RHODESIA'S CONCENTRATION CAMPS

As of this summer, 580,000 Zimbabwean men and women (one out of every twelve) had been forcibly removed from their homes and villages to "protective villages", which are no more than concentration camps similar to the "strategic hamlets" set up by the U.S. in south Vietnam. There are over 200 protected villages with more being built especially in the areas where the freedom fighters are gaining strength. The Rhodesian regime has forcibly resettled these Zimbabweans ostensibly to provide protection for them from attacks by the freedom fighters.

Whom do the "Protected Villages" Protect?

The typical "protected village" is approximately 100 acres and is surrounded by a high chain-link fence with barbed wire at the top and strong electric lamps facing outwards. The layout itself raises the question who is being protected in these villages. The Zimbabwe people's huts are sited immediately within the perimeter fence. In the center of the camp is an open space, surrounded by an embankment or sandbags known as the Internal Affairs Keep. In this central enclosure, which has its own double fence, are the European District Officer who controls the camp and his African Assistants. It is obvious from the layout that the only people protected from attacks by the freedom fighters are the District Officer and his Assistants.

Why have the Rhodesian security forces taken so much trouble to resettle all these Zimbabwe people? The majority of those resettled have been women and children and old people, since they are the majority of people who remain in the rural villages. Most of the younger men and women have joined the freedom fighters in their struggle for national independence, or have left to find work in the cities. What kind of threat are these rural people to Rhodesian security?

The Rhodesian authorities have stated that the purpose of these new villages is to stop the Zimbabwe villagers from assisting the freedom fighters. This assistance comes in the form of food, clothing, shelter and perhaps information about the maneuvers of the Rhodesian security forces in the area.

Early on in the struggle, attempts were made to stop this support by a mixture of punishments and

(Continued on the following page.)

WHO WE ARE

The ZANU Solidarity Committee, New York, is part of a network of such committees across the country. The ZSC, composed in the main of North Americans, was formed to support the political aims of ZANU, both by carrying out education among North Americans and by raising material support for the Zimbabwe movement. You can help by writing us for more information or by inviting us to do a program for your group, organization, school, church or union.
inducements. Cash rewards were offered for persons giving information about the freedom fighters. Collective fines were imposed on villages believed to have harbored and assisted them, cattle were confiscated and sold, schools, mills, stores and churches were closed. In September 1973, it was made a capital offense to fail to report the presence of freedom fighters. These measures served only to increase the political consciousness of the Zimbabwe villagers and many left to join the guerrillas.

As these measures all proved ineffective, the Rhodesian authorities decided to try to prevent the villagers from giving assistance to the freedom fighters by removing them forcibly from their villages and resettling them in crowded camps, curiously called "protected villages."

We must understand this as a desperate strategic move by the white regime to counter the guerrilla war being waged by the freedom fighters. This strategy is the same as the establishment of "strategic hamlets" by US imperialism during the Vietnam war. It is destined to meet with the same resistance from the people and the same ultimate failure.

Conditions in the "Protected Villages"

The conditions in which people are forced to live in these concentration camps are inhumane. Already forced to live on land with inferior soil and poor weather conditions (the Tribal Trust Lands), entire populations are forced to move quickly into fenced-in crowded areas with even fewer resources. Water supply is often located far from the villages. People walk up to six miles to wash their clothes in rivers and about three miles to fetch water for drinking and cooking. The people are instructed to build huts for themselves for which they have to go and collect all the needed material themselves.

The suffering caused to the people by these moves has been widely reported. The immediate problems are lack of proper toilet facilities, inadequate or dirty water supplies, lack of storage facilities and lack of drainage. The sanitation is terrible. In some camps, 3-foot concrete pipes were provided for defecation. In other camps a pit was dug and covered with sticks with a narrow opening. As one man described it, they were living and eating in the site of their defecation. Some of the camps are situated on low land and during the rainy season, water percolates inside their houses. Some mothers have had to get up and hold their babies on their backs in the night to keep them dry. These conditions bring on mosquitoes and flies, and outbreaks of typhoid, diarrhea and malaria are frequent.

