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# **ZIMBABWE REVIEW**

**ORGAN OF THE ANC OF ZIMBABWE**



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# EDITORIAL

*When Joshua Nkomo was elected leader of the African National Council last September, he pointed out that if he began talks with the Smith regime, he would pursue them to their logical conclusion. The conclusion would either be for or against the political aspiration of the masses of Zimbabwe. If the talks to settle the Rhodesian constitutional impasse failed, as they later did, it would be inevitable to intensify armed struggle, said Nkomo.*

*The talks were held over a period of about four months and broke down because the Smith regime, through Ian Smith himself, adamantly rejected the idea of surrendering power to the majority of the people of Zimbabwe. That having happened, intensification of the armed struggle became inevitable. It is important to remember that at no time had armed struggle ever been suspended. Talks between Nkomo and Smith were not meant to replace armed struggle. They were meant to prove to all doubting people, especially non-Zimbabweans, that Zimbabwe could never be liberated through negotiations with the Smith regime.*

*The armed struggle to free our country is on now. We do not intend to slacken but to accelerate it. Externally we hope that we have been understood correctly by every fair-minded person. We are aware that some people who have been helping and are still helping us have a publicly known partiality for certain individuals as leaders of Zimbabwe. Those individuals have been discredited and discarded because they have been weighed by the rigours of the struggle and found wanting. We are aware that because of this, those people with a known partiality for certain individuals (the now discredited and discarded ones) are desperately trying to instal new individuals as leaders of the masses of Zimbabwe.*

*This attempt is being made on the basis of a false justification which involves the geographical proximity of certain states to Zimbabwe. Another pseudo-justification is military experience of some states which is now being wrongly used to seize control of the course and tempo of our armed struggle and, in the process, impose a leadership on Zimbabwe through the barrel of a gun. All this is being done to avert what the perpetrators term a civil war in a free Zimbabwe.*

*We have emphasised our sovereign right to choose our own leaders and ideological course several times through the columns of this journal. We hope that all those who profess to support the cause of freedom will not find it difficult to support our just claim in this regard. We find it very unnecessary to repeat that all the people who help us in our liberation struggle should do so without wishing or trying to temper with this our sovereign right. It is inviolable and inalienable.*

*We do not intend to trade our sovereignty for material or moral aid. We doubt if there is anybody, especially in the Organisation of African Unity, who would like to see us surrender this our basic right in order for him to assist us to be free. If anybody has such a wish, it would be in direct conflict with what we are struggling to achieve, that is, independence to develop in a manner and direction best suitable for Zimbabwe. We would, under those circumstances, and we can forgo such assistance.*

*Internally we have a situation where external factors are trying to impose an atmosphere where (in a free Zimbabwe) guns will suppress the people's free will to choose their leaders. We think that such an atmosphere cannot fail to precipitate what these external meddlers claim to be trying gratuitously to avert. We are referring to the civil war spectre they have created as a pretext to have a finger in our affairs, a finger that is more divisive because of its partiality for certain personalities.*

*We wish to point out that we respect the national, collective choice of all the people of free Africa where their leadership or ideology are concerned. We do not think it is any of our right to tell them how, when, why or where they must elect their leadership. All we do is to wait and be informed about the outcome of their choice and we accept it. We ask our free brothers and sisters to give us the same treatment in all our national issues. If this very basic principle is violated, we foresee a sad situation in Africa where every nation's domestic affairs will become every other nation's affair. That would be an unhealthy situation. We certainly do not want to be victims of it.*

*We humbly ask all those who wish to help us in our struggle to consult us about our needs, political direction and strategy. We shall accept advice when and where we believe it to be wise and practicable. It is through regular consultations that helpers of the Zimbabwean liberation struggle can understand our thinking and direction. Promotion of personalities for the purpose of creating or extending areas of influence by some states will only retard our freedom. Zimbabweans, like Tanzanians, Zambians, Botswanas, Mozambicans, and other nationalities believe that the gun must always be directed and commanded by politics. If it is not, then it becomes a weapon against the people instead of for the people. We do not want this dangerous trend to strike roots in Zimbabwe, and we ask those who are trying to promote it to realise that we have as deep a national pride as anybody else, despite the fact that we are not yet free and independent. We prefer co-operation to disruption in all our dealings with our free brothers and sisters. Decisions affecting us must be made by us together with free Africa and not for us by independent Africa.*

# ANC PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT TO OAU SUMMIT

The President of the African National Council of Zimbabwe, Joshua Nkomo, attended the Thirteenth Session of the Organisation of African Unity held in Port Louis, Mauritius, in June. Below follows a full text of a statement he delivered before the meeting.

"I have the honour, on behalf of the struggling people of Zimbabwe, to thank the OAU sincerely and its member-states individually for the assistance they have given and are giving to the people of Zimbabwe. I would like to assure you that we will sweat to the last drop to put that assistance to honourable and effective use for our liberation.

"I would like to extend particular and profound thanks to the people and government of Mozambique for having courageously committed their territory and resources to the sacrifices of the Zimbabwean struggle alongside Zambia, Botswana and Tanzania.

"May I further thank these neighbouring states for bearing the brunt of the Zimbabwean struggle and for sacrifices given by them in human lives, economic deprivation and the criminal violation by the Smith regime of their territorial integrity, all for the sake of Zimbabwe's liberation.

"It is with profound feelings that I congratulate the people of Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, Comoro Islands, Sao Tome and Principe, and, lately, the Seychelles for having waged victorious struggles and for having thus deserved the assistance by the OAU and other friendly nations.

"In Zimbabwe today the armed struggle is a raging reality. The OAU should know that we conceived this course of action more than 10 years ago. For its promotion and prosecution we established an External Administration as early as 1963. We are in it until victory.

"The two crucial questions in the Zimbabwean liberation struggle today are:— unity, and the escalation of fighting. Despite frequent interruptions by political and other complications, I must emphasise for everyone to keep in mind that my organisation has never missed a moment to fight or to effect unity.

"However, Your Excellencies, we have been subjected to unfair public criticisms and rebukes by some of our brothers in independent Africa. Whilst I acknowledge that criticism is healthy, I must emphasise that it must be honest, sincere and constructive. It appears that an unhealthy and dangerous tendency is developing in Africa which suggests that members of independent states are always right, whilst leaders of liberation movements are always wrong. We are in the struggle together, and such dogmatic attitudes can disrupt that which we together seek to achieve.

"Let me mention, Your Excellencies, some of the instances:

(a) There has been severe criticism of the Zimbabwean political leadership that we have failed to forge and maintain unity in the face of a formidable enemy;

(b) There have been allegations that some of us have con-



*Comrade Joshua Nkomo, addressing the OAU Summit in Mauritius*

nived with the enemy by carrying out negotiations with the regime;

(c) That the Zimbabwean leaders failed to provide for the armed struggle.

"Let us briefly look at the unity question. The basic document is called 'THE ZIMBABWE DECLARATION OF UNITY AT LUSAKA, 7TH DECEMBER, 1974,' whose operative clauses are:—

(1) ZANU, ZAPU, FROLIZI and the ANC hereby agree to unite in the ANC. . . .

(4) The enlarged ANC executive shall have the following functions:—

(a) To prepare for any conference for the transfer of power to the majority that might be called.

(b) To prepare for the holding of a congress within four months at which (among other things) the leadership of the united people of Zimbabwe shall be elected.

(7) The leaders recognise the inevitability of continued armed struggle and all other forms of struggle until the total liberation of Zimbabwe . . .

"This document clearly acknowledges that leaders may propose a form of unity but the decisive authority is the people in congress who must ratify the unity agreement. The importance and urgency we all attached to the resolution of the issues of unity and leadership was reflected in the stipulation of the period 'within four months'. The unity was an absolute fusion and not an umbrella or a front as clearly defined by paragraph "L" of the unity agreement.

"When we returned to Zimbabwe from Lusaka, our duty was to implement the provisions of the Lusaka Declaration of Unity as stated above. But some of our brothers (former ZANU leaders later joined by Bishop Muzorewa) discovered that they did not have sufficient political support to capture the vital positions in the hierarchy of the organisation. They repudiated the terms of the agreement by refusing to go to congress. However, since the document had been published and was then the property of the people, the organisation proceeded to implement the terms of the document. It was

the people and not Joshua Nkomo who pressed forward for congress. The congress duly met on September 27–28, 1975; the leadership was elected, thereby fulfilling the Lusaka Declaration of Unity.

"When people speak of disunity in Zimbabwe, do they realise that the Lusaka Declaration of Unity was fulfilled or do they support those who deliberately dishonoured the agreement they had solemnly entered into, for not other reason than that they were unlikely to get positions they wanted?"

#### **Inexcusable Misinformation:**

"It would be hypocritical of me if I did not state frankly that some of our independent brothers, in their cruel kindness, have, through their preference of individuals, contributed persistently to the division by encouraging those individuals either to split or to opt out of solemn unity agreements.

"Regarding the talks with the Rhodesian racist regime, it is important to remind you, Your Excellencies, that the talks were started in 1973 when I was in prison. After massive rejection of the 1971 Smith-Home constitutional fraud, Ian Smith entered into negotiations with Bishop Muzorewa. In 1974, our brothers, the presidents of Tanzania, Botswana, Zambia, and the then president of FRELIMO made contacts with the Smith regime with a view to discovering whether after 10 years of war the Rhodesian regime was then ready to transfer power to the majority.

