front-line States demanding that all of us leaders who were in prison should be released. We chose this opportunity to come together and form a solid front. First it was the African National Council (ANC) but it had several weaknesses.

In 1975, we of the ZAPU and ZANU decided that to be able to defeat the enemy, to be able to crack the rock without talking to it, but putting a dynamite into it and cracking it, we formed the ZIMBABWE PEOPLES ARMY (ZIPA). And we formed the Patriotic Front in October 1976. Some people say the Patriotic Front was a marriage of convenience. Let me assure you, the P. F. was neither a marriage nor anything of convenience. It is a reality. A reality of the people who want to work together in both ways. Now we have realised that by working seperately, we could not put sufficient TNT, on this rock to crack it. We brought together the two TNTs', ZAPU and ZANU together.

We are now placing heavy TNTs' on this hard imperialist rock, and the fuse is now on. We have been exploding a few small bombs to clear the way in order to crack the

big thing. We can be certain of victory just like the people of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau who are now thriving in freedom.

Just like this very Conference which is held in Lisbon today, we shall have the pleasure and opportunity of inviting you Comrades to Salisbury.

It will not be P. O. Box Salisbury but will be P. O. Box Harare. You might as well note that down, otherwise you will lose your direction.

Salisbury is on its way out and Harare the capital of Zimbabwe is on its way in. Therefore all friends gathered up here today, we of the P. F. have come to appeal to you to double the efforts of solidarity by sending to us not big bundles of resolutions but big bundles of guns. We know that we are among friends. We want guns from you, not that we are war mongers, not that we have rejoiced in war. But because for several years now, we have attempted to reason with the imperialist but we have discovered that once a thief has got into your house it becomes dangerous. The only way to send the thief out is by violence. Today thousands of Zimbabwean young people are asking all the progressive forces to come forward and give tangible solidarity goods, not just bread and butter. But that solidarity which will make Smith see that the people of Zimbabwe have made their minds. Not to request the minority to transfer power to the majority. Of course we are not racialists. When we say the transfer of power to the majority, we are not talking of taking power from the whites and giving it to the Blacks. We are colour blind. We don't look at people's faces and say they are our people because they are black and say they are not our people because they are white. We don't look at people's texture of the hair or their straight nose. We look at people as people. These minority of our people who happened to be whites have had power for more than eighty-five years now.

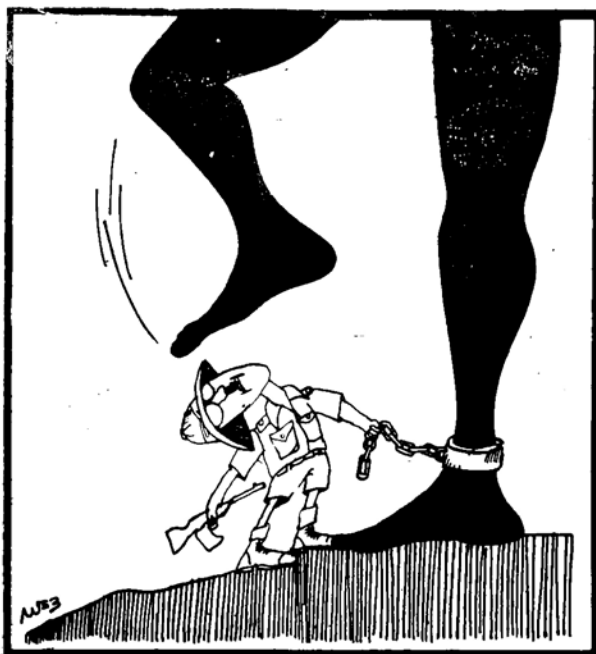
When we were in Geneva in a Conference summoned by Britain, we of the P. F. honestly and sincerely believed that after 10 years of war, Britain would talk around with Smith's regime and put sense into it. Smith rejected because up to now Britain was not prepared for the transfer of power. We thought we were talking the same language, but when we were half way with the conference, we discovered that Britain was talking of sharing of power with Smith doing the sharing. We thought there must be something wrong with those people. We knew what we meant by the transfer of power.

When Britain discovered that it was difficult she broke the conference. Of course, we had made it clear to Smith that if the conference broke and then it meant the intensification of armed struggle. The conference was then broken by Britain and Ian Smith and we decided to intensify the armed struggle. Those of us who have been organising the party and the army decided that we ourselves shall take charge of the army and we have done so.

We say to you Comrades, give us no resolutions please but that active support and that sharp support so that the war in Zimbabwe must be sharp and short, in order to elimi-

nate the suffering of our people.

Three weeks ago I got a letter from our Comrades in prison, written on a toilet paper saying to us, "Comrades we have been hanged by Smith every Monday, can't you do something to stop this criminal from murdering us?" We know that one can not appeal to a criminal like Smith. We have made our minds not to praise him but to tell the world that Smith kills five people every Monday and the British Government knows it. The world community should not be giving us resolutions but to free our people by giving practical aid.



We are fighting and have appealed to the progressive forces to join with us in fighting against imperialism and fascism. The fascism that the world jointly defeated with the help of the Soviet Union in 1945.

The Soviet Union became part and parcel of the anti-Hitler fascist coalition. At that time no-one in the West say Britain or USA have turned communist. Communists were friends. But today we are being assisted by the Fast-European progressive countries. We make no bones about it.

What do the West particularly USA say about our fight against fascism? "It is not a war by the Zimbabwean people, it is a war by the Communists."

We ourselves appeal to the friends in the world to help us fight against fascism because fascism came from the western sector of the world. We were told that the situation in Southern Rhodesia is very difficult and complicated. What is complicated about fascism? Why was it not complicated in Hitler-Germany?

They say the minorities built our country. But our country was built before they came. Building the country — which meant exploiting it. Now we are told that if you push out the whites, they will get away with their skills. Get away with their skills! Skills are made.

Why is that our people are not skilled after a hundred years of colonisation? Does it take a hundred years to make you a skilled man? This is the reason why this hypocrisy must be thrown away.

Even if our people have no skills, we shall begin with a (bukambedzo), that is a small axe. And we shall build our skills from there. Of course we have friends all over the world who will come to our aid. There is Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Bissau who went through the same way. There are difficulties of course. There is nothing that is worthwhile which is not difficult. If you want to achieve something, you have got to go through difficulties.

You don't learn swimming by exercising out side the water. You have got to get right into the water if you want to learn swimming. This is what our brothers are doing in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau and other areas. They are even doing it very successfully, because these countries are building their countries' economy gradually, honestly and sincerely. The economy is meant for their people and not those who sit thousands of miles and say we have invested money. And all the money that people make must get out of the country and this is what they call progress.

Because of the successes of our brothers in Mozambique and Angola the imperialist forces are re-grouping. They are saying Zimbabwe and Namibia must not be lost from the West. Lost from the west! How can we get lost? This is a very serious pronouncement. This is what they are saying, "Angola and Mozambique are lost," but they are not lost. They are still there. What is lost is the exploitation of the people of those countries. They say we are supposed to be protected from being lost. We are determined that we shall be lost. By being lost we shall regain ourselves, because we shall be lost from imperialism and fascism. Because these people believe that we shall be lost, they are planning and contriving schemes like those which were made at Turnhalle Conference in Namibia. They want to synchronise the holding truth to Namibia and Zimbabwe by working out a common strategy.

Britain is saying, we want a peaceful settlement". I am not an English man but I can see that, there is something wrong. We want a peaceful settlement after ten years of war! How can it be peaceful? They want the people of the world to believe that there is no war in Zimbabwe, in order to bring all and sundry to drive the progressive forces of the Patriotic Front.

This is the aim of these people. They are going around looking for church choirs: I am not against church. But certain people have discovered that if you bring in certain churchmen into the negotiations to remove the causes of

the war. They will be able to increase the number of those reactionaries in order to drown the words of the people of Zimbabwe. We have said to them, it is not possible. We started off with one gun and now we have formidable armies. Nobody can take them away from us. We mean to finish the job Comrades, within a short space of time. Mr. Robert Mugabe and myself agreed that it is time we concluded the job and remove the fascist Ian Smith.

You know what the British are saying. They are saying, "you know, — — — you see gentlemen". Sometimes we terrorists are gentlemen too. "You see gentlemen — — — you see we want a peaceful settlement, we want to draft a brand new constitution." I am saying current affairs and that's what is going on. "We want to draft a new constitution and after completing it we shall ask Smith to take his hat and walking stick and walk out of power." Can you believe it? Talking with one British I said, you want us to request Smith to take his hat and a walking stick and walk out of power, how long is this process going to take?

They said, "no — — — no — — — you see we want to make out a constitution with build-in safe-guards". Now you want to hear the British talking about the build-in safe-guards. That is where the trouble is. Safe-guards for who? We said to them, when you are still busy building in the safe-guards you will hear that we have arrested the rebel and ceased the power. What would you say when we have ceased power? They said, "of course the white people will fight." I said, what will they be fighting for. "They will fight to their last man." I said, are these the people whom you are talking of going to the conference and work out a constitution with them? What hope will they have when we have ceased the power and put in the constitution of the people? What will they be fighting against, when we have ceased the power? They said "it was quite obvious that the type of constitution that they were expected to work out is a constitution that is minus the power of the people."

That is why we of the P. F. say to the British, there is only one way of negotiation in Zimbabwe, it is the negotiation in the contest of war.

The colonial situation is over and what is in Zimbabwe today is a situation of war. And in a situation of war you do not call in the salvation army. You call in the army not the salvation army. We are being asked to come in with the salvation army. Comrades, the P. F. is facing a very crucial period. A period where the British and the Americans are attempting to deceive the free people of the world by trying to make them believe that they are working out a constitution on Zimbabwe.

We say the time for working out a political constitution for Zimbabwe is over. We here appeal to you, be it in the OAU, Arab League, UN, be it in any organization, that we are facing in Zimbabwe today the highest intrigues that the world has ever seen. This is because the people who are telling you that a conference can solve the situation in Southern Africa, are the very people who are saying that if the liberation movements in South Africa, Namibia and

Zimbabwe would take over power, the Western world would have lost the sea corridors through which the oil comes to them. Now what type of constitution are they talking about? This is done because they are certain people who want the natural resources of Namibia. If any of our friends today can be deceived by what the British are saying and support what is called the British and American initiatives.



