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The Coordinating Committee of the Patriotic Front met in Maputo from 9–12 September to consider the latest British „Proposals for a Settlement“ in Rhodesia. Attending the meeting were Comrades Presidents Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe and their immediate Executive Officers among whom were Samuel Munodawafa, Simon

Mzenda, Joseph Msika, Mukudzei Mudzi, George Silundika, Rugare Gumbo, John Nkomo, Dumiso Dabengwa, Philemon Makonese, Mparuri, Enos Malandu and several others. After intensive discussions the following position paper was produced. The Paper follows:—

THE ZIMBABWE PATRIOTIC FRONT ON BRITISH „PROPOSALS FOR A SETTLEMENT“ IN RHODESIA

MAPUTO:

12th September, 1977.

The colonial authority in Rhodesia, the British Government, published on the first of September, 1977, what it called "Proposals for a Settlement." These the Patriotic Front has now seriously studied and analysed.

THE PROPOSED INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION (ANNEX A)

The Patriotic Front after studying and analysing the proposed "Independence Constitution" notes the acceptance by the British Government of the following principles which our Liberation Movement has always advocated:—

1. The principle that independence is a non-negotiable right of the people of Zimbabwe and that what is negotiable with reference to independence is merely the modalities of bringing it about.
2. The principle of democratic elections based on universal adult suffrage;
3. Recognition that the conflict-situation in Zimbabwe being a war situation can only be resolved by those parties directly involved in that conflict, that is to say, the British Government and their settler kith and kin on the one hand and the Patriotic Front on the other,
4. The acceptance of the above-mentioned principles by Britain has resulted from long years of hard struggle and costly human sacrifice by the people of Zimbabwe against an intransigent colonial regime. Therefore, we believe, they reflect a significant stage in the continuing armed liberation struggle of the people of Zimbabwe.
5. We have looked further into other sections of the proposed "Independence Constitution" including the Bill of Rights. Naturally there are parts which are unacceptable. All these shall be the subject of a separate paper.

THE PROPOSED TRANSITIONAL CONSTITUTION (ANNEX B)

6. We would like to stress, however, that despite the

acceptance of the above mentioned principles by Britain, the genuine independence we are fighting to achieve, in concrete terms, is still as distant as ever, for the power structure of the transitional period negates the process. As such we have no disposition, whatever, to be led into illusions to such independence. Years of hard struggle have taught us that the only trust that can command us is when Zimbabwe is firmly and concretely in the hands of the people of Zimbabwe themselves.

7. It is our observation that whilst the British have accepted the principles referred to above, the mechanics devised towards them lead neither to free, fair and democratic elections nor to a genuinely independent Zimbabwe.

The proposals are based in the first instance, on "The surrender of power by the illegal regime and a return to legality."

Apart from the vague theoretical threat, in clause 10 of the proposals that "... The two Governments (the UK and US) will take such steps as seem to them appropriate to secure transfer of power by Smith on a day to be agreed, "... there is no concrete indication whatever to demonstrate, in a situation where a criminal regime is murdering our people daily, that in fact this regime will physically and totally be removed.

Secondly the premise that the Rhodesian problem is being solved in the context of a return from "illegality to legality" is a completely wrong and irrelevant approach. When this view is read together with clause 18c of Annex B on "Amnesty" which states that it will be necessary to extinguish both civil and criminal liability to such acts on both sides „committed in furtherance of the rebellion and those committed in resistance to it," the implication here is clearly that we, the liberation forces, were and are carrying out our struggle against the rebellion of Ian Smith and therefore assisting the British colonial authority in bringing that situation to legality. This deliberate distortion is an insult to our noble cause.

We would like to restate that that we are struggling by force of arms to cause a movement from colonial control to genuine independence.

8. Another objectionable feature is the vesting of absolute powers in the Resident Commissioner an appointee and representative of the British Government who is empowered to administer the country during the transitional period.

He shall, by himself, exercise both legislative and executive powers, be the Commander-in-Chief of all armed forces, the appointer of Judges, absolute controller of the civil service and the police, — in short, the be all and end all of powers in Rhodesia.

The Patriotic Front, the sole armed liberation force guaranteeing the people of Zimbabwe, is then called upon to surrender itself to this Resident Commissioner whilst under clause 5 of Annex B he takes over as "Commander-in-Chief of all armed forces which may be lawfully operating in Southern Rhodesia." Armed forces "Lawfully operating in Southern Rhodesia" under Rhodesian law, are the fascist colonial forces presently under Ian Smith. By inference then the armed liberation forces are rendered illegal.

By all standards of logic the liberation forces of Zimbabwe cannot be expected to surrender the fire-power by which they have pushed the British to the brink of talking about solutions to that very colonial power. It must be remembered that the British are the very colonial power which has all along been obstructing the introduction of free and fair democratic elections and independence for Zimbabwe.

The People of Zimbabwe have reached this point on the basis of their own strength and must rely on the power of their own liberation forces to cross them to free and fair democratic elections and independence, lest they be carried away by diversionary currents to false independence.

Whilst we believe that a Resident Commissioner is inevitable for the process of decolonisation, we cannot, however, agree to his assumption of absolute colonial powers because independence is a forward movement and not a backward movement. Who can trust a colonialist with absolute powers?

9. Under clause 3 sub-section (b) it is clear that the Resident Commissioner is appointed on the claim that he is a neutral officer. The section reads:—

"A transition period covering the surrender of power by the present (Smith) regime, the installation of a neutral-caretaker administration"

It is a fact that the present regime in Rhodesia is a British colonial regime. The fact that Ian Smith tends to quarrel with his British masters does not change the basic legal and political fact. Therefore the installation of a Resident Commissioner does not introduce neutrality. It is just a question of a preferable British colonial officer replacing an embarrassing one.

(c) We therefore do not regard the Resident Commissioner as a neutral or impartial officer. He is a straight

forward colonial administrator representing the system we are fighting against.

(d) We wish to assert, as we have done before, that the independence dispute has always been between Britain, as the colonial power, and the people of Zimbabwe and that, therefore, Britain can neither be neutral nor impartial.

10. The proposals under clause 10 (a) state that:—

"The primary responsibility for the maintenance of Law and Order during the transition period will lie with the police forces."

Under Annex B (the Transitional Constitution) clause 11 the Proposals state that "the judges of the High Court and the Subordinate Courts will be the persons who are serving in those respective capacities immediately before it comes into operation."

Under clause 15 (Annex B) the "Proposals" state further that: —

"All persons holding or acting in public offices immediately before the coming into operation of the (transitional) Constitution will continue to hold or act in the like offices.

Under clause 14 it is stated that their authority will be exercisable "in the like manner, as nearly as may be, as they were immediately before the coming into operation of the Transitional Constitution."

The Transitional provisions provide that the Resident Commissioner will take control of the above apparatus of Government set up by the fascist Ian Smith and use it in its entirety (but for the replacement of the Commissioner of Police, and a few minor adjustments) to conduct what is called: —

"Free and impartial elections on the basis of Universal suffrage."

The police are paramilitary and in the combined Rhodesian operations, they are the brutal murderers of Zimbabweans burning down peoples' homes and properties. The police harass, terrorise and molest the people. They carry out these crimes in liaison with the regime's armies, its civil administrators and the judges.

By what faith can an election booth be regarded as "democratic, free and impartial" if it is surrounded at its four corners by Smith's henchmen; his policemen, his soldier, his district Commissioner and his judge, supervised by a British colonial officer all of whom combined yesterday in hanging hundreds of freedom fighters who fought just to bring about an independent Zimbabwe based on "free democratic and impartial elections under universal suffrage."

Such an election is neither free nor impartial nor democratic. The election booth is just being used as a booby-trap to abuse democracy for certain economic forces.

11. The "Proposals" under clause 11 propose to invite the United Nations Secretary General to appoint a Representative to participate in the transition arrangements plus a UN Defence Force to be approved by the Security Council.

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EDITORIAL

AFRICA, for a long time remained one of the strongholds of colonialism, imperialism and racism.

The irreversible striving of the African peoples and the most recent victorious wars of liberation, have made the imperialists devote all their efforts, at all costs, to consolidate and maintain their tottering positions in Southern Africa in order to postpone the final collapse of the remaining saddle of colonialism and racism.

Savage racial discrimination, humiliations, terrorism, kidnappings, hangings in public and secretly, a manifold of restrictions and all manner of brutal oppression and the constant state of emergency, used by the Rhodesian Gestapo to facilitate exploitation of the masses, have developed even a deeper hatred of the imperialist-backed minority settler regime led by rascal Ian Douglas Smith.

The unbearable heavy oppression perpetrated by the British colonial settler clique in enslaved Zimbabwe has impelled the broad masses of Zimbabwe to sacrifice their lives and participate in the Programme of their vanguard Party, the ANC – ZAPU and intensify tremendously the armed revolutionary liberation struggle, now raging.

As the imperialists clumsily fumble for what they term "eleventh hour" peaceful settlement, some "red herring" aimed at hoodwinking the people of Zimbabwe into accepting a change in the colour of colonial settler regime or a different name for the hated British colonial system which is capitalistic, the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZPRA), the military wing of the ANC – ZAPU, swells its ranks and widens the scope of the liberation war by hitting the enemy in the north, north west, west, south west, south, south east and east of the country, in the middle and right in the heart of the main cities.

The mercenary-infested Rhodesian racist settler army is panic stricken, greatly outstretched and demoralised. The leader of the Rhodesian Gestapo is resorting to aggressing and threatening sovereign neighbouring States. The handful of settler-paid feudal chiefs, whose so-called power is maintained by the settler regime's bayonets and the collaborators, are not an exception.

Determined to free themselves from the evil colonial yoke and uproot the notorious British settler clique that wants to perpetrate oppression, po-

verty, hunger and ruthless plunder of the natural resources of Zimbabwe, the people of Zimbabwe are daily dealing crushing blows to the colonial system that is impeding them from establishing a sound base for social progress. This regime is a dangerous menace to world peace!

Following are the latest events on the armed revolutionary struggle raging in Zimbabwe and other related developments: –

The last decade witnessed a great change in the balance of forces in Latin America, Asia and Africa in favour of the dominated and oppressed people. The heroic successes of the colonised and exploited peoples has not only forced imperialism to be ever retreating, but have made the colonialist forces their lackeys to desperately resort to genocide, new tactics such as conspiracy in a hopeless bid to retain the reins of power in the hands of the doomed minority racist cliques in Southern Africa – Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.

The resistance of the people of Zimbabwe from the onset when the British military jackboots invaded Zimbabwe, has been transformed by the vanguard Party into a revolutionary armed struggle which has engulfed the entire country. In the face of the intensified armed struggle, the minority Rhodesian Gestapo is resorting to the most inhuman massacres of the African people and extending its genocidal blood-covered arm to neighbouring African sovereign States. The British settler clique led by Ian Douglas Smith in Salisbury, hopes to internationalize the war against the struggling people of Zimbabwe and run to hide behind the skirts of its imperialist patronisers. Aware of the sure inevitable collapse of the regime, our colonizer, Her Majesty's government and its allies are mean in propping it militarily and economically while telling the world that they are working on peaceful change to majority rule in Zimbabwe.

The vanguard Party of the struggling people of Zimbabwe, the ANC – ZAPU long correctly embarked on the armed revolutionary struggle as the only effective path of liberating Zimbabwe from repression, exploitation and the whole capitalist system current in Zimbabwe. Hence, the military wing of ANC – ZAPU, the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZPRA), is braving the enemy in the farms, forests, towns, villages, coun-



tryside and cities in all the provinces of Zimbabwe. As the Zimbabwe Freedom-Fighters escalate the protracted war, not a single day passes without the retreating enemy suffering heavy human and material losses.

The quality of ZPRA's strategy is manifested in the targets chosen in the military programme which are causing the doomed out-stretched mercenary-infested troops to commit inhuman massacres of Zimbabwean civilians and blatantly aggress independent neighbouring Republics, and sling mud at the Zimbabwe fighters to discredit the just war they are sacrificing their lives for.

Following is the recent events in the revolutionary armed struggle, the people of Zimbabwe are waging to scrap off the uncooth settler regime and establish power in the hands of the people of Zimbabwe on socialist base, to join other countries on the onward road to social progresses.

When the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe was formed last October, many malicious and cynical people claimed that it was nothing more than a short-lived marriage of convenience between ZAPU and ZANU, and that it was bound to collapse sooner than later. We pointed out that our sworn aim was to strengthen and deepen the unity of the masses of Zimbabwe.

There were three basic reasons for the creation of the Patriotic Front. These were:

- To intensify armed struggle in conditions of unity;
- To safeguard the hardwon independence of

- Zimbabwe after the liberation of our country;
- To avert a civil war in Zimbabwe that would inevitably occur if there were two armed forces.

The above reasons appear to be common sense. Indeed, they are common sense to us. But to ambitiously treacherous people, like the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole and the regional-minded Bishop Abel Muzorewa, our patriotic efforts did not mean a thing. Instead of joining the Patriotic Front, as it indeed behooves every Zimbabwean to do, they obviously decided to hobnob with the Smith fascists to the point of now being regarded as the blue-eyed boys of those bloody murderers. The Rev. Sithole was reported by the Rhodesian radio recently as saying that there would be civil war in Rhodesia between forces of the Patriotic Front. He was not expressing a reality but his own wishful thinking. He is deeply worried that he is now a despicable, craven spittle of the Rhodesian racist regime. He would like to cause confusion, create alarm, fear and despondance among the people of Zimbabwe. He is in a most destructive state of mind, and should not be taken seriously.

The Patriotic Front forces of the Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA) comprise the ZAPU revolutionaries of the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZPRA), and those of ZAPU's allies of ZANU. These forces, presently routing the enemy forces of Ian Smith, shall at the time of freedom protect the independence against obvious hostile forces, like the South African racists now actively assisting Smith and his cut-throats to exterminate the workers and peasants of Zimbabwe. It is people like the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole who are likely to pose a problem to the revolutionaries of Zimbabwe by trying to implement their treacherous schemes. The Patriotic Front has no doubt whatsoever that it shall and can handle the like of Ndabaningi Sithole easily. Presently he is strongly advised to join the Patriotic Front and to abandon his daydreams and pro-Smith plots. Sithole ilk, especially Muzorewa and his allies of ZUPO led by Chief Chirau, must realise that the net is closing on them. Time is running out very fast. Now is the time for them to come forward to the people and to stop acting like a pack of Judas Iscariots.

ZIPA is gaining ground daily: ZIPA is growing hourly; ZIPA is winning international support through the Patriotic Front. The Patriotic Front is Zimbabwe's vehicle of unity and Freedom.

EDITORIAL

London once again being a centre of colonial conspiracies, this time on the question of Zimbabwe's independence. The British colonial Secretary, Dr. David Owen, was the major actor. He was supported by the United States Secretary of State, Cyrus Vance and Bishop Abel Muzorewa. The bishop played the role of a collaborating slave. South Africa's Foreign Minister, Pik Botha, played a slave-owner's role. He ushered in Bishop Muzorewa. An atmosphere of great expectation was blown up.

We have a question to answer. It is: What was this storm in a tea-cup all about? The element of expectation being generated is that of an independent Zimbabwe about to be born. The people of Zimbabwe need to ask themselves further: Was this a serious exercise or one of those terrible insults to the intelligence of the people of Zimbabwe?

The British Foreign Secretary and the United States Secretary of State focussed attention by saying they were to produce a scheme for the independence of Zimbabwe. Ian Smith, racist minority leader also created a similar impression by saying he also had a scheme for the independence of Rhodesia. He said it was not very different from that of the UK and the USA. For his part, Bishop Muzorewa threw his political weightlessness around through ceaseless news conferences at which he declared that he had a four-point plan for Zimbabwe's independence. His scheme appears to be carrying features of Smith's plan on one hand, with a stress on one man, one vote on the other to link up with our national call. If this convergence between colonialists and reactionaries does not amount to a conspiracy, then what else can it be? It was not only a convergence of roads in London, but that of schemes of the plotters involved.

There is nothing new in Bishop Muzorewa's call for one man, one vote. The call dates back to 1957 when the African National Congress of Southern Rhodesia was re-organised. The call has been the mainstay of the Zimbabwean people's political demands since then. It was precisely because the British Government refused to respond to this call that the course of armed revolution was embarked upon since 1960. Today we are in a serious stage of our armed liberation struggle. The struggle is now bearing fruit. The

enemy suffers great losses and casualties daily. The question now is: Can Zimbabweans at this juncture be distracted from the course of the victorious struggle by an enemy that wants to cheat that victory through the assistance of collaborators, reactionaries and sell-outs who would like to place a black tace in power without substance?

We must be absolutely clear about what is meant when the people of Zimbabwe demand a transfer of power from the minority regime to Zimbabweans as a whole.

Firstly we must all understand that power shall be achieved through armed struggle. There is no other way by which Zimbabwe can be genuinely free. That power can be delivered to the masses of Zimbabwe only by those who have sacrificed to achieve it on behalf of the masses. That sacrifice is through our armed revolutionary struggle, of course. Genuine freedom and power cannot be achieved by way-layers like Bishop Abel Muzorewa or exhausted and tired individuals like the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole whose aim now is to end armed struggle by dragging it down with themselves as they collapse into fruitless retirement.

Our concept of power is not just the slogan of one man, one vote but its total essence. This means the ability and responsibility of the liberation forces to defend that power as their prized achievement for the people of Zimbabwe. But what do we see in the persons of Muzorewa, Sithole and Chirau? They would like to get the propaganda announcement of one man, one vote, as that implemented by the British colonial administration who have been and are still obstructing our genuine independence, use the Rhodesian fascist soldiers (currently employed by Ian Smith) to protect that sham independence, and, finally, to maintain the same economic system that exploits and oppresses us today. This is what the whole colonialist conspiracy is about in London today.