"In December 1974, they reached a stage at which they secured our release from prison and recommended that we, the leaders of Zimbabwe, enter into talks with the regime to discover whether the regime was ready to transfer power to the majority.

"Although we expressed reservations about the value or success of such talks, we nonetheless tried following the advice of our friends. Having started the talks, we continued until we proved concretely that the regime was unwilling to transfer power to the majority. In the light of the foregoing, the suggestion that there was connivance on my part was not only false but an insult.

"On the question of the armed liberation struggle, I would like to bring to your notice, Your Excellencies, that my organisation has never spared and will not spare any effort towards its intensification. I must say, however, that whilst going through the report of the Secretary General (on decolonisation), I was shocked at the distortion as to who are involved practically in the promotion of the armed struggle in Zimbabwe as opposed to the struggle by 'militant newspaper statements.' Perhaps this was due to inexcusable misinformation.

"The imperialist slander that because we were involved in talks with the racist regime, therefore, we were not for armed struggle was sadly reflected in this report. The report falls into this cast of propaganda by also reflecting the false labels of 'External ANC' and 'Internal ANC'. There is no such thing as either 'external' or 'internal' ANC. There is only the ANC of the people of Zimbabwe.

"What are the facts on the preparation for the armed struggle? As far back as October 1975, before we had started any talks with the Rhodesian regime, my organisation's external administration had already been instructed to start negotiations with former ZANU with a view to setting up a single army to launch the armed struggle. This was duly accomplished in November 1975, following the good offices of the Executive Secretary of the Liberation Committee (Hashim Mbita) and the offer of facilities and territory for operations by the Mozambique Government. This is how the present Zimbabwe People's Army (ZPA) which has scored so many victories against the racist regime was formed.

#### **Mania For Killing**

"The so-called External ANC referred to in the Secretary General's report had no role whatsoever in the formation of ZPA and the subsequent intensified armed struggle in Zim-

babwe. We have not shouted about this because we believe in action more than in words. I must dispel at the same time the false impression which has been given much currency that ZPA was formed as a spontaneous movement in the camps without political leadership. This is not true as I have indicated above.

"Whilst the greatest victories are being scored by Zimbabwean fighters from Mozambique, we can no longer conceal the grave problems which have set in within our military wing without detriment to the struggle itself. Intense tribalism as reflected in the Chitepo Report employing military fascism and masquerading under the label of 'militancy' is on the ascendancy in the ranks of some cadres, and is promising our country nothing but chaos and anarchy. As a result of this, ZPA is breaking down. We have paid to high a price in human lives for what we considered to be Unity Camps, all in an attempt to achieve unity with elements that have a mania for killing fellow comrades-in-arms.

"The cause of all this tragedy is the entire line-up which controls the former ZANU army. This ZANU military administration, down to camp control, like its political leadership never accepted the idea of abandoning ZANU for the sake of unity, nor abandoning the mass killing mania which finally claimed the life of their leader, Herbert Chitepo, as the Chitepo Commission Report amply shows. There was no attempt to clean up the ZANU army of the negative elements as revealed by the report on the assassination of Herbert Chitepo.

"Theories of the so-called 'third force' and resolutions praising the 'unity of the cadres' to the exclusion of the unity of the entire people of whom the cadres are a part have incited some of the destructive elements in the camps to worsen rather than improve the instability in ZPA. We appeal to our friends, Your Excellencies, to avoid mounting divisive theories and resolutions.

"Having said the above, that is, stressing our fulfillment of the Lusaka Declaration of Unity, and my brief exposure of the problems in ZPA which could affect the armed struggle adversely if not acted upon immediately, I would like to:—

(a) Appeal to the OAU, its member-states individually; and its relevant administrative officers to assist us in the solution of our unity problems by advising any-one who claims leadership of the people of Zimbabwe to return to Zimbabwe in accordance with the demand of the Lusaka Declaration of Unity so that there, in Zimbabwe, we should together dispel the image of disunity and thereby secure the unity of our people. If they are unable to return to Zimbabwe, their colleagues in Zimbabwe can carry out the task on their behalf. Our fundamental aim is to secure the unity of all the people of Zimbabwe and not just that of leaders or some functional body. I know that there are some people who do not understand how we go out and return to Rhodesia. It has to be understood that the immense international pressure on the Rhodesian regime which resulted in our release from long terms of imprisonment still continues to have effect. In the circumstances, we do take the necessary risks to carry out the tasks of the struggle. Any leader worth his salt has to face these risks.

(b) Suggest, on the problems facing the fighting forces, that an ad hoc committee of the OAU, which should include the front-line states, be instituted without delay to assist us to sort out the problems in ZPA, taking into particular account the revelations in the REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION ON THE ASSASSINATION OF HERBERT CHITEPO.

"Finally, Your Excellencies, may I register once again our position on the question of channelling of assistance. We cannot agree with the recommendation that assistance should not be channelled through us, provisionally, though it may be. Choice of friends and bilateral relations with other countries or organisations is our sovereign right, and we cannot, therefore, agree even to its supposed suspension.  
LONG LIVE A UNITED AFRICA!"

# RACIST TROOPS MASSACRE INNOCENT CIVILIANS

The Rhodesian regime announced that its armed forces had become involved in what it called "hot pursuit" operations on Sunday, August the eighth against "terrorists" who were based in Mozambique". The Rhodesians said they had attacked "a terrorist command headquarters and base camp in Mozambique". The statement from the racist regime continued: "Over 300 terrorists were killed. In the fire-fight, some 30 Mozambican troops and about 10 civilians who were supporting the terrorists are known to have been killed. During the course of this operation it was necessary to destroy a road block and a bridge". It is true that the Rhodesian forces started an operation on that Sunday night. It is true that they attacked a camp where Zimbabweans are staying. It is true that they killed hundreds of Zimbabweans and ten other civilians and it is true that they destroyed a bridge.

But here are some additional facts. The attack on the camp did not begin until breakfast time on Monday morning and it was not a guerilla camp. What the racists attacked was a refugee camp at Nyazonia in Barue District., Manica Pro-



*One of the ten mass graves in Nhazonia*



*The injured being taken to one of the Mozambique hospital*

vince. There were more than 8000 refugees in the camp, and a least 670 were slaughtered in the attack. Most of the victims were shot, others drowned in the river while running away, some fled wounded into the bush, to die there. Bodies were still found more than a week after the massacre. Medical staff on the scene believe the total death toll is at least 800 and may well reach a thousand. One week after the massacre there were less than 400 refugees in the camp. The others were either dead or in hospital, or had run off in terror into the bush.

Journalists who visited the scene on August 13 saw common graves in the camp filled with corpses. Many of the bodies were incinerated. The majority of those which had been burnt beyond recognition were women. Survivors explained that the Rhodesian troops, after mowing down hundreds of men, women and children with gun fire, had ordered the survivors to put the bodies of women and children into the huts,

where the refugees lived. Then they set fire to the huts. The operation had been planned well in advance and the Rhodesian authorities were well aware that what was being attacked was a refugee camp. The cremation of the bodies of women and children was designed to deprive photographers of the chance to prove that this was a refugee camp. However, this ghoulish attempt to destroy the evidence failed to achieve its objective because many of the more than 300 wounded in hospital at Chimoio about 75 km away are women and children. There are more in other hospitals.

After the massacre, the Rhodesians withdrew towards a bridge where they had left some men and vehicles. The bridge was on the main road between Tete and Chimoio, two provincial capitals, and therefore carries a sizeable traffic load. The Rhodesians blew up the bridge. At that time there were several cars on the road. The Rhodesian attackers killed three technicians who were on their way to the Cabora Bassa project. Five civilians in a car going to Chimoio to collect petrol, a Spanish priest of the Burgos Fathers and another civilian who was in a car. These were the ten civilians who according to Smith were "supporting the terrorists".

Survivors of the massacre of Nyazonia said that the Rhodesian forces included both black and white soldiers. The white had blackened their faces. All wore FRELIMO-style uniforms, which enabled them to pass from the Rhodesian frontier without attracting suspicion. When they arrived at the camp, they were shouting "viva Frelimo" and were welcomed by the refugees. An old man who survived said: "the people approached them, the children jumping on the

vehicles. Then one of them shouted through a loud-hailer" 'where are your leaders? Go and call them. We want to speak to them". Then said the survivor "some of us moved to point out the houses where those in charge were. It was at this point that the Rhodesians began to fire on us. Those who were nearest fell, they died right there. Then they began to pursue those who were running away towards the river. They got out of the vehicles firing continuously. On the road the vehicles crushed the bodies and everything that was on their way. Many people died at the river when they were trying to cross it to escape into the bush, above all children, old people women and those who didn't know how to swim". Another survivor said: "I cannot understand why they came to attack us and not attack the guerillas. We are not military people".

