

THE ZIMBABWE REVIEW

ORGAN OF THE
PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE



WE HAIL THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE UNITY
OF THE PEOPLE OF
ZIMBABWE IN THE AFRICAN NATIONAL COUNCIL

ZIMBABWE-
ONE COUNTRY-
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IN UNITY ZIMBABWE SHALL BE TRULY FREE.

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THE ZIMBABWE REVIEW

EDITORIAL

SMITH'S WORDS ARE A BIG BLUFF:

We extend our thanks to the thousands of "THE ZIMBABWE REVIEW" readers who have expressed appreciation of the information given in our columns. We hope to continue supplying and revealing useful information about the Rhodesian situation and the progress of the revolutionary struggle of the people of Zimbabwe for their freedom and national independence. Editor

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Almost every question one asks of the development of the Zimbabwe liberation movement has either a partial answer or no answer at all these days. This leaves an unsatisfactory feeling all along. It dims the fire of the armed fighters, it takes the steam off the dynamic masses and it places a cruel burden on committed supporters of our struggle all over the world, particularly our immediate neighbours — Zambia, Mozambique, Botswana, Tanzania and so on — who are seeking a bigger outlet to release their support.

WHEN WILL THE CONGRESS TAKE PLACE?

The questions being asked are: What is the precise structure of the African National Council? As Bishop Muzorewa is the current President does he share this authority with some other sub-presidents or is he distinct? If he is distinct why are there some claimants to presidency who are holding back the peoples party congress on the grounds that they were signatories to the dissolution of their former organisations? What relative value does the African National Council place as between a constitutional conference with the racist regime of Ian Smith (backed by Vorster) on the one hand and the intensification of the armed liberation struggle in view of the power situation in the area? Are the policies of the African National Council regarding the future of Zimbabwe already lined up or are yet to be outlined and if so how? The African National Council has set itself certain major goals such as a congress, signed for by every former leader, what difficulty accounts for the dilly-dallying on the issue?

FUSION OF ZAPU, ZANU AND FROLIZI

The above is a host of questions plus many others. The state of partial answers to these questions is

COMPLICATED TRANSITION

disturbing but not peculiar and to a very large extent, quite understandable. The nature of the fusion of ZAPU, ZANU and Frolizi must be understood not only in the objectives and principles laid down, but also in the nature of distance, if you like dungeon, from which we have emerged in order to arrive at this level of unity. The rate of the development of all elements in the reshaping of the Zimbabwe liberation movement must be read in this context so that justifiable anxiety must not, at any stage, exceed reason.

LUSAKA UNITY DECLARATION

The facts which must be emphasised beyond doubt before we can deal with other questions are: firstly that the unity signed on the seventh of December, called the Zimbabwe Lusaka Unity Declaration was a FUSION of ZAPU, ZANU and Frolizi – total. There is no room in this fusion for any option to reverse either by an individual or by a former liberation movement. In short there is no option to behave at one moment as the African National Council and at another as a former organisation. This is to correct the wrong impression given by some Zimbabweans who for perpetual love of divisions have called the Zimbabwe unity in various loose terms such as “umbrella” or a “front”. The ANC is a single unitary organisation – nothing more and nothing less.

PROFESSIONAL SPLITISTS

The example just given spells the real problem determining the rather slow realisation of all the terms of unity laid down. The elements that are uniting are a mixture experienced revolutionaries, professional splitists of ten years experience in the game, opportunists, capable newcomers and plain ignoramus who just do not know where and when

the struggle started nor where it is going and most tragically from whom to obtain advice. To get all this mixed grill properly sorted out and finally lined up in accordance with the principles and objectives of the Lusaka Declaration of Unity is bound to be a painstaking effort demanding a great of patience. This is what enthusiastic expectation must give way to.

PRACTICAL REALITIES

We must point out, however, that this is not a way of making excuses. It is emphasising the practical realities. The fact of the situation is that the unity is going forward. The armed forces are merging and some already in deployment, the party congress to lay out principles, policies and to line a united national leadership is due very soon and will take place whatever manoeuvres from any quarter within and outside the people of Zimbabwe.

Apology

The Zimbabwe Review wishes to apologise deeply for any embarrassment likely to have been caused by our last editorial comment which inadvertently made reference to the Karanga and Manyika tribes. The Zimbabwe Review has never taken a tribal posture and did not intend any insult or insinuation against any tribal or other grouping.

Ed.

SMITH'S WORDS ARE A BIG BLUFF

One of the Rhodesian regime's frequently repeated moves to hoodwink the world into thinking that Ian Smith and his henchmen are bending over backwards to accommodate African aspirations and demands is to claim that the country's laws are meant to protect the voiceless blacks against unscrupulous land-grabbing whites. It is not common for the Smith regime to admit that there is rancid racial discrimination in Rhodesia. If it is there (as it is in sickeningly large doses), then "it is petty . . . and must be removed. This was in effect what Smith stated recently when he told his fascist parliament that a commission would be set up to look into ways and means to scrap "petty racial discrimination. . ."

It is very significant to note that Smith's announcement came a few weeks after South Africa's racist premier Johannes Vorster had announced that "petty apartheid" measures would be abolished so that people, irrespective of their racial origin or skin pigmentation, could enjoy such social amenities like cinemas, public transport, and attend church services where and when they please.

By removing colour bars from some spheres of life in South Africa, Vorster feels that he can blunt the world's strong criticism against South Africa's inhuman apartheid. Vorster hopes to silence the world and rob the Oppressed African masses (of South Africa) of effective international support against his regime by removing the alleged cause of their discontent — apartheid. Smith has obviously decided to take a cue from Vorster's dramatic strategy.

