WHAT REALLY HAPPENED AT GENEVA

Three basic forces met at Geneva, all having different interests.

First were the forces of imperialism: US and British imperialism, South African sub-imperialism, and Rhodesian settler colonialism.

Second were the Zimbabwean organizations: the Patriotic Front made up of ZANU led by Robert Mugabe and ZAPU led by Joshua Nkomo; the ANC led by Abel Muzorewa; and Ndabaningi Sithole.

Third were the front line states of Mozambique, Angola, Botswana, Zambia, and Tanzania.

Forced to the conference table by the armed struggle led by ZIPA, and by Western pressure, Smith held an intransigent position of only wishing to discuss the Kissinger Plan. So outrageous was his posture that he would reveal only a summary and not the entire plan. Since the Kissinger Plan called for continued white control of the army and police, the key instruments of oppression, the Patriotic Front flatly rejected it. Revelation of secret documents shows that the strategy of the Smith regime was to win approval of the Kissinger Plan in order to lift the economic sanctions and arms embargoes; declare a ceasefire in order to attack ZIPA; at the end of the two-year "transitional period", suspend the interim government and reinstate the old white regime.

The US and British imperialists hoped that the revolutionary forces would boycott or walk out of the negotiations. This would have given them a free hand to come up with a neocolonial solution. But this tactic failed because of ZANU's decision to set up a Patriotic Front with ZAPU.

ZANU had very little time to prepare for the conference. A number of ZANU leaders were released from Zambian prisons (where they had been detained for 18 months on trumped up charges) only days before the conference opened. Members from inside Zimbabwe came to Geneva as part of ANC, left ANC and joined the ZANU delegation; this was because ZANU is illegal under the Smith regime, and ZANU members work inside the legal ANC.

ZANU, and then the Patriotic Front, wanted to expose the insincerity of Britain, to prove that its real intentions were neocolonialism. First they showed that by not appointing a cabinet minister (Ivor Richard is merely the delegate to the UN), Britain was renouncing its responsibility as the colonizing power. Then the Patriotic Front demanded that a date for independence be set and that come what may, Zimbabwe would be declared independent on that date, and Britain would hand over power to the Zimbabwean people. Britain and Smith insisted that the date would be contingent on the completion of all the legal and constitutional processes that must come first. The debate over the independence date exposed the fact that Britain was not committed to an independent, black Zimbabwe; it would support independence only if legal processes to perpetuate white economic domination were completed.

ANC had a different strategy. Trying to capitalize on some of the media-built popularity of Muzorewa inside Zimbabwe, ANC argued that the first thing to do was not to set the independence date but to elect a transitional Prime Minister. ANC hoped to take advantage of its "legality" and the "illegality" of the guerrillas, as well as the repressive state, to elect Muzorewa, and sidestep the guerrillas. ANC was asking for elections to a transitional government whose structures and powers had yet to be determined! Afterwards, as opposed to the Patriotic Front's insistence on only a nominal role for Britain, ANC and Sithole (who agreed with ANC throughout) argued for a substantial British colonial presence.

The conference adjourned before the year end, achieving little. ZANU saw the collapse of the talks as a victory, because the talks were aimed at smashing the armed struggle, which they failed to do.
**NEWS FROM THE FIGHTING FRONT ARMED STRUGGLE REACHES NEW LEVEL**

Smith’s military forces have been beefing up their strength. Every fit white man between 18 and 68 has some army reserve or police role in the country. Every farmhouse is now a military camp. One third of the army and two-thirds of the police are Africans, but many are defecting to the guerillas, some with arms in hand. The mass exodus of whites, fleeing the war, is also hurting the regime. There is increased recruitment of foreign mercenaries, including hundreds of Americans. There are also black African mercenaries, who, dressed as guerillas, commit atrocities to discredit the guerillas. This was the case with at least two incidents last month. Twenty-nine people were killed on a tea plantation; several days later, three persons were killed in a village near Rusape, both incidents blamed on ZIPA.