That part of Africa must be condemned forever, you are saying if you support that, that the people of South Africa must every weekend fall from windows. They are always supposed to have jumped out of the windows every Saturday. They are supposed to have jumped out of the windows of Marshal Square.

The suffering of the people of South Africa cannot be known by the description of apartheid. You have got to

live that life to know what it means. Therefore, to kill apartheid support Comrade Oliver Tambo, the Acting President of the ANC, of South Africa, and support the liberation movements. We have fought side by side with the Comrades from the liberation movement of South Africa. We have fought side by side with Comrades who know that freedom for Zimbabwe is the freedom of South Africa. The freedom of South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia means the security of the continent of Africa. No country, no matter how far north that country is, can feel free and secure, if Vorster and those that support him control that area of Africa. When I say to people, I was in prison for eleven years, they think it was terrible, but they are people in South Africa who have been in prison for twenty years and they are still there. But no-one knows about it. They are people who have been fifteen to twenty years in jail, but very few people know about it. When I say prison, I mean formal prison, because we in Southern Africa are born in prison. All the people are virtually in prison and when we say down with racism, we mean down with the degradation of our people. We say to all of you gathered here, "time has come to support the people of Southern Africa, with tangible material assistance."

Why has Smith survived to this day? It is because of the west who have assisted him. It continues to do so. We are not only fighting against racism but we are fighting against the entire imperialism. As you know Comrades you are supposed to side with the people of Southern Africa and you should give the assistance that is more than what Smith is given by the imperialists. Today the Smith regime supported by the western world is violating the territorial integrity of Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia. Will Africa continue to say the attack on any of those countries is an attack on them, while they remain seated and doing visible nothing? Possibly, countries do things that we don't know. But we know that Mozambique has stood on herself, Botswana and Zambia the same. But Smith has stood with the Western countries. Those countries that are bearing the attack of the imperialist because of Zimbabwe, South Africa and Namibia need your active support. You cannot sit back and watch the imperialists assisting Ian Smith to violate the territorial integrity of these countries, and pass the resolutions at the UN. We are appealing to you Comrades that apartheid means all sorts of things, killing of people, maiming of children and the exploitation of the workers.

It means the appropriation of people's property. It means all what is evil and therefore, it must be destroyed. No remnants of imperialism and fascism must remain in Southern Africa. This should be done if the whole of Africa is to feel free and indeed if the whole of the world must pride itself of having destroyed fascism.

Long live the solidarity of all the progressive forces! Long live the friendship between the countries of Africa with the new state of Portugal!

THE ROLE OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

THE ARMED REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE AND ITS TASK AFTER THE STRUGGLE

PREAMBLE

All human activities, whether they be economic, political, social or cultural, are characterized and governed by certain basic principles, the end and the means, the content and the form. The workers and people of Zimbabwe are struggling too within these important principles. In order to understand these principles correctly and determine how they can be subordinated one to the other requires clear political convictions. This applies particularly to the leadership of the political and trade union movements.

In some western countries there are trade unionists and politicians, who are victims of imperialist ideologies. They believe that labour movements are independent of political parties in their orientation and action. It is, of course, true that an anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist labour movement, in its orientation and action, can never be part of a political movement, which is of imperialistic orientation. The labour movement and a political party whose orientation and actions are in the interests and aspirations of the broad masses are one and the same thing and always work together. The labour movements and indeed the political party would fail in their historical tasks if their actions, orientation and ideological concepts were different and their services were not placed in the interests of the broad masses, the working class, peasants and the whole society.

In Zimbabwe, the labour movement, the Zimbabwe African Congress of Unions (ZACU) is a part of the militant revolutionary movements; the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU) in its orientation, action and ideological concept. But ZACU, as a labour movement, retains its full autonomy.

The people of Zimbabwe have a rich history in resistance to foreign rule. From 1890 up to date white settlers have faced the heroic struggle of African people. Successive

generations in Zimbabwe have continuously resisted foreign rule. Workers have staged numerous strikes not only for high wages and better working conditions but for a complete seizure of political power. This is characterized by effective measures taken by ZACU in 1963 to 1965 when all African political parties were proscribed by the Rhodesian fascist regime and the leadership arrested. ZACU emerged and mobilized not only workers but the entire African population in order to achieve political and economic independence. This was a significant and necessary move taken by ZACU because the labour movement is an instrument (the means) which was created to champion, defend and promote the cause of Zimbabwe workers and people in order to remove the humiliating social, political and economic consequences of the colonial system. In this way ZACU demonstrated in concrete terms that it was concrete terms that it was conceived of the ideology orientation and actions as ZAPU.

THE PROBLEM TO FORM, JOIN AND MAINTAIN TRADE UNIONS

The Rhodesian industrial law, the so-called Industrial Conciliation Act 1959, permits the formation of trade unions and their function but under very strict control by the regime's so-called labour officers who are empowered by the Act not to allow the use of trade union funds for political purposes. The Act is further re-enforced by the operation of other laws, the Law and Order (maintenance) Act, the Unlawful Organisation Act. These laws and many others not mentioned, make it impossible for African trade unions to function freely.

The Law and Order Maintenance Act prohibits meetings or assemblies of workers as long as the consent of the so-called Minister of Law and Order or that of the Chief of Police has not been obtained. If the permission is granted, the meeting takes place in the presence of the heavily armed police force. The highest Police Officer in command, tape records all proceedings of the meeting, be it public, private, big or small.

Under the provisions of the Act, a trade unionist or any

person, can be detained if he is "suspected to be associated with any outlawed organization or appears to be concerned in any activities which in the Government's opinion, are potentially dangerous to the regime's concept of safety and public order." These measures by the Rhodesian fascist regime have seriously impaired trade union activities. They are a violation of international standards of trade union rights. They have created problems against the formation of new trade unions and the maintenance of the existing ones.

REGISTRATION OF TRADE UNIONS

African trade union leaders have continuously come across enormous problems to acquire the registration of trade unions. The registrar of trade unions is given considerable discretion by law, to register, refuse or de-register any union if he deems it fit to do so. This is a deliberate and tactical move by the regime, designed to prevent the registration of genuine and legitimate trade unions.

AGRICULTURE

Workers in the agricultural industry operate under different conditions and different laws. They are not covered by the Industrial Conciliation Act 1959. They are in fact not regarded or classified as workers. Hence they are under a separate law land regulations — the Masters and Servants Act 1942. These workers (farm labourers as they are called by the fascist exploiters) are not protected by law, they work at the mercy of their masters. They are used as means (not the end) to accumulate wealth for their masters who thereby live luxurious life. They are not allowed by law to form a trade union. In spite of the fact that this law prohibits the organisation of workers forming properly structured unions, the Zimbabwe African Congress of Unions (ZACU) defied the regime and by organizing workers in the agricultural industry and formed a union the Agriculture and Plantation Workers Union (APWU) to look after the interests and rights of these workers. The APWU has, up to this moment, not been recognised by the regime.

Until 1959, African working masses were not, by law, regarded as workers in Rhodesia as required by the International Conventions of the International Labour Organization — ILO. The recognition of African trade unions came about as a result of the 1948 strike which virtually paralysed all industries in the Bulawayo region. The recognition of some African trade unions following this strike was a tremendous achievement in the life time of African worker's history because it not only opened the avenue for the working class to fight for labour and human rights, but also changed the attitude of the white settler fascist regime to concede greater African political activity.

In addition to the Industrial Conciliation Act (1959), the Apprenticeship Act, to enable Africans to acquire technical skills, was also enacted in the same year. Consequently the first technical college, unfortunately for Africans only, was opened at Luvuvu African township west of Bulawayo. These colleges were opened as a result of the pressures by African trade unionists and politicians, demanding their labour and political rights. They were, however, later closed down by the Rhodesian Front Government following the ban of African Political Parties in the country. It can be seen from this point that the education system in Rhodesia is rigidly segregated, so are the industrial skill opportunities in order to protect opportunities and jobs for the self-privileged settler community.

In Rhodesia the wage structures are based on colour instead of skills. This is one of the crucial issues which cannot be solved under the present system. It is natural for people in both developed and developing countries to train on different skills in order to develop the country and earn reasonable wages. The situation is different in Rhodesia for the African people because it is the colour that determines the wage scales. The Rhodesian exploiters do not consider wage scales on the basis of the ILO recommendations.

FOREIGN ECONOMIC INTERESTS

Foreign economic interests have contributed a great deal in creating political and economic problems between the white settlers and the people of Zimbabwe. It plays a significant role in planning the country's national economy, wages and salaries of workers of different races. In all cases the African people have become victims. Foreign interests in Zimbabwe are linked with others operating in South Africa and are predominantly found in the mining industry, agriculture etc. The following are some of the companies in the mining industry:

1. Anglo-American Corporation
2. Charter Consolidated Ltd. which includes the former British South Africa Company (Lonhro) Ltd.,
3. Select Trust Ltd.
4. Turner and Newall Ltd.,
5. Rhodesia Chrome Mines Ltd.,
6. African Chrome Mines Ltd. and Union Carbide Rhomet
7. Union Carbide of the United States
8. Rhodesia Vanadium Corporation
9. American Metal Climax
10. American Potash and Chemical Corporation — just to mention a few

Materials exploited by these mines are largely exported overseas for processing then re-imported back to Rhodesia as finished commodities and are sold at extremely

high prices as if they did not originate in Zimbabwe. This is ruthless and double exploitation of our natural and human resources and has been going on for about a century. It cannot be allowed to go on any longer. It must be brought to an end.