On August 14, the Mozambique Ministry of National Defence issued a communique on the massacre, saying that "The strategy used by the racist clique of Ian Smith is to try to camouflage the internal contradictions by extending the war to neighbouring countries". It added: "The racists think that in this way they can lessen the burden of the constant defeats which they have suffered, and will continue to suffer on the battlefield against the freedom struggle of the Zimbabwe Patriots. "The communique concluded by reaffirming the Mozambique people's liberation forces' unshakeable determination to fight the enemy unflinchingly, and to continue their total and unconditional support for the just struggle for national liberation of Zimbabwe.

## ANC PUBLICITY SECRETARY'S SPEECH TO OAU COUNCIL OF MINISTERS



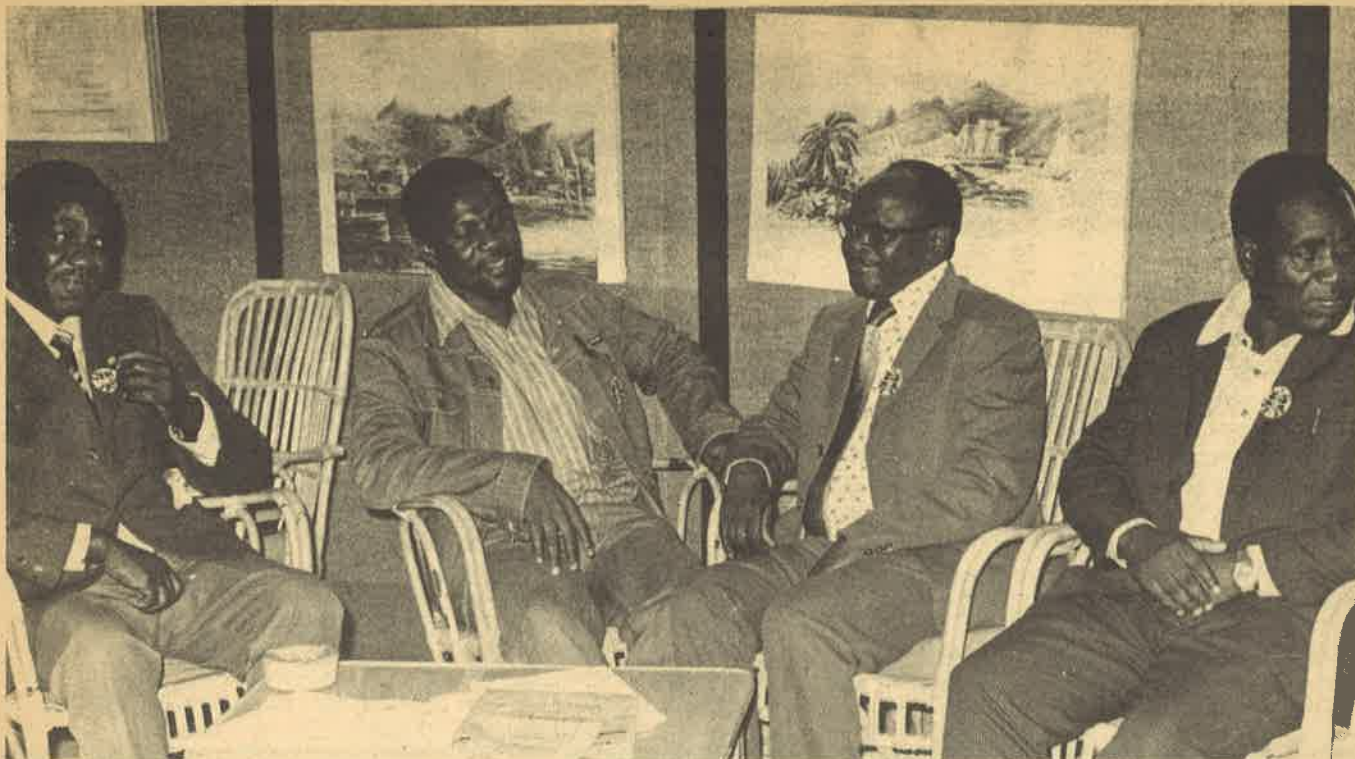
On June 28, 1976, the African National Council Secretary for Publicity and Information, Comrade Willie Musarurwa, appeared before the OAU Foreign Ministers' Twenty-seventh session at Port Louis, Mauritius. Comrade Musarurwa, whose delegation included Comrade T. G. Silundika, Third Deputy Secretary for Publicity and Information, Comrade Dumiso Dabengwa, Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Council Secretary, was later joined by the ANC President, Comrade Joshua Nkomo, who was with the Foreign Relations Secretary, Comrade Clement Muchachi, and the National Treasurer, Comrade Amon Jirira.

Comrade Musarurwa pointed out in his speech to the ministers that the ANC under the leadership of national spokesman, Joshua Nkomo, had left no stone unturned to effect genuine unity among the people of Zimbabwe. A full text of his speech follows:—

"Your Excellencies, we are pleased on behalf of the struggling masses of Zimbabwe to extend the warmest congratulations to the Twenty-seventh Ordinary Session of the OAU Council of Ministers. The session marks Africa's triumph over oppression and serves as an impetus to our liberation struggle.

"Zimbabwe is today the focal point of the armed liberation struggle in Africa. The people of Zimbabwe are making the greatest sacrifices for the freedom of their country. The OAU member-states are individually and severally demonstrating their determined support through human sacrifices as well as diplomatic and material means. We are profoundly grateful for this support.

"The council deserves to know that mobilisation of the Zimbabwean masses to gear them up for the sacrifices of the armed struggle is the main occupation of our movement



*A part of the ANC (Zimbabwe) delegation to the OAU summit in Mauritius*

internally. Consequently, the armed liberation struggle has the total support of the Zimbabwean masses. The racist regime is, therefore, exceeding itself in its repressive measures and attempts to exterminate the population. This cruelty is worst in areas of armed conflict.

"The thrust of the Zimbabwean fighting forces has penetrated far more deeply and has spread far more widely than ever before. The numbers of fighting cadres from within Zimbabwe are swelling in phenomenal strides. We are determined to maintain and escalate this fighting trend because it is only the armed struggle that constitutes the decisive factor for our liberation.

"Our unity as the people of Zimbabwe, particularly the struggling patriots, is not only crucial, but is a vexed question as well. We would like to draw the attention of this OAU session to the fact that we of the ANC of Zimbabwe under Comrade Joshua Nkomo's leadership, have now, as in the past, left no stone unturned in our efforts to take every initiative or to co-operate and implement every initiative to effect genuine unity.

### **Breaking Down**

"This is a vital fact which must be taken into account in further consideration of the unity of the people of Zimbabwe.

"Four unity arrangements in successive years (1972, 1973, 1974 and 1975), have been entered into under the auspices and witness of the OAU. We honoured and implemented everyone of them. They all have been broken or are being broken down by treacherous elements who are parties to these arrangements. We have never dishonoured any of these arrangements, and we thus carry no responsibility for treachery against unity. This is besides the fact that we have never initiated any split.

"The OAU Council of Ministers should keep in mind all

along that when it speaks of unity of the Zimbabwean fighting cadres based in Mozambique and Tanzania, it is referring to a unity effort brought about by our clearest political decision, fullest co-operation and participation as an organisation alongside our compatriots, the cadres of former ZANU who also were acting on direct political instructions from the leadership to which they owe loyalty.

"It is just not true that the Zimbabwe People's Army (ZPA) currently engaged in the intensified armed struggle was a spontaneous movement from and limited to the camps. It is this false premise or, perhaps, deliberate twist for unknown purposes which has created a further complicating political and military dimension to the Zimbabwe struggle — the so-called 'THIRD FORCE'. As a result of this deliberate twist or false premise, the very unity of the Zimbabwean fighting forces (ZPA) is in grave jeopardy and breaking down. The tribalistic drive of a section of the army has been accentuated, resulting in grave problems.

"It was a maximum endeavour on our part in the fulfillment of our obligation to unity that we sought to eliminate the danger of parallel armies in the struggle by forming (ZPA) as a wing of the ANC and nothing more. We were not having and we do not have any intention by it to start a new political movement for Zimbabwe. By forming ZPA, we were providing neither a platform nor a base for anyone inside or outside Zimbabwe to mount their experimental ideas on what other political movement they could build for Zimbabwe. We have never tolerated and we will never tolerate attempts whatever and from whomever to build a political movement for Zimbabwe outside the sovereignty of the people of Zimbabwe in Zimbabwe.

"We wish to stress also that the unity we sought and still seek by the elimination of parallel armies is not that of the cadres alone. It is the unity of the people of Zimbabwe as a single revolutionary whole. The fighting cadres come from and are part of the entire struggling masses of Zimbabwe, and should not be treated as an isolated entity. It is the unity of the

fighting people of Zimbabwe as a whole which we must all stress and preserve.

"On the question of channelling of assistance, it is being strenuously suggested from certain quarters that we should be deprived of this right. We cannot agree with this. To concede this would be to co-operate with the insinuation that we are the traitors of our liberation. . . . Further, it would mean co-operating with the destruction of our sovereign right . . .

#### Emotions And Adventurism

It would mean surrendering our right to choose our friends and ideological fraternity.

"Finally, we consider this Twenty-seventh Session of the OAU Council of Ministers as a very crucial one for the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe and Southern Africa as a whole. In addition to everything else, we have tried to reduce the confusing heat of polemics by bearing without reaction generalised public rebukes on the Zimbabwean leadership in spite of the fact that we have done every bit of our role towards the liberation struggle.

