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# Zimbabwe Review

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

Smith regime calls  
Concentration camps  
"Protected Villages"



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# Zimbabwe Review

## NOTICE TO OUR READERS:

In our next issue of "The Zimbabwe Review", we shall analyse Smith's last July 31 so-called General Election and why Zimbabweans' attention must never be diverted from their determined goal to free themselves by such irrelevant exercises. Do not miss your copy of "The Zimbabwe Review". Contact your nearest supplier on time.

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ZAMBIA

# OUR VIEWS

## LEADERSHIP FORESIGHT VITAL

*At this time when race relations in Rhodesia have reached a dangerously low level, it is a matter of great importance to call for foresight and realism on the part of the white minority settlers whose present leadership is relentlessly dragging them into a blind alley. The issue demands an absolutely level-headed assessment based on the prevailing objective realities in the country.*

*The most pertinent question is whether Rhodesian whites can live in happiness, security and freedom when the African masses are oppressed, deprived and denied basic human rights. An honest look at this shows that it is a natural law that where there is oppression, deprivation and denial of rights, there is always friction and opposition. The friction between the two sections, that is to say, the oppressors and their victims, is in itself a source of fear, alarm and despondency in the society. The opposition by the displaced, dispossessed and disgruntled section, whether it is a racial section or not, willy-nilly leads to physical violence sooner than later.*

*We do not believe for one moment that any honest white person in Rhodesia can claim that the African masses are accorded equal opportunities or rights with their fellow-white countrymen. The society is run on rancidly racial lines whose whole weight is obviously against the African masses. It is naturally inevitable that this system must be opposed vigorously by those suffering under it. If the white settlers were in the Africans' position, they would be doing exactly the same to free themselves from such oppression.*

*With these incontrovertible facts in mind, we would like to point out to the whites to pause and think whether or not they ought not to revise their present attitude drastically. It behoves them to accept historical realities and future inevitabilities. The past has shown that whatever forces are placed against an oppressed people, once their consciousness has been aroused, the oppressors will always be toppled. The future is as clear as any human mind can see it. It is obvious that with virtually the whole world against the Smith dictatorship and its fascist practices and pronouncements, Rhodesia is bound to fall before popular demands of the people of Zimbabwe.*

*Let it be emphasised that with right, time and justice on their side, the African masses, under the leadership of Joshua Nkomo, are bound to seize control of their land. The existing condition and its concomitant suffering and coldblooded murders of innocent*

*Zimbabweans by the Smith dictatorship are but a passing phase. No evil forces can rule supreme eternally. It has never occurred anywhere, and we are certain it will not occur in Zimbabwe or South Africa. This is in spite of all the armed forces and military power the oppressors may have at their disposal.*

### **WHAT DO THESE FACTS MEAN TO ALL INTELLIGENT PEOPLE?**

*Our aim is not to prove how right we are to fight physically for our own country's freedom. All we are trying to do here is to point out to those whites who would like to call Zimbabwe their permanent home that they have a solemn duty to themselves to make a very radical re-orientation of their political stance for the benefit of their own future. To achieve this, we are sure, they need must have a leadership with foresight. This is vital. They had better accept that time for political histrionics is long gone. Ian Smith is a political adventurer whose avowed intention is to keep the country in the white people's grip for ever. We are rightly, determinedly and violently opposed to this blatant type of racist approach.*

*We maintain that the future of the white settlers of Rhodesia is inextricably tied to that of the five and half million Africans of Zimbabwe. We believe that whereas the whites and the Africans have a very practical type of inter-dependence based on several mutual interests, the whites in Rhodesia need the Africans more than the latter need the settlers. Without the Africans' co-operation and full participation in the country's affairs at all levels and without let or hindrance, the Rhodesian whites cannot even pretend to live happily, securely or freely. They will live in mortal fear, apprehension and constant concern. This is the situation now.*

*Let it be pointed out that most of the white people of Rhodesia are very recent immigrants whose sole aim in settling in Rhodesia was to secure a quiet and satisfactory livelihood. This goal or wish cannot be realised by stamping upon the African people who are in fact the indigenous inhabitants of the country. By adopting and practising sordid racialism, the whites defeat their very aim. They invite open hostility from the people who are in effect their hosts.*

### **WHAT LESSON CAN PORTUGUESE EVENTS GIVE?**

*We should begin by observing that Portugal is the oldest colonial power and obviously the last in the world. Lisbon had tenaciously held onto its three African colonies for several centuries till April 25, 1974 when the people of Portugal through their armed forces decided to change the old order and replace it with a new alignment of ideas. One basic wish of the new ideas was to establish and entrench freedom in Portugal itself. It would seem that some of these minds accept that if Portugal wants freedom for itself, it must accept it for Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau, the last of which is already free to a large extent. This is a fundamental principle we must all embrace seriously.*

*Basing our approach on the above, we wonder how Rhodesian whites are not aware of their own wishes in relation to those of the African majority. If the settlers would like to live in freedom and to enjoy all basic human rights, they had better first base their wish on a universal approach and, thus, accept the principle of universal adult suffrage for the country. Anything less than this is absolute anathema to us, and an open source of danger to the whites themselves in our country.*

*The right to manage our own country's affairs is unquestionable to all fair-minded people. It is this fair-mindedness we would love to establish among the majority of the white settler minority of Rhodesia. A refusal to accept this well-timed advice means that Rhodesian whites will continue to cascade towards self-destruction. Those who are open-minded among them should halt this sad development and support openly and immediately the demand of the majority for a full and free exercise of power at all levels in their country. We believe that time and events have proved beyond any doubt whatsoever that Smith's fascism is sterile and disastrous. The replacement of this with a government of the people of Zimbabwe, for the people of Zimbabwe, and by the people of Zimbabwe is our sworn goal. We mean to achieve it by any means and at any cost to both those who oppose us as well as to ourselves. We shall not falter, fear or compromise.*

# DATE OF HISTORIC MOGADISHU CONFERENCE ON ZIMBABWE

## ALL ROADS THERE IN NOVEMBER

The historic conference in support of the freedom and independence of the people of Zimbabwe to be held in Mogadishu, Democratic Republic of Somalia, will take place from November 25 to 27.

This date was mutually agreed on June 19 in Mogadishu by Somalia as the host nation, the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation (AAPSO) and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) as co-initiators of the meeting.

The conference will activate international interest in and deepen understanding of the liberation struggle of Zimbabwe and its needs. It is strongly hoped that the gathering will include a very wide spectrum of international organisations, personalities and interests.

