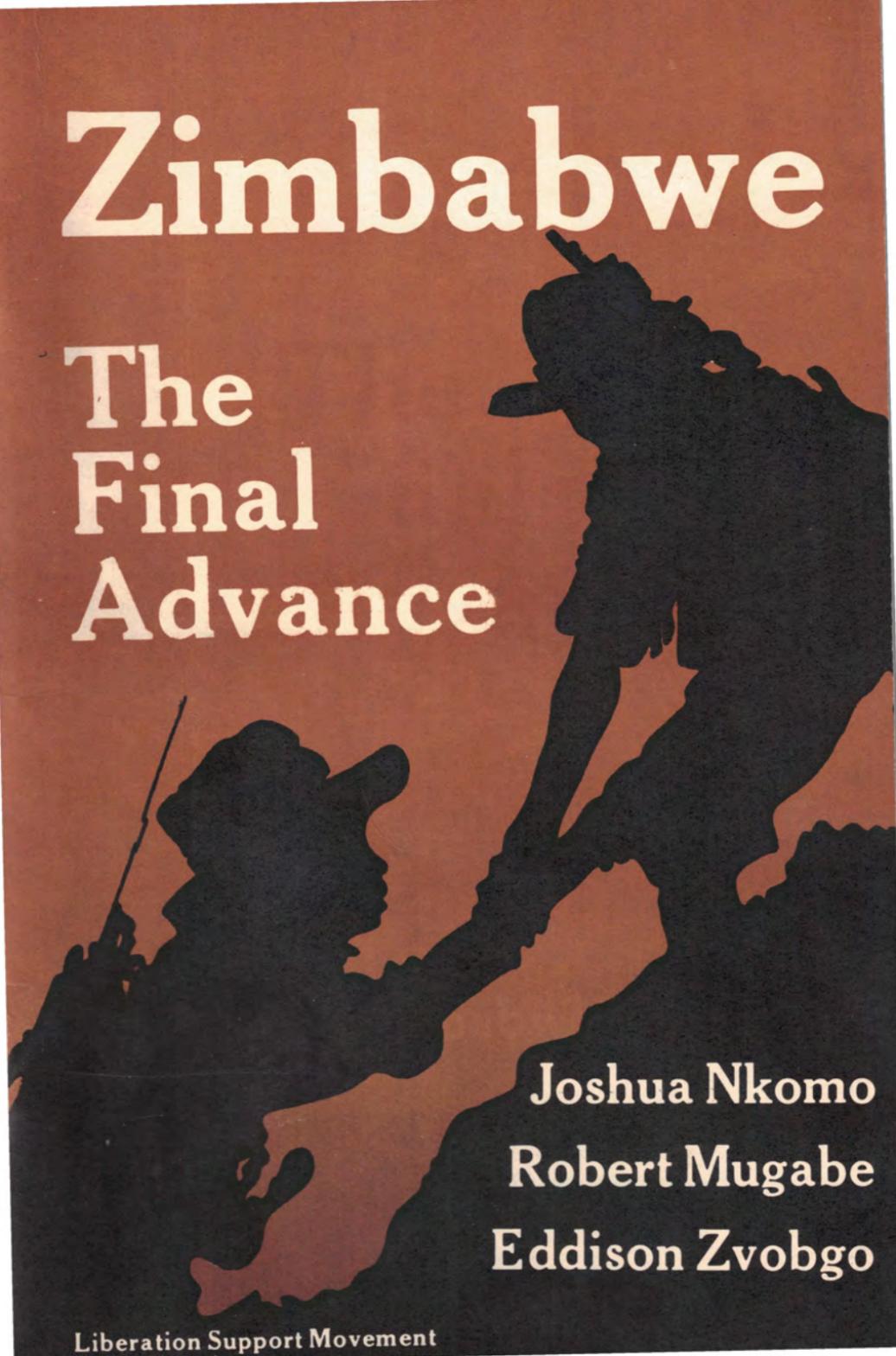


# Zimbabwe

## The Final Advance

The cover features a dark reddish-brown background. In the foreground, there are black silhouettes of two men shaking hands. The man on the left is wearing a cap and holding a rifle. The man on the right is also wearing a cap and has a mustache. The silhouettes are positioned on the right side of the cover, with the handshake centered vertically.

Joshua Nkomo  
Robert Mugabe  
Eddison Zvobgo

Liberation Support Movement

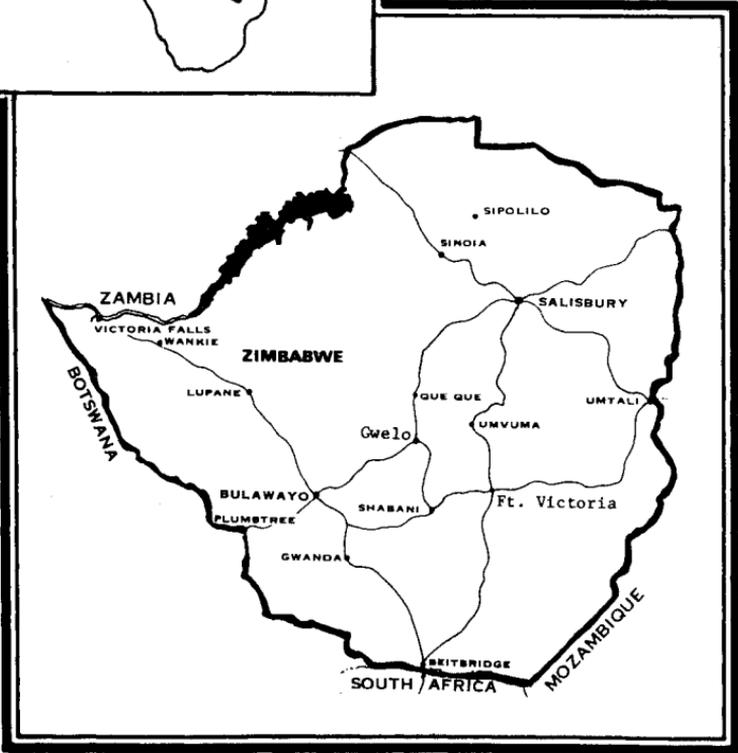
**Published and Printed by  
LSM Information Center  
P.O. Box 2077  
Oakland, CA 94604 USA**

**© 1978 by LSM Information Center. All rights reserved.**

**First Printing - 1978  
International Standard Book Number: 0-919914-30-6  
Printed in USA**

# Contents

<b>Preface</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>INTRODUCTION</b>	
<b>By Liberation Support Movement</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Internal Settlement &amp; Anglo-American Plan</b>	<b>14 &amp; 15</b>
<b>We Are Preparing to Run a Country</b> <b>Interview with Joshua Nkomo, ZAPU</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>The Patriotic Front Is a Creation of Zimbabwe</b> <b>Interview with Robert Mugabe, ZANU</b>	<b>24</b>
<b>You Either Support the Patriotic Front</b> <b>Or You Support the Enemy</b> <b>Interview with Eddison Zvobgo, ZANU</b>	<b>32</b>
<b>In ZANU's Liberated Areas: Tradition Is Still Strong</b> <b>By Eddison Zvobgo</b>	<b>38</b>
<b>Why Is the West So Worried?</b> <b>By Joshua Nkomo</b>	<b>43</b>
<b>Action and Information</b>	<b>49</b>



# Preface

The bulk of the material that follows was collected at the annual conference of the Southern Africa Research Association in Washington, DC in June 1978. The interview with Robert Mugabe has been translated from the Mozambican weekly **Tempo**.

This publication has been made possible by the many people and organizations who generously contributed to our travel and production expenses.

Liberation Support Movement

August 1978

# Introduction

After ninety years of colonial occupation, Zimbabwe is finally returning to African control. Just as the Europeans used force to establish themselves, now the African independence movement is fighting for freedom across the hills and valleys of this rich land.