The British Government is trying to deny victory to the fighting patriotic forces of Zimbabwe, and deliver the response of one man, one vote to their chosen puppets (be they black or white) and thereby lend an impression that it is these reactionaries (and not the stalwarts of years of struggle) that have achieved people's victory. In short,

colonialists and reactionary forces have been conspiring to create puppet regime for Zimbabwe. One politician once told his electorate that electors always get the government they deserve (meaning that electors are to blame if they choose a reactionary government). In this instance, the people of Zimbabwe would be truly condemnable if they deviated from the path of freedom-fighters to follow the deception of traitors and collaborators like Bishop Muzorewa, Ndabaningi Sithole, and Jeremiah Chirau.

The issues are clear. The call for one man, one vote is an old one. The British Government failed to respond to it, and thus leaving no alternative but armed struggle which has now taken its course and must go on up to its logical conclusion. Any Zimbabwean that tries to stand on its way shall be blown away by it. Such shall be the fate of the conspiracies being brewed in London. The people of Zimbabwe know that genuine independence cannot come in any other way except by their own sweat and blood.

COMBAT DIARY

Comrades!

The time for intensified mass revolutionary action against the imperialist and racist structure in our country is now. The heroic combatants in many parts of Zimbabwe have stood up against the present oppressive system of government and defied and countered enemy bullets in a sustained offensive battle against oppression exploitation and racial humiliation. The battle is now raging. We have attacked nearly all instruments and symbols of this domination. Our gallant revolutionary fighters have raised the war to new heights. They have enriched our revolution. The mighty wave of the revolutionary war is now sweeping through the whole country — kraal, village, town, city and resort, under the direct guidance and tested revolutionary leadership of the Patriotic Front through its gallant army — Zimbabwe Peoples Army. (ZIPA) Its aim is to remove once and for-ever the capitalist and racist yoke.

A review of the people's victories contained in the previous issues of the ZIPA (ZPRA) Combat Diary makes clear that during the intervening period the peoples revolutionary war has made tremendous all-round gains. Concretely it reveals that we have heightened our strike capability and that our military strategy is built upon objective material conditions prevailing in the present epoch. The success of our strategy is manifested in the number of

attacks, the strategic importance of those attacks, the depth and spread of those combat operations, revolutionary political awareness of the masses and above all the revolutionary ideological commitment of our cadres steeled by our ideological gaint Party — ZAPU in the Patriotic Front and its leadership.

In the last three months, taking on a few illustrative examples ZIPA (ZPRA) forces killed 500 soldiers, police and district assistants, wounded about 1,000 counted enemy soldiers, destroyed 68 trucks, 30 camps and bush camps, 5 bridges, 20 strategic installations, 6 power installations, 2 tele-installations, 18 locomotive engines, downed 2 helicopters, cut communications — road, rail and telephone more than 200 times; captured 50 enemy soldiers and district assistants and large quantity of weapons and ammunition. All these figures represent the development of the war in favour of the revolutionary forces.

The effects of the escalation of the people's war are many. Already the enemy has resorted to new tactics of untold atrocities against innocent people of all races and aggression against neighbouring free states with the sole motive of perpetrating an evil racist regime. Atrocities on a section of the white population are intended to justify the racist regime's claim that our revolutionary forces are 'terrorists' and to portray a gloomy picture of the future after replacement of the present government by the

people's power. For the other races, the reactionary regime would like to intimidate and alienate the peoples revolutionary fighters from their life-blood and source — the masses. This baseless attempt to slander us is bound to fail because the people know that we are one and the same fighting for the same cause.

We are neither racists nor war mongers, ours is a just war to remove a social evil and injustice. We love freedom, peace and social justice — and this can only be realised by the demolition of the present capitalist racist regime in our country; which will not fall unless and until it is given a push.

We appeal to all the people to be vigilant, close ranks and join the war against the blood-thirsty bandits led by Smith.

We would like to thank countries of the progressive world for the all-round assistance they are rendering us and we appeal to them to double their material assistance in order that our goal is realised.

We appeal to our fighters in the field to re-dedicate themselves to the cause of the people.

Finally, we would like to pay tribute to the fallen heroes of our revolution and revolutionaries the world over. Your names are unknown, your deeds immortal.

Let us make 1977 a year of the final offensive!

LONG LIVE THE PATRIOTIC FRONT!

LONG LIVE ZAPU!

LONG LIVE OUR BELOVED LEADER AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF COMRADE JOSHUA NKOMO!

LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM, PEACE AND SOCIAL JUSTICE!

LONG LIVE THE WORLD ANTI-IMPERIALIST SOLIDARITY!

DEATH TO IMPERIALISM!

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

1. May 1, 1977:

a) Wankie

A house belonging to an enemy agent was burnt down by our forces in the Wankie area.

2. May 2, 1977:

a) Mashaba

In a raid conducted at a goat auction held near Mashaba Dam four enemy soldiers guarding the place were killed and several others received fatal injuries.

b) Gwelo

Three airforce officers were killed when a grenade was thrown into their car at a robot.

c) Wankie

Our fighters killed corporal Cornelius Portigieter in an attack on a field base.

3. May 3, 1977:

a) Plumtree

A train travelling on the main railway line between Bulawayo and Plumtree detonated an explosive device which resulted in the derailment of six wagons. The locomotive was completely destroyed.

b) Lupane

An enemy agent was killed by our forces at Dongamuzi in

the Lupane area after getting information that he was harbouring selous scouts.

4. May 5, 1977:

a) Wankie

Frederick Johannes Gronam died when the so-called security force vehicle in which he was travelling detonated a land mine in the Wankie.

b) Wankie — South

Chief Nekatombe a staunch supporter of the Smith regime was killed in the Wankie Tribal Trust Land by our forces.

5. May 6, 1977:

a) Kamativi

Zimbabwe Peoples fighters killed two enemy police officers in an ambush laid along the Kamative road near the tin mine.

b) Plumtree

Our combatants ambushed a car driven by Ian Brink a member of the so-called security forces. He suffered gunshot wounds in each arm and his wife Mrs Patricia Brink was injured.

c) Wankie

Our forces killed sergeant Dennis Miller in an ambush conducted in the south of Wankie.

6. May 7, 1977:

a) Somabula

Engine man Anthony Clarence a member of the police reserve was killed in an ambush conducted by our forces on a train between Somabula and Bannockburn.

7. May 8, 1977:

a) Gatooma:

Two selous scouts in a Gatooma Recreation club were killed by our combatants operating in the town.

b) Sipolilo

Our gallant fighters attacked with rockets the Sipolilo Police camp. Two policemen were killed and ten rifles and essential war materials were captured.

8. May 10, 1977:

a) Gatooma

An African Police sergeant was killed by our forces whilst on an intelligence mission in the outskirts of Gatooma town.

9. May 10, 1977:

a) Binga West

Our combatants launched a small arms and machine gun attack at Mlibizi Hotel causing extensive damage to the hotel and several enemy soldiers were killed.

10. May 11, 1977:

a) Lupane

Rifleman Cecil Habakkuk was killed by our forces whilst on leave and at the same time carrying out his intelligence task. This took place in the Lupane area.

11. May 12, 1977:

a) Karoi

Zimbabwe peoples revolutionary fighters demolished a car and a mining machine at Tide mine near Karoi.

b) Dzikita

A troop carrier detonated a landmine in the Dzikita area killing six of the occupants and wounding two seriously. The troop carrier was completely destroyed.

c) Pandamatenga

A convoy was ambushed near Pandamatenga in which three policemen were killed.

d) Lupane

A policeman was killed whilst on leave in the Lupane area.

e) Karoi

Our forces attacked an enemy base camp at Karoi. Six enemy soldiers were killed.

12. May 13, 1977:

a) Plumtree

Nine kilometres out of Plumtree town towards Dombodema, our commandos ambushed two army landrovers. Five enemy soldiers were killed and three seriously wounded.

b) Gokwe:

A district assistant harbouring selous scouts was killed together with four selous scouts in the Gokwe area.

c) Bulawayo

A goods train detonated an explosive device laid by our forces on the main Bulawayo-Mafeking line in Belevue, Bulawayo. Three wagons were derailed and the locomotive engine was extensively damaged.

13. May 14, 1977

a) Bulawayo:

A train travelling along the Bulawayo-Plumtree line detonated an explosive device laid by our fighters resulting in the derailment of five wagons and a worker killed. This took place near Bulawayo.

b) Gokwe

Our fighters attacked the town of Gokwe in north western Zimbabwe. Using mortar and rocket launchers our forces bombarded Gokwe with concentrated fire, destroying the police station, post office, district administration offices, an army post and other installations. Twenty eight enemy soldiers and police men were killed and twenty seriously wounded. Six enemy trucks were also destroyed. Before launching the attack on Gokwe our forces had taken the precaution to blow up a portion of the main road between Gokwe and Gatooma to prevent the enemy from sending reinforcements by road to the battle scene. The enemy was taken by surprise and thrown into confusion so that it was impossible to organize any effective defence.

c) Bulawayo

Our commandos killed a police reservist at Bulawayo & Tshaka Township.

14. May 15, 1977:

a) Karoi

At Hungerford farm near Karoi two enemy soldiers and a reservist were killed by our forces. Two FN30 rifles and several 303 rifles were captured.

15. May 16, 1977:

a) Lupane

Our combatants attacked an enemy agent's homestead killing Mr. Dennis Campbell Greef and his wife. Valuable materiel was captured including FN rifles.

b) Binga

George William Clark from Lemon Grove California, USA and an African field reservist Lawrence Kasumbi were killing by our forces in Binga.

c) Beit Bridge

Our commandos blew up the Buby bridge which resulted in cutting of the rail link of Rhodesia with South Africa for several days.

16. May 17, 1977:

a) Bala Bala

Our commandos killed in an ambush aircraftsman Robert George Nelson fifteen kilometres from Bala Bala.

17. May 18, 1977:

a) Bala Bala

Our forces killed Lance corporal Raymond Edwin Magwire in an ambush conducted in the Bala Bala area.

b) Wankie

A support unit troop carrier detonated a land mine in Wankie district. One African reservist was killed and four others injured.

b) Binga

A patrol officer was killed in an ambush near Binga.

20. May 23, 1977:

a) Bulawayo

Our commandos operating in Bulawayo City carried out several raids on a number of targets in Magwegwe Township, first was the raid carried out at a shop in which an



18. May 19, 1977:

a) Bulawayo:

Our forces killed two enemy CID officers and wounded several others at Figa Beer Garden in Bulawayo.

b) Nkai

Our combatants killed rifleman Kenneth Pittaway in a contact with a rhodesian patrol unit in the Nkai district.

c) Bulawayo:

Zimbabwe Peoples Revolutionary armed forces killed a policeman and wounded several police at Marisha Cock-tail.

19. May 20, 1977:

a) Tjolotjo

Two policeman were killed by our forces in an ambush in Tjolotjo Tribal Trust Land. Two rifles were captured.

enemy selous scout was killed. Secondly was at a super-market in which a considerable amount of money for future use was seized. Third and most effective was carried out at a beerhall where our forces came in contact with three members of the Rhodesian Special Branch. All of them were killed.

21. May 26, 1977:

a) Que Que

A lone police reservist Mr. Erasmus was ambushed by our forces along Hunters road near the town of Que Que.

22. May 29, 1977:

a) Bulawayo:

Our forces raided Bambi Lounge, Rangemore; about 20 kilometres from Bulawayo. The Lounge was owned by

a member of the Rhodesian security forces, and captured some materiel.

b) Kanyemba

A troop carrier detonated a land mine killing all the eight (8) occupants. The operation took place at Kanyemba.

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1. June 1, 1977:

a) Lupane

Our forces killed in a raid conducted in the Lupane area trooper Christopher Edmunds, three district assistants — Enos Sibanda, Madiba Ncube and Masunga.

b) Shabani

Our combatants attacked an enemy base camp annihilating six enemy soldiers wounding several others.

c) Plumtree

Our gallant fighters ambushed a police patrol in the Madlambudzi area killing four of them. These police elements had been harrasing the masses in the area investigating the presence of our forces.

2. June 3, 1977:

a) Gokwe

Our commandos killed corporal Jongwi Shati, who was on an intelligence mission.

b) Kariba

Our forces disrupted power supplies by blowing pylons near Nyaodza between Kariba and Mniati. The operation which was launched at 2,100 hours threw the cities of Salisbury and Bulawayo and their satellite towns into complete darkness for more than ten hours.

c) Wankie

The revolutionary forces launched an attack on a farm home-stead which was used as a supply dump for the regime forces operating in the Wankie Game reserve. Four enemy soldiers were killed in the encounter.

d) Deka-Pumping Station

Our forces sunk four speed boats — the boats were used to transport sight seeing tourists along the Zambezi river from Deka Pumping station to Msuna.

3. June 4, 1977:

a) Kariba

Our forces attacked the town of Kariba in a battle which lasted from 17.30 hours until dawn the next day. Our forces employed artillery pieces, mortars, rockets, and small arms. The results were — 20 enemy soldiers and nine civilians killed, the Kariba Country Club was completely destroyed, army barracks in the town burned and several buildings on the Kariba Heights destroyed. As part of this operation a road bridge over the Ruwe River was blown up, hindering enemy from sending reinforcements. Others structures destroyed included the Cassino Hotel, a departmental store and electric transformers which caught fire and disrupted power supplies.

4. June 5, 1977:

a) Sherwood:

A Special sabotage unit blew up a railway bridge at

Sherwood between Que Que and Gatooma resulting in the derailment of a freight train. The damage took two days to repair.

b) Bulawayo

A member of the Rhodesian so-called anti-terrorist relief fund was killed by our forces in the Belevue suburb in Bulawayo.

c) Bulawayo

Our commandos shot and killed two enemy collaborators in a grocery in Bulawayo's Magwegwe's Township.

5. June 6, 1977:

a) Bumi — Kariba

Our forces ambushed an enemy unit and inflicted heavy casualties on it. Unable to resist the enemy troops radioed for air support. Our forces had anticipated this move and lay in wait for the air cover in a short while a French-built helicopter hovered over the scene but was shot down before it could spot our fighters. The chopper crashed in a blaze of fire, killing its crew of two.

b) Victoria Falls

Our forces killed field reservist Matthew Charles Thomas Brooks in an ambush conducted in the south-east of Victoria Falls *

c) Gwelo

Four enemy selous scouts patrolling along the villages at Silobela were ambushed by our forces and all were killed on the spot.

d) Belingwe

Our forces raided an enemy bush base camp annihilating all enemy soldiers and capturing weapons, uniforms and documents pertaining to the enemy movement in the area.

6. June 7, 1977:

a) Wankie

Our fighters ambushed Christopher Swartz, a member of the Rhodesian police anti-terrorist unit while on an intelligence mission in the Wankie Tribal Trust Land.

b) Karoi

A police vehicle was ambushed by our unit operating in Karoi along the Kariba-Karoi main road. Six police officers were killed and the car damage beyond repair.

c) Dande

An enemy troop-carrier detonated a land mine — three occupants of the vehicle were killed on the spot and several fatally wounded.

d) Bulawayo

Our forces sabotaged the railway line at Luvave, eleven kilometres from Bulawayo City Centre, thereby proving beyond any doubt that our forces are now as active in urban centres as they are in rural areas. This sabotage caused the derailment of a goods train.

7. June 8, 1977:

a) Dande

A troop-carrier detonated a land mine near the Angwa bridge killing all six (6) occupants, the truck was completely destroyed — Dande Tribal Trust Land.

b) Que Que

Our forces attacked two special branch officers who were on a mission at the railway station. All two were killed.

c) Gwanda

Three Grey Scouts were ambushed by our forces killing all the three including their horses.

8. June 10, 1977:

a) Binga

Trooper Karl Meyer was killed by our forces in an ambush north of Binga area.

9. June 11, 1977:

a) Gokwe

Our forces killed Francis Hamp Adams a member of the rhodesian intelligence corps.

b) Binga

Police inspector Alfred Clifford Jerry was killed in an ambush conducted by our forces.

c) Makuti

A supply truck detonated a land mine causing delay in the resupply to the enemy small camps around Makuti.

d) Jambezi

Three graders which were being used to build new roads for use by the enemy supply trucks were completely destroyed.

e) Wankie

i) Our commandos blew up the railway line between Matetsi and wankie disrupted rail communication for several days.

ii) The same day a police reservist was killed in the same area in a contact with our forces.

10. June 12, 1977:

a) Kanyemba

A convoy of two troop carriers was ambushed by our forces completely destroying the two trucks and killed the 23 occupants.

b) Luapne

Corporal Grainger Manning was killed in a contact with our forces.

c) Victoria Falls

Our gallant fighters shot and killed in an ambush Mr. Alastair McDonald Wilson of the Ministry of Water Development in Victoria Falls.

d) Kanyemba

A patrol unit returning from searching our combatants who had ambushed two troop carriers was fired at by the unit at the base. In the ensuing confusion seven enemy soldiers were killed and several others fatally wounded.

e) Pandamatenga

An agriculturalist was shot dead in the Matetsi farming area.

f) Matopo s, Two special branch elements were shot dead by our forces – These two were investigating the feeding of our fighters in the area.

g) Wankie

Six police reservists were killed by our combatants at a farm home-stead, south-west of Wankie.

11. June 13, 1977:

a) Wankie

Three enemy soldiers were killed in an ambush at a farm-home-stead, two others were seriously wounded.

b) Mzingwane

A patrol unit of grey scouts was ambushed by our forces leaving six dead including their horses and four escaped.

c) Matopo

A tourist bus detonated a land mine in the Matopo's Worlds View tourist attraction centre.

d) Tjolutjo

Six members of the BSAP were ambushed by our forces killing four and seriously wounded two.

12. June 14, 1977:

a) Chirundu

A so-called rhodesian police anti-terrorist unit vehicle detonated a land mine expertly laid by our forces between Kazangarare and Chirundu.

b) Nuanetsi

Our forces killed constable Edson Sibanda and Private Isaac Jakata.

c) Belingwe

Two members of the rhodesian security forces were killed in an ambush carried out by our forces.

d) Gwanda

At Hwali tribal trust land our forces killed three district assistants stationed at chief Mathe's kraal.