In a communique issued after a meeting between Abdulqadir Haji Mohamed, member of the Somali Supreme Revolutionary Council and Secretary of the Political Bureau of the Presidency, Hassan Hafez, Assistant Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation, and Edward Ndlovu, Deputy-National Secretary of the Zimbabwe African People's Union, it was stated that:

- All parties noted with satisfaction that the International Conference on Zimbabwe shall be held at a time when developments in Southern Africa are favourable to the African Revolution and to the cause of the African national liberation movement;
- All parties emphasised that the conference should be crowned with success and international support for Zimbabweans in their struggle for freedom and independence.

## WHO IS COMING?

Roads of all progressive forces throughout the world and fraternal organisations which promote and support freedom will be leading to Mogadishu, Somalia, to the International Conference in Support of the Liberation Struggle of the people of Zimbabwe between November 25th to 27th.

Among organisations and personalities to be represented we expect the International Organisation of Journalists, the Anti-Apartheid Movement, the World Federation of Trade Unions, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, Italian and French labour organisations, various church organisations, the Arab League, the International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions, the International Labour Organisation, the Pan-African Youth Movement, the American Committee on Africa, the Canadian Liberation Support Movement, the World Council of Churches and many others, including prominent figures. Apart from liberation movements from Vietnam, Palestine and some parts of South-East Asia, delegates are also expected from the African National Congress of South Africa, the MPLA of Angola, the FRELIMO of Mozambique, the PAIGC government of Guinea-Bissau, the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), and the South-West African People's Organisation (SWAPO). African, Asian, European and American humanitarian bodies are also attending.

Among countries sending journalists to the historic occasion, there will be Australia, New Zealand, Syria, Guinea, Ghana, Nigeria, Britain, the United States of America, Canada, the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, France, Egypt, Iraq, India, Nepal, Sierra Leone, Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, Sudan, Sri Lanka, Zambia, Zaire, the People's Congo, Gabon, Togo, Upper Volta, Italy, the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany, Belgium, Holland, Japan, Cameroun, Algeria, Morocco, Tunis, Libya, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Cuba and scores of others.

Youth organisations from all the continents have expressed deep interest in the conference. Commenting on the high response from all over the world, ZAPU's National Treasurer, Jason Ziyapapa Moyo, said: "We would like it to be a land-mark in the armed struggle of the people of Zimbabwe. We are eagerly looking forward to consolidating international support and opinion on the Zimbabweans' side so that the struggle can be seen from a correct perspective by all those interested in the freedom of humanity."

"Those who might not have been invited are definitely welcome and can kindly contact ZAPU through its offices whose addresses are given in our official organ. Our invitations are world-wide because we want world wide support."



Comrade T. G. Silundika in Magdeburg in a Solidarity meeting during United Nations Special Committee on Anti-Apartheid Session in Berlin in May.

## ZAPU PAPER TO THE UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL COMMITTEE

During the recent European tour of the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid, the people's liberation movement of Zimbabwe, the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) submitted a paper during the Berlin session of the body. ZAPU was represented by T. G. Silundika, National Secretary of Information and Publicity, and Saul Ndlovu, Director of the Information and Publicity Department and Editor-in-Chief of The Zimbabwe Review, official organ of ZAPU. The paper is given in full below.

"The five and half million fighting people of Zimbabwe are happy to be actively associated with any move or measure aimed at eradicating that scourge against humanity which the South African fascists call apartheid. On behalf of Zimbabwe, the Zimbabwe African People's Union contributes its support to the fight against apartheid by exposing how it has spilled over into Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) as a means by the British-sponsored white minority regime to consolidate its political grip on, its economic exploitation of, and its social injustices against the Africans of Zimbabwe.

"The land of apartheid (South Africa) is Rhodesia's southern neighbour. Apart from its geographical proximity to Rhodesia, South Africa is the main source of

succour and all forms of material support for the Ian Smith minority dictatorship. It is the fountain from which the Salisbury regime drinks its nefarious racialist ideology known in Rhodesia as separate development. The reason for this situation is in the historical aspect of the colonisation of Zimbabwe by the British Government-sponsored brigands of arch-imperialist Cecil John Rhodes' British South Africa Company in 1890.

"Most of the criminals of Rhodes' company had been born and bred in South Africa where the belief in racial superiority of the white settlers was falsely justified by the fictitious theory of the "chosen race of God" as propagated by the Bible. A few years after Rhodes and his fellow-gangsters had wantonly attacked the people of Zimbabwe and seized their land, the company declared that it intended to establish racial separation as a matter of policy and practice in the country.

"In 1925 a commission set up to examine how best this declaration could be formalised as law, issued a similar statement. This led to the passing of the notorious Land Apportionment Act of 1930 (now Land Tenure Act) which divided the country unfairly between the white minority gangsters and the black indigenous majority. It is on the basis of this invidious piece of legislation that



Comrade T. G. Silundika seen here with Chairman of the Unites Nations Anti-Apartheid Committee, Nigerias UN Ambassador Edwin Ogebe Ogbu.

apartheid is being emulated in Zimbabwe today by the Smith regime. The Land Tenure Act is in fact and effect an imitation of the South African Natives Land Act of 1913.

"The white Rhodesian settlers regard this act as the palladium of their racial privileges. It is to them what the Magna Carta is to the people of the United Kingdom. We do not have to repeat in this cursory look at racial discrimination how the United Kingdom Government refused to nullify this law for the benefit of the African majority. That fact is well known as well as internationally condemned.

"Other pieces of racially discriminatory legislation followed one another since the enactment of the Land Apportionment Act. This trend continues up to now. We quote here only a few such laws: — The Native Land Husbandry Act, the Natives Affairs Act of 1928, the 1960 Industrial Conciliation Act which seriously curtailed the country's African-led trade union movements, the all-embracing Law and Order (Maintenance) Act (as amended) which adversely affects race relations and social intercourse, the Unlawful Organisations Act which renders effective African-led political parties subject to constant bans, the Appropriation and Estimates Act (1970) which provided at that time only 17.5 million dollars for African education as against 15.3 million for European education for 1971. There are five and half million Africans in Zimbabwe and only 250,000 whites. Several Africans have been convicted by Smith's courts

for opposing this law on the sound grounds that it provided about 10 times more money for white children than for African ones.

