

# THE ZIMBABWE REVIEW



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# THE ZIMBABWE REVIEW

## TO OUR READERS:

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

CONTENTS	PAGE
EDITORIAL	2
ZIPA'S REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES: OPERATIONS IN THE NORTHERN AREAS	4
SECOND INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION CONFERENCE AGAINST APARTHEID	11
SPEECH BY PATRIOTIC FRONT AT JUCHE SEMINAR IN PYONGYANG	13
NATIONAL FESTIVAL OF L'UNITA	14
RHODESIA'S CAPITALIST ECONOMY ORIGINS AND TIES	16
LETTERS TO THE EDITOR	21
POET'S CORNER	23

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Comrades Fidel Castro and Joshua Nkomo

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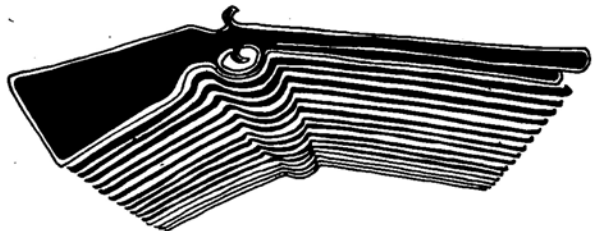
# EDITORIAL

The Zimbabwe revolutionary struggle has now entered a new phase. It is a phase of cut-throat diplomatic intrigues and manouvres aimed at depriving the masses of Zimbabwe of an obvious and imminent military victory. The British Government, realising that the downfall of the Rhodesian racist regime is about, has come up with a set of constitutional proposals meant to establish an "independent" Zimbabwe by March 1978.

The proposals have one aspect that shows the British Government's real intentions. That aspect deals with the role to be played by a British Government-appointed resident commissioner. He is given "discretionary . . . administrative and legislative powers" by the proposals. This means the British Government, instead of the liberation forces, wants to superintend a sham type of independence for Zimbabwe both during the transitional period and after.

The people of Zimbabwe, through the Patriotic Front, are fighting a bitter and ruthless war to win genuine independence for themselves. They would like to bring it about without first subjecting themselves to another era of British colonialism. Such an era would inevitably leave behind seeds of destruction, division and confusion in Zimbabwe. It is for this reason that we insist that we would like to superintend the transitional period ourselves.

History is full of cases where the British Government has left behind confusion and division before it pulled out of certain areas. The Palestinian experience is one such case. The Indo-Pakistan case is another. The Cyprus case is yet another. The Namibian issue was created by the British Government. We are aware too of areas like Malaysia where some prominent revolutionaries were systematically left out in the cold. That is what the present diplomatic British onslaught is meant to achieve against the Patriotic





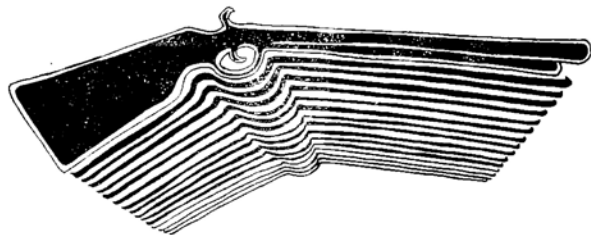
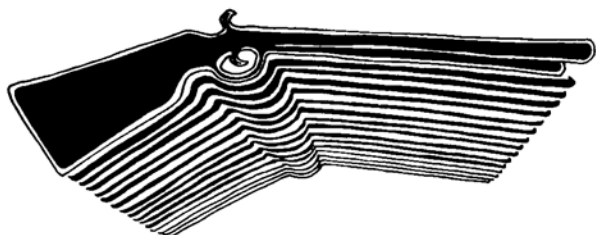
Front in Zimbabwe. We will not allow the British colonialists to succeed in this. We will not allow them to instabl a puppet regime over our heads after we have fought so gallantly, sacrificed so much to free our fatherland.

We are aware that some of our international supporters think that we should accept any arrangement as long as it can bring about a "black" government in Zimbabwe. It must be understood that we are not fighting a racial war. We are not fighting the Smith regime because it is white and we are black. We are fighting the Rhodesian regime because it is fascistic. We want to establish a democratic Zimbabwe where the wealth of the nation shall benefit the masses. Were the Rhodesian regime black, and we white, we would still be fighting to liberate ourselves.

We are not fighting the fascists of Salisbury in order to establish a black (qua black) government. We are fighting for a real change, a genuine social change so that the masses can benefit from the country's natural resources. We do not want to replace a white capitalist with a black one. We are

fighting in order to destroy a socio-economic system based on racial privileges, and establish a system based on full human rights without any regard to racial or ethnic origin. We are struggling for cultural, political, social and economic freedom. Economic freedom means, to us, the availability of material benefits (accruing from natural and other resources) to all the people on the basis of equality. Without this objective being achieved, we would not consider ourselves as having succeeded in our historic mission. In achieving this objective, we seek support from all the people of Zimbabwe and the world irrespective of race or colour.

During this phase, we must be as vigilant as ever lest we are deprived of our successes. We do not want to win in the military field only to lose in the diplomatic one. The culmination of our diplomatic activities must reflect our military successes. We want genuine and untrammelled independence. We do not want independence granted to Britain's craven puppets or Whitehall's swing-door boys.



# COMBAT DIARY

*July 6, 1977:*

**Dande – Sipolio:**

A troop carrier detonated a landmine: five occupants were killed and three others seriously wounded.

*July 14, 1977:*

**Dzikita – Urungwe:**

An enemy land rover detonated a landmine. Four of the occupants died, three were injured and the vehicle was a complete wreck.

*July 25, 1977:*

**Angwa – Sipolilo:**

Our fighters ambushed a convoy of two enemy troop carriers. All twenty-three occupants – 21 white and 2 black – were killed, and the trucks were blasted into pieces.

*July 30, 1977:*

**Angwa – Sipolilo:**

An enemy troop carrier detonated a landmine, killing eight enemy soldiers and seriously wounding five others.

*August 3, 1977:*

**Makuti:**

A police reservist was shot dead at his farmstead by our forces.

**Chewore – Mwanja:**

An enemy troop carrier transporting enemy soldiers detonated a landmine, killing two of its occupants and seriously injuring several others.

*August 5, 1977:*

**Karoi:**

An enemy agent investigating the feeding of our forces

was shot dead by our combattants while he was posing as a farm-labourer.

**Kanyemba:**

Two enemy soldiers were killed and several others seriously wounded when they clashed with the peoples' liberation forces.

*August 6, 1977:*

The enemy's camp at Chirundu was heavily shelled by mortars and assaulted by small arms in a surprise attack by the people's liberation forces.

*August 7, 1977:*

**Kanyemba:**

Our commandos eliminated an enemy agent in the north-west of Kanyemba.

*August 9, 1977:*

**Angwa – Sipolilo:**

Four enemy soldiers died when their land rover detonated a landmine laid by our commandos.

*August 12, 1977:*

**Kariba:**

An enemy land rover detonated a landmine on a dirt road. Two members of the support unit died on the spot.

*August 13, 1977:*

**Makuti:**

An enemy troop carrier detonated a landmine and was damaged beyond repair. The driver and his assistant died on the spot.

*August 16, 1977:*

**Kariba:**

A racist troop carrier detonated a landmine expertly laid by our sappers. Four of the occupants were killed and the truck was irreparably damaged.

*August 17, 1977:*

**Kariba:**

A speed-boat manned by five enemy soldiers was sunk while patrolling Sengwe Sound. All its occupants died.

*August 18, 1977:*

**Makuti:**

Zimbabwe people's gallant fighters overran an enemy observation post, killing three.

**Angwa – Sipolilo:**

An enemy troop carrier detonated a landmine expertly laid by our sappers. Six of the occupants were killed and several others were seriously wounded.

**Mana Pools:**

An enemy troop carrier detonated a landmine: six of its occupants died on the spot.

*August 22, 1977:*

**Kariba:**

By use of mortars, 75 mm guns and small arms, our revolutionary forces bombarded Kariba town. During this bombardment the following targets were extensively damaged:

- (i) Kariba Country Club
- (ii) Army barracks
- (iii) Kariba Hospital
- (iv) Casino Hotel
- (v) Police Station
- (vi) Kariba town electric transformers
- (vii) Residential houses
- (viii) Machipisa departmental store
- (ix) Telecommunications were completely cut off

*August 23, 1977:*

**Kariba:**

Ruwe bridge was completely destroyed by our engineer experts resulting in the delay of enemy reinforcements.

**Karoi:**

An enemy troop carrier sending reinforcements to the operational area detonated a landmine and was completely destroyed with its occupants.



*August 24, 1977:*

**Makuti:**

A farm homestead was attacked by our forces, and four soldiers who were guarding the place were killed.

**Kanyemba:**

Our forces ambushed an enemy convoy, killing nine and damaging three vehicles.

