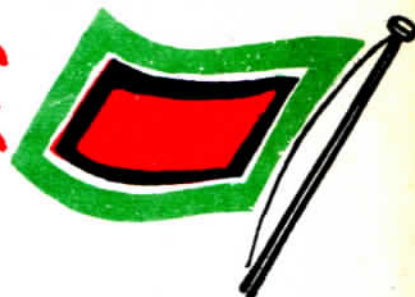




ZIMBABWE NEWS



"Let us Rebuild"

"WE ARE OUR OWN LIBERATORS"

1/-

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"The seizure of power by armed force, The settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally, for China and for all other countries." *****
Mao Tse-Tung.....many happy returns.

On October 29, the day Rekayi Tangwena gave the edited interview printed on pages 2-3 of this issue, armed Rhodesian fascist troops invaded the Tangwena kraal near Inyanga, burning homes, destroying property and confiscating cattle in a bid to evict the Tangwena peasants from the land that has been theirs for many centuries. It has been the policy of the various white fascist rulers of Rhodesia since the 1890 occupation of Zimbabwe to force Africans off their land and pauperise the peasants into cheap labourers for the white mining and farming barons. It was on the basis of this land-grabbing policy that the land of the Tangwena peasants was first declared "European" and then 'sold' to the Hamner brothers who wanted it for their ranching business and for purely speculative purposes. The owner of the land, the Tangwena peasants, were immediately declared 'squatters' and ordered to leave. They refused and have for the past few years fought the fascist regime fiercely.

But until recently, the Tangwena peasants fought almost single-handedly, with little or no active support from other areas of the country. With the introduction of the 1969 Land Tenure Act, under which hundreds of thousands of peasants throughout the country have been or are threatened with eviction on the grounds that they are occupying 'European land', peasants from all over the country have joined the resistance movement and the result has been the emergence of a most significant political force in the Zimbabwe liberation struggle.

From Inyanga, where the Tangwena peasants live, the resistance has spread to Mutema Reserve in the Chipinga area where fascist troops were used last August to suppress a peasant rebellion. Here the local District Commission had to use such desperate methods as ordering the arrest of a whole district en masse in the hope that this would intimidate the people. When the peasants refused to pay fines the DC ran mad and ordered armed police into the villages to round up any cattle in sight. These were sold to white ranchers at nominal prices and the money thus 'raised' was kept by the DC as fines for the imprisoned peasants. As we are writing, the resistance at Inyanga and Chipinga is being joined by many people in nearby districts. The Tangwena people have taken to the mountains to continue the struggle under very trying circumstances.

Farther West in the Wedza, Mondoro and Hanyani(Chilimanzi) districts, the peasants resistance has caught on. The situation, as our correspondent pointedly observes, "indicates that the African is nearing the point at which he can only stand and say, 'enough'".

Our immediate task as revolutionaries is to organise more effectively and give a national dimension to the otherwise localised and unco-ordinated struggle taking place all over rural Zimbabwe. For as long as these resistance struggles are given no clear political direction and revolutionary leadership, the enemy will easily suppress them - one after the other.

TANGWENA FIGHTS ON

QUESTION: What is the situation at the present time?

What are the feelings of your people?

TANGWENA: We are angry about what is happening. This land is ours, and now they say it does not belong to Africans. They erected beacons and arrested the people. They hit a pregnant woman. She is still in hospital up till now. They arrested the people and imposed heavy prison sentences. The people are not afraid of going to jail. They ordered people to follow the orders of the District Commissioner; but we will discuss nothing with the DC. As a result the DC decided today (October 29) to round up all our cattle in order to force us to move out of our land. We will not go anywhere.

The government will have to build a jail large enough to take all the people. We won't go to Bende. We want our property back on this land. It is the Europeans who came to disturb us, to destroy our property, to deprive us of the wealth of our land. This is unforgiveable. These cattle they are taking away they trying to provoke us so they can shoot us with their guns, because we are defenceless.

