

# *Vanguard*

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**Organ of the Central Committee of the Zimbabwe Communist Party**

*On the Anniversary of the  
Great October Socialist Revolution  
we remember our Zimbabwean heroes*



**JOSIAH TONGOGARA  
ZANLA COMMANDER  
1938 - 1979**



**LOOKOUT MASUKU  
ZPRA COMMANDER  
1940 - 1986**

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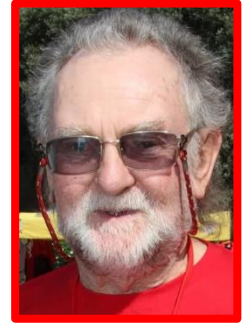


## EDITORIAL:

### Our history, our present and our future

**“Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past.”**

Karl Marx, *The 18<sup>th</sup> Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (1852): MECW Vol.11, p.103



The Great October Socialist Revolution which occurred in Russia on 25<sup>th</sup> October 1917 (Old-Style Julian Calendar) and which we celebrate on 7<sup>th</sup> November (New-Style Gregorian Calendar), was the starting point for socialist, national democratic and anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles globally.

This was the first stage of the complex movement from capitalism to socialism. Revolution does not happen in ideal conditions. Revolutionaries are not a ‘band of angels’. Counter-revolution frequently follows revolution, but when it happens, society rarely, if ever, returns completely to its pre-revolutionary ways.

### The Soviet Union and Russia



ARMS OF USSR 1922

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) also known as the Soviet Union was formed in 1922 and dissolved in 1991 against the wishes of the majority of its people; it is true that this was made possible because the Soviet bureaucracy had become complacent and self-serving and the Party’s links with the people had become weakened. But the conditions which Russians today refer to as ‘wild capitalism’ under the alcoholic Yeltsin were not anticipated. Inflation, breakdown of social services and the emergence of the oligarchs, gangster capitalists dominated the 1990s.

In 1999, Vladimir Putin took over the leadership of the Russian Federation. At first Putin was anti-Communist but in his efforts to improve from the chaos of the Yeltsin period, he slowly led Russia back towards relative prosperity.

In an interview with journalist Pavel Zarubin aired on Russian television on 17<sup>th</sup> December 2023, Putin admitted that he had been naive early in his political career despite his background in Soviet intelligence. Soviet intelligence. He said that he was wrong to assume the West would establish productive relations with Russia after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. On several occasions, Vladimir Putin has said, “The destruction of the Soviet Union was the greatest geo-political catastrophe of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

What has this to do with Africa?

### The Russian Revolution and Africa

It is not an exaggeration to say that the liberation of Africa began with the Great October Socialist Revolution in 1917. In 1919 the Communist International (Comintern) was formed. Increasingly during the 1920s, Africans and people of African descent became involved in Comintern business.

Following a visit to Europe and the USSR by James La Guma of the Communist Party of South Africa and J.T. Gumede of the African National Congress in 1929, the Resolution on the South African Question was adopted by the Executive Committee of the Communist International (ECCI) following the 6<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Comintern, this stated:

**“...the Communist Party of South Africa must combine the fight against all anti-native laws with the general political slogan in the fight against British domination, the slogan of an independent native South African republic as a stage towards a workers’ and peasants’ republic, with full equal rights for all races, black, coloured and white.”**

And to achieve this goal:

**“The Party should pay particular attention to the embryonic national organisations among the natives, such as the African National Congress. The Party, while retaining its full independence, should participate in these organisations, should seek to broaden and extend their activity. Our aim should be to transform the African National Congress into a fighting nationalist revolutionary organisation...”**

By 1930, both Africans and people of African descent in the Americas were involved with and trained by the Comintern. Most notably, Moses Kotane, later long-serving General Secretary of the South African Communist Party, was trained in Moscow from 1931-1933.

In October 1945, at the 5<sup>th</sup> Pan-African Congress held in Manchester, England on October 1945, attended by many future African leaders, the three most prominent persons were veteran US Pan-African leader, W.E.B. Du Bois, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and George Padmore of Trinidad, all strongly influenced by communism and the Soviet Union.

During the 1960s and 1970s the armed liberation struggle in Africa was supported and funded by the USSR, German Democratic Republic and the People’s Republic of China. Cuba sent troops and at the Battle of Cuito Cuanavale in Angola 1987-1988, a combined force of Cubans and Angolans defeated the apartheid South African Army. An agreement was made that if the Cubans left Angola, the South African army would leave Namibia, thus giving it Independence in 1990 and the end of apartheid in South Africa in 1994.

The revolutions in China and Cuba owe a great deal to the USSR as did the formation of the German Democratic Republic: without their support, the freedom of Africa from direct colonial control would have been very difficult indeed. The starting point was the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917.

## **Modern Russia**

Modern Russia, through co-operation with China has given us BRICS, Brazil, Russia, China, India, South Africa now joined by an increasing number of other countries as BRICS+ are rejecting the economic and military domination of the USA and its allies. This economic alliance is broadly anti-imperialist in character. It is still an alliance of capitalist states, but the destructive neoliberal stage of capitalism is coming rapidly to an end. It is being replaced to a great extent by state monopoly capitalism, which Lenin told us in 1918 **“is the last stage before socialism”**. The process is complex and the importance of the establishment of BRICS as a stage on the road towards socialism should not be underestimated or over-estimated.

**The anti-imperialist struggle and the class struggle between capital and labour are related, but they are not identical.**

The class struggles within the BRICS nations will continue for some time to come.

The arrogant and ill-conceived proxy war by NATO against Russia began in 2014 (though preparations had begun in 1944). The war has been catastrophic for Europe and has caused acute political and economic crisis in Germany, France, Britain and Italy. The USA firstly under the murderous liberal/fascist regimes of the Clintons, Obama and the senile Biden, is now under the crazed and clownish leadership of Donald Trump. Speculation can no longer be on “Will the US economy collapse?” the question is now, “When will it collapse?”

Through the support by the West for the continuing genocidal war against the Palestinian people and the punishment of ordinary citizens opposed to genocide, the Western establishment can never again present itself to the world as the “Defender of Democracy and Human Rights”.

In Africa, the support by Russia for the Sahel Alliance of Mali, Burkina Faso and Niger has meant the beginning of the end for the heavy-handed rule of France in West Africa, rule that has deprived the region of its natural resources with only a modest payment to the African elite and nothing for most of the people. There has not only been military support against the Western-backed jihadists, but also support for the building of infrastructure and industry. Africa is changing.

## Zimbabwe

One of the most distressing features of the political landscape in Zimbabwe is the failure of the majority of our people to understand how important history has been in terms of shaping the present and the future.

It is not in the interests of ZANU(PF) and the looting class which controls it for the people of Zimbabwe to have a clear grasp of their history. Neither is it in the interests of the various opposition factions formed from the splintering of the MDC to let the people know that the USA, Britain and Europe are not now, and never have been, the guardians of 'Human Rights' — not in Africa nor anywhere else in the world. (The fact that many opposition activists have been maintaining themselves from funding from various US or European based NGOs does not make this any less true.)

The brutality shown to the Palestinian people including the deliberate bombing of hospitals, murder of hospital staff and of journalists has sickened the world: yet, Zimbabwean Christian Friends of Israel continues to quote scripture in favour of genocide by a settler state which continues not only to oppress the Muslim majority, but also to remove Palestinian Christians from their ancestral homes around Bethlehem. Israel is a country in which priests and nuns of the Orthodox and Catholic churches and Evangelical Christians preaching the Gospel are spat upon by Zionist Jews in the streets of Jerusalem, regardless of which branch of the Christian faith they belong to. Brutality has even been used against religious anti-Zionist Haredic Jews who identify as Palestinian Jews.

In this issue of *Vanguard* we will deal with the lies around the events of 7<sup>th</sup> October 2024 and the history of this troubled land. We will also revisit the background of the NATO war against Russia and how it started. The West calls it 'Putin's War' but anyone who has studied the run-up to it will know that if any single person is responsible for this war, it is Victoria Nuland, US Assistant Secretary of State from 2013 to 2017

We are currently in a period of a major change in the world balance of forces. The imperialist West led historically by Britain, the USA and France is in rapid decline economically and socially.

Led by the two most prominent countries to adopt socialism during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Russia and China and the countries of the BRICS alliance have long surpassed the collective West in production. The USA and its allies are trying to hang on through manipulation of banking and trade and also by direct military intervention.

The US National Debt is now at US \$37 trillion and the complete collapse of US world domination is coming very soon, hastened by President Trump's crude attempt to put tariffs on even his closest allies.

The new world order will be to our benefit if we consciously use the new conditions to rebuild our economy and our society. Real change will not come spontaneously. In this changing environment, our country, Zimbabwe and our continent, Africa needs to find its way. And we cannot 'wait and see' and just 'hope for the best'.

The liberation of Africa was able to take place, precisely because of the victory of the Russian Revolution, the victory over fascism in Europe in 1945 was principally the victory of USSR and its Red Army coupled with the support of Communist-led resistance groups. In the East, Communists in China, Vietnam and Korea played a major role in defeating Japanese militarism, and by the end of the Second World War, Britain and the USA were already engaged in efforts, to 'Roll back Communism', and, through falsified media, to take the major credit in a war in which their role was secondary.

The liberation of Africa from direct colonialism began with the 5<sup>th</sup> Pan-African Congress in Manchester England in October 1945, during the 1950s independence of sorts began and the process accelerated during the 1960s. During the 1970s the liberation war in Zimbabwe gained momentum, due in particular to the liberation armies of ZANLA and ZPRA.

But what then happened to the two army commanders, Josiah Tongogara of ZANLA and Lookout Masuku of ZPRA?

Let us also remember our own history, our own heroes.

**Ian Beddowes, Editor**



# ZCP PRESS CONFERENCE

## Media Centre, Harare

4<sup>th</sup> September 2025



Comrades From Left to Right: Manex Mauya (Deputy Spokesperson), Philemon Nhema (National Chairperson), N.N. Mabhena (General Secretary), Trust Mazwi Mkwanzani (Orgburo Chairperson), Ian Beddowes (Commissar and International Secretary)

### **Prepared Statement read by the General Secretary of the Zimbabwe Communist Party, Comrade Ngqabutho Nicholas Mabhena.**

May I request that we have a minute of silence to remember journalists who have been murdered in Gaza.

Greetings members of the media, it is a great pleasure to address you here in the capital, Harare. Many of you we are friends on social media, we always interact in those spaces. We thought it is necessary to have this face to face discussion.

We have just concluded the Zimbabwe Communist Party Central Committee meeting under the theme “building a vanguard of the working class and peasantry”. We chose this theme, with the full knowledge that, if we are to complete our liberation, dismantle the neo-colonial state and imperialism, we need to build a revolutionary party guided by scientific socialism.

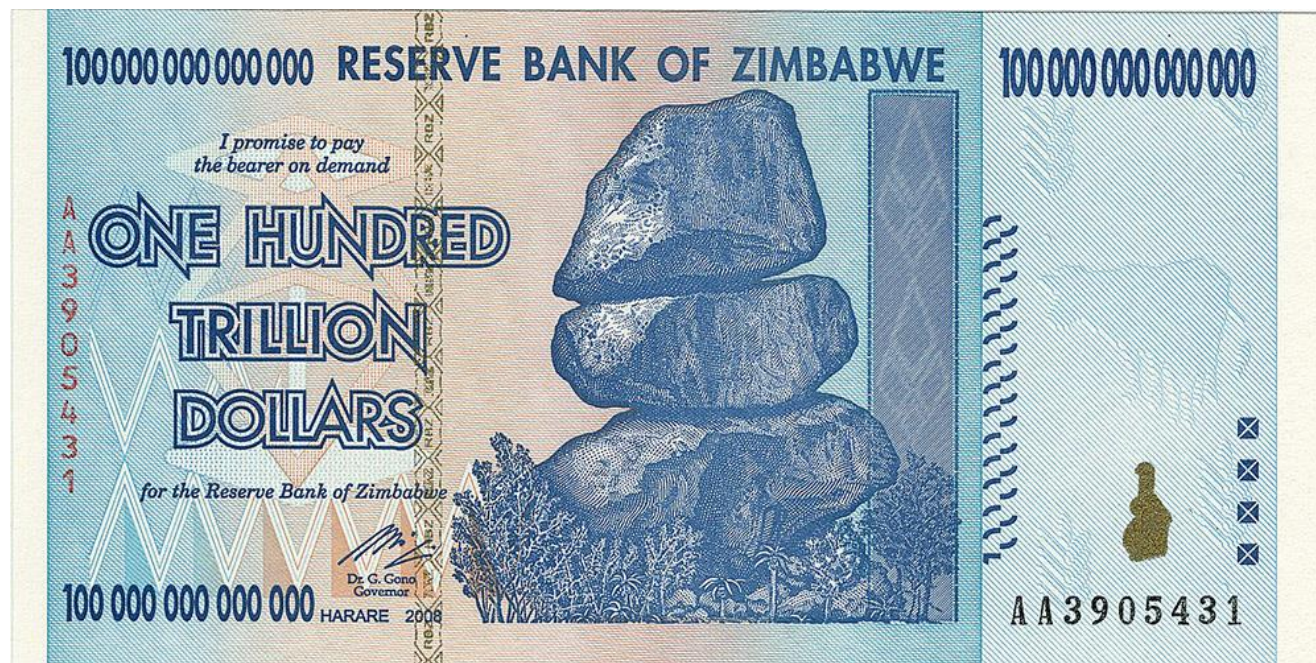
When Zimbabwe gained majority rule in 1980, both ZAPU and ZANU had received military training from Communist Parties or Socialist countries. The term ‘Marxism-Leninism’ became associated with those people in the bush with AK47s fighting for the liberation of our country. With a few honourable exceptions, our political leaders saw political education as an inconvenience to be endured in order to obtain weapons to fight the settler regime. In other words our political leaders at the liberation struggle used political slogans about socialism, but that does not mean they were socialists.

People steeped in the ideology of neo-liberalism and monetarism were recruited to guide government. We know about the former Minister of Finance, Bernard Chidzero who introduced the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP). We had another neo-liberal economist Eric Bloch based in Bulawayo. We now have the current minister of Finance, Mthuli Ncube. And also in the opposition, the MDC recruited Eddie Cross.

In 1991 we abandoned the relatively internalised economy established by the Rhodesian settlers and adopted the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP). We were told daily that, “Making money, makes sense.” — it was an advert on our TV screens.

Indeed it was very successful.

By 2008 all of us became billionaires. Poor billionaires. Our money became worthless.



In 1991, our black liberators voluntarily gave up our Independence — and put us into debt with the imperialist banking system.

As much as we support armed struggle, when and where necessary, Scientific Socialism is principally about how we run our economies and how we transition from capitalist ownership. the ownership of the few, to collective ownership. We always say the economy must be owned by the people or be placed in the hands of society as a whole.

We Communists do not talk about politics and economics, we talk about political economy.

We are always lied to that, ZANU(PF) is a revolutionary liberation movement. It is not. It is a reactionary former liberation movement.

A truly revolutionary party, pan-African in character would not have committed genocide against African people as happened in Matabeleland and parts of Midlands.

A truly revolutionary party would not be looking down on citizens whose parents or grandparents had come from surrounding countries. We know that in 2000, some citizens were told that they were no longer Zimbabwean enough and had to renounce the citizenship of countries like Malawi, Zambia and Mozambique though they were born in Zimbabwe.