In addition to this, curfews are imposed from 6 pm to 6 am. The traditional pattern of work for rural Zimbabweans is to tend their fields from 5 am until 10 am, rest during the heat of the day, and return to their fields at about 3 pm and work until nightfall. Owing to the curfew and to the distance of their fields from the "protected villages", they are not able to tend the fields properly and often have to remain in the fields during the heat of the day and the hardship this causes, particularly to elderly people, is aggravated by the fact that they are not allowed to take food or water with them for fear that they might give it to freedom fighters.

Testimony of Victims

In a report published in London recently, the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace exposed the Rhodesian army's routine torture of Africans. Many of the victims lived in the protective villages. From the London Observer of September 4, 1977:

Mr. P.M., who had been working on the land with his wife and children, was questioned by two white members of a 24-strong army unit about the presence of guerrillas. He was beaten on his lower back until he fell and was then bound by his wrists with wire and tied to a tree.

Meanwhile the other soldiers (who were black) had been preparing to eat and had made a fire in which some beer was boiling. One of the European soldiers then poured fifteen cups over Mr. M's head and about five cups over his shoulders. After the meal, the same soldier poured the boiled beer countless times over Mr. M's feet. After nine weeks in the hospital, Mr. M had still not fully recovered. Schoolchildren, says the report, are often brutally questioned. One method, according to a headmaster, is to cover the suspect's face with a towel, which is
then saturated with water to simulate drowning.

As always in situations where soldiers have despotic power civilians, the women are abused by the military men. Numerous rapes occur — with the women often hiding the fact from their husbands or fathers so that they will not be killed or beaten protesting.

Repression Strengthens Resistance

The Zimbabwean people in these "protected villages" are not discouraged by the terrorism of the white Rhodesian regime but continue to join the freedom fighters in the struggle for national liberation, as the following excerpts show:

In one incident in the Tanda Tribal Trust Land last July, Rhodesian forces burnt six villages whose 2900 occupants had refused to move. During the burning of the villages, nine government soldiers died when they came under attack by guerrillas.

(Observer, September 4, 1977)

At Madziwa, there is a fence around the (protected) village, spotlights, a public address system and a defense force of 20 local militiamen and two white soldiers. Every man, woman and child was searched before being allowed into the village and was wearing a plastic bracelet that had to match an identity card.

In the center of the village of 1800 is a "keep," a heavily fortified square. It came under guerrilla attack, including 60-mm. mortar fire, seven times while being built in mid-1974.

The district commissioner, Ian Thom, estimated that 20 per cent of the population in his district, especially "the young people," had actively aided the guerrillas and that many still were doing so.

He also confirmed that the government had disposed and jailed two chiefs for "exhorting people to aid the terrorists" and that 250 other tribesmen had been detained for supporting them.

(Washington Post, March 15, 1976)

MILITARY SITUATION IN ZIMBABWE
Chimurenga War Communique No. 13
January to May 1977
Issued by Patriotic Front-ZANU, Maputo
(summarized by ZSC)

The revolutionary armed struggle against the racist terrorists of the Smith regime has entered a final and decisive phase. The operations of ZIPA, the military wing of the Patriotic Front, presently covers well over two-thirds of the country with a population of over four million people and new operational areas are constantly being opened up. Hardly a day passes without an engagement in the war zones of Zimbabwe.

The following war communique partially covers our military operations in the operational areas of the North-east (Kariba, Gokwe, Karoi, Utungwe, Bindura, Sinoia, Mazoe, Shamva, Centenary, Mutoko), the East (Inyanga, Marange, Melsetter, Rusape, Tanda, Vumba, Birchenough Bridge, Chipinga, Odzi, Mount Selinda), the South (Chiredzi, Sabi Valley, Bikita, Gutu, Nangara, Nyajena, Chibi, Mashaba, Nuanetsi, Belingwe, Gwanda, Bala Bala), and Central Zimbabwe (Mrewa, Wedza, Buhera, Selukwe, Que Que, Gatoona, Enkeledoorn).