Attacks into Mozambique are continuing, and new attacks into Botswana have begun. Zambia, which harbors ZAPU troops, has also come under attack. Mozambique, where most guerillas are based, and which has given the greatest support to ZIPA, has received most of the attacks. One of Smith’s hope is to internationalize the conflict by appealing for South African and Western aid when Mozambique defends itself.

The Organization of African Unity’s Liberation Committee has stated that armed struggle is the only path in Southern Africa. The majority in the UN General Assembly as well as meetings of the non-aligned nations have passed similar strong resolutions supporting armed struggle in Southern Africa. China and the Soviet Union are currently giving aid to ZIPA through the OAU-LC. This is a change in Soviet posture, since it previously supported only ZAPU. Increased Soviet aid is indicated by President Podgorny’s planned visit to Zambia, Mozambique and Botswana.

In the camps in Mozambique, there are now 65,000 refugees. The raids on the camps by Smith forces have perpetrated brutal atrocities against civilians, as at the Nyazonia camp last August. The forces of ZIPA are increasing rapidly, with 25,000 in training in Mozambique. In the period of L972-75, the guerrillas inside Zimbabwe were clandestine, but now, as the Times of London reports from a Rhodesian intelligence officer, they have control over the population in large areas and hold open meetings at night. ZIPA says it now has several thousand troops inside the country. The Times reports that they are entering the country in groups averaging 100 each.

The Rhodesian authorities reported in December ‘75, that the guerrillas were concentrated in one area, the Northeast. By last month, however, the guerrillas were based in four major areas, covering four-fifths of the country. As the Times says, “Only a small midlands area stretching from Salisbury to Gwelo is now officially free from military risk.”

Soldier of Fortune (the US mercenary CIA magazine) points out that ZIPA has achieved the second stage of mobile warfare inside the country, where large groups of revolutionaries can begin to take on larger army patrols. ZIPA is rapidly building up to be able to launch large scale attacks on government and army installations, and armed farms of the settlers. The guerrillas operate as close as 60 miles to Salisbury, and no major roads, not even close to major towns, are safe after dark. This has forced the Rhodesians to travel in large convoys. But even the convoys are running into land mines, blown up bridges, and guerillas ambushes. Many bridges and rail links have been continually destroyed by ZIPA. According to the Times, ZIPA is attacking with increasing audacity, hitting main roads near towns, drinking bars, etc. This includes an increasing number of rocket and mortar attacks on military positions.

A key objective of ZIPA is to disrupt the construction of “protected villages”, which are concentration camps like the “strategic hamlets” in Vietnam. ZIPA is winning over workers to join ZIPA, and disrupting the labor force of the white rural farms by recruiting their workers. In addition, ZIPA is attacking and eliminating government stooges and informers among the African population. ZIPA has infiltrated so far into the country that it has surrounded the main body of Smith’s forces in the east, and is actively fighting in the southwest and northwest. Here the guerrillas rely on direct bases among the people.
ZAPU's army operates in the northwest. This army has undergone a radicalization process that is greater than that of its political party, and the most radical elements of ZAPU, like the late Jason Moyo, are to be found in the army. While Nkomo is still the undisputed leader of ZAPU, pressures from the army are increasing. This is one of the main forces in ZAPU pushing for the Patriotic Front.

In the southwest, there appears to be an attempt to create a separate ANC army. This bears watching, for herein lies the greatest danger of another Angola-type situation.

The equipment of ZIPA, while still limited to the extent that they cannot arm all their cadres, is improving in quality. Recoiless rifles, morters, anti-tank guns and hand-held rocket launchers are now standard fare. As the Times points out, it is only a matter of time before they have portable surface-to-air missiles to shoot down planes and helicopters.

Perhaps a great asset for ZIPA is that the Rhodesians are so racist. Amilcar Cabral pointed out that because the Portuguese were so racist, they continually overestimated their own abilities and underestimated the abilities of the guerrillas. This is always to the advantage of the guerrillas. The situation is the same in Zimbabwe. "To these Rhodesians, the African Nationalist guerrilla is mentally and militarily inferior, a despised, hardly human species - a rabid communist terrorist or a stupid tool of communist manipulators from afar." (The Times). They will never, and can never learn from their mistakes and losses because they cannot admit the equality or superiority of the guerrilla fighters.