A truly revolutionary party, would not be using scarce resources to pay off the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank and also running to compensate former white commercial farmers with the hope of returning to the imperialist fold, the Commonwealth.

A truly revolutionary party will do what our comrades in the Sahel region, Mali, Burkina Faso and Niger are doing — rejecting imperialism and rapidly building their economies.

Let us place this on record, there are progressive and reactionary military coups. For instance, in Nigeria we had reactionary coups, but previously, Thomas Sankara led a progressive coup in Burkina Faso and Brother Leader Muammar Gaddafi led one in Libya.



In the Sahel region, we witnessed progressive coups, Which have been given support by the majority of their people and whose leaders are rejecting French imperialism. The Sahel region is providing valuable lessons for all of us that, indeed, we can build our economy outside the influence of imperialist forces. So this idea that we can only rebuild our economy through Foreign Direct Investment is false.

Building the economy outside imperialist influence does not mean that, we have to surrender our natural resources to the looting class popularly known as Zvigananda. It means that, every Zimbabwean must participate, not only in the drafting of the National Economic Plan but in the running of the economy. We are for a National Democratic Economy before we transit to a Socialist Economy.

Building a National Democratic Economy requires a strong vanguard of the working class and peasantry to provide the line of march.

When we engage on social media, you dismiss us when we talk of the working class, you always say “in Zimbabwe there is no working class”. When we talk of the working class, we mean those who do not own the decisive means of production but are economically active, be they in the informal economy, cross-border trade, artisanal miners, small farmers, those who have given up in looking for employment, etc.

It is this class that the Zimbabwe Communist Party must lead in resolving the political, economic and social crisis. The Zimbabwe Communist Party is not a class by itself, but an organ of the working class and peasantry, and it cannot act alone.

We resolved in our meeting to develop cadres who not only understand scientific socialism as a theory but who have developed the art of breaking it down in our communities and combine theory with practical work on the ground. A good Communist is the one who combines theory and practice effectively. One cannot claim to be a good Communist when one cannot work in their community in resolving societal challenges.

Scientific Socialism is about understanding the conditions of time and place and devising strategies to take the people on the next step forward. We resolved in our Central Committee Meeting today that we need to develop cadres who understand Scientific Socialist theory. When you join the Zimbabwe Communist Party, you must first take Candidate Membership. You must undergo induction, starting with the Programme of the Party, then the Constitution of our Party which defines who we are, then the Manifesto of the Communist Party written by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in 1848. And then we say to our members, a good Communist is the one who can combine theory and practice.

We note the attempt to amend the constitution to push elections to 2030, we reject this move. In rejecting this move, we are not defending the bourgeois constitution, we are defending the right of the working class and peasantry to elect their public representatives. In any case, parliament is a bourgeois institution that we must dismantle as we build the dictatorship of the proletariat. At this stage, we must occupy parliament, use it as a tool to advance, defend and deepen the struggle of the working class. It is parliament that passes laws that affect the working class and peasantry. Defending the right of the working class and peasantry to elect their public representatives, requires us to build a ZCP that is visible in all our communities in Zimbabwe. This meeting resolved to build party structures in all the Districts of Zimbabwe.

Our struggle against the looting class, neo-colonialism and imperialism is an international struggle. We are both pan-Africanists and internationalists. On our continent we welcome the fact that a number of countries have either joined BRICS or are co-operating with it. This will not somehow bring socialism because BRICS is not about socialism. But BRICS is about providing an alternative. An alternative to the United States, Britain and their allies and for us to build a multi-polar world.

We are encouraged by the fact that other countries in Africa are moving closer to the Sahel Alliance and the policies which they represent. In our region, a progressive person, a woman [Netumbo Nandi-Ndaitwah] was elected. We salute the people of Namibia for that. In Botswana, President Duma Boko, a progressive was elected. We salute the people of Botswana.

Also in our region is Eswatini/Swaziland. We are in solidarity with the people of Eswatini fighting the absolute monarchy and the Tikundla system. The king owns everything in Eswatini.

We are then told by culturalists that we must respect African culture.

What African culture is it that has impoverished the majority of the people?

In particular we give recognition to the People's United Democratic Movement (PUDEMO) and the Communist Party of Swaziland.

We note the opposition by the people of Kenya, in particular the youth to the puppet regime of President William Ruto. When everyone refused to send their police force to Haiti, Ruto did so to help the Americans. We give solidarity to our Comrades in the Communist Party Marxist Kenya for their constructive leading role during this period.

We note that, some who claim to be revolutionary suddenly rush to and give solidarity to Morocco. Morocco must leave Western Sahara if it wants to be friends with the progressive world.

We are horrified by the continuing genocide being carried out against the Palestinian people by the settler State of Israel in both Gaza and the West Bank. This continuous daily murder is aided by the USA, UK and other European states. There are some in our religious organisations which are of the view that the modern State of Israel is the same as the Biblical Israel. We say "No". Our duty is to correct this. And we are happy that some are beginning to share this view with us. This genocide must end.

We stand in solidarity with the armed resistance of the Palestinian people. The Zimbabwe Communist Party stands for one secular Palestine "From the River to the Sea." We see no possibility of a "Two-State Solution" where Israel controls a Palestinian Bantustan.

We stand with the ANC and the alliance partners for taking Israel to the International Court of Justice.

When the war broke out in Eastern Europe, we were very clear that, it was not what the CIA controlled media said, which some of you in Zimbabwe have bought.

This war started with the Maidan Coup of 2014 which the United States of America which has given itself the right to police the world has admitted that it funded that coup against democratically elected Ukraine President Yanukovich who was forced to leave the country. The media does not speak about this issue. The Crimea and the Donbass republics, the People's Republic of Lugansk and the People's Republic of Donetsk immediately voted to leave Ukraine.

The militias of the two Donbass republics resisted for 8 years before Russia intervened

Let us be clear, Russia only went to Ukraine to do two things:

- 1) to defend the Russian speaking people in the eastern part of Ukraine.
- 2) to prevent NATO expansion. This cannot be said to be an invasion.

We support the ongoing initiatives of trying to end the imperialist war in Eastern Europe, fought on Ukrainian soil.

We stand together with the people of Russia led by United Russia and the Communist Party of the Russian Federation and with the progressive forces of Ukraine led by the Union of Emigrants and Political Prisoners of Ukraine and the Communist Party of Ukraine and indeed with President Vladimir Putin.

**After the Opening Statement by the General Secretary there were a number of questions. Comrade Ian Beddowes in his position as ZCP International Secretary answered the following one.**

**Question by journalist:** What is the significance of the picture of Ibrahim Traore and Vladimir Putin?

**Ian Beddowes:** It is very interesting. This is the first question on anything international.

Because Zimbabweans tend to believe that everything that goes wrong in Zimbabwe is totally internal, it has nothing to do with the outside world, and I would say that is historically very wrong.

If you go online, I would advise you to look for an essay by US diplomat Andrew Young which talks about the victory of Robert Mugabe. In that essay [1980], he says that the victory of Robert Mugabe is a victory for Western diplomacy because it stopped the Soviet advance in Africa represented in Zimbabwe by Joshua Nkomo. ZANU, in the beginning, and Mugabe, were supported by the imperialism, there is absolutely no question.

And if you are doubting what I am saying, simply go through Wikipedia: Look up David Stirling — who was David Stirling? Look up Capricorn Africa Society. Look up Leopold Takawira — and you will very easily connect the dots. Because from the beginning the West interfered with the liberation movements.

Now we have this very false idea that our liberation struggle in Zimbabwe, and also in South Africa, was against imperialism. Although we believed at the time that it was, but that was in fact not the case. The liberation of Africa, at least from direct control, started in Algeria, under the French, and in Kenya, under the British. Both liberation movements were replied to brutally by the French and the British — who understood, “We can’t carry on in this way!”

So they introduced neo-colonialism. And this is what has been there ever since in Africa. “You can have your black President and your national flag. We control the economy.” That is neo-colonialism, it is well-defined by Kwame Nkrumah in *Neo-Colonialism the Last Stage of Imperialism*. You can find that online as well. Educate yourself!

Now. What happens when you come down to southern Africa?

Well. In the 1960s, the Portuguese in Mozambique and Angola were not interested in giving a black man anything at all. Not even a token government. So we ended up with major wars in Angola and Mozambique. And now the West could see that this white settler rule was not going to last in South Africa and Zimbabwe — Rhodesia as it was. They could see it was not going to last. They could not just back the liberation movements. If they backed the settlers, they would lose.

They were going to lose to who?

The Communists and the revolutionary nationalists.

So they had to subvert the liberation movements so that they could work in the same way as every other African country. The liberation struggle in southern Africa, in Zimbabwe was not against the imperialists, the liberation struggle was against the local white settlers. The real imperialists were not the Rhodesians or the Boers in South Africa. The real imperialists are those who live in Washington and London and Paris, not our local white settlers — as racist and as nasty as they were. They had to make sure that the southern part of Africa became neo-colonial the same as the rest of Africa.

And they succeeded in doing that by and large because they subverted the liberation movements. In fact the funny thing here is that in Zimbabwe, the Rhodesians, under sanctions, built up a semi-independent economy. An economy not controlled by the imperialists, not directly anyway. Control of our economy by the imperialists came after 1991, and that is when we got these IMF, World Bank loans which we are still paying back. It was only in 1998, through the Congo War, that then we came under sanctions, and by the way, check your history as well. Sanctions started in 1999 — not after War Veterans had gone on to the farms.

So I want you to understand your history properly.

Now what is happening here? [*Pointing to the banner depicting Ibrahim Traore shaking hands with Vladimir Putin*]

Western imperialism led by the United States is going down the toilet. The US dollar will collapse at some time. The progressive path is BRICS. By NATO attacking Russia, they thought they were going to win. They created this war. But now they are losing.

Without Russia, the Sahel would have collapsed. France sent so many arms to Ukraine and even their special forces which were wiped out by the Russians. And they were not able to send their troops to the Sahel as they have done elsewhere. And this young man, Ibrahim Traore, when he was in Moscow with Putin, Putin gave them grain because they were starving. But he said to Putin, "Thank you for the grain, but we don't want to keep taking grain from you. We must develop our own agriculture."

So as it was in the 1960s and 1970s with the Soviet Union; now Russia is supporting Africa, not just taking, but helping build the economies, BRICS has helped to build economies. So the world as a whole is in the process of change. And we must see where we are going to be in that process.

And it is no use us, like the black elite here, folding our arms and saying, "We don't want the West any more, China can come and do it, we will still take our 10%."

No.

Within that we have to say, "We have our Programme." Which is what the Sahel countries have done. What Traore has done: "We have our Programme. Russia is assisting us, it is not telling us what to do."

Last point: China is doing marvels in its own country under the revolutionary government. We are not happy how China is behaving here. We are not happy with these Chinese companies. So I want to make it very clear, although we support the BRICS as a whole, we do not support any country or any capitalist abusing our workers in Zimbabwe. We will never appreciate anybody doing that. We will always support our own workers against anyone.

Finally, the anti-imperialist struggle and the class struggle are very much related, they are against capitalism. But they are not identical.

Thank you

## **Intervention by General Secretary N.N. Mabhena**

### *Pointing to picture*

Ibrahim Traore is resisting French colonialism. He is not a Communist.

Vladimir Putin is resisting NATO and fascism. He is not a Communist.

Do not say that the Zimbabwe Communist Party says they are Communists!



# MEETING IN JOHANNESBURG

## ON THE 2030 AGENDA

Emmerson Mnangagwa and his faction within ZANU(PF) are intending to push forward the General Election scheduled for 2028 until 2030 in contradiction to the Constitution of the Republic of Zimbabwe.

This move is facing stiff resistance including from inside ZANU(PF).

## Contribution of Comrade N.N. Mabhena, General Secretary of the ZCP



Good morning to everyone.

Thank you Comrade Hanana, General Secretary of ZAPU,

Thank you to everyone here.

I am the General Secretary of the Zimbabwe Communist Party, Ngqabutho Nichola Mabhena. We have been asked as Communists to come and give a class analysis on the meaning of the 2030 agenda. For us to build a class analysis we need to know first and foremost which class does ZANU(PF) as a collective represent today. Before we get there we need to briefly look at its origins.

ZANU was created on the 3<sup>rd</sup> September 1963. Created by the imperialist forces. It was a breakaway from ZAPU in 1963. When ZAPU entered into an agreement with the Soviet Union and the rest of the Communist bloc; it was at this time that the imperialists had understood that at some time, majority rule was going to happen, and the imperialist forces wanted majority rule to happen under their own terms. They couldn't allow a party which had strong links with the Soviet Union and Cuba to lead a new nation. The Capricorn Africa Society played a key role in breaking up the liberation movement. And that movement was ZAPU.

Now ZANU was created as an agent of imperialist forces, but because you could not explain to the mass of the people that it was the imperialist forces which created ZANU, it was necessary to throw in the ethnic card and say that a new nation called Zimbabwe could not be led by a man with a big stomach, a man from the minority tribe, the Ndebele. That was simply to try and win the support of the people because in Zimbabwe there are two major ethnic groups the Shona and the Ndebele. So it became easier to raise the ethnic card for ZANU to receive support. But of course this support came very late — in the late 1970s, towards the Lancaster House Agreement. So you have this counter-revolutionary movement supported by imperialist forces in 1980, Margaret Thatcher, Andrew Young an American diplomat, who at the time in 1980 when ZANU(PF) won the election he said it was “Victory for Democracy”.

Ian Douglas Smith in 1965 unilaterally declared Independence, rejecting the influence of imperialist forces. Zimbabwe emerges on 18<sup>th</sup> April 1980 as a neo-colonial state. Meaning that you can have your black, Prime Minister, black President, black Cabinet Ministers, Parliamentarians but you are not in control.

It was up to 1998 when there was a fall-out between imperialist forces and ZANU(PF) and of course the government of Zimbabwe when Robert Gabriel Mugabe went to defend president Laurent Kabila, the President of the Democratic Republic of Congo. When Laurent Kabila came into power in the Democratic Republic of Congo he started to re-negotiate all the mineral rights.

The Americans were not happy, they sent in their proxies, Uganda and Rwanda to invade the Democratic Republic of Congo and Mugabe sent in his troops. And that is when the fall out began. That is why if you check the 1998 Donor Conference in Harare, one of the key conditions was that Zimbabwe must withdraw its military from the Democratic Republic of Congo.

So when November 2017 comes by then Mugabe was fired from The Commonwealth and was isolated internationally. Then after the Bond Coup, what is now called the Second Republic, Emmerson Mnangagwa, the President of Zimbabwe, tried to end international isolation by trying to re-join the Commonwealth, in other words trying to take Zimbabwe back into the imperialist fold.

So Zimbabwe today is not a 'failed state'. It has never failed the class it represents what we call the black bourgeoisie, what we refer to as the 'looting class'.

ZANU(PF) as an Institution, not Emmerson Mnangagwa as an individual, because what we see inside ZANU(PF) is a competition of these different factions of the bourgeoisie competing for resources. Just as we saw, when Mugabe was seen by the rest of the world as a sword against imperialism, it was a competition between the imperialist forces and the parasitic black bourgeoisie led by Mugabe in Zimbabwe in looting our natural resources. So you have two factions in ZANU(PF) today that are controlled by different factions of the bourgeoisie inside Zimbabwe, and of course supported by international capital. It's a competition to loot, it has nothing to do with the working class and the peasantry in Zimbabwe.