"It is worth pointing out that the Land Tenure Act (1969) made terribly bad changes in the already bad Land Apportionment Act. It increased so-called European land from 35.6 million acres to 44.95 million. It withdrew some 5.3 million acres potentially available to Africans then and added the whole lot to European-owned land. In addition to this, it removed 148,000 acres then available for African peasant farming and occupation and transferred them to the white area. Some 91,000 acres of the so-called Tribal Trust Land were also added to the European section. As a result of all this, some 20,000 Africans were removed from several areas and forcefully settled in hostile and arid places.

"The above, and many other Rhodesian laws, are actually based on similar laws passed in South Africa against our fellow-Africans earlier by the fascist regime there over a long period. South African armed forces in Rhodesia are not just protecting the Smith dictatorship out of purely racial or sentimental reasons, but because of the close similarity of the two regimes' racial ideologies. The two regimes regard the existence of free African nations along their borders as threats inasmuch as the free nations live in racial harmony and peace. In a bid to get an alibi for the violent situations existing within their own borders, they mount occasional attacks, both verbal and military, against their free neighbours and falsely accuse them of fomenting subversion and terrorism. This is a bid to justify their own rule by racialism and terror.

"The racials fail to realise and accept that peace is generated in any society by freedom. Freedom is the sine qua non of economic prosperity and social harmony. It is the inalienable right of every human being on the basis of his being human and nothing more. But the Rhodesian settlers whose policies are meant to promote and protect their nefarious doctrine of racism believe otherwise. We are pleased that the whole progressive world is acutely aware of the need to remove this insult to human conscience from the face of the earth. We are pleased that the German Democratic Republic has shown such a fraternal initiative by hosting this session of the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid. This is an even greater achievement by the GDR in view of the fact that this 25-year-old socialist nation has been in the UN for only about one year. We are pleased that all progressive nations have given support and encouragement to both the committee and the GDR on this great venture.

"Lastly, your excellencies, we would like to take this opportunity to invite every nation and organisation represented here to our November conference to be held in Mogadishu. The exact date will be announced later. With your active and material support, your moral backing and fraternal gestures, we are quite certain that we shall erase the Rhodesian emulation of the inhuman South African doctrine of apartheid from a Zimbabwe based on freedom, human dignity and international brotherhood of all peoples regardless of their racial origin, ethnic affiliations or religious persuasions."

# RACIALISM AND RACISM IN SOUTHERN AFRICA: CAUSES AND EFFECTS

By Saul Nalovu: Editor-in-Chief: THE ZIMBABWE REVIEW

(Presented at a seminar on apartheid at Berlin's Humboldt University on May 28, 1974)



Comrade Saul Nalovu the author of this article presenting the paper.

The atrocious crimes of racism and racialism throughout the world and down the annals of history have been recorded and accordingly condemned by all progressive and humanist societies. The inhuman barbarities of these twin evils must be exposed repeatedly to the world to keep sane human consciences aflame against them.

The pernicious situation presently obtaining in Southern Africa is a result of blatant racism and racialism as perpetrated and practised by the South African apostles of racial discrimination which they have tried in vain to make acceptable to the world by christening apartheid. In Rhodesia the white minority regime calls it separate development.

The aim of this paper is not to expose the evils of this inhuman phenomenon, but to attempt to make an insight into the subtle whys and other relevant questions about apartheid or separate development. By racism I understand the doctrine that holds the belief that one race is congenitally or genetically superior to another or others. By racialism I am referring to the practical application of measures and means to propagate and consolidate this doctrine. I regard the former as a theory and the latter as its practice.

The argument in Southern Africa in support of racism and its practice is based on pseudo-scientific premises and the outmoded biblical fiction about "God's chosen race." It also derives succour and a false base from the Calvinistic theory of pre-destination whose effect on the oppressed majority is meant to be an acceptance of the status quo on the assumed ground that it was thus ordained and is absolutely immutable by the wish and the hand of man. The oppressed majority, who comprise the so-called inferior race, are indoctrinated that they were ordained to be for ever too powerless to remedy or replace the social and political wrongs caused by their alleged racial inferiority. They are encouraged by the system to resign themselves to the prevailing forces. Those who oppose the inhuman doctrine and its effects are branded as indisciplined agitators who would like to alter the unalterable.

The South African regime asserts that people's cultures and psychological peculiarities are genetically determined, and that the genetic determinants can be racially identified. This type of reasoning expresses the archaic morphological belief in the existence of pure races. The Rhodesian dictatorship expresses similar views. What may differ in certain cases between the former and the latter systems are details of their application but not their effects or essence.



The inhuman belief that some races are superior to others is closely associated with what the settlers regard as their civilising and christening mission in the area. One can trace it to the sad days of conquests when the defeated people were regarded and treated as chattels of labour for the pleasure and comfort of the rulers. One can see it manifested brutally in the slave trade when some races were believed to be existing for the sole benefit of others deemed to be better human beings. Presently the doctrine is used to justify the dispossession, displacement and exploitation of the African masses of Southern Africa, by the armed and violent white minority fascists.

The racists indoctrinate their children and convert newly arrived, and some critical immigrants from Europe that the African people are useful to live with but only at arm's length. The protagonists of racism also falsely claim that their doctrine is in effect a *sine qua non* to the continued presence and existence of the white people in that region, and that if replaced by a non-racialistic policy and practice, the whites there would be overwhelmed out of physical existence by the black people's sheer numerical superiority. This creates a false fear in the minds of the naive and gullible white listeners whose passion for self-preservation is then aroused and is seen in the form of open hostility to and humiliation of the unarmed African masses. This baseless fear is necessarily an emotional occurrence rather than a rational conclusion founded on a level-headed calculation of the existing objective realities.

I am not suggesting that racial hostility is wholly and always emotional, and thus devoid of sociological, historical and even geographical considerations. I would like to suggest, however, that these aspects of racial hostility generated by racial fear, founded or unfounded (as the case may be), ought to be examined in detail separately though these aspects are, of course, a clear dialectical unit with other aspects of the question under discussion. I would like to emphasise here that the function of racism (and all its consequences in Southern Africa) is an alibi by the fascists to benefit both economically and politically from the African masses.

The functional aspect of racism in Southern Africa is obviously, as I have already observed, to stigmatise some

group of people as racially inferior so that their exploitation or that of their natural resources (which are in fact a rightful inheritance of that group) can be justified by the racists. It is not enough to analyse and understand the issue in this manner and not to emphasise that a function must not be confused with a cause. This is the crux of the question of racism and racialism in Southern Africa. We tend to dwell too much on the function rather than on the basic cause of the nefarious doctrine. We tend to exhaust ourselves physically and mentally by exposing and denouncing its hideous effects to the detriment of the discovery and eradication of the basic cause.