As the rainy season continues, the tall grass of the west will grow and provide cover for sustained guerrilla activity. By spring, even the west, which until now has had the least guerrilla activity, will be swept along in the flames of the war.

The revolution has reached the cities as well. With many political cadres in the cities, the mass struggle is increasing. On Christmas Eve, the 800 African bus drivers in Salisbury went on strike. Strikes are illegal, and within hours, the 800 drivers were put in jail. When they were released after a week, most still refused to work, whereupon they were fired. The African population of Salisbury declared a mass bus boycott that was totally effective, and still in progress as we go to press.

It is clear that protracted people's war, Chimurenga, has engulfed Zimbabwe, and as the Times points out, there is "no sign of Rhodesian forces getting on top of the situation." It is in this context that the forces of imperialism are trying to resume the Geneva talks.

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Comrade Moya Assassinated

Jason Moya, Vice-President of ZAPU (Zimbabwe African Peoples Union) was killed by a parcel bomb in Lusaka, Zambia during the week of January 22, 1977. He had just returned from Maputo, Mozambique, where he had signed an accord with Robert Mugabe of ZANU to provide for greater co-ordination of the military efforts of ZANU and ZAPU. Just before his assassination, he had given a press conference in which he had stressed the importance of the armed struggle and pleaded for increased OAU armed aid.

Born in 1926, near Bulawayo, was a carpenter by trade. He began his political career in trade union activities and joined the freedom struggle in 1954. He has been prominent in Zimbabwean politics ever since, holding important positions in ZAPU. A bachelor, he devoted his whole life to the struggle. Through all the divisions in the liberation movement, he always stressed two things: the importance of militant struggle against the reactionary and racist Rhodesian regime, and the unity of the truly militant liberation forces. Since joining the external wing of ZAPU in 1964, he constantly emphasized the training of guerrilla fighters. He was the major force inside ZAPU for military co-operation with ZANU. He was instrumental in the formation of the first military command with ZANU, in the formation of ZIPA in late 1975, and in the formation of the Patriotic Front last year. Moya's militancy was evident during the Geneva talks; many observers, especially the enemies of the liberation movement, ascribed ZAPU's militant position to his efforts.

It is clear that Jason Moya was assassinated by the enemies of Zimbabwean liberation in the hope of sabotaging the efforts of progressive forces within ZAPU to achieve unity with ZANU, but the killing is bound to increase the determination of the liberation movement to struggle resolutely for victory.

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Richard has aligned himself behind a plan for a swift, but orderly and temporarily non-Marxist, black rule in Rhodesia. This is the narrow and slippery path to safety in Africa.

Within the front line states, Mozambique and Angola had strongly supported armed struggle, while Zambia and Botswana preferred negotiations. Tanzania was the swing vote on many questions. Since the formation of the Patriotic Front, which has so far pursued ZANU's strategic and tactical line, the support for armed struggle has improved. The front line states met to discuss the Richard proposals and resolved to give full support to the Patriotic Front and ZIPA. This was a severe blow to Western attempts to isolate ZIPA and to Smith's attempts to negotiate with other individuals or groups.

ZIPA responded to the Richard plan with five demands: Britain should stop treating Ian Smith as a respectable politician; stop maneuvering to set up a puppet government in Salisbury; halt the supply of British mercenaries and arms to the Smith regime; prevent the British media from publishing lies and slanders against the people of Zimbabwe and ZIPA; and end the charade of presenting Britain's latest proposals as moves to establish peace, when the opposite is true.
RHODESIAN ARMY STEPS UP MERCENARY RECRUITMENT

The military resources of the Smith regime are being stretched to the breaking point. Manpower is short, equipment is being lost, and the military situation is steadily deteriorating. To try and turn the situation around, the Rhodesian Army is recruiting more and more mercenaries. We must look at both what they are doing to recruit mercenaries and what we must do to fight them.