*August 28, 1977:*

**Chirundu:**

A land rover carrying six enemy soldiers detonated a landmine, killing all the occupants.

*September 6, 1977:*

**Sipolilo:**

A regime troop carrier detonated a landmine. Three enemy soldiers died and several others were seriously injured. The truck was damaged beyond repair.

*September 10, 1977:*

**Kanyemba:**

An enemy troop carrier detonated a landmine laid by our gallant sappers. Three enemy soldiers died and several others were seriously injured. The truck was completely destroyed.

*September 14, 1977:*

**Shamva:**

Four enemy soldiers were shot and killed in a clash with the Zimbabwe liberation forces.

*September 15, 1977:*

**Kanyemba:**

The Kanyemba garrison near the town of Kanyemba was bombarded by the ZPRA/ZIPA forces. The Rhodesian security force positions were totally destroyed. The enemy sustained heavy losses in personnel and property, and were compelled to evacuate the garrison.

*September 16, 1977:*

**Sipolilo:**

Our commandos raided a Shambroke Mine supermarket branch which was harbouring four selous scouts. The four were shot and killed in the raid.

*September 18, 1977:*

**Mtorashanga – Loamgundi:**

Mr Denzil Robert Milward, a mercenary from England, was shot and killed while he was guarding Muriel Mine.

*September 21, 1977:*

**Kanyemba:**

An enemy troop carrier detonated a landmine expertly laid by our revolutionary forces. Four enemy soldiers died and several others were seriously injured. The enemy truck was totally destroyed.

*September 24, 1977:*

**Kanyemba:**

Four enemy soldiers died and several others were seriously injured when their troop carrier detonated a landmine laid by the Zimbabwe gallant fighters. The truck was damaged beyond repair.

*September 27, 1977:*

**Bumi:**

An enemy follow-up unit was ambushed by our forces. Seven enemy soldiers were shot and killed and several others were wounded.

*September 28, 1977:*

**Kanyemba:**

An enemy troop carrier detonated a landmine. Six enemy soldiers died and several others were seriously injured. The truck was completely destroyed.

## **OPERATIONS IN THE SALISBURY AREAS:**

*July 24, 1977:*

**Salisbury:**

Five hundred metres of the Salisbury–Bulawayo railway line were destroyed by the ZPRA/ZIPA commandos, delaying enemy goods and passenger transportation for one day.

*August 9, 1977:*

**Copper Queen:**

Our revolutionary combattants ambushed and killed a Grey Scout patrol which was based at Nyamapudzi hills.

*August 14, 1977:*

**Copper Queen:**

A police reservist on leave in the Copper Queen area was killed by our forces.

*August 19, 1977:*

**Marimba – Salisbury:**

A rail bridge in Marimba Park along the Salisbury–Bulawayo railway line was blown up by an explosive charge expertly laid by our sappers. The incident disrupted the enemy's rail traffic for thirty-six hours.

*September 28, 1977:*

**Cranborne Barracks – Salisbury:**

Our gallant sappers laid two explosive devices in the Old Cranborne Barracks swimming pool lawn which exploded killing six and seriously wounding nine of the enemy soldiers.

## OPERATIONS IN MIDLANDS

*July 28, 1977:*

### **Sanyathi – Gatooma:**

Our enemy troop carrier transporting enemy soldiers detonated a landmine killing ten of its occupants and seriously wounding several other white tourists who were boosting the enemy's soldiers.

*August 2, 1977:*

### **Gokwe:**

An enemy troop carrier transporting enemy soldiers detonated a landmine killing ten of its occupants and seriously wounding several others.

*August 5, 1977:*

### **GWELO:**

Our urban commandos attacked and killed two members of Special Branch who were patrolling the Mkoba Township.

*August 7, 1977:*

### **Que Que:**

A troop carrier detonated a landmine four kilometres from Rhino dam, killing six and wounding several others.

*August 12, 1977:*

### **Shabani:**

An enemy agent was shot by our forces ten kilometres south of Bibibi.

*August 13, 1977:*

### **Gokwe:**

A road department vehicle detonated a landmine forty kilometres from the Gokwe district commissioners's office. The truck and its occupants were destroyed.

*August 22, 1977:*

### **Shabani:**

In a clash with the enemy forces, our commandos shot and killed four enemy soldiers: namely, warrant officer James Albert Cross, of Norton, corporal Authur Graham O. Driscoll, field reservist James Reid, and rifleman Lawrence Robert Shakespeare.

In the same area our Zimbabwe peoples' revolutionary forces ambushed and killed two members of the so-called security forces who were transporting food to enemy units.

*August 24, 1977:*

### **Gwelo:**

Two enemy police reservists guarding an installation were attacked by the ZPRA/ZIPA commandos. One was killed and the other seriously wounded.





## OPERATIONS IN VICTORIA:

*August 29, 1977:*

### **Naunetsi:**

Two members of the Grey Scout unit patrolling Maranda Tribal Trust Land were ambushed and wiped out by forces.

## OPERATIONS IN THE NORTH WESTERN AREAS

*July 14, 1977:*

### **Mzola – Lupane:**

An enemy military tractor carrying 20 bags of cement, four wheel-barrow, five picks and five shovels, was burnt with all its contents.

*July 24, 1977:*

### **Sibombo – Lupane:**

Two enemy soldiers guarding a Rhodesia Front member's villa and store were shot dead.

### **Mzola – Lupane:**

Two enemy land rovers were ambushed. All eight occupants in the two vehicles were killed and both rovers were left ablaze.

*July 27, 1977:*

### **Mzola – Lupane:**

An enemy convoy of three trucks was ambushed. Thirty-two enemy soldiers were killed and three seriously injured.

*July 29, 1977:*

### **Binga:**

In a follow-up operation, an enemy troop carrier detonated a landmine; 20 soldiers died and the truck was damaged beyond repairs.

*August 1, 1977:*

### **Pandamatenga:**

Four enemy soldiers were ambushed and killed by our forces when they were investigating the presence of our forces in the area.

*August 2, 1977:*

### **Mlibizi – Binga:**

Our gallant fighters sunk an enemy speed boat in the estuary of the Mlibizi river. Six enemy soldiers on board were killed.

*August 3, 1977:*

### **Victoria Falls – South East:**

Our gallant fighters overran an enemy bush camp; they killed all the occupants, set all tents on fire, and destroyed two land rovers and three troop carriers.

*August 26, 1977:*

### **Que Que:**

Our forces burnt down a store belonging to a well-known police informer in the Mlezu area.

*August 29, 1977:*

### **Que Que:**

Our commandos shot and killed a Selous Scout who refused to drop his gun.

*September 13, 1977:*

### **Bannockbarn – Shabani:**

A white lady police officer was shot and killed when she was patrolling.

*September 19, 1977:*

### **Gwelo:**

Our forces shot and killed an Police Anti-Terrorist Unit member when he was investigating amongst the masses who sympathise with the Patriotic forces.

*September 25, 1977:*

### **Gwelo:**

Eight police reservists were shot dead and several others were seriously wounded at a farewell party organized to raise funds for the regime forces. The incident took place in the industrial area.



*August 6, 1977:*

**Dett:**

The Zimbabwe peoples revolutionary forces overran a road block mounted by the enemy forces. Four of the enemy soldiers were shot dead on the spot.

**Tjlotjo:**

A policeman was killed by our gallant fighters while on leave at Nintili Line.

*August 7, 1977:*

**Luapane:**

Lance corporal Ishmail Ahmed Lambert of Salisbury and a police reservist were shot and killed on the spot when they clashed with our fighters.

*August 8, 1977:*

**Lukozi – Wankie:**

Two enemy Selous Scouts on patrol were ambushed and killed by the peoples revolutionary forces.

*August 9, 1977:*

**Chizarira – Binga**

An enemy bush base camp was pounded by rockets, mortars and small arms fire. The camp was left in ruins.

*August 10, 1977:*

**Jambezi:**

A troop carrier transporting soldiers detonated a landmine, killing five and injuring several others.

*August 12, 1977:*

**Bembe Line – Tjlotjo:**

Three members of the so-called Rhodesian security forces were killed in a clash with our forces.

**Lupane:**

A 22-ton South African truck was ambushed by the Zimbabwe peoples revolutionary fighters. The driver and his assistant died and the truck was left ablaze.

*August 14, 1977:*

**Matetsi – Wankie:**

An enemy land rover detonated a landmine laid by our gallant Zimbabwe fighters. The four occupants died on the spot.

*August 15, 1977:*

**Seba – Binga:**

A Selous Scout unit of ten was ambushed and killed by our forces. All their weapons were captured.

*August 16, 1977:*

**Victoria Falls**

Four tourists were killed when their land rover detonated a land mine laid by our courageous commandos. One of

the tourists, Mr Galen Lange, age 45, was an American from Illinois.

*August 17, 1977:*

**Dett – Wankie:**

Two enemy intelligence corpsmen, a Coloured and an African were killed when they clashed with our gallant combatants.