"We are at a critical stage in which our human potential itself is being gravely depleted not in the battle-field of the struggle, but in the wild quest for illusive unity. We have to pause and distinguish between building an army as a militaristic fascist trend or building an army as part of a genuinely united people waging a revolutionary and constructive liberation war.

"The painful tribulations that have descended on our comrades-in-arms, our Palestinian brothers and sisters in the Middle East, are a sounding lesson to take reference from if we are to avoid a similar tragedy in a similar situation in Southern Africa. In this respect, the obligation is not on us alone, but also on our neighbours and the OAU as a whole. Emotions and adventurism must give way to sober assessments.

"We are not only committed to but are also actually engaged in intensifying the armed liberation struggle. We will do everything possible to achieve unity, but it must be genuine. It must rest on the sovereign authority of the people of Zimbabwe in Zimbabwe.

LONG LIVE A UNITED AFRICA!"



*Comrade J. Nkomo President of the ANC (Zimbabwe) and the President of the People's Republic of Angola in Luanda*

## ANC PRESIDENT'S TOUR MAJOR SUCCESS

The ANC President, Comrade Joshua Nkomo, undertook a major tour of some African states and European nations from May. The purpose of the tour, which was described as a major success by Comrade Nkomo, covered such African states as Uganda, Algeria, Ghana, Nigeria, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Egypt, Kenya and Angola, was to explain to the various heads of state the situation in Rhodesia following the break-down of constitutional talks between Comrade Nkomo and racist Ian Smith.

The trip also covered the United Kingdom, France and the Soviet Union. In all the countries visited by President Nkomo's team, which included himself, national treasurer Amon Jirira, foreign relations secretary, Clement Muchachi, and, at a certain stage, the second vice-president of the ANC of Zimbabwe, Jason Ziyapapa Moyo, the Zimbabwean national leader was well received and given honourable and highly respectful treatment. The Ugandan Government offered Comrade Nkomo facilities for radio broadcasts and opening a representative's office in Kampala. In Liberia, the fraternal government of President William Tolbert gave the ANC leader printing facilities and an office to be manned by a full-time representative. Another office offer was made by the Angolan Government of President Agostinho Neto.

The ANC leader returned to Lusaka from Luanda and expected to meet President Kenneth Kaunda for talks on recent developments on the Rhodesian question. It was hoped the two leaders would discuss both the internal as well as the external developments of the issue. The talks were believed to be centred on recent killings in ANC camps in which former ZANU cadres in Tanzania mounted deliberately calculated attacks on ex-ZAPU militants causing many fatal casualties, serious injuries and disappearances.

It is believed that the Tanzanian Government has not shown much interest in the sad development despite repeated reports by former ZAPU leaders. Similar development were reported to have occurred also in Mozambique where former ZANU has again shown its incredible mania to kill comrades-in-arms mainly on tribal lines. Observers believe that former ZANU military leadership is heavily infiltrated by agents of the Smith regime. One of the victims of these killings was Saul Sadza who was shot at a ZANU camp called Mgagau not far away from the Southern Tanzanian town of Iringa. Comrade Sadza was known to be agitating for a genuine and functional unity between former ZAPU and the ex-ZANU cadres.

(SEE PRESIDENT NKOMO'S SPEECH TO THE OAU IN THIS ISSUE)



# NKOMO LASHES OUTSIDE MEDDLERS

*Zimbabwe  
Review  
Reporter*

Arriving in Lusaka from Luanda (Angola) on July 25, the President of the African National Council, Joshua Nkomo, strongly criticised outside forces which were trying to destroy the ANC of Zimbabwe through meddling. Comrade Nkomo was answering questions from Zambian journalists.

On the rumour about so-called unity talks between him and Bishop Abel Muzorewa, President Nkomo emphasised that there was no such plan. He reiterated that any person wishing to dispel the image of disunity among Zimbabweans must go to Zimbabweans in Zimbabwe and discuss the matter with them. He was referring to the wrong impression created by the imperialist Press that there were two ANCs for Zimbabwe, one based outside and the other inside.

Replying a question as to whether he would meet any of the Muzorewa clique while he was in Lusaka, Nkomo stated: "We are not leading pumpkins, you know. We are leading people. And we just can't go on discussing unity and signing unity documents all the time without the participation of the masses of Zimbabwe."

He said "this myth about disunity" must be removed once and for all. He pointed out that there would not be any more unity talks because the unity of the people of Zimbabwe had been achieved in Lusaka in December 1974. The provisions of the agreement had been followed to the letter by the majority of the people of Zimbabwe except a few individuals who had changed their minds about the agreement to which they had earlier agreed and affixed their signatures.

Referring to the Muzorewa-Sithole-Chikerema clique's habit of dashing from one African country to another talking about the unity of the people of Zimbabwe, Comrade Nkomo said: "You don't go way-laying people in Mauritius or anywhere else to discuss unity and nutting pressure on heads of state. I certainly don't want to be way-laid in

Lusaka or Mauritius or anywhere else to discuss unity. . . ."

He added: "I believe that if anybody is interested in ending the image of disunity, they should go back to Zimbabwe because the only people who can end that image are the people of Zimbabwe."

He asked "Why do those who talk about unity fear to go to Zimbabwe? I am told that they are frightened of being arrested. They should be told that the very nature of the situation in Zimbabwe demands that leaders be prepared to be arrested and even killed. Those who are not prepared for such eventualities must get out of the leadership of Zimbabwe."

On external meddling by some OAU heads of state, Comrade Nkomo stated most strongly: "People must not try to choose leader for Zimbabwe under the guise of assisting us. They must not try to lead Zimbabwe because Zimbabwe

had its own leaders chosen by Zimbabweans."

National leader Joshua Nkomo observed: "Leaders of nations helping us in the liberation struggle of Zimbabwe must not talk like leaders of Zimbabwe. They must talk like helpers of Zimbabwe. This is what we expect of all OAU countries."

He said he went to Luanda to congratulate the MPLA and the people of Angola for their victories over Portuguese fascism and reactionaries assisted by mercenaries. He stated that the ANC would open an office in Luanda following a request he made to President Neto to that effect.

Comrade Nkomo was met at the Lusaka International Airport by Zambia's Minister of Information and Broadcasting, Mr Unia Mwila. He was to meet President Kaunda later before he left for Zimbabwe. (SEE STORY ON NKOMO'S TOUR IN THIS ISSUE)

## NKOMO IS A GREAT LEADER, SAYS INDIAN PAPER

A famous and influential Indian newspaper called BLITZ has described ANC leader, Mr Joshua Nkomo, as a great leader and called for the conferment of the Nehru Award on him for the sacrifice and suffering he has endured in his fight to achieve freedom and justice for his people. The paper puts Presidents Kaunda, Nyerere and Mr Joshua Nkomo in the same category, and says that the Nehru Award has been bestowed on President Nyerere of Tanzania and President Kaunda of Zambia.

"The honour was amply deserved in both cases. These Presidents (Nyerere and Kaunda) along with Joshua Nkomo of Zimbabwe, are three African leaders most influenced by the words and examples of Gandhi and Nehru. Nkomo is the most Gandhian of them and has suffered most for his convictions, but we are reluctant to honour him in the same way or any other way because he has no official position," says BLITZ in its editorial of May 15, 1976.

# ANGOLA: FACTS AND POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES

Angola is today a free and independent state, capable of exercising its sovereign right in all fields of human endeavour, from choosing its allies to trying international criminals like mercenaries and effecting the decision of its courts of law despite vigorous protests from imperialist regimes of the United Kingdom, the United States, South Africa and others. To get to its present stage, Angolans had to struggle for centuries. In solidarity with the masses of Angola under the revolutionary leadership of the MPLA, THE ZIMBABWE REVIEW publishes in this issue the first of a series of articles by Comrade Enos Malandu of the Political Commissariat of the African National Council of Zimbabwe:—

The struggle of the people of Angola against Portuguese colonialism and for complete national independence had always been spear-headed and directed by a single anti-colonial movement. Over the years, the continuity of the anti-colonial movement had been interrupted and, for this reason, had changed in its organisation. What is, however, significant is that after more than four centuries of struggle, the anti-colonial movement, though it had been inflicted by deviant re-actionary forces representing tribalistic tendencies, had developed a clear anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist political line.

The anti-colonialist movement in Angola began with the struggle of Angola (or king) Kiluauje and was later kept up by Queen Nzinga. King Kiluauje ruled in the sixteenth century and Queen Nzinga in the Seventeenth century. The objective of the struggle was not only to retain Angolan independence, but also to end the seizure and capture of Angolans by the Portuguese who sold them as slaves to Brazil and other parts of the Americas.

The exploitation of Angolan human and natural resources during the era of slavery and European mercantilism was one of the worst in Africa. Though slavery in Angola was abolished in 1875, there were many uprisings against the Portuguese and their colonial forced labour policy. The anti-colonial movement was strengthened by the formation of the Angolan League — an anti-colonialist organisation dedicated to the betterment of political and economic conditions of the people. The Angolan League was followed by the African League (1919), which was in turn followed by the African National Party (1921) and later by the African National League in 1929.