THE SOLUTION

It is inevitable that nations in developed and the so-called under developed countries with or with little education and technical skills are entitled to human rights in all spheres of life and are consequently obliged to determine their own affairs as a nation, completely free from external coercion of any kind. The emerging nations should, on their own, take initiatives choose their friends. Their choices must take into account the internal problems, past and present. Technical co-operation and other immediate requirements should be on basis of mutual understanding and mutual respect.

Comparatively speaking, Zimbabwe is among the few countries in Africa with technical requirements and other important skills. Despite these available skills, the people of Zimbabwe are still subjected to severe industrial discrimination. Legal and peaceful negotiations aimed at eliminating discrimination and create industrial harmony and good relations between employers and employees have produced fruitless results.

Confronted by what next to do in order to bring to an end the evil acts of the white monopolists, the people of Zimbabwe, at a Congress held near Salisbury at Cold Comfort Farm on August 10, 1963 "empowered the National leader and President of ZAPU comrade Joshua Nkomo and his Cabinet to engage in any efforts in Zimbabwe and abroad which would contribute towards the immediate liberation of Zimbabwe and its people". This was an important decision; the people's decision taken in the light of ugly developments which had proved beyond reasonable doubt that nothing short of the armed revolution would change the exploitative system which had already bred misery in the African community. It was a declaration of the armed revolutionary struggle which is now at its highest stage.

The brief analysis made above has already shown that the conflict between black and white settlers is ideological. It is not constitutional as some people seem to think. The indigenous people of Zimbabwe want socialism. The white exploiters want to maintain capitalism and political oppression. This is the cardinal and crucial point of difference. History has taught us that no people in the world ever achieved and established a true and meaningful socialist system without armed revolution particularly in a situation like ours where foreigners want to impose and maintain their systems by armed coercion. It is, therefore, true of the people of Zimbabwe that a true and meaningful socialist system will be achieved through armed revolu-

tion. It was true in the Soviet Union during the 1917 October revolution. Having exhaustively engaged all peaceful means in an effort to come to terms with the white settlers, the people of Zimbabwe had no choice except armed revolution, as the only way left to find an everlasting solution to the existing problems.

THE ROLE AND TASK OF THE LABOUR MOVEMENT AFTER THE STRUGGLE

Admittedly the economy of every country in the world is the backbone and nerve centre of people's lives and leisure. Zimbabwe is no exception. Yet the most vital element in the whole process is the human labour which produces all essential commodities for public consumption. The labour force must therefore be preserved at all cost in order to contigue with the production. Industries must be preserved and maintained only if they meet the interests and requirements of the broad masses. In the early stages of our struggle the national leader and President of ZAPU Comrade Joshua Nkomo said if industries become a hinderance to the peoples independence, they must be destroyed. He was reacting to the then British Minister's statement, Lord Lanesdown who had earlier said Rhodesia was a highly industrialised country and that strikes should not be used as a weapon to achieve our political objectives.

Lord Lanesdown is a capitalist; an exploiter and an imperialist. He was defending British and other foreign economic investment in Zimbabwe of which he himself is a part. He did not understand the seriousness of the situation and the repercussions that would follow thereafter. His statement did not, however, stop the revolutionary spirit and the political consciousness which had spread throughtout the country. On the contrary it mobilised the workers, increased their determination consequently strikes became the order of the day. In the process of the strikes even factories have been burnt.

CONSOLIDATION OF WORKERS

In an effort to achieve these objectives International and National labour Movements acceptable to the Rhodesian regime and the western capitalist, the so-called International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), the American Federation of Labour and Commercial Industrial Organisation (AFL-CIO) and other similar organisations, have penetrated some African Trade Unions. Grants of large sums of money, under the pretext of solidarity aid for trade union activities, the building of trade union offices, educational schemes for trade union training in various subjects which emphasises the policy of trade union non-participation into politics. As a result of this the denunciation of socialism and communism are

going on in Zimbabwe, Africa, Asia and Latin America. Through some of these so-called educational schemes the teaching of imperialist ideological indoctrination forms an important part of the education syllabus.

In 1963 the Zimbabwe Labour Movement experienced the most effective and crucial split in its history as a result of these anti-socialism educational schemes. Aware of the Rhodesian fascist regime's sophisticated and clandestine manoeuvres, convinced that workers' unity is the only effective weapon of dealing with both internal and external reactionary forces, convinced of socialism as the only system capable of solving the present economic, political, social and cultural problems in Zimbabwe, mobilization and the working class is upper most in our programme and shall be carried out relentlessly till victory is achieved.

THE ROLE AND TASK OF THE LABOUR MOVEMENT IN THE ARMED REVOLUTION

In the preamble of this pamphlet we dismissed the belief by some trade unionists and politicians that a labour movement was an independent and neutral organisation from a political party in as far as its orientation and actions were concerned. In our view the political party and the labour movement are one and the same as long as they all pursue a single ideological course and objective. In Zimbabwe it is the achievement of socialism through the eradication of colonialism and capitalism. V. I. Lenin analysed this aspect of the Bourgeoisie inevitably give rise to a striving to confine the unions to petty and narrow activity within the framework of the existing social orders, to keep them away from any contact with socialism, and the neutrality theory is the ideological cover for the striving of the bourgeoisie". (collected works, vol. 13 P. 466).

In a free and democratic society, the place and role of the labour movement is determined by the economic and socio-political structure of the society with the ideological concept serving as its guiding line. The ZAPU programme and ideological concept is based on scientific socialism as the only way of life which meets the interests of workers, peasants and the entire population. ZACU also contributed to the programme and the ideological concept.

In a free Zimbabwe, ZACU, side by side with ZAPU and the state shall, as one of the vital components of the socialist system, be assigned with specific role, determined by its specific feature as a labour movement. Its specific position shall be attributed to the fact on the one hand ZACU is an organisation of the working class participating in the political guidance of the society and on the other, it is a public organisation whose task will be to draw the broad masses of the working people into the administration of public and state affairs, teaching the workers the democratic management of economic, social, cultural and

other necessary things in the life of the society. This means that the victory of the revolution and the establishment of the peoples political power, the labour movement will not be transformed into a political party because the party (ZAPU) which has the same orientation and actions with those of ZACU is already there. ZACU, shall remain an autonomous public organisation of the working class, working within the party programme and the state (socialist system.)

ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT

With regards the planning and management of the national economy ZACU shall play an unquestionable role. The involvement of the workers in the planning and management of the national economy of the state is vital in many ways. First and foremost it will ensure the absolute control of subversive elements who may from time to time make attempts to undermine the party and the state programmes, it will ensure that workers receive proper explanation of the party's intentions with regards to the political, economic, social and cultural programmes and so on. In very clear terms the tasks and the activities of



ZACU as the organ of the Zimbabwe workers will be in the following manner: —

1. to educate the working masses in industrial management in order to be able to solve the production problems and create in their minds the sense of duty and responsibility.
2. to defend, promote and protect the lawful rights and material interests of the workers and the state in order to improve working and living conditions of the workers and the state e. g. health, sports, housing, etc. and to exercise control and observe labour legislation.
3. to work for the extensive development of mass education and cultural facilities and to educate them on the party's ideological concept; state programmes and other projects.
4. To educate workers on the need and importance of close mutual links with the world revolutionary and progressive working class and labour movements in order to strengthen and develop proletarian internationalism and class solidarity of the working people in all countries etc.

By Aaron G. D. Ndhlova

PROGRAMME OF ACTION

We, the participants of the World Conference Against Apartheid, Racism and Colonialism meeting in Lisbon, Portugal, from 16th to 19th June, 1977, call on governments, parliaments, international organizations, political parties, trade unions, women's and youth organizations, anti-apartheid movements and solidarity committees all over the world to take the following actions:

I. Assistance to liberation movements:

1. To strongly condemn and mobilise public opinion against the policy of apartheid pursued by the Pretoria regime to dominate the majority of the people of South Africa; the illegal occupation of Namibia by the apartheid regime; and the regime of racism and terror in Zimbabwe. To extensively inform international public opinion through meetings, use of mass media and visits by delegations of ANC (SA), Patriotic Front (Zimbabwe) and SWAPO (Namibia).
2. To strengthen political and moral support to the legitimate representatives of the peoples of Southern Africa — African National Congress (South Africa), Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe and South West African Peoples Organization of Namibia,
3. To provide direct financial and material assistance to the liberation movements where assistance is channelled through international organizations liberation movements should be consulted,
4. To organize public collections and establish solidarity funds for the assistance of the liberation movements,

5. To provide assistance through the liberation movements to the youth, students' and women's organizations in Southern Africa,

6. To provide through the liberation movements scholarships and other education facilities to the youth who left their countries in the view of the repressions by the racist regimes against students and pupils,
7. To undertake campaign of solidarity with the Southern African workers and to give all possible assistance to the trade union organizations in consultation with the liberation movements.

II. Boycott of the racist regimes:

1. To ensure termination immediately of all diplomatic, consular and other official relations with the racist regimes or to refrain from establishing such relations,
2. To intensify the boycott of South African and Rhodesian goods in all countries that still trade with South Africa and Rhodesia and to prevent the activities of South African and Rhodesian firms in other countries,
3. To take mass actions to secure full implementation of the arms embargo, including arms and ammunition of all types and any vehicles, equipment and spare parts for use of the armed forces, police and other paramilitary organizations in South Africa,
4. To take all possible measures against recruiting of the mercenaries,
5. To ensure termination of all economic collaboration with racist regimes including withdrawal of invest-

ments and prohibitions of new investments, prohibition of loans to the racist regimes or companies, as well as oppose any relation between the apartheid and racist regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia with the EEC.

6. To intensify trade union action against apartheid, in particular for the withdrawal of capital investments, ending white emigration to South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia, and to refuse to manufacture, transport and handle cargoes and military equipment for these countries.

7. To take appropriate actions against transnational companies collaborating with racist regimes, like boycotts of the companies goods and refusal to work in them.

8. To ensure the rights of labour unions in different countries to take appropriate measures against companies that have activities connected to South Africa or Rhodesia.