Some may argue that a function is in many (and many does not mean all) cases synonymous with an aim. It may be argued that the origin of racism was in the wish to exploit man and his resources. One cannot but agree with this view. This is notwithstanding the fact that racism did not originate in Southern Africa, but was exported there from various parts of western Europe during the very first days of European settlement at the Cape Peninsula. In like manner today, racism is being actively and financially supported by the West whose colossal profits from Southern Africa depend largely, if not wholly, on the perpetuation of this doctrine through a relentlessly applied series of racialistic laws.

In like manner too, it would seem absolutely clear that to defeat racism in Southern Africa, the fight must not be confined to that area, but must be extended to those western and other nations whose multi-national corporations, financiers and industrialists give strength to the racists. This fight must not be confined to the economic, military and political arenas, but must cover every field of human interests and activities, including religious organisations of all denominations whose message to the oppressed African majority is meant to instil individualistic toleration and passive endurance of suffering under a bad socio-political situation.

The fight must accept the fact that the racists in Southern Africa are in many cases ardent believers in the righteousness of their sordid cause. This means, in short, that the fight must realise that victory against racism can be achieved only through a revolutionary course rather than an evolutionary approach.



# MEANING OF PORTUGUESE COUP TO ZIMBABWEAN SITUATION

For more than 50 years, the people under Portugal had suffered untold misery under a fascist regime. While those in Portugal proper were muzzled and thrown into jails for voicing opposition against Salazar's dictatorship which was succeeded by Caetano's clique, the masses in Portugal's African colonies went through atrocious barbarities and terror at the murderous hands of Lisbon's armed bandits. It was against such a situation that the April 25, 1974 coup against Marcello Caetano's fascist regime by General Spínola's group took place. Apart from the oppression at home which had resulted in thousands of democrats languishing in prisons, Portugal's military position in its African colonies became more and more untenable. Discontent among its armed cadres in particular and the whole population in general rose as people demanded a change.

Caetano continued, however, to pretend that his dictatorial voice was that of the Portuguese masses. The moment of truth came when he was overthrown and sent a-packing as an ignoble exile to Latin America. He is an unpardonable victim of the African liberation struggle against his own colonial domination. He is a very typical example of a victim of one's own brutal force and colonial domination. He could no longer contain or control the powerful forces and influences of the progressive movements in Portugal itself despite the many decades during which they had been ruthlessly subdued and harassed.

Caetano's unlamented departure caused quite many ruffles in Rhodesia where the Smith regime had earlier expressed fears about Portugal's open failure to stop the liberation onslaught in Mozambique. In October 1972, Ian Smith had made a hush-hush trip to Lisbon to confer with Caetano. He told the Portuguese regime that their armed forces were not doing enough to crush (at best) the gallant FRELIMO patriots, or to contain (at worst) their relentless advances. Caetano, it was reported, told Smith not to be panicky. He said that Portugal had been a colonial master in Africa since about the days Bartholomew Dias sailed round the Cape of Good Hope in 1488. After he had been told to calm down and to leave Lisbon to mind her own colonial responsibilities, Smith went back to Rhodesia apparently disappointed. Since then, there was an open change of approach by the Rhodesian dictatorship towards Mozambique.

Rhodesian armed forces despised the Portuguese invaders. Rhodesian troops took a much more active and atrociously aggressive stance against the Africans of Mozambique than ever before. Smith accused Mozambicans of harbouring and helping Zimbabwean freedom-fighters. Smith's brutal troops took part in the bloody extermination of the innocent people of Wiriyamu and Chawora villages in the Tete region in December 1972. Caetano's ruthless forces also attacked Zimbabwean villages and accused the unarmed people of hiding and feeding FRELIMO liberators. Both fascist forces were

worrying a great deal. The more they acted madly and brutally, the less the solution to their dilemma seemed to appear. Something had to be done. The Portuguese did it. They over-threw arch-fascist Caetano and installed their own man in power.

The new man had no illusions as to what people's aspirations were. People's leaders were in prisons or in exile. He freed those in jails and called those living abroad to return home. Spínola was realistic enough to accept the fact that to establish peace, freedom and prosperity in Portugal (and probably abroad) he needs must include communists, socialists and democrats in his regime. He was forced by circumstances to form a broadly based regime whose aim would be to solve Portugal's ills. He hoped to work through consultation to get a lasting solution for his country. He had his own ideas which we shall examine later in this article.

Developments in Portugal were followed immediately by a meeting between Smith from Salisbury and Johannes Balthazar Vorster of South Africa in Pretoria. The two men decided to increase their armed troops along the borders between the areas under their respective domination and the Portuguese colonies of Mozambique on the eastern coast of Africa and Angola on the western side. They called for more military recruits. This resulted in thousands of Africans, particularly in Namibia, fleeing to seek comparative safety in Angola and Zambia. The coup made relations between Smith and Vorster on the one hand and the Spínola's group on the other to be more sour than they had been between Caetano's Lisbon and the two Southern African racists.

Whereas the Rhodesians and South Africans had despised Caetano's armed troops earlier, after the coup they hated them. The Rhodesians and South Africans deliberately ignore the historical fact that Portugal had stuck to its African colonies as ruthlessly as a leech for more than four centuries at least. This was not without patriotic opposition from African masses. We have to quote only the gallantry of people like Magigwana of Mozambique. The Portuguese had hit hard against the Africans with the brutality of demented bandits. During their invasions of and settlement in the African colonies, the Portuguese had depopulated the areas by means of slavery. After slavery was abolished internationally, the Portuguese committed naked extermination of the Africans by sheer naked force.

Ignoring all these salient facts, the South African and Rhodesian racists chose to condemn the coup. Understandably. The meaning of this to Zimbabwe is that Smith and his henchmen are not prepared to learn from history. Their avowed aim is to dig in and fight to the last man. If it were not so, they would appreciate the fact that in spite of a Portuguese policy of extermination which was practised throughout generations, despite massacres of places like Wiriyamu and many others in

both Angola and Mozambique, to say nothing about the murders of Lisbon in the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, the Portuguese had found it impossible to continue without a change. The Rhodesian and South African regimes would have rather Lisbon had exterminated every African inasmuch as all sane Africans are violently opposed to Lisbon's domination of any parts of Africa. Smith and Vorster are apparently for extermination of and not consultation with the Africans. This is a logical conclusion based on both recent and remote historical occurrences like Sharpeville and the Umtali cold-blooded murders of 1972 during the Pearce Commission's tour of Rhodesia. What does Smith actually think?