QUESTION: How much of your resistance is a matter of principle?

TANGWENA: When one buys a coat he does not proceed to give it away. This is our land, our home, our heritage. We won't take bribes. We were here long before the Europeans invaded the Continent.

QUESTION: How are the African people responding to your activities?

What of the chiefs - are they stooges or sellouts?

TANGWENA: I don't know. All I know is we are fighting for our rights. As a matter of fact I doubt they are chiefs. Smith may claim they are, but we refer to them as thieves and wolves.

QUESTION: What about the education of the children who are being evicted from their land and forced to go elsewhere?

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TANGWENA: If the school which exists for the Tangwena people is closed or destroyed, then the children will have to remain 'uneducated'. We don't care for education of the children in this country who have been to school, the vast are jobless. Some of them have to steal to survive. Why then should they be educated?

QUESTION: Last year when you spoke at the University(of Rhodesia) you warned African students of the danger of losing touch with the masses and their cause. How do you see this danger now?

TANGWENA: The educated young behave stupidly. We are daily kicked with the boots of some of the so-called educated young people the black policemen, the C.I.Ds and other collaborators. Is this the purpose of their education - to help oppress the people?

QUESTION: What in your view is the political role played by the District Commissioners?

TANGWENA: They are oppressors. They hate Africans and favour people of their own colour. They are racists.

QUESTION: Are you a politician, or do you regard yourself as such.

TANGWENA: I am not a politician. I simply want my rights. These Europeans- everything good belongs to them; Good and fertile land they want for themselves, and the Africans are driven to the mountains.

QUESTION: The World Council of Churches has recently decided to aid the Liberation Movements in Southern Africa. In a sense this implies endorsement of violent change in societies where injustice is the order of the day. Do you have any comments?

TANGWENA: We say these are good people who act with courage.

QUESTION: Given the special injustice of the situation in the country, do you see at the moment any alternative to violent change?

TANGWENA: Fighting ends suffering.

QUESTION: Do you see the eviction and resettlement of thousands of Africans in the rural areas as being a vital factor in the development of African resistance in this country?

TANGWENA: This question merits serious discussion. If we ignore it we shall find that we have become no more than oxen to pull wagons with ropes tied around our necks. These Boers will lead us by the halter. This is the truth.. .. This skin which God gave us makes it difficult for us in this society; had he given us a pink skin we would have the guns and may be this country would be better than it is today. There would be no provocation.

"LOVELY FOR BULLIES"

There are three Rhodesias, each in its own way unattractive - except to those in power. There are the arid Tribal Trust Lands where chiefs and headmen sweetened by Government pay and handouts maintain a traditional authority over people who^{do}/not recognise their real oppressors. There are the great ranches and orchards of the Europeans farmers. And there is Salisbury, where the derisive toast of opulent pinkies is 'sanctions are biting' and where the citizens strive to maintain a facade of respectability, like a Wimbledon housewife running a racket.

Down near the dam, a stranger from another tribe and another place kept asking the African children playing there odd questions about "last year's gardens". He was poking a stick into the ground among the vegetables. The children ran to the mission school. The master gathered a small army of older boys and surrounded the stranger at the dam, fought him fiercely and carried him off to the headman.

The headman had sent a message to my mine, reporting the capture of a suspected CT- local police vernacular for a Communist Terrorist. We went to the dam and helped by operative informers, found the arms and ammunition of good Russian make buried in "last year's garden" - a vanished landmark. Blissfully unaware of their real oppressors, it was local Africans who had prevented these light automatics from being used against the Smith regime which could not survive for another month without the unwitting support of those who are mockingly called 'the indigenous'. They took the stranger to Chief Chitsunge because he is the ultimate tribal authority. These government sfooges enjoy many perks besides the £50 a month they are paid - a landrover, a shotgun licence and a blind eye turned to what they can milk from the tribe.

