
THE LIBERATION WAR PROGRESSES

Striking widely and strongly, the Zimbabwean freedom fighters, under the unified command of ZIHA (also known as the "Third Force"), are increasingly stretching thin the Smith regime's security forces. And Rhodesia is starting to scrape the bottom of its military personnel barrel with the reassessment of Rhodesians exempted from combat on medical grounds and the intense recruitment of mercenaries from Western Europe and the US.

The strategy of the liberation force is four-pronged. First, they are scattering the Rhodesian army as far across the country as possible. To this end, freedom fighters have infiltrated and struck at targets far in the interior. The recent attacks on a farm as near Salisbury as Macheke is one of the more obvious examples of this trend.
The opening of a fourth front on the northern borders with Zambia also underlines this strategy. The other fronts are: the north-east and the south-east and the east on the Mozambican border. The intention is to make every inch of Zimbabwe soil a front and stretch the resources of the enemy.

The second part of the guerrilla strategy is to complement the military effort with attacks on vital economic targets such as the only two rail links left to the outside - to South African ports. The lines have been sabotaged at least seven times in the last four months.

Third, the freedom fighters are demonstrating to the white minority population that while their Code of Combatants excludes attacks on civilians, the whites' cooperation with the Rhodesian army can be costly. This is directed, in particular, to white landowners in the combat areas who have offered their farms as operational bases.

Fourth, ZILA has stepped up its program of both political and military training and arming of the peasants in various parts of the country.

What is ZANU?

The Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) was formed in 1963 to begin the armed self-liberation of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), where 6 million Africans exist as laborers and servants for 270,000 white settlers. It was ZANU which first declared that lobbying at the United Nations and petitioning the British government would never bring freedom. On April 28, 1966, Chinhoyi Day, a commando unit of the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) launched the nation's armed struggle by attacking a Rhodesian army patrol. Since then ZANU's strength has grown, along with its political vision. ZANU is pledged to wipe out white settler rule and western corporate control of the Zimbabwe economy, and to institute immediate majority rule. Recognized by friend and foe alike as the only armed liberation force in the country, ZANU receives most of its material support from the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.). It has close ties to the sister movements of Frontline in Mozambique and SWAPO in Namibia (S.W. Africa).

THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT

The London Economist reports:

A group of ZANU leaders have completely dissociated themselves from the African National Council-Zimbabwe (ANC) and have assumed leadership of the liberation struggle. The best known leaders of this group, which was formed in the fall of 1975, are Robert Mugabe and Edgar Tekere. Both have been based in Mozambique for the past year.

The guerrilla units, known as the Zimbabwe People's Liberation Army (ZIPA) and based in camps in Mozambique, are commanded by an 18-man council. ZANU forces make up the great majority of the army and ZAPU the remainder. ZANU men are the commanders and ZAPU men their deputies. Most of the fighting commanders are committed to anonymity since there will be less danger of factions developing within the guerrilla army if their names remain unknown.

These guerrillas, who moved to Mozambique from camps in Zambia (ZAPU) and training camps in Tanzania (ZANU), are being reinforced by young black Zimbabweans who are continuously crossing from Rhodesia into Mozambique.

Both ANC factions (Muzorewa-Sithole and Nkomo) have claimed the loyalty of the guerrillas. But the latter have no faith in the political leadership offered by either faction. The Organization of African Unity's Liberation Committee is now responsible for channelling all aid and arms to ZILA. Within Zimbabwe, support for both Nkomo and Muzorewa-Sithole continues to decline. With the intensification of the armed struggle, black Zimbabweans will look to the guerrillas to provide a united and vigorous political leadership.

At the end of May, Muzorewa accused the four front-line states (Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia, and Botswana) of bypassing the ANC's political leadership, preventing him from getting to the guerrilla training camps, and imposing a third force of military leaders behind the backs of the political leaders. President Samora Machel of Mozambique replied: "A leader does not need permission to visit his fighters if he is indeed leading them. He is supposed to be with them all the time." Muzorewa was strongly criticized by Tanzanian Vice President Aboud Jumbe during the recent OAU Liberation Committee meeting.
WHITE GOVERNMENT TERROR

In response to the upsurge in the liberation struggle, the Smith government is resorting to terror tactics reminiscent of US policy in Viet Nam. Units of the Rhodesian army have gone on patrol, avoided contact with the guerrillas but shot civilians and presented them as freedom fighters. Also, peasants have been killed for being outside the "protective villages" during the dusk-to-dawn curfew. Over 500,000 Africans in the operational zones have been herded into these concentration camps, usually a great distance from their old villages where their crops are planted, making it difficult for the peasants to tend their crops adequately and get back to the "protective village" before the dusk curfew.