Smith, for his dirty part, seems to believe that he and Vorster can for ever stop the burning desire of the people of Zimbabwe and South Africa from being realised. Instead of learning a lesson from the Portuguese, he blames them and accuses them of cowardice and lack of fore-sight. He does not accept the historical fact that once a people's consciousness to and awareness of their inalienable rights have been set in motion, they are irresistible. It does not matter what force oppressors place in the people's way, the latter have always won. The Portuguese development is typical of this historical trend. Smith and Vorster are, in like manner, destined to fall before the invincible rightful demands of the African majority. The fact that both men or their successors will be ground into the dust of Zimbabwe and South Africa by the weight of the justifiable demands of the masses is undeniable. What is debatable is the time and not the fact.

We are not implying here that Caetano's fall has ushered in freedom for either Mozambique or Angola. This is despite the fact that his administration has very progressive forces like the communists and the socialists who are working under very difficult conditions. We are acutely aware of how Spinola thinks the problems created by his country's colonial past and present can be solved. We sadly realise that he believes (or thinks that he believes) that some form of federation of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Portugal could bring about peace, freedom and economic prosperity to everybody concerned. His views (which are not necessarily those of his administration) as expressed in his book, *PORTUGAL AND THE FUTURE*, are an attempt to contain and not to cure once and for all the colonial issues by facing them fairly and fearlessly. In his book, he calls for a federation of a Lusitanian community.

He does not accept that Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau are entitled first and foremost to unconditional independence. If after becoming free and independent nations, they then decided to enter into some form of association with their former colonial master, it would be up to them. This is a fundamental principle to which every progressive mind subscribes. But what does General Spinola say, among many things, in his widely publicised book regarded as containing statesmanlike suggestions even by such western news media like the *Argus* group of newspapers in Rhodesia? On the question of demands by Africans for their rights and freedom, Spinola states: "... Before and besides being Portuguese, the Africans were and will be Africans. We cannot ignore them. And it is within this framework that we have to live and survive. Let us have no illusions. It is a fact that Africans want to be Portuguese — but they want to be that in the African way, not in the way a certain sector of metropolitan Portugal wants them to be..."

Without losing sight of the fact that the above statement is a personal view and not a reflection of the new

Portuguese government led by Spinola, one cannot but fail to appreciate the lack of reality in it, especially because it comes from a man who has seen so much change on the African continent in the last half of the twentieth century, a man whose own country has been so strongly criticised and condemned for its murderous and stubborn colonial practices.

The view is completely out of touch with reality in that it holds that Africans in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau are fighting against Portuguese colonialism in order "to be Portuguese in an African way..." We understand this to mean that Mozambicans, Angolans and the patriots of Guinea-Bissau are not fighting to be free nations, but to be granted the rights to be colonial agents of Lisbon. What these fighting people would then have perhaps would be indigenous governors (or their equivalents) whose loyalty would be to Portugal and not to the people they purport to represent. In Rhodesia Smith wrongly maintains that the traditional leaders, chiefs, are the rightful spokesmen of the masses. He has taken it upon himself to choose leaders for Zimbabweans. In Lisbon, Spinola thinks "Africans want to be Portuguese — but... in an African way..." Who would benefit by this between Portugal and Africa? Spinola thinks Africans are unhappy to be Africans. They want to be Afro-Portuguese.

It is clear that what Spinola means is that instead of liquidating Portuguese colonialism, it should be modified in a manner that will permit Africans to be Portuguese "but in an African way..." The above quotation from Spinola's book compares very strikingly with a declaration by Salazar when he explained his *ESTADO NOVO* (NEW STATE) and its Colonial Act of 1930. He said "... The Act is a perfect expression of our national consciousness, and a close affirmation of the colonising temperament of the Portuguese designed for the aggrandisement of Portugal... and to make clear to the rest of Europe our position as a great colonial power..." Whereas Salazar was blunt and open about Portugal's role "as a great colonial power...", Spinola puts it in a way which suggests that Africans of Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau would like to remain under some form of Portuguese colonialism. On the Rhodesian side, Smith pretends that Zimbabweans do not want freedom but "are intimidated into supporting a few agitators who do not represent the broad segments of African opinion." But Smith does not seem to think that he is in agreement with the new set-up in Lisbon, not because it is led by Spinola, but because the general has around him progressive people of the communist and socialist parties whose doctrines are basically anti-colonial. Left both together (without the progressives on Spinola's part) Smith and the Portuguese general are six of one and half a dozen of the other.

With these facts in mind and Smith and Vorster having re-inforced their armed positions, it is very clear that Zimbabweans must pull up their socks and fight relentlessly till the oppressors realise and accept the inevitable reality. The masses of Portugal are showing their solidarity with the African liberation movements. The best form of help we can give them is to increase the intensity and extent of our armed revolution so that Rhodesia's and South Africa's suspicion of the Portuguese (which is now bordering on hatred) cannot mature into an effective alliance with re-actionary forces in Portugal to the detriment of people's gains and aspirations. The guiding principle is not to be complacent but to be more courageous than before and to join the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army and fight actively to free our motherland,

# RELATIONS BETWEEN AFRICAN AND EUROPEAN WORKERS IN ZIMBABWE (RHODESIA)

The colonisation of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) was effected during the hey-days of imperialism. Imperialism, being the highest form by which capitalism was being spread throughout the world, was geared for the sole benefit of the imperial powers and not for that of the ravaged peoples. So, Cecil John Rhodes' British South Africa Company entered Zimbabwe in 1890 with the aim to plunder and exploit the natural resources of the country for the material benefit of the British and South African capitalists who, at that time, had financially supported Rhodes in his sordid scheme.

To exploit Zimbabwe effectively, Rhodes and his brigands had to have a constant supply of cheap labour. The invaders were too few to exploit the land profitably for the big companies behind the scheme. This meant that the African majority had to be recruited into the country's new economic structure. The British South Africa Company was the leading industrial power and Britain's administrative agent during the settlers' early days. Labour force was obviously the most urgent need of the colonialists. But the African majority apart from being content with its way of life of that time, was too hostile to the invaders to work for them willingly. Relations between the white settlers and the indigenous people were exactly what can be expected between a robber and his victim.