Those inside ZANU(PF) saying 'No' to the 2030 Agenda. They are not doing this for the mass of the people or the working class and the peasants: they want to loot. That is what is happening.

So we must avoid going back to the MDC slogan of 2000, of isolating an individual, "Mugabe must go!" and then replace it with "Mnangagwa must go!"

So what then is our position as the Zimbabwe Communist Party?

Our position is this: We are not defending the bourgeois constitution of Zimbabwe.

If you read carefully the Constitution of the Republic of Zimbabwe, it does not advance the interests of the working class and peasants. It's a bourgeois constitution.

But we defend the right of the working class and peasants that they must elect their own representatives. So we are saying that in 2028 they must be afforded an opportunity to elect their Councillors, their Member of Parliament, their President.

We know that Mnangagwa and ZANU(PF) want to end multi-party democracy.

Of course, we are not persuaded about multi-party democracy because the biggest multi-party democracy in the world today is the United States. What is it doing in Gaza? It is now threatening Nigeria. We saw what it said about South Africa. Every American President whether Democrat or Republican must bomb at least one country.

So we are not for Western democracy.

We are for workers democracy.

That is why, as Communists we are fighting for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

This means that the working class and the peasantry must have hegemony over the state in Zimbabwe.

We must dismantle neo-colonialism, we must dismantle the looting class, we must dismantle imperialism.

Thank you.

# **WORKERS' RIGHTS UNDER SIEGE IN ZIMBABWE'S MINING SECTOR**

**by Comrade Left Wing (a working miner)**

16<sup>th</sup> October 2025



The Zimbabwean mining sector, a cornerstone of the nation's economy, is currently defined by a profound paradox: immense mineral wealth extracted at the expense of its workforce. From a labor perspective, the industry is mired in systematic violations, wage theft and a pervasive culture of precarious employment that actively undermines organized labor. This state of affairs is a direct reflection of the country's consistently poor rating in global labor assessments, such as the ITUC Global Rights Index.

## **Corporate Failure and Wage Theft: The Crisis at Major Mines**

A core grievance driving the humanitarian crisis in mining communities is the deliberate failure of large operators to honor basic employment contracts, most notably through repeated wage theft. The experience of workers at mines under RioZim Limited provides a traceable and dire example:

RioZim Operations (Renco Mine, Cam and Motor Mine): Workers at Renco Mine in Masvingo and Cam and Motor Mine in Kadoma, along with employees at Murowa Diamonds, have repeatedly endured being placed on indefinite unpaid leave or going for five consecutive months without pay. This has been described as a 'humanitarian crisis' causing widespread hunger and school dropouts. In one instance, a Labour Court order concerning Murowa Diamonds was heavily criticized by workers for absolving the company of paying back-salaries and forcing a return to work without addressing the core issue of non-payment. This is a clear indicator that corporate financial difficulties are being systematically shifted onto the shoulders of the most vulnerable workers.



**Bikita Minerals:** The lithium boom, heralded as a key to future growth, has been plagued by similar labor malpractices. At Bikita Minerals, the government has been forced to intervene and order temporary closures over a litany of offences, including the employment of illegal foreign immigrants and gross labor abuses. Workers report poor salaries, difficulties in securing basic off-days, and a tragic pattern of workplace fatalities due to neglect of safety standards like dust suppression.

**The Artisanal and Small-Scale Mining (ASM) Workers:** Beyond the large companies, the estimated 500,000+ ASM workers who produce over half of Zimbabwe's gold face the most immediate danger. These miners often work in poorly ventilated, collapsing shafts using toxic substances like mercury without any Personal Protective Equipment (PPE). While unions are making efforts to formalize and organize this group, they remain largely excluded from the protection of labour law, exposed to extreme violence (often from machete-wielding gangs), and trapped in a vicious cycle of poverty and unsafe labour.

## **The Suppression of Unionisation: Labour Broking and Fear**

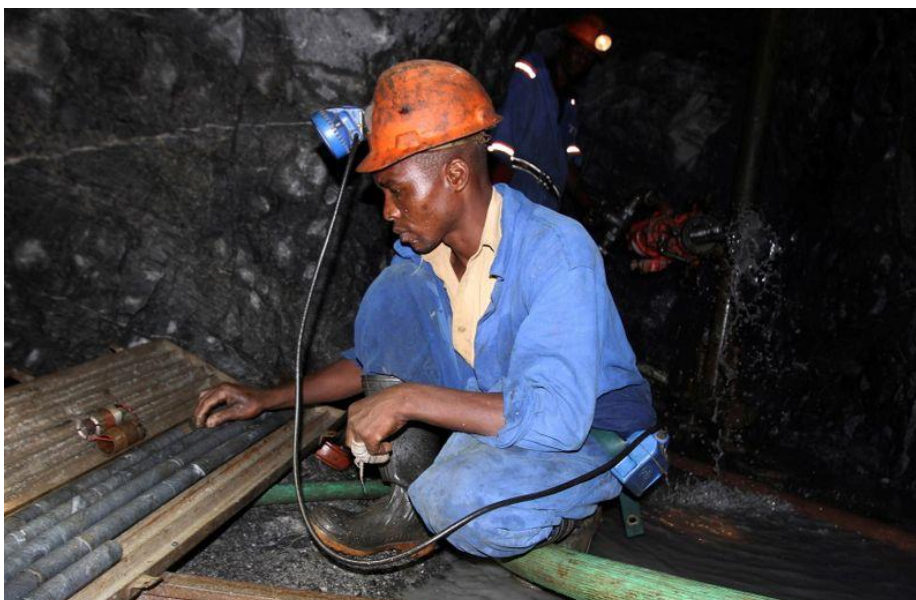
The question of why workers avoid joining a trade union is best answered by the calculated deployment of anti-labour tactics, which exploit the high unemployment and economic desperation in the country.

**The Scourge of Labour-Broking:** This is a particularly insidious practice at major platinum group metals (PGM) producers like Zimplats and Mimosa. Labour-broking (or contracting) is a primary strategy used to bypass collective bargaining agreements and deny workers permanent employment benefits. Workers hired through these third-party contractors are placed on short-term or fixed-term contracts, creating a disposable, second-tier workforce.

**The Fear of Retaliation:** For workers at companies like Zimplats, Mimosa, Unki Mines, the knowledge that their contract can be terminated instantly makes union participation a direct, career-ending risk. Casualisation of labour deters them from joining trade unions for fear of victimisation. Covert resistance becomes the only safe form of dissent, as overt collective action is deemed too dangerous in this precarious employment climate.

**Systemic Repression:** The overarching political and judicial environment, reflected in Zimbabwe's low rating on the ITUC Global Rights Index (often a Category 4: Systematic Violations), ensures that attempts at large-scale organization are met with systemic restrictions on the right to strike and limited access to justice. This national climate reinforces the employers' power to crush union efforts at the mine level.

**The workers deserve better. They are the foundation of Zimbabwe's export revenue, yet they are systematically denied fair wages, safety, and the fundamental right to organize. Their plight is a clear indictment of corporate accountability and the failure to enforce existing labour laws in the face of massive foreign and local investment.**





# **ZCP STATEMENT ON THE MAZOWE MINE SHAFT TRAGEDY**

**Issued by the Information and Publicity Department of the ZCP**

**2<sup>nd</sup> October 2025**

The Zimbabwe Communist Party (ZCP) extends its deepest condolences to the families and communities of the four young men – **Alton Sibanda, Prince Gobvu, Kenneth Mhandire, and Tapiwa Meskano** – who tragically lost their lives in the shaft collapse at Mamini, Umsasa Farm, in Mazowe.

Their untimely deaths are a painful reminder of the risks that many artisanal and small-scale miners face daily as they seek livelihoods under harsh economic conditions. We mourn with the affected families and call for justice, accountability, and reforms to prevent further loss of life.

This tragedy once again exposes the failure of government and mine operators to uphold safety standards in the mining sector. Commissioner Nyathi's call for inspections and safety precautions must not remain rhetoric – it must translate into enforceable regulations, regular monitoring, and strict accountability for those who put profits or expediency ahead of human life.

Furthermore, the Zimbabwean mining sector cannot continue to operate in an environment of laxity and short-term exploitation. Illegal mining, poorly regulated artisanal operations, and reckless excavation have not only cost lives but also caused severe damage to water tributaries, rivers, and ecosystems that sustain our communities. This disregard for environmental protection demonstrates a short-sighted approach by government, which prioritises immediate extraction while compromising the future of both people and the environment.

The ZCP insists that mining – as one of Zimbabwe's most critical economic drivers – must be approached with care, accountability, and sustainability. National resources must be managed transparently and responsibly to benefit the people today while safeguarding land, water, and the environment for generations to come.

The government cannot continue to allow mining practices that endanger workers, devastate communities, and threaten the ecological balance of our nation.

We therefore call on the Government of Zimbabwe to:

- 1. Enforce strict safety standards in both formal and artisanal mining operations.**
- 2. Regularise and monitor artisanal mining to prevent reckless and unsafe practices.**
- 3. Strengthen environmental protection measures, ensuring that rivers, forests, and ecosystems are shielded from destructive mining activities.**
- 4. Develop a sustainable national mining policy that places people, the environment, and future generations at the centre of economic planning.**

The lives lost in Mazowe must not be in vain. They must serve as a wake-up call for urgent, principled action. Zimbabwe cannot mortgage its future by allowing negligence, expediency, and carelessness in one of its most important sectors.

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# **CHINESE NATIONAL IN POLICE CUSTODY OVER DEADLY SHOOTING IN MUTOKO**

## **Mining Company's Narrative Contradicts Police Charge Sheet**

Acknowledgements to *New Zimbabwe* 12<sup>th</sup> October 2025 for this article

A Supervisor at China Zhuhe Mining, identified as Zilu [now identified by real name Quijun Yu] , has been charged with murder by police after allegedly killing a local man, Fungai Nhau, on Thursday. It is alleged Zilu fired live ammunition at the deceased in the fatal shooting which occurred in Mutoko, Mashonaland East province.

The mining company claims that Nhau, along with accomplices, invaded the mining premises with the intention of committing a crime, including theft. They say Zilu fired warning shots into the air to deter the would-be robbers.

The mining firm further stated that Nhau's body was discovered a kilometre away from the company premises, having been abandoned by his accomplices. Zilu, the supervisor, is said to have rushed to the scene where the body was found and spoke with the deceased, who purportedly confirmed he had been injured during the attempted robbery and then deserted by his colleagues.

**“At approximately 7am the same day, local workers on the early shift discovered a critically injured gangster about 1kilometre from the crime scene. They promptly reported the matter to Mr. Zilu, the local translator who also served as the direct supervisor.**

**“Mr. Zilu rushed to the scene immediately; upon questioning the gangster, the latter admitted to being injured during the robbery and abandoned at the scene by his accomplices. Mr Zilu immediately arranged to report the case to the police, but unfortunately, the gangster had already passed away when the police arrived,”** part of the company's statement reads.

However, China Zhuhe Mining's version of events starkly contrasts with the police charge sheet for Zilu, thereby raising suspicion of a cover-up attempt.

**“Accused person is an employee of Zhuhe Mining Investments, Mudzi and he is the security supervisor. On the 09th of October 2025 at around 0030hrs, the accused person was on duty when he observed the now deceased Fungai Nhau who was with his friends going towards carbon room where pregnant carbons are kept.**

**“He then suspected them to be thieves and fired ten live rounds towards the direction of the now deceased. This resulted in the bullet hitting the now deceased on the left lower back.**

**“The now deceased sustained an entry gunshot wound which resulted in the bullet lodging inside the body. The now deceased was carried by his friends for considerable distance of about a kilometre before they abandoned him.**

**“At about 0700hrs on the same day, the now deceased's body was discovered by mine workers who then alerted the police. The body of the now deceased was conveyed to Mutoko Hospital where it was pronounced dead by a doctor. The fire arm used by the accused person in the shooting of the now deceased is held as an exhibit,”** part of the police charge sheet for Zilu reads.

Renowned lawyer Fadzayi Mahere has questioned why the China Zhuhe Mining supervisor took the law into his own hands and why he failed to report the incident to the police for seven hours.

**“The company's statement leaves more questions than answers. If only warning shots were fired into the air as alleged, how was a person killed? Why did the company officials take the law into their own hands instead of calling @PoliceZimbabwe?**

**“If this version is to be believed, why were the police not called for a good 7 hours yet the company officers knew they’d fired shots at people whom they spuriously conclude were ‘robbers’ and ‘gangsters’?”**

**“Is there any regret for the needless loss of life?”**

**“Why are early Police reports suggesting the murder victim was a worker as opposed to a ‘gangster’ as curiously alleged by the company?”**

Mahere has urged the police to leave no stone unturned in their investigations, insisting that the perpetrator must face the full force of the law. The Mutoko incident highlights the ongoing tensions between local communities and Chinese investors.

This is not an isolated incident; reports indicate that throughout the country, Chinese nationals are experiencing friction with local communities concerning working environments and conditions, safety protocols, and allegations of harassment.

These tensions are further exacerbated by Chinese mining operations which, it is claimed, demonstrate a disregard for historical landmarks and sites of cultural significance to local populations. Recent inquiries have focused on the alleged destruction of Mutare’s Christmas Pass.

Last week, former Cabinet Minister Fortune Chasi commented that the core issue lies not with the Chinese themselves, but with local individuals and leadership figures who are granting mining licences enabling Chinese companies to mine indiscriminately across the country, and who are failing to adequately oversee these activities within their respective jurisdictions.



**CHINESE EMPLOYEES OF ZHUHE MINE, MUDZI SURROUNDED BY ANGRY VILLAGERS AFTER KILLING OF FUNGAI NHAU**

#### **Acknowledgements to *ZimLive* 13<sup>th</sup> October 2025 for the following article;**

A Chinese national employed as a security supervisor at Zhuhe Mining Investments in Mutoko has been charged with murder after allegedly shooting and killing a local man he accused of trespassing.

According to the National Prosecuting Authority (NPA), Quijun Yu, 43, opened fire on Fungai Nhau, 36, in the early hours of 9<sup>th</sup> October 2025, at the mine’s carbon room — an area where gold-laden ‘pregnant carbons’ are kept.

The (NPA) summary says Yu, who was on night duty, suspected Nhau and his companions of attempting to steal from the facility and fired ten live rounds in their direction. One bullet struck Nhau in the lower back.

**“The now deceased sustained an entry gunshot wound which resulted in the bullet lodging inside the body,” the NPA said. “He was carried by his friends for a considerable distance of about a kilometre before they abandoned him.”**

Nhau’s body was discovered by mine workers around 7am and taken to Mutoko Hospital, where he was pronounced dead. Police recovered the firearm allegedly used in the shooting, which is being held as an exhibit.

Meanwhile, Zhuhe Mining Investments is accused of attempting to resolve the matter outside the courts by offering what villagers described as a “paltry” compensation package to Nhau’s family. A handwritten document signed on 11<sup>th</sup> October and seen by ZimLive shows mine representatives and local traditional leaders agreeing that the mine would pay US\$6,500, comprising 15 cattle valued at US\$300 each and US\$200 towards school fees for Nhau’s three children. The agreement was witnessed by Chief Nechombo and several local officials.