*August 18, 1977:*

**Tjlotjo:**

Five enemy soldiers were killed and several others seriously injured in a clash with our combatants.

*August 19, 1977:*

**Dandanda – Lupane:**

Cleopas Sibanda, a Selous Scout, was shot dead by our patriotic forces.

**Sibombo – Lupane:**

A radio operator (Signal Department) who was also a district assistant was ambushed and killed by our forces.

*August 21, 1977:*

**Nkai:**

An enemy plane was shot down and all its crew died instantly when it crashed.

*August 22, 1977:*

**Binga**

Our revolutionary forces raided an enemy head-quarters base and wiped out many enemy soldiers including the base commander. They captured large quantities of war material.

*August 26, 1977:*

**Wankie:**

An enemy patrolling unit was ambushed by our forces, and three enemy soldiers were killed.

*August 27, 1977:*

A PATU vehicle (land rover) detonated a landmine at Lingombene-Shankwe north-west of Mswigana's kraal. Its four occupants were all killed.

**Kamative:**

Five enemy soldiers died and several were seriously injured in an encounter with the peoples liberation forces.

*August 28, 1977:*

**Nyamandhlovu:**

Two enemy soldiers and an agent leading them were killed in a clash with our gallant fighters.

*August 29, 1977:*

**Kazungula:**

Our forces raided an enemy base camp, killing eight soldiers and wounding several others.

**Ngamo – Wankie:**

Two enemy trackers were ambushed and killed when they were tracking the gallant peoples fighters.

**Deka Fishing Camp:**

A patrol boat was sunk by our forces, killing three soldiers on board.

**Zhombe:**

Our forces burnt down the council offices and a beer hall. These places had been harbouring sell-outs.

**Chisuma:**

In an encounter with the enemy the peoples liberation forces shot and killed three enemy soldiers and seriously wounded several others.

*August 30, 1977:*

**Semangombe – Wankie:**

Three enemy soldiers and three tracking dogs were shot dead in a raid on an enemy base camp by our forces.

**Wankie:**

In an encounter with the enemy our gallant forces killed two and inflicted further heavy casualties.

*September 1, 1977:*

**Wankie:**

Gallant Zimbabwe fighters clashed with enemy forces leaving two enemy soldiers dead and several others seriously wounded.

*September 2, 1977:*

**Sibozi – Lupane:**

Our gallant fighters ambushed the illegal regime's internal affairs truck on its way from collecting tax in the African area. They confiscated an amount totalling \$2,400. This money will be used to finance our future operations. The tax collectors were killed and the truck was burnt out.

**Nkai:**

Three enemy policemen were shot dead in a clash with our forces.

*September 5, 1977:*

**Lupane:**

Our revolutionary forces raided an amount of \$2,000 from a police reservist store. The money will be used to finance our future operations.

**Figtree:**

Our gallant fighters raided a farm homestead used as a supply dump for PATU trucks operating in the European farming area. The supplies were burnt to ash.

*August 12, 1977:*

**Kezi:**

Two district assistants were captured by our forces, interrogated, and later shot dead.

**Bulawayo:**

Second Lieutenant Charles Johan Fouche and rifleman Andrew Eugene Van Wijk, both of Bulawayo, died when they came in contact with our vigilant fighters.

*August 13, 1977:*

**Gwanda:**

Our gallant fighters clashed with enemy forces killing two and wounding several others.

*August 14, 1977:*

**Solusi-Bulawayo Road:**

Lance Corporal Christopher Allen Hales of Llewellyn Barracks and his wife died in an ambush by our commandos. The couple's car was riddled by bullets.

*August 19, 1977:*

**Nhawali – Gwanda:**

An enemy provocateur harrasing masses under the pretext that he was a guerrilla was killed by our forces.

*August 21, 1977:*

**Kezi:**

A police informer was killed by our combattants at Donkwe. We seized all information he had collected about our forces.

*August 23, 1977:*

**Plumtree:**

Our combattants overran an enemy bush camp, annihilating all the occupants and setting on fire all vehicles in the camp.

*August 26, 1977:*

**Bulawayo:**

Three enemy agents were shot and killed by our urban commando unit.

*August 27, 1977:*

**Figtree:**

Three enemy field reservists were shot dead by our forces while on patrol.

*September 16, 1977:*

**Mpimbila – Bilalima – Mangwe:**

A most notorious enemy agent ran away and was pursued to death by people's revolutionary forces.

*September 19, 1977:*

**Bulawayo:**

Gallant Zimbabwe fighters shot and killed an enemy intelligence officer on a mission south-west of Bulawayo.

**Filabusi:**

Two police reservists travelling in a car were ambushed and killed by our forces. The vehicle was damaged beyond repair.

*September 26, 1977:*

Gallant Zimbabwe fighters shot and killed an enemy intelligence officer who was on a mission south-west of Bulawayo.

## ZIMBABWE AFRICAN CONGRESS OF UNIONS

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# SECOND INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION CONFERENCE AGAINST APARTHEID

July 10-11, 1977

### GENEVA:

Mr Chairman, Distinguished delegates,

The first part of 1977 has been an eventful and active year for the oppressed and exploited workers and peoples of Southern Africa. From January 17 to 22 a world-wide campaign against the fascist regimes of John Vorster and Ian Smith and in solidarity with the workers and peoples of Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe was observed by workers all over the world. During that week various kinds of manifestations took place. Shortly after the world-wide campaign a Pan-African Trade Union Conference in solidarity with the workers and people of Southern Africa was held in Luanda the capital city of the Peoples Republic of Angola from January 31 to February 2. A similar conference, sponsored by the United Nations, was held in Maputo again in support of peoples of Southern Africa. Today the workers of the whole world are assembled here in Geneva under the auspices of the International Labour Organization to find more effective ways and means of eliminating the evils of racism and apartheid in the Southern region of Africa.

"The workers and peoples of Zimbabwe regard this as a tremendous contribution by the peoples of the world towards the immediate liberation of Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe. Mr Chairman, allow me, therefore, to thank and congratulate most sincerely all national trade

union centres for the energetic actions of solidarity, organized to support the just struggle of workers and people of Southern Africa. We are grateful indeed.

"Mr Chairman, looking back to 1973, the first apartheid conference held here in Geneva, we find that very little has been done to achieve the objectives of that conference. It is vital, therefore, for this conference to examine and identify the obstacles which made it impossible to achieve the objectives of that conference.

"Only after this has been done can this second conference look for new and more effective measures because it will have discovered why the first decisions were not implemented. My delegation takes the liberty, therefore to remind this conference, particularly those who attended 1973 conference, which I personally attended on behalf of the workers and people of Zimbabwe, that a proposal, to establish a permanent International Trade Union Committee, to follow up the deliberations of the conference was rejected by the ICFTU. Consequently the conference finally reached a compromise and agreed that the preparatory committee which was originally set up to prepare for the first conference should do the work instead.

"If I remember well, the committee comprised the three International Trade Unions, the WFTU, WLC and ICFTU, the workers members of the ILO governing body and the All-African Trade Union Federation. Mr Chairman in spite of this compromise and the daily crimes and atrocities committed by the fascist regime of John Vorster against the indigenous

people of South Africa, under the notorious policy of apartheid, known all over the world, the Soweto mass massacres being the latest, we understand that the ICFTU and its allies who opposed the establishment of the international committee, made it impossible for the preparatory committee to meet and carry out the task assigned to it. Instead the ICFTU established what it called "Special Coordinating Committee on South Africa", which comprised the representatives of the ICFTU officials in what it called industrialized countries, International Trade Secretariats and the ICFTU affiliates in Africa, to ensure the implementation of the 1973 resolution together with recommendations made by the ICFTU's own governing bodies." Mr Chairman it is the duty of this conference to find out why the ICFTU chose to work outside the committee set up by the ILO conference. I understand that the ICFTU and its allies are doing the same thing in this conference. Mr Chairman my organisation doubts the sincerity and genuineness of the ICFTU support in our just struggle against colonialism. I therefore appeal to this conference to seriously examine this problem in order for this second conference to take resolutions which shall be honoured and respected by all present at this conference and indeed those who for one reason or another have not been able to attend this conference.

Turning to the subject before this conference, I would like to pose a question which I expect this conference to answer. What is apartheid? Mr Chairman, I ask this question

because so much has been said and done by international organizations mentioned in the opening remarks of my address. Why has apartheid been singled out and made an issue out of the thorny and criminal system of the John Vorster administration which is totally unacceptable to the people of South Africa and the world over?

Rightly or wrongly, apartheid as I understand it, is a method, among many, used by the South African fascist regime to suppress the views of the heroic indigenous people of South Africa in order for the fascist regime to govern without opposition from progressive forces within South Africa. Apartheid denies the African people of South Africa the right to public entertainment like theatres, football, swimming pools and other similar public amenities, all reserved for the exclusive use of whites only. The separation of families from their bread winners, separate development in the so-called Bantustans, all deliberately designed to incite tribalism and regionalism among the African people of South Africa.