All shades of African political views and tendencies were represented in these organisations — the militant anti-colo-



*Comrade Enos Malandu*

nist and the reformist. By the nature of the struggle waged in the first half of the Twentieth Century, and the insistence on the necessity to work for a joint liberation of all Portuguese colonies, a more militant approach to the Angolan people's struggle developed.

## **Broad Political Strategies**

After the formation of the Angolan Cultural Society in 1943, a break from the old reformist struggle came with the rise of the Association of Angolan Natives (ANANGOLA) in 1948. This was a radical wing of the African National League. Another organisation which came into existence in that time (1953) was the United Struggle of Africans in Angola (PLUA). Due to increasing Portuguese repression, this party was formed secretly. Its aim was to unite all Angolans against colonialism, and for an independent Angolan state.

The growth of the Angolan people's anti-colonialist struggle culminated in the creation of the Movimento Populare de Libertacao de Angola (MPLA) on December 10, 1956. The MPLA marked the unity of the popular anti-colonial movement on a broader scale. In 1957, the MPLA was joined by the Movement for the National Independence of Angola (MINA). Dr. Agostinho Neto led the united MPLA from 1962 after he had spent long periods in prisons at the hands of the Portuguese fascists.

The unification of the anti-colonial movement in the 1950s, under a clearly anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist programme that demanded not only democratic freedoms, but an independent state coincided with the growing tide of African nationalism. It enjoyed from that time the solidarity of all authentic African nationalist parties, progressive states, and all progressive national and international organisations all over the world.

The MPLA worked out broad political strategies to ensure the speeded liberation of Angola. The movement first tried peaceful means. In 1961 when it had become abundantly clear that peaceful means could not succeed to free Angola, the MPLA embarked upon armed struggle. This was on February four. The Portuguese colonialists sensed that their political end in Angola was near.

Imperialism in general, especially the United States impe-

rialism, was quick to realise that Portugal could not sustain an indefinite control over its colonial possessions in Africa. The imperialists realised that if political changes sweeping across the African continent eventually reached Angola, political, economic, and cultural interests of the capitalist west would be in danger. These had to be safeguarded. A new form of domination had to be devised as it had been done elsewhere in Africa by the same imperialist powers to harness the tide of change.

According to the New York Times of September 25, 1975, the United States administration decided to adopt an anti-freedom policy for Angola. It stated that "contact had to be made with future 'revolutionary' leaders" of Angola. These were later identified as Holden Roberto and his group from which Jonas Savimbi later broke away. Savimbi was also regarded by America as one of those Angolan leaders with whom contact had to be made." Washington's strategy of support (which later included Jonas Savimbi's UNITA) was two-fold.

First, political and military assistance was to be given to Portugal to ensure defeat of genuine anti-colonialist forces. Politically, the USA would use protectionism to defend Portuguese policies then under heavy UN attacks.

### Profound Tribal Roots

Other international bodies were also condemning and trying to isolate Portugal. The USA ostensibly condemned Lisbon as well and demanded modifications of Portuguese colonial policies. Militarily, Portugal, as a NATO member-state, had to be supplied with adequate military aid most of which was counter-insurgency material which, however, the USA claimed deceitfully not to be suitable for guerrilla operations in the African territories of Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau.

Second, assistance given to Angolan nationalist leaders of Washington's choice was meant to be used against nationalist organisations with socialist leanings, in this case, the MPLA. This was an important attendant condition. The over-all imperialist strategy, however, was to divide the national movement by creating what the Portuguese had failed to promote after more than four centuries of colonial oppression, that was tribal feeling which would be promoted first within Roberto's organisation because of its profound tribal roots (among the BaKongo). This tribal feeling was later to be spread on a territory-wide basis.

The promotion of tribalism as part of imperialist strategy merits a detailed analysis because some African and most European states, including opponents in the USA Senate against "direct USA involvement" in Angola, viewed the Angolan struggle which continued after the withdrawal of the Portuguese as a tribal rather than an ideological one. Ethnologically, Angola has nearly 100 tribes. The existence of these tribes had made Angola a target of imperialist strategy to promote so-called tribal nationalism in order to secure a foothold by dividing the people. There are four large tribal groups in Angola comprising about 70 per cent of the 5,800,000 Africans who speak Bantu languages of a similar origin.

The four large groups are:—

The **Ovimbundu**. They speak Umbundu and are about 1,500,000. They live in the central plateau around Huambo; The **Mbundu**. They speak kiMbundu and are about 1,200,000. They live around Luanda and Cuanza;

The **BaKonko**. They speak kiKongo and number about 300,000. They live in the northern part of Angola. Another 300,00-plus BaKongo live as exiles in Zaire;

The **Chokwe-Lunda**. These are approximately 30,000 and are found in the north-eastern part of the country.

In the struggle against colonialism, were there any manifestations of tribalism which adversely affected the anti-colonial struggle? Has any inter-tribal animosity impeded an Angolan nationality consciousness?

Some historians and writers, notably Basil Davidson and Richard Gibson, identify "tribal alliances", "inter-tribal unity", as characteristics of the Angolan anti-colonial struggle against the Portuguese invaders since 1575. While there have been tribal alliances between the BaKongo and the Mbundu, there also have been tribal alliances among other tribal groups in the wars against Lisbon.

### Narrow Political Line

Tribal groups went to the support of the Cuanhama resistance which ended in 1915. Later they augmented the forces of the Ovimbundu resistance which lasted to about 1940. The following general observations can be made regarding the tribal question and nationality issue in Angola and their role in the people's struggle:—

- The nationality question in Angola had long been solved as a result of historical development. Inter-tribal unity was achieved not by accident, but as a matter of historical struggle by the Angolans;

- Unity among Angolans has been possible because (as Basil Davidson points out in his book "IN THE EYE OF THE STORM"), "... practically all the people of Angola basically share ... common origins and cultures, and speak similar languages. ..."

- Traces of tribalism in Angola have been the result of colonial and neo-colonial domination and machinations which have sought to divide the Angolans ethno-linguistically in order to control and subdue the anti-colonial movement;
- The anti-colonial movement had its ideological basis and political development in inter-tribal unity.

With the above considerations in mind, it is nonetheless true to say that three factors caused the development of tribalism. These were religion, colonialism and external tribal influence of the BaKongo which re-acted along a narrow political line to religious ties and colonial administrative arrangements in northern Angola. The historical facts are as follows:—

In 1878, the protestant London Missionary Society (LMS), with the permission of the Portuguese colonial authorities, opened a mission station at Sao Salvador which is today the capital town of the Zaire Province in northern Angola. The BaKongo people had through long tradition made Sao Salvador their capital town, and the province their exclusive territorial domain. They had been mostly converted to catholicism. Furthermore, the creation of the Congo Free State (to be called Belgian Congo in 1908) in 1885 territorially divided the BaKongo into two groups, one protestant and the other catholic. The two groups later became hostile to each other.

In 1955 the Portuguese colonial administration imposed a Catholic chief, Ntotela, on what had hitherto become protestant Sao Salvador. This caused a deep religious furore causing the protestant BaKongo to flee to Leopoldville (now Kinshasa). The Kongo tribe was thus divided into two. There were, of course, other reasons, socio-economic ones plus the unjust colonial rule of the Portuguese (who are Catholic) which forced the BaKongo to emigrate to Leopoldville. Further trouble ensued after the death of the Catholic chief in Sao Salvador in 1957.

*(To be continued in the next issues)*

# RIPE FOR ARMED STRUGGLE:

says Comrade Oliver Tambo

South Africa is "ripe for armed struggle on a massive scale", the leader of the country's African National Congress, Comrade Oliver Tambo said in Algiers recently. He made this declaration as Africans again defied South Africa's armed police in Soweto and again held mass demonstrations. They demanded the release of the students arrested last June despite police action in opening gun fire, wounding at least 30 people.

"The events of Soweto", said Comrade Oliver Tambo, who is the ANC Acting President, "are an expression of the present stage of development of the struggle in South Africa against the fascist regime".

He said the struggle would take place with actions similar to those by Frelimo, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), the

Zimbabwe Liberation Movement and all other national liberation movements. "In other words one can say that now the situation is altogether ripe for armed struggle on a massive scale... there is no doubt that the confrontation between the people and their oppressors will intensify". On the sale of French arms to South Africa, Comrade Oliver Tambo said that they were made "knowing that these arms will be used against the black people of South Africa. The masses have been massacred in Soweto from French helicopters and with French made weapons. We demand that the French government be condemned by the international community".

In an earlier statement on the June events in Soweto, when police killed

nearly 200 black people, the ANC said that it "decided to further redouble its efforts to overthrow the hated apartheid regime.

"There is only one solution of the South African problem available to us and the rest of humanity. That is the seizure of power by the oppressed and democratic majority through armed revolutionary struggle. We call upon the peoples of the world to redouble their support for our movement and our cause. We address this call to all those friends of our revolution in Africa, Asia and Latin America, the Socialist countries and the democratic forces in the capitalist world who have stood with us when our task seemed hopeless to some".

