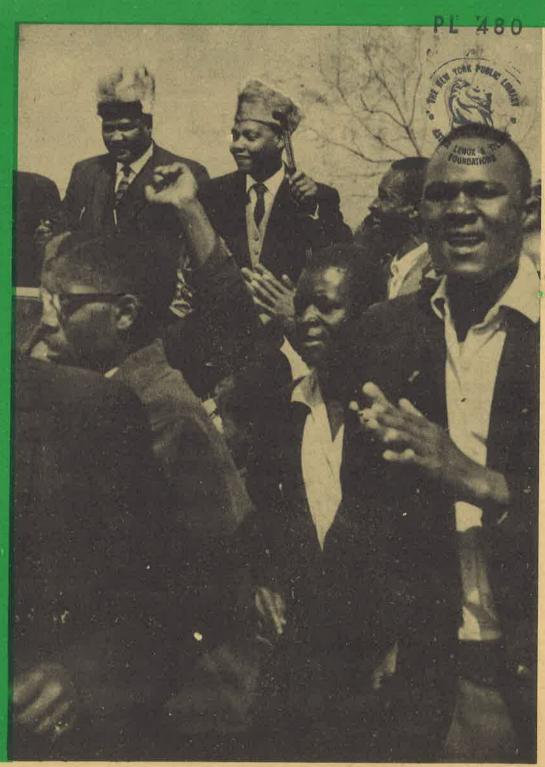
# mbabwe eview

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OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE ZIMBABWE AFRICAN PEOPLES UNION (ZAPU) ZIMBABWE (RHODESIA)

Mr. Joshua Nkomo President of ZAPU and the late Doctor Tichafa Parirenyatwa (the then Vice President of ZAPU is on Nkomds left)



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#### Zimbabwe Review

#### **NOTICE TO OUR READERS:**

In our next issue of the "The Zimbabwe Review" We shall vocus the Zimbabwe International Conference held in the Republic of Somali's Capital Mogadishu from 25, to 27, November 1974, As from January 1975 our Publication shall resume its Bimonthly Editions, The Editor

#### CONTENTS:

Page Editorial: A Quick Look at 1974 **Absolute Commitment** to Armed Struggle and Sacrifices Involved: Determination and Dedi-3 cation British and South African Joint Military Exercices: MEANING AND 5 FEFECT The Working Conditions and Slave Wages for Afri-8 cans in Rhodesia INSIDE ZIMBABWE: 12 Fascist Regime Increases its Repressive Measures: Full SCALE POLICE STATE Protected Villages: A New Form of Detention 13 Camps Jordan Sells Missiles and Tanks to Rodesia Through South Africa: AN UNFRIENDLY **BLOW TO FREE** AFRICA Our Praise to a Fighter 16

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## EDITORIAL

# A QUICK LOOK AT 1974

1974 is coming to an end. Soon we shall be entering the new year. A brief glance over the past twelve months will help us to draw up a balance of our set backs and achievements. In a situation such as ours where we are laying down a foundation and, at the same time, seeking to cover new ground and defend our gains against such a rapacious enemy as the Rhodesian and South African facists set backs are to be expected. In our situation it must be born in mind that we are not always in possession of the necessary means to meet the immediate demand.

We began 1974 with the spirit to forge ahead. We vowed that we would never give ground to our enemy. We inflicted several losses on the enemy. Never will the racists forget the ZAPU attack on the fishing camp at Kandahar in which a whole unit of South African forces was wiped out without as much as a single drop of blood being shed by the gallant Zimbabweans. That was a blow that both Smith and Vorster will live to remember. For as long as we are denied freedom in our own land, more Kandahar incidents should be expected. Both Smith and Vorster will have yet more incidents to remember in their sad lifetime.

We are not unaware of certain very desperate acts mounted by forces of oppression in certain areas against absolutely innocent souls as reprisals against our many successful onslaughts to free Zimbabwe. We regard reprisals against harmless civilians as expressions of craven cowardice. We do not only criticise such measures, but condemn them with all the violance at our disposal.

While our national task is long and arduous, we do not lose sight of its urgency. We are acutely aware that the enemy is not standing idly by but is trying to consolidating his position daily.

We feel a sense of sharp exasperation at repeated reports at some arms deals between nations (whose bitter experiences and losses are not unlike ours) and the Rhodesian regime or the South African facists. We are not aware that those nations who have consistently claimed to be with us, but make occasional arms purchases from South Africa, can be serving their interests, long-term or short-term, in view of the changing political panorama in Southern Africa. We appeal to them to reassess their priorities correctly.

The world is divided between anti-imperialist freedom forces and those of anti-freedom Reacetionaries forces. It is not realistic to claim to stand between

the two without a national stand point for one or the other. With the passing of 1974, we appeal to all those who claim to support freedom to show it by their actions which must always constitute a blow against the oppressive dictatorships of Southern Africa.

We cannot take statements at the United Nations or the Organisation of African Unity or by certain members of the nonalligned grouping seriously if the actions of the speakers both before and after the statements show a clear partiality for South African or Rhodesian trade, finance or products. We hope that 1975 will bring about a change in this regard.

The change in Mozambique is a lesson to those who based their external policies on expediency rather than on principle. Without excluding any friend or supporter, we would be failing in our international obligations if we did not mention the great role played in our struggle by countries like Zambia, Tanzania, the USSR, the German Democratic Republic, Somalia, Botswana and others.

At this crucial stage we need international material support and facilities. We cannot but feel greatly encouraged by the tangible and visible help from those of our brothers and sisters whose geographical situation and ideological obligations place them in the same camp with us vis-a-vis oppression and exploitation. We kindly request those whose sympathy is neither visible nor tangible but only audible to acknowledge that sooner than later they will have to deal with us from effective positions of power than with the present South African or Rhodesian racists. We are the forces of the future. The oppressive regimes are only but a passing pheno-

menon, whose connection with history is as short lived as it is maintained by armed violance.