The denial of African workers to perform skilled work under the policy of job reservation, the exclusion of Africans from administrative and judicial posts, different educational systems, one for Africans and the other for whites. Yet the most crucial issue is the denial of the indigenous people of South Africa the right to elect a government of their own choice. All this and many other discriminatory and repressive laws are designed to suppress the views of African people in South Africa.

Having briefly, and I hope satisfactorily, exposed the meaning and evils of apartheid, I now pose a question. Are the African people of South Africa struggling and sacrificing their lives in order for them to use the same toilets, go in the same buildings with whites to watch theatres, cinemas, football and swimming pools? If discrimination and racial laws, are removed (as it seems to be the thinking and concern of this conference) will the oppressed African people of South Africa have been liberated from fascism? The interpretation and concept I derive from the debate of this conference is that if the South African fascists could abolish discrimi-

mination and repressive laws today, the African people of South Africa will have been liberated. Mr Chairman if this is not the thinking of this conference I challenge anyone here and now to give a contrary interpretation and concept to mine. As far as my organization is concerned apartheid is an element in a system which is totally unacceptable to the African people of South Africa and therefore cannot be treated in isolation to the acute problems and crimes of this whole system.

The African people of South Africa are struggling to seize state power from the minority fascist regime of John Vorster. This is clearly stated in the Freedom Charter of the African National Congress of South Africa, the spearhead of the armed revolutionary struggle in that country. The Charter is further re-inforced by the A.N.C. slogan which say "Amandla ngawethu" meaning Power to the people. I am convinced beyond reasonable doubt that once the people seize state power and be in full and effective control of the army, the police force, the judiciary, political, social, cultural and economic affairs of that country, apartheid and all discriminatory and repressive laws shall automatically die off.

In Zimbabwe the situation is the same. The workers and the whole African population live under the same appalling conditions. Discrimination and repressive laws is the order of the day. Rhodesia has virtually become a police or military state. People are murdered in cold blood by the fascist forces of Ian Smith practically every day. Villagers are burnt to ashes in their houses as a means to force them to reveal the whereabouts of freedomfighters. In the so-called operational zones there is a curfew between 18 und 6 hours every day.

"People breaking the curfew are shot on sight without warning. Consequently the National Union of Namibia Workers, the South African Congress of Trade Unions and the Zimbabwe African Congress of Unions have, after careful and thorough study of the situation in Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe, decided to join their forces against the Rhodesian and South African fascist regimes because we are convinced that we have common problems con-

fronting us in the three territories. The details of these problems are clearly stated in the preamble of the memorandum jointly prepared by the three labour movements and has been circulated in advance to Labour Organization all over the world and to the chairman of this conference, Mr Joseph Morris for discussion by this conference.

"In this memorandum a copy of which I have here now, we have stated the common characteristic features which exist in the three territories. At the end of the memorandum we appealed to all trade union organization attending this conference to:—

1. Support the creation of a Permanent International Trade Union Solidarity Committee on the basis of the recommendations of the Pan-African Trade Union Conference in Solidarity with the workers and Peoples of Southern Africa, held in Luanda on January 31 to February 2, 1977.
2. Recognition of the three Labour Movements as the true and authentic representatives of the workers in Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe.
3. We further appealed that the Organization of African Unity should recognise the three Labour Movements in order to facilitate free movement of the leaders of the three labour movements in all member states of the OAU.
4. That the ILO should grant the three labour movements observers status.
5. That the three labour movements should each be represented in all organisations, committees, councils and organs in which the interests of Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe are considered and discussed.

"Mr Chairman it is my hope that this conference will pay serious attention to the proposals made by the three labour movements in the memorandum because we are the people who are directly affected by the evils of fascism and colonialism which this conference has been called to examine. We have the solution in our hands to solve the problems affecting us but we do not have the means to effect our programmes and strategies against fascism, racism and colonialism."

# SPEECH BY PATRIOTIC FRONT AT JUCHE SEMINAR IN PYONGYANG

"Comrade Chairman, Comrade Distinguished Delegates, Comrade Fellow Freedom-Fighters, it is my most honoured task to-day to convey, on behalf of the struggling masses of Zimbabwe, under the banner of the Patriotic Front led by Comrades Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe, our profound sentiments and revolutionary greetings to the delegates attending this historic international seminar of the Juche Idea. Allow me, Comrade Chairman, to register special gratitude on behalf of the Zimbabwe delegation and the entire masses of Zimbabwe, to Comrade President KIM IL SUNG, the beloved and respected leader of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and, through him, to the entire revolutionary people of Korea, for the very warm hospitality they have given us and truly made us feel at home.

"To us in Zimbabwe, the holding of this International Seminar on the Juche Idea is not only appropriate but extremely timely. It comes at a time when only a few weeks ago, the British and American imperialists shamelessly released to the world a sinister plan to strangle the throats of the fighting masses of Zimbabwe, under the guise of the so-called peace initiative.

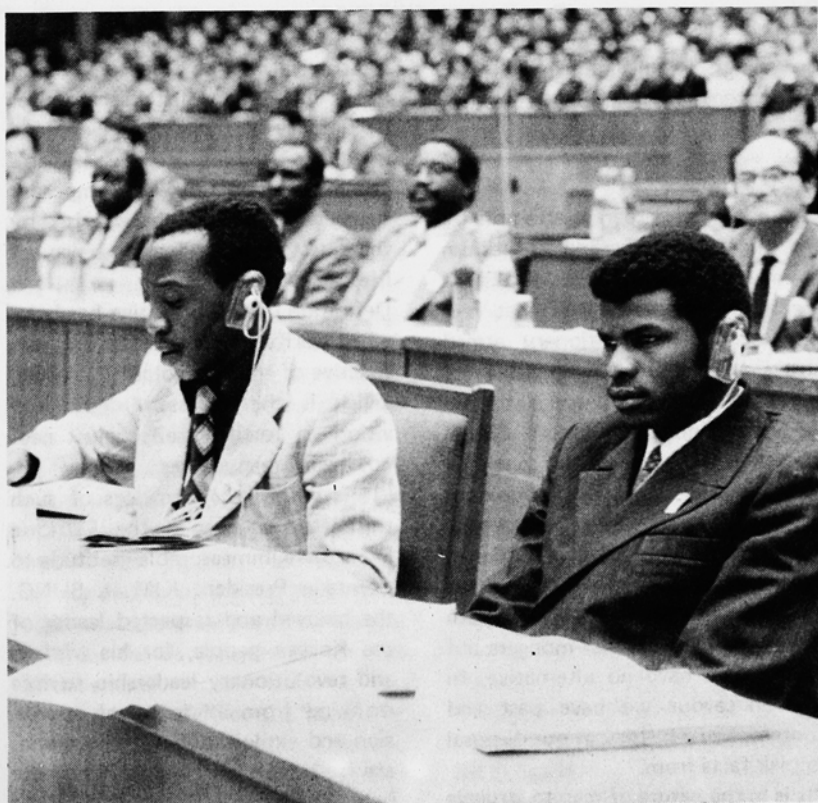
"Comrade Chairman, it is not my intention to dwell at length on this poisonous plan, but perhaps it would be in order to inform comrades to this International Seminar about this British/American treacherous plan very briefly.

"The plan comes at a time when the Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA) under the Patriotic Front, has inten-

sified the war against the enemy so tremendously, that the racist settler troops in our country are at the moment totally confused and fast on the retreat. To save the swollen faces of their kith and kin from an obvious and embarrassing defeat, the British and American imperialists now want to hoodwink the progressive world by appearing to be in search for a peaceful solution. At the same time they continue propping up the genocidal regime of their chief bandit, Ian Smith both militarily and economically.

"The resistance of the people of Zimbabwe from the onset when the British military-jackboots invaded Zimbabwe, has been transformed by the Patriotic Front into a revolutionary armed struggle which has engulfed the entire country. In the face of the intensified armed struggle, the minority Rhodesian Gestapo Regime is resorting to the most bloody massacres of our people and extending its genocidal bloody arm to neighbouring African Sovereign States like Zambia, Mozambique and Botswana.

ZAPU Delegation in Pyongyang's Juche Seminar 1977



## PATRIOTIC FRONT SPEECH

# NATIONAL FESTIVAL OF L'UNITA

MODENA, ITALY SEPTEMBER 14, 1977

The editor-in-chief of THE ZIMBABWE REVIEW and THE ZIMBABWE PEOPLE'S VOICE, Saul Ndlovu attended a festival of the progressive L'Unita newspaper in Italy with comrade Henry Hamadziripi as a representative of the Patriotic Front. The Patriotic Front delegation delivered a speech to the festival attended by hundreds of thousands of people from all over Europe. Below follows the full text of the address.