13. June 15, 1977:

a) Naunetsi

Lance corporal Arthur Holmes and district assistant Amos Mapundo were killed in an ambush conducted by our forces.

b) Lupane

In the Lupane area a shop in which were eight soldiers operating against our forces in that area was shelled with mortars and rockets by our forces. All the eight were killed and the shop left in ruins.

14. June 16, 1977:

a) Nyamoumba – Chirundu

An enemy base camp in the Nyamoumba area was destroyed by our forces using small arms and rockets. The few enemy soldiers who survived fled in panic.

b) Binga

Binga post office came under heavy rocket attack from our forces. Twelve police constables and five enemy soldiers were killed in the attack.

c) Binga

Rifleman Faizel Karim was killed in an ambush carried out by our forces.

15. June 17, 1977:

a) Jambezi-Wankie

In an ambush our forces destroyed two enemy supply trucks and one mine detecting vehicle. The drivers of the supply trucks and the crew of the mine detecting vehicle were killed.



b) Sinoia

Our forces killed second lieutenant Dereck Kingsley Jones of Darwandale and district assistant Edward Nemachena.

16. June 18, 1977:

a) Tjolutjo

A section of selous scouts dressed in guerilla type uniforms was encircled and wiped out while investigating the feeding of our forces in the Mswigana area.

b) Kariba

Another base camp in the Kariba area was overrun. The enemy tried to fire back with aimless artillery fire but was quickly silenced.

c) Sinoia

Field reservist Gordon Ian Murdoch from Selous was killed in an ambush laid by our forces in the north of Sipolilo.

17. June 19, 1977:

a) Kariba

Two enemy trucks detonated land mines, a total of nine soldiers were killed, three of them being black.

b) Nyaodza – Karoi

A troop-carrier carrying eight enemy soldiers detonated a land mine, five of the occupants were killed instantly the remaining three sustained multiple injuries.

c) Vuti

A rhodesian army truck detonated a land mine between Vuti and Karoi and the vehicle was damaged beyond repair.

d) Wankie

Our forces killed Chief Dingane an enemy agent in Mabale Wankie district. He was a Rhodesian regime stooge.

e) Bulawayo

i) The rhodesian omnibus depot was raided by our forces who captured essential material to finance our future operations. This took place at 21.00 hours.

ii) Our forces in a bid to Lower the morale of the enemy after describing our forces as shop and beerhall robbers attacked with rockets and machine gun fire the West Commonage police camp, eleven police officers were killed.

18. June 20, 1977:

a) Pandamatenga

Three mines expertly laid by Zimbabwe peoples revolutionary forces along the Pandamatenga road, detonated and blew up to no repair an enemy land rover carrying three army officers, a troop carrier in which were several troops, and a police land rover respectively. All the occupants in each vehicle were killed.

b) Gokwe

The Gokwe district-Commissioner's office was destroyed by our forces operating in that area. Valuable documents pertaining to the so-called rhodesian security deployment in the area were captured by our forces.



c) Mushika – Kanyemba

In a mortar and machine gun attack on an outpost camp our forces killed three enemy soldiers. There were only five enemy soldiers in the camp.

19. June 21, 1977:

a) Salisbury:

Our forces killed two enemy soldiers who were on leave. They were from Mount Pleasant suburb.

20. June 22, 1977:

a) Mana Pools

The Zimbabwe Peoples Revolutionary forces launched a mortar and small arms attack at Mana Pools resulting in extensive damage to the buildings, several enemy soldiers were killed and others seriously wounded.

b) Mana Pools

Mana Pools a member of the so-called security forces was killed in an ambush laid by our forces near Mana Pools tourist centre.

21. June 23, 1977:

Wankie

A motor trolley detonated an explosive device laid on the rail line between Mbiya and Dip Ngombe. Three soldiers patrolling on board were killed.

22. June 24, 1977:

Gokwe

In the Gokwe area near Sengwe river a helicopter was gunned down by our forces leading to the flight of the enemy infantry in the area.

23. June 25, 1977:

Nyamandhlovu

The peoples revolutionary forces blew up a railway line between Ingamu and Gwai station. This disrupted rail traffic for three days.

24. June 27, 1977:

Sipolilo

Zimbabwe gallant peoples fighters killed lance corporal Allen Michael Hill, field reservist Davison Marumahoko, rifle men – Hecton Mackenzie and Keit Brown in a raid on a field base camp in Sipolilo.

25. June 28, 1977:

a) Chirundu

Corporal George Duncan was killed in a contact with our forces near Chirundu.

b) Nkai

An enemy land rover was ambushed by our revolutionary forces killing all the occupants and leaving the vehicle damaged beyond repair.



c) Gwanda

Four members of the notorious selous scouts unit were ambushed, when they tried to pose as guerillas by our forces operating in the area.

d) Kafusi – Gwanda

Our revolutionary forces launched a machine gun, rocket, and small arms fire attack on an enemy camp at Kafusi Dam annihilating all the occupants of the camp.

e) Bulawayo

A bar at Rangemore in which several ex-service men of the rhodesian airforce wore, refreshing came under heavy fire from our forces. Several of them were killed and others wounded.

26. June 29, 1977:

a) Gwelo

Three members of the selous scouts were shot dead when they tried to ambush our forces.

b) Shabani

Six members of the so-called security forces were seriously wounded when the truck they were travelling in detonated a land mine.

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1. Juli 1, 1977:

Wankie – Victoria Falls

i) The luxurious Elephants Hills Hotel near Victoria Falls came under artillery and small arms fire from our forces. Several enemy soldiers were killed. The hotel buildings were extensively damaged and a tourist bus within the vicinity was destroyed. This occurred 22.00 hours.

ii) An enemy troop-carrier detonated a land mine laid by our forces on a road leading to Elephant Hills Hotel. Several enemy soldiers were killed by the mine-blast – this took place at 23.00 hours.

iii) At 24.00 hours our gallant fighters clashed with an enemy patrol and inflicted heavy casualties on the enemy.

iv) At 0130 hours a patrol boat was attacked and sunk by our forces.

2. July 2, 1977:

Wankie

Our forces ambushed a tourist bus carrying South African servicemen in the Wankie National Park. Several occupants of the vehicle were killed.

3. July 3, 1977:

a) Makuti

A police field reservist was shot dead in an ambush conducted by our forces on the main road between Makuti and Karoi.

b) Shabani

Our combatants in a contact with enemy forces killed rifle man Michael Bosch near Shabani.

c) Kariba

Eight so-called security forces on patrol along the Zambezi river detonated anti-personnel mines planted by our forces operating in the area.

d) Nyamandhlovu – Tjolutjo

Our gallant fighters killed a rhodesian regime informer in Tjolutjo, Emuqolweni line.

4. July 4, 1977:

Chirundu – Kariba

Our forces clashed with the enemy soldiers near Tasiwe river in the Chirundu area. Two enemy soldiers died on the spot, several received serious injuries.

5. July 5, 1977:

a) Wankie

Using rockets and small arms our fighters successfully raided Peters Motel killing eight enemy soldiers, guarding the place. A police land rover in the vicinity of the hotel was riddled by bullets.

b) Nkai

Our forces killed Cornerlius Swartz in an ambush conducted at Nkai Saw Mills.

c) Karoi

Signal-man Dube was killed in an ambush laid by our forces operating in the Karoi area.

6. July 7, 1977:

a) Kariba

i) Our forces killed Vedette Charles Brackley, corporal, district assistant Peter Njenjera and district security assistant Garikayi Masara in Kariba area.

ii) South-East of Kariba our fighters demolished 20 telephone poles covering the distance of 10.00 metres. Communication was completely cut between Chirundu and the interior.

b) Urungwe – Dzikita

A land rover detonated a land mine killing four of the occupants and seriously wounding three.

7. July 8, 1977:

a) Nuanetsi

Our forces killed rifleman David Barclay in an ambush conducted in the Nuanetsi area.

b) Chirundu

Our forces attacked and completely destroyed Chirundu Army barracks by heavy artillery fire. The enemy had to evacuate everybody from the immigration post. He received heavy losses in personnel, documents, and weapons, etc.

8. July 9, 1977:

Chirundu – Makuti Road

An enemy troop-carrier detonated a land mine. All the occupants were annihilated and the truck was destroyed beyond repair.

9. July 10, 1977:

a) Kenyemba – South

An enemy troop-carrier detonated a land mine, killing six of its occupants and wounding one.



b) Lomagundi – Doma

A land rover detonated a land mine killing three and wounding two seriously.

10. July 11, 1977:

a) Kanyemba – South

An enemy troop-carrier detonated a land mine killing four of its occupants and wounding two seriously.

b) Kariba

Our combatants ambushed and killed an enemy collaborator 20 kilometres from the Makuti Hotel in the Kariba district.

11. July 12, 1977:

a) Shangaani

Our commandos attacked three targets in the centre of Shangaani, using rockets, grenades and small arms fire – the little town's recreation club and two nearby petrol stations. Several servicemen were killed including three police men guarding the place.

b) Dande – Game Reserve

A land rover detonated a land mine killing five of its occupants and wounding two seriously.

c) Mana Pools – Urungwe

An enemy land rover with 7 occupants was ambushed and six of the enemy soldiers were killed, and the other one was fatally wounded. The land rover was left in flames.

12. July 13, 1977:

a) Sipolilo – Kachuta

Kachuta Council Centre was attacked by our forces operating in the Sipolilo district. Some documents and office equipment were burnt to ashes. Also the communication was cut.

b) Wankie – Pandamatenga

Our forces clashed with the enemy soldiers and inflicting heavy losses on the enemy.

13. July 14, 1977:

a) Plumtree

Our forces gunned down a watchman at Hangaria store near the Botswana border. This took place when the watchman attempted contact security forces.

14. July 17, 1977:

Kanyemba

Kanyemba Police station came under a heavy barrage of artillery fire from our forces operating in the area, several members of the support unit were killed and the communication installations at the camp destroyed. In another encounter on the same day our forces attacked an enemy patrol boat, killing four enemy sticks patrolling on board.

15. July 18, 1977:

a) Sibankwazi

Our forces sunk a patrol boat along the Zambezi river. Five patrol officers on board were killed.

b) Mangula – Lomagundi

Chikuyo police reserve camp was attacked by our forces using bazookas, machine guns, rifle grenade launchers, and small arms, for 30 minutes. 10 occupants were killed, 7 wounded and the camp was left in flames.

c) Chirundu

An enemy vehicle was ambushed near Ruwe bridge at 10.00 hours by our forces. The vehicle was riddled by bullets. Several enemy soldiers were seriously wounded.

16. July 19, 1977:

Chirundu

A vehicle in which were travelling three police officers detonated a land mine laid by our forces operating in Chirundu area. The vehicle and its occupants were destroyed.

17. July 20, 1977:

a) Tjolotjo

A police constable Sibabi Mhlanga was killed in a contact with our combatants in the western area of the country.

18. July 22, 1977:

Wankie – Jambezi

In an encounter with the enemy forces in the Jambezi area, Royden Charles Orchard and rifleman Thomas Arthur Shipley were killed. These were police reservists.

19. July 26, 1977:

a) Chirundu

Our forces attacked the Chirundu Police camp and inflicted heavy losses on the enemy.

b) Kariba – east

A tractor of the Operational Construction was demolished by rocket launcher shells which left it in flames.

20. July 27, 1977:

a) Bulawayo

Our urban commando unit operating in Bulawayo killed three policemen in Polandaba Township.

b) Gokwe

Our gallant fighters operating in Gokwe area clashed with the enemy forces and killed private Michael Chikozho and Tobias Marufu, all enemy soldiers.

21. July 30, 1977:

a) Kariba – East

An enemy vehicle detonated a land mine. The driver and his assistant died on the spot. Several others were injured.

b) Wankie

Our forces operating in the Wankie National Park ambushed an enemy patrol, killing patrol officer Francois Jacobs Erasmus, constable Emson Mahanzu and field reservist Edwin John Bedington.

22. July 31, 1977:

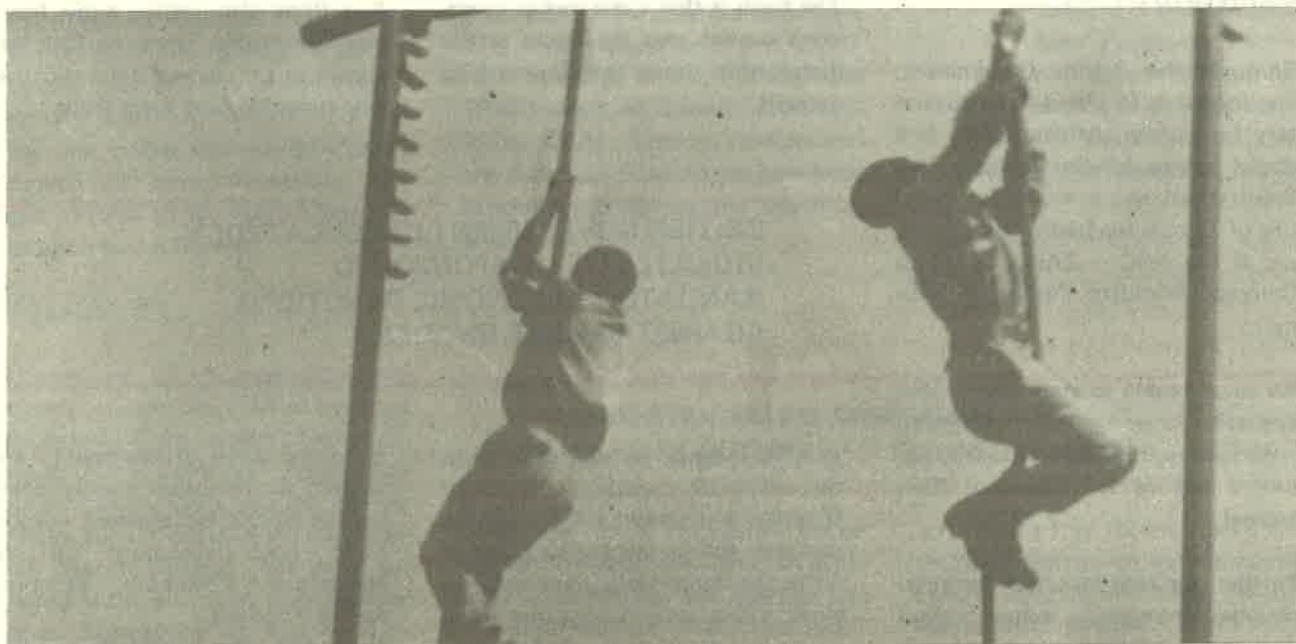
a) Victoria Falls

Our forces pounded Victoria Falls Motel with heavy artillery barrage. The enemy suffered heavy losses in both property and personnel.

b) Kazungula

i) Our gallant fighters attacked a police patrol boat by heavy machine gun and small arms fire. The boat was sunk and all its occupants annihilated.

ii) Our gallant fighters also attacked the Kazungula police border post and inflicted heavy casualties on the enemy.



SHORT NEWS

GABORONE, REPUBLIC OF BOTSWANA

The Government of the Republic of Botswana announced that "... a company of the Rhodesian fascist army, backed by troop carriers and helicopters, attacked a defence force base camp in the north east of the Republic at Mapoga and Moraka Villages."

PLUMTREE

Rhodesian settler Commissioner Mike Edden, the Police Special Branch Representative on the newly formed Combined Operations Command, arrogantly boasted that "... on the 16th May, 1977 at 13.00 hours (11.00 GMT), 50 Rhodesian troops knifed into Botswana in hot pursuit ..."

SALISBURY

Through the British Government, and indeed its Dr David Owen, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, acting as a postal service for Smith, fascist Ian Smith threatened to attack the Republic of Zambia foe basing guerilla forces of the ANC - ZAPU, as led by Comrade President Joshua M. Nkomo.

We must hasten to state clearly that aggression or no aggression the Smith notorious regime, shall be totally uprooted out of the whole of Zimbabwe!

Further, for how long will the international community watch aggression upon aggression committed with

impunity by the Smith rascals against the independent and sovereign States of the of Botswana, Republic of Zambia and People's Republic of Mozambique?

GWELO

Despite the notorious "Operational Areas" created by the Smith regime belting most parts of bordering territory of Zimbabwe, the Zimbabwe people's revolutionary struggle continues indeed to gather momentum as it is being intensified in all fronts.

The areas bordering with Mozambique, Botswana and Zambia have enemy "operational areas" (aggression areas), notoriously code named Hurricane, Thrasher, Repulse and Tangent. More are in the offing according to information in our hands.

The truth is that these sort of operations cannot save the fascist settler dictatorship from the approaching defeat!!

BRITISH GOVERNMENT CALCULATEDLY VIOLATES ITS UN-SPONSORED MANDATORY ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST FASCIST RHODESIA

It is established beyond any doubt that Shell BP, together with Mobil (France) and Caltex (USA), are the constant and permanent suppliers of oil to the Smith fascist murderous regime. These sadist Companies thriving on the blood of the Africans, do

SALISBURY

New so-called Minister of Defence:

The new headmaster of the Rhodesian Defence Ministry is settler Mark Partridge, who succeeded Reggie Crowper who resigned in fear because of the intensifying armed revolutionary struggle.

The re-organisation in the Rhodesian Defence system:

The four settler so-called security services, are co-ordinated through a new Department known as "Combined Operations Command" headed by a Minister called Brig. Roger Hawkins. Brig. Roger Hawkins is also Deputy to Ian Smith in the so-called War Council. The Commander of the "Combined Operations Command" is General Peter Walls, is also referred to as Supreme Military Commander (of course, supreme in defeat)!

It must be clearly stated that it is not the senseless military re-organisations that Zimbabwe needs. The solution lies in the immediate and total surrender of the minority clique. These almost daily military restructurings by the fascist clique will do the doomed regime no good.