In the course of these operations, the ZIPA forces successfully engaged the enemy in 61 surprise attacks, carried out 35 ambushes, successfully carried out 65 sabotage operations and made over 50 raids. These military operations resulted in the loss of 851 Rhodesian terrorist troops, wounding of several hundreds, some very seriously, shooting down of eight military aircraft, destruction of 58 vehicles, capture of 34 district assistants, and overrunning of four enemy camps. During the same period, ZIPA forces also captured one bus, large quantities of war materiel, money, etc.

The following is a month-by-month account of some of the major military engagements that ZIPA has fought.

Jan. 11, 1977 - a ZIPA detachment ambushed an enemy convoy in the Mbaizo area; ten enemy soldiers were killed and several others wounded.

Jan. 14 - ZIPA forces attacked a concentration camp "Mushini keep" in the Dotito area. A white "keep" supervisor and six district assistants were killed.

Jan. 15 - in the Dotito locality, ZIPA forces laid an ambush and killed eight enemy soldiers.

(Continued on the following page)
ZANU SPEAKERS

What is Really Happening in Zimbabwe

The Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) has speakers available to address your group. Chief among these is Synos Mangazva, Official Representative from ZANU to the U.S. Several other excellent speakers, both men and women, are also available.

Topics for talks can include the Present Situation in Zimbabwe; American Involvement in Zimbabwe; the Role of Women in the Political and Military Struggle; and others of current interest.

To arrange for a speaker, contact ZANU at the address below:

Synos Mangazva
88-15 144th St Apt 3A
Jamaica NY 11435
Tel: (212) 658-1727 or 657-2284

MILITARY (Cont’d from p.5)

Jan. 19 - an enemy truck detonated a landmine at Saruchena; in the blast, five enemy troops were killed.

Jan. 29 - ZIPA forces stormed the Nyakasikana enemy camp in the Mount Darwin area and killed over twenty enemy soldiers.

Feb. 15, 1977 - a ZIPA unit ambushed a band of 35 enemy soldiers in the Chesia area; ten enemy troops were killed and several wounded.

Feb. 17 - an enemy truck, full of enemy soldiers, detonated a landmine in Chipinga.

Feb. 27 - in a fierce engagement in the Chendambuya area, ZIPA forces surprised an enemy patrol unit; an Alouette (III) helicopter sent to rescue the enemy soldiers was shot down and its four occupants killed.

Feb. 28 - a ZIPA unit operating in the Centenary area ambushed an enemy patrol of six soldiers going to a "keep" for the night shift; all six were killed.

March 2, 1977 - a ZIPA commando unit operating in the Umtali district successfully surprised an enemy unit of 25 soldiers with aerial support; ZIPA fighters killed sixteen enemy soldiers and downed a Canberra bomber. On the same day, another ZIPA unit of 20 ambushed an enemy convoy on Mutsago Road, Marange; the ZIPA forces killed 13 enemy soldiers, wounded five others, and destroyed an enemy truck.

March 6 - ZIPA forces in the Kadi area surprised-attacked an enemy force of 20 soldiers and mercenaries; the ZIPA forces killed 10 enemy soldiers, and captured one enemy soldier and some weaponry.

March 10 - ZIPA forces operating in the Kudiyawara area ambushed an enemy patrol of 30 soldiers with air support; ZIPA forces killed 9 enemy soldiers and one truck was destroyed.

March 27 - a landmine in the Matetsa area exploded destroying a truck, killing 5 enemy soldiers and wounding 7 others.