But Smith's legislative record betrays his intentions openly. His statements about abolishing racial discrimination are a mere bluff. Smith's Rhodesian Front is a political party founded by diehard racials whose absurd belief in racial superiority of the whites is the cornerstone of its doctrine and the moving spirit of its very existence. Without racial discrimination, the Rhodesian Front cannot be maintained in Rhodesia, especially as the ruling clique. Racial discrimination, oppression and exploitation are the sine qua non of Ian Smith's party — the Rhodesian Front. Smith's false change of face is meant to set the world against the African masses of Zimbabwe by creating an impression that he (Smith) is ready to make concessions but that the Africans are too extreme in their demands to be taken seriously by the world. The removal of "petty discrimination" is too petty a measure to mislead those well informed about the goings-on in Rhodesia.

Taking only the post-Pearce Commis-



sion period, we find that the Smith regime passed a series of racially discriminatory laws aimed at entrenching the status quo in Rhodesia. Smith's commission to be set up may not regard most of these measures as "petty" but as essential to the maintenance of the Rhodesian way of life, as the Rhodesian Front calls its political doctrine.

After the Pearce Commission, we saw the Rhodesian dictatorship introduce its provincialisation system. This was said to be aimed at decentralising the administration of tribal trust lands (formerly known as African reserves) on what was termed an evolutionary pattern. This scheme, announced in July 1972, had been preceded by several so-called community development projects run on both tribal and racial lines. On November 24, 1972, the Smith administration published in its gazette a law called Regional Authorities (Bill) meant to levy taxes on property and people, acquire, lease, sell or exchange any of its property. It also empowered the authorities thus established to make by-laws and raise loans within the country but only on conditions laid down by Smith's Internal Affairs Minister in consultation with his fellow-



Zimbabweans have repeatedly rejected anything meant to turn them into slaves in their fatherland. The picture shows determined sons and daughters of Zimbabwe demonstrating against the 1971 Anglo-Rhodesian constitutional fraud whose unacceptability was established by the Pearce Commission.

racist in charge of finance. The law envisaged that the authorities would gradually get involved in certain decisions within the central government's framework. These would include health, educational and water supply services, and communications.

The authorities were (said by the law) to be placed on an advisory capacity to Smith's administration. The regime's minister of internal affairs has the right and duty, however, to pass regulations over a number of matters regarded as essential by the regime. One of these essential matters is the appointment or election of members. The Africans, because they have no right to elect their own representatives to the central government on the same basis with whites (one man, one vote) are still at a loss under this act.

In order to ensure that the regime had the power and duty to appoint representatives for the African people, Smith and his colleagues had on July 12, 1972 stated that provincial councils would be established. They would have limited powers and would be for Mashonaland and Matebeleland respectively. Councillors would be elected through electoral colleges in which chiefs would

have greater influence than in the colleges which chose the present African members of Smith's parliament. It was announced that chiefs were to be given more power to control what were described as "disruptive elements" in their respective areas. They would also have a decisive voice over elections to provincial councils. The aim, said the regime, was to make chiefs have more loyalty from the Africans than they had hitherto received. Provincial councillors would in fact be given a stamp of approval by the chiefs, so declared the RF.

As if to show openly how the RF was based on racial discrimination, a document giving an outline of the future racial policies of the regime was presented to the RF congress in September 1972. The document called for racial segregation in, among other things: cinemas, swimming pools, buses, public toilets and parks, and for control of what was called the "unnecessary" movement of Africans into white areas, and for separate facilities for whites and Africans in government and municipal and similar offices, and for the development of African townships complete with commercial and industrial enter-

prises outside white areas. The division of the land into white and African areas is based on the 1969 Land Tenure Act which replaced the 1930 Land Apportionment Act. The Land Tenure Act gives 70,650 square miles to only 273,000 whites and the same area to 5,800,00 Africans.

When the document was presented to the RF congress, Ian Smith described its proposals as "petty racialism." But, strange enough, several of the very same proposals were effected as follows:—

- September 29, 1972: the regime published a notice in the Government Gazette announcing racial segregation at public swimming pools. This was done by placing attendance at swimming pools under the Land Tenure Act. As all urban areas are "white" according to the same act, the measure thus placed virtually all swimming pools out of the Africans' use. Racial segregation at public swimming pools had been abolished in 1961.
- October 20: a notice was published in the Government Gazette prohibiting Africans from being served in bars in white areas after 19 hours on weekdays and from 13 hours on



weekends. Three hotels quickly appealed to the High Court and the measure was declared beyond the regime's legitimate or legal powers (*ultra vires*). The regime lodged a counter appeal which was, however, dismissed by a two-to-one decision of the Appellate Division of the High Court. The court's decision was based on the fact that the regime had no power through the Land Tenure Act to change the 1961 Liquor Act giving Africans the right to purchase alcoholic beverages in so-called white areas.

- The regime, on December 14, 1972, through its House of Assembly amended the Land Tenure Act widening its terms to allow the imposition of curbs on Africans wishing to buy alcoholic beverages in white areas. In fact on the day the regime's appeal was thrown out, the dictatorship's senate approved an amendment to the Land Tenure Act giving power to the regime to make regulations adversely affecting Africans' rights to purchase alcoholic drinks in white areas as stated by the 1961 Liquor Act. Following these developments, new regulations curbing African drinking in so-called European areas were gazetted in January 1973.
- On November 17, 1972, the regime tabled the African (Registration and Identification) Amendment Bill requiring all Africans more than 16 years old should carry a registration or identification certificate at all times, and to apply for a special permission to leave the country. The law empowers the regime to deport foreign Africans without registration certificates or to refuse to give them such certificates. Before this anti-African act, the law required all Africans over 16 years old to be registered, but not to carry identity documents.
- On November 24, the regime proposed an amendment to the Vagrancy Act. The amendment, known as the Vagrancy Amendment Bill, gave power to district commissioners to prohibit those regarded as vagrants from entering urban areas. A vagrant was described as any person who is idle or disorderly, and/or any person who is found in an urban area but is not lawfully resident in that area or employed by another lawfully resident in that area. The definition of a vagrant went on to include any person who lives on earnings of prostitution. The district commissioner is empowered by this fascistic law to endorse the identification

certificate of the prohibited individual with the banning order particulars.