The Rhodesian Defense Minister, Pieter van der Byl, stated in the Assembly: "Security forces will not hesitate to bomb or destroy villages which harbor 'terrorists'. Villagers must report the presence of 'terrorists'; if they do not, they should expect their villages to be treated as the security forces think desirable."

The Rhodesian army has also resorted to attacking neighboring countries in the name of "hot pursuit." Recently, Rhodesian bombers attacked targets inside Mozambique. In addition, "hot pursuit" operations are undertaken in areas where there is little Mozambique army presence. Rhodesian patrols have violated both Mozambican and Zambian territory on reconnaissance missions.

ATTEMPTS TO PRESERVE THE STATUS QUO

The white minority regime is scared as it has never been before. One section want to make some cosmetic changes to preserve the status quo. On June 14, a government commission recommended the following:

1) "Instead of segregated European and African farm lands, anyone should be able to buy land anywhere. Since the best land is already in white hands, and since the whites have all the money, blacks cannot raise the money to buy land from the whites. On the other hand, it will be easy for whites to buy up African land.

2) "Instead of separate electoral rolls for whites and blacks, there should be a common roll. Voting qualifications such as proper ownership, which have disenfranchised all but a few of the African population, will however not be changed. The commission suggested some other insignificant changes as well: ending segregation in sports, public toilets, bars, etc.

At that time, Smith felt pressured by the West to appear reasonable; he went on television and promised to accept the recommendations. However, his followers are too racist to accept even these small changes. The split surfaced in just a few
days and Smith's position was seriously threatened. The London Times describes the parliamentary debate as "a lengthy debate in which members of the Rhodesia Front displayed the racist character of the party by speaking out virtually unanimously in favor of discrimination in most important areas, often with contemptuous references to their black countrymen." Smith was forced to reject all the major recommendations of the commission, small and inadequate as they were.

Smith is caught in a squeeze. His backers in South Africa, Britain and the US want him to work out a deal with a black "moderate" so that business can go on as usual, but his own party is so racist and reactionary that he cannot stay in power if he compromises. An ex-Prime Minister, Garfield Todd, said in London recently that the Rhodesian army might take over from Smith. At the same time, the liberation fighters are not interested in compromising with him; any concessions that he can make will not stop the armed struggle.

According to Brooklyn Congressperson Stephen Solarz, who met recently in Mozambique with Robert Mugabe and Edgar Tekere of ZANU, ZANU rejects any proposal that does not provide for an immediate and unconditional transfer of power. So Smith is looking to the outside for help. In an interview reported in the London Times, he has said that he is expecting external developments in the near future to contribute to a constitutional settlement. He believes it right for the US as the leader of the free world to participate in the affairs of southern Africa." Smith seems to hope for a settlement imposed by the US, Britain and South Africa. It is clear which side such a settlement will help.

The Western backers of the white regime are also upset by the armed struggle. It is clear to them that a protracted armed struggle will lead to a revolutionary black government as in Mozambique and Angola. So the Western powers are interested in ending the war quickly and installing a neo-colonial black government. There are already moves in this direction. Kissinger's meeting with Vorster is well-known. According to the London Observer, Kissinger wants Britain to intervene militarily and replace Smith with pro-Western blacks. In the last few weeks, another insidious plan to protect the white interests has come to light. According to this plan, whites will be guaranteed a "fair price" for all their property, businesses and farms. The plan will be under-

written by Britain, US and South Africa; they will lend money to a black government of Zimbabwe to be paid to whites as compensation. The London Times estimates that the plan could cost two billion dollars. Such a debt would ensure that an African Zimbabwe would continue to have an economy controlled by Western banks and corporations. An African governments going along with this "compensation" plan would have to borrow from the West to pay the "compensation" and then pay for the loans with concessions on Zimbabwean raw materials, pay interest that would become perpetual, and because of this debt, not have the capital to industrialize in a rational way for African needs.

According to the London Times, the scheme was devised initially by a group of white Rhodesians and adopted and projected by the faction of the African National Council headed by Joshua Nkomo. Nkomo advocated the plan to Britain when he visited London; the plan was subsequently discussed by Kissinger and Vorster in West Germany.

