ZIMBABWE
NOT RHODESIA
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THE AFRICAN PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE AND LIBERATION

Every day, the media are bursting with news of events in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and Azania (South Africa), the last two white settler-ruled countries in Africa. Yet, accurate information about these struggles is difficult to obtain; the media accounts are most often confusing or sensationalist.

We in the ZANU Solidarity Committee would like to explain in direct terms the events and meanings behind the news stories. We want to make clear why the Zimbabwe struggle is crucial at this time: when Zimbabwe becomes truly independent, it will benefit not only the people of Zimbabwe; it will also help the progress of the Azanian liberation struggle. Moreover, as we show in this pamphlet, the forces that the Zimbabwe people are defeating are the same forces we must struggle against in this country in order to gain control over our lives.

In this pamphlet, we explain why we support ZANU. Towards the end of the pamphlet, we explain what the reader can do to support African freedom fighters.

ZIMBABWE HISTORY

Zimbabwe is a nation in southern Africa fighting a national war of liberation against a white settler regime. At present, over half the countryside is under guerrilla control and the liberation forces move freely in 80% of the rural areas, aided by the African villagers. The population is 97% African (7,000,000) and 3% white (200,000). Zimbabwe is the size of Colorado. Half the land is extremely fertile; other regions are low-lying swamps or eroded sandy soil. It has a moderate temperature all year round with two seasons, rainy and dry. The Africans grow maize and peanuts and raise cattle for their subsistence. Tobacco has been the main foreign exchange earner, bringing in over $80 million a year. About $24 million worth of beef is exported every year; other cash crops are cotton, sugar and coffee.

For centuries before colonization, Zimbabwe was prosperous with varied and self-sufficient agricultural production. Its well-ordered society had the capacity to build what are now the Great Zimbabwe ruins -- intricate stone temples and amphitheaters that serve today as the symbol of nationhood for the liberation forces. Zimbabwe defeated the Portuguese invaders in the 1700's and the 1800's in their dream of a trans-Africa empire from Mozambique on the east coast to Angola on the west. This defeat stopped the slave trade from taking hold in Zimbabwe.

COLONIZATION

In 1889, British and South African mercenaries, financed by Cecil Rhodes and the British South Africa Company, invaded Zimbabwe. The first colonizers were
promised 6000 acres of land, the cattle and slave labor of the Zimbabweans, and 20 mining claims each. With their technology (rapid-fire machine guns and dynamite), the white invaders drove the Africans off their lands into the mountains and swamps. The conquest of Zimbabwe furthered the ambition of Cecil Rhodes (whom Rhodesia was named after) and of Britain to make all of Africa a British colony. Britain was the most powerful nation in the world at that time, helped by the raw materials and cheap labor obtained in its colonies.

Despite the bravery and fierce resistance of the African people, the white settlers established their colony by 1900. Gradually, by taxation, by legislation, by installing subservient tribal chiefs, and most of all by brutal violence, the white settlers suppressed the Africans and gained half the nation’s land — with the best soil, rainfall and climate.

RACIST LAWS

From the beginning, racism has been used to enforce the political and economic privileges of the white settlers. As Zimbabwe News, ZANU’s publication, points out, "The Master and Servant Act, 1902, clearly defined white supremacy in social life. It was enacted to humble the African when working for the whites. This is an Act which makes it criminal for "any person" to desert from his employment, to be insolent or abusive to his employer. Under this act, between 1960 and 1965, 13166 Africans were prosecuted for such offenses. The Act strictly forbade the African from demanding better working conditions like pay-raise, shorter working hours and better housing conditions." Women domestics are virtual house slaves under this law and vulnerable to sexual abuse by the white settlers. For a time, new white immigrants had to sign papers upon arrival pledging to never perform manual work in their homes.

The Industrial Reconciliation Act, 1934, forbade the African from competing with the whites in commerce, and labor market, and adopted the hire and fire policy, a modified version of "chibhara" (or forced labor). The Republican Constitution, 1969, sealed all forms of competition between whites and Africans in the labor market. It declared and established white areas and closed African shops within the so-called "European Areas." (More details may be found in Zimbabwe News, April 1978).