In Zimbabwe today the white settler government led by Ian Smith is fighting a losing battle against the nationalist guerrillas of the Patriotic Front. The war is felt everywhere. In many rural areas, tax collectors and other civil servants have fled, farmworkers have left their jobs, and telephone lines have been cut. Automobiles travel by convoy under military escort. Guerrillas have entered the African townships around Salisbury and Bulawayo, the two largest cities, which are under dusk-to-dawn curfew.

It's a no-win situation for the settlers. Thirteen years ago, when they broke away from Britain to prevent decolonization and preserve the standards of "Western civilization," they believed they would last forever. The economy was booming, white immigrants kept arriving,

and the Zimbabwean nationalist movement was still weak and disorganized. The settlers' confidence has now evaporated. Nationalism throughout Southern Africa has left Rhodesia (the settler name for Zimbabwe) hopelessly exposed. International economic recession accompanied by political and military pressure is draining the strength of the settler state. Smith's last-ditch attempt to stem the tide by co-opting a handful of black dignitaries into his regime -- the Internal Settlement -- has changed nothing. Today not even the most tenacious third-generation settler can fail to see that the colony of Rhodesia is about to become the independent nation of Zimbabwe.

### **A Vast Kingdom**

Three thousand years ago the plateaus and river valleys of south-central Africa were inhabited by small groups of people who lived by hunting and gathering. These people were later joined by other groups who tilled the land, used iron, mined gold, and made intricate pottery. They took their products east to the Indian Ocean coast and brought back new kinds of tools and food crops of Asian origin.

About one thousand years ago new waves of Bantu-speaking immigrants began to arrive from the north. Settling on the fertile veld, they raised cattle and built large stone walls and towers such as those known today as the "Great Zimbabwe Ruins." In time they also established the Mwene Mutapa (Monomotapa) empire which covered the area between the Zambezi and Limpopo rivers, from today's Botswana to the Mozambican coast. Since this vast kingdom began disintegrating in the seventeenth century, the Shona people have not been united under one ruler. Thus they were unable to do much about the arrival of the Ndebele people from the south in the 1830s. Driven off by a feud with some of their Zulu relatives, the Ndebele settled in southwestern Zimbabwe to raise their herds and work the land. From time to time they raided further into the much larger Shona areas to extend their influence.

During the 1880s the Portuguese, Germans, Boers (South Africans of

Dutch ancestry), and British all vied for control over Shona and Ndebele territory. Represented in the field by the aggressive Cecil Rhodes and his British South Africa Company, the British won out when their settler regiments marched north from the Cape and established "Rhodesia" in 1890. Several African rebellions were brutally suppressed before colonial rule was consolidated by the turn of the century.

The early European invaders saw in Zimbabwe a promised land. But their hopes for instant wealth in gold and silver -- so abundant in South Africa -- failed to materialize and many eventually left in disappointment. The more determined settlers slowly developed their conquered lands into a modestly prosperous plantation economy. This changed with World War II when the sudden demand for Rhodesia's minerals and food crops gave rise to rapid industrialization and, later, a flow of immigrants from war-torn Europe. British, American, and South African corporations invested huge sums in the colony's chromium and copper mines and light industries. This boom continued into the 1950s and 1960s and eventually gave the settler community enough strength to unilaterally declare itself independent from Britain in 1965. These strong economic ties to the capitalist centers, forged over seven decades, will inevitably influence the actions of the future Zimbabwe government, however revolutionary socialist its views.

### **Forced Off the Land**

The settlers had in fact ruled the country since they were granted "Responsible Government" by the British in 1923. Running Zimbabwe much like a family-owned plantation, they turned the Africans into cheap labor. By the Land Apportionment Act, the National Land Husbandry Act, and other legislation, the settlers forced the African peasants off the fertile land, cut the size of their herds, and prohibited them from growing certain profitable crops altogether. When the Africans protested, the settlers created the Preventive Detention Act, the Law and Order Maintenance Act, and the Emergency Powers Act, among others, to crush the opposition. In short, as the settlers became wealthy on a

cushion of protective legislation, the Zimbabweans -- uprooted and literally fenced in -- were forced into abject poverty and bitter resentment.

The Patriotic Front, an alliance of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), is the latest in a long line of Zimbabwean nationalist organizations. It is also likely to be the most important. The Front's present political and military success is due largely to the growing collaboration between its two member organizations.

The question of unity has long been a difficult one for Zimbabwean nationalists. From the time of colonial conquest, the British exploited ethnic differences between the Shona and Ndebele and their various subgroups. Competing missionaries -- Presbyterian, Catholic, and Methodist -- injected religious discord. Starting in the 1920s, the first African organizations attracted mainly mission-school educated teachers, preachers, and clerks who were seeking to improve their conditions within the colonial system. The British, who understood the importance of creating a black "middle class," skillfully promoted the virtues of parliamentary democracy though their own colonial legislation excluded the Africans from power.

But as independence became a rallying cry all over Africa in the 1950s, the hat-in-hand pleading of African reformists was upstaged by strikes, boycotts, and demonstrations demanding majority rule in Zimbabwe. New nationalist organizations were formed only to be banned one by one by the settler government. The largest of these organizations was ZAPU, formed with Joshua Nkomo as president in 1961, which attracted thousands of members and set up branches in both Shona and Ndebele areas. The leadership -- many of ZAPU and ZANU's present leaders -- came from all parts of the country.

### **Preparing For Armed Resistance**

Disagreements within ZAPU resulted in a breakaway and the formation of ZANU under Ndabaningi Sithole in 1963. The conflicts con-

cerned whether to negotiate with the British for independence or to deal instead with the United Nations, whether to form still another legal organization or to go underground after ZAPU was banned in 1962, and other tactical questions. Even before the Smith government declared Rhodesia independent in 1965, both ZANU and ZAPU had begun to prepare for armed resistance. But enough personal bitterness and suspicion had accumulated to block any collaboration between them.

The isolation of imprisonment and exile exacerbated initial differences. While ZAPU's Nkomo and ZANU's Sithole and Mugabe languished in Smith's prison camps along with hundreds of other militants, their organizations suffered. Ethnic divisions again became a factor, ZANU drawing its militants mainly from the eastern and ZAPU mainly from the western parts of the country. The Sino-Soviet split further polarized the external branches of the movement. ZAPU's guerrilla forays into northern and western Zimbabwe in 1967-1970 exposed few cracks in the white armor. ZANU's 1972-1974 campaign was more successful but lost its momentum when the organization was torn by internal strife. ZANU fighters and many of their leaders were arrested in neighboring Zambia as that country sought "detente" with Rhodesia's ominous patron, South Africa.

But detente failed, Mozambique won its independence, and the CIA-South Africa adventure in Angola backfired. A fire of confidence and radicalism, inspired by MPLA's and FRELIMO's victories, swept through Zimbabwean nationalist ranks. Mozambique now gave the ZANU guerrillas a precious rear base; Zambia and other African countries resumed support for the liberation struggle. The trickle of young recruits fleeing across Rhodesia's borders to join the movement swelled to a torrent.

### **New Western Strategy**

It was time to rethink strategies. South Africa was still hurting from its Angolan blunder and retreated to ponder the long-term prospects for its own survival. The British and the Americans, both with large economic

and political interests throughout Southern Africa, had watched Portuguese colonial intransigence radicalize the liberation movements in Angola and Mozambique and were not about to let the Rhodesian settlers repeat that mistake. US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger began a crusade for "majority rule" warning the Congress in Washington that the whole of Africa might "become radical and move in a direction incompatible with Western interests." Anthony Crosland, Kissinger's British counterpart, convened a conference in Geneva in late 1976 to prevent the Zimbabwe conflict from running its course. "If the issues were settled on the battlefield," Mr. Crosland told a meeting of NATO foreign ministers, "it would seriously lessen the chance of bringing about a moderate African regime in Rhodesia and would open the way for more radical solutions and external intervention on the part of others."