The BSAC had to devise means and measures to force Africans to work for it directly or for its white servants

and officials. Africans' livelihood then depended almost entirely on pastoral farming and agriculture. Some were either iron-smiths or some other craftsmen whose products were used in barter trade for small consumer commodities. It was clear that to get the Africans to work, they must be deprived of their land, cattle and sources of raw materials.

Under the first BSAC administrators (Jameson, Earl Grey and Milton) a great deal of land was seized from the Africans. Following the 1893 Patriotic War against the invaders, the BSAC embarked upon a ruthlessly concerted scheme by which millions of cattle were confiscated from the African people on the flimsy and false alibi that they all belonged to King Lobengula against whose troops the white settlers had fought.

Without their land and livestock, the Africans were helpless. They had to live somehow. One way was to seek employment to help them procure food, shelter and clothing. This was a great chance for the settlers to realise their economic goals by ruthlessly exploiting these Africans who were and are still paid slavery wages. Land was first seized at random and at gunpoint during the very early days of Rhodes' invasion of the country. This created many squatters.

In 1894 the BSAC created the first Natives Reserves. This land, now known as Tribal Trust Lands, lies in low areas away from the country's railways. In 1914, a Reserves Commission led by Robert Coryndon (who later became Kenya's governor) reduced these reserves by six million acres. More squatters appeared.

In 1896, the BSAC imposed what was called the Hut Tax on all adult male Africans. In 1902 the company administration imposed a Pass Law requiring every adult African man to carry some form of identity paper. This stated where and in what job he was employed, if he was employed. During the land alienation schemes, areas known to have mineral deposits (like copper and iron-ore) were pegged off from the Africans and given to the white settlers. This deprived African copper-smiths and iron-smiths of their raw materials for such agricultural implements as hoes. We can thus see that through land alienation, the settlers created a large African labour reservoir, while through taxes the BSAC got money and forced Africans to labour to procure it lest they would be prosecuted.

In 1903, the BSAC created the Natives Labour Bureau whose duty it was to recruit African labourers to sign up with white employers. Land alienation reached a climax when the notorious Land Apportionment Act was passed in 1930. It is now known as the Land Tenure Act (SEE ZAPU PAPER TO THE UNITED NATIONS' SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON APARTHEID IN THIS ISSUE) which has made the Africans' plight worse than ever. The effect of these pieces of legislation was to deprive the Africans of their means of livelihood and thus make them depend on the white settlers for their subsistence.

Like all capitalist companies, Rhodes' BSAC's aim was to make profits by hook or crook. Referring to this aim, one of the company's general managers at that time, Henry Wilson Fox, once stated, (as a matter of policy) that the country's development would depend on blacks who formed what he termed the privates of the industrial army in every department of work. He said what he (wrongly) called progress could come only if the African tribal or communal system would be destroyed. He said all Africans should be sent to European farms and mines to toil and produce food, and that their rural economy must be destroyed. Through a concerted

system of deprivations and displacement, these aims were achieved and the African found himself more and more at the mercy of his exploiter. The more the white settlers exploited the Africans, the more the whites became rich. The more the Africans were exploited, the more hostile they became towards the settlers and their regime. Racial hostility thus increased in Rhodesia.

In the early days (first decade) of the BSAC rule in Zimbabwe, an African man who was employed for the first time was paid five shillings per month and was known as a "raw boy" a farm labourer received 15 shillings, a driver got 40 shillings, while African miners were given anything from 25 to 60 shillings. These forced labourers lived in unlivable shacks built in what are still called workers' compounds. White workers were handsomely paid as they still are up to now (as we shall see later). They were told (as a matter of policy) that their high wages would have to be lowered if those of the Africans were raised. In this manner, the whites felt that their luxurious existence depended on a strict separation of their economic interests from those of the African workers.

A very lame but pet argument of the Rhodesian white workers for not supporting the fight for better working and pay conditions for their African colleagues is that the African's standard of living is low and he thus does not have to be paid as much as his European counterpart for equal work. This frivolous view deliberately ignores the simple fact one's standard of living is determined by what one gets (earns) as a worker (or otherwise) rather than one's wages depending on one's standard of living. Clear and simple as this undebatable fact is, it is ruthlessly suppressed in Rhodesia by anti-African labour laws whose purpose it is to strengthen the white people's economic position over that of the Africans. We thus see how the classical class question which prevails in most capitalist countries (and places workers together in traditional solidarity) has been destroyed by sheer racialism. The polarisation of hostile positions has led to white workers siding more with the exploiters than with Africans where the latter's demands are concerned.

The relevant earnings of the two racial groups as quoted below show how wide the gaps are in various sectors of the country's economy. They show the annual average earnings of the Africans and of the Europeans for 1970. (The Rhodesian dollar is roughly the equivalent of the Zambian kwacha, the South African rand, 10 Tanzanian shilling).

	Africans (Rhod. dollars)	Europeans (Rhod. dollars)
Agriculture and Forestry	153	2,437
Mining and Quarrying	343	4,456
Electricity and Water	448	3,840
Manufacturing	478	3,606
Construction	428	3,273
Transport	626	3,600
Finance and Insurance	714	3,280
Distribution	454	2,654
Health	579	2,388
Education	590	2,709
Public Administration	409	3,120

There is an argument that Africans are paid less than whites in Rhodesia because they are untrained. This is false because the general Rhodesian wages structure is based on race and not on qualifications. An African truck driver is paid less than his white colleague not because he cannot drive as well but because he is African. A European (qua European) is by law and

practice entitled to better working and living conditions and more pay than an African in Rhodesia. That is what the Smith regime calls "the Rhodesian way of life." That is what it is stubbornly entrenching and defending. The African worker is ruthlessly milked while the white is lavishly maintained. It is because of this that the white workers' attitude has been distorted. Their loyalty to the regime has been bought. They are being bribed to regard African social, economic and political rightful advancement as a real threat to their privileges.

The historical development leading to landless and jobless Africans in Rhodesia continues up to now. The latest economic survey shows that only 42,000 new jobs were created in Rhodesia in 1973. In the same period, the African population increased by 215,000. Between 1969 and 1973, African employment rose by 197,000 while the number of African male school-leavers was more than 330,000. The Smith regime's rancid racialism can be felt in the current "immigrants recruitment" scheme aimed netting a million whites to settle in Rhodesia. They are promised abundant job opportunities and all that is best in human life. The above figures prove that Rhodesia is violently short of jobs. If it had, the regime would try to absorb the Africans for at least two reasons. First, their wages are much lower than those of whites, and the second reason is that the more the number of unemployed Africans increases, the brighter the prospects of an armed revolution become.