The ANC said "the June uprising in our country posed once more in action, the central question of our struggle, the question of the transference of political power from the fascist and racist minority to the democratic and anti-racist majority. The will of the people has been expressed in no uncertain terms in the streets of Soweto and elsewhere. It is the task of the ANC to ensure that that will triumphs, that the June uprising is continued to its successful conclusion".

*In Soweto a woman shot on the stomach rushing to the hospital*



# SOWETO CHALLENGE -

## STAND UP AND BE COUNTED

*Stand up and be counted – that is the message carried around the world by the corrent events at SOWETO and other places in racist South Africa. It is a message that is as old as history itself. Time and again man has been called upon to make it clear where he stands – on the side of good or evil, on the side of the patriot or the traitor, on the side of the people or their oppressors.*

*Open bloody violence is the be all and end all of the South African racist dictatorship. Its only answer in all situations is wholesale and indiscriminate slaughter of children, women, the sick, the infirm, the aged and the workers.*

*Apartheid spells death and bloodshed for black workers on the landed estates, on the mines and in the factories. Apartheid spells murder in police interrogation cells and mass hangings.*

*At SOWETO and elsewhere the people are demanding bread, land, jobs and freedom. These demands of the people are met by the roar of gunfire bringing with it what was described by the British daily "Morning Star" as "...murder by execution in the streets".*

*Hand in hand with the mowing down of unarmed people in the streets the apartheid criminals are adopting more terror laws and have embarked upon an orgy of mass arrests.*

*But the people refuse to be intimidated and all over the country militant resistance to the racists' terror is mounting. Faced by apartheid's NATO supplied weapons and bullets the people are answering back with whatever they can lay hands on – sticks and stones.*

*However, in their irresistible demand for bread, land, jobs and freedom the time will soon come when the people will be facing their armed oppressors with rifles cocked. This is a fundamental fact in the fight for the liquidation of the apartheid crime.*

*In a statement issued in Algiers Comrade Oliver Tambo, Acting President of the African National Congress, said that "South Africa is ripe for armed struggle on a massive scale". An armed struggle for, as stated by the African National Congress, "the seizure of power by the oppressed majority".*

*What we are witnessing in apartheid South Africa today is a continuation of more than three centuries of struggle. For more than three centuries the African people, together with other sections of the black population, have been fighting to liberate themselves from white foreign domination: penetration and enslavement by Dutch colonisation, British imperialism and now the racist dictatorship of a white fascist minority regime that is*

*pillared up by the multi-national monopolies and the main NATO states.*

*Stand up and be counted – you are either for the continuing crime of apartheid or you are against it. There can be no middle way or neutrality. There can be no indecision or silence. In South Africa itself there are a number of white patriots who stood up to be counted. They came out onto the streets of Johannesburg carrying banners saying in Zulu "We are with you SOWETO".*

*The member states of the Organisation of African Unity, the vast majority of the member states of the non-aligned movement and the fraternal countries of the socialist community as well as the anti-apartheid movements and the communist and workers parties in the western capitalist countries have stood up to be counted. Their unstinted fraternal solidarity support for the African National Congress and the liberation struggle in South Africa is well known.*

*But there are many who have still to stand up and be counted. Not in words but in deeds.*

*While black people in South Africa were being slaughtered by the apartheid police and military machine racist Prime Minister John Vorster was being well received by state and economic circles in the Federal Republic of Germany.*

*Here he had talks with US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. These talks and Vorster's visit to the Federal Republic of Germany in general were aimed at strengthening the Pretoria racist regime. These talks and this visit were in complete defiance and violation of the decisions of the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity.*

*Those who stand up and are counted earn the love and respect of the heroic people of South Africa. When the racist criminals and their backers are thrown into the dust bin of history those who stood up and were counted will be cherished and remembered for all time to come.*

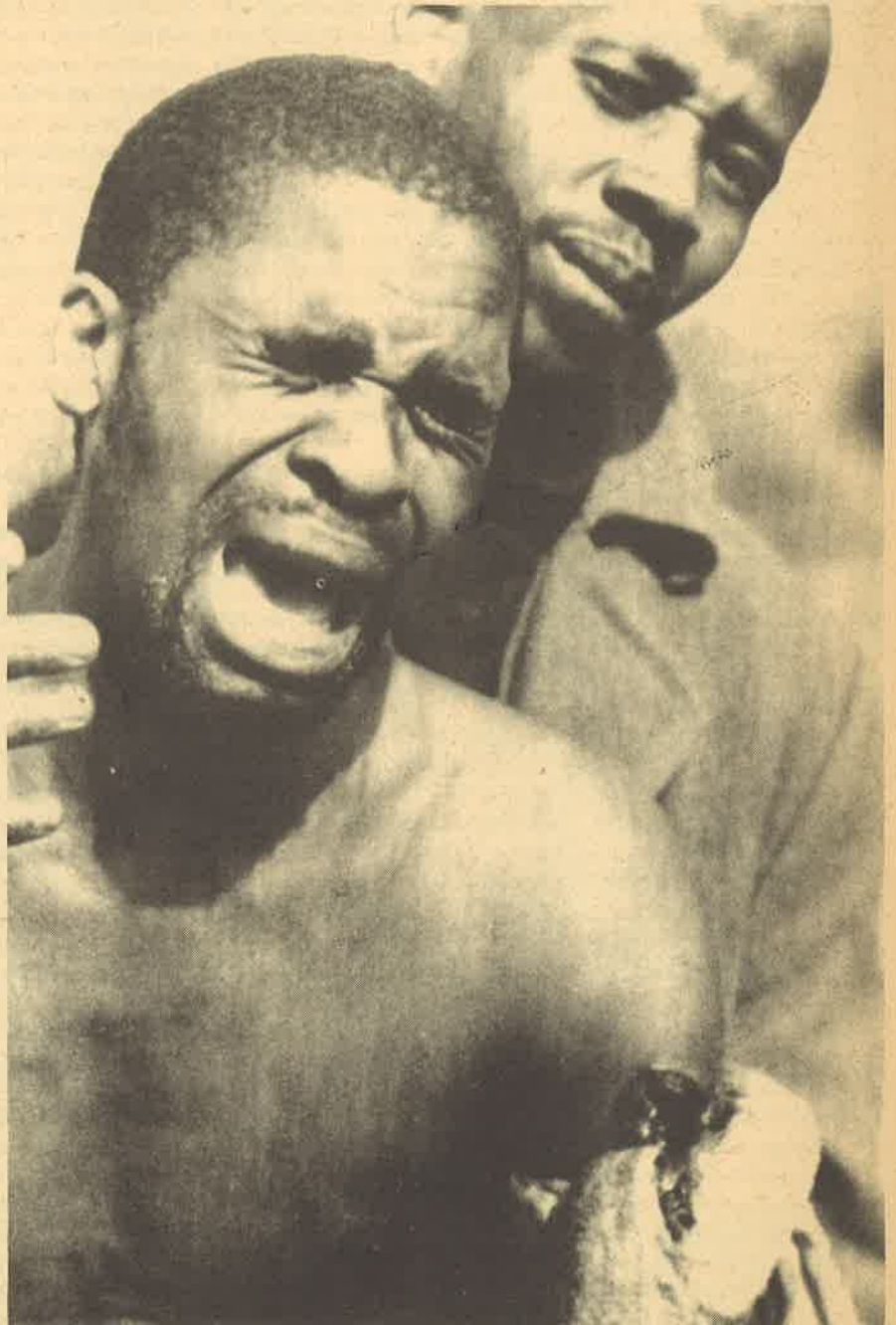
*The gunfire in SOWETO and elsewhere signals the gathering momentum of the legitimate South African armed liberation struggle and the coming of its glorious triumph.*

*Stand up and be counted – your efforts in whatever field you are working contribute towards isolating the Pretoria racist regime and strengthening the South African liberation struggle. And when the glorious triumph dawns you, too, will be part of this great victory for peace, humanity and social progress.*

**Ndi.**

# CONDOLENCES

THE SIX MILLION PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE SEND THEIR HEARTFELT CONDOLENCES TO THE MASSES OF SOUTH AFRICA ON THE WANTON, COLD-BLOODED MURDER OF NEARLY 200 INNOCENT CHILDREN BY VORSTER'S ARMED POLICE IN SOWETO IN JUNE. THIS UNPARDONABLE CRIME, COMING IN LIVING MEMORY OF THE 1960 SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE, IS A REMINDER TO THE WHOLE OF AFRICA THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN RACIST REGIME HAS NO TIME FOR A BLACK PERSON'S LIFE. WE, THE MASSES OF ZIMBABWE, EXPRESS OUR DEEPEST SUPPORT FOR THE STRUGGLE OF THE MASSES OF SOUTH AFRICA AND STAND SIDE BY SIDE WITH THEM IN THEIR JUST STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM. WE SHALL NOT RELAX OR RELENT IN OUR ARMED STRUGGLE TO FREE ZIMBABWE AND THE REST OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. THE FALLEN SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF SOUTH AFRICA SHALL BE FULLY AVENGED NOT ONLY IN SOUTH AFRICA BUT IN ZIMBABWE AS WELL WHERE A PEOPLE'S WAR NOW IN PROGRESS WILL NOT END BEFORE A PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT IS IN POWER. POWER TO THE PEOPLE! AMANDLA! MATLA!