Chitsunge was one of many who have been sent at Government expense on flattering trips abroad. Each time I visited his kraal - not the mud-and pole hut most of his people inhabit but a western style house with an excellent water supply - I had to sit through his 16mm film of Hong Kong, Singapore and Japan. And each time I took gifts of beer, tobacco or a torch. For without the chief's blessing I could get no labour for my mine or hope to keep the labour I had.

Even so, Chitsunge is reasonably just, where many of the chiefs are rogues whose failings escape official notice because they keep the District Commissioner happy about security in the tribal areas.

But, meanwhile, South African influence is growing in Rhodesia and this is building up antipathy among the 'indigenous'. I have spoken to many policemen out on PATU(Police Anti-Terrorist Unit) patrol, for whom the mines are logical camping places in the Trust Lands. These patrols are carried out on foot and each lasts about a week, mainly in the Northern borderland.

The Rhodesian policemen I met really are British - dedicated, efficient and straightforward, though they don't fully understand the the implications of their work. Gathering information about all strangers in the Trust Lands, they flatter the Chiefs and are scrupulously correct in their dealings with the 'indigenous'. But the South African police who go on PATU patrols are different. Generally speaking they make no attempt to conceal their contempt for the "bloody Kaffir" and for this lack of necessary tact are often condemned as "thick Dutchmen" by their Rhodesian comrades. Indeed, it was because South Africans in the Victoria Falls area - where they are stationed in force - had stirred up such hostility among the local "Kaffirs" that when the airport there was attacked by African insurgents this year, the police were given no warning by the locals.

Police apart, few people from Salisbury ever go into the Trust Lands - except to look for semi-precious stones or to poach game. Doing so is considered eccentric, even reprehensible. But you can drive there, first along the well-surfaced roads that run through the European farmlands, where the fertile valleys are green and hundreds of irrigation sprays decorate the landscape as with piazza fountains. It is easy here to believe in "abundant Rhodesia ... God's own country ... the Texas of Africa".

But go another tenand there, beyond a narrow bridge, a sign says: "No entry. Uzumba Tribal Land. Permission to proceed beyond this point must be obtained from the District Commissioner at Mrewa". With or without the DC's permission you will not be able to proceed at more than 10 m.p.h. because the road has become a track, narrow, stony and rutted. Between hills too rugged for grazing, the pitiful acreage along the flood plain of the river is all cultivated.

Some of the more enlightened or more desperate DCs hope that schemes to encourage light industries in the Trust Lands will come to fruition. But none of them will believe that adequate agricultural relief will come, certainly not for African farmers. All the money available must be used to subsidise the poor, desperate tobacco barons, who refuse to diversify in a world changed by sanctions.

In the European farmlands lie the great ranches of Liebig and Huanetsi, the orchards of Inyanga, the Sabi-Limpopo irrigation and the mighty schemes for development of the lowveld. What a glorious situation for the pink farmers. He is ruled by a farmer's government - firmly entrenched, rich, autocratic, openhand to the blue-eyed few.

Here the farmers enjoy a magnificent climate, with adequate water always pumped in the right directions. Here the best of arable land is already secured and - best gift of all- there is an inexhaustible supply of compliant labour with not a Wilberforce in sight.

In this idyllic pink world, there is no pretence of multiracialism. Here the Africans may build their own huts of mud and poles - downwind of course. For the reward of their labour they get a bag of mealie-meal a week and two shillings a day. Even these wages are readily recovered by building a store and beer-hall on the farm.

Salisbury is the Third Rhodesia, where the master live and play. To the purblind, this is the beautiful face of the nation - placid, elegant perfection itself. Yet why is the place so full of doubts? Of course we feel perfectly secure in our wide and handsome streets - so why do we lead the world in booze consumption and in the destruction of family life. And whatever the journalist may say, we trully are multiracial- though we do have trouble finding jobs for 80 African(university) graduates a year and we do rather resent those pushy Asian typist who want the same wages.