In addition to the above, several other measures were passed (up to December 1972) strengthening racial segregation. In that month, the regime introduced, for instance, the Post and Telecommunications (Amendment) Bill providing, among other things, for racially separate facilities in post offices. The separation was based on what was termed "different classes of persons". It is easy to realise that the designation "classes" was used in place of "races" just to avoid being accused of practising racialism.

Other measures were amendment to the Land Tenure Act. These allowed wives and children of mixed marriages (Coloureds) to apply for permission to live in whatever areas their husbands or fathers were said to belong. Another amendment required people known as non-tribesmen to procure permits from the Internal Affairs Ministry to live in tribal trust lands. One provision empowered the regime to seize tribal trust lands for what were termed public purposes such as mineral exploitation, communications or transport development, or for the regime's offensives (against freedom-fighters). Other measures affected the Municipal Act to the effect that a municipal council may grant what are known as designated facilities for the use of separate races if the facilities in question were provided equitably. The amendment empowered the regime's minister of Local Government and Housing to determine whether or not the facilities were "equitable according to the needs of each race."

After passing all this maze of racially discriminatory legislation as recently as 1973 it is difficult to take Smith seriously when he talks about abolishing what he terms petty racialism. The question as to what is "petty" and what may be regarded as "gross" is very pertinent here. It is also important to observe that the Africans of Zimbabwe are not worried about petty racialism but about the gross racialism, but every form of racialism as embodied in Smith's racist constitution, in his fascistic laws, his party's violently anti-African policies and practices, and the whole economic, social and political system Smith cherishes to call the Rhodesian way of life Zimbabweans want power and not swimming pools and "petty" concessions.

NKOMO SETS RECORD STRAIGHT:



LIES ARE EXPOSED

Following repeated distortions and deliberate lies by some known Zimbabwean political cripples and immutable liars concerning national leader Joshua Nkomo's role in the attempt to get a peacefully negotiated settlement of the Rhodesian issue, Comrade Nkomo put the record straight on June 30, 1975 by stating his stand and course of action, and by exposing the sordid lies of those behind the Scheme to discredit him before the popular masses of Zimbabwe.

In a Press statement Comrade Nkomo said: "After signing the Lusaka Declaration of Unity in Zambia on December 7 last year, I felt it my bounden duty to abide by it to the letter and spirit. The absence of unity in Zimbabwe was a matter that had tormented and tortured me in my 11 years of prison and detention more than the prison conditions had."

FREEDOM TO DAUGHTERS AND SONS OF ZIMBABWE

"I had long dreamt about and longed for the day when the unity of the people of Zimbabwe which had been thoughtlessly breached and destroyed in 1963 would be retrieved once more and the daughters and sons of Zimbabwe would march to freedom and independence as one people. When this unity was achieved, I was the happiest man alive, and had a sound and peaceful sleep for the first time in 11 years."

UNITY IS A WEAPON

"I did not believe in unity for its own sake, but as an indispensable weapon in the prosecution of our liberation struggle and maintenance of that independence there-after. It is only a fool who thinks that a dis-united effort is better than a united one. As a man who believes in service, suffering and sacrifice, and as one who has served, suffered and sacrificed for the sake of our fatherland, I entered the unity pact solemnly and seriously, and I thought and believed that my co-signatories to the unity document shared my view and respect for the unity. But I have been proved wrong."

BIRTH-RIGHT

"I refrained from saying or doing anything that might jeopardise that unity. I left all talking and Press statements to the top leaders of our

only organisation, the African National Council. As one who has led and enjoyed the loyalty and support of the sons and daughters of Zimbabwe who are struggling for their birth-right, I felt it my duty to show an example of a loyal and faithful follower of the ANC leaders. I left everything to be done and said by our leaders.

SURPRISE

"But what I discovered shocked me, and it is with a deep pall of sorrow in my heart that I say this: My silence was purposely misconstrued and exploited to the full by some of my colleagues who unscrupulously decided to make political capital out of it. I expected the leaders of the ANC to defend me against the patently false accusations that were liberally hurled against me. But, to my shocked surprise, no such defence came.

MUD-SMEARING-FALSITIES

"Now, for almost a month, a campaign of mud-smearing, character assassination and rumour-mongering has been mounted against me. All sorts of strange things so palpably false have been said against me by some people in the ANC who show quite clearly that they do not care about unity, and that the word is not even discoverable in their dictionaries. These are people who do not take seriously their signatures on the Lusaka Declaration of Unity document, and who from the start have sought to revive their former organisations attacking the ANC and utterly refusing to identify themselves with it."

PROTECT MASSES FROM DISEASE OF CONFUSION

"I appealed to Bishop Muzorewa as head of the ANC to defend me against these patent falsities. But up to this time, he has not only failed to do so, but has also given the appearance of conniving at, if not supporting, the falsities. Thus I am left with no alternative but to do what I did not want to do and have resisted for the last six months. I have to speak out and set the record straight to protect the masses of Zimbabwe from the disease of confusion which is being deliberately disseminated among them by those among us who have a vested interest in disrupting the liberation struggle."

"It is relevant to point out here that the bishop banned me from being

interviewed by the British Thames Television, and threatened that if I were interviewed, then he would refuse to be interviewed. Faced with this unpleasant prospect, the British Thames Television people cancelled at the last minute the arrangements they had made with me for the interview. I mention this by way of illustrating that the Bishop has a vested interest in the persistence of the dastardly criminal falsities against me."

FALSITIES

"It has been said that I intended forming or had formed a party. To make the fictitious story appear truthful, the party was given a name — All African People's Union. This is a most laughable lie which can only come from a diseased or ignorant mind. The ANC is the people's organisation.

"It is the successor of all the people's organisations — namely; the African National Congress, the National Democratic Party, the Zimbabwe African People's Union (or the People's Caretaker Council). I have always belonged to the people's organisations. In other words, I have always belonged to the people. I have never belonged to little splinter groups such as the Zimbabwe National Party (ZNP), the Pan-African Socialist Union (PASU), the People's Independence Democratic Union (PIDU) and similar ones.