1974 will soon be passed. We salute it as a particularly successful one for the revolution in southern Africa. We applaude the break-up of the unholy Pretoria-Salisbury-Lisbon alliance due to the consistent struggle of the progressive forces in Portugal and the telling blows struck by the liberation movements in Guinea-Bisseau, Mozambique and Angola. We salute the Republic of Guinea-Bissau which has just marked its first anniversary. We rejoice in the achievements of the people of Egypt who in the face of the NATO, South African and Rhodesian backed imperialist forces of Israel will soon be opening the Suez Cannel once again. We are confident that this great national asset of the Egyptian people will also serve the cause of our own liberation struggle in Zimbabwe. All these factors are very dear and vital to us. We wonder whether the Rhodesian regime views them with the attention they deserve. If it does not we wonder whether Ian Smith and his regime realise that we are very much on top of the situation. That he and his South African allies are on the losing side. We wonder, too, whether or not Smith sees any sense in attempting to dig in even now when the odds are so overwhelmingly against his fascist regime. We vow to bury him if he digs in. Great Britian is still responsible for Rhodesia and we advise her from a purely humanitarian point of view to force Smith to abandon his reckless stand, to relent and retreat from his mad suicidal path. But be that as it may we are the ones who are determining and dictating the course of events. We Zimbabweans have room and respect for compassion and mannamity.

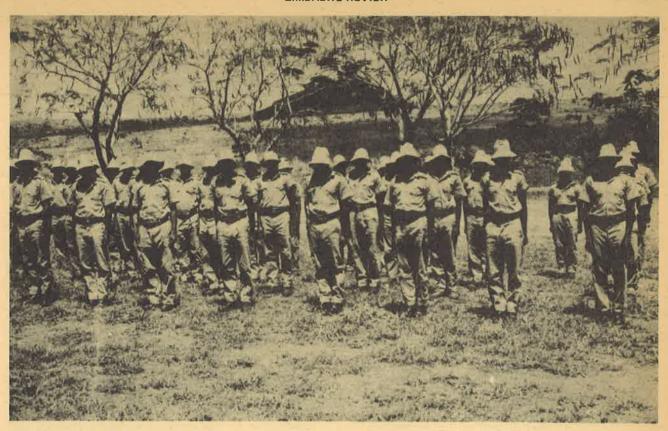
ABSOLUTE COMMITMENT
TO ARMED STRUGGLE
AND SACRIFICES INVOLVED:

DETERMINATION
AND
DEDICATION

It is not easy to define absolute commitment to the struggle and the sacrifices involved and demanded of all of us. Commitment to the armed struggle means simply engagement to the liberation cause, in this case to the liberation cause of Zimbabwe. The sacrifices are many and high, and so are the stakes which are freedom, justice, equality, human dignity and rights denied which we presently live under violent oppression and exploitation in our own land. The situation in our country calls for utmost commitment and the highest sacrifice from each of us if we are to achieve our cherished goal as a nation.

Some of us are in the struggle just because we are Zimbabweans and have been caught up in a situation from which we cannot extricate ourselves. Some of us are in the struggle for what little excitement we can get from it. Some of us are in it because it is fashionable to be so involved these days. Some of us joined because we could not get jobs or school accomodation. Yet some of us joined voluntarily because we realised the national necessity to fight for the freedom of our country, which means, in effect, for our own freedom. Some joined for mere positions.

We can illustrate the case about those who are in the struggle because it is fashionable by quoting an incident which occurred in the United States in 1965 after Smith



Recruits of the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army - ZPRA - on parade. Only through armed struggle can Zimbabwe be free.

had made his ill-fated unilateral declaration of independence. African students in the USA staged demonstrations one of which was joined by four American students who did not know why the Africans were demonstrating, or where Zimbabwe was. On being asked why they had joined the demonstration, one of them replied: "It's a demonstration, isn't it? If it's a demonstration, then it must be for something good and we don't want to be left out of it!"

Those of us who have analysed our situation and understood it have rightly concluded that nothing short of the utmost sacrifice can correct the injustices meted out to us by the white minority regime. The conclusion was made without losing sight of all the sacrifices and hardships encountered on the way towards freedom. Families left without bread-winners; wives, children and relatives go naked. Riches and comforts are given up for the sake of the nation. Some of us left trappings of leisurely lives. Some have adequate qualifications to earn lavish wages as doctors, lawyers, teachers and even commercial entrepreneurs. By giving these examples, we are not implying that some people have more reason to shun the armed struggle than others. What we mean is that some people have resisted the meaningless temptations of life to join the meaningful patriotic forces fighting for our national freedom.

Fighting for our national freedom means choosing the Gonakudzingwa and What Wha detention camps. It means choosing jail; it means the hangman's noose; it means physical beatings and humiliation at the callous hands of the fascist regime and its brutal agents. Those who are shooting it out for freedom in the hills and bushes of Zimbabwe have chosen to live with snakes,

lions and mosquitoes as unwelcome daily companions. This means living virtually with disease. All this some of us chose knowing very well that we were staking our lives as the highest form of sacrifice we can and should offer for our liberty. The situation in our country demands nothing less than this. It demands self-denial. Lest we are misunderstood, we must hasten to point out that parents whose children have joined the armed revolution must be commended for ancouraging their children in this regard. This is indeed a tremendous sacrifice because it is not easy for a parent to remain calm when their child goes off to fight a war for no material pay but national freedom. Parents with children in the front spend many sleepless nights thinking and worrying. Some parents have actually seen their sons sentenced to death and subsequently hanged in the Salisbyry Central Prison. Yet these parents have maintained an iron will by showing absolute determination to resist the enemy. They understand fully that for Zimbabwe to be free, Zimbabweans must fight and in fighting some of them are bound to fall. This is what we mean by absolute commitment and sacrifice.

Those whose children are at home and are earning what little they can under this vicious system, have a solemn duty to console and comfort the bereft. They have an inescapable duty to support those who have no breadwinners. They must realise that the system demands a change, and that the change can and will come about only through our own effort. They must realise that nobody is responsible for anybody's hardships in the armed revolution.

We would like to state very strongly that the possession of such objects as cars, television sets and a few other visible signs of material wealth is absolutely nothing if one does not understand and fight the evil system in Zimbabwe for the benefit of all people for all time.

We are opposed to any tendency towards living in order to acquire riches at the expense of the revolutionary changes occurring around us. Such a tendency makes one blind to the changing scene. We do not want colonised minds whose aim in life is to emulate the white exploiters. We want an anti-colonial mind which strives for a radical change in our society. This radical change for the benefit of all people will come about only through the armed liberation struggle. Colonised minds are dangerous to this struggle because they are submissive, docile and subservient to the enemy and his oppressive laws

Zimbabweans had better realise that this is a time when everybody must rise up and strike a blow for the cause of freedom. We should not sit back while our enemy continues to plunder the riches of our father-land. We should not sit idly by while our sons and daughters are

executed by our avowed enemy. We should not stand by while our dedicated leaders languish in prisons for fighting for justice and equality. We should not watch quietly while our livestock is being stolen from us in broad day-light. We should not fail to fight when we are removed from our land to make room for our white enemy. We should stand up and join the armed revolution under ZAPU. This is a duty we must perform with, pride and conviction.