"Friends and fellow freedom-fighters, we of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe are very pleased to take part in the 1977 National Festival of the progressive development of the people of Modena especially, and Italy generally, millions of whom follow the guiding star of their Communist Party.

"Friends, we come from a people engaged in a life and death struggle for national independence;

a people struggling for an inalienable right to determine its own destiny; a people fighting against exploitation of both its natural and human resources. That is Zimbabwe today. We know that our voice will be heard far and wide from here at Modena. We are happily aware that Modena has gallantly stood against

fascism and reactionary forces. We know how, at some time, it was virtually alone, an oasis of progressive partisans in a desert of misery and exploitation overrun by fascists. Modena fought for the whole progressive world; the whole progressive world fights for Modena. Zimbabweans struggling for freedom are confident that Modena stand shoulder-to-shoulder with them. They know they can depend on the Italian Communist Party's internationalism.

"Friends, we are fighting relentlessly in Zimbabwe. The Rhodesian fascists are on-the run. The armed revolutionary forces of the Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA) military arm of the Patriotic Front, gain ground daily. This has frightened the entire capitalist camp. The colonial power over our motherland is now desperately trying to arrest the revolutionary trend of the masses of Zimbabwe.

"The recent constitutional proposals made by the British Government to solve the Rhodesian issue show beyond any doubt that the United Kingdom Government is not worried about the future of the African masses of Zimbabwe fighting under and represented by the Patriotic Front. It is worried in fact, about the privileged position of the Rhodesian racists.

### Sovereignty and Integrity

"Despite such desperate attempts by the minority regime and its Western paymasters, we in the Patriotic Front are resolutely determined that it is only through revolutionary armed struggle that British Colonialism supported by American imperialism can be crushed once and for all. Consequently, the Patriotic Front has unequivocally rejected obnoxious features of the so-called Anglo-American treacherous plan, designed to install a puppet regime in our country. We took up to the war-path not because we are war-mongers but because we have no alternative. In this endeavour we have past and contemporary history at our disposal to pick facts from.

"It is in the nature of man to struggle

for survival and to resist any threat to his life. Nations sustain themselves by defence of their sovereignty and integrity. Liberation struggle is man's age long occupation. Contemporary struggle is, however, characterised by the quest for socialism as a way of life.

Definition of this objective has helped to clarify the real essence and perspective of the anti-colonial struggle, giving it the necessary depth and vision to fortify itself against neo-colonialist manoeuvres.

"It is within the corridors of such thinking that we in the Patriotic Front owe immeasurable gratitude to Comrade President KIM IL SUNG, the beloved and respected leader of the Korean people, for his wisdom and revolutionary leadership to free mankind from all forms of oppression and exploitation. Our memories are fresh with the role played by the beloved Comrade President KIM IL

SUNG against Japanese imperialism. Our memories are fresh with the role played by the beloved Comrade President KIM IL SUNG against United States imperialism during the Fatherland Liberation War (June 1950-July 1953), when this great city Pyongyang was almost reduced to ashes.

"Despite the indiscriminate bombing of Pyongyang by U.S. imperialists, the Korean People, under the sagacity of their beloved and respected leader, Comrade KIM IL SUNG, fought with unparalleled heroism, won the war and rebuilt Pyongyang into a fine and magnificent city within a short period. To-day this Democratic People's Republic is a land of freedom and plenty, an example to be emulated by all progressive forces.

"We in the Patriotic Front consider ourselves in the forefront of this emulation. We subscribe to the Juche

The proposals, dear friends, have many aspects that are meant to turn the tide against us who are fighting tooth and nail to free our country.

They aim at putting all power into the colonial hands of the British Government with the Rhodesian settler agents being effectively protected and secured. Military, political and economic power is all placed in the hands of the United Kingdom's appointees. We of the Patriotic Front are made irrelevant by these proposals. We are conveniently pushed into a position where we shall be treated and regarded as outlaws in our own country. Outlaws are meant to be legitimised by these unacceptable proposals.

"We cannot accept such a blatantly anti-freedom Zimbabwe; a Zimbabwe where economic and political power must belong to and serve the people, a Zimbabwe whose vast wealth shall be owned by the masses of Zimbabwe. We want really effective power to determine our future without let or hindrance.

"Dear friends, you will have heard about a British proposal to have a so-called United National Peace-Keeping Force in our country during a proposed transitional period. We have rejected that because we are fighting to establish our own peace, and not to introduce a foreign force into our country. Once we remove the mercenary and fascist forces of the Rhodesian regime, and that is exactly what we mean to do, we shall maintain our law and order and peace. There is fighting in Zimbabwe today because there is oppression, exploitation, dispossession, displacement and injustice there. Smith's armed forces, and these include the Rhodesian

Police, administrative and judicial machinery are all geared to the entrenchment of these crimes against our motherland. These crimes cannot be removed without removing the forces promoting and protecting them. Once the forces of oppression are removed through armed struggle, there will be peace, law and order in Zimbabwe.

"We are not fighting to re-install British colonialism in Zimbabwe, nor are we struggling to internationalise our oppression. We are plainly aware of the mess caused by so-called United Nations Peace-Keeping Forces elsewhere. We are aware of the divisive presence of American armed forces serving under the flag of the United Nations in Korea. We have not forgotten the treacherous role they played against the people's leader, Patrice Lumumba, in the Congo. We know what obtains in Cyprus today. We reject such a force in Zimbabwe. We shall resist such dangerous manoeuvres.

"Friends, our struggle has reached a crucial stage. The enemy is more ruthless than ever. To win we need your support. Our cause is your cause, your objectives are our objectives. Together we shall march victoriously to our invitation to take part in this festival, and would like to assure you that the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe will not let you down. Zimbabwe must and shall be free".

**"DOWN WITH FASCISM!  
DOWN WITH CAPITALISM!  
DOWN WITH RACISM!  
FORWARD EVER TO PEOPLE'S POWER!"  
FORWARD EVER TO PEOPLE'S POWER!"**

Idea, given the correct interpretation, for we believe that first and foremost, the masses of Zimbabwe, united under the Patriotic Front carry the burden to liberate themselves.

### **Masters and Constructors**

They are the masters and constructors of their own revolution. We are responsible for our own destiny and indeed we have the capacity and power to shape this destiny. In this endeavour, we cherish the experiences of our comrades in the Democratic People's Republic, under the great military strategist, comrade KIM IL SUNG.

"We also express and share solidarity with all progressive forces of the world, still struggling to free them-

selves from the yoke of capitalism and imperialism. This is evidenced by our close working relationship with other authentic liberation movements in Southern Africa and the world over. On this premise, Comrade Chairman, history is on our side as illustrated by events in Vietnam, Guinea Bissau, Angola and Mozambique, only to mention a few.

"We would like to thank the progressive countries, particularly those in the socialist world and progressive voluntary organisations for the invaluable assistance they render to us, materially and morally in our protracted war against the venomous enemy and its offshoots. Needless to state that more aid is most welcome in order for us to speed up the exit of the enemy.

"May I, on behalf of the people of Zimbabwe, pay tribute to Comrade KIM IL SUNG, the respected and beloved leader of the Korean people,

the outstanding thinker and military strategist and indeed to the entire revolutionary people of this Democratic Republic for this kind invitation and indeed touching hospitality. I and my delegation wish this International Seminar on the Juche Idea a resounding success.

"Long live the beloved and respected leader of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Comrade KIM IL SUNG!

"Long live the Revolutionary People of this great country!

"Long live the solidarity between the People's of this Democratic Republic and Zimbabwe!

"Long live Comrades Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe!

"Long live the Zimbabwe People's Army!

"Long live the Patriotic Front!

"Long live the World's Anti-imperialist Struggle

Thank you Comrade Chairman."

# ORIGINS AND TIES

by Roma Vunguza Nyathi:  
*Research Department*

The capitalist economy of colonial Zimbabwe whose objective is the production of maximum surplus value to be appropriated by the international and settler bourgeoisie is a maximum surplus value to be appropriated by the international and settler bourgeoisie is a resolve her socio-economic crisis caused by the sharpening of contradictions between labour and capital. These contradictions were the result of exploitation in that country.

The establishment of capitalist economy in colonial Rhodesia can be dated as far back as 1890 when the British colonialists; under the leadership of the British South Africa Company (B.S.A.C.) whose shareholders were all British, through force of arms created peripheral capitalism in Zimbabwe. In creating and developing capitalist economy bourgeois science and colonial superstructural institutions played a decisive role. Bourgeois science, especially economics, provided a theoretical guide in the process of creating a peripheral capitalist mode of production in colonial Rhodesia, British military power (Pioneer Column and the British South Africa Police) was used to dispossess Africans of their land destroy the pre-colonial state of Zimbabwe and to create the colonial state of Rhodesian which in turn became a vital instrument in destroying pre-capitalist mode of production and in creating political, economic and social conditions which were favourable for the development of capitalist economy in the country.