20 YEARS LEADER OF MASSES

"It is practically impossible for me (or for any normal person) to break away and be a leader of a miserably little segment of the people of Zimbabwe after being the leader of the masses of Zimbabwe for almost 20 years. As one who believes in the virtue of the ordinary men and women, and have championed their cause for decades, I would betray myself, my basic moral values and all Zimbabweans, both dead and alive, if it were today possible for me to desert the common, oppressed, despised and insulted African, and link up with a strange class of people.

MAYBE A GHOST JOSHUA NKOMO

"What is amusing, if it were not so serious, is that the day I was said to be forming the party in Monomotapa (in Salisbury), is the same day that I was far away at Kezi, far south of Bulawayo. Maybe there are two Joshua Nkomos, or it was my ghost that was at Monomotapa. It should

be known that I am not a coward. I do not hide what I do or intend to do. When I want to form a party, I will announce it myself from the highest platform. It would be announced by people who are as cowardly as a cochroach, and are even afraid to sign their names on their documents. I announced in public when we formed the African National Congress. I announced in public when I was elected president of the NDP (in my absence). I announced in public when we formed ZAPU, I have never formed a party in a bed-room; and I will never form one in a bed-room.

SACRIFICE OF PRESIDENT KAUNDA

"It is most amazing that the people who are accusing me of forming a new party are the people who are doing their 'evillest' to destroy the ANC from within. These people have nothing good to say about the ANC. They have gone round the country denouncing the ANC, saying they shall never be true ANC members. These are most irresponsible people with very little concern for their people and country. They have constantly attacked President Kaunda, making terribly false accusations against him. This is most wicked and criminal because no person on earth has suffered and sacrificed for our liberation as Dr. Kaunda has done.

TOOK PART IN FORMATION OF ANC

"But these little-minded people have insulted Dr. Kaunda instead of thanking him. Africans have a saying to the effect that one should not soil the bed that one lies on. But these people derive much joy from doing so. So, the story that I formed or intend to form a party is a big lie emanating from big lips of expert liars. Those who know will tell you that I took part in the formation of the ANC. So, it is just not possible for me to leave an organisation which I helped to form and which I have asked all Zimbabweans to join.

MARCH CONGRESS?

"I have also been accused of trying to urge the Bishop supporting the call for the holding of an ANC congress. This is utter rubbish. It is not Nkomo who is calling for a congress. It is the constitution that demands that a congress should be held every year in March. It is also the declaration of unity which said a congress

should be held within four months (that is March) starting from December last year. The declaration goes further to state that it is at this congress that 'the leadership of the people of Zimbabwe shall be elected'.

"The Inter-Provincial Conference and the National Assembly also call for a congress. The National Executive, which is the supreme decision-making organ of the ANC, also demanded a congress and set a date, June 21-22. The accusation is cheap and senseless because congress delegates are free to make their decision. They may confirm the present leadership or choose a completely new set of leaders from the present ones. Last year they confirmed the (then) existing leadership and no elections were carried out. It is only congress that makes and unmakes leaders.

OPPRESSORS PRETEND TO LEAD

"It is lunacy for anybody to deny congress its right to carry out its duty, and to accuse it of wanting to depose leaders. Who will choose the leaders if congress does not do so? Who else has that right? Those who deny the people of Zimbabwe their democratic rights to choose their leaders are not different from Mr. Smith. They are worse because they are oppressors of their own people whom they pretend to lead.

COUP D'ETAT

"It should be quite clear to everybody that only congress has the power to stop congress by meeting and declaring by way of a resolution that there is no need for a congress. One can only stop congress when one has conducted a coup d'etat. Then there will be no people's movement. Then our movement will just be like the Smith regime which rules without and against the people's will and approval.

"It is relevant to point out that time for congress is long past because according to the ANC constitution and practice, it should have been held in March, and this is now the end of June. The enlarged executive of the ANC was given only four months by the declaration to rule without the approval of congress, which is the people. Now, the four months have long passed. It means that all the members of the national executive are remaining in power illegally; they have no right to remain in their positions since their mandate

has long expired. We are just as good as people who have conducted coup d'etat against the people and are now ruling the people by force of guns. In other words, we are bandits that have hijacked the 'plane of Zimbabwe's liberation, and it is now hovering in the sky without destination and without aim or purpose.

"It is clear that those who are rejecting a congress are afraid of the people they lead. They are afraid of the judgement of the people. Why should one fear the people one leads? How can one lead the people that one fears? Or put it in another way: how can one fear the people that one leads and still, claim to be leader of those people?

"Let me repeat: I am not calling for congress; it is the people who are calling for a congress and I support the people because I am not afraid of submitting myself and my leadership to the judgement of the people of Zimbabwe as represented by the congress. If my crime is that I support the people in their call for a congress, then I plead guilty without reservation.

"It is quite clear that it is those against congress who are stupidly trying to accuse me of forming a party. They want to create a smoke-screen and deflect the attention of the people of Zimbabwe from the vital question of congress to imaginary formations of imaginary parties which can only be found in the diseased minds of those who are creating and spreading the stories.

AFRICAN LIAR

"Now, I come to the story about the so-called secret deal. I am accused of having made a secret settlement deal with Mr. Smith. This reminds me of what Lobengula once said about whites. After he had dealt with them (Rhodes' colonialists) he said: 'I had never seen a liar until I met whites'. I want to say that I had never seen an African liar until I saw the document said to contain the secret settlement deal. I had never known that there were Africans who had become such naked, shameless and sophisticated liars.

"The lie was started by my old friend, Mr. James Dambadza Chikerema. It was borrowed by Dr. Edson Sithole who bolstered it up and gave it credence by the production of a document which he cyclostyled and distributed widely. The document is obviously the creation of this mischievous and irresponsible young man who is abusing his position as

the publicity secretary of the ANC by publishing dubious documents of dubious origin, documents which invariably do harm to the ANC.