LAND ROBBERY

Racist laws were also used to legalize the robbery of African land. The Land Apportionment Act of 1930 set aside desirable land for present and future white ownership, leaving the swamps and deserts for the Africans. The Land Tenure Act of 1969 was even worse. In the words of the traditional leader of the Tangwena tribe (quoted in Zimbabwe News), "the settlers gave themselves the power to remove any African from any land." Hundreds of thousands of African families were forcibly resettled because a white settler or corporation desired their land. Five thousand Africans were moved to the area of Gokwe, an area infested with tsetse flies, which produce weakness and death in cattle and human beings. The Tangwena tribe had lived on its land for eight generations when, in 1964, a British cattle-raising corporation claimed it for its own. For five years, the Tangwena people resisted attempts to drive them out; they repeatedly returned to their destroyed homes in order to rebuild. Finally, they fled to the mountains and are now in Mozambique awaiting the liberation of Zimbabwe.

Of the 50% of the land owned by the white settlers,
only a fifth is used. The rest is being held for future white immigrants or for speculative purposes: absentee landlords living in Rhodesia, Britain or Europe use the land as collateral for financial deals. "Land to the tiller" is a rallying cry of the Zimbabwean freedom fighters.

RURAL LIFE

"Most Africans in the area worked for a European cattle farmer named Waiverly who had a huge farm divided in two parts — one with good soil and one with much poorer soil, where some Africans lived who had occupied the land before Waiverly bought it from the settler government. Instead of sending these people away, according to the Land Apportionment Act, he settled them on the poorer land. Some moved away because they couldn’t survive, but most had nowhere to go and just did as Waiverly told them. He had them look after his cattle and take them to the dip every week, maintain his fences and work as farmhands. They also had to give the settler a fixed portion of their harvest. Most of these villagers — about forty or fifty families altogether — were very poor, some were absolutely miserable. It was never a question of sending their children to school; few ever got there. One old man who couldn’t perform the duties Waiverly assigned him had to give his young grandchildren to work full-time on the farm. If not, the family would have been evicted."

(from The Organizer, the Story of Temba Moyo)

At the present time, 80% of the Zimbabwe people are in the rural areas in the Tribal Trust Lands, living on subsistence farming. Of what they produce, what they are allowed to keep for themselves is barely enough to stay alive. There is nothing left to pay for medicines, education or other necessities. One third of the children die before the age of five — of diseases due to malnutrition.

"On the farms, we work long hours with children on our backs even if it is raining; the Boers say, everybody on the farm must work. If our children die, we are told to leave them in the house and go and work. Some other people will bury them for us. What a miserable and naked oppression this is!"

(from Zimbabwe Women by Fungai Tichavapedza)

FORCED LABOR

In order to make the land and mines yield high profits, a cheap pool of labor had to be readily available. To force the Africans to work for them, the settlers imposed hut and animal taxes. The settler government refused African currency for payment of taxes; it demanded British money. The African farmers had no choice but to work for the white settlers in order to get the cash to pay the taxes. The income gained from the African taxes (41% of the total tax income) was used to build the white economy: roads, dams, bridges, railways, urban market towns all serving the white settlers. The racial allocation of land served several purposes for the white settlers: it gave them the best land, the cheap labor to make it fruitful and eliminated competition from African farmers and cattle-raisers for the domestic market.

Women farm laborers carrying a tray of tobacco.
Housing in an African township.

URBAN CONDITIONS

Because of overcrowding on the Tribal Trust Lands and the desperate need for necessities, most families have men working in the white areas and sending money home. Africans are not allowed to take skilled jobs; so most seek work in mines and factories where the highest wage may be $700 a year. The majority work as domestics or as farm laborers, earning about $250 a year. Under this economic and racial oppression, husbands and wives often live their lives separated; children seldom see their fathers. African women who work as nursemaids for white children are unable to raise their own children.

A fifth of the Africans live in the white areas on plantations or in shanty towns surrounding the modern white cities. The African homes are crowded with several families living in one room, with little sanitation. There is no water or electricity; walls are made of tar-paper. In these urban centers, Africans far outnumber whites but are by law migrant workers who can be sent back to their Tribal Trust Land at any time. As in South Africa, the passbook is one way the police keeps the Africans under control. Any black person picked up by the police on white lands without a passbook is arrested as a vagrant and sent to a white farm for a three-month sentence of unpaid labor.

Only 2 out of 1000 African children reach the final year of high school. African families must pay fees for their children’s education, which is free for whites. With the fees and the need for children to work the fields, African families can hardly afford to send even one child to school; when they can, it is almost always a boy. Even this education is only to train Africans to become obedient factory workers, domestics or low level clerks. African women, who find work as domestics, farm laborers or, rarely, as nurses, are less likely to receive any education. This is an example of how colonialism has especially subjected women.