Furthermore, bourgeois science and colonial superstructural institutions were employed in destroying pre-colonial superstructural institutions and social consciousness. All this was done to create a favourable climate for the development of capitalist economy in the country.

On the question of pre-capitalist social system it would not be correct to say that all its component parts were destroyed.

What really happened was that these vital component parts (e.g. Branch A industries) which made pre-capitalist social system of Zimbabwe to be independent were destroyed thus allowing these parts which remained to be peripherised to the hegemony of the capitalist economy. Pre-capitalist mode of production no longer independent was preserved; and its role within the capitalist economy is to reproduce labour to be exploited by capital. Pre-colonial superstructural institutions, under the control of the colonial state of Rhodesia are used for promoting the development of capitalist economy. For example, at the beginning of the 20th century they were used to mobilise labour for capital as well as to mobilise financial resources from the African people for state administration.

Zimbabwe chieftainship, a superstructural institution of pre-capitalist social system, at the initial stage of the development of capitalist economy was an instrument for mobilising cheap labour for Branch (Agricultural and mining sectors), road and railway constructing. It was also used to collect taxes which the colonial state needed for its administrative purposes. In this case it became part and parcel of the colonial state.

With this short introduction it is clear that the colonial state of Rhodesia was decisive in creating and developing capitalist economy, its intervention in the economic affairs even led to the development of the African working class which in turn provided a market for consumer goods and agricultural produce. The emergence of the African working class is one of the factors which influenced the development of agrarian capitalist mode of production in the settler agricultural sector. Settler farmers began to produce large quantities of maize so as to supply a market created by African workers.

## MINING SECTOR

B.S.A Company's capital was responsible for introducing and developing capitalist economy in Rhodesia. Immediately, after the war of separating the direct producer from the means of production (the war of primitive capital accumulation) and making the territory of Zimbabwe a property of the Company, gold-mining started.

At the beginning the Company did not allow individual miners to operate; it only allowed companies in which it held shares. After 1903, the Company decided to change this economic policy due financial difficulties which were caused by Company's administrative duties of the territory, building of railroads and unprofitable goldmining at the time. In 1897, Bulawayo was linked with Kimberley (in South Africa) by railroad and in 1899, the railroad linked Salisbury and Beira (in Mozambique); this was not the end of the story, 1902, a railroad linked



Bulawayo and Salisbury. These railroads were constructed to transport mining equipment into the country, and for export purposes; but their construction caused a financial burden on the Company; and this financial burden was further worsened by the fact that goldmining was not so profitable at the time. In order to meet its financial obligation or to recover its initial capital, the Company after 1903 encouraged individual miners to operate on royalty basis. It also encouraged land settlement and farming. The immigrants who came into the country to engage in farming, the Company sold them land and also taxed them for transporting their agricultural produce. The Company did not only sell land to the settlers, but it also became a financier of small businessmen.

### Transnational Corporations

Though in the early days mining was concentrated on goldmining, this does not mean that other minerals were not discovered. For example, coal deposits were discovered at Wankie in 1894 and production started in 1904. Apart from coal, other minerals which were discovered or mined included chrome and asbestos in 1908. Though the construction of rail lines made it possible to produce these minerals but there were two factors which hindered the production of these minerals on a large scale. Firstly, there was no local market for them, except coal. Secondly, there was no pressing demand for them in the world market. But with the effect of World War I on the economies of imperialist countries the demand for base minerals started to rise. These countries needed base minerals to reconstruct their economies. It has been already stated that the 1903 economic policy of the Company led to the development of individual gold miners and farming activities by the settlers. In the field of goldmining the 1903 economic policy introduced settler capital belonging to the settler bourgeoisie who joined hands with shareholders of the Company to exploit the African people and develop capitalist economy in the country. In short, the Company was responsible for the

creation of settler bourgeoisie in the gold mining sector; but the number of individual goldminers began to decrease in the 1930s. For example, in 1937, they numbered 730, and in 1947 their number had decreased to 700 and finally, in 1956 only 300 were in operation. At present they have been eliminated from the mining scene.

The expansion of base-mineral mining stimulated by after World War II effects brought on the mining scene transnational corporations which had enough capital to undertake large-scale mining. According to 1963 mining statistics there were 42 foreign mining companies; 16 of these foreign companies belonged to South Africa and the rest to the Western World. During the same period (1963) the gross capital of the

before U.D.I. it used to spend about 400,000 rands, which means that it increased its investment by 150 per cent. It is therefore possible that at present foreign transnational corporations may be owning 85-90 per cent of the mining sector. Some of the foreign transnational corporations are; Kamativi Tin (Dutch) and onrho (British) which is engaged in gold mining, Lonrho owns three of the four main gold producing mines in the country. Besides gold mining, Lonrho (British) which is engaged in of copper and scheelite. Rio Tinto (British) produces gold, chrome, nickel and copper. Falcon Mines (British) produces gold and is one of the largest gold producing corporations in the country. Turner and Newall is one of the British companies in the country and it accounts



42 foreign companies amounted to £2.3 million and that of the Rhodesian companies to £0.4 million. This means that about 85 per cent of the mining sector in the country belongs to foreign capitalists. Of course, this should be taken as a conservative estimate; after U.D.I. many foreign companies especially South African ones increased their investment in the country. For example, in 1968 the Anglo-American Corporation was spending about one million rands yearly on prospecting, but

for 63 per cent of asbestos production in the country. Anglo-American Corporation (South Africa) is the largest mining corporation in the country.

### Colonial Rhodesia

It is engaged in the production of coal at Wankie, copper in other parts of the country and nickel at Bindura. Concerning the latter mineral it is the largest producer in the country; and it is believed that the value of nickel

in monetary terms doubles the total value of all other minerals in the country. Messina (Transvaal) Development Company limited (South Africa) is the largest copper producer; it owns the Mangula Mines. Besides the Mangula Mines it also owns other three copper mines in the country. Gold Fields of South Africa

is engaged in the production of zinc, gold, copper and nickel. Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Company is another South African company which is engaged in nickel production.

The theory of comparative difference in the rates of profit constitutes the basis of explaining why the South African transnational corporations prefer to invest in colonial Rhodesia. According to this theory of comparative difference in the rates of profit, if the rate of profit is 20 per cent in the South African mines, and in the mining sector of Rhodesia 25 per cent, then comparative difference in the rate of profit is 5 per cent (25-20). It therefore becomes profitable for South Africa to invest in the mining sector of Rhodesia since the profits in the mining sector of colonial Rhodesia are higher than those in the mining sector of South Africa by 5 per cent. This theory is based on the law of the production of maximum surplus value to be appropriated by the capitalist class. The profits may be high in the mining sector of Rhodesia because of low labour costs. For example, in the period 1971-1972 the average labour cost in the mining sector of South Africa was 421 rands per month yet in the mining sector of Rhodesia was 400 rands per month. There are also American transnational corporations engaged in mining. Rhodesian Vanadium and Rhodesian Chrome Mines limited are both American transnational corporations engaged in chrome production.

The mining sector in the country shows a high degree of dependence. This dependence is in three forms:— (a) market, (b) finance capital and (c) means of production e.g. mining machinery and explosives. The mining sector is heavily depended on the capitalist world market. This is because the country has not developed its Branch A industries which can consume minerals produced in the country. The argument put forward against developing Branch A industries is that the market for Branch A products is very small. When the colonial state of Rhodesia in 1957 handed over the Rhodesian Iron and Steel Corporation to a British private company the reason put forward by the colonial state was

that the Corporation was meeting market problems. The market was small because it only produced intermediate means of production whose market of course is not so big. If RISCO engaged in the production of products of Sector I and Sector II it would have a big market because in that case it would be producing inputs for Branches B, C and D. Of course, it must be mentioned that the market for Branch A products can only expand if Branch B which produces consumer goods has an expanding market, but in the case of colonial Rhodesia this market cannot expand because of the high rate of exploitation of bulk of the population.

The absence of Branch A also makes the country to be dependent for its mining machinery on the capitalist world market. Britain, the United States of America, South Africa and other Western countries are the chief suppliers of mining machinery and explosives.

The ownership of the mining sector by foreign transnational corporations has played a major role in making the United Nations Economic Sanctions against Rhodesia ineffective. These transnational corporations cannot observe the United Nations Economic Sanctions because if they do so, this will be tantamount to sabotaging their own economy. The mining sector in colonial Zimbabwe is one of the economic sectors which supplies the transnational corporations with high profits, because of a high rate of exploitation. For example, in 1963, the rate of exploitation in the mining sector was 47 per cent yet during the same period (1963) the rate of exploitation in the manufacturing industry and agriculture were about 34 per cent and 17 per cent respectively. Out of this surplus value of 47 per cent, about 37 per cent belonged to foreign companies. This 37 per cent is the source of capital accumulation in the home countries of the transnational corporations.