Mercenaries from many different countries have been recruited although some countries, such as England and the U.S., have laws against it. In some cases, CIA front organizations have been implicated in both recruiting and training mercenaries (see Zimbabwe Bulletin; Aug. 1976 for more details). In most cases, private groups and publications, such as Soldier of Fortune magazine, are active in this area. The case of Soldier of Fortune magazine is a good example of what is being done. The magazine has had a feature article on the war and "terrorist atrocities" in its last three issues. It also publishes letters from people who claim to be mercenaries and from officials of the Rhodesian government. Another trick is to advertise, for sale, Rhodesian Army recruiting posters, complete with an address to write to. Technically, the magazine is just advertising the poster, but since it takes up a full glossy page, it also serves the purpose of advertising the Rhodesian Army.

But the increased level of recruiting and the increased number of mercenaries have both been observed in many publications. The Guardian (NY), publications of the various ZANU Support Committees, and numerous progressive newsletters are examining and exposing the role of mercenaries in Rhodesia. Many establishment papers, such as the N.Y. Times, Washington Post, and the Baltimore Sun have run recent articles on mercenaries. Soldier of Fortune has also given a detailed account of mercenary activities and the progress of the war, although, of course, for the purpose of advertising the Rhodesian Army.

From all these sources, a clear picture is emerging of the very important function of mercenaries in the Rhodesian armed forces. The number of mercenaries from the U.S. has been estimated to be from 250 (Soldier of Fortune) to 400 (Washington Post). This means that about 5-8% of the Rhodesian Army is composed of U.S. mercenaries alone. The total number of mercenaries of all countries has been estimated to be from 1000 (Washington Post) to almost half of all the regular Rhodesian military forces. What would happen if the mercenaries weren't there? At the very least, many white Rhodesians needed for the economy to function would have to go into the Army. Possible, many highly technical jobs such as airplane and helicopter pilots and mechanics would be permanently empty. At most, the loss of trained soldiers could cause a partial or complete collapse of the Rhodesian Army (depending on which estimates are correct).

How do we fight this? First, we must expose the ties between the U.S. government, the CIA or its front groups, and the Smith government. Not only has the CIA been implicated in mercenary recruiting but many levels of government are aiding it by not persecuting recruiters. Although everyone can see which groups are active in recruiting, and although these activities are clearly against U.S. law, no indictments have been brought against any of the individuals or organizations active in the mercenary recruiting.

We must also put out propaganda to counter what is being put out in defense of the present Salisbury government. Some of this will be aimed at individuals who might consider being mercenaries through ignorance of the situation or economic need. They must be told that the war there is not a glamorous crusade, as Soldier of Fortune portrays. They will not become rich and come back with a great deal of money. Considering the military situation, they may not come back at all, another point which should be made.

Groups which oppose the settler government must also use this issue to organize against it. Several ZANU Support Committees and other groups, such as the Texas Committee Against Mercenary Recruitment (P.O.Box 893, San Antonio, Texas 78293) are active in the fight. As it "solution will change the government in Salisbury, the manpower needs of the Rhodesian armed forces will become more and more crucial. If we can seriously effect the flow of mercenaries to Rhodesia, we can strike a blow at the only thing which is keeping Smith in power: his Army. When it goes, so does he and the forces he represents. The fight against mercenary recruiting in the U.S. is one of the few ways we can effect the war situation there, and we must press this fight until there is a free Zimbabwe.
MASSACRE AT NYAZONIA

In August 1976, Rhodesian troops, camouflaged with "black" faces and dressed in FRELIMO uniforms, drove into a Mozambiquan refugee camp and gunned down hundreds of unarmed Zimbabwean refugees, wounding hundreds more and burned the camp to the ground. The reason given by the Rhodesian government was that this camp was a guerrilla used for launching raids in Rhodesia. An investigation by the United Nations Commission on Refugees proved this claim to be a lie. The findings proved this claim to be lie. The findings proved that not only was there no resistance to the raid, in fact there could not have been. The camp housed no guerrillas, only Zimbabwean people who left Rhodesia to escape repression and terror by the viciously racist Smith regime.