HOW WHITES LIVE

These brutal living conditions, the underside of white privilege, can only be maintained by the naked force of the police and army. The inequality between whites and blacks in Rhodesia is seen in virtually every economic statistic. White wages are approximately 11 times that of blacks; this is an understatement since the wealthier whites (businessmen and farmers) are left out, as are African subsistence farmers with virtually no disposable income. Since 1965, these gaps have been increasing. In education, the differences are equally great. In 1977, for example, the government spent 12 times as much to educate each white child as they did for each black child. This does not even count the various fees which only the blacks must pay. The differences in income, wealth and educational opportunities result in the whites having the highest standard of living in the world. A typical white family would have a private home, several servants and a swimming pool (Rhodesian whites have the highest number of pools per family in the world). This is all built on the continued oppression of the black population.

FOREIGN INVESTMENTS

The white settler population in Rhodesia acts, for the most part, as local agents for the world’s largest corporations, mostly British, American and South African. These corporations prop up the white settlers while they accumulate huge profits for themselves. Until the upsurge in guerrilla activity, investments flowed into Rhodesia from these companies and their South African subsidiaries. The Anglo-American Corporation, the giant South African company headed by Harry Oppenheimer, is the main South African enterprise in Rhodesia, specializing in mining oper-
British industries include Lonrho Limited, Barclay's Bank, and the British-American Tobacco Company. American companies include Union Carbide, Lever Brothers, American Metal Climax (AMAX), and the Hoover Company. There are many more. (Zimbabwe News, February and June, 1978, contain detailed lists of British and American corporate investors in Rhodesia). These investments are a big reason why Western corporations have been behind Ian Smith all these years and why they are interested in preserving the status quo even after independence.

AFRICAN CULTURE REPRESSED

A people express their pride, dignity and strength through their cultural, religious and national beliefs. The white settlers see this as a threat to their power; at every turn, they deny the validity of the Zimbabwe culture. They forbid the practice of any religion except that of the white missionaries, forbid the celebration of historical events and ceremonies honoring Africans. African schoolchildren are forced to celebrate the British queen's birthday and Pioneer Day (marking the white invasion of Zimbabwe) but are forbidden to commemorate the defeat of the Portuguese by the Africans. Today in the semi-liberated zones, the songs, dances and history of the Zimbabwe nation, along with the new culture emerging from the liberation struggle, are making the people strong.

The colonizers have always rationalized their brutal repression of the African people with the theory of white supremacy. This myth is helping to bring about their own destruction. Believing in their "natural" superiority and invincibility, they are comprehending too late the capability of the national liberation struggle.

THE MOVEMENT FOR INDEPENDENCE

EARLY STRUGGLES

The people of Zimbabwe have struggled for their independence ever since the British colonized the country in 1890-93. In 1896, the whole country erupted in a war to throw off the British. The war, led by spiritual leaders, lasted several months before the British won with military reinforcements. The white settlers lost about a tenth of their total number. This war is known today as the first Chimurenga (armed struggle).

The resistance continued over the years in labor struggles, protests against the hut and animal taxes, and against the pass laws. The Rhodesian government ordered police violence against these nonviolent struggles to stop
their spread. When Shabani miners conducted a strike for better conditions and pay, the police shot 13 miners. The Salisbury bus strike of 1948 ended when 200 union activists were imprisoned for a year. The fifties were a period of intense civil rights movements; political parties such as the African National Council (ANC) and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) were formed. By the early 1960's, peaceful civil rights demonstrations had been broken up by police brutality, and the nationalist parties were all banned and their leaders imprisoned. Africans understood then that nonviolent means did not work, that Africans forming legal and open organizations would only have their efforts crushed by arrests and repressive laws.

"Many, like myself, had good education and no physical handicaps whatsoever. Yet not one of us earned enough to save even a few shillings a month. Every penny went for necessities. We realized that, under the settler regime, our material prospects were bleak. Thus, we thought, it was necessary to try to end this system. Only a few young Zimbabweans failed to appreciate this fact." (from The Organizer, the Story of Temba Moyo)

ZANU FORMED

And so, on August 8, 1963, the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) was founded. From the beginning, ZANU emphasized two principles. One is that the white settlers are not going to give up their power and privileges peacefully; the Africans can attain true independence only through armed struggle. ZANU issued a call in 1964 for a new Chimurenga, to continue the first war of liberation in 1896–97. The second principle ZANU put forward was that the Africans had to win independence through their own efforts and not rely on others to do it for them. This principle of self-reliance was expressed thus: "WE ARE OUR OWN LIBERATORS!" These two principles distinguished ZANU from existing nationalist groups such as ZAPU.