The British-led rush to the conference table was precipitated by a new wave of ZANU and ZAPU guerrilla actions starting in early 1976. The ZAPU and ZANU leadership, as well as "moderate" nationalists whom the British and Americans counted on to preserve their interests in Zimbabwe, were invited. Many of these "moderates" had neither aligned themselves with the guerrillas nor been affected by the recent radicalization. Some had been politically dormant since the early 1960s, while others, like Bishop Abel Muzorewa, were relative newcomers to politics. They were later joined by others long imprisoned, such as previously deposed ZANU-leader Ndabaningi Sithole. They all traveled to Geneva to jockey for power and high positions in a post-Smith Zimbabwe.

For ZANU and ZAPU, on the other hand, Geneva cemented a long-sought collaboration. Their military campaign early in 1976 had aimed at joining their military units under the name of Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA) and was the result of low-keyed negotiations between ZAPU and ZANU leaders. Political differences still ran high, however, and hostilities in some joint guerrilla camps led ZAPU to withdraw its units and build a combined guerrilla and conventional army of its own. Meanwhile ZANU fighters continued operations in the eastern regions of Zimbabwe.

## Forming the Patriotic Front

This premature attempt at collaboration was soon followed by more talks between the two organizations. Their immediate concern was to present a common front at the upcoming Geneva Conference. In October 1976, three weeks before the opening of the conference, they issued the Maputo Declaration in which they announced the formation of the Patriotic Front:

Cognisant of the need to present a common and solid approach to national matters and being determined that our different political identities shall not be a barrier to cooperation in promoting the revolutionary process in Zimbabwe. . . our two organizations have resolved that they shall with singularity of purpose adopt a common approach to all issues arising from the subject of current talks.

Starting as a fragile tactical alliance, which many predicted would not last, the Patriotic Front has gradually changed the character of the liberation struggle. Through the interviews and speeches which follow, ZANU and ZAPU leaders discuss their progress in forcing the settler regime to the brink of collapse. Equally important, they discuss the role of the Front in transforming Zimbabwean society once independence has been won.

The prospects of a united and socialist Zimbabwean movement have made the Western powers exceedingly nervous. The British and the Americans recently pressured Smith to incorporate Muzorewa, Sithole, and tribal chief Jeremiah Chirau into a transitional government which is supposed to rule Rhodesia until elections can be held. The terms of this Internal Settlement, however, are designed to perpetuate settler domination (see box on page 15). Several Africans co-opted to serve on government bodies have resigned and denounced the arrangement as a "fraud." The lack of popular African support for the Internal Settlement has pushed the settlers to their last stand. South Africa has again committed troops to their assistance after years of supplying weapons and economic assistance. The Western governments look the other way as their corporations bust the UN-imposed economic boycott of Rhodesia.

They choose to ignore, as well, Rhodesia's recruitment of thousands of their citizens as mercenaries. In addition they maneuver behind the scenes and through the media to split the Patriotic Front, to create the impression that the Front is falling apart and that unity between ZAPU and ZANU is a myth.

We are publishing this pamphlet to counter this campaign against the Zimbabwe liberation movement. By explaining the movement's strengths and weaknesses we want to help lay a better foundation for solidarity work among the movement's supporters abroad.

Will capitalism in Zimbabwe survive the country's independence? Or, viewed from the opposite end, can the Patriotic Front effect a transition to socialism at this stage? As Rhodesia follows other settler colonies into the pages of history, neocolonialism is rallying its combined forces, both inside the country and internationally. Alone, neither ZANU nor ZAPU can clear the neocolonial hurdles. In the unity of the Patriotic Front lies the hopes and aspirations of the Zimbabwe people. That unity must be preserved and extended if the country is to continue its long climb toward real independence.

**Liberation Support Movement**

# Anglo- American Plan

1. Surrender of power by Smith regime and return to British colonial authority.
2. Orderly and peaceful transition to independence in 1978.
3. Free and impartial elections based on universal adult suffrage.
4. British-established transitional administration authorized to organize elections. The British-appointed Resident Commissioner (Lord Carver who fought the Mau Mau rebellion in Kenya has been designated) has all legislative powers and can suspend the bill of rights. Existing colonial laws are validated. The present judiciary, the police force, and part of Smith's army are maintained.
5. The UN has a political and military presence during the transitional period.
6. An independence constitution is to specify that one-fifth of the membership of the National Assembly is reserved for Europeans. This cannot be changed for 8 years or 2 parliaments. A bill of rights will exist for at least 4 years but can be suspended for up to 2 years.
7. Zimbabwe Development Fund provides protection from expropriation of property without compensation and protects pensions. Both pensions and compensation may be remitted abroad. The fund is financed by the US (40 percent), Britain (15 percent), and others.

# Internal Settlement

1. Assembly of 100 members elected by voters over 18 years. All vote for 72 seats reserved for Blacks. Europeans have 28 reserved seats of which 20 are elected preferentially by white voters; 8 are elected by all voters from 16 candidates nominated by white Assembly members. These provisions hold for at least 10 years or two parliaments whichever is longer. The declaration of rights specifically mentions protection from deprivation of property and protection of pension rights. The judiciary, public service, police force, defense forces, and prison service will be maintained. Pensions can be remitted out of the country.
2. Transitional government to bring about ceasefire and handle the composition of military forces. (Restructuring of military leaves Europeans in full control.)
3. Transitional government to release political prisoners, remove discrimination, create climate for free, democratic elections, draft a new constitution based on this agreement, and set up procedures to register voters.
4. Executive Council includes Smith, Muzorewa, Chirau, and Sithole and makes policy decisions. Ministerial Council has equal numbers of black and white cabinet ministers; each post is shared by one white and one black. The Rhodesian Parliament continues to exist to pass electoral legislation, pass the budget, enact legislation and the new constitution, and to nominate 16 Whites for election.
5. Independence day will be 31 December 1978.



# We Are Preparing to Run a Country

**Interview with Joshua Nkomo, ZAPU**

**LSM:** How and why was the Patriotic Front formed?

**Nkomo:** The Patriotic Front came into being in October 1976 as a result of a long series of contacts between ZAPU and ZANU. A number of us from both organizations who had previously worked together in ZAPU began to discuss bringing these two political entities together, and most important, uniting the armies.

This was not the first time it had been tried, however. We had the experience of the Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA). We had the same motives there, to promote the armed struggle as well as to bring the country together after liberation by bringing the two main political parties of Zimbabwe together now. This has always been the driving force behind our unity. At that time most of ZANU's leadership was imprisoned and (their Secretary-General) Herbert Chitepo had just been killed. So we sent Jason Moyo to meet with them in prison and after some negotiation we managed to form ZIPA.

Unfortunately, certain people wanted to cut off the existing political leadership and create new leaders from out of the cadres. That simply didn't work and was the major reason for ZIPA's eventual disintegration.

After our release from prison we met and again stressed the need for unity in the armed struggle and for cohesion within Zimbabwe after independence. In Maputo in October 1976 we formalized our unity and informed the front-line states. We made it clear that this was an alliance of two parties which would approach all political matters as one.

We also realized it was necessary to move toward the creation of one army. But several of us also believe that before you can form a single army it is first necessary to have one political organization. The question of any army hinges on the unity of political leadership. You can't have one army under two parties, with two leaders. Consequently, you can't talk of uniting the two armies without first uniting the two parties.

**LSM:** How great is the separation between the two military forces?

**Nkomo:** Our armies still work from different bases and are trained separately. If there is not a single syllabus for training cadres, a single code of discipline, one unified structure, and a single political ideology, then we could not possibly bring our militants together.

We have agreed that they should work together whenever possible and this has already begun. The regime's "Fire Force" has been confronted by the combined armies of ZAPU and ZANU in the Shabani region and there are other areas where this is taking place.

We try to coordinate logistics whenever possible, and this increases the understanding of our militants. You can have a number of political parties within a free Zimbabwe but you certainly can't have two armies. ZAPU and ZANU must consolidate the political leadership and activities of the Front if unity within the armies is to take root.