Police say investigations are ongoing, while the accused remains in custody.

# **IMPORTANT NOTICE TO CHINESE NATIONALS: A Reminder on Investment and Business Operations in Zimbabwe**

**Issued by the Embassy of the People's Republic of China 13<sup>th</sup> October 2025**

The notice to Chinese nationals published here is a response to of the ill-treatment of workers, corruption, violation of labour laws, violation of safety regulations, violation of environmental regulations, violation of agreements, hostility to local communities, open racism and general lawlessness displayed by the majority of Chinese businesses in Zimbabwe. These deplorable trends have been particularly noticeable in the mining sector. This has been going on for some years. Mounting anger by the Zimbabwean people and complaints by the ZCTU, ZCP and other organisations has finally led to this notice from the Chinese Embassy which is very much welcomed.

We believe that now the Chinese Embassy has taken this position they will do their best to implement it. However, Zimbabweans also have a responsibility here. Infractions must be reported both to the Zimbabwe Republic Police and to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China.

The ZCP urges the numerous Mining Unions to form a Federation and meet all mining employers, not only the Chinese, with a common purpose.



**Ambassador of the People's Republic of China to the Republic of Zimbabwe  
Comrade Zhou Ding**

## **1. Conduct Thorough Due Diligence and Risk Assessment**

Prior to committing capital, undertake a comprehensive and thorough assessment of Zimbabwe's political, economic, social, and legal landscape. Go beyond financial metrics to gain a good understanding of the local investment climate, business culture, community dynamics, and socio-cultural norms, including traditions and customs. Scrutinise all project details, with a particular focus on identifying potential risks and avenues for resolving disputes, and establishing robust risk management protocols from the outset. Avoid involvement in any ventures that might lead to controversies or disputes.



## **2. Prioritise Personal and Asset Security**

Implement proactive security measures upon arrival. This includes engaging reputable professional security services, optimising physical safeguards, and developing – then regularly rehearsing – comprehensive contingency plans for possible emergencies.

## **3. Adhere Strictly to Legal and Regulatory Frameworks**

Compliance with Zimbabwean laws and regulations is the non-negotiable foundation of all operations. All disputes must be resolved through proper legal channels. Proactively seek advice and assistance from qualified legal counsel. In the event of criminal incidents such as theft, burglary or robbery, while ensuring your personal safety, your immediate priority is to report the incident to the local police without delay. Should the police be unreachable or unable to despatch officers immediately, you should remain calm and composed, and try to avoid any direct confrontation.

## **4. Enforce Strict Firearms Control**

The illegal possession of firearms is strictly prohibited. The storage and use of any legally authorized firearms must be managed with the highest level of control and in full compliance with relevant regulations.

## **5. Build Trust Through Community and Environmental Stewardship**

Act as a partner in Zimbabwe's development. Wherever possible, engage with local communities respectfully and responsibly. Consistently uphold fair labour practices, and demonstrate environmental stewardship in line with all relevant laws and regulations. Corporate Social Responsibility initiatives are strongly encouraged as visible expressions of goodwill. Such proactive efforts foster mutual trust, strengthen community relations and affirm a shared commitment to Zimbabwe's broader economic development and social progress.

## **6. Protect Legitimate Rights Through Legal Means**

If faced with unfair treatment or rights infringement, remain calm and rational. Meticulously collect and preserve all relevant evidence. Your primary recourse is always through the established legal framework, supported by professional legal representation. In the face of smears or disinformation, a proactive and strategic response is crucial. Engage legal counsel and seek assistance from relevant authorities to manage the situation and protect your reputation and legitimate rights and interests.

## **7. Uphold the Highest Standards of Integrity**

Bribery and corruption are criminal offenses in both China and Zimbabwe. Under no circumstances should bribes be offered, accepted, or solicited. If you encounter any form of corruption, including solicitation, extortion, or abuse of power, report it promptly to Zimbabwe Republic Police and/or Zimbabwe Anti-Corruption Commission. Secure and preserve any credible evidence to support an investigation. Avoid taking any action that could compromise your safety or legal standing.

## **8. Maintain Communication with the Embassy**

After obtaining the necessary licenses from Zimbabwean authorities, Chinese investors are required to register with the Chinese Embassy for the record and further keep the Embassy informed of the project sites and contact details, to ensure that the Embassy can provide timely consular protection and assistance when necessary.

# GOVERNMENT COMPLICIT IN PENHALONGA'S ENVIRONMENTAL COLLAPSE

Report from the Centre for Natural Resource Governance (CNRG)



In what can only be described as a shocking act of administrative treachery, the Ministry of Mines and Mining Development has endorsed the continued operations of Betterbrands Mining at Redwing Mine, a company the Supreme Court itself declared illegal. This decision is not merely a bureaucratic blunder; it is an act of state-sanctioned environmental destruction and contempt for the rule of law.

Better Brands Mining Company is owned by ZANU(PF) legislator for Mabvuku Tafara, Scott Sakupwanya, and its operations are a direct indictment of the government's complicit stance in environmental degradation.

By legitimizing an entity whose activities have devastated Penhalonga, the government has chosen corporate impunity over community survival. A recent media publication revisited the matter in the *Zimbabwe Independent*, which has boggled environmentalists and civil society. The Supreme Court ruling of 2022 rendered Betterbrands' "non-standard tribute agreement" void, and the Ministry reaffirmed that position in 2024. Yet today, the same ministry — under the same leadership — has performed a breath-taking policy U-turn, effectively greenlighting the plunder of Redwing Mine.

The consequences are visible for all to see. Rivers that once sustained families now run thick with cyanide and silt. Hillsides are collapsing under the weight of unregulated digging. Schools, clinics, and homes stand beside toxic pools that leach poison into the soil. Penhalonga has become a symbol of state complicity in ecological annihilation — a community abandoned to chaos while elites profit from its ruin.

As CNRG we have documented and captured the cost of this betrayal: thousands of unlicensed processing plants, unsafe shafts, and polluted water sources. Behind every gold gram smuggled out of Redwing lies a shattered ecosystem and a community gasping for breath.

By endorsing illegality, the Ministry has not only undermined the Supreme Court but also destroyed public confidence in environmental governance. The government cannot claim to champion responsible mining while empowering those who violate the law with impunity.

**CNRG calls for an immediate reversal of this reckless decision, enforcement of the Supreme Court ruling, and an independent environmental audit of Redwing Mine. Anything less is complicity in ecocide**



# ZIMBABWE COMMUNIST PARTY

## Policy Statement

### MONEY AND BANKING

Published by the Commissariat of the ZCP 1<sup>st</sup> November 2025

**This is the first in a series of simplified policy statements for general distribution.**

From the day we were formed, 28<sup>th</sup> April 2017, the Zimbabwe Communist Party has been very clear:

**We can change the currency as many times as we like. Without production it is worthless.**

Since the Bond Coup of 2017, production in the two key sectors of mining and tobacco has increased significantly:

In 2017, mining export revenue was at US\$1.7 billion, in 2025 it has grown to US\$6 billion (approximate figures).

In 2017, Zimbabwe produced 157 million kg of tobacco: in 2025 Zimbabwe produced nearly 355 million kg of tobacco.

Clearly production has increased greatly since 2017.

#### **But who has benefitted?**

Certainly not the masses of Zimbabwe still struggling to survive. Huge sums of money are leaving Zimbabwe being taken out either by foreign companies or ending up in the offshore accounts of our 'indigenous entrepreneurs'.

*The word 'indigenous' in standard English simply means a plant, animal or human occurring naturally in a particular place. In Zimbabwean English 'an indigenous' is a term used to refer to a corrupt black business-person.*

For Communists then, the priority is:

- 1) to get the economy back into industrial production.
- 2) to ensure that the whole nation benefits from the increased industrial production.

At independence in 1980, Zimbabwe inherited an economy that was relatively independent from external control. The new ruling party, ZANU(PF), talked of 'socialist transformation', but in fact carried on with the system left behind by the Rhodesians. This was a system of regulated capitalism with a strong element of state planning. The Rhodesian Dollar which in 1980 became the Zimbabwe Dollar, was purely a currency for internal use. Commodities exported were paid for in foreign currency which in turn was used to buy imports. Although key exports of minerals and tobacco were the main foreign currency earners, most of the commodities purchased by the people of Zimbabwe were made in Zimbabwe. Most importantly, **production** was more important than **money**.

With the adoption of the Economic Adjustment Programme (ESAP) in 1991, imposed on us by the World Bank and IMF (with the assistance of our own 'economic experts') **money** became more important than **production** and the strict banking regulations introduced by the Rhodesians and implemented by the Zimbabwe government in the early days of Independence — were dropped.

On our televisions and radios we were told daily “Making money makes sense.” And we began making money without production.

It was very successful.

By 2008 even the poorest Zimbabwean was a billionaire, but a loaf of bread was 8 million ZimDollars!

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**Now imagine that the ZCP came to power tomorrow either by itself or in coalition:**

What would the priorities be?

In order to move forward, we must control the financial and banking system. Our economy first went into collapse when the financial system was allowed to control us.

**Immediately** we need to return to a multi-currency regime but with the Rand rather than the US dollar becoming the currency of reference. We should also be able to make payments by phone as we did before to avoid currency shortages. At the time of the Government of National Unity, these worked, severely undermined the currency black market and greatly facilitated daily trade.

**All payments to international creditors will be suspended until our economy is back on track.**

There will be an immediate investigation into the financial dealings of the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe, government ministers and wealthy business people. All money in offshore accounts must be returned.

All pre-ESAP banking regulations will be restored. For instance, the Duplum Rule. This rule says that even with compound interest, you can never pay back more than double the amount originally borrowed.

We must establish a government-owned fully-operational commercial bank. We need also to look at how co-operative banks have functioned in other countries.

Internationally we must move away from the Western banking system and towards BRICS and the New Development Bank. Unlike the IMF/World Bank, BRICS/New Development Bank does not insist on privatisation. Each nation makes its own decisions.

Gold, is now regaining its place as the trusted Universal Equivalent as nations back away from the US dollar which is increasingly distrusted.

Zimbabwe produces a great deal of gold, especially by artisanal miners. This must be used to strengthen our banking system.

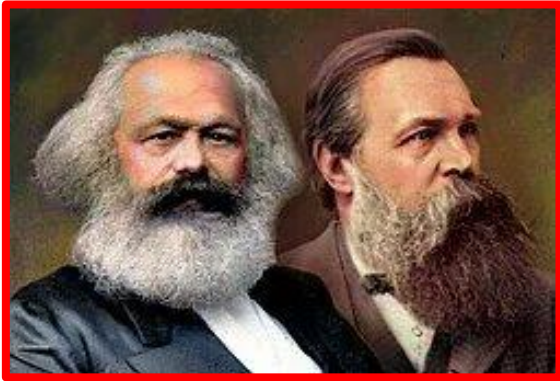
Instead of these miners being on the periphery of society, they must be empowered but controlled. They must be assisted with up-to-date equipment but strictly sell through government and be responsible in terms of the environment. At least half the gold mined in Zimbabwe must remain in the country and we must build our gold reserves.

The idea of a gold-based currency (such as the ZiG) is not wrong: once the economy is back on track, it can be implemented properly.

When the banking system is tightly controlled with severe penalties, including radical confiscation of money and property in addition to long prison sentences, we will be on course to rapidly develop production for the benefit of the majority, the workers, peasants and poor.

***Let us Complete the Liberation of Zimbabwe !!***





MARX & ENGELS

# WHAT IS SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM?

Published by the Commissariat of the ZCP  
17<sup>th</sup> September 2025

The term 'Scientific Socialism' is the term favoured by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels to describe their political philosophy and programme.

This practical philosophy is based not on idealism, as some who have been lazy to read Marx would maintain, but rather on the **“concrete analysis of concrete conditions”**, as Lenin described it and it is this which makes Scientific Socialism dangerous to the capitalist class, especially the big capitalists who control the world economy with their accompanying military power.

We are currently in a stage whereby the worst imperialists, the biggest bankers and monopoly capitalists, are losing power — but not without a fight!

Not long ago, we were told that “Communism was tried but failed”, to which we would reply, “Socialism succeeded but was temporarily defeated”. But in the world today it is clear that Russia and China the two countries in which socialist revolution prevailed are now the dominant force in the world economically and militarily.



LENIN

As Lenin told us more than once, **“History does not move in a straight line, it zig-zags.”**

Scientific Socialism began with the publication of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* in 1848 and continued with numerous other writings, in particular the major work *Capital*, in which Marx developed his description of the way that capitalism functions in great detail. In 1880, Engels, with the approval of Marx, wrote *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*.

Scientific Socialism lays no fixed model for socialist development. It merely says that we should move away from the ownership of the production process by a tiny minority towards the social ownership of the means of production — production for the needs of the many.

As Thomas Sankara is quoted as saying: **“We must choose either champagne for a few or safe drinking water for all.”**

Conditions of time and place will dictate in what way we develop socialism and the speed at which that transformation takes place. Those conditions will also dictate whether there will be a relatively peaceful transition or whether there will be armed struggle. There is no “one size fits all.” There will always be a period of transition. There will always be setbacks. There will always be errors. But the people of the world, in the long term, will not tolerate being subservient to a few hyper-rich families and individuals.

In 1848, Marx and Engels believed that socialist revolution would happen first in the three most advanced capitalist countries, Germany, France and Britain, in which the working class was most numerous, but as capitalism moved towards monopoly, the need for capitalism to reach its imperialist stage became apparent.

In 1885 the major European nations met in Berlin and carved up Africa between them, thus allowing both for the export of capital and the import of raw materials.

In 1914, the imperialist nations divided themselves into two blocs: the British, French and Russian Empires on one side and the German, Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires on the other. The First World War began. In 1916, V.I. Lenin wrote *Imperialism the Highest Stage of Capitalism* and in 1917, the first socialist revolution, led by the working class, took place in backward semi-feudal Russia.



In 1924, J.V. Stalin wrote in *The Foundations of Leninism*:

**“The front of capital will be pierced where the chain of imperialism is weakest, for the proletarian revolution is the result of the breaking of the chain of the world imperialist front at its weakest link; and it may turn out that the country which has started the revolution, which has made a breach in the front of capital, is less developed in a capitalist sense than other, more developed, countries, which have, however, remained within the framework of capitalism.”**

Between 1927 and 1949 when the Communist Party of China took power, Mao Zedong developed a revolutionary agenda in which the peasantry played the most important role. This was a strategy dictated by the conditions of China during this period.

In 1965, Kwame Nkrumah wrote *Neo-Colonialism the Last Stage of Imperialism*, this is so important for Africa. Neo-colonialism must be defeated as our first major task.

Thus, Scientific Socialism is not a fixed body of dogma, it is a continuously developing body both of ideas and action and apart from the founding writings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, not only have other writers added to the body of knowledge but the practical experience of Communist parties, national liberation movements and the working class as a whole has played a major role.

Thus although we **are** Marxist-Leninists, and the great teachers laid down the basics, in a changing world, the term ‘Scientific Socialism’ defines our world view better.

It should here be mentioned that Marx and Engels from the beginning were interested not only in the social relations between people, but also in the relationship between humanity and nature. They avidly followed advances in natural science in their day.