Let us spread the revolutionary struggle through a revolutionary spirit throughout our land. Let us stand firm in spite of all this suffering and deprivation. Let us show confidence in ourselves by fighting for ourselves. We should not falter nor fear. We should all forge ahead with absolute commitment and make whatever sacrifices our serious situation may demand. It is only through that course of patriotic action that we shall free our Zimbabwe from white minority domination. That course of action needs us all, at all times, all over Zimbabwe.

#### BRITISH AND SOUTH AFRICA JOINT MILITARY EXERCISES:

#### MEANING AND EFFECT

The recent British and South African joint navy exercises came and went amidst protests and opposition from all progressive forces the world over. The British Labour Government upon whose unprincipled shoulders the whole blame for the exercise should be placed said nothing worth reproducing here or remembering to explain its pro-apartheid stance. There were meaningless muffles in Whitehall but not statement of a clear cut policy was issued to explain Harold Wilson's administration's stand. We do not have to point out here that Harold Wilson is one of the most vociferous antiracialists in the United Kingdom, BUT ONLY WHEN HE IS IN THE OPPOSITION.

It is significant to observe too that soon after the Labour Party was returned to power earlier this year, a total of £ 18 million (sterling) was lent to racist South Africa for trade purposes. Again no word of value was heard from Harold Wilson. We all know how allegedly indignant he was when the Lions Rugby team toured the land of racialism despite opposition and disapproval by the British Labour Government. The Wilson administration even instructed the British ambassador in South Africa not to entertain the team. The reason given was that the Labour Government opposes apartheid (racial discrimination).

The Lions Rugby Club is not an arm of the British

Government, but the British Navy is a sole and direct responsibility of the government. We are not suggesting that the British Government does not have responsibility over the country's sports. It has, and so has the South African fascists. But comparatively, the British Government is responsible for the day to day running of the nation's navy more than it has its finger in sports. This means that the British Government is abler to stop military exchanges, associations and links between British armed forces and South Africa than it is to prohibit sporting ties between its rugby or cricket players and those of racist South Africa.

We still remember very vividly how the Labour Government and other anti-apartheid bodies put down their united foot against a South African sports tour of the United Kingdom a few months before the June 1970 British general elections brought Edward Heath's Conservatives into office. Harold Wilson played a major role in that anti-South African rugby tour campaign. The cancellation of the tour was a quite effective blow against the apostles of apartheid in South Africa. They began to realise that their racialism was regarded as damnable internationally. They began to understand that the non-whites of South Africa against whom racialist policies are brutally applied have sympathisers abroad.

We know how the South Africans, having been denied participation in the Olympic games, decided to hold their own games in which racial teams competed one another. This was an attempt by the Vorster regime to appear to the outside world to be non-racialistic. But the stunt could not cheat anybody who knows that the very fabric of the South African regime's policy is racialism. It permeates life at all strata. It is found in the demarcation of residential areas; it is found in the country's educational system; it is found in the employment sector; it is in the wages structure where differentials are based completely on racial considerations; it is practised in sports, and, very sharply, it is found in the country's armed forces, especially the air force and the navy where there is not a single African recruit or cadet, let alone officer, commissioned or non-commissioned.

The world is painfully aware that racialism in South Africa is strongly maintained with the very active brutality of the country's armed forces. By armed forces we are referring also to the police who comprises crack para-military troops in the land of apartheid. The world cannot forget about the 1922 Bulhoek massacre of Enock Mgijimi's followers, nor can we forget about the 1960 Sharpeville blood-bath. Not only that, but last year alone, South African police shot dead 50 non-white people. Of these 42 were Africans. If that is not brutal and murderous racialism, then nothing can be.

We wonder how Harold Wilson's government thinks that his ostensibly anti-apartheid administration does not help and strengthen apartheid by arranging for British troops to hold joint military exercises with those of the land of apartheid, whose sole aim at home is to entrench and protect apartheid. One would have thought that if British labourites would not support sports tours of South Africa or of the United Kingdom by South African racialist sports clubs, they would leave no stone

unturned to stop a military exercise in which their nationals are involved on behalf of their country. Failure by Harold Wilson to do this is a serious rebuff against all nations genuinely opposed to apartheid. He deserves the strongest indictment by all. He cannot escape this crime. He has committed it publicly and without any valid explanation or excuse except that he is basically an ally of Vorster, and superficially that of the victims of Vorster's venomous policies.

It has been said that Harold Wilson and South Africa's Balthazar Johannes Vorster entered into a very secret military pact at the end of 1966. It was on the strength of this pact that South African armed forces were later sent to Rhodesia to fight against freedom-fighters.

Some people had wished to doubt this fact merely on the ground that Harold Wilson is a known opponent of apartheid and could never have entered into such an agreement with Vorster or Vorster's predecessor, Verwoerd. The recent joint military exercise between the British and the South African navies was an indisputable proof to the doubtful minds that Wilson's words do not always express his actual feelings. It would seem that he has trained himself to say the exact opposite of what he intends to do. There are a few exceptions such as his ill-advised or deliberate declaration in October 1965 that his government would never use force against Rhodesia even if a unilateral declaration of independence was made. If that statement did not precipitate Smith's UDI, it accelerated it by ruling out British military action against it in advance.

The British Labour Government has claimed through Joan Lestor of the Commonwealth Relations Office that South Africa has been asked to withdraw its armed troops from Rhodesia. We do not believe this. We cannot understand how Wilson can ask Vorster to withdraw his forces from Rhodesia while, at the very same time, he is having joint military exercises with some of Vorster's forces in spite of strong opposition not only from Zimbabweans (Rhodesians) but from all over the world. If Wilson had wished to show Vorster that apartheid and the presence of South African troops in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) were not supported by Whitehall, he would have refused to let the British navy hold joint military exercises with Vorster's brigands. By agreeing to the exercise, Wilson has exposed himself for what he is, either a racialist or a hypocrite.

If we sound very polemical, it is because Wilson has shown us a very diabolical attitude. It was he who took Edward Heath to task for allowing the sale of Wasp helicopters to the South African navy after Heath's Conservatives came into power in June 1970. Wilson stated that the sale of the helicopters to Vorster was a serious violation of United Nations resolutions against South Africa. One of them prohibits the sale of weapons of war to the South African racists. But it is the very same Wilson who today has allowed the British navy to hold joint exercises with the same South African navy to whom Edward Heath sold the helicopters in serious



A resounding "NO" was recorded by the British Pearce Commission which toured Rhodesia at the beginning of 1972 to test the opinion of the people on the November 24, 1971 Anglo-Rhodesian constitutional conspracy against the 5,800,000 Africans of Zimbabwe.

violation of UN resolutions. What the difference, if any, is there between these two men? Edward Heath supplied Vorster with weapons, and Wilson later sent British boys to Vorster's murderers to see how those weapons working. We see no difference between these two Britons' principles.