9. To encourage trade unions and democratic political movements to demand the right to send elected delegations to South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Namibia to make their own examination of the situation which exists in these countries, and to present their reports to the mass media in the capitalist world,

10. To refuse landing and passage facilities to all aircraft belonging to racist regimes and to close all sea ports and airports to all vessels, going to and from South Africa,

11. To ensure suspension of all cultural, educational, sporting and other exchanges with the racist regimes and with the organizations or institutions which practise apartheid and racial discrimination,

12. To discourage the immigration to the Southern Africa, especially of skilled and technical personnel, also by information means, showing what the realities are waiting for them.

13. In this sphere Anti-Apartheid, Anti-Racist and Solidarity Movements together with trade unions and other progressive forces should enga-

ge in activities calculated to exert pressure on their governments in the West to enforce the sanctions and arms embargo against South Africa and Rhodesia.

III. Dissemination of Information and other Actions:

1. To ensure in co-operation with the United Nations, Organization of African Unity and liberation movements the widest possible dissemination of information on the struggle for liberation in Southern Africa and on the situation in the countries with racist regimes,
2. To encourage and assist information media to contribute effectively in the international campaign against racist regimes,
3. To organize the trips of the delegations of the liberation movements with the view of enlightening public opinion by holding rallies, seminars, etc.,
4. To provide broadcasting facilities to Southern African liberation movements,
5. To take all necessary measures against the operations of propaganda organizations of the racist regimes and of private organizations which advocate them,
6. To give full support of the plans of creating special news agencies for the underdeveloped countries,
7. To urge initiators of this Conference to organize special mass-media seminars for the benefit of true and effective information about the peoples struggle in Southern Africa,
8. To develop contacts by international and national organizations with the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid; the United Nations Centre against Apartheid and other UN bodies, the OAU and its Liberation Committee against apartheid and Decolonization and other organizations engaged in Southern Africa problems, with the aim of supporting the planned international conference on apartheid in Lagos in which will participate both govern-

mental and non-governmental organizations.

9. To appeal to Lagos Conference in August 1977 to support the aim of achieving victory against the evil system of Apartheid.
10. To recommend to the UN General Assembly to support this aim, and the decision of the UN Economic and Social Commission on apartheid.
11. To support the UN Declaration to make 1978 as an international year for the children, and recom-

mends to the women and youth organizations, and others, to support all solidarity actions in the struggle for the liberation of Southern Africa.

12. To call upon all States to ratify the anti-racist and anti-apartheid convention of the United Nations.
13. To express the support of this conference for the resolution of the second international conference of trade unions, held in Geneva on June 10-11 this year.
14. To observe annually the following Days of Solidarity:

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- | | |
|--------------|--|
| - 17 March | - Zimbabwe Day |
| - 21 March | - International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination |
| - 16 June | - SOWETO Martyrs Day |
| - 26 June | - South Africa Freedom Day |
| - 25 August | - Namibia Day |
| - 11 October | - Day of Solidarity with South Africa Political Prisoners. |

15. To intensify the campaign for the release of all political prisoners and detainees in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe and to assist through the liberation movements the victims of repression and their families,

16. To support and to give maximum publicity to the results of the International Conference of Action Against Apartheid, to be organized by the United Nations in Lagos, in August 1977.

17. To expose the conspiratorial plans for the creation of the South Atlantic Treaty Organization with participation of South African regime whose purpose would be to commit aggression against independent African countries and national liberation movements.

18. To condemn and expose the collaboration of the imperialism, the growing co-operation of the most reactionary circles of NATO members and the growing collaboration of Israel and other reactionary regimes with South Africa, specially through military collaboration.

19. To call upon all States and peoples and organizations to terminate all relations and isolate the regime of Israel.

20. To call on world public opinion and governments to engage in activities aimed at implementing the resolutions of the Non-Aligned Conference in Colombo which called for a total oil embargo against the French government for its continued supply of arms to South Africa including the supply of nuclear plants, and extending this embargo to Federal Republic of Germany.

21. To condemn and campaign against the constant acts of aggression committed by racist to independent African States, which constitute a threat of peace and security of the peoples of the entire African continent,

22. To frustrate the collaboration of the reactionary regimes in Latin America especially Chile, Uruguay and Paraguay.

23. To create anti-apartheid and solidarity movements in all the countries where they do not exist with the

objective to intensify joint international campaigns in support of liberation movements,

24. To support and participate in the activities of the International Commission to investigate the crimes of racists in Southern Africa, established by the Addis Abeba Conference,

25. To popularize this Programme of Action, to keep the participating organizations fully informed on the progress in respect of the decisions taken and to promote further implementation by all possible means the proposals contained in this Programme of Action,

26. To establish a committee for the follow-up of the Conference.

ADDITIONAL ACTIONS

ON ZIMBABWE:

1. To take all possible measures against recruiting, gathering, financing and training mercenaries for Rhodesian racist regime.

2. To ensure invalidation of the passports and other documents as far as journeys to Zimbabwe are concerned.

ON NAMIBIA:

1. To reject and categorically denounce all the manoeuvres such as the so-called Turnhall "constitutional talks, through which the South African regime tries to impose its will on the Namibian people.

2. To abstain from recognizing any regime or authority that South Africa could set up in Namibia and from contacts with it.

3. To press an end to all consular representation in Namibia or to all the consul's powers concerning Namibia.

4. To abstain from taking any measures which could be interpreted as a recognition of the legitimacy of the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa.

5. To appeal to the UN Secretary General to elaborate as soon as possible a Charter of territorial integrity for Namibia.

ON SOUTH AFRICA:

1. To engage in active campaigns for the non-recognition of the Bantustans, the non-reception of the Bantustan leaders abroad by governments and other organizations and against investments in the Bantustans.

2. To campaign for the immediate ratification and implementation of the international convention defining Apartheid as an international crime against humanity.

3. To demand the expulsion of South Africa from the United Nations.



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

*Comrades,
Solidarity. Solidarity and revolutionary decisiveness
in your work.*

I have just read Vol. 6 January 1977 of the "Zimbabwe Review" That issue of the international organ of the ANC Zimbabwe carries (and to my mind commemorates) all that was political, all that was relevant to the struggle and work of Com. Jason Moyo. Com. Jason Moyo whom I knew as a contemporary and a brother in Tanzania, was a great revolutionary.

His "innermost motivations" (if such a term is adequate in this context) I believe were based on a commitment.

A commitment toward the complete liberation and political independence of Zimbabwe. The national independence objectives, the party work, the tiring and oft-times high risk journeys to various African

and European capitals for the purposes of "articulating" ZAPU-ANC's programme and objectives and more so his selfless contributions to political revolutionaries from all over the world situates Jason Moyo as a great revolutionary and combatant militant.

As an intellectual he understood the difficulties and problems of the struggle against fascism in Zimbabwe and elsewhere in the "Southern Africa complex" very well.

His assassination reveals the extent to which fascist forces will proceed in pursuit of their inhuman policies against the African masses of workers and peasantry. And also against all progressives, all freedom-fighters and communists.

*Georgetown — Guyana.
21, May 1977*

Signed: Eddi Rodney

BASIC PAPER ON ZIMBABWE

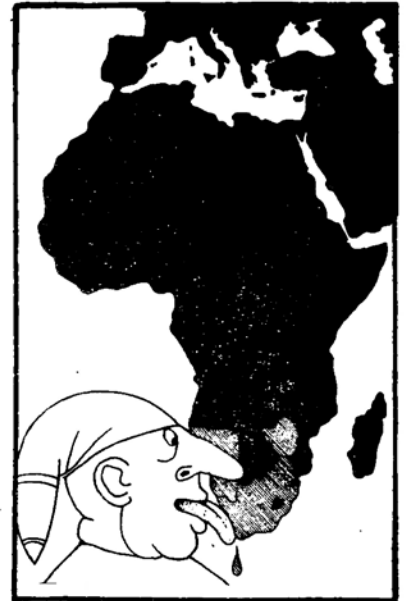
Zimbabwe, colonially known as Southern Rhodesia, is about 154,000 square miles in area and carrying a population of six million indigenous blacks and about a quarter of a million settler immigrants largely of British extraction. The country carries valuable mineral, agricultural and industrial potentials. In the mineral sector there is gold, uranium, lithium, nickel, iron, chrome, emerald and various other mineral valuables. In the agricultural sphere the country has proven its potential for tobacco, citrus fruits, cotton, wheat, maize, ranching and various other products. The giant multinational exploiting monopolies largely from the United Kingdom and related companies in the United States, France, West Germany and other European community countries have set up industrial and commercial ventures which dictate the economy and, therefore, the pace of life in Southern Rhodesia. This was made possible by the installation of a British colonial regime in 1890 which was and continues to be sustained by these capitalistic economic forces. This regime has been called by various descriptive names — settler regime, racist regime, self-governing regime — and in 1965, under Ian Smith, that regime called itself an "Independent Republic of Rhodesia". The political reality is that it is a British colonial institution or regime. All British fi-

nancial institutions you can imagine are running the financial business of Rhodesia and therefore its first-line. In short the economy of Rhodesia is an organic part of British and therefore Western economy.

From 1890 to 1977, today, the British have gone through all the typically colonial motions of anchoring themselves power-wise and economic-wise. It has all meant depriving the people of Zimbabwe of their land, sovereignty over their land and the means of their livelihood. Naturally the people of Zimbabwe did take up arms to defend themselves, their sovereignty and their land. This struggle has been going on in various forms and phases since then. The kernel of it is that the people of Zimbabwe have chosen to struggle rather than surrender.

The machinery of oppression is formidable. The learning that come Zimbabweans have acquired results from independent initiatives largely religious missionaries, and the thrust of the thirst of knowledge by Zimbabweans themselves. The colonial education machinery is based on imparting education for limited Zimbabweans who can be exploited for the advancement of the capitalist administration and industrial establishments. The majority of Zimbabweans are, by colonial design, left to remain a labour mass whose potential must be left locked up in ignorance.