*Vorsters bullets not only in Soweto  
but also in Cape Town  
This man cries of pains*

# INSIDE ZIMBABWE

## RHODESIAN AGGRESSION ON MOZAMBIQUE

Over 800 unarmed civilians, mainly women, children and aged persons, were massacred in a Rhodesian racist aggression in middle August on a refugee camp in Mozambique. This naked rape of the Salisbury tyranny on the sovereign territory of Mozambique is but one in a chain of organised international crimes against the advance of African independence.

What is not so well known perhaps is the extent to which hired mercenaries are being used by the Salisbury racists with the open or tacit connivance of the multi-national monopolies and the western imperialist states.

In this connection it is necessary to recall that at the trial of hired mercenaries in the People's Republic of Angola it was fully established that some Western powers and their secret services were in complicity with the aggression against Angola's independence.

When passing sentence on these murderers of Africans the presiding judge of the Revolutionary Tribunal in Luanda, Ernesto Teixeira, accused the United States of America and Britain of complicity in the recruiting of "private armies" with the object of overthrowing progressive African governments. The governments of these countries, he said, are in effect the accessories to the crimes committed by the mercenaries.

In complete disregard of Africa's anger and the sharp condemnation of the international public at the sordid crimes of the mercenaries and the multi-national monopolies which back them morally, financially and militarily the recruiting of hired killers for the Salisbury military machine is being conducted openly in Western capitalist countries.

Towards the end of July the Johannesburg "Sunday Times" reported that 300 mercenaries recruited in Western countries were operating in Rhodesia. The report also stated that 100 mercenaries came from New Zealand ostensibly as tourists. They hired themselves out as killers in reply to a newspaper advertisement. Is it at all surprising therefore that in these days we find government circles in New Zealand advocating close sports ties with apartheid South Africa. The same "Sunday Times" report also says that 40 white South African mercenaries are at arms in the Rhodesian military apparatus. The paper says that these mercenaries find their way clandestinely to Rhodesia. Who can believe that? The apartheid state with its terror streamlined, well armed state apparatus strictly controls the lives and daily movements of Africans; it channels African slave labour to where it is needed by the local and multi-national trusts. And yet, according to the "Sunday Times", white mercenaries have to move clandestinely into Rhodesia. We say bunk! They are there with the full knowledge and blessing of the apartheid state which is simply playing "Nelson's blind eye" to placate or to mislead the international public.

Officers of the Rhodesian army, as the "Sunday Times" reports, recently made a recruiting tour of western states. Such a campaign can only be carried out with the complicity of the states concerned. With young Rhodesians dodging military service or slipping away, after all they have nothing to fight for or any future under the racist set-up, the Salisbury regime is looking evermore to the hiring of mercenaries. The extent to which these professional killers are involved with the Rhodesian racists in the repeated aggressions against Mozambique will sooner or later come to the surface. Rhodesia's raping of Mozambique territory and the killing of unarmed Africans is dictated by three factors: the rising tide of our own Zimbabwe armed revolutionary liberation fight; international solidarity support for our just struggle; and, together with racist South Africa, backed by the main NATO states, to roll back the advance of the African liberation revolution and to halt social progress in Mozambique.

The aggressions on Mozambique fit into a general pattern. They are linked with South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia, a continuing aggression, and the apartheid state's renewed aggressions on Angolan villages.

But the desperate aggressions of the racists and their imperialist backers will by no means dampen our legitimate armed revolutionary fight neither will they weaken the firm fraternal international solidarity support which belongs to us nor will they be able to roll back the advance of the African liberation revolution nor halt social progress in Mozambique and other progressive African States.

These aggressions show that the racists in the south of Africa and their backers, are quaking to the sound of the drum beats of the armed revolutionary struggle in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. These drum beats are growing louder and louder as the dawn of our liberation comes nearer and nearer.

**Ndi.**

Yet another mass grave of Nhazonia



# STUDENTS ROLE IN LIBERATION STRUGGLE

Dealing with the role of students in the liberation struggle of Zimbabwe leads us to ask the pertinent questions: What is a "student" in the context of the Zimbabwean liberation struggle? What role is he or she supposed to play effectively in the struggle and in a free Zimbabwe?

These and other questions have to be answered clearly so as not to have students who will take their professions as means to better and enrich themselves personally. The first must be answered in a cut and dry way so that we can differentiate the role of a student in a revolutionary society from that of his or her counterpart in a reactionary or capitalist community. The conventional definition of student is one who is pursuing an academic way of life in search of technological, scientific and other branches of knowledge. The objective of this pursuit of academic life must be devoid of selfish ends such as high expectations to be rich through exploitative ways.

A student should be part and parcel of the political mainstream of his country, in our case, Zimbabwe. The student ought to have political aspirations which must be in alignment with the dreams and hopes of the masses as a whole. His or her educational acquisitions must be gained with the sole objective of fighting against the suffering, backwardness and penury of the people of Zimbabwe irrespective of their station in life. Students must study to become active agents for national development. It is their duty and responsibility to be architects of national progress rather than recipients of special (class) privileges. A student must, therefore, be ready to be a servant of the masses

rather than their master as it is the case in the capitalist society.

Armed with this socialist definition of a student, we can now tackle his or her diversified duties in the liberation struggle and, indeed, in a free Zimbabwe.

In all our political parties in Zimbabwe, we have always had youth wings which were organically under the party guidance. We have such a youth wing in the African National Council of Zimbabwe. This youth wing was created to cater for the political thirst of the youth. It is within and by this youth wing that their political aspirations are tempered and guided in preparation for tomorrow.

The student is usually a youth as most fall within the age-limit of those comprising the youth wing. His niche in the party structure is within this cell (of the party) which is the beehive of youth activities. We have no ANC students' union to cater for students affairs. But we have an administrative machinery in the party's functional branches which deals with students' problems. Politically, every student belongs to the Youth Front of the ANC. Hence, the student must assert his or her political acumen, zeal and diligence for the sake of the people of Zimbabwe within this framework of the party.

## Colonialist Attitude

The discussion can be carried further by stating categorically that the student cannot have major problems outside the society in which he or she lives and its political way of life. Categorically too there is no student who can claim that

he has no political inclinations in the Zimbabwean liberation struggle. For the student's life to be complete, therefore, it must follow political norms that are the heritage and traditions of Zimbabwe. This entails that political aspirations of students must be catered for by the Youth Front, and, in this way, by the party — the ANC of Zimbabwe.

If the students of Zimbabwe have to play a major role in the struggle and in a free Zimbabwe, they must have a set of ideals to which they must aspire. They must aspire to safeguard the gains of the masses under any circumstances. They must be, above all, vehicles of progress and innovative ideas. The youth (under which students fall) can be propagators of either retrogressive or progressive ideas. The former development (retrogressive) is caused by the colonialist attitude that education is the highway to riches and personal glory rather a means for one to serve his or her society as a cog in a massive machinery for developing One's nation.

There is a tendency among some Zimbabwean students who are assigned to fields of study other than the military one to think that they are a privileged lot whose qualifications will be superior to and more useful than those of a military nature. Such students do not realise that a military career is meant to develop Zimbabwe just as any other career or profession. A military profession does not bar one from participating fully and effectively in the development of one's country. It is because of such an erroneous attitude towards education that some students have developed a superiority complex. This must be destroyed forthwith.



## INSIDE ZIMBABWE



We must emphasise that students who have completed their studies ought to return to the party for further assignments. They must always remember that their studies are party assignments falling within the party programme to prepare and produce cadres in special technological and academic fields in readiness for national development in a free Zimbabwe. It is party policy that "any student who has fulfilled his or her assignment, whether military or academic, must return to the party office for further assignment within the party programme. . . ."

A student's duty while pursuing his studies is to work diligently in order to accomplish his mission in the specified time. He must not be diverted from his mission by frivolous habits like drunkenness and similar distracting fancies. In order for a student to realise this, he or she must be directed by the party dictates and policy and programmes. This means that every student must be conversant with the party's ideological concept and the objectives of the party for a free Zimbabwe. On the basis of this, it is incumbent upon every party-sponsored student to take his scholarship and studies as serious national assignments. The student's conduct in general and attitude towards his or her studies must reflect this seriousness.

#### Obliged To Report

We must all understand that the party undertook an educational programme as a national task to bridge the yawning gap between the white settlers and the African masses most of whom lack skills and professions as a result of a deliberate policy of the colonialists to create and maintain a reservoir of cheap labour, and in order to perpetuate their exploitative system. In this manner the party's educational programme is an aspect of the national liberation struggle to defeat colonialism and exploitation. This being the case, it is obvious and necessary why any student who finishes his studies is obliged to report to the party in order to be given another mission within the context of our liberation struggle. Students should not lose sight of the fact that all countries and (international) organisations which offer us scholarship (through the party) do so solely in support of the national liberation struggle as laid down in our party programmes.