EARLY GUERRILLA WARFARE

On April 28, 1966, ZANU's military arm, the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA), began the second Chimurenga with the battle of Sinoia, 50 miles north of Salisbury. After an initial 3-year period of intense guerrilla activity, ZANU came to the conclusion that the war of liberation was going to be a long-term protracted war. It also concluded that the war had to be a people's war, meaning that all the people must participate fully in all aspects of the struggle. ZANU spent the next three years doing preparatory work for all aspects of a protracted people's war: integration of guerrillas with the people, carrying out political education, combining political and military struggle, creation of base areas.

PEOPLE'S WAR

In late 1972, ZANU resumed the offensive. In the next two years, the war spread to many parts of rural Zimbabwe, especially in the northeast. The white plantations in that region became little forts, living in constant fear of attack. By mid-1974, even the white Rhodesian media admitted to ZANU's strength: "Terrorists operating in the Tribal Trust Lands of Northeastern Rhodesia are said to have made crude attempts to establish courts and an alternative civil administration. Missionaries have said that terrorists have held meetings and courts 'right under the noses of the army'. The courts - have handled petty crime among tribesmen as well as dealing with 'sell-outs' and alleged government informers."

The Smith regime responded to increasingly successful ZANU activity in two ways — with terror and diplomacy.

CONCENTRATION CAMPS

In early 1974, the Smith regime began a campaign of terror against peasants. In four years, the white regime has moved 250,000 Africans (5% of the rural population) into
concentration camps called "protected villages" — same as the American "strategic hamlets" in South Vietnam. Time magazine reported in April 1976 that they "for all practical purposes are concentration camps, with high chain-link fences, huge floodlights and constant armed patrols." In the middle of the village is another wire enclosure where the white officers and their black assistants live with their guns. There is a curfew from 6 PM to 6 AM — anyone outside the fence during these hours is shot on sight. The villagers can go out to work only during daytime, which limits the land that can be cultivated; they are not allowed to take any food or water for fear they will give it to the guerrillas. They are searched in the morning for food and in the evening for political literature and weapons. Zimbabwe News reports: "In Madziwa 'protected villages', women have to walk up to six miles to reach a watering point for washing and three miles to fetch drinking water. In others, the water supply is contaminated. In Chiweshe, toilet pits have been filled to ground level, huge flies settle on toilet waste and food, bringing typhoid, diarrhea and dysentery into the keeps. In Gutsa transit camps, which saw thousands of people pass through it, there were only three water taps and children were dying from cholera and measles." "Protective villages" have been repeatedly attacked by the Patriotic Front forces and the people freed to go into the mountains or across the border to the refugee camps in Mozambique.

REFUGEE CAMPS ATTACKED

Tens of thousands of Africans have fled Smith's concentration camps into Mozambique. These refugees, too, are attacked by Smith's army. The racist forces killed 800 refugees, mostly women and children, at Nyzonia in August 1976, and 100 people at Chimoio and Tembe in November 1977. The Rhodesians hope to cripple the ZANU war effort by demoralizing the people and by forcing ZANU to divert its materials and energies to relieve the attacked refugee camps. The Rhodesian government also bombs Mozambican roads, bridges and villages hoping to discourage the Mozambican people from their courageous support for the liberation struggle. But the Mozambicans, having just gained their liberation from Portugal after a 11-year guerrilla war, will not be discouraged. They have instead pledged to give one day's salary per month to the Zimbabwean refugees — an example of true international solidarity.

GOVERNMENT SPREAD CHOLERA

The government killed cattle and spread disease to discourage peasants from aiding ZANU. In 1974, a cholera epidemic broke out in the northeast. This was unusual in that area. Through two captured white soldiers who refused to drink any water, ZANU learned that the settler authorities had contaminated water supplies with disease.

DETENTE OF 1974-1976

The second response of the white regime is to try to divide the liberation forces and derail the armed struggle through diplomacy. The first attempt was the detente of 1974-76. Under this plan, promoted by South Africa, Britain and the US, ZANU was forced to "cease fire" while some African leaders — Abel Muzorewa, Joshua Nkomo, Njabingi Sithole and others — began negotiating with Ian Smith. The first talks, held in August 1975, failed since the white settlers, true to their past, refused to concede any real power. For the next six months, Joshua Nkomo of ZAPU negotiated alone with Ian Smith. While there is nothing wrong in principle with talks, these negotiations were harmful to the African cause for two reasons: the talks were in opposition to ZANU's militant armed struggle; also, the talks were by just one small part of the independence movement and could only deepen divisions among the Africans. Nkomo's talks failed because Smith continued to be intransigent.