As for the money loaned to South Africa for trade purposes, it is obvious, once more, that South Africa's arrogance is given succour and comfort by the United Kingdom. It is common knowldge that Harold Wilson has been clamouring for the strengthening of ecnomic sanctions against the Rhodesian minority dictatorship. It is also common knowledge that South Africa is the worst breaker of these sanctions. A measure to strengthen South African trade by means of loans or increase in imports of South African commodities is an indirect boost to the violation of sanctions by South Africa. The stronger the South African ecnomy, the more support it gives to the Rhodesian economy. This is sheer common knowledge. But Wilson seems to wish us to believe that the United Kingdom can boost up its trade and financial dealings with South Africa without doing the same in effect with Rhodesia.

In case Harold Wilson and his administration are unaware that half of the money Africans spend on services and goods in South Africa goes to white traders, we draw their attention to the Bantu Administrative Department Minute A 12/1A8/1, 1963 which stated: "... trading by Bantu (Africans) in white areas is not an inherent primary opportunity for them, but should be allowed only where necessary."

We may add that it is never found "necessary" for Africans to trade in so-called white areas. It is false, therefore, to claim that boosting up of the South African trade by British finances is meant to help the Africans. It is meant to establish more white traders in the "white areas" where Africans have to spend more than half of the meagre wages they earn in whiteowned enterprises in South Africa.

With these facts before us, we do not understand how anybody who claims to be opposed (and to be doing something about it) to apartheid and the general Southern African situation is able to allow and defend what has come to pass between South Africa and Harold Wilson's Labour Government. We appeal to all progressive forces in the United Kingdom to see the wood from the trees in Southern Africa and to place their priorities correctly lest we rightly regard them as being more with the fascists than with us — the oppressed and exploited African masses — 75,000 of whom staged 246 strikes in South Africa in 1973 and 54 in the first six months of 1974, all against inhuman working conditions and the unforgivably low wages paid to them.

# THE WORKING CONDITIONS AND SLAVE WAGES FOR AFRICANS IN RHODESIA

The line of propaganda pursued by the Rhodesian colonial regime and its apologists is meant to boost "benefits" of the colonial system to the Africans. The regime and its adherents attempts to back up their argument by talking about tremendours reforms and advances the system has inaugurated and carried through for the alleged welfare of the African population.

The regime goes further by saying that as a result of its policy, based on paternal benevolence and "understanding" of the psychology and weaknesses of the Africans, wages paid to Africans are being gradually increased while Rhodesia's labour policies are far more enlightened than those of their co-racists in South Africa. These and similar lame arguments and invalid justifications are used most widely to counter the democratic demands of the African people. The Rhodesian regime boasts of a non-racial approach to labour issues. The opposite is, however,

Rocked by pressure and industrial strikes by the African workers in 1960, the regime introduced the Industrial Conciliation Act. Under this Act, provision was made for the first time for organisation of African workers to be formed. The Act was over-loaded with every conseivable

type of restriction. This was because the regime's aim in introducing the Act was to subdue industrial unrest in the country. Prior to the Act, the country had experienced many stormy years of strikes. The regime regarded the strikes as illegal and always used brutal force to smash the unarmed African workers. Such was the case in 1954 when 9,000 coalminers at Wankie were attacked by armed forces. Similar brutalities had been committed against African workers in the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s.

Under the Industrial Conciliation Act, the workers' organisations are divided into three categories - A, B, C. Grade A workers are mainly journeymen. This means in practice that they are white workers because there is virtually no African qualified for this category. Group B comprises mainly semi-skiled whites, while Grade C is entirely African unskilled workers. In all voting and balloting, Grade A workers have each a vote six times more effective than that of Grade C. The overwhelming white predominance in skilled and semiskilled jobs is more of the result of racial job reservation than the availability of skills in the country. As a result of the practical application of this Act, there are 50 registered trade union movements in the country. Of these, 17 are for white workers and 19 for Africans. The remainder are multi-racial and, therefore, come under the Act's pro-white voting bias.

The custodians of Rhodesia's racist policies are further entrenched by a chain of racialistic trappings and restrictions such as the African Labour Regulations Act, and the Master and Servants Act. These acts apply only to African workers from whom wages can be with-held on the pretext that they have been "loafing", sick or have "deserted". These acts are full of restrictions designed to preserve the morbid racial division of the workers. Whereas it is universally accepted that skills do not depend on one's colour (or related to it), but are acquired through training, in Rhodesia the regime says skills are related to one's colour.

#### African Humiliation

Results of humiliation and rabid economic exploitation of the Africans in Rhodesia are seen in the whole social life based on racial discrimination. The following catalogue of strikes in Rhodesia illustrates the people's rejection of the racist standards of peternal benevolence and "understanding".

YEAR	WORKERS' ORGANISATION
1946	<ul> <li>Railways African Workers' Union general strike.</li> </ul>
1948	<ul> <li>African workers' general strike.</li> </ul>
1954	<ul> <li>Wankie Colliery workers' general strike.</li> </ul>
1960	<ul> <li>African workers' general strike.</li> </ul>
1961	<ul> <li>African workers' general strike.</li> </ul>
1965	<ul> <li>African workers' general strike in protest</li> </ul>
	against Smith's unilateral declaration
	of independence.

When the last count of strike action was made in 1972, it was established that work stoppages in Rhodesia that year alone had involved more than 14,000 workers out of a total of about 966,300 workers. The largest single union involved in the 1972 stoppages was the Transport Workers' Union. Despite the fact that this union is not recognisded by the fascist regime, it called on its members to withdraw their labour. Its action was felt mainly in Salisbury and Bulawayo the country's two industrial centres. The union's 1,900 bus-drivers demanded a daily increase of 55 cents (slightly more than five shillings). The demand was absolutely justified in view of increased risks caused by working without busconductors, a ruling that repairs to damaged buses would be paid for from the drivers wages, and the refusal of the bus company to pay drivers for over-time.

The regime's reply to the drivers' demands was brutal force and arrest of the strikers. They were hastily tried and convicted under the Industrial Conciliation Act. They were fined or sentenced to arbitrary jail terms.