## AGRICULTURE

We have already stated that the British South Africa Company was responsible for introducing capitalist economy in colonial Rhodesia but before tracing the development of peripheral capitalist mode of produc-



tion in agriculture, it is necessary to divide the agricultural sector into white and African agricultural sectors. Under the African agricultural sector there are two divisions:— (a) peasantry and (b) commercial agriculture.

The company's 1907 economic policy (as a result of financial difficulties) established capitalist production relations in the white agricultural sector. As it has been already stated, the Company eager to recover its initial capital invested in mining and railroads invited British immigrants (now forming white agrarian bourgeoisie) to colonial Rhodesia to take up farming. When the immigrants came into the country, the company sold them farms at 13 shillings per acre. Of course, it must be mentioned that those settlers who participated in the 1893 war of land expropriation were given land freely by the company.

The white immigrants having come into the country, immediately started growing maize for the local market, and by the year 1911 some of the maize they produced was exported. Apart from maize, they also produced tobacco for export; and by the year 1914, the production of tobacco for the external market was well established.

It must be noted that private ownership of the means of production alone does not guarantee the development of capitalist mode of production.

### Agrarian Capitalists

A market plays a very important part in making capital accumulation (that is, the transformation of part of surplus value into finance capital) possible. It is only on the market that a capitalist realises his commodities, and after that he receives surplus value in a money form whose part is turned into capital for further exploitation. On the question of home market there were three factors which led to the development of the local market. Firstly, the capital of the Company led to the development of the mining sector which provided settler farmers with a market for their agricultural produce. Secondly, the building of railroads (between 1899 and 1904 to serve the mining sector) linking Kimberley and Bula-

wayo, Salisbury and Beira, Bulawayo and Salisbury, and finally, Bulawayo and Victoria Falls also provided the settler-agrarian capitalists with a market for their agricultural produce. Thirdly, Salisbury and Bulawayo (as markets) which started to grow up in response to the demands of the mining capital also influenced the development of agrarian capitalists in the white agricultural sector. Another factor which played no mean role in influencing the development of the agrarian capitalist mode of production were the railroads which linked the territory with the outside world through South African ports and a Mozambican port — Beira. With the help of railroads, which were built because of the mining sector, the settler-agrarian capitalists could then export their agricultural produce to the world market, especially to Britain.

We have briefly, concerning the individual private ownership of the means of production and market relations, seen how capitalist production relations in the white agricultural sector developed, but this describes one aspect of the story. Alongside with individual capitalist farms, the Company besides being the owner of the whole territory of Rhodesia, had estates. On the estates, and on the reserved land (the land which the Company could sell to the white immigrants at any time), the Company carried on farming.

While Company's capital introduced agrarian capitalist mode of production, the colonial state (after the Company gave up administration of the colonial state in 1922) has been responsible for promoting the development of capitalist mode of production in the white agricultural sector. In 1922, the settler government passed an Empire Act. Under this Act, schemes of land settlement for ex-soldiers were organised by the settler government. To these schemes, British government paid 50 per cent of the costs involved. The settler government also assisted settler-agrarian capitalists financially and in marketing their agricultural produce. In 1924, it founded a Land and Agricultural Bank to provide settler-agrarian capitalists with loans to purchase farms as well as to develop them. In 1932, the settler-government went further to establish



the Grain Marketing Board as well as the Dairy Marketing Board in 1952 so as to protect the white agrarian capitalists against African competition on the agricultural market. European grown maize was subsidised. To further promote agrarian capitalist production relations, roads and dams were built by the settler government in the so-called European areas.

### South African Companies

Alongside with individual private capital there is also transnational capital operating in the white agricultural sector. In 1963, there were 17 foreign companies (5 South African and 12 belonged to the Western World) and their gross capital amounted to £1.9 million (£1.4 million South African) and that of the Rhodesian companies amounted to £1.2 million. The predominance of South African companies reaped in 1963. It was estimated that in that year the profits of the South African companies operating in the white agricultural sector amounted to about £3.2 million which was almost three quarters of all agricultural profits. At present the dominance of South African companies or other foreign companies may have increased, since 1965, after U.D.I. transnational corporations increased their investment in the country so as to meet the demands of the local market in the production of agricultural produce which forms the basis of Branch B industries.

Foreign capital is engaged in the production of sugar, citrus fruits, wheat, wattle, maize and cattle raising. Most of the transnational corporations are British and South African. Lonrho (British) has in the territory one million acres on which it raises cattle (60,000 heads of cattle) and also has a wattle estate covering 180,000 acres. The Anglo-American Corporation (South Africa) owns Mazoe citrus estate and also has a controlling interest in the Hippo Valley estate which is the largest sugar producing estate in the country. Another South African transnational corporation, Hulletts Corporation limited which is also a large sugar plantation in the country. The Rhodesian Corporation limited (British) has in the country an estate covering

43,000 acres and on this estate it is engaged in maize production. After U.D.I. the settler government embarked upon a programme of subsidising the white agricultural sector. Under this programme the settler-agrarian capitalists diversified agricultural production. Since 1965 emphasis has been placed on cattle raising, cotton. Maize and wheat production at the expense of tobacco and sugar whose production greatly depended on the world market. The boosting of cattle-raising, cotton, wheat and maize production has been done so as to meet the demands of the local market which runs short of consumer goods because of the United Nations Economic Sanctions. White agricultural sector for the last 16 years (1958–1973) has been the largest employer of African labour. In 1973, there were 353,000 agrarian workers (349,000 African) African workers in the white agricultural sector are migrant workers. Their number usually swells during the ploughing, weeding and harvesting seasons, since during these periods there is a lot of work to be done on settler farms. In short, the production relations in the white agricultural sector are as follows: — production for market, that is commodity production, private ownership of the means of production (agricultural land and implements), agrarian workers mostly composed of Africans, foreign transnational corporations and settler-agrarian bourgeoisie.

### Settler Bourgeoisie

This class for its economic prosperity is dependent on South African and British transnational corporations. Firstly, these transnational corporations provide the settler-agrarian bourgeoisie with markets for agricultural produce. For example, Rothmans of Pall Mall (British) manufactures cigarettes and pipe tobacco. This company gets its raw tobacco from the settler-agrarian bourgeoisie. Secondly, foreign transnational corporations provide the settler-agrarian bourgeoisie with agricultural inputs; for example, fertilizers which are supplied by Sable Chemical Industries limited. (South Africa.) Phosphate which is used for manufacturing fertilizers is also supplied by a South African transnational corporation,

Anglo-American Corporation which mines phosphate at Dorowa. Having examined the white agricultural sector, let us now turn to the African agricultural sector which is divided into two categories — peasantry and commercial. The role of peasantry agriculture in the capitalist economy of colonial Rhodesia is basically the source of capital accumulation for the economy owned by the transnational corporations and the settler bourgeoisie. Besides being a source of capital accumulation, it also provides means of subsistence and social security for those Africans (aged, women and children) whose labour cannot be exploited through wage labour. As a source of capital accumulation for the economy owned by the transnational corporations and the settler bourgeoisie, African peasantry agriculture plays the following roles — (a) it supplies cheap labour (source of value) to the economy owned by the transnational corporations and the settler bourgeoisie, and (b) provides the economy owned by the transnational corporations and the settler bourgeoisie with surplus value extracted through the mechanism of unequal exchange. Any little surplus of agricultural produce that the peasantry agriculture produces is sold to the Grain Marketing Board (a market controlled by the settlers) or to the Tribal Trust Land Development Corporation (Tilcor) which is also controlled by the colonial Rhodesia. Both Tilcor and the Grain Marketing Board undervalue agricultural produce sold by Africans so that they can extract surplus value and use it for capital accumulation in the areas owned by the transnational corporations and the settler bourgeoisie. The role of peasantry agriculture as described above vis-a-vis the economy owned by the transnational corporations and the settler bourgeoisie destroys the theory of economic dualism as far as the capitalist economy of Rhodesia is concerned. It also makes it baseless to talk of pre-capitalist mode of production as being characteristic of peasantry agriculture, since the major role of peasantry agriculture is the reproduction of cheap labour to be exploited by international and settler capital without which the economy owned by the transnational corporations and the settler bourgeoisie cannot exist.

# LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## ON THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS FOR A RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT

The Zimbabwe people are not fighting for a "Return To Legality" by the Smith Regime. Our struggle is fundamentally against British colonial occupation of our motherland which dates back from 1890. We do not make any distinction between the Smith Regime and British colonialism. In other words our struggle began the first day British colonial occupation was forcibly established in our country and not on the 11th November, 1965. Thus our struggle emanates from the contradictions between British colonialism which took away the freedom and human dignity of our people and the desire by the Zimbabwe people to regain their lost freedom.