As understanding of the natural sciences has advanced the world rapidly over the last 300 years, so the adoption of Scientific Socialist ideas will not only accelerate and advance the quality of life of the majority of people, but it will also improve our ability to live in harmony with nature.



A symbol of Communist resilience.

This monument to Stalin and the Soviet victory in the Second World War was recently restored at Taganskaya Station on the Moscow Metro



# **AFRICA**

## **And the Shift in the World Balance of Forces**

**by Ian Beddowes**

First published in *International* magazine

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The visible collapse of US and West European hegemony worldwide is finally giving Africa an opportunity to develop itself.

### **Background**

Let us remember that the partition of Africa by European powers at the Berlin Conference took place only in 1885. Borders were drawn up by people who had never set foot in Africa and frequently cut through the territories of established ethnic groups while uniting others historically antagonistic to each other under the same administration.

Karl Marx died in 1883, two years before the partition of Africa: some African radicals are quick to criticise Marx for not 'recognising Africa sufficiently' and for being 'Eurocentric'.

By 1890, the European powers had gained actual control of almost all of Africa and in particular the natural resources of the continent. The export of capital and the import of raw materials began on a large scale.

Armed resistance to the colonisers began immediately, but spears could not compete with machine guns. By the end of the Second World War in 1945, only 60 years after the Berlin Conference, the Soviet-led victory over fascism made a deep impression on the African people and pressure for freedom from colonial control grew very quickly.

The success of the independence struggles on the Indian sub-continent in 1947, became a beacon of hope for Africa: India, Pakistan (including East Pakistan: Bangladesh from 1971), Ceylon (Sri Lanka from 1972) and Burma (Myanmar from 1989). In 1949 Indonesian Independence under declared by President Sukarno in 1945 was recognised by the Dutch and also in 1949, the Communist Party of China under the leadership of Mao Zedong took power from the corrupt Kuomintang.

In Africa serious struggles for independence began. In Egypt in 1952, an army coup led by Gamal Abdel Nasser overthrew King Farouk, the corrupt British-controlled monarch and became President in 1954. In particular came the battle for control of the Suez Canal, an important economic resource for Egypt. Also in 1952, Kwame Nkrumah became Prime Minister of Gold Coast; Gold Coast became Ghana on 1957 and in 1960 Ghana became a republic with Kwame Nkrumah as President.

In 1966, Kwame Nkrumah was ousted in a coup co-ordinated by British, US and French intelligence services.

The reason?

Nkrumah wanted to create a Ghanaian aluminium industry based on Ghana's extensive reserves of bauxite (aluminium ore). His plans went in opposition to the plans of the British aluminium industry.

### **Armed Struggle and Neo-Colonialism**

In British ruled Kenya in 1952 and in French ruled Algeria in 1954, armed resistance to colonial rule began. In both countries there was a substantial European settler population which had stolen huge tracts of land from the indigenous populations.



ALGERIA: FLN FREEDOM FIGHTERS

In Kenya, the Land and Freedom Army, known as the Mau Mau fought until it was brutally subjugated in 1960. Kenya gained its independence in 1963. The National Liberation Front of Algeria (FLN), fought for its independence from 1954 until it was gained in 1962 after a long and bloody war.

The significance of these wars against the two major colonial powers in Africa, Britain and France, is that it caused them, to move away from **direct colonialism** to **neo-colonialism**. That is that instead of white settlers or colonial administrators, the elite of the ethnic population of the countries involved would be responsible for administration, army and police while the profits would flow back to the imperialist centre and in addition, the

colonised countries would have to import finished goods as most attempts to develop large-scale industry in African countries would be suppressed. In any case, the strength of the British pound and the French franc coupled with the establishment of the US dollar as the world reserve currency in 1944 gave little room for manoeuvre to those African countries seeking any degree of economic freedom.

The French were more ruthless and less diplomatic in their approach to Africa than the British. The French Community was established in 1958 and French colonies were asked to join if they wanted 'Independence'. All African colonies except Guinea under the leadership of Ahmed Sékou Touré agreed. Sékou Touré demanded immediate independence, which was granted. The French then withdrew all government money, took or destroyed all records, and sabotaged all the infrastructure it could. This included pouring concrete down toilets. When Guinea issued its own currency in 1960, France used every means possible to undermine it, including flooding Guinea with counterfeit bank notes.

What was done to Guinea became a warning to the rest of Francophone Africa.

Other Francophone African countries agreed to French terms. These included:

- The CFA franc to be the currency of all former French colonies in Africa south of the Sahara. Today there is both a West African version and a Central African version.

Between 1945 and 1958, CFA stood for *Colonies françaises d'Afrique* (French Colonies of Africa); then for *Communauté française d'Afrique* (French Community of Africa) between 1958 and the 'independence' of these African countries. Currently in West Africa, CFA stands for *Communauté financière d'Afrique* (Financial Community of Africa) and in Central Africa *Coopération financière en Afrique centrale* (Financial Co-operation in Central Africa).



- French Community countries had to keep 50% of their foreign currency reserves in the French Treasury, plus an additional 20% for financial liabilities. Thus, member states only retained 30% of reserves within their borders. No country could borrow more than 15% from the reserve in any one year.
- France had the right of first refusal on any raw or natural resource discovered in any French Community country.

- French companies had the first right to take any government contract in any French Community country. No country in the French Community was allowed military assistance from any country other than France without French permission. France had the exclusive right to supply military equipment and train military officers any French Community country.
- France had the right to station troops and intervene in any French Community country.

The French Parliament officially scrapped the French Community in 1995, but for most of these ‘former’ colonies, these same rules still apply!

## **USA Becomes Interested in Africa**

The USA first took an interest in Africa during the Second World War. The uranium used to make the atomic bombs which hit Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945 came from then Belgian Congo, now Democratic Republic of Congo. The current fighting in the DRC is over natural resources, Congo has abundant minerals used for the aeronautics industry, the arms industry and cellphones such as titanium, molybdenum and coltan. The recent, unstable peace agreement between the M23 mercenaries (not ‘rebels’) is about the division of those resources between different interest groups.

The people of Congo since its occupation by Belgium in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century have been made to suffer more than any other country in Africa for the sake of Congo’s rich natural resources. In 1960-1961, the USA together with Belgium and the UN Secretariat played a major role in the removal from power and murder of Patrice Lumumba, first Prime Minister of Congo, elected according to all the norms of Western bourgeois democracy. In 1968, Lumumbist leader Pierre Mulele was butchered alive after agreeing to meet President Mobutu Sese Seko in Kinshasa, the Congolese capital and progressive Congolese President Laurent Kabila was gunned down by a bodyguard in 2021.

So far we have described the removal from power of Nkrumah and the murder of Lumumba and other Congolese leaders. These are only the most obvious cases. The collective West loves to point its finger at Africa shouting. “Corruption! Bad Governance!” But there is no country in Africa which has not been adversely affected by interference by the USA, France and Britain. These countries have ensured that bad governance should be the norm in Africa.

## **AFRICOM**

In 2007, the USA increased its presence in Africa with the establishment of AFRICOM, Africa Command, one of 11 of the eleven unified combatant commands of the United States Department of Defense. Established under the Presidency of George W. Bush, it significantly increased its presence under President Barack Obama, in power from 2009-2017. Apart from numerous bases in Africa, the USA has ‘defence agreements’ with the majority of Africa countries.

In 2011, Libya was bombed by a coalition of 14 countries under the leadership of NATO Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi was cruelly murdered. Black Libyans and other Africans were subsequently subjected to genocide and the slave trade re-established through the participation of jihadists linked to al-Qaeda. These Western-aided jihadists were also linked to those in Syria who eventually took power in March 2025 with the assistance of the West, Turkey, Saudi Arabia and Zionist Israel. After the destruction of Libya, some of the jihadists moved south and are attacking the Sahel countries. Ukraine is openly involved in training these forces.

The trigger for the bombing of Libya was the move openly stated by Muammar Gaddafi to create a gold-based currency for the whole of Africa, the dinar. President Sarkozy of France was the initiator of the NATO action as he expressed great concern over the possible replacement of the CFA franc. President Obama of the USA and Prime Minister David Cameron of Britain were willing supporters of Obama on this issue.



## **USSR, Russia and African Liberation**

During the armed liberation struggle in southern Africa in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, the Soviet Union and Cuba played a major role in assistance. Portugal under its fascist government had no intention of giving any black person even a nominal role in government. In Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique there was major armed struggle. In Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and South Africa, the white settler governments had no intention of giving the black majority the vote either.

The assistance given then and the attitude of the Soviet people to Africans has never been forgotten. Though Vladimir Putin is not a Communist, the present Russian government is seen by many to be a renewal of the old Soviet government by many, and indeed the blundering war mongers have pushed the Russian Federation at least in the direction of social democracy in contrast to the days of 'wild capitalism' under Boris Yeltsin in the 1990s following the completion of the counter-revolution in December 1991.

The support for Presidents Ibrahim Traore of Burkina Faso, Assimi Goita of Mali and Abdurahamane Tchiani of Niger throughout Africa is immense and the military and economic support of Russia for the Sahel Alliance is well noted.

An increasing number of African countries are coming out in support of the Sahel Alliance; Chad, Central African Republic, Senegal and Ghana in the immediate region are in growing support. In the south, the Presidents of Botswana and Namibia have also given support.

In addition, Africa has 3 full members of BRICS, South Africa, Egypt and Ethiopia, plus 3 partner countries, Algeria, Uganda and Nigeria. Although Algeria has always had a relatively progressive government, Uganda and Nigeria have not. This indicates that even the leadership of otherwise reactionary governments have realised that the old US-led system is in rapid decline.

## **China**

China is undoubtedly the cornerstone of BRICS and a model of industrial development and poverty reduction within its borders. However, during Africa's liberation struggle, the People's Republic of China, due to the Sino-Soviet split and the deliberate exploitation of that split by people like President Richard Nixon and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, gave support to dissident liberation movements supported by the West. Most notoriously, UNITA in Angola, but also ZANU in Zimbabwe.

In addition the behaviour of many Chinese companies in Africa, especially to the workers is shameful. Typically, many Chinese companies block trade unions, underpay workers and avoid safety and environmental regulations. Recently a Chinese-owned company in Zambia, Sino Metals Leach, through negligence let a dam full of toxic acid waste collapse into the Kafue River which runs through the middle of Zambia supplying water and fish to the community.

It must be said that the Chinese government has been good throughout Africa in building infrastructure, but China is taking Africa's minerals very cheaply and we see little in terms of developing industry and an industrial skills base in Africa.

Having made these criticisms, nevertheless, **there is no contest between whether the West or BRICS is the better option for Africa. BRICS+ as it is now, gives African nations a genuine chance for African development.**

## **Rent-seeking elite**

However! The habit of the African elite to be rent seekers, whether from West or East must cease if Africa is going to develop. Africa needs state planning and education systems which put science, technology and production first. Africa, both in terms of individual nation states and as a continent must take control of its own future in collaboration — not subservience — with other nations.

**The window of opportunity is now.**

**In Africa the Alliance of Sahel States is showing the way.**



# PAN-AFRICANISM

## Part 1: The Birth of Pan-Africanism

by Ian Beddowes

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I remember around 20 years ago in Zimbabwe telling people that I was a Communist and a pan-Africanist. People laughed, saying that Communism died with the Soviet Union and that African countries were no longer interested in pan-Africanism as the liberation struggle was over and the ruling elites were concentrating on self-empowerment and personal wealth accumulation.

Sometimes it is necessary to grit your teeth and stand your ground.

The Soviet Union is no more, but Russia, through both the infrastructure and the social traditions inherited from the USSR, is strengthening economically, militarily and socially, not least due to its response to the war forced upon it by the arrogance and ignorance of the US leadership and its NATO allies.

The deterioration of Western domination, already suffering from the long-term weakening created by the adoption of neo-liberal and monetarist economic policies since the 1980s, has now been considerably hastened by a US President suffering from senile dementia followed by another who has distinguished himself by turning reactionary sloganeering into actual policy.

The fall has already started, the only question is, “How long before the inevitable crash?”

This major shift in the global balance of forces is already being reflected in Africa.

### Africa

To understand Africa, it is necessary to understand the history of first of slavery then of the partition of Africa following the Berlin Conference of 1885.

Slavery, of course, had been a feature of many societies for thousands of years. But the colonisation of the Americas by Spain, Portugal and Britain from the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century created the demand for hard unskilled labour for the mass production of sugar, tobacco, coffee and later cotton.

The source of this labour was Africa; the slave trade.



For Britain in particular, which by the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century had developed mercantile capitalism more than any other nation, the slave trade and the establishment of slave plantations in the Caribbean, gave the super profits needed for the establishment of the industrial revolution at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, (the looting of India by the British East India Company was another major contributing factor).

Other European nations followed the example of Britain.

The need for new outlets for the investment of capital together with the need for raw materials led the capitalist states of Europe to divide Africa at the Berlin Conference in 1885. Trading ports had been established around the African coast by different countries over the previous 200 years and in South Africa, a few white settlers had ventured inland. Using these established trading stations as a guide, men, who, for the most part had never set foot in Africa, drew lines on a map, which to this day serve as the basis for the modern borders between African countries.

Those borders frequently divided land inhabited for centuries by a particular ethnic group and they often found themselves within the same borders as their traditional rivals. By 1900, only feudal Abyssinia, the British semi-colony of Egypt, the US semi-colony of Liberia and the Afrikaner republics in South Africa were in any way independent.

In many places, Africans resisted the invaders, but spears were no match for the recently invented machine gun. A new form of resistance grew up, not from the traditional leaders, but from people of African slave descent in the Americas and young Africans who became part of the new system in Africa itself.

## Pan-Africanism, the Beginning



HENRY SYLVESTER  
WILLIAMS

In Britain in 1897, a lawyer from Trinidad, Henry Sylvester Williams (1869-1911), a writer from South Africa, Alice Kinloch (nee Alexander, 1863-1946) and a lawyer and politician from Sierra Leone, Thomas Josiah Thompson (1867-1941), came together in London to form the African Association to:

**“...promote and protect the interests of all subjects claiming African descent, wholly or in part, in British colonies and other place, especially Africa, by circulating accurate information on all subjects affecting their rights and privileges as subjects of the British Empire...”**

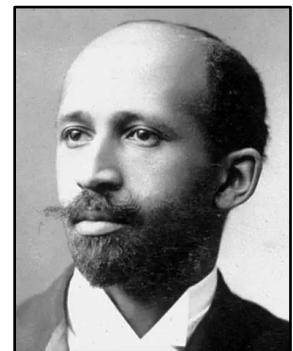
In 1900, this group organised the First Pan-African Congress in London, changing their name from ‘the ‘African Association’ to the ‘Pan-African Association’. It was a polite affair attended by 30 delegates including the Anglican Bishop of London. One very important young man from the USA was among those

who attended — this was W.E.B. Du Bois (1868-1963). His name was pronounced in the American style ‘Doo-Boyz’,

Du Bois was born into a well-off black family in Massachusetts, he was a brilliant historian becoming the first black American to obtain a Ph.D. from Harvard University. Most importantly, he was to take over the leadership of the Pan-African movement from Henry Sylvester Williams.

At first Du Bois was an elitist believing in the leadership of the ‘talented tenth’ of the black population. His most famous book *The Souls of Black Folk*, written in 1903 was a proclamation of the humanity of people of African descent in a land where they were ill-treated and despised.