GENEVA TALKS OF 1976

The second attempt by diplomacy was the Geneva conference in late 1976. Before and during the conference, the West tried to sow division among the African groups so as to come up with a sham independence plan. However, shortly before the conference, ZANU formed the Patriotic Front with ZAPU; this unity thwarted the West's plans and the Geneva conference ended in a failure for the West.
patrici0c front

ZANU has a clear perspective on the independence struggle: it emphasizes popular participation, armed struggle and self-reliance. There are other groups that are not as consistent in their opposition to Ian Smith or in their commitment to self-reliance or armed struggle. However, they, too, desire independence. Since the main task is to defeat settler colonialism and racism, all forces that support this task must be united so that Ian Smith and his backers are not able to divide and rule. ZAPU is such a force. While it has not stressed armed struggle and while it has vacillated many times towards Ian Smith, it is a nationalist force. It is on this basis that ZANU has formed the Patriotic Front with ZAPU. The Patriotic Front represents the large majority of the Zimbabwe people. Consequently, it has been recognized as the sole liberation movement by the entire world, even by the Western countries.

Internal Settlement

After the Geneva talks, Smith deserted his Western backers to try to bring the blacks most amenable to him into the government. In March 1978, Smith signed the Internal Settlement with Bishop Muzorewa and Rev. Sithole (two of the participants in the infamous "detente") and Chief Chiru from his government's payroll. In every aspect, the Internal Settlement guarantees political and economic control of the country for white settlers and the Western corporations with only a cosmetic covering of African faces in the government. Further, the white-controlled army and police, instruments of white terror in the past and present, were to remain under white control. The phoniness of the settlement has become clear with the failure of the government to make even the most modest changes in racial and political inequalities. Muzorewa, the only member of the regime with any popularity inside the country, has limited his public appearances since he is now afraid to face the anger of the people. Smith, finding his partners unable to win the people's confidence or to curb the liberation struggle, is turning to other means— notably attempts to divide the Patriotic Front by carrying on private negotiations with Joshua Nkomo of ZAPU.

Internationally, too, the internal settlement has failed. One after another, the front-line states of southern Africa, the countries of Africa, the non-aligned countries, and the United Nations have all denounced it and supported the Patriotic Front.

West Maneuvers

The US and Britain realize that the Internal Settlement will not stop the liberation struggle; they have a more sophisticated plan for perpetuating their control. A recent version of their plan promises transfer of political power to Africans but seeks, through a number of guarantees, to preserve enough of the economic privileges of the white settlers to keep them in the country as managers of western investments. Since political power is meaningless without economic control, this plan is no different in essence from Smith's Internal Settlement, as far as the Africans are concerned.

To achieve their goals, US and Britain propose a United Nations peacekeeping force during the transition period. (Africans remember well that Zaire (then the Congo) was occupied by a UN peacekeeping force when its Premier, Patrice Lumumba, was murdered and the nationalist forces crushed.)

The most basic point — the composition and control of the Zimbabwe army — is left vague. Smith and the West want the present white commanders to remain in control, while the Patriotic Front demands that the colonial army be completely dismantled and the freedom fighters be in command. ZANU has stated, "There will be no independence in Zimbabwe if the new African rulers inherited the police, security and armed forces that had killed, hanged and brutalized thousands of Zimbabweans for a century."

The Anglo-American plan wants the following guarantees for the whites:

An assured one-fifth of the seats in Parliament for many years. This means a block vote in such critical matters as private property, defense, civil service and the court.

No nationalization or redistribution of land (except what is undesirable), property or industry — which means the economy remains in white hands.

A $1.5 billion western investment plan to be managed by the white settlers to benefit themselves and foreign corporations.

Compensation for property and pensions for white settlers, whether they remain in the country or leave — thus plunging the new African government into debt and dependency.

With the Anglo-American plan, the US and Britain hope to install an African government economically dependent on the West, as happened in Kenya and most other ex-colonial countries.

WHO KILLS THE MISSIONARIES

More than 30 missionaries have been killed in the past three years. In each instance, the Smith regime and the western press have accused the guerrillas while suppressing information that points to the Rhodesian army’s black-manned but white-commanded Selous Scouts as the killers. According to ex-mercenaries once in the employ of the white minority government, the Selous Scouts dress in guerrilla uniforms with guerrilla weapons. Their assignments are to disguise themselves as guerrillas and attack villages; the aim is to alienate African support for the guerrillas.