It is clear, therefore, that a student who has completed an educational assignment and then unilaterally decides to evade party duties and the armed struggle and seeks comfort and sanctuary elsewhere under any pretext is a traitor to and a reactionay against the national cause because such a student has betrayed the trust placed upon him or her by the people of Zimbabwe through the party and the countries and organisations that offer us educational opportunities,

*Zimbabwe  
Review  
Reporter*

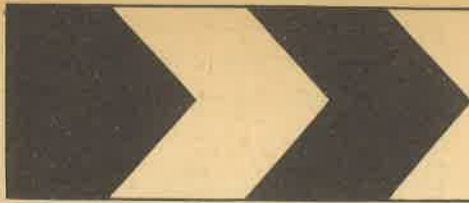
# FREEDOM WAR ENTERS SALISBURY: SMITH PANICS

To strong explosions rocked two Salisbury night spots during the night of July 20-21. At one spot, The Pink Panther, a hand grenade was thrown into the club where there were about 60 white revellers. Several were injured including Andrew Craig who was later sent to the hospital where he underwent a brain operation. Another casualty was the restaurant owner, Miss Ola Bordulak, who received cuts, abrasions and lacerations.

At La Boheme, a popular night centre for whites, three cars parked outside were badly damaged by a violent explosion which sent the whites scampering and hiding under tables and chairs. At the time of sending this item, no arrest had been made but Smith's murderous police had offered a high cash reward to anyone giving information leading to the arrest of the patriots responsible for the gallant acts. And in the north-west of the country,

freedom-fighters attacked a game warden and another vehicle with sight-seers. The warden was driving between the Victoria Falls and Wankie. The tourist was shot at and his car damaged between Kazungula and the Victoria Falls. Both the warden and the tourist were seriously injured.

And down in the south-eastern part of Zimbabwe, freedom-fighters are still giving Smith's criminals a tough time. Following the elimination of a Rhodesian Front official, a certain Ashby in the Balla Balla area at the beginning of July, freedom-fighters have mounted a systematic campaign to get rid of as many agents and supporters of the Smith dictatorship as they can lay their patriotic hands on. Several chiefs and headmen and policemen have been captured and frog-marched to the bases of the Zimbabwe-People's Army - ZPA whose cadres are responsible for these exploits.



# INSIDE ZIMBABWE

Despite Smith's attempt to conduct tourists from one spot to another by giving them armed guards, the tourist industry of Rhodesia has virtually dried up. There is hardly a soul at any of Rhodesia's tourist spots like the Hippo Pools in the east, the Sinoia Caves in the north, the Victoria Falls in the north-east, the Zimbabwe Ruins in the south-east and other centres of attraction. Smith's armed forces are losing men at the rate of at least one daily.

To try to cow down the masses, the regime always sends its mercenaries on the rumpage to kill any black person they meet near areas of operations. The murdered Zimbabweans are later described as curfew-breakers or freedom-fighters. The regime has adopted what it calls the "Ratio Doctrine" of evening up its losses. Whenever Zimbabwean patriots have eliminated some of Smith's fascists, the racists murder at least four African civilians in cold blood so that its war communiques give figures in favour of the regime.

Smith has begun to panic. His regime has reduced immigration allowances from about \$ 7,00 (US) or \$ 5,000 (Rhodesian) to a meagre \$ 1,400 or nearly \$ 1,000 (Rhodesian) per family. Holiday allowances have been chopped from the equivalent of about \$ 600 (US) or \$ 400 to a mean \$ 360 (US) or about \$ 250 (Rhodesian) per person. The white settlers are furious about this.

Not only that: Any white person who would like to settle in Rhodesia now must sign a form before entering the country. Any white person wishing to leave Rhodesia these days has to produce evidence that (if they are able-bodied) they are not in Smith's armed or police forces. In case they are not, they must explain why. All this boils down to the fact that Rhodesian whites are now virtual prisoners of the Smith dictatorship.

As one Rhodesian white stated in a telephone call to THE ZAMBIA DAILY MAIL in Lusaka a day after the Salisbury blasts and the Victoria Falls and Wankie incidents: "... This means that most whites who would like to pull out before the situation becomes bad cannot do so because the government

does not allow them to take away their money..." The white phone caller, James Aimer, pointed out that the situation was gloomy in Rhodesia and that many whites were weighing the advantages and disadvantages of staying on in Rhodesia. He said most whites would leave Rhodesia if they were compensated.

The regime has now declared that all able-bodied whites not older than 34 years should no longer join Smith's reserve force units but the armed forces so that they can fight in the war zones. Earlier, the age limit was 30 years. The regime is desperately short of personnel and is recruiting mercenaries in New Zealand, South Africa, Australia, the United Kingdom, the USA, Belgium, France, Italy, Argentina and other anti-freedom quarters whose regimes have been propping up the Smith regime diplomatically militarily, and economically.

Africans have been most reluctant to join the Smith armed forces. But the regime now advertises jobs supposed to be available in the Rhodesia Railways. Academic qualifications are given as Form Two or Form Four. Unsuspecting African youths who go for interviews at stated centres find that they have entered into places from which they cannot leave freely. They are forced to join Smith's forces and told that their "contract" is for seven years. At the end of seven years, they are informed, they can either renew the contract or quit active service but must continue to serve as informers of the Smith regime in their respective residential areas in the Tribal Trust Land. Some African young men have been bundled and dispatched willy nilly to the front where they are kept more as captives than soldiers by the Rhodesian racists. They are not permitted to leave their camps when they have days off.

## Railway Blasted

Freedom-fighters have blasted the railway line from Bulawayo to South Africa via Botswana many times since the beginning of this year. The regime has admitted that ZPA cadres have caused great damage to the line near the Rhodesian border town of Plumtree. As

usual, the regime accused Botswana of harbouring the freedom-fighters and attacked innocent citizens of Botswana killing at least one peasant several kilometres inside Botswana in June.

Rhodesian armed forces have attacked Mozambican towns and villages on several occasions killing many innocent people and injuring scores of others. The Rhodesian racists accuse Mozambicans of supporting and harbouring Zimbabwean freedom-fighters. The Smith regime has repeatedly stated that it would exercise what it calls the "right of hot pursuit" to get to wherever freedom-fighters may be. This simply means crossing into neighbouring states like Botswana, Zambia and Mozambique to commit blatant aggression.

Tension is mounting rapidly in Rhodesia as ZPA cadres are slowly covering the whole country. So serious is the situation that the Rhodesian racists have imposed a dusk to dawn curfew in the area lying between the Gwaai River and the Victoria Falls. Motorists are not allowed to drive along the road between the Gwaai River Bridge and the Victoria Falls Bridge between six in the evening and six in the morning. This curfew area is in addition to those existing along the Rhodesia-Mozambique border and the Rhodesia-Botswana boundary. They have been operating since about January 1975 in these areas.

Freedom-fighters, for their part, have become more courageous and more accurate in the choice of their targets than before. ZPA means to isolate Rhodesia by disabling all rail links with the outside world, disrupt the tourist industry by making life impossible for those who would like to support the Rhodesian dictatorship by spending holidays in the war-torn country, stop Smith's immigration drive by practically showing that Rhodesia is not the place for anyone wishing to lead a quiet and comfortable life. In short, ZPA, under the direction of the African National Council, does not want the regime to receive any support, material, moral or otherwise, from any part of the world. Immigrants and tourists who ignore the current developments do so at the risk of their very lives.

G.R. Ward,  
108, Mayles Road,  
MILTON,  
PORTSMOUTH PO4 6NS  
Hants.

Dear Sir,

Owing to the fact that recruitment of mercenaries will soon stop. And seeing that you have shown an interest in this line of work. I am enclosing a blue card that may be of interest to you.

NOT MERCENARY WORK

If you do not wish to use it, please return it. If you know of someone who would like one, please ask them to write to me, asking for a blue card and enclosing a stamped addressed envelope.

If you or others wish similar cards send a S.A.E.

You may also let others see this letter.

Yours faithfully,



**NOTE  
PLEASE WRITE  
FOR  
REINFORCED  
INFORMATION**

NAME OF SERVICE  
HEADQUARTERS  
PRIVATE BAG 7721  
CAUSEWAY  
SALISBURY, RHODESIA

A letter and a printed blue card—the starting of a recruitment process which could end with a British mercenary fighting with Smith regime forces in Rhodesia. We have blacked out the index figure attached to the name of the person to whom the documents were sent in order to conceal our source of information.

# SUPPORT

The conference of the Communist and Workers Parties of Europe held in Berlin, German Democratic Republic, from June 29 to June 30 passed a resolution in support of the struggling people of Southern Africa. The resolution, among others, stated the parties, "support for the anti-imperialist struggle of the Arab peoples, the people of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe, for all those who are fighting against colonialism and racism and who are victims of aggression."

## THE ZIMBABWE REVIEW

### TO OUR READERS:

We extend our thanks to the many hundreds of our readers who have expressed their appreciation of the material that was ventilated in the columns of our previous issues. We hope to be able to continue providing revealing information on the Zimbabwean (Rhodesian) situation.

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The Zimbabwe Review is produced and published by the Information and Publicity Bureau of the African National Council (Zimbabwe). All inquiries should be directed to: The Editor-in-Chief of The Zimbabwe Review P. O. Box 1657 Lusaka — Zambia

*Cover picture*

*The Smith regime's barbarism exhibited four civilian bodies of Zimbabweans murdered in cold blood and forced women and children to attend to exhibition*



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