March 30 - in a surprise attack against 15 enemy troops in Buyu Pfungwe area, ZIPA forces killed 7 and wounded 8 others.

April 10, 1977 - at 6:45 a.m., a Bedford truck full of enemy troops detonated a landmine on Tanda road, Mutasa area; 9 enemy troops were killed.

April 18 - ZIPA forces in the Southern operational zone had a fierce battle with enemy troops and killed 10.

April 22 - ZIPA forces fought a battle with Rhodesian racist troops at Caruaus farm, Melsetter, and killed over 10 enemy soldiers.

April 27 - a ZIPA unit ambushed an enemy patrol near Chipinga and killed 5 enemy soldiers.

April 27 - two combined detachments of ZIPA veterans hit the Nyamapanda enemy base in the North-eastern operational area; 50 enemy troops were killed and hundreds wounded. Nyamapanda is an enemy base that links four strategic roads and has been used as a springboard for enemy attacks on Mozambique.

May 1-2, 1977 - ZIPA forces operating in the North-eastern operational zone had running battles with Rhodesian terrorist troops which resulted in over 10 enemy soldiers killed and 20 wounded.

May 13 - a ZIPA commando unit ambushed a heavily armed enemy convoy 12 km from Birchennough Bridge; most of the vehicles in the convoy were hit and one enemy truck carrying ammunition exploded.

May 16 - ZIPA forces operating in Central Zimbabwe ambushed an enemy truck and killed 5 enemy soldiers including a mercenary from the United States, George William Clarke, a Vietnam veteran.

May 18 - ZIPA gunners downed an enemy bomber plane.

May 20 - a ZIPA detachment operating in the Eastern operational zone killed 12 racist troops.

May 22 - the same ZIPA forces attacked an enemy airport at Houtberg Farm near Mount Selinda; the damage caused was put at over half a million dollars.
With the collapse of the Geneva conference, the people of Zimbabwe have been left with no alternative but to intensify revolutionary armed struggle. Bitter experience has taught us that in Zimbabwe only armed struggle is the key to the overthrow of the racists regime of Ian Smith and the liquidation of capitalism, imperialism, colonialism and racism. No talking, no negotiation can bring reason to Ian Smith's stubborn head. Only armed violence will knock some sense into his head.

In order to defeat Smith, we have to transform our war from a mere political-military struggle into a people's war. Granted that our struggle has been both political and military and involved many politically and militarily trained cadres. But a people's war is the work of millions of people, of the entire people of Zimbabwe. All Zimbabweans, regardless of sex, age, creed, political or ethnic tendency, must stand up to fight the racist Smith regime. Each person must be a soldier, each village a fortress, each party cell, each village administrative community a staff. Let those who have guns use guns, those who have spears, bows and arrows use them, and those who have axes, pangas, picks, hoes and sticks use them. Everyone must do his utmost in the fight against the colonialist settlers to save Zimbabwe.

A people's war can only be waged by a people's army. It is therefore the urgent task of the party to transform our army into a truly people's army. A people's army is one which defends the fundamental interests of the people, in particular the toiling peoples, workers and peasants. The transformation of our war into a people's war, our army into a people's army, cannot be achieved through mere talking about people's war. It can only be achieved through hard and arduous struggle. It is only by turning our struggle into a people's war and our army into a people's army that we can expect to achieve our strategic aims; the overthrow of the Smith regime and the liquidation of capitalism, imperialism, colonialism and racism.