The paradox of this case is in that the Transport Workers' Union was command. Its injustice is meant solely for the African workers.

A racist apologist, writing in the South Financial Mail of December 14, 1973, compared Rhodesia's and South Africa's labour policies on negotiation between workers and employers through the Industrial Council. He lamely tried to establish that the two fascist countries treat the African worker as an adult, and that the bus-drivers of the Transport Workers' Union had not behaved as adults by going on strike.

#### Virtual Impossibility

Zimbabwe have suffered dire econo-

deregistered by the racist regime in 1970. Under the Industrial Conciliation Act, workers who are not members of a registered union cannot take their industrial disputes to the country's Industrial Council either individually or through their representative or officials. The busdrivers found themselves in an invidious position. That is exactly where the racist law meant to place them. It then pounced upon them with all injustice at its disposal and

That the African workers (and indeed the African population) of mic exploitation and social humiliation at the claws of the colonial system can be seen easily in the table below. The table shows the average annual wages of Rhodesian Europeans and those of the Africans and the relevant gap and ratio between the two racial groups' earnings.

The table above shows how the gap between African and European wages has continued to widen since the dissolution of the formerly imposed Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The narrowing of the wage gap in the period between 1958 and 1964 shows how the racists deliberately regulated African wages with a view to buying African co-operation in the maintenance of the now defunct Federation. The explanation that the ever widening gap is caused by the differing productivities of the two racial groups is false inasmuch as productivity, like skills, is not related to race or skin colour. The argument is difficult to take seriously especially in view of the fact that it is a virtual impossibility to measure productivity on a racial basis. Below we have a table showing three industries employing large numbers of Africans and Europeans.

#### PRODUCTIVITY BETWEEN THE YEARS 1964-1970

er			
ncrease	+ 32	+ 55	+ 31
1			
wages	+ 30	+ 34	+ 21.5
vages	+ 20.7	+ 19	+ 28
	n wages	ncrease + 32 n wages + 30	ncrease + 32 + 55 n wages + 30 + 34

The above table shows that productivity has been rising with output per head moving in front of average wages. In manufacturing and mining, the per centage increase of white (European) wages for the period was faster than of the African wages. But increases in produktivity per industry does not show what per centage was due to European or African workers separately. The racists do not, however, take such facts into consideration, but the colour of one's skin to assume one's high or low productivity.

YEAR	EUROPEANS	AFRICANS	GAP	RATIO
1958	2,182 (Rhodesian \$)	169 (Rh. \$)	2,013	12,9 to 1
1964	2,288 (Rh. dollars)	235 (Rh. \$)	2,255	10,4 to 1
1970	3,114 (Rh. dollars)	305 (Rh. \$)	2,809	10,6 to 1
1972	3,628 (Rh. dollars)	337 (Rh. \$)	3,291	10,8 to 1

(Rhodesian \$ or Rh. \$ stands for Rhodesian dollars)

Both tables above show only what changes have taken place in the money wages over the given periods. To understand (or get a clue of) what happened to real wages, we need to relate the given per centages to the rate of increase in the consumer price index - CPI. In the African case, the all-items CPI moved up almost 16 per cent over the period. This means that the real wages for Africans declined considerably during the same time. As for Europeans, the all-items CPI rose by 19 per cent. It is easy to see how output per head been rising sharply while the rise in African wages has been trailing far behind

prodoductivity. This phenomenon is the real cause of the continuing widening gap between the African and the European wages. Productivity is compiled on a non-racial basis in every industry, but wages are determined on the strength of race. This is the essence of the racists' exploitation of African labour. It has justification whatsoever in economic terms. A still clearer picture of the inhuman exploitation of the African workers in Rhodesia is further revealed by the cold statistics of the African wages given by the regime as the statutory (minimum) monthly wage for January 1973.

Dunlop Tyre Factory
North Willowvale Motor Assembly
Rhodesian Breweries
Oil Companies
Printing & Publishing Industries
Lion Match Company
Air Rhodesia
African Explossives
Dairy Marketing Board
Rhodesian Sugar Refinery & relayed sectors
Grain Marketing Board
COLD STORAGE COMMISSION
African domestic servants

33.00 Rhodesian dollars 32.40 Rhodesian dollars 31.52 Rhodesian dollars 31.00 Rhodesian dollars 30.00 Rhodesian dollars 30.24 Rhodesian dollars 29.52 Rhodesian dollars 29.44 Rhodesian dollars 26.20 Rhodesian dollars 25.92 Rhodesian dollars 22.00 Rhodesian dollars 19.04 Rhodesian dollars

In 1958, a Dr. D. Bettison carried out a survey of African spending in the Salisbury area and tried to establish a poverty datum line — PDL. The PDL was defined as the "African monthly wage, sufficient to cover the barest essentials of the worker and his family." These essentials are food, clothing, fuel, light, cleaning materials, transport to and from work, rent, tax. His figure for an

African family (in the Salisbury area) with two children was R\$ 31.07 a month. The weighted figure which included accomodation was RS 35.11 a month. Allowing for a 40 per cent rise in the cost of living since 1958, we arrive at an approximate PDL for an African family with two children (in the Salisbury area) of R\$60.00.

If we further consider that the

Bettison estimates took into account "the barest essentials", and that the consumption patterns of Africans have changed, then it is simply clear that the minimum wage for an African family with two children (in the Salisbury area) should be much higher than 60.00 Rhodesian dollars. This being the sober statistical fact, we may now ask: How does an African in Rhodesia today make ends meet with a meagre monthly wage of 36.00 Rhodesian dollars? We may also add here that this set of cold statistics does not reveal the real depth of the poverty and degradation suffered by the Africans in Rhodesia. Statistics cannot reflect vividly the suffering in terms of unter-nourishment and its concomitant diseases like kwashiokor and mental retardation. African wages having fallen far behind the rising cost of living, and coupled by inflation which galloped away in Rhodesia in the latter half of 1973, the situation is such that a political explosion is not very deep under the surface.

The African-led trade unions ought to be aware of the weapon in their hands. Those African workers who do skilled jobs should realise that somebody else enjoys the fruit of their labour in the form of prizewages. Although the African workers do not have guns in their hands today, they can use the strike as an effective weapon by stopping all production in the country. Unions must exercise their full power for the sole benefit of the workers so that the present imbalance and the existing wage gap between the African and the European workers can be bridged and the country freed.