**LSM:** What moves have you made in this direction?

**Nkomo:** We formed a coordinating committee with five members each

from ZAPU and ZANU to work on the diplomatic and political activities. Then at Geneva, we worked together as one for the first time in fifteen years. Certainly there was some suspicion at first, but toward the end it was as if we had never been apart. The Western press speculated that the military leaders would force a crack in our unity. They thought that some of ZANU's military leadership in particular were not interested in combining our forces. They were very disappointed when this proved not to be the case.

In October 1977 we drafted our first constitution. There have been a few disruptions slowing our progress, but it is almost finished, with only a few clauses left to iron out.

**LSM:** So you would say that unity in the Patriotic Front has been successful?

**Nkomo:** On the political side unity has been very satisfactory, especially in our negotiations with the British and Americans. We have presented them with a single set of proposals. It was made clear that if ZAPU and ZANU entered into elections in Zimbabwe, they would do so as a single unit. If the results were for the formation of a government by us, then it would be a government of the Patriotic Front. We have no doubt that we will indeed be the first government of Zimbabwe.

**LSM:** But the Americans and the British still try to divide you?

**Nkomo:** Yes, we were surprised to hear the remarks of some high-ranking officials in this country suggesting there would be a split. It should be very clear to everyone what their intentions really are when they talk of "Nkomo dumping Mugabe." What futile nonsense.

**LSM:** Why do you think they picked you personally?

**Nkomo:** I suppose they have chosen to put out these lies about me in order to bring about a calculated reaction in ZANU and then a corresponding reaction in ZAPU. They are desperate to split us and have decided that this is the best way to go about it.

**LSM:** Is there any element in traditional ZAPU ranks that calls for joining the Internal Settlement?

**Nkomo:** None at all. We are a highly disciplined party with a clear political direction, not a conglomerate of individuals.

**LSM:** What do you expect next on the part of the British-American bloc and their peace proposals?

**Nkomo:** The Anglo-American proposals are completely out of date. The so-called "All-Party Conference" is much the same. After having stood our ground and forced the Smith regime to its knees, we can hardly be expected now to sit down and resurrect them from the dead.

There was a time when some of us, especially the leaders from independent Africa, felt that it was dangerous to let Muzorewa, Sithole and those people run around with Smith. It was feared they just might pull it off and the Patriotic Front would find itself in a difficult situation. I have never shared this fear. In fact, I would have been upset if they had not come to an agreement with the Salisbury regime. I know our people, and I know these particular ones are nothing but opportunists. It worried me that if they didn't come out and openly side with Smith, they would merely create confusion. Well, now we all see clearly that they were only trying to get positions of rank for themselves, in anybody's government.

**LSM:** Bishop Muzorewa gives the impression of trying to keep both doors open, of siding with Smith but still being in opposition just in case the Front takes power.

**Nkomo:** He is a bishop, but he is also one of the biggest liars I have ever met. He is particularly dishonest to the people who he is supposed to be leading. He comes to some agreement with Smith and then immediately turns around to his executive council and tells them he has done the opposite. The attacks on Mozambique and Zambia, for instance, were a result of talks between Smith and Muzorewa and Sithole, who wanted a guarantee that the security forces could deal with the Patriotic Front. In other words, Muzorewa and Sithole wanted some assurance they would be safe if they went along with Smith. So the security forces attacked our camps and even our offices in Lusaka with rockets. Then this hypocrite Muzorewa turns around and condemns Smith for these massacres and declares that he will not talk to him for eight days. You can't trust a man like that; he engineered the murder of those young people.

**LSM:** Who are the people who support Muzorewa, Sithole, Chirau and the Internal Settlement? Is it possible to distinguish them on a class basis?

**Nkomo:** Most are the more educated type who find themselves in a contradictory position. Their livelihood is provided by the establishment, government clerks for example. They are people who are being enticed into taking some position of assistant to the assistant of the Assistant. They have their own desks for the first time and feel like they are moving up in life. These young people have just finished school, are unemployed and now these opportunities arise. They have become dependent upon the regime and must show a face of support to it.

Some are misguided. They have been made to believe after years of propaganda that the white man is some super-being. Living in this isolated country where there is no contact with independent Africa, people can't imagine running affairs for themselves. They were born into a society where whites were at the helm in every sphere. In every township or compound the white has settled disputes between the people. This is still in some people's heads and their support of the Internal Settlement is determined by it.

**LSM:** The liberation forces are advancing their positions very rapidly. How much further do you think the regime will retreat before admitting failure?

**Nkomo:** Smith's soldiers thought that with the signing of the internal agreement and the declaration of a cease-fire they would be back home soon. But now they are beginning to realize that this is not the case. The regime's forces were demoralized before. Now, each day they are discovering that they are fighting for a lost cause. This is becoming the attitude of the soldiers. If Muzorewa had not deceived them we might well be in Salisbury today, working alongside of them and not against them.

**LSM:** What position will these people be in after the war is over?

**Nkomo:** They will just have to come to terms with the situation. They can't compete in the outside world; eleven or twelve years of isolation have left them far behind the rest of the world. They shouldn't expect to go anywhere else to make a living. The only place I see for them is to stay on with our young country and grow with it.

**LSM:** How close is the end of the Smith regime, or can you predict such a thing?

**Nkomo:** As we move into the new rainy season there will be a dramatic change. The whole thing will be over before the end of this first quarter next year. We are already feeling the weakening of their resistance.

**LSM:** How exactly do you think it will happen? Will Smith be deposed? Will there be a revolt?

**Nkomo:** I don't think there will be a revolt. How exactly it will happen I don't know. I could foresee a very simple ceremony with the regime saying that it is prepared to give in.

**LSM:** And that would put the Patriotic Front in Salisbury?

**Nkomo:** I just don't see any alternative. I certainly can't see anything further coming out of negotiations with the British and Americans. How do you discuss with people politically defeated? What substance do Muzorewa and Sithole have, what bargaining power do they have now?

**LSM:** How are you preparing for the situation after liberation has been achieved?

**Nkomo:** We are preparing to run a country. We are preparing in every field, not just militarily. Some skills take years to acquire, but we are doing the best we can. We are urging men and women to take up their responsibilities in various fields, especially administration. We tell these young people who come out of Zimbabwe that fighting is not just carrying a gun, they must also carry other weapons. The trains must be kept running, the airlines on the go, the mines must operate, agriculture must grow, our economy must continue to function. That is where our wealth comes from and we have an unlimited source of human material. We have large numbers of people training as technicians in those countries that are prepared to help us.

**LSM:** Finally, do you have anything to say to those people who support your struggle?

**Nkomo:** You have to work very hard to carry the people of this country and others with us. You must not let them get misdirected by people with self-interests opposing our liberation. The multinational corporations, for instance, are interested only in profits and therefore run with the fascists. Fascists are in control because of these companies' profits, not only in Africa but throughout the world. Unfortunately, they also control the mass media, which spreads the views of these reactionaries. So you have to work hard to get your point of view across to the masses.



# The Patriotic Front Is a Creation of Zimbabwe

Interview with Robert Mugabe, ZANU

The following is excerpted from two interviews with Robert Mugabe by the Mozambican weekly *Tempo* (26 March and 2 July 1978). Translated by the People's Translation Service and LSM.

**Tempo:** What is the current situation within Zimbabwe?

**Mugabe:** Our first goal is to achieve national independence. Our forces have penetrated Zimbabwe and are now active in more than eighty percent of the country. As news reports state, we are even operating near the suburbs of Salisbury, Umtali, and Que-Que.

By expanding our operations geographically, we spread the enemy forces. This makes it easier to mobilize the people in support of our struggle. Therefore, we are in a good position militarily. We have to consolidate our victories in the liberated zones where the population is

organized and self-reliant.