As indicated earlier on, Zimbabweans have, on their own, struggled through these educational barriers, found assistance from international bodies and countries, to advance themselves in all fields denied them in Rhodesia. Even in Zimbabwe itself Zimbabweans have built schools of their own which the regime, in embarrassment, has found itself obliged to take over. Economically the colonial regime seized ownership of land, apportioned the best individual white settlers and to foreign monopolies. This at once destroyed the African's elementary means of subsistence since a Zimbabwean is basically a pastoral and agricultural farmer. The African peasant has no room to try his potential on a productive piece of land. He is condemned to infertile arid areas of low rainfall. Zimbabweans are thus forced to industrial areas, farms and mines all under the control of the economic forces which direct the colonial regime. Wages and other



conditions of work are so set that no Zimbabwean can develop capital to compete with those controlling the system. The Zimbabwean is placed in such a state of insecurity about the means of his livelihood that his choice is between submission and struggle. Struggle is the natural course. It has now reached the stage of the armed liberation struggle. Politically the colonial regime has ensured that all power is exercised by

the agents of the colonial power — the racist white settlers. They are under the remote and ultimate control of the United Kingdom Government. All points of decision-making of the entire system be it judiciary, administrative or political are the exclusive monopoly of the racist oppressors. They have mounted racism as a philosophy of civilisation and power. Accordingly ethnic differentiation has become the force of demarcation and division in human relations. Brain and efficiency have become lesser values than blood-ties and colour. The colonial regime has attempted to spread this disease of ethnicity within the Zimbabwe population by trying to exalt the chieftenship on the basis of tribal institutions. The total effort of the British colonial regime in Rhodesia is to prevent genuine democratic distribution and exercise of powers within and by the entire population in Zimbabwe. In other words it is the objective of the British colonial policy in Rhodesia to retain political power in the hands of the racist minority which is totally in the service of the exploiting industrial monopolies.

The freedom-struggle of the people of Zimbabwe has compelled the oppressors in Rhodesia to adopt several political postures and tactics. The United Kingdom Government for example, has tended to baffle the international community by adopting a dichotomous stance on Rhodesia: on the one hand tending to renounce responsibility over Rhodesia under the wish that the racist settlers get away with their idea of independence and on the other hand, claiming ultimate responsibility as a protection to these very same racist settlers should the whole adventure of settler independence collapse in the face of the armed liberation struggle. Liberalism has also been used by British agents to compromise the resolute stand of the people of Zimbabwe on the serious question of liberation. Today, the tactic is to go along with the liberation struggle only to confuse it at a crucial stage. The United Kingdom Government — conceded the idea of the constitutional conference for Rhodesia in 1961 to democratise the



running of the government in the colony, only for her (UK) to see her colonial sovereignty to produce a more fascist constitution camouflaged by the intake of a few more Africans on the voter's roll. Every attempt on a constitutional — so-called peaceful solution by Britain has ended up in Britain trying to consolidate decisive power in the hands of the racist oppressors in Rhodesia under the pretext that they are the effective power at the moment. British protestations about her anti-racist policies have not been borne out in practice either in Rhodesia or South Africa. The freshest example is U. K.'s freshest Foreign Secretary Dr. Owen on the 18th of May 1977 admonishing African States that it is a delusion to think that attitudes in South Africa could be transformed in a short time. By implication Dr. Owen suggests gradual change of the "oppressors attitudes" perhaps for a period of over a century if only to avoid 'annoying' the 'racist oppressors'. To him the anger of the down trodden for 300 centuries is inconsequential. They must bear it for another century to placate the racist boers and the sucking British industrial exploiters. How different are the oppressors attitudes in South Africa from the ones of those in Rhodesia?

None. What is Britain up to in Rhodesia and South Africa?

The arsenal of weaponry built by Britain in Rhodesia and placed in the hands of white racists to suppress the people of Zimbabwe is massive. The people of Zimbabwe were disarmed totally half a century ago. Since then however, Britain, has created conditions for the racist oppressors to acquire every new weapon on the market — a long term plan to sustain powers in the hands of the racist oppressors. What are the statistics? The Rhodesian regime has 40,000 able bodied persons in arms. It spends 120 million Rhodesian dollars annually as liquid cash to expand and sustain the army of oppression. It has developed the so-called cavalry and Selous Scouts units to murder African villagers, burn down their homes in blazes of fire and to discredit the just cause of the Zimbabwe freedom-fighters by murdering white supporters such as religious missionaries in the camouflage of freedom fighter's attire.

The amassing of weapons by the racist oppressors, the amount of cruelty they are perpetrating on the people of Zimbabwe has succeeded only to ignite a conflagration which nothing but the clear victory of the armed liberation struggle by the

Patriotic Front shall quench. The two organisation in Zimbabwe, ZAPU and ZANU have, through years of struggle and accumulated experience, built a political direction and enormous hard boiled guerrilla armies which spell the peril of reactionary forces in Zimbabwe. By historical necessity on the 9th of October, 1976, the two organisations linked in the Patriotic Front ultimately to develop one political organisation and one national army by way of closing the chapter of divisions in Zimbabwe. The patriotic liberation forces are advancing against the enemy today in Rhodesia from all angles. They are scoring victories virtually everyday. Inevitably the conflict is becoming serious by the day. Thousands of Zimbabweans are stretching out their arms to reach at weapons within and outside Zimbabwe. The task is acquiring momentous urgency.

The Rhodesia regime has embarked on a policy of genocide. It has adopted the policy that for every racist soldier killed in combat with liberation forces 20 Zimbabwean civilians must be murdered by its forces in order to narrow the population proportions. In practice more Zimbabweans are murdered. For example, women carrying firewood are shot on allegations that they were carrying guns for freedom-fighters. Children from schools are terrorised and shot for recruits. As a result some terrorised children of even the age of 10 years have ventured into the bush in search of guns in order to fight back. This is the state of the war of liberation in Zimbabwe today. "Guns", this is the urgent cry.

The liberation struggle in Zimbabwe has received the support of progressive forces all over the world — diplomatically and materially. The Patriotic Front is linked in fraternity with other liberation movements: the African National Congress of South Africa, SWAPO of Namibia, Polisario in Western Sahara, PLO and others in Asia and Latin America.

The Patriotic Front enjoys the support of the Organisation of African Unity with which it has worked for over a decade in prosecution of the liberation struggle. The socialist Scandinavian countries are delivering

massive material aid in support of the armed liberation struggle in Zimbabwe. It has to be mentioned that of late some non-governmental and semi-governmental organisations among some member countries of the European Economic Community are beginning to stretch their hand of assistance which is largely due to the progress of the struggle itself and the diplomatic effort of the OAU in all international forums including the United Nations. United Nations agencies and the High Commission for Refugees are also throwing in their lot. Mention of these vast and varied areas of support does not spell the adequacy of assistance. Financially



per year the Patriotic Front has means of about \$0.25 to every dollar that the enemy spends. Transport wise the Patriotic Front runs a land-rover to nearly 200 that the enemy runs for the same purpose — not to mention air and communications facilities in the hands of the enemy. The liberation forces hold one gun as against forty of the enemy. Food, clothing and medical requirements are short almost in the same proportional imbalance. It is clear of course that balance can only be achieved by victory. To achieve victory there are minimum requirements for which the Patriotic Front makes a constant appeal. The cause is just and that alone amounts to an advantage against the enemy.

It has been indicated earlier on that confronted by the pressure of the



liberation war and the international support for it, the United Kingdom Government frequently resorts to what it calls "peaceful or constitutional initiatives" which are frequently coupled with the Vorster type of threat — "the alternative is too ghastly to contemplate". The "Fearless", the "Tiger", the "Douglas Home — Ian Smith proposals of 1961; the "Victoria Falls Constitutional" debacle of August 1975, lately the Geneva talks (1976) conducted by Sir Ivor Richard have all underlined one fact and that is the United Kingdom seeks to establish either a puppet regime or a so-called independent government controlled an overriding veto of the protected rights of the the racist minority. All the United Kingdom is always hoping to achieve is to raise a sufficient number of African political collaborators to give a semblance of democratic election. This is what the current British-American initiative is about. Massive sums of money have been paid to lend attraction to the constitutional scheme and it is hoped these would attract and begin a drift away from the armed liberation struggle. The Anglo-American scheme on Rhodesia seeks to commit the Patriotic Front to sharing powers with reactionaries and adversaries under a constitution drawn now far in advance of the victory of the armed liberation struggle thus rendering that victory sterile when it does eventually come. This amounts to acknowledging the existence of war but scheming to deny its achievement. Lives lost in sacrifice for genuine democracy and independence cannot be so simply cheated.

POET'S CORNER

ARISE AND FIGHT SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF ZIMBABWE

by Gedi Ndlovu.

*Arise and fight sons and daughters
of Zimbabwe!
The battle bells have rung,
Reminding you that the hour has come to
regain your nationhood,
Reminding you that the hour has come to
regain your lost rights,
Reminding you that the hour has come to
regain your lost pride,*

*Arise and fight sons and daughters
of Zimbabwe!
United in the battle like Mashayamombe
and Makwati,
Heroic and victorious like our
forefathers,
The enemy they fought still sucks our
blood like ticks.
Their example, a towering monument that
unity can achieve.*

*Arise and fight sons and daughters
of Zimbabwe!
Is it not our pride to free ourselves?
Is it not our pride to be our national heroes?
Is not our pride to be respected?
Is not our wish to be free from
exploitation of man by man?*

*Arise and fight sons and daughters
of Zimbabwe!*

*What the Angolans have done,
What the Mozambicans have done,
What the Vietnamese have done,
What the Algerians have done,
Human as we are can also do.*

*Arise and fight sons and daughters
of Zimbabwe!
It is the exploitation of your natural
resources that you are poor,
It is the defence of exploitation in
your country that you are being killed,
It is the defence of imperialism that
you are being debased below the status
of animals.*

*Arise and fight sons and daughters
of Zimbabwe!
It is you to determine your destiny,
It is you to restore your lost pride,
It is you to restore your plundered wealth,
It is you mightier than all weapons of
war that will defeat Smith and his
allies.
Arise and fight sons and daughters
of Zimbabwe!
Forward with the revolution!
Down with imperialism and its foreman
Ian Smith!*

SMITH'S HOSTAGES: POLITICAL PRISONERS IN RHODESIA

Detained since at least February 1969, initially at Wha Wha, then transferred to Gonakudzingwa in 1972 and Salisbury in 1976.