It is only a question of time now before Zimbabwean workers take part in all forms of industrial negotiations as fully recognised participants. Faced by this real threat to their privileges, the racists are resorting to all methods of suppression and terror to curb or forestall the looming unrest throughout the country. In was in strict pursuance of this fact that last October (1973) Smith's man responsible for labour, Ian Maclean, introduced an amendment to the Industrial Conciliation Act.

#### OBJECTS OF OPPRESSION

This amendment does not only wipe out utterly the principle of free negotiation and collective bargaining, but also adds some highly racialistic under-tones meant to protect the European worker and his privileged position in Rhodesia. The amendment empowers the so-called president of the Rhodesian regime to instruct Smith's man responsible a further dispute on the agreement arise. Formerly such a dispute would have been taken to an industrial court. The amendment thus gives power to the racist regime to nullify an agreement reached by trade unions and employers if he deems his action to be in what is called public (European) interest. According to the amendment, all wage disputes will in future be referred to an industrial tribunal instead of to an industrial court. The chairman and members of the tribunal will be

#### stop press. stop press. stop press.

A spokesman for the office of the Botswana President announced on October 17 that the Botswana police had established that Comrade Ethan Dube had been taken by his armed kidnappers to the Ramakgwebana River which is the boundary between Botswana and Rhodesia. He was taken across the dry river bed on foot near the Mpoengs Police Station of Rhodesia. The Botswana Government strongly condemned "this flagrant act of terrorism perpetrated within its borders

by the agents of the illegal regime in Rhodesia and demands that the regime should ensure that Mr. Dube is returned to Botswana forthwith. Acts such as this are further signs of the desperate measures which the minority regime will resort to in its futile attempt to maintain its illegal and immoral supremacy over the Rhodesian Africans".

The Botswana Government added: "Crimes like the murder of Onkgopotse Tiro and the kidnapping of Joel Mthimkhulu

(the teacher) will not, of course, deter Botswana from pursuing its well known policy regarding the legitimate struggle of the oppressed people of Southern Africa for self-determination.

"The Government of Botswana takes a very serious view of such attacks on persons in Botswana and is considering what further steps it can take to prevent such acts of murder and kidnapping by supporters of doomed minority regimes."

appointed by the minister in question.

The motives of the amendment were clearly revealed by two Rhodesian Front members of parliament during a futile debate on the amendment. According to a certain Sutton-Pryce, the amendment was "necessary for the protection of skilled workers (Europeans) against a deliberate fragmentation of skilled trades." A certain Mr. Newington bluntly said the amendment was "intended to protect the present and the future of the white working man in terms of the policy of the Rhodesian Front which is the permanent establishment of the European in this country." Nothing can be more revealing of the Rhodesian settler's mentality than the above statements. The Rhodesian white community is depicted as a brood of threatened chickens in dire need of protection. By creating an air of suspicion and mistrust between the two major racial groups, the regime hopes that the races will remain for ever in a donkey-and-rider relation. This type of situation requires force to maintain. Such a relation can never have mutual understanding and cooperation, be it in politics or in the economic field.

The recently introduced labour regulations, for instance, empower the regime's armed police and military forces to compel Africans to work on such projects as road maintenance, security fences, bridges, dams and others said to be in the interest of public security. The introduction of these stringent regulations is not a new element in the labour laws and regulations of Rhodesia.

Rhodesia has been in a state of emergency continuously for the past 15 years. This means that it is a police state with the Africans as the objects of oppression and living in virtual concentration camps. The recent introduction of forced labour to be supervised by armed forces means that the concentration camps have been elevated to slave labour camps. This is what the racists have been boasting about as benefits they brought to the Africans. This is the result of the fascists' paternal benevolence and so-called understanding of African problems. According to their pseudo-logic, Africans understand nothing except force. We do not have to remind the racists that force breeds force, and that those who use it to subdue others always die by force.

The racists are now openly aware that the African worker is on the

march. The threat to colonialism and racism can no longer be attributed to a few Zimbabweans wrongly called extremists or agitators by the white oppressors. The power of the worker is now a reality despite draconian laws and regulations to stifle him. The armed revolutionary struggle against the intolerable system is being stepped up. No political manoeuvre, nor props of racist legal trappings, nor lures to a million whites from abroad can save the Rhodesian dictatorship from total and imminent collapse. The writing is clearly on the wall.

The people of Zimbabwe now say in unison: "DOWN WITH ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION AND SOCIAL HUMILIATION!" Today babweans are proud of their army of young and dedicated revolutionaries determined to over-throw the whole system of colonial oppression - the so-called civilised western standards. Only after this system has been over-thrown and wiped out from the face of Zimbabwe in particular and of the whole world in general can Zimbabweans open the presently tightly closed iron gates leading to a full life of education, vocational training and career opportunities. On this stand and towards this goal, the African workers of Zimbabwe are absolutely united.



# INSIDE ZIMBABWE

FASCIST REGIME INCREASES ITS REPRESSIVE MEASURES:

#### FULL-SCALE POLICE STATE

By The Zimbabwe Review Correspondent

The Rhodesian regime is increasing and intensifying its repressive measures against the people of Zimbabwe following a clearly qualitative change brought about by the developments in Mozambique and by concerted gurilla attacks in various parts of the country.

Country-wide searches are made in buses, trains and villages for fear that freedom-fighters can establish their armed presence everywhere. The trains from Botswana to Rhodesia and from Rhodesia to Botswana are searched inside Rhodesia between Bulawayo and Plumtree. Plumtree is only one mile from the border between Botswana and Rhodesia.

So fear-ridden are the fascists that they search even old women and children. African collaborators are used for this dirty duty. The inconviniences caused to travellers are varied and humiliating. On many occasions even non-Rhodesian people have been forcefully removed from trains and taken to charge offices where they have been grilled by Smith's terrorist armed police.

In the country-side, the racist police have recently finished a campaign of recording names of all, absent Zimbabweans. By a system of informers they have collected names of all people who are presently outside Rhodesia. To try to find out where



In a police state like Rhodesia even peaceful demonstrations injustice result in arrest

these are and what they are doing, they have been visiting their next of kin to get details, including their residential addresses. Next of kin have refused to supply the murderous Rhodesian policemen with such information.

With the situation in Mozambique moving irresistibly towards an independent nation, African agents of the Smith regime in Rhodesia are beginning to worry and wonder. Some are seeking ways of extricating themselves from the mess in which they put themselves. Others are adopting a do-or-die stand knowing that an African majority government will give them the treatment they have ignominously earned for themselves.

While this general terror obtains in Rhodesia, freedom-fighters of the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZPRA) are moving forward with determination and patriotic courage. They are aware that to correct the situation, there must be a general revolutionary broom that will not leave any speck of dust unswept.