Early pan-Africanism was a plea for inclusion into the system. What was later called ‘Black Consciousness’ was necessary for people to regain their self-respect: ‘Black is Beautiful’ was the phrase which spread the message. In the programme of the Zimbabwe Communist Party, *Completing the Liberation of Zimbabwe* [para 14] it says:



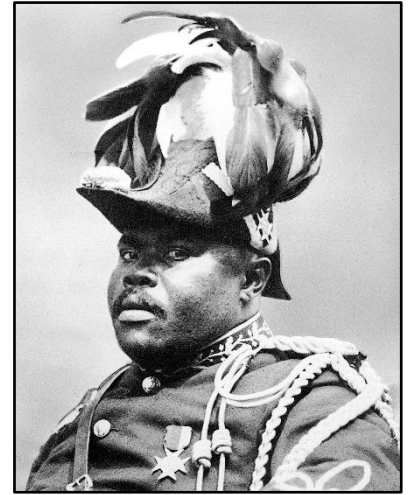
W.E.B. DU BOIS

**“‘Black<sup>[B1]</sup> Consciousness’ is, without any doubt, important in developing the self-respect of and people of African descent dehumanised by slavery, colonialism and the colour bar, but it can never, in itself, constitute a political programme for the capture of state power by anti-imperialist forces led by the workers and peasants and the subsequent development of production through the promotion of national democratic and socialist economies.”**

Following the First Pan-African **Conference** of 1900, there was no other international gathering until the First Pan-African **Congress** of February 1919 organised by W.E.B. Du Bois in France four months after the end of the First World War. Blaise Diagne (1872-1934) of Senegal attended, thus including Francophone Africa into the movement. There were 55 delegates from 15 countries with the biggest group being African-Americans. There were 3 more Congresses in 1921, 1923 and 1927. Although there were hints of anti-imperialism during this period, the emphasis was on co-operation and integration of Africans into the system. The movement at this time tended to be intellectual and academic in character.

## Marcus Garvey and Garveyism

During this period a new form of populist pan-Africanism grew up under the leadership of Marcus Garvey (1887-1940), a Jamaican. In 1914, Garvey launched the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) in Jamaica. In 1916, he moved to Harlem, New York, the growing centre of black culture in the USA. By 1920 the UNIA organised the First International Conference of the Negro Peoples in Harlem. An estimated 25,000 people assembled in Madison Square Gardens. At the conference, UNIA delegates declared Garvey to be the Provisional President of Africa, charged with heading a government-in-exile that could take power in the continent when European colonial rule ended. At its height, the UNIA claimed 2 million members stretching across the USA, Caribbean and West Africa. Although this figure is exaggerated, the UNIA was definitely a mass movement. Garvey preached segregation and the building of separate black businesses. In 1922 Garvey met with the Ku Klux Klan on the grounds that they also believed in racial separation. This lost him considerable support.



MARCUS GARVEY

Garvey was successful in raising large amounts of money for grandiose business ventures but was not adept at accounting or running those businesses. In 1923 Garvey was brought to court for fraud, was found guilty and served two years imprisonment before being deported to Jamaica.

## The Comintern and Africa



JAMES LA GUMA and J.T. GUMEDE

The Communist International (Comintern) was formed in 1919. During the 1920s it began to take a serious interest in Africa.

In February 1927, the Comintern founded the League Against Imperialism and Colonial Oppression at a Conference in Brussels, Belgium. It was attended by two delegates from South Africa, James La Guma (1894-1961) from the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA) and J.T. Gumede (1867-1946) from the African National Congress (ANC). Gumede was to become the first **militant** President of the ANC, serving in that office from 1927 till 1930. As a result of their interaction, in 1928 the 6<sup>th</sup> Congress of the

Comintern adopted a resolution:

**“...the Communist Party of South Africa must combine the fight against all anti-native laws with the general political slogan in the fight against British domination, the slogan of an independent native South African republic as a stage towards a workers’ and peasants’ republic, with full equal rights for all races, black, coloured and white.”**

And to achieve this goal:

**“The Party should pay particular attention to the embryonic national organisations among the natives, such as the African National Congress. The Party, while retaining its full independence, should participate in these organisations, should seek to broaden and extend their activity. Our aim should be to transform the African National Congress into a fighting nationalist revolutionary organisation...”**

This resolution was to have far-reaching consequences for South Africa.





MOSES KOTANE

In 1939 Moses Kotane (1905-1978) became General Secretary of the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA), being responsible for its transformation into the underground South African Communist Party in 1953 during the dark days of apartheid. Kotane had been trained by the Comintern in Moscow in the early 1930s. For a long time Kotane also held the post of Treasurer-General of the ANC and has often been referred to as “Chief Architect of the South African Struggle”

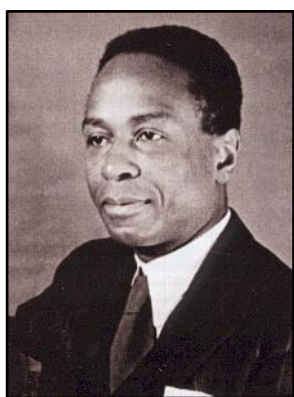
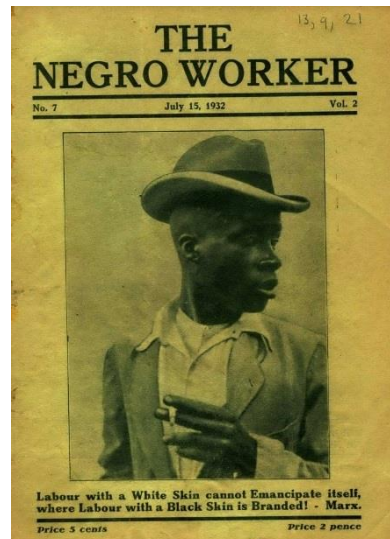
In 1930, the Red International of Labour Unions, also known as the ‘Profintern’ launched the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers. This body was to play an important role in fostering the trade union movement in Africa.

## 5<sup>th</sup> Pan-African Congress

The end of the Second World War came in 1945 with the Victory in Europe coming in May and the Victory over Japan coming in August. In October 1945, the 5<sup>th</sup> Pan-African Congress was convened in Manchester England. There were 90 delegates. It pulled together all the strands of pan-Africanism, but the victory of the Red Army and the bravery of the Communist-led partisan forces in several countries impressed everyone.

The formerly elitist veteran W.E.B. Du Bois, had, over the years, moved increasingly closer to Communism. Now aged 77 he played a prominent role in the Congress. The main organiser of the Congress was Comintern-trained Trinidadian trade unionist George Padmore (1903-1959). Kwame Nkrumah (1909-1972), a staunch scientific socialist, was to lead Ghana to Independence in 1957 and to play a leading role in the formation of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in 1963. Also there were Jomo Kenyatta (1897-1978) who was to become the first President of Kenya and Hastings Banda (1898-1997) of Nyasaland who was to become President of independent Malawi.

After the 5<sup>th</sup> Pan-African Congress the movement for the independence of Africa gained momentum.



GEORGE PADMORE



KWAME NKUMAH

# THE NATO WAR AGAINST RUSSIA

The 'Ukraine War' has been portrayed as a war of aggression by Vladimir Putin against Ukraine and its people. On 24<sup>th</sup> February 2022 following 8 years of provocation, Russia launched its Special Military Operation. Within 4 days the Zimbabwe Communist Party issued a statement titled *Hands off Russia!*

As many people, including some in our own ranks are still confused about the issue, we are the 2022 original plus other relevant information.

Russia, under the leadership of Vladimir Putin, has challenged the right of the USA to implement regime change through the use of extremist groups, terrorism and media manipulation and then establish military bases in the territory of its newly acquired 'ally'.

NATO, formed in 1949 to advance the Cold War, mainly at the instigation of the USA, has in recent years, distinguished itself by the destruction of Yugoslavia, the destruction of Libya and the terrorising of Afghan peasants in a bloody and fruitless war.

The USA has around 800 military bases around the world in some 80 countries. It has divided the world into military commands. No other country has, in the history of humanity, ever had such a worldwide military presence. Europe is under EUCOM (European Command) and Africa is under AFRICOM (Africa Command).

Already there are US bases in countries close to Russia such as Poland and Turkey. Russia does not have any bases next to the USA, and in fact when the Soviet Union started to put missile bases in Cuba in 1962, the USA threatened nuclear war.

That is the big picture.

Now let us study the historical relationship between Ukraine and Russia.

The Eastern Slavs were one people speaking one language up until 1000 years ago. And even today, there are people speaking dialects intermediate between Russian and Ukrainian. Towards the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century Prince Oleg of Novgorod relocated to Kyiv/Kiev, now the capital of Ukraine and established a kingdom of East Slavic people. This stretched across the land of modern central Russia and Ukraine west of the Urals, the concept of Russia and Ukraine as separate countries was unknown.

Vladimir the Great, who was the first Russian Prince to make Orthodox Christianity the state religion, came to the throne in 980 and is recognised by Russians and Ukrainians alike.

Around 1240 came the Mongol invasion and the destruction of the old Rus, as it was known. It took another 200 years for new principalities to be formed as Mongol control weakened. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Prince Ivan III of Moscow, better known to history as Ivan the Terrible, united the Russian lands as the first Tsar.

There was no specific territory or people known as 'Ukraine'. The Zaporzhian Cossacks, composed mostly of independent peasants who had run away from serfdom in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and had settled around the Dnieper River are believed to have used the term 'Ukraine' in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. It is generally agreed that 'Ukraine' means 'borderlands' — and it had no fixed boundaries.

Some people speaking the dialect which later became the Ukrainian language settled in Galicia, then in the Austrian Empire, and it was from this group that Ukrainian nationalism spread. During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, various nationalist movements grew up in Europe based on ethnicity. They challenged the rule of big nations, but could also be cruel to others. This was a particular feature of the Ukrainian nationalists.

In 1917, during the chaos of the First World War, Symon Petlyura became a military leader of the Ukrainian nationalists and later ruler of a large section of Ukraine until finally defeated in 1920 by the Ukrainian Bolsheviks. Petlyura's Army was known for ethnic cleansing and the slaughter of thousands of Jews who formed about 15% of the Ukrainian population then.



At the end of 1917, the Ukrainian Soviet Republic was formed and eventually, as the Bolsheviks expanded their power during the Civil War, by 1920 had secured its rule over the whole of Ukraine. The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic then joined the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics at the time of its formation at the end of December 1922.

Now we need to deal with one of the biggest slanders made against the Soviet government by the Ukrainian Nazis and their western backers. This is the often repeated lie that in 1932, the Soviet Union deliberately engineered a famine which killed 4 million Ukrainians. The formulators of falsified history refer to this as the 'Holodomor' and this idea is used to create hatred against Russians and against Communists among young Ukrainians. This lie was perpetuated in the West by the British disinformation specialist Robert Conquest in his book *Harvest of Sorrow* and was taken apart in the book *Fraud, Famine and Fascism* by Douglas Tottle.

What are the facts?

1. Ukraine and Russia was subject to drought and famine every 8 to 10 years due to erratic rainfall patterns. The majority of peasants throughout the Russian Empire had suffered poverty, malnutrition and occasional starvation for hundreds of years.
2. V.I. Lenin, on 26<sup>th</sup> October 1917, the day after the seizure of power by the Bolsheviks, announced that all land belonged to those who worked on it. They no longer had to pay any form of rent to the landowners.
3. The Russian Empire as a whole had been a place of primitive agricultural methods. With industrialisation under the Soviet Union came a growing urban population which needed to be fed.
4. The rich peasants known as the kulaks (fists), found it profitable to hoard grain in order to put up prices. They were holding the USSR to ransom.
5. In 1927, as part of the first 5-year plan, it was decided to mechanise and collectivise agriculture. The growing population of the USSR could not be fed by small-scale peasant production.
6. Landless peasants, poor peasants and many middle peasants were happy to sign up for the collective farms. The kulaks, who in Ukraine supported by Ukrainian nationalists, were unhappy with collectivisation.
7. At Kharkov/Kharkiv in Ukraine, enthusiastic workers established a tractor factory outside of the 5-year plan.
8. **1932** was a hot and dry year. There was little rain. Hot and dry conditions led to a typhoid epidemic. It was also a time of collectivisation. Kulaks and Ukrainian nationalists destroyed livestock and burnt crops and **boasted about it**.
9. Realistic estimates show that around 1 million people died during this period, the majority from typhoid, and not all of them were in Ukraine as the drought affected surrounding areas of Russia.
10. Due to collectivisation and improved agricultural techniques there was no famine anywhere in the Soviet Union after 1932, (Save during the Nazi occupation 1941-1944).
11. Written reports by German officers during the occupation show that although the Nazis asked the peasants to de-collectivise, they refused saying that they were better off under the collective.
12. Most of the stories about the 'Holodomor' used by Conquest in *Harvest of Sorrow* come from the Hearst press and from reporters who it can be shown, never visited Ukraine. William Randolph Hearst is known as the 'Father of Yellow Journalism' in the USA.

**13.** Most of the photos used in *Harvest of Sorrow* are actually stills made from a Soviet Famine Relief film made for the 1921-1922 Volga Famine which occurred in an area which had only come under Soviet control in 1920 at the end of the Civil War. None of the photos is actually of the 1932 famine.

It is important to go through this in a little detail as these lies are still being perpetrated inside Ukraine and in the West and have been an important factor in the war of falsification.

When the Nazis invaded the USSR in 1941, many Ukrainians in the extreme west of Ukraine joined the Nazis, and some 200,000 joined various Nazi formations, some directly under the German SS. The Ukrainian divisions were noted for their extreme cruelty massacring not only Jews but more than 100,000 Poles. They were also used as concentration camp guards.

It should be noted that around 250,000 Ukrainians fought bravely in Soviet partisan units and 4½ million in the Red Army.

As the Nazis were being defeated in 1944, Ukrainian Nazis, including wanted war criminals fled towards the American lines where they were welcomed in preparation for the coming Cold War. In fact as soon as the war was over, the followers of Stepan Bandera began an anti-Soviet guerrilla campaign which lasted until 1955, they were assisted by the USA and Britain.

The Communist hero, Kim Philby, a Soviet agent working for British intelligence became head of MI.6. Philby never in fact spied against Britain. In fact his job was to parachute Ukrainian Nazis into the Soviet Union, where of course, they were immediately picked up.

In 1991 came the betrayal by Gorbachev and Yeltsin, and the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Despite everything, the independence of Ukraine was recognised. The problem then came in 2014. Because President Yanukovych of Ukraine had agreed to make closer links with Russia than with the European Union, demonstrations broke out led by CIA-backed Nazi groups. There was a continuous link with the followers of Stepan Bandera, the Banderovtsy. In addition, the CIA formed the Azov Battalion with the assistance of Blackwater, the US private security company which does undercover work for the US State Department. The Azov Battalion is openly racist and openly Nazi.

In 2014, the first targets were trade union buildings which were burnt down with trade unionists still inside. Those trying to leave the burning buildings were shot by Nazis. This happened both in Kyiv and Odessa. The Communist Party of Ukraine was driven underground and soon after made illegal, as it had been in apartheid South Africa. Parts of eastern Ukraine had never been Ukrainian-speaking historically and there was immediate rejection of the coup government, even in some areas of western Ukraine initially.