The war in Zimbabwe has shown that in the face of an enemy as powerful as he is cruel, victory is possible only by uniting the whole people within a firm and wide nationall united front. The Patriotic Front consisting of ZANU and ANC(Z) constitute a firm basis for a broad national united front of the whole nation with the two parties forming a nucleus. This anti-Smith national united front must be a united front of the whole nation. It should be a united front of all groups, people in all walks of life, and all armed forces, a united front of all patriots - workers, peasants, soldiers, intellectuals, students and businessmen. It is only by maintaining the national united front that the difficulties of liberation can be overcome, the dynamic energy of the people mobilised and the Smith regime defeated. At the same time, every party and group in the united front must preserve its ideological, political and organisational independence and initiative until such time that there's agreement on a total merger. Bitter experience has proved that the policy of saying "everything through the united front" is wrong. In 1974, we tried to put everything through the ANC united front and we were almost smashed into pieces. Once beaten, twice shy. This point should be clearly understood by all our members and members of the Patriotic Front as well as our friends wherever they may be. We are not going to be the ones to split the united front but neither are we going to allow ourselves to be bound hand and foot by it.

The question of the national united front is of paramount importance in Zimbabwe because the basic contradiction in the country is that between British imperialism as represented by the Smith regime and African traitors on the one side, and the nation of Zimbabwe on the other. All other contradictions are minor and secondary. In this stage of the national democratic revolution, the national factor is of the utmost importance. To fight Rhodesian settlerism and British imperialism, it is necessary to unite the whole Zimbabwe nation, all revolutionary classes, patriotic elements to strengthen and broaden the Patriotic Front.
Armed struggle and the united front are the basic weapons for defeating the Ian Smith regime. The united front is a united front for carrying on armed struggle. But to storm and shatter the enemy's position there ought to be a revolutionary party. The building of a revolutionary vanguard party that will unite all patriotic forces and spearhead armed struggle in Zimbabwe is the greatest question and the urgent task of our time and for 1977 in particular.

We must this year build a party which is national in scale, has a broad mass character and is fully consolidated ideologically, politically and organisationally. The building of such a party is imperative for the strategic victory of the Zimbabwean Revolution. To a certain extent, our Party is already national in scale and has a broad mass character. It is however less consolidated ideologically, politically and organisationally at the moment. The reason is not far to fetch. ZANU was peppered left and right between 1974 and 1976 and the core of its leadership scattered at home and abroad. It was through sheer determination that the party survived the vicious assaults.

During this period, the link between the leadership and the fighters and the supporters at home and abroad completely broke down. There was no chain of command. In the absence of leadership, ZANLA fighters with a singularity of purpose resolutely waged armed struggle semi-independently. There was also the problem of new members who joined the party during this period but could not be considered as having a broad national character, as being ideologically, politically, and organisationally consolidated. At the same time, there is the problem of raising the political level of the older party members and of making further progress in consolidating them ideologically, politically and organisationally. Finally there is the Patriotic Front established in October last year. The Party must learn how to handle contradictions correctly within the Patriotic Front. The circumstances in which the Party now finds itself and the responsibilities it is shouldering are quite unlike those of the pre-1975 period; the circumstances are much more complex and the responsibilities much heavier.

The building of a revolutionary party committed to the total liberation of Zimbabwe is directly and deeply tied up with the task of concretizing and refining of our revolutionary theory. The building of the Party cannot be done in a disorderly manner without a correct theoretical perspective. To do so would be like wishing mourners at a funeral many happy returns of the day.

The party needs an advanced revolutionary theory; for without such a theory, we might just win national independence but our revolution will falter and flounder. This is the more so because our party has been only in the process of reorganisation, its features are only just becoming defined and it is as yet far from settling accounts with the other trends of reactionary and counter-revolutionary thought that threaten to divert the movement from its correct revolutionary path.

Certainly, the experiences of other liberation movements in Africa, Asia and Latin America will be of great value in sharpening our theoretical perspective. It will not be enough however to merely copy, recite or be acquainted with the experiences of other liberation movements. What is required is the ability to treat these experiences critically, creatively and to test them independently.

It will clearly be the sacred duty of the leaders to gain an ever clearer insight into all theoretical questions and to constantly keep in mind that our revolution is in essence anti-colonialist anti-imperialist struggle (not racial struggle) which demands careful study and that it be pursued in a scientific manner. The task will be to place our Revolution in its proper perspective, to define its character, identify its features, pinpoint its targets and spell out its general perspective.