Those terribly embarrassing whores in Manica road have nothing to do with us, so please don't call them Anglo-Africans. And it's certainly not a joke to say: 'Thank God they don't put up signs saying: "Right of Admission Reserved"'. Striving to maintain a respectable facade, Salisbury rears its own wall, not only against intrusive black people, but also against the poorer pinkies, those who are not in with the big boys at the top who now control everything.

A miner friend of mine worked hard in the alien bush for eitht miserable months. Only alcohol and optimism kept him going. But in the end his truck was full of saleable mineral concentrate. With just enough petrol and water to reach Salisbury, he drove off happily along the rocky tracks of the Trust Lands and then along the tar, that is the mark of 'civilised' Rhodesia.

Seven miles from the end of his journey he was flagged down. His truck, which could not be faulted mechanically, for in the bush a

vehicle must be reliable, was condemned as an "eyesore", unsuitable for Salisbury. To the police, it was simply a mine truck, without the insignia of any big company on its side, driven by a poor 'white' who probable slept with "Zambezi blodes" anyway.

So the truck and its load were impounded and the miner who had naturally got aggressive was offered no lift into town. By grovelling to Authority, we rescued his load some days later. But it was a couple of weeks and a big bill later before the miner could go back to work. For him there was no appeal. Rhodesia is a lovely place for bullies in authority (Extracted from an article written for the London "OBSERVER", Nov. 8, '70)

DIALOGUE OR BETRAYAL

Have you seen the Vorster Government's 1968⁷ report on prisons? The report from the horse's own mouth shows an alarmingly high degree of oppression and repression of the 15 million black South Africans. 500,000 persons (or one in every thirty South Africans) were imprisoned in 1968/9; 187 babies were born in prison (The Geneva Convention forbids the imprisonment of pregnant women); 25,933 strokes were administered as corporal punishment; 340 people died in prison (that is, about one every day); and 84 people were hanged in the same period, mainly for political offences. If one included the many African leaders and revolutionary militants - among them Nelson Mandela, Mangaliso Sobukwe etc - the record that emerges is a sordid one of violence, brutality, inhumanity and crass cruelty directed against the African people.

Yet it is to the men and women responsible for this criminal record that Houphet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast and others like him are appealing for a 'dialogue'.

Some of these so-called African leaders have signed military pacts with France, their former colonial master, which has in turn set up a special unit of the French army to keep these puppets in power. This special special unit of the French army is now engaged in an attempt to suppress the popular struggle of the people of the Chad Republic against neo-colonialism. Now these puppets want a "dialogue" with our oppressors in order to white-wash their French master's lucrative (£200 million in the last ten years) arms trade with Pretoria.

Houphet-Boigny, Bongo, Tsiranana and company have tied their
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economies to the national economy of France. The rich cocoa and palm oil products the peasants of the Ivory Coast, the minerals of Gabon, and the animal and agricultural products of Malagasy are sold to France under a neo-colonial treaty signed at Yaounde in 1963 and recently renewed. The former colonies have remained a vast market for French goods and a source of raw materials for its manufacturing industries. This neo-colonial relationship in the military and economic fields explains the anxiety of Houphet-Boigny and those of his like to support France and its trading partners like South Africa. The proposals of a dialogue are no more than an attempt to advance the frontiers of neo-colonialism and to camouflage French imperialism.

Other non-Francophone puppets like Kamuzu Banda, Leabua Jonathan of Lesotho have quickly echoed Houphet-Boigny's call for surrender because they are directly under South Africa's orbit. Leabua Jonathan was rejected by his own people at the general elections held last year. Both he and Banda cannot balance their budgets without official handouts from Britain and Pretoria and what is even more significant, the wages sent back to Malawi and Lesotho by labourers recruited by Banda and Jonathan for South African gold mines.

Forward-looking African states have joined in roundly condemnation of the idea of a dialogue and a summit with racist oppressors, pointing out that this has been tried before without success. The A.N.C. of South Africa invited these racist Boers to a national convention three times in the 1950s with ^{out} success. Instead their leaders were thrown into jail. Numerous U.N. resolutions have fallen on deaf ears, and the 1969 'Lusaka Manifesto' was turned down with derision.