NDLOVU, Donald—Khami (C)

NDLOVU, Douglas—Wha Wha (D)

NDLOVU, Elias—Salisbury

NDLOVU, Esau Mashila—Wha Wha (D)

NDLOVU, Japhet M—Khami (C)

NDLOVU, Josiah—(Where held unknown)

NDLOVU, Kamenye—(Where held unknown) (D)

Acquitted in September 1975 on charges of recruiting and thought to have been detained.

NDLOVU, Kay—Khami (C)

NDLOVU, Kenny—Khami (C)

NDLOVU, Lameck—Enkeldoorn

NDLOVU, Lastie—Khami (C)

NDLOVU, M. John Spencer—Wha Wha (D)

Detained in September 1975.

NDLOVU, Makhetho Taison—Wha Wha (D)

NDLOVU, Maluzo John—Khami (C)

NDLOVU, Matshoko—Khami (C)

NDLOVU, Mazithulela—Khami (C)

NDLOVU, Mbi (66)—(Where held unknown) (C)

Former employee of the Ministry for Internal Affairs, convicted in May 1976 of failing to report the presence of guerrillas, and sentenced to 5 years (1 suspended).

NDLOVU, Moffat N—Gwelo (D)

Indefinitely detained at Gwelo after serving a 10 year sentence at Khami.

NDLOVU, Petros—(Where held unknown) (C)

Detained awaiting trial around October 1975 facing charges of attempting to undergo guerrilla training. At his trial in March 1976 he and three other accused challenged statements produced by Que Que CID which they said were obtained by assaults and inducements. In May he was convicted and sentenced to 7 years.

NDLOVU, R.T—Salisbury (D)

NDLOVU, Robert—Wha Wha (D)

Charged in August 1975 with 3 counts of recruiting persons for guerrilla training. Charges withdrawn by the state, and indefinitely detained.

NDLOVU, Samuel Seleboho—Wha Wha (D)

NDLOVU, Sikelela A.P.—Salisbury (D)

NDLOVU, Solomon (16)—(Where held unknown) (D)

Detained awaiting trial for an unknown offence under the L&O(M) Act in August 1976.

NDLOVU, Tshongwe Maslisimbi—(Where held unknown)

NDLOVU, Twale—Khami (C)

NEDANHE, Daniel (19)—(Where held unknown) (C)

Sentenced to 9 years by Special Court at Umtali in September 1976 for attempting to undergo guerrilla training.

NEDZIWO, Jonathan—Khami (C)

NEMASHAKWE, Tsaurai—Khami (C)

NGAZIMBI, Mark—Gwelo (D)

Sentenced to 12 years in 1967 and detained at Gwelo in 1975.

NGOMA, Asaph—Wha Wha (D)

NGORIMA, Timothy—Wha Wha (D)

Originally detained at Gonakudzingwa in 1964. Detained at Wha Wha in 1973.

NGULUBE, Robert—(Where held unknown) (D)

An unknown charge under the L&O(M) Act was withdrawn in February/March 1976, when he was detained.

NGULUBE, Simon—Wha Wha (D)

NGWENYA, Jeremiah M—Khami (C)

NGWENYA, Joseph—Khami (C)

NGWENYA, Mary—(Where held unknown) (C)

Resident of Mawabeni, near Balla Balla, sentenced in September 1976 to 8 years (3 suspended) by a Special Court in Bulawayo for providing food to guerrillas and failing to

report their presence. She has 8 children.

NGWENYA, Mxotshwa—Wha Wha (D)

NGWENYA, Paul—Wha Wha (D)

NGWENYA, Samuel Khanmula—(Where held unknown) (C)

Sentenced in July 1976 to 5 years (3½ suspended), for failing to report the presence of guerrillas.

NGWENYA, Shadreck—Gwelo (D)

NGWENYA, Sikomba—(Where held unknown) (C)

Sentenced to 6 years (1 suspended) in January 1976 for assisting and failing to report the presence of guerrillas.

NGWENYA, Witness—(Where held unknown) (C)

Sentenced to 9 years in September 1975 for attempting to undergo guerrilla training.

NGWENYAMA, Mabalane George—Wha Wha (D)

NHAMBURO, Francis—(Where held unknown) (C)

Sentenced to 3 years in February 1976 on conviction of encouraging others to boycott "any other persons or class or description of persons", an offence under the L&O(M) Act. His appeal was dismissed in April 1976.

NHAMOINESU, Saineti—Gutu (C)

Believed to be serving an 18-year sentence and formerly held at Khami.

NHENDE, Andicki (45)—(Where held unknown) (C)

A Kraalhead from the Mangwende TTL, sentenced to 12 years in August 1976 by a Special Court in Salisbury for failing to report the presence of guerrillas.

NHETE, Magnete—Wha Wha (D)

NHIRI, Christopher—(Sentenced to death)

A member of a guerrilla group captured following an engagement in which 2 members of the Rhodesian Security Force had been killed. Sentenced to death in December 1975. Appeal dismissed in March 1976.

NHUNDU, Jefa—Wha Wha (D)

NJAGO, Chidekwa—(Where held unknown) (D)

Detained with at least 30 others in a major police operation after a series of bomb attacks in the Greater Salisbury area in July 1976. Njago suffers from hypertension and requires frequent medical attention.

NJANI, Herbert—(Where held unknown) (C)

A young supporter of the Muzorewa ANC, sentenced to 2 years (18 months suspended), in April 1976 for making a statement threatening or encouraging violence, an offence under the L&O(M) Act. He had displayed a placard at the airport welcoming Dr. Gabelleh, the ANC vice-president.

NJAWAYO, Abednego (56)—Wha Wha (D)

Detained at Gonakudzingwa in 1964 and released in 1965. Redetained in 1966 and released in 1970. Shortly afterwards he was arrested and sentenced to 5 years, served in Salisbury Prison. In 1974 he was detained at Wha Wha.

NJIVA, Anthony—Mtoko

NKALA, Enos—Wha Wha (D)

Acting Deputy-Secretary of the Muzorewa ANC when he was detained in April 1976. Following a police raid on the ANC's offices in Bulawayo, he and at least 30 other supporters of Bishop Muzorewa, many of them prominent local officials, were arrested in various parts of the country.

NKALA, Herbert—(Where held unknown)

Appeared before a Special Court in Bulawayo in August 1976 on charges of assisting guerrillas and failing to report their presence.

NKALA, Joel—Khami (C)

Serving life imprisonment.

NKALA, Keyi—(Where held unknown) (D)

Arrested in 1964 and sentenced to 14 years. Detained on completion of the sentence in 1972.

NKALA, Luke—Wha Wha (D)

NKOKWARA, Christopher—(Where held unknown)

NKOMO, Aaron D.M—Khami (C)

NKOMO, Charles (25)—Khami (C)

A FROLIZI guerrilla captured after being wounded in 1973. Sentenced to life imprisonment in September 1973.

NKOMO, Edward—Khami (C)

NKOMO, James—(Where held unknown)

Appeared before a Special Court in Bulawayo in August 1976 on charges of assisting guerrillas and failing to report their presence.

NKOMO, Jingilison—Khami (C)

NKOMO, L—(Where held unknown)

NKOMO, Miller—Khami (C)

NKOMO, Patrick Walter—Wha Wha (D)

NKOMO, Robert—Wha Wha (D)

NKOMO, Solomon—Salisbury

NKOMO, Solomon Leonard—Wha Wha (D)

NKOMO, W.M—(Where held unknown)

NOBULA, Gibson—Khami (C)

NOTICE, Lovemore—Sowe New Village (R)

Released from Wha Wha into restriction in December 1974.

NTUTA, J.G—Wha Wha (D)

Legal Affairs Secretary of the Nkomo ANC, arrested by Special Branch Police from the organization's North West Provincial Headquarters in June 1976. Previously detained in Gonakudzingwa, 1965-67.

NYABADZA, Elisha—Khami (C)

NYABUNZE, Never—(Where held unknown) (C)

Sentenced to 12 years in January 1976.

NYAGOWA, Makiwa William—Wha Wha (D)

NYAGU, George (22)—(Sentenced to death)

Sentenced to death in August 1976 by a Special Court in Salisbury for his involvement, with 7 others, in bomb attacks and acts of sabotage in the Greater Salisbury area.

NYAGU, Phillip (21)—(Sentenced to death)

Sentenced to death by a Special Court at Salisbury in September 1976, on conviction of committing acts of sabotage in the Greater Salisbury area. During the trial Nyagu alleged that he had been tortured with electric shocks before he made his statement.

NYAGUMBO, Maurice (51)—Salisbury (C)

Former organizing secretary of ZANU, he was originally detained in 1959, and released in 1963. In 1966 he was redetained in various prisons until 1974 when he was released to attend the Lusaka Conference. In April 1975 he was arrested on a charge of recruiting for guerrilla training. Found guilty in November 1975 and sentenced to 15 years (5 suspended).

NYAGUMBO, Victoria—Rusape (D)

The wife of Maurice Nyagumbo. Detained awaiting trial in July 1976 on charges relating to assisting guerrillas.

NYAHUMA, Fox C—Sowe New Village (R)

Detained from 1973 to March 1976, when he was released into restriction.

NYAHUYE, Kamunhu—Khami (C)

NYAKATANGURE, Joseph—Wha Wha (D)

NYAKUDYA, Kenneth Jim (19)—(Sentenced to death)

Member of a guerrilla group, captured by Rhodesian Security Forces in September 1975. Sentenced to death in February 1976 on conviction of possessing arms of war. Appeal dismissed in June 1976.

NYAKUDYA, Lazarus—Wha Wha (D)

NYAKUDYA, Musteni Machipisa—Marandellas

NYAKUDYA, Taruvinga Jacob—Gwelo (D)

Sentenced to 12 years in 1967, informally discharged in September 1975 and detained at Gwelo.