Equally important is the total integration of the leadership and the fighting forces. This is the more so because of the tenuous link that obtained in the last few months as a result of complete isolation of the leadership from the followers.

It is only by doing this that our people will occupy an honourable place in the battle-line. They will stand armed for battle when either unexpectedly grave trials or momentous events demand of them increased courage, increased determination and energy as happened between 1975 and 1976.

The transformation of our Party, our army and our war will not be sufficient unless and until it is directly linked with our own transformation. Such transformation will have a meaning only to the extent that we ourselves demonstrate revolutionary attitude, habits and have a correct style of work, effective mode of operation and are fully committed to meet and endure the rigours and exigencies of armed revolutionary struggle. Whether we shall succeed in accomplishing our tasks or not will be determined by our revolutionary practice. For the correctness and incorrectness of a theory can only be tested in social practice. It will not be easy; it will be hard, bitter and protracted. That is as it should be, for a revolution is not a dinner party.

Armed struggle, consolidation of the Patriotic Front and the building of a major national party - a revolutionary vanguard party - these are the main concrete tasks which the people of Zimbabwe, ZANU, the Patriotic Front and all democratic forces and peoples' organisations in Zimbabwe have placed on the order of the day for 1977. The three are so interlinked that one cannot be isolated from the others. We shall brave all difficulties and unite as one to fulfill these noble tasks in 1977. Once again the people of Zimbabwe will win.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN.
LESSONS OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE
(from the Jan. 1977 Zimbabwe News)

Every revolutionary movement must learn important lessons from its own experience. All incidents of success and failure are a laboratory in which party cadres and leaders should work in order to pinpoint their mistakes, correct wrong ideas, and adopt new methods and styles of work. Each single incident is pregnant with meaning for the movement, if it is properly studied and analysed.

No colonial country has had as many Commissions, Conferences, and Peace Missions, as Zimbabwe. In the last 15 years, it has had three constitutional commissions, three constitutions, and has been the major topic at numerous conferences ranging from the United Nations Security Council, conferences of Commonwealth Prime Ministers, summit meetings of African Heads of Commonwealth Prime Ministers, summit meetings of African heads of state, and many others. But the Geneva Conference of 1976 was the biggest gathering of political leaders and advisers from Zimbabwe. It was a conference pregnant with meaning for the revolutionary movement in Zimbabwe.

It failed like all its predecessors. But, the forces of colonialism that seek to dominate and subjugate Zimbabwe's seven million people had been stripped off and laid bare for all of us to see.

Of the many important lessons to be learnt from the Geneva Conference, the first one was that Ian Smith and his racist government were not prepared to transfer power to any true representative of the indigenous masses of the African people. In fact, at that Conference, he was not prepared to hand over power to anybody, even to black puppets.

Maybe the most he would accept was a glorified Bantustan in which the European settlers retained substantive power. Even the Americans, who had played such an important part in convening the conference, felt that Smith was not making significant concessions.

When Smith refused to budge one inch on the important question of power-transfer, the conference was adjourned for three weeks to give the chairman, Ivor Richard, and the new American government of Jimmy Carter, time to work on Smith.

They produced new proposals, which Smith again rejected out of hand in Salisbury in January.

The second lesson to be learnt from Geneva is the extent of interest of international finance in the Zimbabwe economy. The European Economic Community had a permanent delegation at Geneva all the time. More importantly, there were delegations from the four main sectors of the Zimbabwe economy - the Rhodesian Farmers Union, the Rhodesian Chamber of Mines, the Rhodesian Chamber of Industries, and the Rhodesian Chamber of Commerce. They were reinforced by representatives of multinational corporations with vast interests in Africa, such as LONRHO and UNILEVER.