Congressperson Solarz learned from Mugabe and Tekere that ZANU rules out guarantees for white settlers and any compensation for the take-over of white-owned land. Mugabe said compensating whites for land was out because it was God-given and because it had been worked by Africans, who could place counterclaims for exploitation.

How can the whites expect compensation for land that was taken illegally by force (without compensation) from the Africans? Or for mines and factories built with (virtual slave) African labor?

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WHITE ECONOMY GOES DOWNHILL

The white Rhodesian economy continues to deteriorate under the pressure of the armed struggle. An increasingly high proportion of scarce foreign exchange is used to buy military equipment such as helicopters for Smith's troops. This military hardware is bought from countries who in turn are equipped by the U.S. This is a sanction-busting scheme in which the chief suppliers are Iran, Brazil, Israel and Saudi Arabia. The equipment is shipped to South Africa, then finds its way to Rhodesia.

This year's Rhodesian budget shows a 40% increase for the military and 23% for the police. Currency restrictions have been imposed on people wishing to leave Rhodesia (emigrants - $1600; vacationers - $500). Besides hindering the flight of money from the country, the Rhodesian regime hopes thus to discourage whites from leaving.

Landlocked Rhodesia is feeling the full impact of the closure of the railway links with Mozambique. The 60% of Rhodesian agricultural goods which used to go through Maputo and Beira in Mozambique must now be shipped along the railroads to South Africa which are under constant attack from the guerrillas. As a result of this unreliable delivery, outside buyers are losing interest in Rhodesian agricultural products.

Tourism, once an important source of foreign exchange, has declined greatly as the war has spread to include some of the favorite tourist haunts. Since April, armed actions have taken place near Victoria Falls, in the area south of Fort Victoria near the Zimbabwe ruins, along Rhodesia's major rail and road links with South Africa (most tourists are South African), and there have been bombings in July in Salisbury itself.

Further pressures are being put on the Rhodesian economy by the increasing number of skilled workers being drafted. And many whites are emigrating - the son of the chief army recruiting officer has moved to South Africa, saying, "We are fighting a losing battle there." In the past several months, for the first time in recent history, the number of whites leaving Rhodesia exceeds those coming in. The policy of keeping Africans out of skilled jobs has left the economy particularly vulnerable to such a drain.

THE OIL CONSPIRACY

Economic sanctions against the racist Rhodesian regime have been evaded since their establishment in 1968. In a report made public in late June, the Center for Social Action of the United Church of Christ has documented the complicated series of dummy corporations established by large multinational corporations such as Mobil, Royal Dutch Shell, Caltex and BP to enable vital fuel supplies to continue to flow into Rhodesia in defiance of the UN sanctions. The July 21 Guardian contains a good summary of the report.

The report, titled The Oil Conspiracy, can be obtained by sending a dollar to Office for the Church & Society United Church of Christ 297 Park Avenue South - Room 80 New York New York 10010
MERCENARIES IN ZIMBABWE

The increased hopelessness of the Smith regime's position is seen in its attempts to recruit foreign mercenaries. Not only has the manpower of the Rhodesian Army been stretched to the breaking point, but many young people of military age are leaving the country. The government hopes that mercenaries can be used as replacements.

The Christian Science Monitor reports US mercenary training being done by the CIA directly and by "Amousa", a Cuban anti-Communist CIA front. Many nationalities are represented in this influx of mercenaries: Americans, Britons, South Africans, West Germans, and Portuguese. Veterans of colonial wars from Malaysia to Mozambique and Viet Nam to Angola have been sought for their expertise. The recruiters are becoming even more demanding as they shop for aircraft and helicopter pilots and mechanics, tank commanders, and special forces vets.

But, as the recruiting drive has increased, it has been repeatedly exposed by groups opposing it, and by the international press. It is a crime, punishable by two years in prison, to become a mercenary or to recruit mercenaries. Of course, the US government and the CIA are not ones to let the law interrupt their activities. Growing opposition within the US has put increased pressure on the government to stop this recruiting; several law enforcement agencies have started investigations but no indictments have been brought yet. Such popular resistance to Rhodesian recruiting activities must be increased to prevent further US aid to Smith and his people.

Recently, a wide variety of tricks and deceptions has been used to aid in mercenary recruiting. For example, a group called American Aid for Rhodesia (AAR) in San Antonio, Texas, has been recruiting people with military backgrounds to take non-military goods such as medicines and food to Rhodesia for the Smith regime. Since they are not taking military supplies, they can claim not to be mercenaries. However, a spokesperson for the AAR admitted that it had to keep a low profile specifically to stay within the bounds of US laws. A local group, the San Antonio Committee Against Mercenary Recruitment and US Intervention in Foreign Countries (c/o Mario Salas, Box 893, San Antonio Texas 78293) has been formed to oppose both this poorly disguised recruiting effort and other support for the Smith government.