New so-called Commander of armed force:

The Rhodesian settler army has a new Commander from the 16th May known as Lt. General John Hickman who succeeded Gen. Peter Walls

so in the name of christianity and western standards but gravely violating the British Government - sponsored UN Resolutions on the Mandatory Economic Sanctions against Rhodesia.

Worse still, the British Government

has big shares and controls the running of Shell BP. This makes the British Government right on the top of the mountain of those who save the criminal minority settler clique in Salisbury. Small wonder that even the warning of aggression on the Republic of Zambia was delivered by

the same British Government. It is known that without oil, the Smith regime could not be able to commit these blatant aggression against Mozambique, Botswana and Zambia. Britain is therefore an accomplice to the killings which followed such bloody aggression.

wayo. The locomotive, some coaches and a long stretch of the railway line were extensively damaged. Windows of houses 400 yards away were rattled and broken. Asleep residents scampered out of their sleep and houses in utter panic and fear.

NEW BRITISH MOVES FOR ANOTHER ATTEMPT AT ANOTHER CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE ON RHODESIA, BRITISH CIRCUS IS BACK IN AFRICA

Another circus British move on Rhodesia is in progress. This time, the actor is Foreign Office Representative John Graham accompanied by Stephen Low, American Ambassador to Zambia. One act, with British Foreign Secretary Dr. David Owen the centre, has ended in a very unimpressive mood with him sad. Others who came in the scene in the past are Ambassador Ivor Richard, Sir Alec Douglas Home, Lord Goodman, James Callaghan and Henry Kissinger. Attempts by Dr. David Owen to smuggle American Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, through the back door was crushed by Comrade President Joshua M. Nkomo.

All these moves are a diversionary menace. Out true and genuine independence will neither come from Ian Smith nor his defenders. Dealing with Ian Smith is only through a revolutionary war and the armed revolutionary liberation struggle. For us, we are taking our country only through the armed revolution. The gun directed by the Party is the only solution to our liberty.

SALISBURY

During one of the operations two enemy settlers were killed west of Bulawayo. They are identified as gestapo Dennis Greef and gestapo Marjorie Alison. Both worked energetically for the nazist Rhodesian Special Branch Service. They were responsible for killing of a big number of our Comrades in the area, especially the masses.

BULAWAYO

According to the Rhodesian military communique issued in the evening of the 14th May, 1977, a goods-laden train was blown up by an explosive device in BELLEVUE, one of the plush settlers only suburbs of Bula-

SALISBURY

AN AMERICAN MERCENARY SERVING THE DOOMED RHODESIAN FASCIST REGIME KILLED

An American mercenary serving and trying to save the doomed Rhodesian fascist regime was killed in a clash with the ZPRA guerillas near here. The American mercenary is identified as George William Clarke, aged 28 and single, of Lemon Grove, California (USA). Both his relatives and the American Government have been officially notified by the Smith fascist.

N. B.: "Several hundred foreigners, mostly Americans, Britons, French, Belgians, Australians, New Zealanders and racist South Africans are serving as mercenaries for the tottering nazist Rhodesian regime."

SALISBURY

THREE RHODESIAN ARMY MEN KILLED IN ACTION.

According to a Rhodesian settler military communique issued in Salisbury, "black nationalist guerillas killed three security forces members." They are "identified as white Con-

script Craig Paul Clarke, aged 18 and single, of Bulawayo; and "unmarried Lazarus aged 21 and Angel Leonard, aged 23 from Shabani."

BULAWAYO

THE ZIMBABWE GUERILLAS BLOW UP THE RAILWAY LINE NEAR BULAWAYO

The revolutionary guerilla fighters of the ZPRA blew to smithereens the main railway line between the city of Bulawayo and Plumtree resulting in

the damage of two engines and a number of wagons carrying a whole load of Zaire copper for export through the South African ports.

CHIPINGA

GUARDED TOURIST CONVOYS ATTACKED BY ZPRA IN WAR – TORN ZIMBABWE

An eight-car convoy of tourists in the eastern part of Zimbabwe was severely attacked by the ZPRA. Three of the heavily guarded cars were shuttered on the spot with automatic fire, others were blown up. The only survivor settler John Dillane ended

up in a Chipinga hospital. The introduction last year of driving in heavily guarded convoys by the Rhodesian racist clique is proving to be a futile exercise as the freedom fighters attack even more.

LUSAKA, ZAMBIA

ZAMBIAN ARMED FORCES READY TO REPEL ANY ATTACK BY RHODESIAN FASCIST CLIQUE

After threats by the plastic-faced leader of the Rhodesian fascists to attack the Republic of Zambia for basing guerilla forces of the ANC – ZAPU, the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces of Zambia, Presi-

dent Kaunda put the whole Zambian Army in a state of full alert and ordered them to shoot down any Rhodesian plane that ever violates Zambian air-space. He further declared war against racist Rhodesia.

BULAWAYO

BULAWAYO BECOMES A NIGHTMARE FOR THE RHODESIAN FASCIST GESTAPO

Rhodesian forces which used to claim that the liberation war is being fought on the borders of Zimbabwe are proven liars because urban war-

fare is now in Bulawayo. Enormous explosions blasted Njube while hand grenades were used in Marisha and Pelandaba causing a lot of damage.

CHIPINGA

MORE SO-CALLED PROTECTED VILLAGES

People from the village of Garahwa and Manzwire in the Chipinga area on the eastern part of Zimbabwe are resisting being forced into the hated fenced kraals similar to the US-imperialist's "Strategic Hamlets" in the then South Vietnam. By these, the regime hopes to isolate the guerilla forces from the population. Settler District Commissioner D. W. Duploy distributed pamphlets urging the Villagers to pay tax (cattle), dip fees, school fees, bus fares etc. despite the difficulties created by the regime. He warned that in the protected villages, the regime will not feed them either. Of course, these strategic hamlets will not save the tyrannical regime from the inevitable collapse!

BEIT BRIDGE

RHODESIAN REGIME'S COMMUNICATIONS IN JEOPARDY

Within their Programme and Strategy, the ZPRA is striking at communication lines of the Rhodesian clique. Its (settler) out-stretched forces are hitting land mines laid by ZPRA. Almost every day, an enemy vehicle is blown into scrap by a land mine. The railway line used as survival line by the regime, especially through sanctions-busting South Africa, is under attack. The bridge on the Buby river built by the regime to facilitate its outlet to South Africa was blown up by the gallant guerilla forces. Traffic was halted for more than thirty hours as engineers braced to repair the heavy damage. More will come!!

THE PATRIOTIC FRONT OF ZIMBABWE FURTHER CONSOLIDATED

Delegates of the ANC — ZAPU and of the ZANU met last month to further consolidate the Patriotic Front. They agreed on a number of measu-

res to co-ordinate and consolidate the PF. Further meetings will be held in due course in line with the strategy of the Patriotic Front (PF).

FRENCH WEAPONS

RACIST SOUTH AFRICA PASSES MORE MILITARY HARDWARE TO THE FASCIST SMITH REGIME FROM THE NATO CAMP

Rhodesian Air Force pilots are just completing training in South Africa in the use of mirage jets, according to the International Institute for Strategic Studies. Some of the 32 fighter planes recently assembled by South Africa under French Government license are being passed on to Rhode-

sia. South Africa has also passed to Rhodesia new French Allouette helicopters, powerful anti-tank recoilless rifles and heavy mortars.

In fact, four strategic airfields with underground hangers and workshops for the French-supplied jets have just been readied in Rhodesia.

US ARMS TRANSFERED TO RHODESIA VIA ITALY AND RACIST SOUTH AFRICA

US arms to Rhodesia are shipped to Italy, West Germany, Greece and Canary Islands (Spanish colony), then "transshipped" to South Africa and then passed on to the notorious Smith settler regime. Such American Companies as Colt Industries, Inc., and Winchester Arms (a subsidiary of the Olin Corp.) are heavily involved. Lockheed supplies the AL — 60 aircraft to the Aermacchi (Italian) which passes them to the Rhodesian Air Force through South Africa. The AL — 60, is a single engine cabin mono-plane. Since 1959, Aermacchi has been partly owned by Lockheed Aircraft International Inc. (a wholly-owned subsidiary of the Lockheed Corp.), whose President G. C. Prill sits on the Aermacchi Board. The AL — 60 is, in fact, the Lockheed — 60, and is produced by Aermacchi under license from the parent firm.

Another US firm, the Avco — Lycoming Division of the Avco Corp., supplies the 400-h.p. IO-720-A1a8-cylinder piston engines used to power the AL — 60's sold to Rhodesia and then passed through racist South Africa. The AL — 60, is used in Rhodesia to supply anti-guerilla army units and is known in settler circles as the Trojan.

TOTTERING RHODESIAN SETTLER REGIME USES LAST MUSCLE ON BLATANT AGGRESSION AGAINST NEIGHBOURING STATES

The desperate Rhodesian racist minority clique is using its remaining

muscle to aggress neighbouring sovereign African States in a bid to internationalize its war against the struggling people of Zimbabwe and hopes to frustrate the supporters of the just cause for the liberation of Zimbabwe. Its mercenary-infested and imperialist-backed troops penetrated 70 kms into Mozambique, bombed and killed hundreds of innocent civilians in their country, wrecking the town of Mapai. As expected, troops of the People's Republic of Mozambique repulsed the enemy troops and shot down a Rhodesian Canberra. Rhodesian provocations into Mozambique alone amount to 143 and have massacred 1,432 civilians with more than 500 injured. The fascist regime has caused about \$ 12,000,000 (million) worth of damage. Indeed, its provocations have now grown into invasions. Hence, the President of the People's Republic of Mozambique has called on the UN Security Council to discuss the ever-increasing aggressions of the criminal regime, which uses ground troops with tanks covered by French-supplied Allouette helicopters, British Canberras and US mortars.

THE CRIMINAL RHODESIAN CLIQUE PASSES NEW LAW IN ORDER TO ARREST AND TRY NON-RHODESIANS

The Rhodesian settler clique which tramples underfoot the sovereignty and territorial integrity of neighbouring African States by kidnapping Nationals of these Republics which border Rhodesia, has given its kangaroo courts a decree to try and sentence non-Rhodesian citizens resident in these countries.

This new so-called law stems from a case two months ago when fascist Rhodesian forces arrested two Botswana Nationals on Botswana soil for possession of arms. The two were abducted from Botswana and forced to appear before the Rhodesian kangaroo courts.

THE RECENT COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE AND RHODESIA

The recent Commonwealth Conference in London has just ended after a week's deliberations on a wide range of topics. One of the main questions tackled was the ever-intensifying armed revolutionary war in earnest progress in Zimbabwe in order to remove British colonialism from that part of Africa. The Republic of Zambia and other anti-imperialist countries declared once more that the armed struggle is the only means to uproot inhuman British colonialism from Zimbabwe.

As expected of the rabid colonialists, Britain and her partners in exploitation stick to the so-called "peaceful negotiations" which are impractical. It must be noted that Britain colonised Zimbabwe by force of arms in 1890. The British government still props its colonial projection in Zimbabwe militarily and economically. But the clear truth is that the Smith settler regime is boldly dipping itself very rapidly by its stupid war against Zimbabwe. It is doomed.

DECEITFUL INTENTIONS OF REGIME

SO-CALLED BRITISH/AMERICAN PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS FOR RHODESIAN INDEPENDENCE

The Observer newspaper revealed what the people of Zimbabwe discovered decades ago. It obtained documents which were circulated to all the Rhodesian fascist regime's military and other officers as well as to senior politicians explaining Ian Smith's strategy for accepting a "peaceful plan" for majority rule showing that the interim period preceding independence will be used for re-stocking the settler regime's

depleted armouries; recruiting mercenaries and boosting the ailing economy.

The Documents termed "Highly Secret", further reiterate that the Rhodesian minority regime has no intention of reaching a negotiated settlement.

Hence, the intensification of the armed struggle by the ZPRA raging in every corner and centre of the country is the panacea.

RHODESIAN CRIMINALS THREATEN TO CUT ELECTRICITY POWER LINES TO THE REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA

The Rhodesian criminal regime, not able to cope with the revolutionary liberation war raging in every corner of Zimbabwe, is now desperately aggressing, threatening and attempting even to bribe neighbouring independent Republics. Through Britain, the Rhodesian bandits threatened to attack the

Republic of Zambia. On the 7th June, 1977 the racist minority regime threatened to cut power from the jointly-owned Kariba hydro-electric turbines. The regime hopes to intimidate Zambia from its just stand in supporting the armed struggle raging in Zimbabwe. Indeed, Zambia has enough electric power

for its consumption and export besides power from the Kariba. The Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZPRA), a major striking force of ZIPA is striking in all directions in the country, in the middle of Zimbabwe and can hit the enemy any time in accordance with the directives of the Party.

ZPRA COMMANDOS ATTACK TOWN OF KARIBA

The guerilla commandos of the ANC – ZAPU attacked the town of Kariba blowing off the barracks of the Rhodesian racist forces. A number of settler forces were eliminated and heavy damage caused. The Smith regime admitted the operation is one of the largest ever attack conducted on Kariba at 17.00 hours (late afternoon), from inside Zimbabwe by rockets.

ZPRA FORCES BLOW UP SALISBURY/KARIBA PYLONS

ZPRA forces on the 8th June blew up the line (pylons) taking electricity from Kariba Dam to Salisbury causing a black out in the fascist regime's capital. The black out was from Friday until Saturday.

We need mention that the armed forces of the ANC – ZAPU, can attack any target in any corner of the country at any time in line with the strategy of the Party to liberate Zimbabwe.

ZIMBABWE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY ARMY ATTACKS IN THE HEART OF ZIMBABWE

The main rail line linking the two main cities in Zimbabwe – the capital Salisbury and the industrial capital Bulawayo, was blown to smithereens at Sherwood, right in the heart of Zimbabwe. The explosion device laid by ZPRA forces caused over 10.00 hours of delay to the regular passenger trains. More is in the offing.

RACISTS CONSPIRE ON METHODS TO PRESERVE FASCIST COLONIALISM IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Coinciding with the Anglo/American visits, the Foreign Minister of the racist South African clique Piik Botha flew into Salisbury and had a meeting with his Rhodesian settler counterpart Pieter Van der Byl and the headman of the Rhodesian clique Ian Douglas Smith. The discussions

were on how the Rhodesian minority gangster regime can prolong its hated system in accordance with the NATO strategy. Of course, we must mention that the racist South African regime is part and parcel of the Israeli/Rhodesia/South African racist and Zionist triangle.

RHODESIAN REGIME ADMITS INCREASE IN LOSS OF ITS TROOPS, POLICE, RESERVISTS AND MATERIALS

The armed revolutionary struggle waged under the Party led by President of the people of Zimbabwe, Comrade Joshua M. Nkomo of the Patriotic Front, has intensified so tremendously, leaving the racist settler troops confused and on the retreat. The regime has admitted the increasing elimination of its troops.

On the 17th June recently commissioned officer Derek Kingsly Jones who got a sword of honour for the first cadet in the Rhodesian fascist army; an 18 year Sec. Lt. and a paramilitary trooper were among the enemy forces eliminated by ZPRA forces. **The struggle continues till the collapse of the fascist clique!**

RHODESIAN ARMS FOR SALE TO EUROPE AND SOUTH AFRICA

Rhodesian settler regime is designing and also manufacturing with NATO assistance, semi-automatic weapons and exporting them to Western Europe.

Dick Stoffberg, a Johannesburg (South Africa) arms dealer, announced last week that soon he will retail openly for £ 200 (sterling) the LDP gun, the Rhodesian semi-automatic. He says inquires for the

weapon are coming from Western Europe and South Africa. The LDP gun — named after the initials of its three designers, say they were originally in the Armaments in Britain. Another new home-made Rhodesian weapon offered for sale is a stainless steel 9 mm automatic Mamba pistol. Its makers have already applied for patents in South Africa and West Germany.

COST OF ARMED STRUGGLE FOR SMITH SETTLER REGIME

The armed revolutionary liberation struggle being fought by the people

of Zimbabwe under the leadership of their vanguard Party, is costing



heavily the minority settler regime. According to the Standard Bank (Rhodesia), it costs the regime \$ 500,000 per day, which is \$ 20,833.33 per hour and \$ 182.5 (million) per year.

For how long can the fascist regime hold on in face of the escalating armed struggle which will make it cost even more materially and in man-power? This dastard regime is rapidly moving towards a final collapse.

SALISBURY

OVER 1,500 SETTLERS FLEE RHODESIA

More than 1,500 Rhodesian frightened settlers fled out of the country last March (1977). Figures issued yesterday by the Central Statistical Office showed a net loss of 2,544 settlers in the months of January, February and March this year compared with a loss of 59 settlers for the same period last year.

In fact, as the war hots up some prefer their suitcases to the coffin!

ZIPA FORCES GAIN GROUND

Zimbabwe People's Army revolutionaries of ZAPU are gaining ground daily as they inflict heavy casualties on the Smith regime's bandits all over Zimbabwe. The regime is finding it impossible to cope with the situation and is increasing its atrocities against the innocent peasants and workers far away from areas of armed conflict.

On July 5, the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army cadres (ZPRA), who are an integral part of ZIPA, clashed with Smith forces and wiped out a number of fascist troops, including agents working for the Que Que District Commissioner's office.

One of those agents, a certain Dube, was an assistant district commissioner and was responsible for informing the regime about the people's plans to defeat the Salisbury bandits. In another revolutionary incident, three members of Smith's armed forces were eliminated by ZPRA forces in the northwestern part of Zimbabwe (Nkai-Jotjolo area). The three fascists, all white, were ambushed by ZPRA combatants, whose operation was so successful that they suffered no casualties.

In the same northwestern area, an agent of the Rhodesian bandits, Cornelius Swarts, was killed in an ambush by ZPRA patriots. Swarts had been intimidating the local peasants against supporting armed struggle.