Smith's response to our success is the Internal Settlement. He has won to his side three puppet leaders -- Muzorewa, Sithole, and Chirau. He is projecting this false independence to the world in order to gain international support. Sithole, Muzorewa, and Chirau support the settlement but the people of Zimbabwe reject it as fraudulent, as a betrayal. It does not meet their needs and aspirations.

Our first objective being national independence, we aim to overthrow the regime and its puppets. The people support us in this task and are being mobilized.

**Tempo:** The Patriotic Front has put forth a strategy of "protracted people's war" in Zimbabwe. How do you see the formation of a truly independent Zimbabwe coming out of this strategy?

**Mugabe:** When we began the armed struggle in 1966 all we had were some small commando groups. We had groups of eight, ten, eleven, twelve; small groups that would be able to penetrate into the country. In those days we worked out of Zambia. The terrain was very difficult. There was no preparation work carried out among the people so when our groups arrived in the villages, the people were suspicious of them. It was difficult for the people to protect and shelter the fighters because the enemy could arrive at any moment.

In 1972 there was a complete revision of our manner of carrying out the armed struggle. We began to realize that the armed struggle must be based on the support of the people. At the same time it was put forth that for practical reasons it was necessary to struggle alongside Frelimo in Mozambique. We worked with Frelimo for eighteen months in Tete province.

It was there that we learned the true meaning of guerrilla warfare. You must rely on the people above all. Without them, the use of arms is of no value. With this in mind, the first true zone of operations was established in the northeast of the country. Today we call this zone the "Province of Tete."



*Robert Mugabe*

*Zimbabwe News*

Later, in 1976, when the fronts of Manica and Gaza were opened -- once again the names come from the provinces of Mozambique -- we followed the same pattern: win a base in the heart of the people and later operate out of the people, with the people, against the enemy.

Thus we have evolved from 1966 to 1978 by stages that have led to the creation of liberated zones in various areas. Throughout the north and the northeast we have established liberated zones. We are now transforming these into revolutionary bases. It is not enough to talk about destroying the enemy, transforming certain zones into areas that are safe for the people. The people have to be organized into bases of support for their own struggle, so that it will be the people themselves that will continue the struggle.

The role of the guerrilla is to act as a vanguard, to guide the revolution. This is why what must come first after the building of support is the establishment of administrative structures for the people. The people have to govern themselves. They must create the conditions for survival based on their own resources through the development of projects in agriculture, education, and health.

The importance of all this as we see it is in the first place to get the people to stay in their areas, instead of fleeing to Mozambique, Botswana, or Zambia. We already have a large number of refugees in the camps. We do not believe in prohibiting people from moving, but rather creating

conditions in these zones that will allow the people to stay.

From the rural zones we can now expand into the urban zones that are the strong points of the regime. They have many military bases in the highlands where the cities are located and where the main railroads, roads, and other lines of communications are. Our next stage will be to surround the enemy in those areas. As we advance out of the rural zones, the people will have a very important role to play. The war turns into a people's war with the people struggling, placing the mines and attacking the enemy. Our army will attack the most difficult targets and the people the easier ones.

**Tempo:** It seems that the problems between ZANU and ZAPU go back many years...?

**Mugabe:** Our organizations have been separate for fifteen years. You cannot suddenly unite parties that were separated and, to be honest, fought against each other.

But overall we are satisfied that among the leaders we have been able to put an end to suspicions. When we met for the first time in Geneva, there was a lot of mistrust. This is no longer the case; now comrade Nkomo can discuss his plans with me openly without any fear or suspicion.

If we at the top can take this message to the base, bringing this unity down to the level of the cadres and politicizing them with constant lessons from our political commissars, this will help the situation. This is why we believe that if we begin joint training, with our leaders there constantly to politicize, when we send fighters into Zimbabwe we will have prepared the terrain for integration; of the parties as well as the armies.

**Tempo:** The Western press is presently running an "anti-communist" campaign. At the same time they are portraying the Patriotic Front as a "communist" creation.

**Mugabe:** This is absolute nonsense. We are not a creation of the Soviet Union or Cuba; we are a creation of Zimbabwe. Our army is a

manifestation of the nationalist desires of our people, a product of the history of our country.

We began with non-violent struggle. When we understood this wouldn't work, we changed our tactics to boycotts, strikes, and demonstrations. When these didn't work, we moved to sabotage against property without destruction of human life. When this failed, we decided on the armed struggle and formed ZANU.

At that point, in 1963, there was a division in the nationalist movement. But, at the same time as ZANU, ZAPU also began to organize for armed struggle. We shared conviction in the cause of liberation through armed struggle.

We contacted our progressive friends and allies for assistance. The Soviets gave us aid, as did the entire international socialist community. ZAPU trained militants in Cuba and, after 1967, so did we. But though we trained cadres in the socialist countries, this did not transform our army into a Russian or Chinese army.

Our war is supported by the progressive world. And it is true that our objective is the liquidation of imperialism and colonialism. But it is the Zimbabwean people who are fighting the war. No one can deny us the right to seek aid from our friends and allies. But it will always be Zimbabweans who direct the struggle.

**Tempo:** Will there be more conferences to discuss the Anglo-American proposals?

**Mugabe:** When we met in Dar-es-Salaam earlier this year we agreed to attend another conference to discuss the constitution for independent Zimbabwe and related matters. In June (1978), the British and American delegates came to see us in Maputo and reported that the Smith regime had rejected the idea of a general conference. Now the British are calling for us to negotiate directly with the Internal Settlement group, with Britain acting merely as arbitrator.

But we have made it clear we will deal only with Britain to negotiate the decolonization of our country. Smith's independence is illegal -- not worthy of respect -- and we reject the Internal Settlement. The Smith

regime is an extension of British power. Thus negotiations have to be directly between Britain and the Patriotic Front. The Internal Settlement group can make proposals, if they have any, through the British delegation.

We will not be taken into the orbit of the Internal Settlement. It is an accord designed to perpetuate the interests of the colonial power. We say that Britain should continue to exercise her responsibilities as required by the OAU and UN. There should be another conference like Geneva in 1976. Britain, as the colonizing power, should preside. We will negotiate with Britain.

**Tempo:** What role is the United States playing?

**Mugabe:** At the beginning of the year (1978) the Carter Administration appeared to be pressuring Britain to get rid of Smith if he refused to retire when a transitional government was formed. At that time we agreed that one objective of our negotiations was the downfall of the Smith regime. Thus we saw the US working with Britain to remove Smith. But this didn't happen.

The US is now acting with Britain to strengthen their hand against the progressive forces in the region. Britain does not want the Patriotic Front to assume power and therefore is inclined to support the Internal Settlement. Pressure through the UN from the OAU, and especially the Frontline States, helps us to keep Britain from supporting the Internal Settlement more.

The US fears socialist influence in the region; (American UN Ambassador) Andrew Young has stated their fear of the Soviet Union extending power into Southern Africa. They are saying the Soviet Union exerts communist influence in Mozambique and Angola and that Zimbabwe cannot be allowed to take the same road.

**Tempo:** According to the Western press there are differences between Andrew Young and (President Carter's advisor for national security affairs, Zbigniew) Brzezinski over what position to take on the Zimbabwe

question. How does the Front analyze the situation?

**Mugabe:** Andrew Young often makes statements that could be considered progressive or even in agreement with our position. Later he will repudiate these declarations because of pressure. His position is contradictory. We feel, and there is no doubt in my mind, that if Andrew Young were permitted to express the position he feels is politically correct, we would find many points of agreement. But unfortunately he is guided by the policies of the United States. There are obviously disagreements within the State Department, differences of opinion and contradictions.

**Tempo:** How does the Patriotic Front see the state being built by the Zimbabwean people after independence is achieved?

**Mugabe:** We view the armed struggle as a means of achieving peace in our country, not as an instrument for killing and indiscriminate violence. It is an instrument which we can use to make revolutionary changes. This has been made necessary by the fact that the colonial power (Britain) has handed over its role to the colonists that established a fascist order in our country, oppressing our people. The peasants have become poorer and the working class has been exploited to the point where the worker is almost a slave.