Zimbabwean freedom-fighters are determined to liberate the fatherland.



### PROTECTED VILLAGES:

## ANEW FORM OF DETENTION CAMPS

Because the escalation of the armed struggle in racist Rhodesia, the settler minority dictatorship has become panicky and has begun military kangaroo hops in a desperate bid to contain the people's resolve to free themselves. Perplexed and feeling threatened by the apparently looming doom of settlerism and its lavishly privileged life, the regime has adopted nakedly oppressive measures against the African masses. It is indulging even in ridiculous fancies to quell the revolutionary upsurge which has become a permanent head-ache to Smith's so-called policy makers and security strategists. One of these measures comprises what are termed protected villages encircled by a high security fence. According to the Rhodesian settlers, the African masses

of Zimbabwe have to be protected against what are called terrorist infiltrators crossing from Rhodesia's independent neighbouring states like Zambia and Botswana. Another reason for the Hitlerite measure is to stop rural Zimbabweans from helping freedom-fighters. Little does the regime realise that freedom-fighters are the very people who are forcibly herded into the encircled villages. The dictatorship has the sad illusion that freedom-fighters are people apart from the masses of Zimbabwe.

A brief explanation about the motive of the Rhodesian regime in calling freedom-fighters "terrorists" is in order here. The regime chooses to use this fear-loaded term in order to create hatred between active freedom-fighters



Jails, detention and restrictions camps are a part and parcel of the daily lives of the oppressed masses of Zimbabwe

and the Zimbabwean masses. It is the regime's hope that by using such words which paint freedom-fighters as murderous and brutal people, the African masses (from whom freedom-fighters come and among whom they operate, and with whom they live) will become unfriendly towards them. This is a method by which the regime attempts to isolate freedom-fighters from the masses who know perfectly well that terrorism is in fact and effect a prerogative of the white minority settlers under which Zimbabwe has suffered since 1890. British occupation of Zimbabwe came in the form of terror against the African masses, and was and is maintained through terroristic measures of the colonialists. The African masses in Zimbabwe know without any doubt that terrorists are the military and police forces of the Smith dictatorship. Those who fight against Smith's forces are great patriots struggling for their country's freedom, for human equality and social justice which can and will be established only by majority rule.

The so-called protected villages are only one of many futile measures of anti-guerrila warfare already tried. All those measures have been resolutely frustrated by the revolutionary gallantry of the sons and daughters of Zimbabwe. These so-called protected villages are meant to squeeze as many rural Zimbabweans into as small a space as the regime can possibly do by means of armed force. The fascists think that by creating detention camps (under the misleading name of protected villages) along the areas affected visibly by guerrila warfare, they can stem the revolutionary tide of the masses, What

self-deceipt!

The scheme is crazy because it is based on the false assumption that guerrilas are not the masses and vice versa. Not only is the scheme crazy, but it is absolutely fantastic because it is not practicable in any human society to turn a country into a prison to contain virtually the whole population whose demand is for human justice. It is utter madness to create such a system, let alone to expect it to work. It is a futile and weird exercise whose revolutionary effect on the masses is certain. Any Zimbabwean who had been undecided as to what action to take against his oppressors and exploiters now has no doubt about the need to take up arms and fight actively to free himself, if only from these mass detention camps.

It is significant to point out that a similar system was adopted and effected by the Portuguese fascists during the Salazaar and Caetano dictatorships, and by the Americans during the Johnson and Nixon administrations. The Portuguese tried it in vain in its three African colonies and called the enclosed camps "aldeamentos", and the Americans attempted the same scheme in Vietnam and termed the grilling camps "strategic hamlets." We do not have to prove how both attempts failed dismally to subdue the will of the struggling masses. In Guinea-Bissau, the Portuguese were obviously defeated by the PAIGC patriots. In Mozambique, they are in the process of quitting to FRELIMO's freedom-fighters. In Angola, they are getting ready to pack up their baggage and leave the land to the MPLA militants. How can Zimbabweans fail to emulate their fellow-Africans in those three countries or their allies in Vietnam? Strictly Forbidden

Conditions in these mass detention camps can be understood only after a bit of explanation. Rhodesia's so-called protected villages are each on a 20-hectare piece of land surrounded by a high fence. Each camp has between 1,500 and 2,000 inmates who include women and children. Close by there is the regime's administrative centre with a military detachment wrongly referred to as a police unit. The military detachment's duty is to see that the camp's inmates do not move out without special permission lest they can assist or join freedomfighters in the near-by forests and hills.

We should add here that in both Rhodesia and South Africa the police forces are para-military contingents. For general deception and strategic reasons, the military forces are also sometimes referred to as police units. This is precisely the case with the South African troops presently based in Rhodesia to help Smith's groggy forces. These, then, are the armed forces in charge of the so-called protected villages. Let it be added that the Rhodesian armed forces pay more attention to the enclosed Africans than to the activists in the hills with whom they use all types of trickery to avoid meeting. They vent their spleen (and cowardice), instead on the helpless encircled masses.

These detention camps are situated just behind the regime's so-called "no-go-areas" which are war-torn zones from which Zimbabweans were removed at gunpoint by the fascists, leaving their cattle and other property as loot for the white settlers. These new detention camps are so poorly built (with old car parts) that people are painfully exposed to the terrible inclemencies of the weather despite their attempts to daub them with mud.

Before being forcibly removed from their homes, crops and houses of Zimbabweans are burnt by the regime. The regime maintains that this is to deprive freedomfighters of sources of food and shelter. Another reason is to render Zimbabweans helpless to such an extent that they must depend on the Rhodesian dictatorship for means of livelihood in its barest form. The regime is happy about this situation as its policies and objectives are meant to cause suffering through displacement and

dispossession of the African masses.

Zimbabweans have already begun revolutionary activities in these very camps. Some parts of the wire circumference have been destroyed. Unable to pin-point those responsible, the regime has started to punish everybody indiscriminately (colleactive punishment). Some of the people suspected of formenting revolutionary activities in these camps have been moved to remote regions south of the country not far away from the hot and humid Hippo Valley. This is another form of collective punishment against Zimbabweans. Such was the fate of the people of the village of Musiyiwa. They were dumped in hostile areas with neither food, shelter nor water. That is what the regime regards as the maintenance of "Christian and civilised standards." It is clear that this scheme has failed. It is obvious that Zimbabweans are gaining ground against the Rhodesian fascists. Like the USA's "strategic hamlets" in Vietnam, and Portugal's "aldeamentos" in Mozambique and elsewhere, Smith's "protected villages" cannot protect his regime from defeat by the African masses.