The interests of those who want to continue exploiting our natural resources is not far to seek. With a GNP of $2930 million in 1974, and a per capita GNP of $480 a year, Rhodesia is way ahead of countries north of the Zambezi river; and with Angola, Zaire, South Africa, and Namibia, forms one of the richest mining regions of the world, with a wide range of minerals. For the international financiers, the security of their investments is the major concern. They would prefer majority rule to an illegal white minority regime like Smith's, but the major question in their mind is who should rule among the majority, and what will be his attitude to their financial interests?

The third lesson we should learn from Geneva is the common fear of the guerrilla forces among white settlers and the so-called moderate Africans who have no fighting forces. When it came to considering the structure of the proposed government, the moderate Africans presented fanciful proposals such as "snap general elections" and "rotating presidencies," which were all designed to rob the guerrilla forces of the gains they and the people of Zimbabwe have made.
The central question in any transfer of power is the power of the forces of coercion - the army, the police, and the security services. African leaders in independent Africa made the mistake of inheriting colonial police forces and armies which lost little time in seizing power thereafter. More than half of Africa is now governed by the military men brought up in the colonial forces. In Zimbabwe, it would be foolhardy and political suicide to rely on the army, police, and security forces of the settler regime, which has brutalised our people for a century. And yet, that turned out to be the strategy of the moderates. They suggested that by a system of promotions and dismissals they could prune the settler police forces, and still use them in a free Zimbabwe.

The Patriotic Front took the only position that is tenable and reasonable - that the settler instruments of coercive power must be disbanded and replaced by the guerrilla forces of the people of Zimbabwe. V.I. Lenin warned as much - that, in a colonial situation, the true revolutionary movement must smash the colonial institutions. Otherwise, there is no revolution - and no need to talk about one. In fact, there would be no independence in Zimbabwe if the new black rulers inherited the police-security and armed forces that have killed, hanged, and brutalised thousands of Zimbabweans for a century.

Finally, there was one general and common feature. The three social forces described above - the white settlers, the international financiers and the African moderates - were all ranged against the Patriotic Front. The representatives of these three groups wanted a clumsy compromise that would leave the European settlers with residual and substantive powers, while installing a puppet or semi-puppet black regime that would rely on the existing forces of coercion - the army, the police and security - for the maintenance of government in power. Some popular acclamation will be sought from the masses, by informing them falsely that they were getting independence.

The extent of their dependence on Smith's power would be concealed by verbal denunciations of the existing social system, until several years later when the petty bourgeoisie will have been entrenched strongly as a puppet regime capable or terrorising any workers and peasants who will then see how grossly they have been cheated.

Only the Patriotic Front delegation stood for the defence of the gains of the workers and peasants of Zimbabwe, and their determination to establish a truly free, democratic, socialist republic. It confronted the colonialist forces on all issues, and stood on the principle of majority rule for the people, on the basis of one-man one-vote, and a complete manning of all institutions of the state - coercive and non-coercive - by Zimbabwe's own sons and daughters who have fought and died for independence.

However, it was also clear that the Patriotic Front could not win what it wanted in Geneva before it has won comparable victories in the battlefield. The enemy, taken singly or jointly, is not yet ready to transfer power. In the light of these experiences, and the very important lessons we have learnt from them, we must express our surprise that the British and American governments are still planning new initiatives to reconvene the Geneva Conference. Of course, a long and fruitless meeting could take place at Geneva for two full years as with Laos, but the naked truth is that no progress can be made until victory in the battlefield is achieved.
Dear Friends,

The photo below shows Zimbabwean women and children partially clothed in burlap sacks. They are a small sample of the thousands of refugees who have fled the oppressive settler regime of Ian Smith to live in refugee camps in Mozambique.

ZANU is asking us, supporters in the U.S., to collect used clothing and other materials and ship them to Africa. What we have to do is: collect the clothing, pack it and pay freight charges to Norfolk, Virginia, the point of embarkation. From there, Tidewater ZANU Support Committee in Norfolk takes responsibility for shipping the material overseas.