Commenting on this matter on May 8, the President of the Associated Chamber of Commerce of Rhodesia, G. P. S. Lowe, told the organisation's annual congress at the Victoria Falls that Rhodesia would be "swamped by poverty and social discontent" in the future if the challenge of African unemployment was not met. He added: "... We have hundreds of thousands of Africans who are doing little more than scratch a subsistence living from their tribal trust lands. The problem is becoming worse every year..."

Referring to the above statement, the President of the Bulawayo Chamber of Industries, Mr. R. J. Sampson, declared on May 9 that Africans would have to be trained in future to take over some skilled jobs now done by whites. Mr. Sampson added: "Unless this is done, there won't be enough skilled people to meet Rhodesia's industrial needs..."

It is clear that Mr. Lowe's observation is caused by fear of "social discontent", while that of Mr. Sampson is meant to benefit the capitalist industries with cheap labour. Mr. Sampson does not call for equal pay for all workers (irrespective of race) doing "skilled jobs", but he wants Africans to be "trained in future to take over some jobs now done by whites". Mr. Sampson is a leader of and a spokesman for the Bulawayo Chamber of Industries, a very profit-motivated organisation. He is absolutely aware that Africans would be paid less than white workers whether or not they are trained. This is the essence of "the Rhodesian way of life". It is based on racialism which benefits not only the country's industrialists and commercial enterprises, but the white workers too who see a brighter future for themselves by supporting the system against the African workers rather than their fellow-workers against the regime's injustices, and the capitalists' brutal exploitation.

The need for white workers to view this situation far-sightedly is clear. It is necessary that workers, irrespective of their racial origin, should show and practise solidarity against their common exploiter, the difference of their degree of exploitation notwithstanding. The call is for workers to unite.

## IRAQ'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS ZIMBABWE'S PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE

by Wafik Younis  
(Al Thawra Newspaper)

The Socialist Arab Ba'ath Party has stressed since its establishment on a policy supporting the national liberation movements throughout the world depending on their nature and the character of their struggles for their independence. They must be bent on dismissing imperialists and replacing them with a free and socialist life.

On many occasions, our party and government adopted various attitudes and positions to support these movements which it considers to be the armed wings of the oppressed and exploited people. We can say that the liberation movements, especially in Africa, represent another wing of the Arabic patriots in the fight against aggressive imperialism and the abortive infiltration of Africa by the Zionists.

The national movements of Zimbabwe, led by the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), represents a striking wing of the African areas which still suffer under various forms of class and national exploitation, social and political oppression. The Socialist Arab Ba'ath Party considers the Zimbabwe liberation movements as a good sample of the deep feelings of the exploited and oppressed peoples of Zimbabwe as well as those of Palestine. This is because both these peoples are suffering under a joint enemy which is imperialism and Zionism. Taking off from the point that the exploiter is the same and that his aims are similar while his means of exploitation are directly or indirectly connected, it is a historical responsibility that these two movements should co-ordinate their work in order to overcome the enemy. This can be done by establishing bi-lateral co-operation, exchanging experiences in the political, military and other spheres. Such moves would increase the effectiveness of the armed struggle against imperialism and Zionism.

We also attach great importance to the historical task of progressive countries in supporting the national liberation movement of Zimbabwe materially, politically and morally. In the light of this task, the SABP's leadership fulfills its duty in that Iraq is today one of the greatly supporting nations as far as the armed struggle of Zimbabwe, under ZAPU, is concerned. Iraq's does this through monetary and material assistance.

Iraq's view is that close contacts between the people of Zimbabwe and those who support them is important and must be increased. This should be done by supporting conferences to discuss oppressed areas. Iraq does this very well.

## JORDAN'S JETS FOR RHODESIA ?

There has been a strong rumour that Rhodesian fascist minority leader Ian Smith is trying to buy Jordan's 31 British-built Hunter jet fighters. But the Jordanian Government of King Hussein has denied the rumour. In a meeting between Jordan's Premier and Britain's envoy to Amman earlier this year, the Jordanian said no contract to sell the whole Hunter jet fleet to Smith had been made between Salisbury and Amman.

It is publicly known that Jordan would like to sell its Hunter jets and buy the much better American F5-E jets 36 of which were ordered by King Hussein in 1973. King Hussein wants to modernise his air force. According to a contract he made with the British manufacturers of the Hunter jets (Hawker Siddeley), Jordan should sell the jets back to the makers. But, so the strong rumour states, the firm refused to buy them back from Jordan because of the rather high price Amman demanded.

Jordan's links with Rhodesia have not been friendly to the oppressed masses of Zimbabwe. It is known that Amman has bought at least two large consignments of steel billets and one of maize from Smith between August 1972 and May 1974. The consignments were sent to Jordan via South Africa.

If Jordan does sell the jets to Smith, the deal would add air power to a considerable degree to Rhodesia's present one squadron of 11 old Vampire jets; a reconnaissance squadron of 12 jet Provost; a squadron of 12 Hawker Hunters, and one squadron of 10 rather old Canberras. Jordan's Hunter jets are effective for ground support actions.

The 31 Amman Hunter jets would swell the 45 jets owned by the Rhodesian air force to about 76. This figure does not exclude those shot down by patriots between January 1973 to June 1974. In addition to its own air fleet, Rhodesia has an unknown number of South African Sermacchi MB326 and Aermacchi-Lockheed 60. The Aermacchi-Lockheed is a light transport machine. The Sermacchi MB326 uses a Bristol-Siddeley Viper engine and is regarded as a trainer.

Jordan's sale of the Hunters to Smith would be a very violently unfriendly act to Zimbabweans and all neighbouring African states whose support for all Arab nations against Israel is on the world's public records.

## NATIONAL LEADER NOW IN SALISBURY MAXIMUM SECURITY JAIL

Zimbabwe's national leader, Joshua Nkomo, was moved from the arid and remote Gonakudzingwa Detention Camp near the south-eastern sector of the Rhodesia-Mozambique border and locked up in the Salisbury Maximum Security Prison following the April Portuguese coup and a relentless extension of FRELIMO'S theatre of operations towards the southern portion of Mozambique.

ZAPU's president Joshua Nkomo had completed 10 painfully long years at the harsh Gonakudzingwa since he was detained on April 16, 1964. He was with hundreds of other Zimbabwean patriots some of whom

The Smith regime has got to a stage where it thinks that without a very widespread practice of open terror against the African masses, the oppressed African people will help the liberation struggle to cover the whole country by their active participation.