The Catholic church in Rhodesia contains the strongest white supporters of the liberation forces helping with medical treatment and food. It is the Catholic missionaries who have documented the torture and killing of Africans by the Rhodesian Security Forces and distributed this information throughout the world. Yet the Catholic church has had more missionaries killed than any other denomination, while the Dutch Reformed Church and the Anglican Church, which support the Smith regime, have not had a single missionary death.

The timing of the killings has been significant. In one incident, German missionaries were killed shortly after the West German government pledged material aid to Zimbabwean refugees under the care of the Patriotic Front. In another incident, Red Cross workers were killed shortly after an ambulance was donated by the Red Cross to the Patriotic Front. The deaths in June 1978 of 12 Pentecostal missionaries took place three weeks before well-organized right-wing campaigns in Britain and the US to lift the sanctions against Rhodesia. There is no doubt that the killings were used as an excuse when the Congress tried to lift the sanctions at the end of 1978.

With each missionary death, material and political aid for the liberation forces has been slowed and the Smith regime has gained. Thus the white regime’s most potent weapon has been the racism in the western world influenced by the sensationalist and biased media.

WHITES IN THE NEW NATION

The Patriotic Front will establish a nonracial government with white settlers welcome to stay if they abide by the rule of the majority, in economic and political equality with the African citizens. This means whites giving up their privileges, their servants and their luxurious lives. Contrary to reports in the western media, white settlers who have stayed in newly liberated African countries have not been persecuted. For example, in Mozambique, the whites who stayed and worked hard have won appreciation; many settlers who left at the time of independence are now returning.

THE KENYAN MODEL

The US and Britain openly say that they want Rhodesia to become another Kenya. Kenya, a former British colony, is an independent African country ruled by a black elite but controlled by white settlers and multinational corporations. Two-fifths of the land that the peasants
gained at independence 14 years ago are back in the hands of British landowners or foreign agricultural corporations. Whites hold top managerial and technical positions making crucial decisions affecting the nation; there is no widespread education of Africans. The peasants, having lost their land, are swelling the slums of the cities. Kenya is an example of neocolonialism where foreign corporations and governments in partnership with local elites enrich themselves by exploiting the people.

**ECONOMIC SANCTIONS**

In 1965, when the white regime illegally declared itself independent in order to avoid Britain granting majority rule to the African population, the United Nations voted for international economic sanctions against the illegal regime. The sanctions had limited success — much of Rhodesia's agricultural produce spoiled for lack of buyers. But the major western powers have been violating the sanctions by secretly buying chrome and other minerals and supplying Rhodesia with vital goods. The most common method of breaking the sanctions is to sell through subsidiaries in South Africa. The most important commodity was and is oil, without which the white regime would have collapsed soon after the sanctions were imposed. Mobil Oil has been exposed by an American church group as a major supplier of oil. Recently in Britain, Shell Oil and the government-owned British Petroleum have admitted their complicity in supplying the white regime with half its oil.

France, West Germany and Israel are violating the sanctions as major military suppliers to the Rhodesian army.

**MERCENARIES**

White mercenaries soldiers are a small but vital part of the Rhodesian military apparatus. There are an estimated 2000 mercenaries among whom 400 Americans add Viet Nam experience in guerrilla warfare and "strategic hamlets."

Soldier of Fortune, a glossy adventure and gun magazine, sold on US newsstands, is responsible for the recruitment of many Americans. This magazine often features a recruitment poster for the Rhodesian army. There is ample evidence that the backers of the magazine were recruiting agents for US mercenaries in Angola and have close ties to the Rhodesian military and to elements in the US army. The freedom with which the Rhodesian government has been able to recruit mercenaries in Europe, Australia, Canada and the US is part of the covert aid given to the Smith regime by the western governments.

**FRENCH MERCENARY SPEAKS**

(Following is part of an interview with a Frenchman who served as a mercenary with the Rhodesian army in 1978. The interview was published in the French newspaper Le Nouvel Observateur.)

Q: What are the Selous Scouts and why are they so feared?

A: They're a special unit. They undergo a rigorous training course. They learn the customs of different tribes, their dialects, their habits. They are a mixed unit, black and white.

Q: It has been said that the Selous Scouts sometimes make especially horrible raids inside Rhodesian territory, raids which are subsequently attributed to the guerrillas?