Through the means of armed struggle we will set up a democratic state. There will have to be a major socio-economic transformation. The legal system will have to be changed immediately in order to lay the basis for the transformation of our nation toward socialism. Oppression must give way to peace. Once peace has been established, we'll make some changes to enable the workers to take power and control the means of production. The peasants will start to organize collectives and communal villages.

At that point the state will be not only an instrument of peace, but also a guarantee that the revolutionary process will continue. That is why we say that the armed struggle becomes a socio-economic struggle to serve the people's needs.



# You Either Support the Patriotic Front Or You Support the Enemy

Interview with Eddison Zvobgo, ZANU

**LSM:** What is the main accomplishment of the Patriotic Front?

**Zvobgo:** By acting together within the Front, ZAPU and ZANU have preempted the main card of imperialist diplomacy -- "divide and rule" -- and denied our enemies the opportunity to play Zimbabweans against Zimbabweans. The Front now represents the unified position of our people.

**LSM:** What has been the Western powers' response to your collaboration with ZAPU?

**Zvobgo:** The imperialists want a neocolonial regime in Zimbabwe, a corrupt black bourgeoisie in the pay of the multinational corporations. The Patriotic Front is a revolutionary force that is bringing about radical change. Therefore, in the opinion of imperialism, the Front must be wrecked.

The imperialists have openly appealed to ZAPU to join the Internal Settlement. This would also isolate ZANU. They have suggested that President Nkomo will be offered a senior position in the Salisbury puppet government. But ZAPU has made it clear that they won't be part of such a settlement. Their determination to preserve the Patriotic Front is just as high as ours.

**LSM:** What is your view of the Anglo-American plan?

**Zvobgo:** We are open to negotiations based on the Anglo-American plan. In the talks at Geneva, Malta, and Dar-es-Salaam we pointed out the shortcomings of the plan and made specific counter-proposals. The only result of the negotiations so far has been a clearer understanding of the different positions. The next step is to discuss the constitution for an independent Zimbabwe.

However, the British and Americans seem reluctant to be bound by their own proposals. The imperialists don't support the Internal Settlement openly, but privately they have done everything they can to make it succeed. The British call it a "wait and see" attitude, and this means: "If the Internal Settlement succeeds, we'll support it, but if it doesn't, we'll go back to the Patriotic Front." This is dishonest; they can't have it both ways.

**LSM:** Do ZANU and ZAPU cooperate militarily?

**Zvobgo:** We agreed last year to establish a joint military command to direct operations, but it hasn't been implemented yet.

There are several problems facing us. Our forces are physically separated, with ZANU in Mozambique and ZAPU in Zambia. The logistics for joint operations pose enormous difficulties. And we have little experience with coordinated military programs. It is going to be slow achieving our goal of military collaboration.

So far there has been no pressing need for joint operations because

ZANU and ZAPU forces operate in different areas. The guerrillas have met on numerous occasions and there have been no conflicts.

The regime has tried to sow confusion by teaching ZANU and ZAPU slogans to Selous Scouts and sending them into operational areas to pose as guerrillas. The purpose is to suggest to local people that ZANU and ZAPU are fighting each other.

**LSM:** Are there differences between ZANU and ZAPU on how to build greater unity in the Patriotic Front?

**Zvobgo:** Yes. ZANU wants to combine military forces and retain separate political parties for now. ZAPU wants political merger to come before the military forces get together. ZAPU and ZANU are parties created within Zimbabwe, they have large memberships there, and the leadership was elected inside the country. Because of constitutional differences in our parties it is possible for ZAPU but not ZANU to merge the present organizations into one.

The only way we can proceed on a political merger is through a ZANU congress inside the country. We could recommend merger but the congress would have to decide. We can't convene a congress outside the country because our young militants in Mozambique are just ZANU members and not delegates representing particular constituencies in Zimbabwe.

In 1965 our Central Committee decided we could set up whatever structures were necessary to prosecute the war as long as we didn't violate any statutes of the Party. Therefore it is possible for us to create a joint military command with ZAPU but we don't have the authority between congresses to decide on a political merger.

ZAPU's leadership was empowered at their 1964 Congress to make whatever changes were necessary in the struggle, political or military. So Comrade Nkomo is in a much different position than Comrade Mugabe -- he can do for ZAPU what no one can do for ZANU.

We want to harmonize military operations but preserve separate political organizations at this phase of the revolution. Once we have

defeated the regime we will be at a different phase and it will be possible to consider transforming the Party into something else.

**LSM:** How has collaboration with ZAPU been accepted by ZANU militants?

**Zvobgo:** When the Patriotic Front was formed, the Central Committee explained the political and ideological necessity of unity. We pointed out that it is ideologically correct to unite all patriotic forces during the national democratic stage of the revolution in the war against a common enemy. ZAPU is a patriotic organization -- they agree with the armed struggle and have taken up arms. We also explained the diplomatic and military advantages of the Front. The ZANU fighters agreed with the decision immediately.

**LSM:** How do you see political collaboration developing once the Patriotic Front is in power in Zimbabwe?

**Zvobgo:** I can see various possibilities. For a start, the Patriotic Front accepts free and democratic elections as a prelude to independence. We are convinced the Patriotic Front would win by a landslide. We will participate in such elections as the Front, selecting single candidates for each constituency. In areas of ZAPU strength, ZANU won't field a candidate and vice versa. We will still be fighting a common enemy and can't afford to be fragmented.

Following the complete seizure of state power, new opportunities will arise. We can discuss the question of merger. But if we decide not to merge, then perhaps a general election would let the population decide on the question of primacy. Although we would be rivals in such a situation, we are comrades and it wouldn't be an antagonistic contradiction.

**LSM:** How can supporters of the Zimbabwe revolution assist the Patriotic Front?

**Zvobgo:** Because we still have separate organizations within the Front, material aid can be sent to ZANU or ZAPU, or both. Large shipments of material, such as weapons from Eastern Europe, are sent to the Organization of African Unity which divides them evenly between ZAPU and ZANU. Contributions to either organization strengthen the Patriotic Front.

Politically, it is important to support the unity of the Patriotic Front. ZANU and ZAPU have come together in a revolutionary front. The imperialists want to weaken our struggle by dividing us. So you either support the Patriotic Front or you support the enemy -- it is that clear.



# **In ZANU's Liberated Areas: Tradition Is Still Strong**

**By Eddison Zvobgo**

**The guerrilla war has escalated dramatically since 1976, and the settler regime has now left large parts of the rural areas entirely in the hands of the liberation movements. Here ZANU's Secretary of Information and Publicity discusses the political structures that are being built to replace the colonial administration.**

ZANU proclaimed 1978 as "The Year of the People." We have not only intensified the military struggle but pushed forward with our political and ideological programs in all our base areas in Zimbabwe.

## **Political Education**

Our political commissariat has been setting up classes for political education in the rural areas where we operate. ZANU's vision of the future must be imparted to the people of Zimbabwe. In the camps in

Mozambique our guerrillas undergo political training before they are issued a weapon. Inside the country our political cadres conduct the same lessons with the people.

First they teach, "Who is the enemy?" It is important that the peasants are able to accurately identify the enemy. At first they think the whites are the enemy, because that is what they see. We must tell them the real enemy is imperialism. Imperialism has chosen to work through British settlers in Rhodesia, but this is not a race or personal question.

The most important lessons deal with "national grievances." The people must recognize the various forms of their deprivation by the enemy, such as dispossession of their land and livestock, lack of health and education facilities, and access only to the poorest jobs. They must understand these problems are connected by imperialism's overall scheme to subjugate them for profit.

The explanation takes some time, but the people then begin to understand the real enemy. They can also see that even some of the white settlers don't gain much for themselves in carrying out imperialism's programs. Our political education is a way of introducing Marxist-Leninist analysis in simplified, concrete terms.