The northern, north-eastern and north-western areas of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) are especially hard hit by Smith's terror. Rhodesian armed forces openly and frequently raid villages and settlements in search of alleged armed patriots. During these searches, women, children, men and boys are harassed and assaulted. Many deaths have occurred during and following these brutal assaults. The dead bodies are not given to relatives to bury but are burned secretly by the Smith regime's troops.

Alongside these barbaric attacks on African civilians by the Smith terrorists, the regime distributes pamphlets with pictures of dead people allegedly killed by its forces. The Africans are told (by the captions of these pictures) that if they support the freedom-fighters, they too will be killed by the fascist troops. On other occasions, the regime distributes pictures of Africans allegedly shot by freedom-fighters. The African people know the truth because they themselves are actively involved in the national armed struggle against the Smith dictatorship.

Earlier this year, a committee set up by some bishops and known as the Bishops' Commission of Justice and Peace discovered several cases of cold-blooded murder of unarmed Africans by the Rhodesian regime. One such case was of a man whose name was given to the commission only as Y for fear of reprisal measures by the regime against his next of kin.

Y was reported to have died while he was helping Smith's troops to follow freedom-fighters. The official cause of his death (which was given seven months after Y's death) was that he had turned his neck very sharply to show something to the soldiers and his neck broke! Who has ever heard of anybody breaking his neck by turning it, either sharply or slowly? Nobody, of course. Y's body was later thrown into a big fire by the Rhodesian troops without any explanation to his relatives.

Another man whose name was given to the bishops as X

are still incarcerated in the torrid area. A few are believed to have been sent to Salisbury with him in May. Strictly held under Hitlerite laws of the fascist Smith regime, Nkomo is not permitted visitors excepting his wife who can see him under very scrupulous surveillance and only about twice per year. His letters are censored. Newspapers are purged of all material the regime thinks can boost up the leader's morale which they wrongly think to have decreased from sheer physical exhaustion due to the long detention and its concomitant mental strains.

It is believed that with FRELIMO'S military advances towards where Joshua Nkomo was held, the Rhodesian dictatorship felt that he might be whisked away to safety. The regime is unaware that Nkomo has solemnly chosen to stay where (and with) all other imprisoned Zimbabwean sons and daughters are languishing.

Referring to his position in detention, and the very possible occurrence of actual bodily harm to himself and those with whom he was held, Nkomo stated in 1964: "... let me say that if we have to be sacrificed on the altar of our people's freedom and independence, we take it in our stride, and we accept it without any malice towards anybody ..."

## MURDER, TORTURE AND TERROR IN RHODESIA

was so badly beaten up by the regime's armed terrorists for three successive days that he was unable to walk, and had to use his hands to move from one place to another. These incidents happened in the Zambesi Valley where Zimbabwean freedom-fighters are particularly active.

These two incidents are typical examples of a wide practice of murderous acts by Smith forces against the Africans. It would be unrealistic, of course, to ask the regime to investigate these brutalities and murders because it is the regime itself that is responsible for them. How can a murderer investigate, arrest, try, sentence and execute himself?

Asked to comment on these crimes against the African people of Zimbabwe, Smith's criminal responsible for what they call law and order, Desmond Lardner-Burke, declared: "It is trite law that he who asserts must prove. Members of our security forces have a difficult and thankless task, and it should not be made more onerous by instituting a probe which inevitably would be regarded by many people as an attempt to discredit and dishonour their magnificent efforts."

Nothing can be clearer than the above statement. The regime says that its forces are doing a "magnificent" piece of work by murdering, torturing and terrorising the innocent and harmless people of Zimbabwe. If there ever has been any doubt that the African masses of Zimbabwe must protect themselves against the Smith criminals, and must fight resolutely for their rights and absolute freedom, Lardner-Burke's declaration clears that doubt.

## • stop press •

Following the death of 35 Angolans and the injury of 125 others announced by the Portuguese in Luanda on July 17, Spínola made a public declaration that Portuguese colonies would be granted self-determination. The deaths and injuries occurred during or as a result of shootings of Angolan supporters of the MPLA during demonstrations for independence for the oppressed masses of the country. A few weeks before the bloody incidents, the new governor of the territory, General Silvíno Silverio Marques, had arrived in the country for his second round of duty there in the same capacity. He was Angola's governor-general in the early 1960s following an appointment by fascist Salazar.

(The article on Portuguese coup's meaning to Zimbabwe was written before Spínola made the above "self-determination" declaration for the colonies-Editor-in-Chief).

\*

Smith pledged during an election campaign meeting in Marandellas that his dictatorship would "go on and on" negotiating with the British Government for a settlement but that it would "never accept a sell-out". He added that he would also continue his meetings with the African National Council of Bishop Muzorewa some of whose members visited London earlier this year for talks with the British Government.

\*

The Rhodesian fascist regime is introducing identity certificates (*sithupas*) for any African aged 12 years and over in all areas designated as "sensitive" by the regime's so-called Ministry of Interior. The minister will have the power to exempt any people or "class of people" from the regulation. This is a clear reference to white settlers who have never been required to carry such certificates which have hitherto been confined to adult male Africans aged 16 years and above. The new move is aimed at instilling fear in the African masses so that they do not join or support the armed revolutionary struggle. We wish to observe here that such measures (even worse ones) were tried by the Americans in Vietnam, by the Portuguese in Lisbon's African colonies without any success. For every fascist measure the Smith regime takes against us, we will always make a revolutionary counter-move to frustrate his. Right and justice being evidently on our side, we are absolutely sure to win against racism, tyranny and fascist madness.

Ex-patriate workers in Zambia whose children have been studying in Rhodesia have begun to withdraw them because of the "uncertain and dangerous situation prevailing there." Many children formerly studying in racist Rhodesia are now in Zambian schools. Others have been sent back to their countries of origin. The move is timely in view of the relentless advances by Zimbabwean armed patriots to free their country from Smith's murderous regime. The war is bound to escalate.





## SUPPORT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE ZIMBABWE REVOLUTION FOR FREEDOM-INDEPENDENCE

Further Informations about the Conference on Zimbabwe to be held in Mogadishu, Somalia, from November 25 to 27 can be got on request from:

The Deputy-National Secretary,  
The Zimbabwe African People's Union,  
P. O. Box 1657,  
Lusaka. (Telephone 74879)  
Zambia