NYAMAKOPE, Jackson—Wha Wha (D)
NYAMAKOPE, M—Wha Wha (D)
Served a prison sentence before being detained.
NYAMANDE, Dutoit—Khami (C)
NYAMANZI, Freddy—Wha Wha (D)
NYAMPFEKA, Peki—Sowe New Village (R)
Released from Wha Wha in June 1975 into
restriction at Sowe Protected Village.
NYAMAROPA, Reza (18)—(Sentenced to
death)
Sentenced to death in November 1975 for
being in possession of arms of war between
November 1974 and April 1975, and firing on
Rhodesian Security Forces, 3 of whom were
killed.
NYAMAVURA, Timothy—Wha Wha (D)
NYAMBABVU, Robbie—(Sentenced to death)
Sentenced to death in August 1975 on conviction
of recruiting or encouraging 6 youths to
undergo guerilla training. His appeal was dismissed
in December 1975.
NYAMBAVARO, George—Khami (C)
NYAMHANDU, Maxwell—(Sentenced to death)
A guerilla wounded and captured by Rhodesian
Security Forces in the Shamva area in May
1974. He was sentenced to death in March
1975 on conviction of involvement in the
killing of a white farmer by guerillas in June
1973. During the trial he alleged that he had
been assaulted by the police following his
arrest.
NYAMIDZI, Elias—Khami (C)
NYAMUKARUKA, Staben—Wha Wha (D)
NYAMUCHAPA, Timothy—Khami (C)
NYAMUCHIWA, Richard—Umtali
NYAMUCHIWA, Simon—Umtali
NYAMUDEZA, Josiah—(Where held unknown)
(D)
Detained awaiting trial in August 1976 facing
charges under the L&O(M) Act relating to
recruiting.
NYAMUDZE, Boniface Kwirirayi—Wha Wha
(D)
NYAMUGIGO, Binoni—Wha Wha (D)
NYAMURARADZA, Amburosi—Wha Wha (D)
NYAMUTUMBI, Naison—Wha Wha (D)
NYAMURUKA, G.S.—(Where held unknown)
NYAMUZEREZA, Silas—Gwelo (D)
Arrested in 1965 and sentenced to 14 years
on completion of which he was detained.
NYAMUZINGA—(Where held unknown) (C)
Sentenced in January 1975 to 5 years for failing
to report the presence of guerillas.
NYANDORO, Edmund—Khami (C)
NYANDORO, Esau—(Where held unknown)
NYANDORO, Herbert P—Khami (C)
NYANDUKAL, Timothy (20)—(Where held
unknown) (C)
Sentenced by a Special Court in Umtali to
9 years for attempting to undergo guerilla
training.
NYANYANGA, Isiah Bevi—(Where held unknown)
NYANYIWA, Silas—Salisbury
NYAPIMBIH, Joseph—Umtali
NYASHANU, Edward—Salisbury
NYATHI—(Where held unknown) (C)
Serving life imprisonment since 1968.
NYATHI, Joel—(Where held unknown)
Detained incommunicado at Gwanda in April
1975 and brought to trial in June 1975. The
outcome of the trial is uncertain but he is
believed to be detained.
NYATHI, Joshua—Wha Wha (D)
NYATHI, Lyon—(Where held unknown) (C)
Teenager sentenced in October 1975 to 4 years
(1 suspended).
NYATI, Ben—(Where held unknown) (D)
Held in detention facing charges under the
L&O(M) Act in September 1975. The charges
were withdrawn in November 1975 and he was
detained, probably at Wha Wha. His TTL trad-

ing lease was cancelled by the Ministry for
Internal Affairs.
NYATI, Kgihametsi—(Where held unknown)
(D)
Charges withdrawn in August 1975 and detained.
NYATONDO, P—Umtali
NYAZIKA, Horace—Khami (C)
NYEMBE, Gamariel—Wha Wha (D)
NYENYIWE, Silas—(Where held unknown) (C)
Sentenced to 12 years in January 1976.
NYIKA, Kesiya Madzorere—(Where held unknown)
NYIKA, Phillip—Khami (C)
NYONI, Aaron—Wha Wha (D)
NYONI, Gershoni (19)—Khami (C)
A member of the ANC detained in Belingwe
in October 1974, charged with undergoing
guerilla training. Convicted in June 1975 and
sentenced to 18 years.
NYONI, Godfrey—Khami (C)
Sentenced in November 1975 to 7 years (possibly
8), on conviction of attempting to undergo
guerilla training.
NYONI, Lyscius—Khami (C)
NYONI, Mathias—Khami (C)
NYONI, Obadiah—Wha Wha (D)
Member of ANC detained since 1974.
NYONI, Robson—Wha Wha (D)
NZIRA, William—Khami (C)
Serving 18 years.
OFERU, Kagande—Wha Wha (D)
PACHANGZA, Kefas—Khami (C)
PAMBAL, Admore—Wha Wha (D)
PANGANAYI, Ben—Wha Wha (D)
PANGANAYI, Lift—(Where held unknown) (C)
Sentenced to 12 years by a Special Court at
Chipinga in August 1976 for failing to report
the presence of guerillas.
PARADZA, Edison Machona—(Where held unknown)
(C)
Sentenced to 14 years in 1971.
PARADZAI, Golden—Gwelo (D)
Served a 10-year prison sentence at Khami, on
completion of which he was detained.
PARADZAYI, Killian—(Where held unknown)
(C)
Sentenced to 7 years in May 1976.
PARDADZAI—(Where held unknown) (C)
Sentenced to 5 years in January 1975 for
failing to report the presence of guerillas.
PARIREHWA, Isaac N—Connemara
PASIPAWORA, Mwandirawa (78)—(Where held
unknown) (C)
Sentenced to 3 years (18 months suspended) by
a Special Court at Inyanga in July 1976 for
failing to report the presence of guerillas.
PEDZISAI, Singleton—Wha Wha (D)
PEDZISAI, Stephen—Fort Victoria
PEDZISAYI, Anthony K (28)—(Where held
unknown) (C)
Branch Chairman of Chiredzi ANC, sentenced
to 12 years in December 1975 for encouraging
6 youths to go for guerilla training.
PHINDI, J—Marandellas (C)
Sentenced to an unknown term of imprisonment
in the early part of 1975.
PHIRI, Callisto—Khami (C)
Married with 3 children.
PIUS, Shupayi (41)—(Where held unknown)
(C)
A school headmaster from Ruda, near Inyanga,
he was sentenced to 10 years for failing to
report the presence of guerillas. The trial was
held at Ruda police station in April 1976 in
the presence of about 100 Kralheads, African
teachers and businessmen who had been gathered
by the authorities to watch the trial. On appeal
the sentence was reduced to 4 years (2½ suspended).
PUNZIRA, T—(Where held unknown)
PURAZI, Summy—Fort Victoria

RAMBAKUPETWA, Mambo Newson—Gwelo
(D)
Sentenced to 12 years in 1966, served at Khami.
On completion of the sentence in 1974 he was
detained at Gwelo. His father, aged about 82,
served an 8-year sentence on completion of
which he too was detained at Gwelo. His
younger brother is also serving a sentence.
RAMBANEPASI, Shadreck—Gwelo (D)
On completion of an unknown term of imprisonment
he was detained at Gwelo. In
November 1975 he was sentenced to 3 months
deprivation of privileges on conviction under
the Prisons Act of insulting a prison officer.
For some time he has been seriously ill with
peptic ulcers.
RAMBWE, Smart—Wha Wha (D)
RASHON, Kaukaka—(Where held unknown)
(C)
Sentenced to 20 years in November 1975 for
possessing arms of war.
RATHANSI, Shortie—Wha Wha (D)
REDGIE, Frank—Wha Wha (D)
RINYOWA, Simon—Khami (C)
Sentenced to death in 1964 and reprieved
3 years later in 1967, and sentenced to life
imprisonment. He is married with 7 children.
RUMANO, Johnny—Wha Wha (D)
RUNDU, Duri Mudare—(Where held unknown)
RUNDU, Elijah—Wha Wha (D)
RUNDU, Naison—Wha Wha (D)
RUNGANO, Makita Nicholas—Wha Wha (D)
Formerly a teacher in Botswana, he was arrested
whilst on holiday in Rhodesia in early 1975,
and detained at Wha Wha. Is married with 2
young children and two other dependants.
RUNYOWA, James—Khami (C)
RUNYOWAH, Simon—(Where held unknown)
(C)
Sentenced to 8 years in January 1976 on conviction
of recruiting persons for guerilla training
In April 1976 his appeal was dismissed.
RUSENGA, Timothy—Wha Wha (D)
RUSERE, Raphael—Khami (C)
RUSHANDE, Chawada—(Where held unknown)
RUSHWANA, Wengai—Chikurubi
RUSIKE, Aaron—Wha Wha (D)
SAGONDA, Zachariah—(Where held unknown)
(C)
Sentenced to 12 years in September 1975 on
conviction of attempting to undergo guerilla
training.
SAJENI, Midirosi—Wha Wha (D)
SAKALA, Christopher Donald (38)—Gwelo (D)
Detained since at least 1972. Separated from
his wife, he has responsibility for 2 children
and an elderly parent.
SAKAWENGA, Elliot C—Salisbury
SAMBO, Herbert—Khami (C)
Sentenced to death in 1966 and reprieved in
1968 when he was given a life sentence.
SAMBURERO, C—(Where held unknown)
SAMUEL, Misheck—Khami (C)
SAMURIWO, Davies—Wha Wha (D)
SAMURIWO, Moses—(Where held unknown)
Charged with recruiting persons for guerilla
training in July 1976.
SANANGURAI, T—Wha Wha (D)
SANDE, Christopher Timothy (22)—(Where
held unknown) (D)
Acquitted on charges of recruiting and attempting
to undergo guerilla training in October
1975. Discharged but detained.
SANDE, Ignatius Zvikomborezo—Gwelo (D)
SANDE, Midros—Wha Wha (D)
SANDE, Paison—Wha Wha (D)
SANGO, Makuviri—Wha Wha (D)
SANGO, Paul—Khami (C)
SARIKOSI—(Where held unknown) (C)

Sentenced to 4 years (2 suspended) by a Special Court in September 1976 for failing to report the presence of guerillas.