A: It's true. In fact, I've been told of operations in the course of which Selous Scouts have disguised themselves either as Mozambican soldiers or as guerrillas to attack villagers, travellers or religious missionaries, something which is very unpopular with a majority of the population. This is one of the Rhodesians' specialties.

**SELF-RELIANCE AND SOVIET AID**

ZANU welcomes arms and training from foreign sources but "We Are Our Own Liberators" is their slogan. Conducting a people's war, as ZANU is doing, has the majority of the population participate in the struggle, feeding and sheltering the fighters, with the people and the fighters teaching each other and gradually encircling and breaking the political, economic and military system of the colonialists. The practice of a people's war leads to a politically aware population, capable of running its own affairs with the advent of independence. Although ZANU's main resource is people, ZANU does need weapons from abroad — such as anti-aircraft weapons to protect the semi-liberated areas and refugee camps, and modern offensive

A mercenary in an African village.
weapons to fight the Rhodesian army units in the increasingly intense battles that are taking place. Weapons are needed that do not lead to any dependency or interference from the source. ZANU has learned many lessons in its struggle and knows that a policy of self-reliance and non-alignment is the only path to true independence for developing countries.

Differences between ZANU and ZAPU, which arise mostly from their different attitudes to armed struggle and negotiations, are further exacerbated by the support the Soviet Union has given to ZAPU to the exclusion of ZANU. This aid was established long ago and continued even after the Patriotic Front was formed.

In 1976, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), to guard against a civil war in Zimbabwe, decided that all arms aid to the liberation movement must go through the OAU in order to be distributed equitably. The aim was to allow the most correct political line to emerge and unify the liberation forces, free from external interference. All aiding countries agreed to the OAU position except the Soviet Union. While sending some token aid through the OAU, it continued to send the bulk of its aid directly to ZAPU. This massive support was given to the group that has done little fighting and whose leadership has been conciliatory to the Smith regime on many occasions.

Another aspect of Soviet aid is that its nature has not encouraged self-reliance. While modern weapons are needed to counter Smith's technical superiority, Soviet aid to ZAPU has emphasized conventional warfare, with heavy weapons and technology requiring foreign technicians in strategic positions, rather than a people's war. This emphasis has already hurt ZAPU, with ZAPU soldiers lacking deep and wide-ranging integration among the peasants. It has also made ZAPU military supplies vulnerable to Rhodesian attacks.

With these actions, the Soviet Union has acted as a foreign power attempting to choose the leadership of Zimbabwe to be dependent on the Soviet Union; it has thus put its own interests above those of Zimbabwe.

ZANU's correct practice among the people has led to its being the largest and most popular force despite its lack of arms. Recently the Soviet Union has begun to aid ZANU. ZANU welcomes this aid and wants it to increase; of course, always on ZANU's terms.

**MOZAMBIQUE'S SUPPORT**

Mozambique, the host country of ZANU, has provided the Patriotic Front with refugee camps, medical supplies, agricultural implements, seed, and educational supplies. Frelimo soldiers have fought off more than 700 Rhodesian attacks on refugee camps with many Mozambican soldiers losing their lives. In addition, in 1976, in conformity with UN sanctions, Mozambique closed the railroad from Rhodesia, depriving the white settler government of access to sea. With this act, Mozambique lost one-third of its foreign earnings. Moreover, this has been done even while Frelimo is constructing a new nation out of an economy left in shambles by Portuguese colonialists. Thus Mozambique has given its support to the Zimbabwe struggle at great sacrifice — an example of true solidarity.

**FIGHTING INTENSIFIES**

The liberation forces continue to be united in the Patriotic Front and are pursuing the armed struggle with increasing intensity. Even according to the white government, war casualties are twice as high this year as last. The demoralization of the white settlers is described by a pro-Smith New York Times reporter on August 4, 1978: "White emigration continues at a rate of more than 1000 a month, and has recently included several men who had served as ministers in Mr. Smith's Government. In some border areas, almost all white farms have been deserted. Hardly a road in the country is considered safe without a weapon, day or night."

At present, about 40 civilians die daily by bombing, shooting, torture and secret hangings carried out by the Rhodesian security forces. This figure adds up to 1200 deaths a month.

To escape the bombing of their villages, peasants who cannot travel across the border are taking a few possessions and moving to the outskirts of Salisbury, where they are squatters in tent-cities of thousands of people. The Rhodesian police order the tents dismantled during the day; the villagers must sit idle under the broiling sun. These miseries are not weakening the Africans but strengthening them. The squatters are organizing themselves and will be a decisive force when the liberation struggle reaches the cities.