"This faked document is only important in that it shows us how power-hunger and fear of Nkomo have made some people mad. It is the product of a mind that has been made mad by the fear of Nkomo. I am part of the ANC delegation that is negotiating with the Smith regime. We are negotiating in public as an ANC delegation, and not as individuals. All normal people know that the ANC is the only organisation in Zimbabwe recognised by the entire world, including the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), as the mouth-piece of the people of Zimbabwe. It is the only organisation that can negotiate a settlement, and we are negotiating in public and not in secret.

"Only a mad person who represents himself can negotiate in secret. I represent the masses of Zimbabwe and have done so for the past 20 years. I have stood and suffered for the cause of Zimbabwe. It is absurd for anyone to suggest that today I can enter into a secret deal with settlers. My record speaks for itself. I have consistently fought against settlers and settlerism for over two consecutive decades.

"The selfish individuals who put up such documents despise the intelligence of the ordinary people of Zimbabwe, otherwise they would not put up such absurd documents. It is clear to any intelligent person that such things can help only the enemies of the liberation struggle, and I cannot resist the suspicion that those who do these things are agents in the service of our oppressors.

"As for Chikerema, I feel pity for him. He is not normal and is no longer himself. I picked him from a political dust-bin where he had put himself in Lusaka. Now he wants to throw himself back into that dust-bin. He must learn from experience. He must learn to work with others. This is my prayer to and for him. It does not pay to try to wage a war against other freedom-fighters. "In conclusion, I say to the people of Zimbabwe: BE UNITED, Refuse to be divided by the mad people amongst us who have lost direction. Stand firm against evil and against enemies of our liberation. Forward ever, backward never."



FACE TO

In an exclusive interview with the journal, FOCUS ON SOUTHERN AFRICA, published by the Mindolo Ecumenical Foundation of Zambia in June, Zimbabwean national leader, Joshua Nkomo clarified a number of issues thitherto cloudy. The interview, with the journal's editor, A. B. C. Rusike, is reproduced in full below.

QUESTION: *Since the formation of the African National Council under the leadership of Bishop Abel Muzorewa, members of the ANC executive have not spoken with one voice as they did during the days of the National Democratic Party or the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) – I mean before the formation of the Zimbabwe African National Union. Do you think this has given Mr. Ian Smith's government ammunition to retard your progress?*

ANSWER: Let me be frank with you from the onset. When the nationalist leaders of Zimbabwe agreed to merge, all were convinced that this would be the best weapon to use against the minority regime of Ian Smith. We pledged to work together under Bishop Muzorewa and those of us who issue numerous statements contrary to the Lusaka agreement are doing so as a stunt to solicit support from Zimbabweans. At the end of the historic Lusaka meeting, we all agreed to speak with one voice, but with the jockeying for positions, some comrades are not toeing the line. The main reason why we leaders don't agree always is that we would like to feather our own nests, hence the apparent division within our ranks.

QUESTION: *Since you agree that there is a division among the leaders, what then do you expect of Zimbabweans who look up to you for leadership?*

ANSWER: When we decided to unite, we saw the wisdom of presenting a united front, but, as you are aware, important deviations like the one we took in December have their own merits and demerits. We have committed ourselves to unity, and the people of Zimbabwe have not to be let down by a

few power-hungry leaders. Those who preach disunity and still want to cling to their old cliques must make way for those who would like to see Zimbabwe free.

Zimbabweans have had enough of the oppression meted out by the minority regimes and if we fail to unite them, we are doing a disservice to all of them and to the whole of Africa which is looking forward to a free country which will take its rightful place in world affairs.

As I look back at the six months of the existence of the unity accord among Zimbabwean nationalist movements, I cannot help but be grateful to Zambia, Tanzania, Botswana and Mozambique for the efforts they are putting to keep us united.

We, as leaders of Zimbabwe, should reciprocate by uniting the people and not continue to divide them. Since we signed the unity accord, there are some of us who still talk and act in terms of the former parties. This helps to divide the people of Zimbabwe as they are made to still have allegiance to the old parties instead of following the directives of the ANC.

QUESTION: *Some Zimbabweans, including members of the ANC executive, have opposed the Zambian government for rounding up suspects following the untimely death of Mr. Herbert Chitepo. What is your view to this ungrateful attitude? Demonstrations have been organised against Zambian officials while overseas, and talks in dark corners have been held by Zimbabweans.*

ANSWER: I dissociate myself from all those demonstrations and anti-Zambian Government talks. We should be grateful for what Zambia is doing for all of us. Zambia has sacrificed far too much

for our sake... people have been killed... the Zambian economy has suffered enormously... and it is madness for Zimbabweans to behave in such a manner. As Zimbabweans, who still have to fight for our birthright, we should allow the Zambian Government, even go to the extent of helping track the culprits, as the law of the land has to take its course. Zambian officials should not take note of the demonstrations as we would like the murderers of Mr. Chitepo to be punished.

QUESTION: *Executive members of the ANC have been having talks with Mr. Ian Smith's Government. Do you foresee any results coming out of these discussions?*

ANSWER: I hope the preliminary discussions we have had and are having will bear fruit. I believe in a peaceful settlement, but if Ian Smith and his followers refuse to see sense, there will be no alternative but to resort to an intensified armed struggle.

We may not be having the arms which the whites have, but the people of Zimbabwe are determined to free themselves with or without arms. The people are tired of being ruled by foreigners in their own land, and they will not lie down until they are free. All we need, after the breakdown of the talks, will be a determined people. Nothing will stop us from getting our freedom. I am saying this, I don't mean that the people of Zimbabwe are violent... they are peace-loving, but if they fail to get what they want peacefully, then violence will erupt in the country.

QUESTION: *You and many other leaders of the ANC are Christians. Do you condone the use of violence to free Zimbabwe? Would you tell Zimbabweans to kill if negotiations fail?*

ANSWER: Rightly we are Christians but any Christian will resort to any means to free himself when forced. We in the ANC are not murderers, but if the

FACE



whites refuse to hand over our country, we will let loose the forces we have and there will be a bloodbath in Zimbabwe which will make Vietnam look like a child's play. Christians have the right to defend themselves, and in the ANC we will defend our rights by fighting to the last man if it has to come to that.