Therefore the idea put forward in the Anglo-American proposals, part one, does not concern the Zimbabwe people. The British are talking about "a return to legality" and we are talking about a complete and unconditional transfer of political power to the people of Zimbabwe from the colonial agents of the Smith regime. The British must understand that renunciation of U.D.I. alone by the Smith regime will not alter or modify our stand regarding the transfer of power from the colonial regime to the people of Zimbabwe. Secondly renunciation of U.D.I. alone will not remove the causes of war in Zimbabwe because the struggle did not start with U.D.I.

As stated above our struggle began with the advent of British colonialism and we regard the Smith Regime as merely representing the interests of the British and their imperialist partners. The question of whether or not the racist regime is legal or illegal does not concern the Zimbabwe people, it is a problem for the British government to sort out. British colonialism was in the first place established in our country illegally and since the Smith regime is a result of that illegal act by the British in 1890, we cannot separate its illegality from that of the colonial master himself. In other words the Smith regime is as illegal as the British colonialism itself and they must all go at once. The Smith regime is

as evil and has cost our country as many lives, if not less, as the colonial governments before Smith. Thus a "return to legality" is only meaningful if it immediately leads to surrendering of power to the people of Zimbabwe who alone have the right to establish a legal government.

The establishment of a "Resident Commissioner" entrusted with all the powers under the colonial structure is unwarranted and will serve no purpose except the defence of colonial interests. His presence in Rhodesia will make no difference to the colonial structure which Smith inherited in 1965. Therefore war will not end but further intensified. Caver and Smith are not different as far as the defence of the colonial interests are concerned. They both represent the same animal, British imperialism and it will not be in the interest of the people of Zimbabwe to have another colonial agent after Smith is kicked out. Power must be surrendered directly from Smith's regime which is an agent of British colonialism to the majority through those who are tackling the enemy on the battle front.

We reject the idea of a U.N. "peace keeping force". We have not forgotten the Congo tragedy when the so-called U.N. peace keeping forces were sent into the Congo and turned into a force of terror committing unheard of brutalities and inhuman crimes against the Congolese people and the ruthless cold-blooded murder of one of the greatest African patriotic leader, Patrice Lumumba. U.N. Peace Keeping Force and the so-called British resident commissioner will not defend the rights and interests of our people. History has taught us many lessons about the role of U. N. peace keeping forces. In all cases they have turned out to be a U.S.-C.I.A. controlled banditory force whose purpose is to ensure that imperialist interests are secure by fostering a puppet regime against the patriotic forces. Therefore the purpose of the U.N. force and the British resident commissioner will be to

jointly plot to destroy the National Liberation Movement of the Zimbabwe people and to hand over power to their sponsored corruptible puppets. Since they will be their masquerading puppets, they will work and maintain the interests of Anglo-American imperialism.

The rights of the Zimbabwe people cannot be safeguarded by any one but the people themselves. The Zimbabwe people are showing remarkable successes in fighting for their freedom and they will be able to guarantee their security during the interim period before elections are held. We have sufficient resources both human and material to safeguard our freedom. Therefore we reject the idea of a U.N. force and further object to the presence of any outside force in Zimbabwe as proposed in the Anglo-American White paper.

Zimbabwe is in a state of war and it is futile to talk about elections or "constitution" when hundreds of people are dying. Our people are being sent to the gallows every day, thousands are languishing in prisons and detention camps. Hundreds have been left homeless after their villages have been razed to the ground and millions are living in fenced villages. Thus we cannot indulge in such ideas about the constitution and elections until these brutalities being exercised on our people have ceased. Again for these to end the fascist regime must go and political power be surrendered directly to the people through their patriotic forces.

The so-called "Development fund" must not be connected with the demand for political and economic freedom of our people. The right to negotiate for a development Fund is a preserve of the Zimbabwe people. The Zimbabwe people have never asked for such a development fund they will do so if they deem it necessary after achieving their main and paramount objective, National Independence and Freedom from capitalist bondage. We are aware of the role of some of the countries involved in the development fund in the entrenchment

of the Smith regime after 1965. The Americans have been importing chrome and other strategic commodities from Rhodesia despite U.N. mandatory Sanctions. They have been responsible for providing the necessary foreign currency which the Smith regime was in desperate need. The British hypocritically advocated economic sanctions whilst it was supplying the regime with its vital needs, like oil. Yet these very allies of Smith are offering the so-called development fund. The Zimbabwe people do not need money to buy their freedom. They are paying for their freedom already on the battlefield. Those who are helping us materially, morally and politically are known to us and they are our lifelong friends. They are genuinely aiding us in our struggle to regain our freedom and national independence from British colonialism and international monopoly capital. The Zimbabwe people are not looking for money but are striving for their total emancipation from colonial and imperialist bondage. Our genuine friends

are those who are helping us to achieve our basic and inalienable human rights seized by the British colonial vultures in 1890.

To sum up I should like to reiterate what I have said above.

- 1) To end the war political power must be surrendered to the people of Zimbabwe and not to Caver. This is unnegotiable prerequisite to peace.
- 2) The Zimbabwe people are capable of safeguarding their own security and therefore we reject the idea of U.N. "peace keeping force"
- 3) Development Fund must not be used to buy our country. We are dying not for money but for freedom and emancipation from colonial and imperialist oppression. Therefore there is no need for such a fund we will negotiate for such a fund if we deem it necessary after securing our national independence and freedom.
- 4) The idea of a "Constitution and Elections" ties with our policy but before embarking on such an exercise power

must be directly transferred to the people in order to end the war. Handing over power to a resident commissioner will not end the war but will lead to its intensification, for it will only replace one colonial agent with another maintaining the same oppressive colonial structure.

Finally the Zimbabwe people should intensify the armed struggle for it is our only hope and through it genuine independence will be achieved. We must not be deviated from our cause else we betray our fellow compatriots who have lost their dear lives fighting for our national independence, freedom and emancipation from International Monopoly Capitalist domination. All the people of Zimbabwe for whom freedom and emancipation of our people is dear should rally behind the people's vanguard movement, ZAPU, in the Patriotic Front.

MISHECK CHINAMASA

## KNOW YOUR LEADERS:

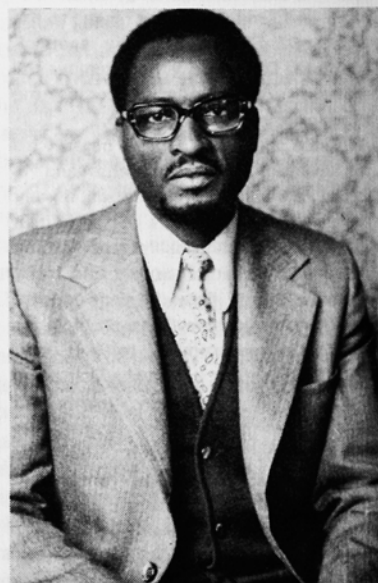
Daniel Madzimbamuto



George Kahari



John Nkomo



# POET'S CORNER

## THE UNITED STATES OF AFRICA

by  
Mrs Fezeka P. Makonese

Africa!  
My beloved continent!  
My continent of sunshine!  
My land of wealth!  
From up north your wailing voice  
was heard  
From the dark veil of the  
cyclonic wind of change  
the courageous voice was clear  
repeatedly saying  
"Africa must be Free"  
Again and again the piercing voice  
yelled from the mountain tops  
Louder and louder the fearless voice  
shouted  
"The United States of Africa must be formed"

The cyclonic wind of freedom  
is blowing Southwards  
It rattles the chains of slavery  
It cracks the rocks of oppression  
It uproots the deep roots of aggression  
It blows away the map of imaginary  
boundaries  
that divide Africa into tribal groups  
It buries injustice in the bowels of  
the earth  
Surely the United States of Africa  
will be formed.

From Pole to Pole  
The thunderous voice was heard  
"Yes it has to happen for  
T'is controlled by the book of  
fate  
It must take its course  
Only time has the right to justify  
fate  
'T'is accurate though slow  
for no man can make sun rise before time  
For no man can change seasons of the year  
For no man can control the revolutionary  
emblem that is spreading through Africa"

The growling voice continued  
Far South crossing the Atlantic  
To Robin Island  
Where the children of the soil  
are looking forward to the complete  
Liberation of mother Africa;  
Robin Island  
Where the sons of Africa  
are preparing themselves for  
The United States of Africa

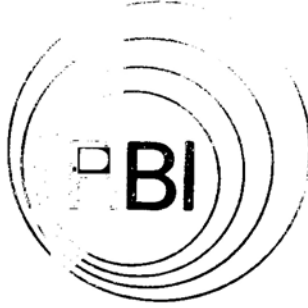
Like a wounded lion  
The mysterious voice roared in rage  
Like an earthquake  
It shook the fatal Island  
"Peoples of Africa Unite defeat the enemy

the struggle isn't over  
We have only made an important stride  
Africa! Countrymen!  
be vigilant and vicious for your own cause.

"For Patriots never die but repose  
Surrender is a cursed word  
in the mouth of a revolutionary  
For out of bitterness comes reality  
The goal is within reach  
The United States of Africa will be formed."

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