SAWANA, Arnold—(Where held unknown) (C) Member of the National Executive of the Muzorewa ANC, arrested in April 1976 along with at least 50 ANC supporters and officials. He was subsequently sentenced to 8 years (4 suspended) on conviction of using threatening words against "a class of persons"

SEKETE, Tiyaenda—Wha Wha (D)

SENDA, Christopher—Wha Wha (D)

SENZERE, Harkwe—Khami (C)

SENZERE, Masawi—Khami (C)

SETA, Agrippa Marapaka—(Where held unknown) (C)

Sentenced to 18 years in 1973.

SHABA, Keison—Wha Wha (D)

SHAIRA—(Where held unknown) (C)

Serving a 15-year prison sentence. Married with 2 children.

SHANGARA, Takawira—Khami (C)

SHANGWA, S. Philimon—Wha Wha (D)

SHANGWA, W (Where held unknown)

SHANYA, Muzuva—Fort Victoria

SHATIRWAYI, Shadreck (19)—(Where held unknown) (C)

Sentenced to 8 years in May 1976 for attempting to undergo guerilla training.

SHAVA, Menias—(Where held unknown) (C)

Sentenced to 12 years in November/December 1975 on conviction of recruiting persons for guerilla training.

SHAVA, Ponas Tanzwa D (19)—(Sentenced to death)

A guerilla deputy commander captured by security forces in September 1975. He pleaded not guilty to 2 counts of murder and said that he had been assaulted to force him to make statements to the police. The court went into closed session, in the "national interest", while this matter was argued. He was found guilty and sentenced to death in April 1976 and his appeal was dismissed in June 1976.

SHERENI, Jokonya—Marandellas

SHERENI, Kamutseta—Khami (C)

SHERENI, Michael—Wha Wha (D)

SHERENI, Samson R—Wha Wha (D)

SHIRIPINDA, Elisaa—Salisbury (D)

Detained in April 1975 at Marandellas, Wha Wha and currently thought to be in Salisbury.

SHOKO, Neshuro Moses (50)—(Where held unknown) (C)

A senior chief and a member of the Council of Chiefs, he was sentenced to 5 years (4½ suspended) in May 1976 by a Special Court at Chiredzi, for failing to report the presence of guerillas.

SHONGA, Andrew Tapiwa (31)—Salisbury (C)

An artist and sculptor, previously employed by Rhodesia Railways, he was sentenced to life imprisonment in April 1975.

SHONGA, Rodgers—Khami (C)

SHONGWE, John—Connemara

SHUMBA, Jemile (phonetic)—(Sentenced to death)

A former resident of the Belingwe TTL, he was sentenced to death by a Special Court at Gwelo in September 1976, for failing to report the presence of guerillas, laying landmines and committing acts of terrorism.

SHUMBA, Martin—(Where held unknown) (C)

Serving a 15-year sentence.

SIAMALAMBO, Kingiran (22)—(Where held unknown) (C)

Sentenced to 3 years (2 suspended) by a Special Court in Sinoia/Karoi in September 1976 for failing to report the presence of guerillas.

SIAMBOLE, Dickson—(Where held unknown) (C)

Formerly employed by Tsetse Control Depart-

ment, he was sentenced to 10 years (3 suspended) by a Special Court at Sinoia in September 1976 for providing food to guerillas and failing to report their presence.

SIBAMBO, Raimon—Wha Wha (D)

SIBANDA, Abel—Salisbury

SIBANDA, Albert—(Where held unknown) (C)

Sentenced to 12 years in January 1976.

SIBANDA, Alphons Mshapo—(Where held unknown)

SIBANDA, Benoni—Khami (C)

SIBANDA, C—Salisbury

SIBANDA, Cleopas—Khami (C)

Serving life imprisonment.

SIBANDA, Dennies—Khami (C)

SIBANDA, Diba Dick—(Where held unknown) (C)

Sentenced to 4 years in January 1976 for failing to report the presence of guerillas.

SIBANDA, Eifas—Khami (C)

SIBANDA, Elikanah Tendele—Gwelo (D)

SIBANDA, George Andrews—Wha Wha (D)

SIBANDA, Godfrey—(Where held unknown) (C)

Sentenced to 12 years in January 1976.

SIBANDA, Joel—Wha Wha (D)

SIBANDA, John (20)—(Where held unknown) (C)

Sentenced to life imprisonment in October 1975 on conviction of possessing arms of war.

SIBANDA, Joseph Sitomboli—Khami (C)

Facing charges under the L&O(M) Act, he refused defence in April 1975, and is presumed to have been convicted.

SIBANDA, Josiah—Khami (C)

SIBANDA, K—(Where held unknown)

SIBANDA, Mika—Wha Wha (D)

Detained in October 1974.

SIBANDA, Mkush T—(Where held unknown) (C)

Sentenced to 4 years in January 1976 on charges of assisting and failing to report the presence of guerillas.

SIBANDA, Msunduzwa—Gwelo (D)

First held at Khami, is known to have been held for 10 years.

SIBANDA, Mtshumael—Wha Wha (D)

SIBANDA, Nicholas—Khami (C)

Sentenced to 7/8 years in November 1975 for attempting to undergo guerilla training.

SIBANDA, Patrick—Khami (C)

SIBANDA, Paul David—Wha Wha (D)

SIBANDA, Peter Njini—Salisbury

Known to have been held since July 1968 at Wha Wha, Gonakudzingwa and finally Salisbury

SIBANDA, Ruben—Mtoko (C)

Sentenced to 8 years on an unknown date under the L&O(M) Act.

SIBANDA, Sifanjani—Wha Wha (D)

SIBANDA, Titus Mathambo—Khami (C)

Serving life imprisonment on conviction of possessing arms of war.

SIBANDA, Victor—(Where held unknown) (C)

Serving a 14-year sentence.

SIBHULA, Edson—Khami (C)

SIDAMBE, Michael—Khami (C)

Serving an 18-year sentence.

SIGADULE, Sibongo—Wha Wha (D)

SIHONGA, Rodgers S—Khami (C)

Sentenced to 21 years in 1968. Married with 5 children.

SIKIRETA, Munjeri—Wha Wha (D)

SIMBILISIOS, Mashama (37)—(Sentenced to death)

Chairman of an ANC branch in the Mtoko district, sentenced to death by Special Court in Umtali on 26 May 1976 on conviction of recruiting for guerilla training. He was alleged to have transported large numbers of recruits from Mtoko to the Mozambique border. His appeal was dismissed in August 1976.

SIMELA, Edward Mjoi—Wha Wha (D)

SIMELA, Esmath—Wha Wha (D)

SIMON, Clemence (20)—(Where held unknown) (C)

Sentenced to 6 years (3 suspended) in July 1974 for failing to report the presence of guerillas and providing them with food. At his trial it was alleged that he had visited a guerilla camp and taken part in meetings and the singing of banned songs.

SIRIMOYO, Paul—Wha Wha (D)

SITHOLE, Abel—Khami (C)

Serving an 18-year sentence. Married with 6 children and two elderly dependents.

SITHOLE, Barnabus P—Gwelo

SITHOLE, Dr. Edson—(Where held unknown) (SEE Introduction—Missing Persons)

SITHOLE, Edward—Khami (C)

Sentenced to 20 years.

SITHOLE, John Goodson—Salisbury (D)

SITHOLE K—(Where held unknown)

In 1975 he was reported to be awaiting trial on charges of recruiting.

SITHOLE, T—Umtali

SITIBOLO, Limakatso—Khami (C)

SITSHA, Sinothi—(Where held unknown) (C)

Detained awaiting trial on charges of attempting to undergo guerilla training. At his trial in March 1976 he and 3 other accused challenged statements produced by Que Que CID which they said were obtained by assaults and inducements. In May he was convicted and sentenced to 7 years.

SIWELA, Habhakuka—Khami (C)

Sentenced to 18 years in 1967.

SIZIBA, Mathew—Khami (C)

SIZIBE, Johannes Marimane—Wha Wha (D)

SONGO, W.M.—(Where held unknown)

SPANERA, Pauros—Wha Wha (D)

SUNDU—(Where held unknown) (C)

Sentenced at Mtoko in January 1975 to 5 years for failing to report the presence of guerillas.

SUNGA, Amos Puthero N—(Where held unknown) (D)

Charges under the L&O(M) Act were withdrawn against him in September 1975 and he was detained.

SVOMAS, Pascal—(Where held unknown)

Known to have been standing trial in March 1976 on charges of undergoing or recruiting for guerilla training.

TAFIRENYKA, S—Wha Wha (D)

TAFUMANEYI, Jackson—Wha Wha (D)

TAGWIREYI, Ephraim (19)—(Where held unknown) (C)

Formerly employed by the Tsetse Control Department, sentenced to 6 years by a Special Court in September 1976 for feeding and failing to report guerillas.

TAHWA, A.B—Salisbury

TAKAPFUMA, Callisto William (24)—Khami (C)

Sentenced to 10 years in 1971.

TAKAVARASHA, Sani—(Where held unknown) (C)

Former resident of the Mt. Darwin area, he was sentenced to 20 years in January 1975 on conviction of assisting guerillas to assault police informers.

TAKAWIRA—(Where held unknown) (D)

TAKURA, Alfred—Khami (C)

TAMWARAMWA, Johannes—Wha Wha (D)

TANDE, Morgan—Wha Wha (D)

TANGIRA, Gamani (55)—(Where held unknown) (C)

Sentenced to 2½ years at a retrial in March 1976 (see also DAKA, Jeremiah) for failing to report the presence of guerillas in the Gokwe area.

TAPATAPA, Elijah—(Where held unknown)

Detained awaiting trial on charges under the L&O(M) Act in August 1976.

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