In June, New York ZSC shipped one ton of clothing which was collected at the Chimurenga rally. At present, we have two tons more clothing ready to be shipped. We received this clothing as the aftermath of the rally and from the speaking engagement of a ZANU woman at the YWCA.

We have a problem. We lack a few hundred dollars ($360) to complete the cost of the shipment. Our funds have been exhausted by the costs of previous shipments.

We refuse to believe that this relief effort will fail for lack of such a small amount of money. We believe you, supporters of the Zimbabwean struggle, will aid us, and these desperately needed clothes will soon be on their way to the Zimbabwe Refugee Committee in Quelimone, Mozambique.

Send a check, large or small. A pound of clothing costs approximately 9¢ to ship—so your $2.00 will send 22 pounds, your $5.00, 55 pounds.

Make the check out to ZANU Solidarity Committee, include notation CLOTHING DRIVE. Send to P.O. Box 181
Bronx, New York 10453

OTHER WAYS YOU CAN HELP

If you would like to help the refugees in other ways, here are some suggestions. There are three broad areas in which help is needed.

Clothing - clean, used clothing. There is a special need for shoes and sneakers to combat foot parasites and also blankets for the night cold and damp. In general: any clean clothing, light or heavy.

Medical equipment - used and new. Stethoscopes, scissors, testing equipment, microscopes, vials, bandages, gauze, tape, etc. Books from first-aid and paraprofessional level to surgery and treatment of diseases. Also texts on sanitation.

Educational equipment - pencils, pens, paper, notebooks, mimeograph and electrostencil machines (for making books in Zimbabwe), typewriters, blackboards, and chalk.

If you can gather any of this material, write to us for details on how to ship. It will be good if you can raise the funds for freight charges. Write to us at ZANU Solidarity Committee, Box 181, Bronx NY 10453
RESOURCES AVAILABLE FROM ZSC-NY

ZIMBABWE BULLETIN: Subscribe to this monthly bulletin issued by the ZSC, which gives important political analysis of current political, military, diplomatic and economic developments in Zimbabwe. Also provides ongoing descriptions of life in Zimbabwe, developments in the liberation movement, solidarity movement, etc. One year subscription: $3. Free back orders on request. 40% off on orders of 10 or more copies.

ZIMBABWE NEWS: Subscribe to this, the quarterly journal of the Zimbabwe African National Union. In depth analysis of the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe, first hand documents, as well as discussions and debates in the liberation movement. Libraries, Institutions and Governments: $25 per year; Individuals: $12.50; Students: $10. Back issues available at $1.50 per copy. 40% off on orders of 10 or more copies.

MEMORANDUM TO DONORS: This is an important historical document written by Edgar J. Tekere, a ZANU leader in Mozambique, describing the formation of ZIPA and the rejection of the leaders who betrayed the armed struggle. Free.

ZANU POSTER: 17" x 22", red, black and green on yellow paper. Price: $1.50; 40% off on orders of 10 or more.

WHAT'S AT STAKE IN ZIMBABWE?: A reprint from an earlier Zimbabwe Bulletin, analysing the global and African strategy of US and British imperialism, the role of South Africa, Black neo-colonial regimes in the area, the differences in the Zimbabwean organizations, and ZANU-ZIPA's perspective of the protracted struggle. Single copy: 10c; 40% off on orders of 10 or more.


RESOURCES AVAILABLE FROM ZSC-CHICAGO

HISTORY OF THE ZIMBABWE LIBERATION STRUGGLE: A 48 page history from the 1600's to the present, explaining the origins and development of ZANU, and the armed struggle. Perhaps the best short history available in the US, and very important to anyone wishing a clear overall view of Zimbabwe. Well written, in popular style, by Dave Komatsu and Bob Brown. Single copy: $1; 40% off on orders of 10 or more.

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