Other lectures deal with ZANU history and policy. One section covers ZANU's style of work: discipline, interpersonal relations, and modes of greeting. In some rural areas where we work you find people acting like ZANU comrades. For instance, before entering a house they will say "Pamberi" and the senior person inside responds "Ne Chimurenga": Forward with the Revolution. We want these revolutionary norms to be internalized to create a new culture amongst the people.

### **A New Administration**

Every established ZANU area has a defence committee that knows the number of guerrillas and militia in the area. The committee trains the peasant militias in the basic use of arms so they can defend themselves. One reason ZANU is short of weapons is that we are sharing our supplies with these people's militias inside the country.

Within defence, the operations department identifies local targets and plans actions. The logistics department is responsible for transporting weapons.

The health committee shares our medical care with the people, especially since the regime is no longer providing any medical facilities in the rural areas. Although we won't be able to reopen the government clinics until the end of the war, we have been training nurses in a three-month program. The health committee is also responsible for basic sanitation: toilet pits, clean houses, etc. Sanitation inspectors, selected from among the people, oversee this basic preventive medicine.

The publicity committees keep the people informed. They distribute 50,000 copies of each issue of ZANU's journal, **Zimbabwe News**, inside the country. We also have couriers who carry the news of how the war is going to all the areas.

### **Transforming Political Relations**

Building a new, revolutionary society in Zimbabwe is a difficult task, a long process. Traditional values are still quite strong, even amongst our supporters. For example, in some areas, the "grand old man" of the village is the chairman of the ZANU branch. He may have four or five wives and 45 children. His son may be secretary-treasurer of the branch, one of his wives may be publicity secretary, and so on. That village is the old man's terrain. It is very difficult to change this because even if you call another election the same man will be elected again.

We have to work within these restrictions in electing all the local committees except two. The security committee cannot, by its nature, be elected. It must be secret or it can't be effective in detecting government agents or traitors. Defence committee personnel work closely with the guerrillas and have to be free to disappear on assignments for days at a time. These people are usually selected from among the young women and men who have no definite responsibilities at home. All other committees are chosen by straight election.

To select the best leadership we combine evaluation of performance

with elections. For instance, after every battle the guerrillas discuss their conduct under fire and hold elections. If the commander is found lacking, a new one may be selected. This is real democracy on a day-to-day basis, rooted in revolutionary practice.

This same process takes place in the village committees. Recently an old man came to us in Mozambique all the way from the Fort Victoria area in Zimbabwe because he disagreed with some local committee decisions. His mission was to confront the Central Committee with his complaints. We had to investigate the problems seriously and deal with them.

Through evaluation we begin to restructure traditional society. We try to work within the existing structures and then let them transform as a result of the revolutionary process. People discover that certain traditions have become obsolete in the face of the needs of the struggle. Then people come to understand what an election is, not in the abstract sense but because they have seen that in dealing with certain tasks traditional relationships have been inadequate. But we are careful not to force new concepts too quickly or make radical changes before people are ready for them.

This has been a real education for us all. As Comrade Samora Machel says, "The revolution is the great university of the oppressed people." There we learn to combine the practical needs of the war with ideology. Pure theory never liberated an inch of our land. It's theory and revolutionary practice that make the difference.

# Why Is the West So Worried?

By Joshua Nkomo

**Extracts from a speech to the annual conference of the Southern Africa Research Association, Washington DC, 17 June 1978.**

...Our land was conquered by many means -- military, economic, and religious. The people who brought us Christianity lulled us by their misinterpretations of the Bible. They said, "Let's pray." We looked down and prayed. By the time we said "Amen" our land was fenced; it had become the private property of the missionaries' friends, the settlers.

...More recently it was the British -- even the Labour Party government whom we believed to be our friends -- who encouraged Smith to seek independence for Rhodesia in 1965. (Prime Minister Harold) Wilson told Smith that the British would not intervene if the settlers went ahead with their plans. What could be a greater encouragement than that?

Still the West is worried about "communist domination" in our liberation struggle. What do we think about that? Imagine that you are a



*Joshua Nkomo*

*Zimbabwe Review*

goat and that a hyena has you by the leg. The hyena is not killing you, he's just slowly sucking your blood while allowing you to live and produce offspring whose blood he can also suck. Then in the distance a lion roars. The hyena is startled and warns you: "That lion is dangerous; don't let him get near." But how do you know that the lion won't eat the hyena instead of eating you?

Our land has been taken away -- by the communists? Our people are being massacred every day -- by the communists? What have the communists done to us? They have given us weapons to kill the hyena! Please don't tell us Zimbabweans that an AK (automatic rifle) made in the Soviet Union is a threat to our independence! Don't tell us that the Cubans are dangerous to our independence! Don't tell us anything is more dangerous than the danger we face today!

#### **Who sends us into the mines?**

...Our struggle is not only against the Smith regime and its South

African allies; it is also against the bigger interests of our Western "friends." Smith, Muzorewa, Sithole, they are only agents. The principal enemy of our people is not located in Africa but in Europe and North America. Who exports the diamonds found in Zimbabwe to this part of the world? Who sends us to work deep down in the mines and then ships us back to waste in the reserves when we are old or have been incapacitated by silicosis? Not the communists -- the "democratic" capitalists, that's who!

For years we in the liberation movement have approached the West for assistance and received almost nothing. Today the Patriotic Front gets equipment, supplies, and scholarships from Eastern Europe, Cuba, the Soviet Union, and China. We have no foreign advisors, but we do send our people to these countries for training.

The Western governments and newspapers are extremely upset by our relations with the socialist countries. Not long ago, a Western ambassador in Lusaka came to my office, angry because he had seen a group of our young militants board an Aeroflot (Soviet) plane. "Nkomo," he said, "what are you doing sending planeloads of your people for indoctrination?" So I asked him in return, "What are **you** doing? Give us scholarships; send your Pan American or TWA planes to pick up our people." Do they expect us to just sit and do nothing? We have given the West a chance to show what they can do. It might have helped the future relations between our countries for young Zimbabweans to have studied there. While the West is busy complaining about the Cubans and Soviets, the Cubans and the Soviets are busy doing things. So we tell the West, "It's up to you, just don't weep afterwards."

### **No "Cuban danger"**

There's a lot of talk about the Cubans in Angola. Years and years before the first Cuban soldier ever set foot in that country, the United States and its NATO allies were helping the Portuguese fight President Neto and the MPLA. And when Angola's independence was finally near, South Africa invaded with the active assistance and encouragement of

the West. What could the MPLA do but to seek help? It's time for the West to shut up with this "Cuban danger" talk! We Africans are getting fed up with it.

A few months back there was some trouble in Shaba province in Zaire. Suddenly French and Belgian paratroopers dropped from the clouds. For what -- to help the Zairians? No, to rescue white people; that was the reason for their action. That they killed hundreds of Africans was hardly mentioned in the Western press. Racism lives. Now that Zimbabwe is approaching its independence, must we, too, expect such a "rescue" operation? I think it is a serious danger. What excuse will the French and their friends use to "rescue" their nationals and at the same time invade our country as they did in Shaba?

In Rhodesia you will now find thousands of mercenaries fighting against us. They come from the United States, Britain, Canada, and most of the Western European countries. But you will never find a single foreigner, Cuban or other, fighting with us. Why? Because we believe that we must liberate ourselves. It is the duty of every Zimbabwean, Namibian, and South African to fight for their own freedom. All we ask from the outside is weapons, clothing, medicines.

Why is the Western world so frightened of communism that merely by visiting Moscow or Peking we in the liberation movements become "communists?" Don't forget that every word of the English language which I'm speaking here was pounded into my head by British or British-inspired teachers, from primary school all the way to university. We read Shakespeare, memorizing and reciting. We even read Adam Smith's horrible venom. But we never became British! So why do the people who for years drilled us in their doctrine believe that two days in Moscow will make us communists?

### **Dont Blame Communism**

There must be something wrong with Western ideology. Don't blame communism; look here in your own country to find the problem. You who are in the US capital, find out what has gone wrong, why this country is losing friends in the Third World, why young people are demonstrating against the system.