The Rhodesian government has denied the reports of recruiting mercenaries. It claims that it does not want mercenaries as such. A letter from a recruiting officer appears in the summer issue of the American magazine Soldier of Fortune. He states that they do not want mercenaries in the Rhodesian Police or the Army. However, if applicants are willing to enlist as normal recruits, they would be welcome into either organization. Even if this statement were true, there is one important fact. As "Captain A.G.", a Viet Nam veteran, states in a letter in the same magazine, an officer's salary in the Rhodesian Army will enable one to "live very well in Rhodesia." (In Rhodesia, the average white family has 4 black servants.)

The role of the US government in this entire effort is clear. As it has done in so many ways, the US has been active in supporting Rhodesia-bound mercenaries or, at the very least, has been unenthusiastic about prosecuting recruiting groups.

The mercenary recruiting drive by Smith will increase as the situation for the settler government becomes more desperate. To counter this, we must organize to expose and resist mercenary recruiting and all other forms of support for the dying regime in Salisbury.
FALL SPEAKING TOUR OF ZANU REPRESENTATIVE

Tapson Mawere, ZANU representative in the US, will engage in an educational and fund-raising speaking tour across the US in the fall. Groups, organizations, churches, educational institutions and colleges that would like to sponsor a speaking engagement in their area should contact the ZANU office as soon as possible.

Write Tapson Mawere
ZANU Representative
89-09 162nd St Suite 3D
Jamaica N.Y. 11432
Tel: (212) 291-8039

Who We Are

The ZANU Support Committee has just been started here in New York, one of a network of such committees across the country. The Zimbabwe Liberation struggle is at last nearing its final stage, with the masses of people increasingly joining the armed fight for freedom. The ZSC was formed to support the political aims of ZANU, both by carrying out education among Americans and raising material support for the Zimbabwe movement. You can help by writing us for more information or inviting us to do a program for a group. Or by joining our committee.

ZANU Support Committee
P.O. Box 181
Bronx, N.Y. 10453

MATERIAL AVAILABLE

Subscription to ZIMBABWE BULLETIN for 12 months. Your subscription will enable ZSC to do further informational work. Subscription rate--$3.00

MEDICAL AID TO ZIMBABWE--4 page informational folder on medical needs in Zimbabwe. Free.

MEMORANDUM TO DONORS--6 page memorandum from Edgar J. Tekere, ZANU leader in Mozambique, describing the formation of the ZILA force and the rejection of the leaders who betrayed armed struggle. Free

POSTER-17" x 22"-red, green and black on yellow paper. Proceeds direct to ZANU. Price - $1.50.
Cowardly Attack by Rhodesian Army on Zimbabwean Refugee Camp in Mozambique

The first news of any action at Nyazonia Camp came on August 9th when the Rhodesian government announced its army had killed 300 black Zimbabwean guerrillas at a camp in Mozambique during a "hot pursuit operation."

THE TRUTH COMES OUT

From the New York Times, Aug. 21, 1976

GENEVA, Aug. 20—A spokesman for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees said today that Rhodesian troops last week "almost completely destroyed" a United Nations-supported refugee camp in Mozambique that had housed 8,000 black refugees from Rhodesia.

The spokesman said that Hugo Idoyaga, the High Commissioner's representative in Mozambique, found "10 mass graves" when he visited the camp Wednesday and was told that three men, women, and children were buried there.

HELP THE ZIMBABWEAN REFUGEES

Make out a check or money order to:
Send to: Tapson A. Mawere
ZANU Representative
89-09 162nd Street Suite 3D
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The survivors reported that the attackers had sprayed the camp with automatic weapons fire. Warehouses and huts were burned to the ground. The United Nations spokesman said that two Portuguese engineers employed on a dam project and a Spanish Roman Catholic priest also were reported to have died in the raid.

Most of the survivors were said to have fled the camp after losing all their belongings. The Mozambican Government is moving the refugees away from near the border with their homeland to give them greater security, the refugee official said.

Meanwhile, the Government has appealed to the High Commissioner for aid in procuring clothing, particularly for children, blankets, food and cooking utensils.

This leaflet distributed by the
New York Support Committee
Zimbabwe African National Union
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