The movie "Massacre at Nyazonia" reconstructs the course taken by the Rhodesian troops. With revolutionary Zimbabwean music playing in the background, the viewer is taken first to a refugee camp similar to Nyazonia. Here you see the conditions that Zimbabwean refugees are living under - makeshift housing, filth, disease and little or no medical attention. Then the viewer is taken along the route to Nyazonia. The road leading to the camp is marked by a number of vehicles that were destroyed by the Rhodesian troops apparently to prevent word getting out about the raid. At Nyazonia, a survivor of the massacre was interviewed. He explained that since the Rhodesian troops were disguised as FRELIMO forces, the refugees were caught completely off guard. Some people ran to the trucks to greet the soldiers. The soldiers then jumped out of the trucks and began firing on the refugees. Because of the lay-out of the camp, the now panic-stricken refugees had no where to run except into a river near the camp. If they weren't gunned down, many refugees drowned in the river. The bodies of the massacred refugees were found in mass graves, some of these graves are shown in the film. Finally, the narrator interviews a number of survivors, all children who lost most of there families in the raid, and confirmed the fact that the people in the camp were either civilians living there or relatives visiting.

For those who don't know much about Zimbabwe, the film gives a glimpse of what people face every day of their lives. Unfortunately, the movie does not explain the context in which the massacre at Nyazonia occurred. This massacre is only one example of the repression and terror the Zimbabwean people face, whether it be in the "protected villages" or across the border of Mozambique. Nor does it draw out the political significance of this massacre. Smith new quite well that there weren't any guerrillas in Nyazonia - that wasn't the purpose of the attack. The purpose was intimidation and the message was clear: black Zimbabweans will pay severely for the crime of struggling against exploitation; not one village will be left unrazed, until ZIPA cadres turn in their guns. Because the Smith regime cannot defeat the ZIPA forces militarily, he hopes to break down the spirit of the liberation movement by slaughtering unarmed women and children. Perhaps the best thing about the movie, are the people who were interviewed, for despite the massacre, that spirit and determination to fight for freedom lives on. This, more than the scene after scene of extreme poverty, is what is inspiring about "Massacre at Nyazonia", and what makes the movie well worth seeing.

If you are interested in seeing the movie or would like to sponsor a showing of the film, please contact the ZANU Support Committee. All funds will go to building the armed struggle in Zimbabwe.
Interview with ZIPA Leader

Josiah Tongogara,
ZANLA Chief of Defence

A veteran guerilla who joined the Zimbabwe National Liberation Army as a young man in his twenties, Tongogara rose from the ranks to be elected Chief of Defence in 1973. He was the first guerilla to hold this position, the post formerly being held by a non-combatant who knew little about warfare. For some years before becoming Chief of Defence, he was Chief of Operations, the most important position held by a guerilla at the time.

The following interview was recently granted by Tongogara to the weekly Mozambiquan magazine, Tempo in Geneva.

Q: The "Patriotic Front" is authorized to speak in the name of ZIPA. Therefore, we want to hear the voice of the combatants, and their opinions on the negotiations. Are they optimistic or pessimistic?

A: There exists a very strong bond between those of us here in Geneva and our comrades fighting in the fields. No one should forget that it is because of them that we are able to be here. We are not deceived as far as the "good will" of Smith's regime is concerned. From the nationalists' point of view either we will negotiate to reach the objectives that encourage the popular army of Zimbabwe, or this conference will have no affect.

Q: After his return to Salisbury and the aggression against Mozambique, Ian Smith seemed to have found his arrogance once again. However, here in Geneva, the impression remains that he appeared disenchanted, one could say resigned.

A: He can't change his ideas, but certainly he has lost a good part of his confidence. Why? Because he is beginning to hear the gunfire. But he is clever, he appears "understanding"; he hides himself behind Kissinger and speaks of concessions. For us only one thing remains for him to do - the only thing he must do - announce the capitulation of his regime. If he is not yet willing to do this, he will be shortly.

Q: The intensification of the war is said to coincide with the conference. Is this true?