Speaking on Radio Rhodesia on July 6, Ian Smith moaned that the liberation war was giving his regime a serious problem. His statement, made at a Press conference in Salisbury, was a clear indication that the Rhodesian dictatorship is having sleepless nights because of the armed struggle conducted by ZIPA forces, of which ZPRA patriots are a fighting part.

of the 28th session of the Liberation Committee to the 14th Ordinary Session of the Assembly of heads of states and governments; having noted additional information provided to the 29th session of the Co-ordinating



Committee ... reinforced the argument already advanced by the Council of Ministers... on the recognition of the Patriotic Front; appreciating the lucid explanation given by the President of the Republic of Zambia, Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, on behalf of other front-line states on the political, military evolution in the struggle to liberate Zimbabwe, expresses its satisfaction on the successful continuation of the armed struggle in Zimbabwe carried out by ZIPA under the leadership of the Patriotic Front, calls upon all Zimbabweans devoted to the struggle for the liberation of their country to do so within the Patriotic Front, urges all member-states to refrain from acts of supporting individuals, thus running the risk of creating more than one army for the liberation and defence of an independent Zimbabwe.

"Decides to endorse the recommendation of the 28th Session of the OAU Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa on the question of Zimbabwe; calls upon all member-states to increase their financial, material and political support to the people of Zimbabwe to regain their right of self-determination and independence."

OAU RESOLUTION ON ZIMBABWE

The Fourteenth Ordinary Session of OAU heads of state and government meeting in Libreville, Gabon, from July 2 to July 5, 1977, decided to give recognition to the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe as the sole liberation movement of the people of Zimbabwe. The resolution read: "... Having taken note of the report of the administrative secretary general on the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe; bearing in mind the decision

of the frontline states taken in Lusaka on January 9, 1977, to grant all political, diplomatic and material assistance to the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe; considering the recommendation of the 28th session of the OAU Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa to grant recognition to the Patriotic Front; aware of the fact that the 28th session of the council of ministers had decided to refer the recommendation

„WE MUST DEFEAT SMITH“ – NKOMO

Lusaka — The President of ZAPU and joint leader of the Patriotic Front, Comrade Joshua Nkomo, told a press conference in Lusaka recently that Smith must be defeated “at all costs”. Addressing Pressmen at Zimbabwe House, Comrade Nkomo first read the resolution of the recent OAU summit held in Libreville according recognition to the Patriotic Front as the sole representative of the struggling masses of Zimbabwe. A full text of Comrade Nkomo’s statement follows:

“Now that the Patriotic Front has been recognised by the OAU, I would like to state that this is a victory for the people of Zimbabwe and not for a particular party or organisation or individuals. It is a recognition of the Patriotic Front as an alliance of ZAPU and ZANU. It is a recognition of the function being carried out by the Patriotic Front, that is to say the persecution of the armed struggle for liberation of Zimbabwe. This is what the OAU supports.

“It supports the armed struggle of the people of Zimbabwe doing it through the only organisation that is prosecuting the armed struggle after all attempts we made to negotiate with Ian Smith’s regime and the British Government. We discovered and we did say in Geneva that if an attempt failed, Britain and the racist regime want war to continue and therefore, we had no alternative but to intensify the armed struggle. That we are doing and very successfully. Thousands of our young people have come forward to give their lives for the liberation of our country. What can anybody give more than one’s life for the liberation of one’s motherland? This is the fact that was recognised by the OAU.

“Now, we who are associated with the lead of the Patriotic Front, do not feel that in this act of the heads of the OAU there are any people who should be considered as having

been vanquished or that any one of us is a victor over others. This was not a question of the vanquished and victors. It is a question of the recognition of the armed struggle of the people of Zimbabwe to free themselves. Our brothers and sisters of the OAU have decided to throw their lot behind the Patriotic Front, and therefore it behooves all the people of Zimbabwe, whatever they may be, whatever they are doing and wherever they are to throw in their lot behind the Patriotic Front. We, for

defeat Ian Smith. He must be defeated at all costs. This is the message I bring back to our people from Libreville, Gabon. Africa is with us; Africa has given us complete support to defeat Ian Smith.

“Ian Smith is estranging the white people of our country. He has made them his hostages. A lot of them want to make that country their home, but because of the acts of Ian Smith, who is perpetuating untold crimes against our people, the hearts of our people may be changed to



our part, who have been given this very grave responsibility, will discharge it as entrusted to us by the OAU. By accepting any person, wherever he may be, whatever he may be doing, or anyone who has decided to come forward to join the organisation ZAPU of the Patriotic Front, we shall indicate and prove our serious intention to strengthen the unity of the people of Zimbabwe through the Patriotic Front. I call every Zimbabwean to come forward and join the Patriotic Front. This is the moment of truth. We have got to

believe that it is the white people as a whole who are committing these acts of savagery, and forget that it is not the white people as a race or as a whole who are responsible for these atrocities, but Ian Smith and a few of his henchmen who have decided to be bandits. These bandits must be defeated. Sons and daughters of Zimbabwe, the Patriotic Front is yours truly. Come all as I am talking now and join ZAPU of the Patriotic Front.

“Zimbabweans inside Zimbabwe, in Europe, in America, in independent

Africa, in Asia, in Australia and all over the world, come forward now. We do not want fence-sitters. I am addressing these words to all the people of Zimbabwe, not only those who happen to be black. I am addressing these words to all the people of Zimbabwe. This is the time they made up their minds. Smith shall be defeated. They should not worry about Smith and his henchmen. What they should worry about now, is to contribute now and not tomorrow to the overthrow, defeat of Ian Smith. "Zimbabwe is coming and the hour is not far. So, over to you, sons and daughters of Zimbabwe. We are waiting for you wherever you are and whatever your calling in life. Whatever you may decide to do must be directed towards freeing Zimbabwe. I

believe that the British Government's attempt to negotiate is the same as what has been done before to give Smith more time to collect more arms and ammunition from certain European countries that give him this support. There are countries in Western Europe that supply Smith with sufficient arms and ammunition to oppress us in our country.

"There is a mercenary-recruiting machinery and I have documentary evidence which I shall produce at a special Press conference. This network recruits mercenaries in certain European countries and sends them to Rhodesia to fight for the Smith regime. If these men, who are giving assistance to Smith in maiming and killing sons and daughters of Zim-

babwe, I say 'Hokoyo — Beware. They must pull out of our country before we get at them. If we catch a mercenary, there is no mercy, because a mercenary is vermin. Any man or woman who gives himself to be a mercenary is vermin to society, and we know what to do with vermin."

Answering questions, Comrade Nkomo pointed out that the newly-formed Rhodesia Action Party (RAP) was nothing except the Candour League (fascist diehards), and that any white man who joined it was on his way out of Zimbabwe. He said: "It is called 'Action Party' because it will act to carry out their goods from Rhodesia across the Limpopo to South Africa when they run away from Zimbabwe."

Lusaka — The President of ZAPU and joint leader of the Patriotic Front, Comrade Joshua Nkomo, told a Press Conference at Lusaka's Zimbabwe House recently that the solution of the Rhodesian problem must be the transfer of power from the fascist minority regime of Ian Smith to the people of Zimbabwe through their representative organisation, the Patriotic Front.

Reading a press statement to the conference, President Nkomo pointed out: "I would like to make a few observations regarding the reported statement connected with the progress or otherwise of the Anglo-American consultative team led by Mr. John Graham. In Salisbury, it has been reported that the team has struck an agreement with the Rhodesian regime amounting to the solution of the Rhodesian problem. Among other things, it is reported that the agreement provides for a constitution based on one man one vote; a transition time of three to six months under the control of the British government, and possibly there would be a ceasefire, followed by the participation of the guerrilla forces in the maintenance of peace and security during transition. Tendentious reports beamed by the

NKOMO



ON BRITISH PROPOSALS

BBC have implied that our position, that is of the Patriotic Front, is that power should be transferred to the Patriotic Front.

"I would like to state clearly that the solution of the Rhodesian problem must be the elimination of the causes of war, and this can only come about through an agreement between the forces locked in combat. This means the P.F., on the one hand, representing the people of Zimbabwe, and the British Government, being the colonial administration. The solution must be the transfer of power to the people of Zimbabwe through their liberation movement, the P.F. The priority question for us, the struggling people of Zimbabwe, is the elimination of the causes of war.

"The formulation of a constitution, which is largely an academic exercise, can only follow after the people of Zimbabwe have been satisfied that the power to effect that constitution is securely and irreversibly in their control. The transitional structure must reflect this necessity. We are not waging our liberation war in order to restore the British power in Zimbabwe. The subsequent statement by Ian Smith stating categorically that the supposed agreement is rubbish and unacceptable serves to

strengthen our position that the causes of the war, of which the continued existence of the Rhodesian regime is one, must be eliminated, first to guarantee the atmosphere of working out that constitution, and secondly its implementation.

"It is quite obvious that the British Govt. is not coming face to face with the actual concrete problem because it is lending opportunity to the sell-out scheme planned by Smith, Sithole and Bishop Muzorewa to set up a puppet regime. Hundreds of our

activists have been arrested and locked up in order to clear the way for the sell-out campaigns of the puppet trio, Sithole, Muzorewa and Chirau. I must emphasise that no amount of arrests will destroy our determination to defeat the racist regime of Rhodesia through armed struggle.

"The increase of mercenaries accounts for the brutal atrocities now being perpetrated on our people. The struggle will continue regardless until victory."

Mathelegwa, Mr. Taught Khumalo, Mr. Z. Biliwa, Mr. Robert Bango, Mr. Stone Nkomazana, Mr. E. T. Dube, Mr. Todd Msongelwa, Dumisani Sand Moyo, Mr. Clas Ncube, Mr. Prince Gumede, Mr. A. Ndabambi, Mr. L. Shumba, Mrs. A. Masawi, Mr. Langton Nzuma, Mrs. Doras Mbombo, Mr. Redfant Karanga, Mr. Msindo Nyoni, Mrs. Tamangani, Mrs. Docas Majonga, Mr. Casian Muringi, Mr. Julius Mhishi, Mr. D. Mangwende, Mr. E. Dlamini, Mr. S. Dube, Mr. R. Nyandoro, Mr. Isaac Matikiti, Mr. John Chivango, Mrs. Samuel Nzungu, Mr. John Msipa, Mr. Gordon Bhunu, Mr. Gutu, Mrs. Makwavarara, Mr. Ford Magada, Mr. John Ngwenya, Mrs. Mahumana, Mr. Mavukile Nkomo, Mr. A. A. Munyama, Mr. Mathen Masiyakurima, Harrison

NKOMO GAVE THE PRESS A LIST OF 98

ZAPU members presently held in detention. Explaining the circumstances leading to the mass arrest, Comrade Nkomo pointed out: "I have a list here of names of a number of women and men holding key positions in our party who have been rounded up by Smith. These arrests followed a meeting between the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole and Smith's so-called cabinet secretary, Jack Gaylord, at Heathrow Hotel in London during the Commonwealth leader's conference. Sithole told the Rhodesian racists that his return to the country (from abroad) to lead a group of puppets could only be made if Smith's regime first removed certain people of ZAPU (Patriotic Front). He did give Jack Gaylard some names. The list I have does not have the names of all the people arrested by Smith. It includes, however, names of people in key party positions in provinces and districts.

"I would like to state quite categorically here and now that Ndabaningi Sithole's attempt to hoodwink our people cannot succeed. The Patriotic Front shall smash that treachery. The Patriotic Front is intact, and the

people arrested are leaders among leaders. We have other people to take over their places. Those people who talk about tribalism in our organisation will see that this list covers all parts of our country. The Patriotic Front is a national organisation of the people of Zimbabwe."

The names of the arrested people are: Mrs. Harare, Mrs. T. V. Lesabe, Mr. G. Sibanda, Mr. D. Ngwenyama, Mr. Msongelwa, Mr. Tafi Moyo, Mr. Christopher Mkhwananzi, Mr. Enos Mdlongwa, Mr. Abel Siwela, Mr. Bubble Mano, Mrs. N. Moyo, Mr. R. Nyathi, Mr. J. Dube, Mr. A. Keino, Mr. Samuel Nalimushu, Mr. Mzaca Nkomo, Mr. Dumisani Mano, Mr. Joshua Maolela, Mr. Jackson Mucheregwa, Mr. Simon Makumbirofa, Mr. Dauti Mabusa, Mr. William Sabuku, Mr. Bigson Msika, Mr. Gilbert Khumalo, Mr. Todd Khumalo, Mr. Joshua Masilela, Mrs. Fuse, Mrs. G. Sibanda, Mr. B. Mguni, Mr. Richard Ndlovu, Mr. Public Nkomo, Mr. William Mpotshi Sivako, Mr. Like Dube, Mr. John July Dube, Mr. Daniel Ndlovu, Mrs. Gumbo, Mr. Enos Mdlongwa, Mr. J. Moyo, Mr. S. Ncube, Mr. L. Ndiela, Mr. Jackson



Marange, Mr. Mamvupo, Mr. Patrick Mukwekwezere, Mr. D. Maphosa, Mr. E. M. Choga, Mr. Pambana, Mr. Bothwell Mazendami, Mr. E. Khumalo, Mr. E. Hananda, Miss Ng. Moyo, Mr. T. Nziramasanga, Mr. Billy Whacha, Mr. T. D. Moyo, Mr. Nyashanu, Mr. T. Hlomani Moyo, Mr. A. Z. Whingwiri, Gideon Mbanu, Mr. Fibeon Hlolela, Mr. Gilbert Khumalo.

Among those listed above are eight ZAPU executive members.



KK TALKS TO P.F. FREEDOM FIGHTERS



President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia visited a Patriotic Front transit camp and addressed the young Zimbabweans who have volunteered to fight for their country's liberation. He was accompanied by Comrade Joshua Nkomo. Addressing the cadres at the camp, President Kaunda said: "Mr. Comrade President and all my young friends, my colleagues and I came here in the name of the United Independence Party (UNIP), the Government and people of Zambia. You know why we are here. Comrade President Nkomo has said some very kind things about us in Zambia. We have love for our fellow-men the world over. The people of Zimbabwe, as you represent them here, have love for all people of the world. We therefore have a common purpose and common duty together. You are here representing an ideal, and although you are in two groups, that is to say, the group of the young ones and that of the older people,

both groups represent the same ideal and that is the determination to fight and defeat the enemy.

"There is no short cut to independence. There are problems in Zimbabwe. That can be seen by the fact that we have these little girls and boys here who have crossed the Zambesi river to come out here to what is basically a foreign country. Let me state that the party here is conscious of the fact that the conditions in which you are living are not at all ideal. But I can assure you that we are leaving no stone unturned to mobilise the international community to come to your aid.

"Therefore, I say to you don't give up, don't be disheartened, victory is assured. It's going to be very tough indeed. Lives will be lost. But we must remember that no life is worth living in slavery. We have talked, and talked, and talked with rebels in Rhodesia-Zimbabwe, but they have refused to listen. Zimbabweans and

Zimbians and, indeed, all other peace-loving people of the world have tried everything possible to bring majority rule to Zimbabwe without bloodshed. We have heard from Comrade President Nkomo about the Libreville conference of the heads of state of Africa. That was only a small contribution on our part, that is of Zambia and other front-line states. What is important is that you, the patriots of Zimbabwe, have agreed to come together to cement your ranks and, with love for one another, get ready to fight the enemy to the bitter end. Yours is a very important victory for us all. Let us not allow our enemies to divide the great people of Zimbabwe. Some of our enemies are in our ranks.

"Let not the youngsters, little girls and boys, come out of Zimbabwe to suffer for nothing. Let us not allow the sacred blood which the patriots of Zimbabwe are spilling inside the country at the hands of the enemy to be spilt for nothing. Only few days ago we buried a mother of six. She died at Chirundu at the hands of the enemy. The blood of Zimbabweans, the blood of Zimbians, that of Mozambicans, and that of the Botswanans is all mixed up for the future freedom of Africa.

"It remains for me to pray for your leaders in the Patriotic Front; it remains for me to pray for you all outside Zimbabwe and for all the people of Zimbabwe to remember the importance of love for one another and to let love be the cement that builds the concrete foundations for the future nations of Zimbabwe. The Patriotic Front is something which makes us very proud.

"I have no doubt whatsoever that you are all faithful followers of the Patriotic Front leaders. They provide leadership for us all. Let us follow them with honesty and sincerity. We will work together until Zimbabwe is liberated."

Freedom fighters



MESSAGE FROM ZIPA

On the occasion of a visit to a Patriotic Front transit camp by the President of Zambia, Kenneth Kaunda, ZIPA's women's detachment delivered a message spelling out its total commitment to the armed struggle and to the party. The message, read by a 16-year-old comrade of the Women's Detachment, read: "Allow me, on behalf of the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army Women's Detachment, and indeed on behalf of all ZAPU combatants, to express our gratitude to the revolutionary people of Zambia for the unflinching support and contribution to the Zimbabwe revolutionary armed struggle. Your presence here, your Excellency, is to us not only an expression of Zambia's commitment to the revolutionary armed struggle in southern Africa, and your principled and uncompromising stand against colonialism and imperialism, but also an inspiration and encouragement to fight.

"Your devotion to the struggle, your teaching and your hatred of imperialism are red beacons and signposts on the path to liberation. The sacrifice you are making, both in human life and economically, the concern you show for the welfare of all the freedom fighters, has no parallel.