Significantly, the call for a dialogue is made by those puppets who have never agreed to support the O.A.U.'s Africa Liberation Committee and those who fail to understand the nature of the antagonistic social forces at work in Southern Africa. Systematic change has never come about as a result of 'dialogue' unless the 'change' desired is the sort they have in Malawi and 'Francophone' Africa where rich Blacks and rich whites gang-up against black peasants and workers under capitalism or "private enterprise". Perhaps Houphet-Boigny and his supporters envisage from their dialogue with the racists an arrangement under which black stooges in Southern Africa will evolve into 'English' gentlemen as blacks in certain parts of Africa have been turned into proud 'Frenchmen'.

Progressive African leaders should have no illusion about the forces at work in Southern Africa; The British want to arm Pretoria following the lead of France, and the United States Government has already agreed to sell certain kinds of aircraft to South Africa, is giving serious thought to the suggestion for a South Atlantic Treaty Organisation based on South Africa as an extension of NATO. These Western imperialist powers are determined to arm South Africa to the teeth and help it to defend imperialist interests - economic, political and strategic. They are brazenly using some African states to promote a favourable climate towards the racist/capitalist regimes of Southern Africa in order to pave the way ^{to} their designs to protect and succour them. If the Houphet-Boigny sell-out proposal were original, it would have been made at the time of the O.A.U. Summit in Addis or at the recent Non-Aligned Summit in Lusaka.

guest in Abidjan?

Verster may already be dreaming of the prospect of being a guest in Houphet-Boigny's luxurious palace in Abidjan, but progressive Africa must insist on having no 'dialogue' with any one in South Africa except the true revolutionary representatives of the people there, Mangaliso Sobukwe and Nelson Mandela.

LONG LIVE THE REPUBLIC OF GUINEA

The shock news of the invasion of the Republic of Guinea by European and 'nigger' mercenaries reached ^{when} us/our November issue had gone to the press. As of this writing the masses of the Guinean people under the leadership of Sekou Toure have resolutely rallied behind the resistance and imperialist -organised mercenaries were either in captivity or dead. All genuine anti-imperialists and revolutionaries in Africa must learn from the Guinean experience.

It was only two years ago that the same imperialist killers now attempting to overthrow the Guinean people were caught in the Congo and deported - alive in what must surely be one of the most naive deals African diplomacy has ever accomplished. After years of murder, plunder and rape in the Congo these mercenaries who should have been tried for murder and put before firing squad, were freed on paper assurances of their international imperialist employers that they would never again be permitted to come back to Africa.

It is the hope of the whole African people that never again must these foreign criminals be allowed to leave this continent alive. Why should we be keen to prove our humanity where our people are being murdered, raped and plundered by imperialist agents?

Another important point: It is a shame that after so many years of the O.A.U., Africa should still be unable swiftly to organise a joint force in aid of a sister state whose territory has been invaded by foreign agents. Why should Guinea have to ask for assistance of the imperialist-dominated U.N., when the armies of Africa are idling? It is surely high time the African people organised themselves into a strong revolutionary force capable of assisting effectively any part of the continent that may fall prey to imperialist aggression. For, what has happened to Guinea could be repeated elsewhere, unless the imperialists are shown that we Africans are capable of a little more than empty talk.

Finally, we must salute the people of Guinea and their leaders for having proved to all of us that it takes both organisation and revolutionary militance to win and safeguard independence and freedom

"The main reason why our rivals ZANU are gradually gaining ground in the struggle for power in an independent Zimbabwe is their discerning choice of impartial, loyal, strong and disinterested allies. They have chosen friends who have made a greater contribution to national liberation and social emancipation of the working masses of Africa, Asia and Latin America." Isihlangu Sabantu by ZAPU African Students Union.