A: As you know, I spent 13 months in prison. According to my experience, the war of liberation has never stopped intensifying since 1972. It continues to grow every day. According to the latest information, today ZIPA's prospects are more favorable than before. The war is widening every day.

Q: Before Kissenger's trip and the Geneva conference, the Zimbabwean nationalist movement seemed to have chosen the strategy of "protracted war," that led to the displacement of certain more or less historical leaders. The combatants have now formed an alliance with the politicians to go to Geneva; the Patriotic Front is proof of this. Is this a change in strategy?

A: In the first place, our combatants consider themselves "politicians" as much as the politicians do, if not more. Guerilla warfare doesn't take place without politics. It is necessary to explain that the people protect us - they support us, feed us, and transport our arms. We have to be very politically aware. I had the opportunity to see comrade Samora Machel at the front during the war and at no time did I think that there was a distinction between him and the "politicians" within FRELI MO. It is the same with us.

As to our presence in Geneva, it is obvious that the Kissinger operation, with the pressures of the West on the Smith regime, has caused the nationalists to close ranks. But Geneva also represents a challenge to the two ways of viewing decolonization. We have not changed our plan. We are trying to attain the liberation of our country without continuing to subject our people to the enormous sacrifices that are being asked of them.

Q: Let's suppose that independence is achieved as a result of this conference: what would be the minimum powers ZIPA would claim in the new government, in order to participate in it?

A: We have already declared that during the transitional period the police and the army must be controlled by the combatants. But this is not all. We also demand a certain number of key posts which would enable us to keep a "watch" on the future government, in order that people's interests are not betrayed.
Q: How are you facing the problem of unity?

A: In a fairly simple way. In the present phase of our struggle, the difference lies between those who see the armed struggle as a strategic choice to liberate the country and transform the society - like FRELIMO, for instance, - and those who see the war as a "pressure tactic" - a means to "return to politics." The war sheds light on many things - above all on an instrument such as ZIPA, a people's army. The war does not produce extremists; to the contrary. The war, for example, leads us to understand that the real enemy is the one who aims his gun at us, even though he may be our own father. With the others it is possible to reach an understanding. I think that in all the nationalist currents in Zimbabwe there are men who agree with this point of view. ZIPA has already demonstrated this. Unity can be reached only around ZIPA. All other hypotheses are false.

Q: With regard to unity, we are surprised by Bishop Muzorewa's language. He speaks here in Geneva of "political parties" and of the general elections that must take place before independence, referring to the selection of the future Prime Minister of Zimbabwe. What is there to his opinion? Did not Smith, upon his arrival in Salisbury, define Muzorewa as the most comprehensive and representative of all the nationalist leader?

A: Smith does his work as divider. This must be said: the idea of elections hadn't occurred to me much.

According to a pseudo-African diplomat, a collaborator with Smith's parliament, the guerrillas already have the support of 98% of Zimbabwe's population. Therefore, the elections have already been won. What is the purpose of elections without a constitutional base? In whose interest would they be? No, may the date of independence be fixed, and may a transitional government directed by nationalists be installed. Afterwards we will see how the interests of the people should be protected! As for Muzorewa's ANC, we can't let ourselves be deceived. After Nkomo and ZAPU retired from the ANC, Muzorewa remained at the head of a movement established by ZANU, in the interior of the country. Nothing more.

The famous "meeting" that saluted the return of Muzorewa to Zimbabwe was nothing more than a "meeting" of ZANU, at one sees by the raised fists. In Muzorewa's delegation are our comrades of ZANU. We don't see the need to identify a "third force" with the Patriotic Front, which in reality does not represent other than a branch of ZANU. Moreover Muzorewa is surrounded by a certain number of old politicians who are better kept out of the picture.

Q: Who directs ZANU today?

A: The situation is clear. Sithole, number one, was removed. Chitepo, number two, is dead. Robert Mugabe is next in succession. No matter what happens here in Geneva, it is important that, for the first time in many years, we are reunited and can speak freely about our movement which has recently experienced serious difficulties.

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