In order to live together on this planet as human beings we have to side with those who are motivated by a concern for people, not for material wealth. In this very wealthy country from which you shout to the world about human rights I have seen people sleeping on the sidewalk at night with no blanket. I've stayed in Harlem; I've seen it with my own eyes. Some Americans have more money than they know what to do with.

Others go almost naked, with no food -- the "bums" and the old, wasted people who have nowhere to go. This is capitalist democracy...

What does this have to do with the liberation of Zimbabwe? We are trying to get rid of minority rule and racial oppression in order to do away with economic domination, with the system that Americans, too, suffer under.

### **The Land to the People**

For example, we are **not** fighting to retain private ownership of land. The land belongs to the people. The farmers and the cattle ranchers can use the land they need, but nobody can expropriate the land that has traditionally belonged to everybody. When I was a boy, signs saying "Trespassers will be prosecuted" sprang up all over Rhodesia. I suddenly became a trespasser on the land where I was born and where my family had lived for years. There is something wrong with a system like that. The product of your labor, your house and your crops, are rightfully yours. But the land itself belongs to the people.

...We have been discussing these things with your Secretary of State, Mr. Vance, and with his British colleague, Dr. Owen. They propose -- in the so-called Anglo-American plan -- to end the war, but let exploitation and oppression continue. To this we say No. Let's end exploitation, then we'll end the war.

### **Not Blacks or Whites**

Then they ask us about the white people. Well, what about the white people? We have **never** said that white people must leave Zimbabwe.

'But,' we are told, "you need their skills; you must compromise." Let me make this clear: Those who choose to stay in Zimbabwe will do so because they want to help build their country. They will contribute as citizens of Zimbabwe, not as whites or blacks. Those of you comrades here who want to come and work in Zimbabwe, don't worry about the color of your skin or the shape of your nose. Come and contribute as human beings.

True, some white people are leaving and more will no doubt leave later. We won't weep for them. The settlers have taught us very few skills during the almost one hundred years they have been in our country. But most skills can be learned in two, four, or six years; it doesn't take a century. Our people will now finally get a chance to acquire these skills. Of course, there will be setbacks during the first few years, but sometimes you have to take a step back in order to move forward.

...Still, those who claim to be our friends tell us to compromise. They talk about our freedom in quotas and fractions. But freedom is indivisible; you cannot cut it into bits and pieces.

Therefore, when we object to the Anglo-American proposals, don't call us "intransigent." The Patriotic Front is willing to talk when there is something to talk about. But we are not simply going to lay down our arms. If the Americans and the British really want to see an end to the war, they first must agree to end minority rule and the system of exploitation. This is what our struggle is about.

The war isn't nice. Every day twenty Zimbabweans are killed, most of them villagers who have never carried a gun in their lives. But if we don't lose lives in liberating ourselves today, we will slowly lose many more lives -- in South Africa and Namibia as well as in Zimbabwe -- in the years to come....

Long Live the Patriotic Front!

Victory Is Certain!

# Action & Information

International solidarity is a crucial aspect of the Zimbabwe liberation struggle. Student groups, churches, and political organizations throughout North America and Europe are carrying out campaigns in support of the Patriotic Front. To become active in such support work, and to get more information on Zimbabwe, contact the liberation movement office nearest you.

## **ZANU Offices:**

Headquarters

C.P. 743

Maputo

People's Republic of Mozambique

211 East 43rd Street, room 902

New York, NY 10017

USA

8 Grange Road

West Mosley

Surrey

United Kingdom

P.O. Box 415

Cote des Neiges Station

Montreal

Canada H3S 2S7

Box 19553

104 32 Stockholm

Sweden

51 Beddon Avenue

Clayton

Victoria

Australia

## **ZAPU Offices:**

Headquarters:

Box 1657

Lusaka

Zambia

104 East 40th Street, room 401

New York, NY 10016

USA

39 Goodge Street

London W1

United Kingdom

P.O. Box 20128

Dar-es-Salaam

Tanzania

# Voices of the Liberation Movement...

## **ZIMBABWE NEWS**

Official Organ of Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) -- Patriotic Front

Available from:  
Zimbabwe News  
612 Steiner St. - No. 1  
San Francisco, CA 94117, USA

## **ZIMBABWE REVIEW**

Official Organ of Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) -- Patriotic Front

Subscriptions (\$3.00 year) available from:  
LSM Press  
P.O. Box 2077  
Oakland, CA 94604, USA

# Also Available from LSM Press...

## **The Organizer**

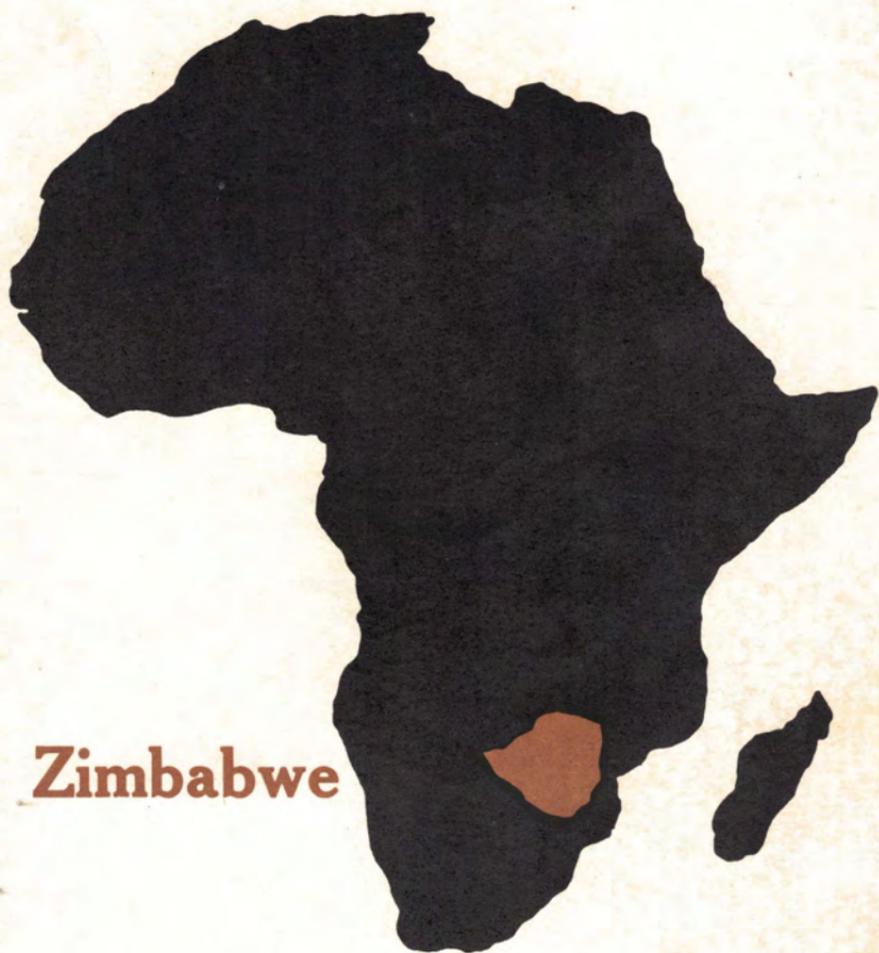
The Autobiography of Temba Moyo

As Temba Moyo grew up in rural Zimbabwe his anger at the racist regime led him to the nationalist movement. His experiences as a Youth League activist, political prisoner, and ZAPU guerrilla illustrate the problems and growth of the liberation movement. (postpaid) **\$2.95**

## **1979 Africa Liberation Calendar**

Features themes from the African revolution: guerrilla war, socialism, women's liberation, and culture. Dynamic poetry and quotes from African militants complement the colorful photos and drawings for each month. (postpaid) **\$3.45**

**Write for a free catalog of our many publications on Africa and the Middle East.**



**Zimbabwe**