QUESTION: *Some people have labelled you a moderate and that you command the support of the British Government and sections of the white Rhodesians. These people say you would like the ANC congress to be held as soon as possible so that you are elected to the top post of president. How true are these allegations?*

ANSWER: I dismiss the allegation that I am a moderate as false and treat it with the contempt it deserves. I am nothing more than a leader of Zimbabweans, and this "moderate" tag comes from those who would like to see me off the struggle for the liberation of Zimbabwe. If I were the blue-eyed boy of the Rhodesian whites, why did they keep me in detention and restriction for so many years? The mere fact that they kept me away from the people for so long is proof that I am not the man they would like to hold an important post in an African-controlled government. Those who say I am dancing to the tune of the whites are living in a fool's paradise as I know my people will decide who will lead them.

Personally, I would like the ANC congress to be held soon because when we agreed to unite, we said a congress would be held within three months. Since we agreed on this, we should go ahead and hold the congress where delegates from all over Zimbabwe will decide on the leadership and the organisation's strategy. Some ANC officials have been reported in the Press as being against a congress before a constitutional conference for fear of dividing the people. I do not know what they are talking about because congress is not a

creation of the leaders but of the people. Congress is a gathering of representatives of the people, and any decisions taken at such a meeting would be binding on the leadership. I don't understand how a creation or gathering of the people can divide the people.

QUESTION: *How much support does the ANC have in Zimbabwe?*

ANSWER: I have toured the whole of Zimbabwe since I was released. The support given to the ANC is overwhelming, and people in the urban and rural areas know no other party now besides the ANC. But divisionists are sowing seeds of division by saying that the ANC has been imposed on them. They will not win as the people they are trying to divide are now mature. They would like to see the ANC banner carried everywhere in the country as they see this as the unifying factor in Zimbabwe. In short, the ANC has the support of Zimbabweans in and outside our home-country.

QUESTION: *Let us go back to the question of unity among Zimbabweans and the working arrangements of the former organisations — ZAPU, ZANU and FROLIZI. As leaders, you decided to work under the umbrella of the ANC led by Bishop Muzorewa. How effective is this arrangement?*

ANSWER: Unity has not been completely achieved both among the leaders and the former members of the dissolved parties. But this has to be expected when a new working arrangement comes into force. What I would like to see is complete unity among Zimbabweans. If this fails, then we will have a situation similar to that of Angola. To avoid a bloodbath, unity has to come very quickly. Every peace-loving Zimbabwean will agree with me here. If we are not united, we will waste our efforts on inter-party and tribal fights. This would delay our independence. We want independence now. This can come only if we work as a unit. If we continue to be divided, the enemy

will take advantage of this and we will be to blame.

Ian Smith is playing for time, and the more we remain divided, the better for him. He would like to cling on to power for as long as possible, but we have to bring this to an end quickly by working together and presenting a united front.

QUESTION: *Mr. Nkomo, there are fears among whites in Zimbabwe that an African government will not give them the protection and rights they enjoy at the moment. Have you any comment on these fears?*

ANSWER: I would like to assure whites in Zimbabwe that they will have nothing to fear when Africans take over the running of the government. We will treat everybody fairly but those whites who think they must still be in a privileged class are living in a fool's paradise. Those wishing to stay in Zimbabwe will be welcome as we will have a classless society. There will be no special concession for any racial group, and this is what the whites should know. We will treat everybody as human beings as opposed to the present regime which gives special preference to one racial group. Zimbabwe belongs to Zimbabweans, and whites should not expect to be treated differently from the owners of the land.

QUESTION: *You have been a leader of different parties that have been banned in Zimbabwe, and now you are in the ANC leadership. Do you think the ANC will see Zimbabwe free or the rebels will resort to the old tactics of banning and then return to square one?*

ANSWER: The banning of parties has not removed the determination of the people of Zimbabwe to free themselves. Whether Ian Smith bans the ANC or not is immaterial as the will to be free will continue to burn. The whites have banned a number of parties, and it is my hope that the ANC will lead the people of Zimbabwe to freedom. We are determined to be free. **NOTHING WILL STOP US.**

'UNITY IS A MUST'— REV. SITHOLE



Ndabaningi Sithole

Former ZANU leader, Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, now executive member of the ANC, has emphasised the importance of national unity for the success of the struggle of Zimbabwe. Speaking in an interview to the Kitwe-based Mindolo Ecumenical Foundation publication, FOCUS ON SOUTHERN AFRICA, in May, the Rev. Sithole stated that the ANC's point of view was then better understood by former ZANU members than before.

He said former members of his dissolved organisation had earlier been plagued by fears, suspicion and doubt since the merger of ZANU FROLIZI and ZAPU with the ANC.

He told the journal: "This has now changed and they are happy to work under the umbrella of the ANC."

He said he had been addressing his former members over-seas since his release from detention, and that he found out that there had been some fear, suspicion and doubt about the genuineness of the ANC. He said he was happy that his efforts to bring the people of Zimbabwe together had paid dividends.

The Rev. Sithole said he had addressed rallies in the United States and London in the presence of Mr. Joshua Nkomo, Bishop Abel Muzorewa, and the Rev. Henry Kachidza, and other ANC officials to explain to Zimbabweans abroad that unity was a must. He also explained the reality of the ANC.

The reverend said he would not return to Zimbabwe until the country was free, and that he would be shuttling between Lusaka and Dar es Salaam advising Zimbabweans on the struggle. Asked what he had done to unite Zimbabweans in Zambia, Rev. Sithole pointed out: "I am at the moment trying to bridge the gap between the two warring tribes who were in the disbanded ZANU — Makaranga and Manyika — and after this, I will tour the whole of Zambia in an effort to explain what is involved in the unity agreement signed in Lusaka.