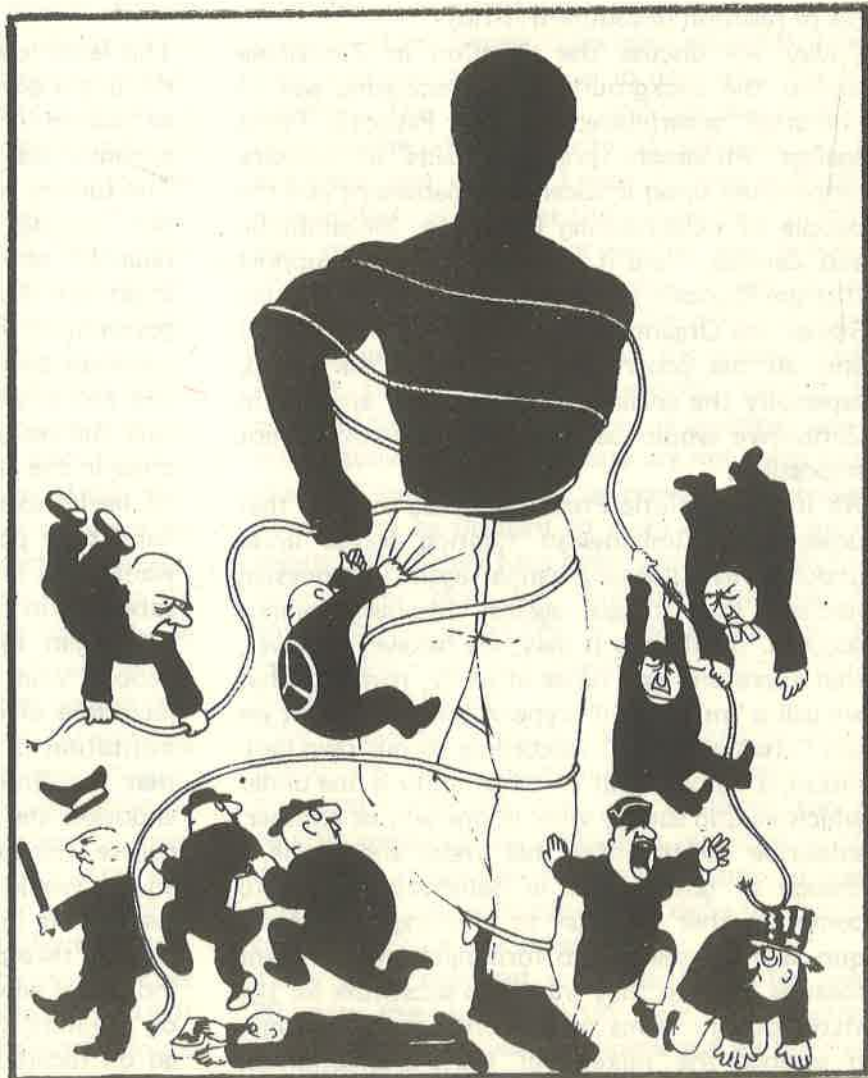
"To our leadership we would like to take this opportunity to express our loyalty to the party, ZAPU in the Patriotic Front, and its leadership. We believe in the supremacy of the masses and their party, and that we, as an army, are an instrument of the party and its leadership. We stand firm behind our party, its principles and leadership. We are confident that under their guidance, victory is certain. We are behind the efforts our party is making to unify the people of Zimbabwe under the Patriotic Front. To you, Comrade Com-

mander-in-Chief of ZPRA which is actively fighting and leading part of ZIPA, Comrade Joshua Nkomo, we say: Give us guns and we shall march on to Salisbury. Comrade President of the Republic of Zambia, we want to assure you that we shall not betray the confidence of the people of Zambia. We shall fight until we establish a government, to quote our beloved President, based on "power to the people, power to elect a government of their choice, power to end all minority privileges, racism and tribalism, power to end all exploitation of man by man, and to ensure that the workers get the just earnings for their sweat, power to ensure that the economic system functions for the benefit of the people, power to ensure that social services like health and education reach the home of every child". In short, we shall spare no effort until

the total destruction of imperialism is achieved and the establishment of a classless society is attained. Finally, I would like to pay tribute to the fallen heroes of our revolution, among whom we have Comrade J. Z. Moyo, whose eternal revolutionary light will remain a guide to our struggle. He and others attained revolutionary immortality out of their examples to us.

They are with us always in their shining acts of selflessness and their revolutionary candour. Their political and military leadership and their personal lifestyles are touchstones to which we constantly return to measure our own effectiveness in thought and action.

"Long live the ZAPU-UNIP solidarity! Forward with the Patriotic Front!"



INTRODUCTION

On behalf of the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front, I wish to thank you, Mr. Chairman, and members of the Committee, for inviting us to participate in the current debate on Zimbabwe. The Patriotic Front wishes to go on record, Mr. Chairman, as expressing its appreciation for your distinguished contribution in keeping the debate on the evils of Rhodesia alive at the United Nations through the medium of your dynamic Committee. Your special interest in, and your commitment to, the liberation of southern Africa is well known. And because of that, the impact of the Special Committee of 24 has been demonstrably felt under your leadership more than ever before by the forces of reaction in southern Africa.

Today we discuss the situation in Zimbabwe against the background of an escalating war of liberation spearheaded by the Patriotic Front against Rhodesia's predatory acts of atrocity perpetrated upon innocent Zimbabweans and the people of neighbouring Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia. Were it not for the heroic support that the Patriotic Front enjoys from the front-line States, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and all the progressive peoples of the world, especially the socialist countries, our struggle in Zimbabwe would be extremely difficult, if not impossible.

We in the Patriotic Front recognize the fact that unless the Zimbabwean fighting forces unite under a revolutionary banner against Rhodesian fascism, the struggle against Rhodesia cannot succeed. Be that as it may, we believe, however, that there are two types of unity, namely, what we call a "mixed grill" type of unity and what we call "creative unity". According to our own definition, a "mixed grill" type of unity is one under which all and sundry who, in one way or another, subscribe to the idea that there should be a change of government in Salisbury, decide to come together in order to challenge the *status quo* without seeking to formulate any coherent ideas as to what they intend to substitute for the *status quo* in terms of economic reorganization. In essence, the "mixed grill" unity is directionless

and chaotic because it lacks both coherence in ideology and cohesion in organization. Normally those who subscribe to this kind of unity also believe in the necessity of selecting a leader as an end in itself because, in the absence of a coherent programme, the leader becomes the be-all and the end-all as he becomes the beginning and the end of the organization's programme. When it is viewed in this light, it becomes easier to understand the motivation behind the reasoning of those Zimbabweans who believe that the only way to find a solution to the crisis in Zimbabwe is to hold a referendum to select a leader to whom the Smith regime would then hand over power.

This facile logic which prefers selecting a leader to electing a government owes its intellectual origins to fascism in which the concept of the *fuehrer* is synonymous with the concept of government. The *fuehrer* in a fascist organization is a *sine qua non* because without him the organization is radarless and directionless. The leader is more important than a programme, than a party, than a government. There is a sense in which the Zimbabwean petty bourgeoisie has swallowed hook, line and sinker Rhodesian propaganda which has over the years maintained that a settlement of the crisis in the country has been impossible because no leader exists to whom the settler regime can hand over power. It is strange that those who want to be looked upon as revolutionaries should subscribe to this racist, reactionary and primitive Rhodesian Front prejudice against the African people, who, in the view of racist settlers, are incapable of conceiving organization beyond the institution of chieftainship. It is because of this that the Rhodesian regime has whole-heartedly endorsed the idea of a referendum, besides, of course, the fact that the holding of such a referendum would most certainly enable the regime to gear all its institutions — under which it would have to take place — to help select the kind of an individual who would least disturb the *status quo* on assuming the reins of government. We want to go on record as saying that in Zimbabwe we are

not fighting merely to replace Ian Smith with a black leader, but we are fighting for fundamental change. The war is not against white people, but against a system of racism that keeps African people in a state of slavery. If there are forces that believe they can stop the war of liberation by merely replacing Ian Smith with a black man, then they better prepare for a long war indeed, because the people of Zimbabwe are not going to find the Rhodesian system any more bearable just because an African leadership has taken it over. We, therefore, want to state our position clearly that the issue today is not whether Ian Smith has an African leader to whom to hand over his Government, but whether he, in fact, is prepared to surrender power to the African people of Zimbabwe.

We are convinced that, united under the fighting forces of the Patriotic Front, the people of Zimbabwe will ultimately be victorious over Rhodesian fascism. The unity of the people of Zimbabwe under the Patriotic Front is the only viable programme because it is based upon the language that the Rhodesian regime understands. Before we formed the Patriotic Front, we tried to examine introspectively all the problems which in the past had undermined our efforts at finding a working formula for uniting all the fighting forces of Zimbabwe. After a thorough analysis of the history of our struggle and the struggles of other peoples the world over, we came to the conclusion that the basic problem which had consistently undermined all our past efforts to unite all the fighting forces, was our past notion of unity. In the past we had strongly believed that we could achieve unity by sitting at a table, discussing our differences, and then signing agreements to work together. We have now since discovered that that kind of unity is a non-starter. Unity cannot be achieved like an event at which parties talk out their differences and then sign agreements of cooperation. Unity is a process which can only be achieved objectively through shared experiences in struggle. We in the Patriotic Front believe that we have found a more creative unity by working together through the process of armed struggle. We have no illusions about the problems that lie ahead, but are nevertheless determined to share the experiences of our struggle so that in the end we can fuse our organizations, when all traces of mutual distrust have been eradicated by the grinding mill of armed struggle. The kind of unity that the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and the Zimbabwe African National Union

(ZANU) are forging within the Patriotic Front is the most progressive attempt at creating a dynamic revolutionary force against Rhodesian fascism.

At this session the Special Committee has been given a report by the representative of the British Government on the state of negotiations on Zimbabwe during and after the Geneva debacle. The British representative read out a text of the report that the British Foreign Secretary, Dr. David Owen made in the British Parliament on his return from southern Africa. In his report to Parliament, Dr. Owen said, among other things, that the Geneva Conference on Zimbabwe did not collapse over the issue of majority rule, but over differences on the nature and powers of the interim government. The Foreign Secretary also said that he did not agree with people who say that the Geneva Conference did not achieve anything, because in his own view the talks had enabled the British Government in particular to find out what various groups that participated in the talks thought about the problem.

The British Government's interpretation of the collapse of the Geneva talks again reveals Britain's failure to see, or its refusal to deal with, the real problem. The problem is, and has always been, bringing the white minority of Rhodesia, not to the table, but to their knees. As long as Rhodesian settlers believe that there is no need to hand over power, they will not hand it over. Britain's contribution, as the administering Power, is now as it always has been, to find the means of transferring power to the people of the colony. That, it has been conclusively proved, cannot be achieved by providing a table, a chairman and a quiet atmosphere. Rhodesians are not going to be charmed from their tree of power and privilege. They must be brought to earth by more active means. When they have been brought face to face with reality, then, but only then, will there be any point in providing by negotiation for the mechanisms, where necessary, for an "orderly hand-over of power".

That is the harsh reality. Means must be found which are both morally and practically commensurate with the task. The challenge can in part be measured by reminding ourselves of the depths to which Rhodesians have sunk to keep their power and privilege and to deny the coming of majority rule to Zimbabwe.

They have operated a police State for over 20 years; they have torn up their own constitution, thus risking world criticism and action; they

have detained without trial thousands of Zimbabweans; they have perverted the rule of law, tried people in camera, hanged people in secret, legalized torture — all, they say, in the name of Western Christian civilization and to contain communism; all, in fact, to maintain privilege by power.

When officials of the British Government say that the Geneva talks did not fail over the issue of majority rule, they betray a rather curious misconception of the real position of the Smith regime. The Patriotic Front does not understand how one can separate the nature and powers of the proposed interim government from what enables the country to move irreversibly to majority rule. As far as we see it, Mr. Smith's rejection of our proposals on the interim government was related to his own version of what constitutes majority rule. He quite correctly understood that the setting up of an interim government was inseparable from the process and pace towards majority rule or independence. To say that all parties to the talks were otherwise agreed on majority rule but divided on the nature and powers of the interim government — as the British Foreign Secretary's report suggests — is to suggest that we ever accepted the setting up of an interim government as an end in itself. The Patriotic Front saw the interim government as a means not an end in itself of bringing about independence to Zimbabwe. Hence the certainty of achieving independence and majority rule depended upon the nature and the powers of the interim government. It was for that reason that, in the preambular paragraph of our constitutional proposals, we stated that we were submitting a constitution whose capacity, content and direction would guarantee and determine an irreversible movement towards majority rule and independence.

On the proposition that at least the Geneva talks enabled all parties to know each other's views, we wish to state that we did not have to go to Geneva to know the thinking of any party. We find it difficult to believe that until Geneva the British did not know the views of the Zimbabwe liberation movement on the question of majority rule and independence. If that was in fact the case, it leads us to say that the British failure to assert their leadership as the decolonizing Power was largely because the British delegation was more on an exploratory or investigatory mission than on a mission to decolonize Southern Rhodesia. To that extent, it can be said that one of the contributory factors to the failure of the Geneva

talks was Britain's unwillingness to assume fully its terminal residual responsibilities during the interim period. This was largely because Britain is basically reluctant to do anything about Zimbabwe that is not acceptable to the Rhodesian regime. The Patriotic Front believes that as long as Britain makes a negotiated settlement dependent and conditional upon the voluntary cooperation of the Smith regime, it would do better to forget it because the Smith regime will never voluntarily hand over power to the majority.

The Zimbabwe liberation movement has gone to every possible length to explore all means by which the Rhodesian minority regime could be brought to transfer its power. The liberation movement has argued and persuaded; it has talked and cajoled — within the impossible limits of political debate set by the Rhodesians; and it has demonstrated by limited force the potential danger inherent in refusing to grant majority rule — danger not only to the country but to the region and indeed to the world. Its patience and fortitude have earned it criticism as well as praise. It has been acutely aware that the struggle for majority rule in Zimbabwe must involve the peoples and fortunes of the front-line States, and understands Africa's desire to seek change through peaceful means if possible.

For that reason, as recently as March 1976, the ANC (ZAPU) undertook to prove beyond all reasonable doubt that the Rhodesians would not agree to any reasonable transfer terms, unless the liberation movement was willing to sacrifice the principle of majority rule — which no liberation movement seriously seeking a just future for the people as a whole could contemplate. The demonstration was undertaken despite the danger of misunderstanding amongst ZAPU supporters as to the purpose of the negotiations, despite the opportunity it would provide our opponents and fraternal critics for deliberate distortion or uninformed misinterpretation. Yet it had to be done, for the evidence it provided would indicate the burden that the real situation would place upon all Zimbabweans, the front-line States, Africa as a whole, the progressive States which have always given their unstinting support to the task of decolonization, and — if they were really interested in meeting their legal responsibility — Britain and the West, which, whether or not correctly, the Rhodesian Front claims to represent. For Zimbabweans the burden is shown to be armed struggle: for States supporting our cause, the burden is support in defeating the enemy. The

cost falls tragically where it can least be afforded — upon the vulnerable front-line States and their people still struggling with the burden imposed by their colonial past. Yet their support is, to the eternal credit of their people, given without question. Equally clear in their perception of the problem as it has now been revealed and of the means necessary for the achievement of our goal is the stand of Africa and the anti-imperialist States.

What, in this situation, is required of Britain and the West?

As the colonizer, as the State with special kith-and-kin relationship with the Rhodesian settlers and as a major member of the West which Rhodesians claim to represent, Britain clearly has a special role to play, for good or for ill. But reading from what has been said so far about Dr. Owen's new initiative to reopen negotiations, we do not see anything new that Britain has produced. What we see is Britain tragically ready to reopen talks in co-operation with an arrogant racist regime that has proved in the past that it is incapable of negotiating in good faith.

We have noticed that each time a new official is appointed to a post that has something to do with Africa or a political party comes to power in Britain or in the United States, the individual or officials of such a party come to power with a new breeze of optimism for a negotiated settlement of the problems of Zimbabwe. We who have been in the heat all the time are supposed to share the fresh breeze with those who are new in the kitchen.

Although we believe that this optimism of newcomers is at times genuinely naive, we have reason to think that in many instances some of the attempts at reopening talks with a regime which has not yet shown any signs of engaging in serious negotiations are attempts to take the sting out of the liberation movement for the Smith regime, particularly as such moves are consistently made when the liberation movement is beginning to gain an advantage over the enemy.

It has also become common practice for the Rhodesian regime to express willingness to negotiate, when in fact that regime is merely trying to give a breather to its over-extended troops. Through this strategy of tactical deceit and prevarication, the regime has sought to confuse and divide the liberation movement. Through the strategy of tactical deceit the Smith regime has sought to cause confusion among the liberation forces.

The evidence of March 1976 that Smith was not

ready to hand over power was not changed by the fact that the United States, in the person Mr. Henry Kissinger, took a more active interest in the problem. The Geneva Conference proved that Smith is prepared only to talk about plans to maintain minority rule — which the Kissinger plan provided — or to talk about talks. As Ambassador Ivor Richard's visit to Salisbury proved, Mr. Smith will not discuss methods of handing over power, or a transitional government destined to ensure irreversible majority rule. As Dr. Owen's visit has equally shown, Smith is always ready to talk about preparatory steps.



Given this history of deceit, dishonesty and prevarication on the part of the Smith regime and its allies, we now say, to both friend and foe: Sorry, we will no longer be taken for a ride on the Rhodesian fox.

If Britain and the United States, which appear to be assuming an increasing mediating role in our situation, wish to gain credibility in the eyes of the liberation movement, they will have to prove beyond rhetoric that they have now joined the

forces that seek to bring the Rhodesian regime to its knees.

For the United States, the repeal of the Byrd amendment did not necessarily make the United States Rhodesia's enemy, but only made it a recently modified friend. United States oil companies still supply Rhodesia with oil. Volunteers for the Rhodesian army still come from the United States, Britain and Western Europe. If they are not fighting for money, which we doubt, they are fighting for fascism, which is a certainty. Britain and the United States must now face the task of showing not their impartiality towards Rhodesia, but their hostility. What is now needed is not intercession, but opposition. Means must be found to help to overthrow white minority rule, or to prove to it that the game is up.

The Patriotic Front will fight by all means at its disposal until Rhodesia is no more. We expect all those that oppose racism and fascism to act in an equally unequivocal manner against minority rule. We must give our blood not because we love war, but because we love freedom.