## JORDAN SELLS MISSILES AND TANKS TO RHODESIA THROUGH SOUTH AFRICA:

# AN UNFRIENDLY BLOW TO FREE AFRICA

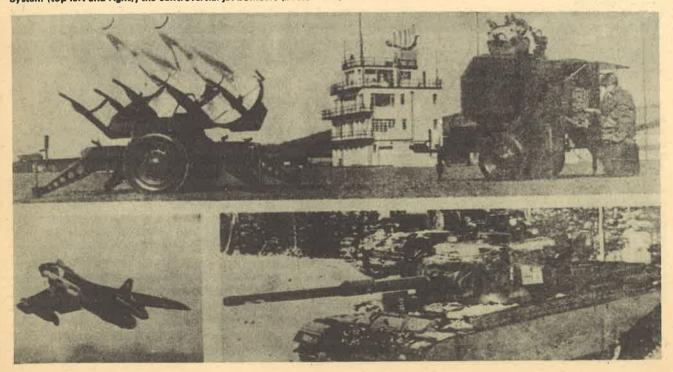
A British newspaper, THE GUAR-DIAN, has revealed that the Kingdom of Jordan has sold a sophisticated range of missiles and British-made Centurion tanks to South Africa to pass on to Rhodesia. The missiles are the British Tigercat type the use of which Jordan recently sent seven military instructors to train Rhodesian personnel in South Africa. The sale of the missiles and tanks

came hard on the heels of a hushhush deal involving 31 British-made Canberra jet bombers said to have been sold to Rhodesia by Jordan earlier this year. Jordan denied the deal, but informed sources repeatedly stated that the jets were sold to Rhodesia through intermediaries some of whom operated from the small European state of Lichtenstein. Jordan has attempted to deny the missile-Centurion tanks affair. But it is publicly known that a Rhodesia's army commander has been in close touch with his Jordanian counterpart to work out ways and means of training Rhodesian racists in the use of the newly acquired weaponry.

Furthermore, South Africa makes its own missiles and would, therefore, not spend much needed hard cash buying any from Jordan. South Africa is even rumoured (very strongly) to be selling some of its homemade missiles to some African states. If the information about Jordans anti-African deals is true (as it seems to be), then the kingdom will have burnt its bridges formerly linking it with free Africa excepting those states which have not taken a decisively firm stand against South Africa.

(FOR BACKGROUND INFORMATION, PLEASE READ "THE ZIMBABWE REVIEW" No 3/74)

Military hardware sold to Rhodesia and South Africa by Jordan include the sophisticated British-made Tigercat missile System (top left and right), the controversial jet-bombers (bottom left) and the Centurion tanks.



# POETS CORNER

#### OUR PRAISE TO A FIGHTER

#### by Gedi Ndhlovu

Comrade! deep 'n the jungles 'o Zimbabwe; Your gun 'n hand You're the light an' hope to your oppressed Brothers.

When your foot-marks appear 'n Zimbabwe; They're the cause o' fear an' panic to Smith. Your brothers in search of you, to give you Food, water an' shelter.

Comrades! your mouth is the magnet that collects men to the gun,

Your hands are the masters in the trigger That builds hope in your oppressed brother, That destroys the myth o' the Boer. Your gun coughs out the virus that affects the pride o' the oppressor;
That makes Smith an' Vorster sleepless
You're great brother:
Forever you are.

Comrade! you're the pearl o' our future, The hope to the hopeless, The happiness to the despondent, The deliverer o' your people from the yoke Of colonialism an' fascism.

Comrade! Forward ever!
Backward NEVER!
Your will, strength an' courage are forever
The gifts of a Zimbabwean.

LONG LIVE COMRADE FREEDOM-FIGHTERI

#### STOP PRESS STOP PRESS

Heavy fighting erupted in Zimbabwe from the Upper Kariba area to Urungwe from September 2. By October five the fighting had spread to the Wankie region and the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZPRA) had killed 49 enemy troops for the loss of four patriots. A statement by ZPRA stated that the biggest engagement occurred on October five in the Upper Kariba area when ZPRA freedom-fighters were encircled by enemy forces comprising mercenaries.

"In the battle that ensued for an hour, 15 enemy soldiers were killed and many injured. In this battle, ZPRA lost three of its gallant fighters," said ZAPU.

The previous day, ZPRA had over-run a Rhodesia Light Infantry night patrol post at Kanyambizi Camp in the Upper Kariba area and killed all 12 soldiers in the bivouac. A military truck bringing re-inforcements to the camp later struck a land-mine killing three racists and injuring

The Smith regime has appealed to the British Government about this increase in ZAPU military activities. South Africa's apartheid apostle, Balthazar Johannes Vorster, has publicly appealed to appropriate international organisations to use their influence to make Smith work towards a settlement with the African majority.

A top ZAPU official, Ethan Dube, was kidnapped by three armed Rhodesian bandits from Francistown, Botswana, on October 13. During the fierce struggle which ensued, Comrade Dube shouted for help but as the three men were armed, Botswana civilians nearby could not assist. The car in which he was driven away at top speed was found abandoned at Madziloje, near the Rhodesia-Botswana border two hours later. It was full of blood stains. ZAPU has mounted a world-wide appeal for help to get the immediate release of Comrade Dube. This is the second such incident this year involving ZAPU supporters being kidnapped from Botswana by Rhodesian bandits. In March, four ZAPU supporters, including a teacher who was employed in Botswana, were brutally attacked and dragged away at mid-night from a hut whose door had been damaged by nine armed Rhodesian brigands in Francistown. They have not been heard of since then. Two armed Rhodesian soldiers were later arrested by Botswana police inside Botswana and were tried and released after paying only 100 rand (K 100) or the equivalent of about £50 (sterling) each.

Zambia has strongly called for the return of Dube. Foreign Minister Vernon Mwaanga declared in Lusaka on October 15: "... The blood of Dube should not and will not be spilled in vain..." He said such criminal acts deserved the condemnation of all peace-loving people throughout the world.

ZAPU'S COMMENT: Zimbabweans shall never relax their struggle or give up. Dube's case is yet another of Smith's criminal acts which make it absolutely clear that Smith cannot be converted to human decency and justice. His mind is irretrievably criminal and his regime is fit for nothing short of complete liquidation. ZAPU will not falter, waver or retreat. Dube's blood will not, indeed, be spilled in vain, as our Zambian brother wisely put it. Zimbabwe shall be free at any and all cost.

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