"I am perturbed that nothing much has been done in Zambia, but we are fighting against time as there are many important matters to look into at the same time. All I ask is for Zimbabweans to give us time and all will be well."

INSIDE ZIMBABWE



Zimbabwean peasants some of whose country-men were slaughtered in cold blood at Karima Village.

MASSACRE AT KARIMA VILLAGE

The Smith regime committed a cold-blooded massacre at Karima Village in the Kandeya area or so-called tribal trust land on the night of June 12 when 20 Zimbabweans were shot dead by Rhodesian armed forces. Of the murdered people, nine were children and four were women.

Two days after the incident, the regime issued a false Press statement in which it claimed that on the night in question, its armed bandits in Mount Darwin's Kandeya area were alerted by the sound of a man being clubbed in his kraal. On getting near the kraal, the armed forces were shot at by freedom-fighters. In the ensuing fight, 20 persons were killed. They were all cremated on a hill a few kilometres away.

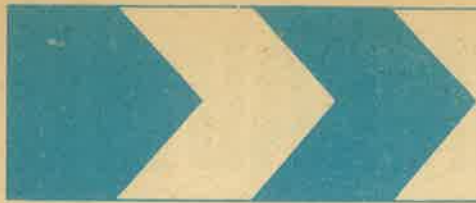
Independent investigations have established that in fact agents of the Smith regime went to the Karima Village and called a meeting for 21 hours. It was said the meeting was to discuss the liberation of the country – Zimbabwe.

About 50 people went to attend the fake freedom-fighters' meeting. There were eight agents of the Smith regime. One of the eight agents then accused the local headman of being a sell-out and agent of the regime. He was taken

behind a hut where he was reported to have been beaten with a stick. At that time a hand grenade exploded near where the crowd was seated. Almost at the very moment the grenade exploded, Smith armed murderers appeared and opened fire at the crowd from a distance of about 10 metres.

Shooting went on for some time. Some people had escaped into a hut. The murderers began to shoot at the hut. The dead were quickly collected by the Rhodesian fascists and taken to a near-by hill where they were cremated. The following day, the headman, who had been taken away by Smith's forces the previous night, went back to the village. He was accompanied by the district commissioner and Smith's armed troops. He appeared uninjured. The Karima Village massacre is typical of the Rhodesian regime's trigger-happiness. More than 20 people actually died as some lost their lives later as a result of wounds received during the shooting. It will be recalled that the incident occurred only three weeks after the Salisbury shootings in which the regime claimed to have killed 13 Zimbabweans. In fact, a much higher number must have been killed as some died of wounds too later.

By The Zimbabwe Review Reporter



INSIDE ZIMBABWE



Inside the police state of Rhodesia: The Smith regime rules through emergency powers and brutal killings of the oppressed Africans by armed forces.

ARMED POLICE RAIL ZIMBABWEANS

Rhodesian armed police raided numerous areas throughout the country in May and June in a bid to break up what they believed to be ANC recruitment cells. Areas particularly hard hit were Matebeleland and the Victoria region.

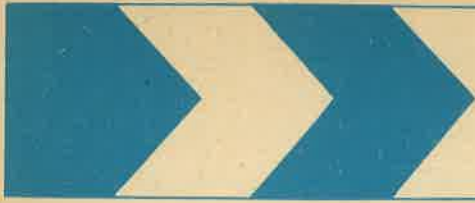
A spokesman for the regime's Police General Headquarters told the Press on June 4 that various arrests had been made in Victoria and Matebeleland . . . on allegations of illegal recruitment . . ." The spokesman said that on June 1 racist police arrested 48 people for participating in carrying placards. Of that number, 47 later appeared before a magistrate's court and were all convicted. Each was fined S 30 (Rhodesian Dollars) or, in default, sentenced to 60 days' imprisonment. The fascist spokesman said all arrests

and charges had been under the all-embracing Law and Order (Maintenance) Act.

Meanwhile, several hundreds of Zimbabwean youths have recently been leaving the country to join the revolutionary forces. Many of them have cut short their studies even at advanced stages as Forms Four, Five and Six. Schools affected by this great outburst of revolutionary patriotism are Manama Mission, Mount Selinda, Tegwane Mission, St. Augustine, Kwenda Mission and others.

Following this development, the Smith regime has panicked and declared a curfew along the Rhodesian-Mozambique and the Rhodesian-Botswana borders. Other areas affected by this dusk-to-dawn curfew are the operational regions in the North-West, North and North-East.

By The Zimbabwe Review Reporter



INSIDE ZIMBABWE



SMITH'S BLOODY CLAIM

Smith's murderers receiving military training to massacre women and children.

Another destitute Zimbabwean family thrown into the bush and left to die a slow death far away from any help.

At the end of June, 1975, the Smith regime claimed that its armed murderers had killed about 582 Zimbabweans as against 252 of its side who perished in defence of fascism.

The Smith regime does not clarify that its armed troops have been engaged in indiscriminate massacre of Zimbabwean civilians including women and children. It counts all these among what it regards as enemy losses.

The figure is meant to frighten Zimbabweans away from the armed struggle. Following reported withdrawal of South African armed forces stationed in Rhodesia since early 1967, the Smith regime has intensified recruitment of mercenaries from the United States, the United Kingdom and elsewhere in western Europe.

Some of these murderous fortune-seekers have already been killed by patriots in Zimbabwe's war zones. The regime has also begun to recruit white women into its armed forces. This means that the regime feels militarily strained and is, therefore, desperately trying to strengthen itself in view of the inevitable armed clashes against Zimbabwean revolutionary forces.

(SEE NEXT ISSUE OF "THE ZIMBABWE REVIEW" FOR A DETAILED ACCOUNT OF THE SMITH REGIME'S MILITARY STRENGTH - EDITOR-IN-CHIEF)

Zimbabwean mothers shoulder a heavy duty to bring up children as thousands of them have been removed from their homes and dumped into the bush in remote, arid areas of the country.