Our call upon Western countries to take action against Rhodesia does not mean that we want them to play the role of decolonizers, which is a British role. The United States and other Western countries cannot intervene in the conflict to the

extent that Britain must in order to decolonize Southern Rhodesia. It is for that reason that the Patriotic Front has rejected British Foreign Secretary David Owen's call for a conference convened by and under the co-chairmanship of Britain and the United States. We cannot accept direct United States involvement without risking internationalization of the problem.

We therefore reject any attempt by the Americans to get involved in that situation by presiding over any forthcoming constitutional conference — if one takes place at all.

We wish, therefore, to request this Committee to take the necessary steps to make sure that our problem is not thus internationalized. If the United States wants to help its ally, Britain, to decolonize Southern Rhodesia effectively, there are ways the United States can do so without becoming directly involved in the decolonization process. In any case, the Patriotic Front does not recognize the right of the United States Government to be co-chairman of a constitutional conference on Zimbabwe.

We wish to conclude by calling upon all the peace-loving people of the world to join us in our just struggle against fascism, and we wish you a successful Conference in Maputo.

Zimbabwe must be free. The struggle continues.



Zimbabwe

must be free!

Z.A.P.U.

ITS ORIGINS AND DIRECTION PRODUCED BY THE PUBLICITY BUREAU

OF ZAPU (PATRIOTIC FRONT)

The Zimbabwe African People's Union — ZAPU is to day, a mature and dynamic organisation which is the vanguard of the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe. ZAPU has always had and continues to maintain a country-wide membership: It commands an ever-expanding, effective guerrilla force. It has a stable leadership tested over scores of years of extremely trying times and has emerged with an ideological concept which puts it on the side of the revolutionary progressive world.

It is the historical experience of man, that to understand and deal with the present, one must primarily and of necessity, understand the past. For one to have a proper vision and plan for the future, one must, of necessity, understand the present fully. In short, ideas, events and experiences are linked in an unbreakable chain, between the past present and future. In this short piece of writing, ZAPU is presented in this historical context.

The origins of ZAPU are rooted in the formation of the Southern Rhodesia African National Congress on the twelfth of September 1957. Between 1959 and 1963 the settler racist regimes of Rhodesia banned Southern Rhodesia African National Congress (SRANC), NDP, ZAPU, and PCC to mean directly, a developing dynamic and forward advancing liberation movement. This is what ZAPU grew to be and is now.

It should be noted that the emergence of the SRANC in 1957 was not unconnected event to the past. British colonialism invaded Zimbabwe

in great force from about 1880. The standard colonialist methods of cheating, robbery, abuse of christianity, exploitation, false territorial claims, attempts at exterminating the local population and military seizure of territory were all applied by the British in Zimbabwe. The British colonialists drew a treaty document in their language, called the Rudd Concession, which they claimed had been endorsed by King Lobengula, conceding the British the right of exploiting mineral wealth and some compromise of the King's sovereignty. Advance missionaries of the London Missionary Society Rev. John Moffart and Rev Helm in the grab of the good God, were the interpreters to effect the cheating deal. The upshot is that the British used the Rudd Concession to pitch a flag at Harare (present Salisbury), to steal cattle from Zimbabweans, to grab areas of the peoples land and convert it to individual, personal possessions for mining, farming and estate speculation. Ultimately they used the concession to carry out military seizure of Zimbabwe and finalise its colonisation. This was around the year 1900.

The British colonial invasion was not accepted by the people of Zimbabwe. They took up to arms to expel the colonialist invaders, from 1893 to 1900. Several battles were fought in which Zimbabweans distinguished themselves in their determination to defend their country and their sovereignty. The Zimbabwe nation was welded significantly during this period. King Lobengula's most distinguished Commander Mkwati

Ncube led several contingents of his forces up to near present Hartley, some sixty miles west of Salisbury and there forged a national force with Mashingaidze.

The national force attacked a fort pitched up by the invaders at Mhondoro South West of Salisbury, on the 17th of March 1897.

Zimbabwe Day, celebrated internationally on the 17th March in solidarity with the people of Zimbabwe derives from this event which was significant in the goals of national unity and struggle. The British colonial invaders, now frequently referred to as settlers finally imposed themselves on Zimbabwe by their sheer technological advantage of their weapons. The people of Zimbabwe however, continued their struggle in different forms of resistance all signifying non-acceptance of foreign domination and exploitation.

Chirimuhuta became a prominent figure in the formation of the Native Welfare Association in 1911. Sobantu in the formation of the Bantu voters league in 1913, Jacha in the formation of the Bantu Congress in the early thirties and several other organisations such as the supreme council of 1950 which was the instrument for opposing the proposed Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

It is necessary to reflect that the motive force for the British colonial invasion was economic-appetite for wealth. The financiers of the so called Rhodesian Exploration were the growing financial industrial and commercial monopolists resident in the United Kingdom. They were as it were extending their pipes into the mines, farming and cattle ranching lands of Zimbabwe and sucking Zimbabwe's wealth for themselves and their families and not even for the ordinary citizens of the UK who are also to some extent, within the range of exploitation of these monopolists. The British South African Company, a company engaged in every conceivable industrial financial and commercial enterprise was the spearhead of British colonial occupation of Rhodesia. Rhodesia to day is a cluster of British exploiting companies in all walks of life. They have strangled the African economically so that no African enterprise can grow to any distance without eventual collapse. These monopolists are like an Indian Banyon tree under whose shadow nothing else grows.

Forcibly deprived of their means of living, their

cattle and the land, the Zimbabweans were compelled to seek employment and thus to enter the cycle of the money economy, over which they had absolutely no control. They were exploited labour, as workers. It is in this field of the daily experience of exploitation, reinforced by the attitude of the exploiter that the greatest friction took place and sparked the fire of unrelenting opposition to oppression.

By far the greatest impetus to the Zimbabwe Liberation came from worker's organisations — trade unions. Masotsha Ndlovu the greatest veteran of the Zimbabwe struggle launched the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU) in Bulawayo in 1924. From then onwards trade unions were formed in various establishments to resist exploitation. In the vital areas of mining, Farming and domestic servants the racist regimes imposed prohibitions on trade union activity. The conflict was on.

Industrial strikes inevitably assumed the character of political action. In this all active Zimbabweans found expression. The post world war era from 1946 was characterised by leaders of the workers movements dictating the pace of political change. At the time, the Political movement which was the African National Congress (ANC) was feeble effort in structure and content. It was being towed away from the path of militant nationalist struggle by liberal devices such as the Capricorn Society, Welfare Organisations etc which were apologists of the order of racist domination. The ANC, then, was led by black clerks, farmers and an elite detached from the masses and oriented towards liberalist bourgeoisie ideas. The issue of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland brought to fore a new crop of leadership largely with background of trade union activity. Some of these leaders died in the heroic path of the struggle, some have deviated and some are still right on course in the liberation struggle under ZAPU.

Comrade Joshua Nkomo was Secretary-General of the Rhodesian African Railway Workers' Union. The late Comrade Jason Moyo and Benjamin Madlela were from the Artisans' Union. Comrade Joseph Msika was from the Textile Workers' Union. Francis Nehwati from the Municipal Workers' Union. James Chikerema and George Nyandoro have since deviated and destroyed their own past record. To complete the historical link at the time it is inevitable to mention them. They were also

linked with their trade unions in the insurance and clerical fields respectively.

The inauguration of the SRANC on the 12th of September 1957 was a result of a series of initiatives by leaders of the resuscitated African National Congress formed in Bulawayo in early 1955 and leaders of the Youth League formed in Salisbury at about the same time. These two organisations shared the common objective of constituting a single national movement for Zimbabwe. They succeeded. The chief negotiators from the resuscitated African National Congress in Bulawayo were Comrade Jason Moyo, Joseph Msika and Francis Nehwati. Those from the Youth League — Salisbury — were James Chikerema, George Nyondoro and Paul Mushonga.

The point of departure with previous political approaches is that the SRANC enunciated clearly the policy of universal suffrage (one man one vote) as the basis of Government for Zimbabwe. It conceived, though tentatively at the time, that socialism was the answer to the politics of oppression in Rhodesia. It believed in exposing the enemy evils such as the grotesque laws of the Land Apportionment Act, the Land Husbandry Act and similar laws which were designed to deprive the African of the means of living and the potential to develop economically.

The SRANC understood clearly that organisations meant dynamic contact with the masses. It took to the rural areas to mobilise the peasantry, it took to the streets in the cities to mobilise the proletariat. It expressed the fundamental grievances of the people in the rural areas, such problems as destocking and allocation of infertile and arid land, in the cities such problems as lack of employment arbitrary arrests under a typically reactionary law the Vagrancy Act, lack of schools for the majority of Zimbabwean Children, exploitative rents and fares.

The SRANC realised that pleading with the racist regime to change their heart was a hopeless method. It therefore adopted the militant method of defiance of the regime in its application of certain measures boycotts — where possible — and marching protest demonstrations such as in the demand for more schools for the children.

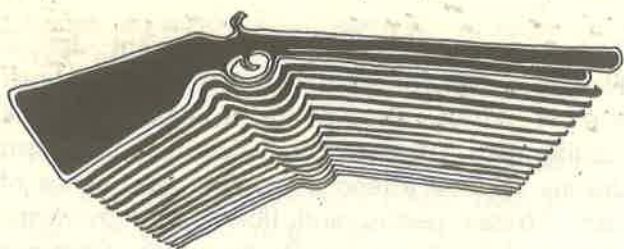
The national struggle was the tide of African nationalism in the entire continent was at its peak when the SRANC immediately sought pan African connections.

The task fell on Comrade President Joshua Nkomo. Ghana under the leadership of the great son of Africa, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah was the leading pan African force. Comrade President Joshua Nkomo attended the first conference of pan African parties and liberation movements convened in Accra by Dr. Nkrumah. Comrade Nkomo was elected into the steering committee of the All African Peoples Conference as the conference was called. This development marked the first concrete international link of the Zimbabwe liberation movement. A chain development of international links with Government and non-government bodies followed. Politically it is significant that these were links with the anti-colonial and anti-imperialist international forces links were initiated and developed with Afro Asian People's Solidarity Organisation (AAPSO) based in Cairo, with countries of the non aligned movement (Yugoslavia, India) with the anti-colonial movement in London under the veteran Fenner Brockway, with the Socialist countries — USSR and China — and with several personalities in the Scandinavian countries, Europe and the United States. All these links were charted, accomplished and consolidated by Comrade Joshua Nkomo virtually single handed between December 1958 and December 1960 having been forced into exile (the first Zimbabwean to live in exile in contemporary times) by the ban of SRANC by the Rhodesian racist regime in February 1959).

The socialist countries in particular the USSR proved to be the most invaluable link ever developed for the future of the liberation struggle. It was a discovery of natural allies in the anti-colonial and anti-imperialist cause.

By far the most important political move taken by Comrade Nkomo internationally was to list Southern Rhodesia as one of the British colonies that had to be the subject of the United Nations decolonisation programme. The United Nations after adopting its programme had demanded colonial powers to submit their lists of colonies all over the world.

Britain had schemed to conceal Southern Rhodesia by omitting it from its list of colonies. Comrade Nkomo working closely with the Egyptian delegation in the trusteeship Committee of the UN, managed to have Southern Rhodesia listed. The British argued in vain using their



fictitious claim that Southern Rhodesia was a self governing territory and therefore not a colony. With its demand for one man one vote as the basis of Government in Zimbabwe with its perception of socialism (though tenuous) as the better way of life for Zimbabwe with its clear understanding that struggle meant expression of the will of the people, with its approach to mass mobilisation and adoption of the militant style, by putting the Zimbabwe struggle in the context of the Pan African and other international progressive links, the SRANC stirred a dynamic mood for the liberation struggle among Zimbabweans and laid the policy foundations for the future course of struggle. The course was that of violent confrontation with Rhodesian racists.

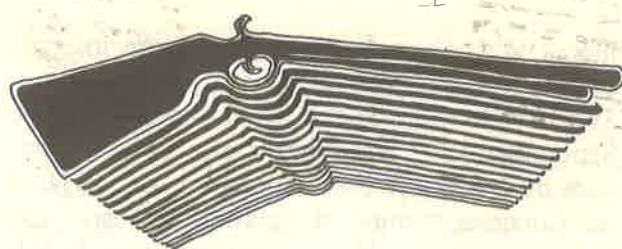
The white racist ruler at the time was Sir Edgar Whitehead. He succeeded the honourable Garfield Todd who for his vision and liberal approach on the question of race relations had been thrown out by the white racists as the confrontation with African nationalism was clearly heading towards a collision course.

Rhodesia then was part of a British imperialist structure called the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Comprising Nyasaland (Malawi) Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) and Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe).

Federal Government was run by Sir Roy Welensky. The struggle in Northern Rhodesia was being conducted by the NRANC under the leadership of Dr. Kenneth Kaunda. In Nyasaland it was conducted by a congress organisation under the leadership of Dr. Kamuzu Banda. Dr. Kaunda's organisation later became the mighty United National Independence Party (UNIP) and the Nyasaland Congress became the Malawi Congress.

Comrade Nkomo and Dr. Kaunda co-ordinated their efforts at struggle and to a considerable extent also with Dr. Kamuzu Banda.

On the 23rd of February 1959, the racist regime of Sir Whitehead descended on the SRANC banned it and detained the national, provincial,



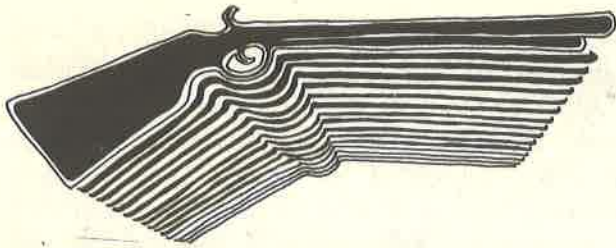
district and branch leadership of the organisation. About 500 Comrades altogether were arrested. Comrade Nkomo, the President was then on a mission to Egypt. He decided to remain in exile and immediately single handedly embarked on an international campaign to rally support for the Zimbabwe Liberation struggle. As indicated earlier on it is this effort that put Zimbabwe in the context of the international anti-colonialist struggle.

Under a delusion of having extinguished the Zimbabwe flame of freedom the Rhodesian racist went on a spate of passing laws to fortify racism. They passed the so called "Law and Order Maintenance Act" the "Unlawful Organisations Act" and a series more.

By these laws the racist regimes were giving themselves more and more powers to suppress the rising tide of the liberation struggle. As events have proved the white racist rulers were missing the point not because they did not understand but because they were the tragic victims and agents of capitalist selfishness.

On the 1st of January 1960 the National Democratic Party was launched at the Cyril Jennings Hall in Salisbury. It was born out of a series of communications between some young men in Salisbury and the leaders of the SRANC in detention in Que Que and Selukwe. Actively involved in this exercise were the late Sketchley Samkange, Willie Musaruwa, George Silundika, Nazario Marondera, Michael Mawema and some others. Those in prison were Edison Sithole, Jaes Chikerema, George Nyandoro and others. A white liberal lawyer, Bowly acted as communications link.

The National Democratic Party was not a new organisation. It was the SRANC in another name. When it was launched its leadership in trust for the President Nkomo who was in exile and for the others who were in prison. Michael Mawema was the NDP's acting President until September 1960 when the National Executive expelled him for impropriety with funds of the organisation.



The development of the struggle under NDP in 1960 can roughly be characterised:

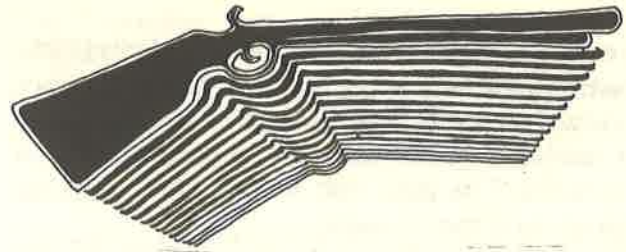
(a) The vigorous mass mobilisation and party organisation in the urban and rural areas throughout Zimbabwe.

(b) Focussing the solution of the Zimbabwe problem on Britain as against the Rhodesian regime. Notable in this connection was the memorandum to British Prime Minister Sir Harold MacMillan in January 1960 when he visited Rhodesia and the demonstrations organised during his visit. The NDP delegation comprising Michael Mawema, Morton Malinga and Leopold Takawira to be led by Joshua Nkomo on arrival in London, to oppose Sir Edgar Whitehead's move to secure the independence for the white racists on Zimbabwe Territory.

(c) The sharp reaction of the NDP through a massive demonstration in Salisbury on June 19th over the arrest of the party leaders and the continued detention of the Congress Leaders. This was instantly extended to other centres, particularly to Bulawayo, from the 21st to the 24th of June 1960 where the climax was a violent confrontation with the regimes forces whilst the masses bare handed, were rallied by the spirit of "Zhil".

(d) The break up of violent conflict at Harare Township in October 1960 over white motorists who recklessly and heedlessly ran over African pedestrians working near Beatrice Cottages.

(e) The National Democratic Party Congress held at the end of October 1960. To illustrate the close relationship with the struggle in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) the NDP congress was chaired by a representative of UNIP, Nalumino Mundia. By far the unnoticed but greatest significant event for the future of the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe was the initiative of Comrade President Nkomo to arrange for six young men to receive military training in the People's Republic of China in 1960. This was the beginning of the conception of and preparation for the armed libe-



ration struggle in Zimbabwe. Among these young men to concretise the historical fact were Philemon Makonese, Dr. Arthur Musuka who went to China with some others. This is how the series began in China and later on facilities were sought in Egypt, the Soviet Union, Algeria, Cuba and Tanzania.

The NDP was headed by a National Executive of seven. This Executive was elected at a congress held in Salisbury at the end of October 1960, chaired as earlier mentioned by Nalumino Mundia of UNIP, Comrade Nkomo was President, George Silundika, Secretary General, Morton Malinga, Vice President, Robert Mugabe Publicity Secretary, Dan Ncube, Assistant Publicity Secretary, Ndabaningi Sithole, treasurer and the late Comrade Moyo, Financial Secretary.