The Crimea had never been part of Ukraine historically and under the Soviet Union had only been transferred from the Russian Federation to Ukraine in 1954 for purely administrative reasons. In 2014 the population had no interest in remaining as part of fascist Ukraine. Similarly, Lugansk and Donetsk established independent republics but came under constant attack from the Azov Battalion and other fascists. That war and associated atrocities have been continuing for the past 8 years and had accelerated under the Biden administration.

Since the time of Barack Obama and Hilary Clinton there was an aggressive foreign policy against Russia which was softened under Donald Trump. Joe Biden is from the Clintonite camp of liberal fascists. That is those in the Democratic Party who while mouthing 'Human Rights' are involved in the funding of terror groups and using those for aggressive military expansion. Biden pushed Ukraine towards more violence against Lugansk and Donetsk and to push for entry into NATO.

Had Ukraine become a member of NATO, it had the right to ask other NATO countries to intervene in case of problems with Russia. With attacks on the Russian-speaking population of Donetsk and Lugansk increasing, the Russian government had little option but to intervene against the hostile terrorist state on its doorstep.

In Africa we should remember that the biggest war ever on African soil, the Congo War of 1998-2003 was funded and directed by the USA and initiated by Bill Clinton. The destruction of Africa's most advanced country, Libya, was carried out by NATO under the presidency of Barrack Obama.

Having persuaded the Ukrainian government to ask to join NATO, the USA and EU has now refused to send troops against the might of the Russian army and has simply put sanctions against Russia, introducing censorship and blocking news from *RT* and *Sputnik*. Blocking Russia from the Swift clearing system has merely ensured that it joins the Chinese clearing system. Putin has called their bluff. As the Hungarian Workers' Party has said in its statement:

**“Russia has been dragged into this war by NATO, the US and the EU. The war was provoked by the West, prepared by the West, and now the West wants to shift responsibility to Russia.**

**“It was not Russia that sent soldiers to Mexico, but the United States to Romania, Poland, Bulgaria, and the Baltic States...**

**“We support the assessment of events by the Communists of Russia and Belarus. The NATO war is directed against their peoples, against the independence of their countries.”**

We would remind people that across Ukraine, all war memorials commemorating the defeat of Nazi Germany have been removed and replaced by memorials to Stepan Bandera and other Nazi collaborators and murderers; that Nazi gangs, including racist thugs from across Europe, are the ones in real control, not the clown President Volodymyr Zelensky.

Some Communists have condemned Russia, and in particular President Putin, for taking military action, pointing out that Russia is no long. To this we reply:

Because Russia is no longer socialist, is it acceptable for a NATO base to be established on its border by a country ruled by Nazi thugs?

We cannot, in a dogmatic fashion, look at the current world in the same way that Lenin looked at the world in 1916 in which there were two evenly balanced opposing imperialist blocs fighting each other.

**“The living soul of Marxism is the concrete analysis of concrete conditions.” V.I. Lenin**

Today the USA and its NATO allies have an overwhelming military presence throughout the world and are still trying to push that even further. They have the whole world divided into military commands. They have funded extremists everywhere, jihadists in the Middle East, Nazis in Ukraine. To call Russia imperialist' in the present world order and under present conditions is to objectively support the continuation of NATO domination.



COMMUNISTS AND ANTI-FASCISTS IN LENIN SQUARE DONETS

# THE UKRAINE MESS THAT NULAND MADE

by Robert Parry (Consortium News)

15<sup>th</sup> July 2015

**This article deals with the period around and just after the  
2014 Maidan Coup**



Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs ‘Toria’ Nuland was the mastermind behind the 22<sup>nd</sup> February 2014 regime change in Ukraine, plotting the overthrow of the democratically elected government of President Viktor Yanukovych while convincing the ever-gullible US mainstream media that the coup wasn’t really a coup but a ‘victory for democracy’. Victoria Nuland, not only pushed for the Ukraine coup but also helped pick the post-coup leaders.

To sell this latest neocon-driven regime change to the American people, the ugliness of the coup-makers had to be systematically airbrushed, particularly the key role of neo-Nazis and other ultra-nationalists from the Right Sektor. For the US-organized propaganda campaign to work, the coup-makers had to wear white hats, not brown shirts.

So, for nearly a year and a half, the West’s mainstream media, especially *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, twisted their reporting into all kinds of contortions to avoid telling their readers that the new regime in Kiev was permeated by and dependent on neo-Nazi fighters and Ukrainian ultra-nationalists who wanted a pure-blood Ukraine, without ethnic Russians. Any mention of that sordid reality was deemed ‘Russian propaganda’ and anyone who spoke this inconvenient truth was a ‘stooge of Moscow.’ It was not until 7<sup>th</sup> July that the *New York Times* admitted the importance of the neo-Nazis and other ultra-nationalists in waging war against ethnic Russian rebels in the east. The *New York Times* also reported that these far-right forces had been joined by Islamic militants. Some of those jihadists have been called ‘brothers’ of the hyper-brutal Islamic State.

Though the *New York Times* sought to spin this remarkable military alliance – neo-Nazi militias and Islamic jihadists – as a positive, the reality had to be jarring for readers who had bought into the Western propaganda about noble ‘pro-democracy’ forces resisting evil ‘Russian aggression’.

Perhaps the *New York Times* sensed that it could no longer keep the lid on the troubling truth in Ukraine. For weeks, the Right Sektor militias and the neo-Nazi Azov battalion have been warning the civilian government in Kiev that they might turn on it and create a new order more to their liking.

Then, on Saturday, violent clashes broke out in the western Ukrainian town of Mukachevo, allegedly over the control of cigarette-smuggling routes. Right Sektor paramilitaries sprayed police officers with bullets from a belt-fed machinegun, and police – backed by Ukrainian government troops – returned fire. Several deaths and multiple injuries were reported.

Tensions escalated on Monday with President Petro Poroshenko ordering national security forces to disarm armed cells of political movements. Meanwhile, the Right Sektor dispatched reinforcements to the area while their militiamen converged on the capital of Kiev.

While President Poroshenko and Right Sektor leader Dmitry Yarosh may succeed in tamping down this latest flare-up of hostilities, they may be only postponing the inevitable: a conflict between the US-backed authorities in Kiev and the neo-Nazis and other right-wing fighters who spearheaded last year’s coup and have been at the front lines of the fighting against ethnic Russian rebels in the east.

The Ukrainian right-wing extremists feel they have carried the heaviest burden in the war against the ethnic Russians and resent the politicians living in the relative safety and comfort of Kiev. In March, Poroshenko also fired thuggish oligarch Igor Kolomoisky as governor of the south-eastern province of Dnipropetrovsk Oblast. Kolomoisky had been the primary benefactor of the Right Sektor militias.

So, as has become apparent across Europe and even in Washington, the Ukraine crisis is spinning out of control, making the State Department’s preferred narrative of the conflict – that it’s all Russian President Vladimir Putin’s fault – harder and harder to sell.

How Ukraine is supposed to pull itself out of what looks like a death spiral – a possible two-front war in the east and the west along with a crashing economy – is hard to comprehend. The European Union, confronting budgetary crises over Greece and other EU members, has little money or patience for Ukraine, its neo-Nazis and its socio-political chaos.

America's neocons at *The Washington Post* and elsewhere still rant about the need for the Obama administration to sink more billions upon billions of dollars into post-coup Ukraine because it "shares our values." But that argument, too, is collapsing as Americans see the heart of a racist nationalism beating inside Ukraine's new order.

## **Another Neocon 'Regime Change'**

Much of what has happened, of course, was predictable and indeed was predicted, but neocon Nuland could not resist the temptation to pull off a regime change that she could call her own.

Her husband (and arch-neocon) Robert Kagan had co-founded the Project for the New American Century in 1998 around a demand for regime change in Iraq, a project that was accomplished in 2003 with President George W. Bush's invasion.

As with Nuland in Ukraine, Kagan and his fellow neocons thought they could engineer an easy invasion of Iraq, oust Saddam Hussein and install some hand-picked client – in Iraq, Ahmed Chalabi was to be 'the guy'. But they failed to take into account the harsh realities of Iraq, such as the fissures between Sunnis and Shiites, exposed by the US-led invasion and occupation.

In Ukraine, Nuland and her neocon and liberal-interventionist friends saw the chance to poke Putin in the eye by encouraging violent protests to overthrow Russia-friendly President Yanukovich and put in place a new regime hostile to Moscow.

Carl Gershman, the neocon president of the US-taxpayer-funded National Endowment for Democracy, explained the plan in a *Post* op-ed on Sept. 26, 2013. Gershman called Ukraine "the biggest prize" and an important interim step toward toppling Putin, who "may find himself on the losing end not just in the near abroad but within Russia itself."

For her part, Nuland passed out cookies to anti-Yanukovich demonstrators at the Maidan square, reminded Ukrainian business leaders that the US had invested \$5 billion in their 'European aspirations', declared "fuck the EU" for its less aggressive approach, and discussed with US Ambassador Geoffrey Pyatt who the new leaders of Ukraine should be. "Yats is the guy," she said, referring to Arseniy Yatsenyuk.

Nuland saw her big chance on 20<sup>th</sup> February 2014, when a mysterious sniper – apparently firing from a building controlled by the Right Sektor – shot and killed both police and protesters, escalating the crisis. On 21<sup>st</sup> February, in a desperate bid to avert more violence, Yanukovich agreed to a European-guaranteed plan in which he accepted reduced powers and called for early elections so he could be voted out of office.

But that was not enough for the anti-Yanukovich forces who – led by Right Sektor and neo-Nazi militias – overran government buildings on 22<sup>nd</sup> February forcing Yanukovich and many of his officials to flee for their lives. With armed thugs patrolling the corridors of power, the final path to regime change was clear.

Instead of trying to salvage the Feb. 21 agreement, Nuland and European officials arranged for an unconstitutional procedure to strip Yanukovich of the presidency and declared the new regime 'legitimate'. Nuland's 'guy' – Yatsenyuk – became Prime Minister.

While Nuland and her neocon cohorts celebrated, their "regime change" prompted an obvious reaction from Putin, who recognized the strategic threat that this hostile new regime posed to the historic Russian naval base at Sevastopol in Crimea. On 23<sup>rd</sup> February, he began to take steps to protect those Russian interests.

## **Ethnic Hatreds**

What the coup also did was revive long pent-up antagonisms between the ethnic Ukrainians in the west, including elements that had supported Adolf Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union during World War Two, and ethnic Russians in the south and east who feared the anti-Russian sentiments emanating from Kiev.

First, in Crimea and then in the so-called Donbas region, these ethnic Russians, who had been Yanukovich's political base, resisted what they viewed as the illegitimate overthrow of their elected president. Both areas held referenda seeking separation from Ukraine, a move that Russia accepted in Crimea but resisted with the Donbas.



However, when the Kiev regime announced an ‘anti-terrorism operation’ against the Donbas and dispatched neo-Nazi and other extremist militias to be the tip of the spear, Moscow began quietly assisting the embattled ethnic Russian rebels, a move that Nuland, the Obama administration and the mainstream news media called ‘Russian aggression’.

Amid the Western hysteria over Russia’s supposedly ‘imperial designs’ and the thorough demonizing of Putin, President Barack Obama essentially authorized a new Cold War against Russia, reflected now in new US strategic planning that could cost the US taxpayers trillions of dollars and risk a possible nuclear confrontation.

Yet, despite the extraordinary costs and dangers, Nuland failed to appreciate the practical on-the-ground realities, much as her husband and other neocons did in Iraq. While Nuland got her hand-picked client Yatsenyuk installed and he did oversee a US-demanded neo-liberal economic plan – slashing pensions, heating assistance and other social programs – the chaos that her regime change unleashed transformed Ukraine into a financial black hole.

With few prospects for a clear-cut victory over the ethnic Russian resistance in the east – and with the neo-Nazi/Islamist militias increasingly restless over the stalemate – the chances to restore any meaningful sense of order in the country appear remote. Unemployment is soaring and the government is essentially bankrupt.

The last best hope for some stability may have been the Minsk-2 agreement in February 2015, calling for a federalized system to give the Donbas more autonomy, but Nuland’s Prime Minister Yatsenyuk sabotaged the deal in March by inserting a poison pill that essentially demanded that the ethnic Russian rebels first surrender.

Now, the Ukraine chaos threatens to spiral even further out of control with the neo-Nazis and other right-wing militias – supplied with a bounty weapons to kill ethnic Russians in the east – turning on the political leadership in Kiev.

In other words, the neocons have struck again, dreaming up a regime change”\ scheme that ignored practical realities, such as ethnic and religious fissures. Then, as the blood flowed and the suffering worsened, the neocons just sought out someone else to blame.

Thus, it seems unlikely that Nuland, regarded by some in Washington as the new star in US foreign policy, will be fired for her dangerous incompetence, just as most neocons who authored the Iraq disaster remain ;respected experts’ employed by major think tanks, given prized space on op-ed pages, and consulted at the highest levels of the US government.

**Victoria Nuland was forced to resign in 2024 due to the realisation that her actions had created chaos.**

**When the Special Military Operation started, the intention was merely to force Ukraine to the negotiating table. As we can see from the following article. The peace agreement was sabotaged by British Prime Minister Boris Johnson working under instruction from his bosses in Washington D.C.**



**TRADE UNIONISTS TRY TO ESCAPE BURNING BUILDING ODESSA 2014**



BORIS JOHNSON

# THE RUSSIA-UKRAINE PEACE TREATY BORIS JOHNSON TRASHED

Sources *RT News* 24<sup>th</sup> November 2023  
and *Wall Street Journal* 1<sup>st</sup> March 2024

Former UK Prime Minister Boris Johnson played a key role in trashing a peace deal between Moscow and Kiev, telling Ukraine to **“just continue fighting,”** top Ukrainian MP David Arakhamia has said. Arakhamia, then head of President Vladimir Zelensky’s parliamentary faction, was the chief negotiator at the botched peace talks in Istanbul, held early into the ongoing conflict.

The MP made the revelation in an interview with the Ukrainian 1+1 TV channel:

**“Russia’s goal was to put pressure on us so that we would take neutrality. This was the main thing for them... And that we would give an obligation that we would not join NATO. This was the main thing.”**

However, Kiev did not actually trust Moscow to keep its word and did not want to reach such a deal without third-party security guarantees, Arakhamia claimed, while revealing the lead role in derailing the agreement was played by Johnson.



DAVID ARAKHAMIA

**“When we returned from Istanbul, Boris Johnson came to Kiev and said that we would not sign anything at all. And ‘let’s just continue fighting.’”**

The pivotal role played by Johnson in Ukraine’s decision to scrap the draft agreement with Russia — signed by Arakhamia personally in Istanbul — has long been rumoured, with initial reports on the matter emerging in Ukrainian media as early as May 2022. Until now, however, it was neither denied nor confirmed by any of the parties involved.

Kyiv threw out the preliminary deal as soon as Russia withdrew its troops from the vicinity of Kyiv, as a gesture of good will. The pullback was portrayed by Kyiv and its Western backers as a major Ukrainian military victory, which greatly reinforced the positions of those willing to pour military aid into the country.