POET'S CORNER

HOME, SWEET HOME!

By Terence Mawema and Timothy Mawira

Hundreds of miles away from his home
In the lonely thick woods
Quietly the brave guerilla sleeps.
His wet clothing sticks to his weary limbs,
Choosing his sleeping place like a tramp,
Deep in his thought is capitalist monopoly
Which he has sworn to destroy for ever.

Deep in his sleep he sees his old father,
Aged and weary from years of toil, exploitation and torture.
Deep in his sleep he sights his poor mother;
On her face police torture marks still appear;
About her are her children, all in tears;
Within her a flicker of happiness shows
For her son's great work for the people.

Deep in the forest lions roar;
Disturbing his sound sleep, boars and owls announce
The coming D-Day "Zimbabwe is free!"
That's dear to him for he longed for that to this day
A touch on the bare shoulders wakes him up
"Comrade, your turn to the watch-post"
Come the words from frozen lips.

Like a cat he moves around,
His poor friends far from him in sleep;
His ears catch the sounds of the great Zambezi¹
Glittering he sees it in the moonlight
The Zambezi, the boundary between freedom and bondage.

In his heart he pronounces the name of our leader;
He stresses his loyalty to his sleeping comrades,
His loyalty to Zimbabweans and to his party.
The streaks of the sun wake his comrades.
Co-operatively they start work;
Each step is a step home,
A step to victory.

POET'S

CORNER

And they all shout:

"Forward ever! Backward never!

"Long live the ANC! Long live patriots!

"Long live Zimbabwean masses

"Our revolutionary vanguard!"

1 River between Zambia and Zimbabwe.

THE HERO JABULANI

By D. Gambiza

*Silent though you may be
Far away wherever you may be,
In our hearts you are with us.
Your jokes are echoing in our ears
Never we forget your ever smiling eyes.*

*Pain is known to have been your burden;
You carried heavy loads you were not supposed to shoulder.
Never complaining of your health
You moved distances across gorges for Zimbabweans' cause.
That alone is an inspiration to us.*

*Are you really not with us any more, Jabu?
Though true, it sounds unbelievable!
With your dedication you stood firm,
You left us with the noble Cause
To carry on with the struggle in which you greatly believed.*

*We promised never to let your wishes down,
On your resting place we shall lay wreaths
And flowers from a free Zimbabwe.
Never to be forgotten by us all
Rest in peace comrade Jabu.*

Signing a death sentence against all Zimbabweans Rhodesian racist Ian Smith (right) is watched by his fellow-fascist, Walter Clifford Dupont (left) while other prominent officials of the Rhodesian minority dictatorship witness the crime. The picture was taken on November 11, 1965 when Smith made his desperate unilateral declaration of independence.



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Rhodesian constitutional talks opened above the Victoria Falls bridge on August 25 but were called off a day after when Ian Smith insisted that subsequent discussions be held inside Rhodesia. The African National Council, which was the second party in the discussions, had all along said the talks have to be outside Rhodesia because of the state of emergency in the country and the Smith regime's refusal to grant immunity to freedom-fighters taking part in the talks. The regime said it would grant immunity only to those already in the country. The ANC pointed out that those in the country did not need immunity.

The talks were attended by Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda and South African premier Johannes Vorster. They were held in a special luxury train offered for the purpose by the South African regime. The coach in which discussions took place was straddled across the border-line between Zambia and Rhodesia. The ANC delegation was led by Bishop Abel Muzorewa. Other members included the ANC vice-President Dr. Elliot Gabela, Comrade Joshua Nkomo, Mr. James Chikerema, Mr. George Nyandoro, Mr. Enos Nkala, Mr. Stephen Parirenyatwa, Mr. Moron Malianga, the ANC publicity secretary Dr. Edson Sithole, the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, and comrades Lazarus Nkala

and Joseph Msika. There was in addition a team of 13 political and legal advisers plus a three-man secretariat. Ian Smith was accompanied by his deputy John Wrathall, his man in charge of foreign affairs, Pieter Kenyon van Der Byl, his propaganda chief Wickus de Kock, and his cabinet secretary Jack Gaylard. Observers included South Africa's secretary for foreign affairs Brand Fourie, and President Kaunda's personal envoy Comrade Mark Chona.

Following the collapse of the conference, the ANC President, Bishop Muzorewa, stated that the blame lay on Smith's shoulders. Back in Salisbury, Smith announced that he would hold constitutional negotiations with the regime-appointed-and-paid African chiefs. He was publicly snubbed by 16 African MPs who declared that they would never enter into constitutional discussions with him "because the representative organisation of all the people of Zimbabwe is the African National Council."

OUR COMMENT: Smith's open intransigence is further proof that Zimbabwe's freedom can be achieved by nothing short of a concerted armed revolution. Every day spent trying to convince the Smith regime through peaceful discussions is very valuable time unwarrantedly given to the regime to strengthen its position against freedom-fighters.

OBITUARY NOTICE

It is with deep sorrow that we announce the death of Comrade John Mutasa who was studying locomotive engineering in Hungary. Twenty-nine-year-old Mutasa passed away on August 13 in a Budapest hospital where he had been confined for several weeks off and on since June 17, 1975.

The people of Zimbabwe are thankful to the Hungarian Solidarity Committee for all the arrangements it made to give our late comrade a decent funeral.

Thanks are also due to all the students who paid

their last respects to Mutasa at the burial on August 19, 1975. Representing the party was Comrade Saul Ndlovu, editor-in-chief of THE ZIMBABWE REVIEW.

Speakers at the funeral were Comrades Emil Nyarai of the National Council of the Hungarian Patriotic People's Front, Gordon Kaonge, Zambian student in Hungary, and Comrade Ndlovu. All speakers paid deep homage to the late man's dedication to the cause, and his patriotic decision to renounce all comfort for the liberation struggle of Zimbabwe.

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Cover picture shows from left to right Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, Bishop Abel Muzorewa, Zambia's President Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, and Comrade Joshua Nkomo.