It should be mentioned here that the time and message of the NDP had such a ring in the ears of the struggling masses that the Africans who were swept away by the deceit of the so called multi-racial theory started crawling back to the movement of the masses. The NDP became a mixture of various levels of conventions and determinations about the liberation struggle. There was of course a basic common feeling of nationalism. The capitalist oriented black small businessmen believed the drive of the NDP was leading him to the same business stature as the flourishing white exploiters. The intellectuals and black pets of white liberals saw in the NDP an opportunity to be showed with favours and special privileges of high posts and pay the ruling class. The masses (composed of the proletariat, the workers and peasants) saw in the NDP an opportunity to overthrow the racist oppressors.

The slogans of the NDP were "ONE MAN ONE VOTE" "NYIKA NDEYEDU-ILIZWE NGELETHU" (Zimbabwe is Ours) and "FORWARD EVER BACKWARD NEVER".

The NDP did not only generate the momentum of struggle among Zimbabweans but also exposed the hardened and irredeemable attitudes of white

racists who believe that suppression of the black-man was the only way of keeping him in his place as less than a dog. The NDP saw the polarisation of attitudes as between the oppressor and the oppressed. The years that followed have seen the rise of the armed struggle.

The NDP contributed to the college of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. In 1960 the British Government under MacMillan convened a conference to see how best the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland could be carried forward. Comrades Joshua Nkomo leading the NDP, Kenneth Kaunda of UNIP and Dr. Kamuzu Banda of the Malawi Congress Party forged a formidable alliance to oppose any continuation of the Federation.

It broke up in 1963. Malawi and Zambia moved to Independence, Rhodesia became the fall back of white racists resistance.

The British Government convened a conference in 1961. The NDP attended the first part of it in February, but Comrade Nkomo walked out of the second session in April, where the British and the settlers had now brought in a ten man delegation of chiefs to overwhelm the nationalist stand as represented by the NDP. The British Government then wanted to use the pretext of a referendum on the 26th of July 1961 to give the fraudulent constitution some pseudo democratic legitimacy. Comrade President Nkomo immediately responded by calling all Zimbabweans to demonstrate their rejection of the fraudulent 1961 constitution by turning up at a referendum conducted by the NDP on the 23rd of July 1961. The peasants, farm workers and the proletariat turned up massively and rejected the British Fraud.

The NDP held its Congress in November 1961 in Bulawayo. The political issue was whether or not to participate under the constitution despite opposition to it. The congress decided against participation. It resolved to continue the struggle on a non-collaborationist note.

It is important to note that the faction which eventually became ZANU manifested itself at this congress by tactics to oust certain leaders on tribal lines. The congress trounced these elements. On the 9th of December 1961, the regime of Whitehead banned the NDP and confiscated its property. Comrade President Nkomo was on that day on an invitation visit to Tanganyika to attend

the Independence celebrations. Upon his return he launched the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU) on the 17th of December 1961 – only a week after the ban on the NDP. Comrade Nkomo's launching of ZAPU was virtually resuscitating the NDP in an improved form such as an expanded executive of sixteen and the creation of the post of special affairs. In consideration of setting upon the path of the armed struggle ZAPU combined party organisation with the demarcation of the country into areas for violent action. Dr. Parirenyatwa, Vice President of ZAPU died on his way to Nkai via Bulawayo to fulfil some of these missions.

One ideological battle which ZAPU had to engage itself in was to destroy the infiltration of the trade union movement by the ICFTU with the concept that trade unions should not be part of a political movement. Reuben Jamela as President of the unions was agent of this disastrous concept. The membership of ZAPU in the trade union movement and ZAPU itself stood firmly on the revolutionary concept that trade union movement had to be part and parcel of a political movement led by a political party. The party triumphed.

ZAPU was very aware of the hotting conflict with racists, therefore anticipated a ban sooner or later. It concluded that to accept a ban by the regime was to concede defeat.

ZAPU resolved ahead to continue in any manner possible as ZAPU regardless of the ban.

Indeed the ban on ZAPU came on the 20th of September 1962. The leadership was arrested, some imprisoned and some detained near their rural homes. Comrade Joshua Nkomo who had been abroad when this ban come returned and was restricted at Samukwe his home, some sixty miles or so south east of Bulawayo.

At the end of 1962 the regime of Whitehead conducted elections in which it lost to the Rhodesia Front led by Winston Field.

Nearly all detainees were released in January 1963. The President Comrade Nkomo was anxious to develop his ideas on the question of the armed struggle. On release he flew to Tanganyika and put to President Nyerere that the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe now needed a base form which to conduct it. He requested form that base in Tanganyika. Despite some initial difficultues Dar-es-Salaam eventually became a

base for the Zimbabwe struggle.

Comrade President led a delegation to the first summit conference of the OAU which established the Organisation on the 25th of May 1963, ZAPU experienced an internal revolt. The Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole led a group which made contradictory charges against Comrade Nkomo.

They alleged that he was at once a "weak leader and Dictator". However, it was the external emergence of the same group which at the 1961 November Congress of the NDP plotted to oust leaders on a tribal plan. Nkomo challenged these elements to a congress of ZAPU (which operated under the name "People's Caretaker Council") at the Cold Comfort Farm on the 10th of August 1963. Rev. Sithole however, called a press conference in Salisbury (Highfields) on the 8th of August and announced his formation of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU).

Thus the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole created a split in the ranks of the People of Zimbabwe. For the last 14 years the energies of the people of Zimbabwe have been split some against the enemy . . . and some being wasted in interparty differences. The Cold Comfort Congress on the 19th of August 1963 expelled the splitters and also enhanced the authority of the President. A further serious step was taken by this congress to sharpen the role of the armed liberation struggle. The president and his cabinet were authorised to establish even abroad, such instruments of the party as would intensify the struggle.

On the 16th of April 1964 the Rhodesian Front regime swept into detention the entire leadership of ZAPU including the President. The nucleus of leadership left to conduct the struggle from outside was led by the Gwelo decision of the People's Council already established in Zambia. It comprised of James Chikerema, Jason Moyo, George Nyandoro and George Silundika. They were joined by Edward Ndlovu some few months later.

The NDP had for administration and organisation purpose divided Zimbabwe into eight regions whose centres were Umtali, Salisbury, Sinoa, Fort Victoriam Gwanda, Nkai, Gwelo and Bulawayo. ZAPU inherited this regional organisation frame. The leadership in detention the nucleus operational committee based in Zambia maintained this structure and continued to maintain it in all their planning.

The Rhodesian Front regime banned the ZAPU caretaker council on the 26th of August 1964. All ZAPU political and military activities from then onwards were underground and very vigorous. The armed struggle escalated. The party remained intact.

The Unilateral Declaration of Independence by the Smith Regime and the subsequent feeble attempts by the United Kingdom Government to bring about a solution through the so called Fearless and Tiger, the Smith and Home Constitutional fraud and lately the Geneva talks of 1976 are all features of political struggle. They are not the main issues of the present treatment. The subject is the resilience of the Zimbabwe liberation Movement from 1957 to this date under the leadership of Comrade Nkomo.

It is a historical fact that in 1970 James Chikerema and George Nyandoro suffered the temptation to seize the party, weaken the leadership of Comrade president Nkomo and use the army to impose not only their dominance but also that their tribe which they mistakenly believed they represented. This adventure was finally crushed on August 21, 1971 in the bushes of Zambia. They branched off to form the abortive FROLIZI. ZAPU survived purified and invigorated.

Considering the fact the ZAPU was banned on the 20th of September 1962, it is significant in terms of the strength of the organisation that ten years later in 1972 the frame of the organisation surfaced under the African National Council to defeat through the Pearce Commission the attempts by the British and Ian Smith to impose a racially conceived and fraudulent constitution.

This is the measure of the success and survival of ZAPU within the Zimbabwe masses as a liberation movement. Bishop Muzorewa rode on the crest of his wave and found himself suddenly looking at the world from horizons as caretaker of the African National Council. He mistook the storm of enthusiasm over the surface revival of ZAPU (under the cover frame ANC) for personal support. This had an accidental effect on his mind. He was tempted to change the course of history and seize the moment for himself and the opportunists, opportunists who were pushing him on. He had some material in a number of young men who had grown up in between the periods or

surface active politics (1962–1972) and therefore had tenuous grasp of which historical forces were the background to the current events. The leadership of destiny was in prisons and outside the country.

The imperialist forces represented by their propaganda media and their political manoeuvrers moved to catch the moment for their own purposes. They blew up Muzorewa as a new decisive phenomenon in Zimbabwe Nationalist politics capable of delivering Zimbabwe to independence. These forces desperately needed an immature and inept leader with which to forge a reactionary neo colonial deal for Zimbabwe, thus preserving their influence and interests.

Muzorewa perhaps as a Bishop began to convince himself of this messianic role.

This was the psychological state under which unity within the ANC was forged in November and December 1974. Muzorewa was so taken that he could not even understand the strong forces that were using him as a front before the vicious Rhodesian regime when on the 2nd of June 1974 the executive of the ANC (virtually) ZAPU rejected the extremely naive deal he had made with Ian Smith accepting a constitution rejected by the masses as a basis for independence.

With the encouragement of Front line states a serious effort was made to weld ZAPU and ZANU in unity under the ANC on the 7th December 1974, Lusaka. The top leaders of the two organisations had been released on 3rd December from prisons to discuss the possibilities of constitutional solution and unity, thus became a priority. Instead of acknowledging that ZAPU was virtually the base of the African National Council, Muzorewa took an opportunistic posture which gave room to regroupings, groupings and factional pushover, making it impossible to maintain the centre. He failed to call the Congress envisaged in the unity accord because he feared he would lose to Comrade Nkomo. Unity and his chances to become one of the established leaders through the people's will slipped away. He continues to survive on the fiction of the Pearce Commission demonstrated will of the people against fraudulent constitution and not for Muzorewa.

Under the cover name of the African National Council ZAPU under the leadership of Comrade Nkomo led the masses of Zimbabwe to a congress on the 27th and 28th of September 1975. Dele-

gates were country wide numbering 6,000 in all. Eighty percent of the ANC executive members that originally served with Muzorewa were for the Congress. The will of the people was thus demonstrated and consolidated. Comrade Nkomo was re-elected President with an executive of 68 members. This is how the Movement (ZAPU) stands to day-firmly on the will of the people.

The stress of ZAPU is the armed liberation struggle. Thus after the congress of 1975, the external administration of ZAPU under the leadership of the late Comrade Jason Moyo immediately sought to constitute a unified Zimbabwe Army, ZIPA (Zimbabwe People's Army). This was a welding of the ZAPU army ZPRA and ZANU army ZANLA. ZIPA launched its operations in 1976. Mozambique had become independent. Because of differing military backgrounds and because of the externally conceived dangerous ideas of the so-called "Third Force" hatched in order to oust the political leadership, the coherence of ZIPA became tenuous. ZAPU cadres under clear political guidance refused to be agitated to revolt against their political leadership. From May 1976 though maintaining the principle of ZIPA and ZANLA and ZPRA forces have been fighting under separate commands.

The spirit of a single national army and that of political unity in an armed liberation struggle has manifested itself again in ZAPU and ZANU forging a Patriotic Front. This was declared on October 9th 1976. The Patriotic Front defined as an alliance between ZAPU and ZANU has committed itself to unifying the fighting forces and pledged to harmonise its political orientations and programmes as well.

The Patriotic Front represents a qualitative political development within the liberation movement in Zimbabwe. ZAPU and ZANU have had their mutual prejudices pruned down by years of hard march through the jungles of the armed liberation struggle. They have also sobered to the fact that the independence of Zimbabwe can not be delivered to a divided national army as Comrade President Nkomo has put it.

As democratic people we can afford several political parties but we cannot afford a divided national army. Hence we must unify the ZPRA and ZANLA forces, now, so that together they should liberate Zimbabwe and as one defend its independence.

RESOLUTION FOR SOLIDARITY WITH THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

The World Conference Against Apartheid, Racism and Colonialism, guided by the Addresses of Oliver Tambo, Joshua Nkomo, Robert Mogabe, and Sam Nojoma — the leaders of the African National Congress of South Africa, the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe and SWAPO of Namibia respectively, have agreed that the struggle for liberation has reached a new and decisive stage brought about as a consequence of the destruction of Portuguese colonialism and the liberation of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde. Moreover, in the context of the worldwide change of the balance of forces against imperialism in favour of peace and national independence, the capacity of the racist settler regimes to plunder and hold prisoners the entire populations of South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia, is rapidly diminishing.

Imperialism, although frustrated in its aggression against Angola remains determined to continue its domination of Southern Africa.

Calls from spokesmen of imperialist governments for "new conferences", "peaceful settlement" and even "majority rule" disguise a new aggressiveness designed either to maintain the illegal regimes in power or to create puppet forces and establish neo-colonialist regimes.

Proposals to extend NATO to the South Atlantic, strengthening the existing ties between Brazil, Argentina, the fascist regimes in Chile and Uruguay, and the racist and colonialist regimes of Southern Africa, as well as, strengthening the "presence" of imperialist naval forces in the Indian Ocean, not only presents new threats to the liberation movements and peoples of Southern Africa and the entirety of the African continent, but to international peace and security.

The United States of America, Britain, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan, Israel and certain other countries continue to violate U.N. Security Council resolutions concerning economic sanctions against the illegal Smith regime, resolution

385 on Namibia and the 31st General Assembly resolution urging the Security Council to invoke Chapter VII of the UN Charter against South Africa.

The collusion of these nations with the racist regimes of Southern Africa threatens all of Africa and world peace generally.

In fact, their efforts are attempts to maintain the Pretoria and Salisbury regimes in power and to create client states to serve neo-colonialist interests.

We reaffirm the legitimacy of the armed struggle as the people's only means to seize power in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe and call upon the people of the world to increase their material and political support to the liberation movements in order to speed the victorious march of the people.

We declare that the African National Congress of South Africa, the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe and SWAPO of Namibia are the sole authentic representatives of their people. In this regard, we declare, that the UN Council for Namibia is the only legal authority over Namibia.

This Conference calls on the African, Arab and Nonaligned countries through the O.A.U., the Arab League, and the Non-Aligned Bureau, respectively, to urgently consider possibilities of imposing an economic boycott and an oil embargo against those western countries which continue to trade with South Africa and Rhodesia in violation of the UN resolutions.

We applaud the tremendous consistent aid Socialist countries are giving and the heroic stand the front line African Nations and progressive states of Africa are making. We also take note of the invaluable aid of the progressive forces of Latin America, Asia, the Middle East and those forces for peace and progress working in the main citadels of imperialism.

We call on all states and organizations to redouble their efforts towards immediate and concrete political and material assistance to the authentic liberation movements.

The Rhodesian regime boasts about the high response its military recruiting agents are getting from mercenaries "from all corners of the world except the Communist Countries are continually applying to join the Rhodesian Army".

We have stated many times that the Rhodesian fascist army is composed of mercenaries from certain West European Nations, some of which claim to be advocating for majority rule in our country.

allies of the Rhodesian fascists. A time is not far off when our friends shall be identified. We will not ignore the past when such a time comes.

We have repeatedly stated that mercenaries are an international out cast stock of people. Countries whose citizens take part in mercenary activities cannot escape absolute condemnation for these mass murders and incredible atrocities by their subjects. We call upon them through these

MERCENARIES AND THE WESTERN COUNTRIES

Somewhere else in our previous publications we have published a very brief catalogue of atrocities committed against the African masses of Zimbabwe by the Rhodesian racist regime supported by these mercenaries from the Western Countries. The catalogue is indisputable evidence of a few of Smith's unpardonable crimes.

Among those responsible for the execution of Smith's murderous orders we find British, American, Australian, Belgian, Portuguese and West Germany Nationals. These international criminals serve in Smith's brutal army, go back to their respective countries and lavishly spend their bloody-money given to them in foreign currency by the Smith bandits. Their respective governments have never raised a finger against these brutes.

We cannot understand why these governments can expect the brutalised masses of Zimbabwe to regard them as friends. We rightly regard them as

columns to curb their nations from going abroad to commit wanton murder.

It is a fact of life that the Western Countries do not wish to assist to bring about real change in Zimbabwe. They use international forums to mouth a lot of hypocritical statements about their love of human rights and freedom. But they do their very best to prop up the Rhodesian and South African fascists economically, militarily and diplomatically. What count to them are profits rather than human rights and freedom. That is the case in Rhodesia today. We say:- "Economic investments of the Western European ruling class versus Zimbabwe's human rights and freedom." There is a lot of empty talks about human rights with some Socialist Nations accused of violating the human rights. The butchers of human rights are the diabolical mercenaries, their respective governments and pay-masters the CIA in Zimbabwe.



POET'S CORNER

LETS BREAK THE CHAINS TO FREEDOM AND PEACE

*THE LANGUAGE TO SMITH,
We are members of ZPRA
There we come armed,
And fierce,
With our brains, we think
and plan with our guns,
Will plan and advance,
We have no time to waste,
There we come, with no second,
Of the hour in a year.
Will dare pass without,
The people, and achievements.*

*There we come, with weapons in our hands,
Let the barrel of a gun bring freedom and peace to all,
only through the gun,*

*That we see freedom for, all there we come, ragged and
fierce,
Let the Bom! Bom! sound of the gun
be our daily food till
victory.*

*There we come,
Let dew be our daily water,
freedom is only born in the struggle
Let the blood of patriots paint the
revolutionary flag of Zimbabwe.*

*Struggle continues
Through the gun Zimbabwe shall be free
Victory is Certain,*



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IMPORTANT: Please note that our frequencies are changed in March, May, September and November. The details are announced at the end of our programmes.

GDR, 116 Berlin

THE ZIMBABWE REVIEW

TO OUR READERS:

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

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