The 2022 draft peace treaty between Russia and Ukraine stipulated that Kyiv could seek membership in the European Union, but ruled out its entry into NATO. The 17-page document said that Ukraine would not be allowed to join military alliances such as the North Atlantic Alliance, and no foreign weapons would be allowed into the country, *The Wall Street Journal* said. According to the draft agreement dated 15<sup>th</sup> April 2022, the Ukrainian army was supposed to be reduced to a certain size.

The Russian side also insisted that the Russian language be used on an equal basis with Ukrainian at government agencies and courts, but Kyiv did not sign that particular clause of the agreement. In addition, the document enshrined Russia’s sovereignty for Crimea and excluded a neutral status for the peninsula.

Countries, including the United States, United Kingdom, China, France and Russia, were supposed to ensure the implementation of the peace treaty and to defend Ukraine’s neutrality in case of violation of the treaty.

The Russian Ambassador in London Andrei Kelin said that former British Prime Minister Boris Johnson thwarted all achievements in the negotiation process between Russia and Ukraine in the spring of 2022. According to him, Johnson arrived at the negotiations **“with a blessing from Washington,”** and the document, which had already been initialled by the head of the Ukrainian delegation David Arakhamia **“was thrown into the trash.”**

# **TWO HEROES OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE**

**Neither ZANLA Commander Josiah Tongogara  
nor ZPRA Commander Lookout Masuku  
were able to enjoy the Independence they had fought for.**

## **Josiah Tongogara (1938-1979)**

Josiah Magama Tongogara was born in Selukwe (now Shurugwi) 4<sup>th</sup> February 1938, on a farm owned by the parents of Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith for whom his parents were working. His sister, Jayne was to become the first wife of Emmerson Mnangagwa.

In 1960 Tongogara went to Northern Rhodesia to compete his secondary education. Northern Rhodesia was to become independent Zambia in 1964. There he joined the ZANU Youth in 1963. He was one of the first to go to China for training in 1966. In 1973 he came ZANLA Commander.



In 1975 Tongogara was arrested in Zambia for being involved in the death of Herbert Chitepo. However<sup>1</sup>, Ken Flower, head of the Rhodesian Central Intelligence Organisation (CIO) has given detail of how they killed Chitepo at a time when there was division within ZANU; however in 1976 he was acquitted.

At the end of 1976, Tongogara was allowed to go to the Geneva (Switzerland) Conference called by the British to try to find a solution to the developing crisis in what was then Rhodesia. Tongogara did not like Mugabe who had become leader of ZANU that year. Also the Frontline States had pushed for ZANU and ZAPU to unite as the Patriotic Front. Tongogara strongly supported the idea of a united Patriotic Front and was impressed by Joshua Nkomo, the ZAPU leader. When the attitude of Tongogara became obvious, a hand-grenade was thrown into his room in Geneva.

In 1979 at the Lancaster House Conference which negotiated Independence, Tongogara was open about supporting a united Patriotic Front and was conciliatory towards the white settlers. He was looking forward to a united Zimbabwe. More importantly and dangerously, he openly supported the idea of Joshua Nkomo becoming the first Prime Minister of a Patriotic Front Government, with Mugabe becoming relegated to Patriotic Front Secretary-Britain General.

When people left the Lancaster House Conference in Britain, Dumiso Dabengwa of ZPRA asked Tongogara to go with them to Zambia, as he feared for his life. But Tongogara returned to Mozambique where he died 6 days after the end of the Conference on 26<sup>th</sup> December 1979.

The official story as told by Josiah Tungamirai, Political Commissar for the ZANLA High Command is that on the night of the fatality, he and Tongogara had been travelling with others in two vehicles from Maputo to Chimoio (ZANLA Headquarters). Tungamirai said he was in the front vehicle. It was dark and the roads were bad. Tungamirai's car passed a military vehicle that had been carelessly abandoned, with no warning signs at the side of the road. After that, he could no longer see the headlights of the following car in his rear view mirror. Eventually he turned back, and, as he had feared, they found Tongogara's car had struck the abandoned vehicle. Tongogara was sitting in the front passenger seat. Tungamirai told me that he had struggled to lift Tongogara out of the wrecked car. He said that as he was doing so, Tongogara heaved a huge sigh and died in his arms.



However, a former Detective in the Law and Order Section of the former British South Africa Police (now Zimbabwe Republic Police) saw photographs of Tongogara's body. He claimed that there were three wounds, consistent with gunshot wounds, to his upper torso.

ZANU released a statement from the undertaker, Mr K.J Stokes of Mashford's Funeral Services saying that Tongogara's injuries were consistent with a road accident, but no autopsy results or pictures were released. As no-one outside of ZANU believed the story, it would have been in their interests to have an autopsy if the story was indeed true.

There was no formal autopsy, and even more incriminating is the fact that Tongogara's wife, Angelina, had not been allowed to see the body and that Tungamirai had been very harsh with her when she tried to insist.

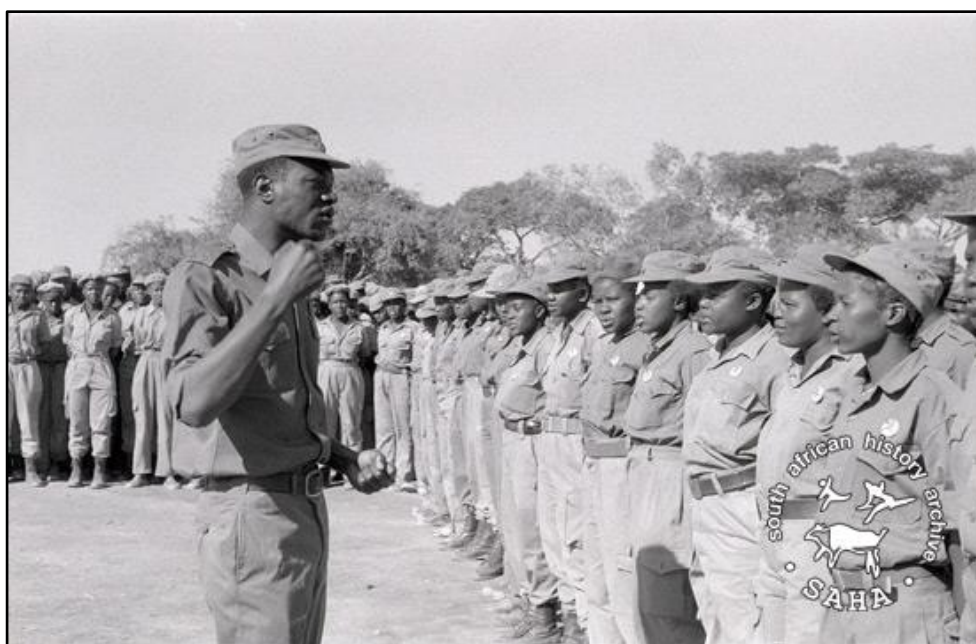
In 2002, Oppah Muchinguri who was Tongogara's secretary gave a different version of how Tongogara died. She explained that the accident occurred at a place which was 5 km away from the spot where all those who were in the car had earlier had a combined breakfast and lunch. By implication, the accident occurred in the afternoon. Muchinguri also explained that the vehicle they were inside swiped a trailer of a truck which they were trying to overtake, and then it veered from the road, rolling and subsequently turning more than one.

A CIA intelligence briefing of 28<sup>th</sup> December 1979 said Tongogara was a potential political rival to Mugabe because of his **"ambition, popularity and decisive style"**. On the same day, the US Embassy in Zambia reported: **"Almost no one in Lusaka accepts Mugabe's assurance that Tongogara died accidentally."** When the US Ambassador told the Soviet Ambassador the news, the surprised Soviet Ambassador immediately said, **"inside job"**.

Ian Smith also insisted in his memoirs that Tongogara's **"own people"** killed him and that he had disclosed at Lancaster House that Tongogara was under threat. Smith wrote, **"I made a point of discussing his death with our Police Commissioner and head of Special Branch, and both assured me that Tongogara had been assassinated"**.

Most telling is the fact that four of Tongogara's former bodyguards had died in suspicious circumstances since independence. One was said to have been hit by a car outside a Harare hotel after telling friends that when he retired from the army he would **"sell the BBC the true story of Tongogara's death"**. All of those killed had access to Tongogara's diaries in which his negotiations with Joshua Nkomo were reported.

Whatever the truth is about the death of Josiah Magama Tongogara, the important fact here is that his death was a major factor in preventing the unity of the Patriotic Front. ZAPU, led by Joshua Nkomo was backed by the USSR and in unity with the ANC of South Africa. The late Thenjiwe Lesabe believed that the CIA was involved with his death. Certainly, the USA and UK at that time preferred ZANU to ZAPU and did not want any party backed by the USSR to come to power.



AMBROSE MUTINHIRI ZPRA CHIEF OF STAFF AND WOMEN'S BATTALION



## Lookout Masuku (1940-1986)

Lookout Khalisabantu Vumindaba Masuku, known as ‘Mafela’ was born on 7<sup>th</sup> April 1940 in Gwanda. Lookout Masuku’s military career started when he became a full-time political activist in Beitbridge in 1962. He then left the country the following year, and underwent military training, which he completed in 1964.

He was later appointed as an instructor at Morogoro training camp in Tanzania. He was then appointed as Commissar and Deputy Commander ZPRA and was distinguished in the field of battle. On 28<sup>th</sup> June 1978, ZPRA Commander Nikita Mangena was killed by a land-mine. Lookout Masuku was then appointed PRA Commander.

Masuku represented ZPRA on the Ceasefire Commission and on the Joint Operations Command, where he played a pivotal role in securing and implementing the ceasefire agreement under the Lancaster House Agreement.

Lookout Masuku led the first group of guerrillas who returned home after the declaration of ceasefire. His promotion to Lieutenant-General of the integrated Zimbabwe National Army was gazetted in 1981 and he was appointed Deputy Commander to General Solomon Mujuru (also known by his Chimurenga name, Rex Nhongo).

In 1982 Lookout Masuku together with Dumiso Dabengwa the ZPRA Chief of Intelligence chief were arrested for allegedly planning a coup d’état against then-Prime Minister Robert Mugabe. They were detained until 1983. In 1983 the Supreme Court of Zimbabwe found both Lookout Masuku and Dumiso Debengwa not guilty of the charges. However, the police refused to release them and invoked emergency regulations, holding them for four years. On the 11<sup>th</sup> March 1986, Lookout Masuku, already sick, was sent to Parirenyatwa Hospital, Harare where he died on Saturday 5<sup>th</sup> April 1986 at 2 pm, officially from Cryptococcal Meningitis, an inflammation of membranes covering the brain.. However, many have expressed doubt over the official cause of death. Judith Todd, (daughter of progressive Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister Garfield Todd) in her book *Through the Darkness*, expressed doubts whether the ‘specialist’ who attended him was **“indeed a specialist or even a registered doctor at all”**.

Lieutenant-General Lookout Masuku was buried at Lady Stanley Cemetery in Bulawayo on Saturday 12<sup>th</sup> April 1986. Ten of thousands of people came to pay their last respects. Joshua Nkomo was the main speaker at the funeral. In his speech Nkomo said:

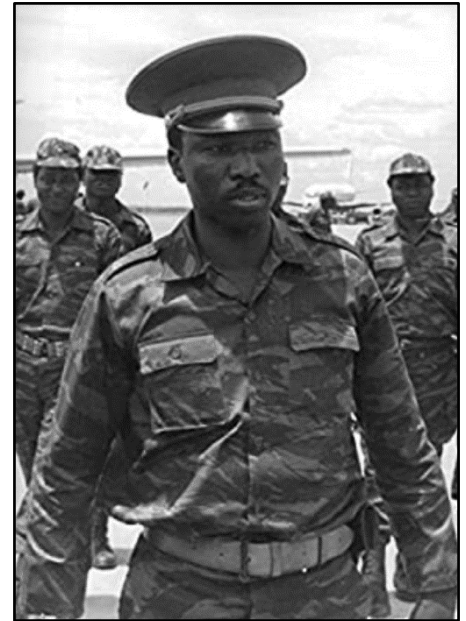
**“Those who rule our country know inside themselves that Lookout played a very big part in winning our struggle. And yet they let him die in prison. I say he died in prison because he died on that bed on which he was detained. It was not possible for him to leave that bed and it was not possible for you to see him. Therefore, I say he died in prison.**

**“Why should men like Lookout and Dumiso, after being found innocent of any wrongdoing by the highest court in this land remain detained?**

**“When we ask we get the same answer from the minister as we used to get from the Smith regime. Mafela, Lookout, after all his sacrifices, died a pauper in our own hands. We cannot blame colonialism and imperialism for this tragedy. We who fought against these things now practise them.**

**“Why? Why? Why?”**

**“We are enveloped in the politics of hate. The amount of hate that is being preached today in this country is frightful. What Zimbabwe fought for was peace, progress, love, respect, justice, equality, not the opposite. And one of the worst evils we see today is corruption. The country bleeds today because of corruption.**



**“It is appropriate that the site chosen for Lookout’s grave lies near a memorial to those who fought against Hitler. Lookout fought against fascism, oppression, tribalism and corruption. Any failure to dedicate ourselves to the ideals of Masuku will be a betrayal of him and of all those freedom fighters whose graves are not known.**

**“Our country cannot progress on fear and false accusations which are founded simply on the love of power. There is something radically wrong with our country today and we are moving fast towards destruction. There is confusion and corruption and, let us be clear about it, we are seeing racism in reverse under false mirror of correcting imbalances from the past. In the process we are creating worse things. We have created fear in the minds of some in our country. We have made them feel unwanted, unsafe.**

**“Young men and women are on the streets of our cities. There is terrible unemployment. Life has become harsher than ever before. People are referred to as squatters. I hate the word. I do not hate the person. When people were moved under imperialism certain facilities like water were provided.**

**“But under us? Nothing!**

**“You cannot build a country by firing people’s homes. No country can live by slogans, pasi (down with) this and pasi that. When you are ruling you should never say pasi to anyone. If there is something wrong with someone you must try to uplift him, not oppress him. We cannot condemn other people and then do things even worse than they did.**

**“Lookout was a brave man. He led the first group of guerrillas who returned home at ceasefire. Lookout, lying quietly here in his coffin, fought to the last minute of his life for justice. It is his commitment to fair play that earned him his incarceration. Some of you are tempted to give away your principles in order to conform. Even the preachers are frightened to speak freely and they have to hide behind the name of Jesus.**

**“The fear that pervades the rulers has come down to the people and to the workers. There is too much conformity. People work and then they shut up. We cannot go on this way. People must be freed to be able to speak. We invite the clergy to be outspoken.**

**“Tell us when we go wrong.**

**“When Lookout was in Parirenyatwa he requested to be able to say goodbye to his friend Dumiso. The request was refused.**

**“ ‘No!’ By our own government!**

**“He is not being buried at the Heroes’ Acre. But they can’t take away his status as a hero. You don’t give a man the status of a hero. All you can do is recognise it. It is his.**

**“Yes, he can be forgotten temporarily by the state. But the young people who do research will one day unveil what Lookout has done.”**

**Lookout Masuku was eventually given Heroes Status in 1996**



**In South Africa ZCP members have been active in support of the  
Union of Emigrants and Political Prisoners of Ukraine and the  
Communist Party of Ukraine**



**ZIMBABWE COMMUNIST PARTY**



**NO TO 2030!**



**In Defence of the Working Class**



**In Defence of the Peasantry**

**#Completing The Liberation of Zimbabwe**