ZANLA guerrilla fighters.
LIBERATED AREAS

During the course of the liberation struggle, the Patriotic Front has semi-liberated 50% of the countryside and operates freely in 80% of the country. Semi-liberated means it is impossible for the Rhodesian army to travel by road in those regions because the peasants warn the guerrillas who ambush the government forces and mine the roads. The white regime resorts to bombing. When the guerrillas obtain or manufacture anti-aircraft guns, the zones will be fully liberated.

Despite the ever present danger of the white army, the Zimbabweans in the guerrilla camps, the refugee camps, and the peasants in the semi-liberated zones are in the process of building a new nation. Since the creation of the semi-liberated zones, many of the unemployed men living in the cities are rejoining their families in the areas under guerrilla control. With the white government unable to collect their oppressive taxes in these areas, the people are developing a self-sufficient economic system bartering their produce and cattle among themselves.

A REFUGEE CAMP

In the largest refugee camp at Dveroi, 23000 people are maintaining themselves with aid from Mozambique and international agencies. All the refugees have responsibilities and receive daily tasks. There is a great lack of resources — clothing, shoes, medicines and books — but the people are beginning to feed themselves: in one year, cultivation went from 500 to 2000 acres. The diet lacks protein, so a project to raise small animals is under way. The families live in their own rectangular mud-walled huts while children without parents live in long dormitory huts.

Thatched barracks of Chibabava refugee camp in Mozambique.

Under large thatch-covered shelters, 4000 students are learning to read and write. Among the many subjects they are studying are problems related to the needs in the camps — how to build a crude water pump for irrigation, writing first aid manuals, and reconstructing the true history of Zimbabwean culture and people.

The difficulties of life in the camp are equalized and collective work makes the people strong in preparation for independent Zimbabwe.

ZIMBABWE WOMEN

The liberation struggle has changed the lives of Zimbabwe women. Young women, along with men, have left the mission schools and their villages to cross the border into Mozambique and join ZANU. Women constitute 5% of the fighting forces and are a part of the units that fight the Rhodesian army. In the ZANU refugee and military camps, women are driving tractors and trucks, and acting as administrators at all levels — a 22-year-old woman is head of operations for the largest ZANU military camp.

Under the traditional and colonial system, the oppression of women includes bride prices, heavy workload of peasant women, sexual division of labor, forced marriages, the prestige of male children, and easy divorces for men. Mozambique has begun to solve these problems for its people and is looked to as an example. Men who continue to practice polygamy and bride price are forbidden by the Mozambican government from holding governmental positions or running for office. Day care centers, a basic provision for the emancipation of women, are being planned; 28% of local office-bearers are women; women are encouraged to join men in the most arduous tasks and positions of responsibility.

In Zimbabwe, women guerrillas will be the strongest force against traditionalism and for women's equality. An example of their influence is what is happening in the villages of the semi-liberated zones. Administrative duties are slowly being removed from the traditional chiefs to boards of men and women. The freedom fighters in these zones are initiating these changes and it is the example and influence of the women fighters that ensure village women having political responsibility in their communities. ZANU knows that an essential condition for the new society is the complete participation of women.

FIGHTERS INSIDE ZIMBABWE

The ZANU guerrillas operating inside Zimbabwe are fighters, teachers and nurses all at the same time. The villagers feed and shelter the fighters while the guerrillas bring medicines, political and practical education to the people.

The fighters travel with portable schools — a blackboard and chalk, pencils and paper. Their classroom is under trees, close to the village. Fighting disease is a common political and health lesson taught in these outdoor classes. The Africans have been forced to live in the unhealthy lowlands of Zimbabwe by the white settlers. The only water sources they have are the swamps and shallow, slow-moving rivers, where conditions breed malaria and bilharzia, a disease that attacks the central nervous system. These two diseases affect much of the African population. In contrast, the white settlers occupying the highlands have clear lakes, fast-moving rivers, and the money and equipment to dig wells and build reservoirs and sewage systems for clean water and sanitary conditions. Bilharzia
is also carried by snails that migrate from the river onto the shore where the villagers, who lack the money to buy shoes, are infected in their feet. The guerrillas instruct the people in ways they can protect themselves from these diseases at the present time. People should build their houses away from the rivers so that their sewage does not seep into the river; they should boil any water they use for cooking. In the semi-liberated zones, the guerrillas help the villagers build wells that will reach clean water. These protective measures are however limited. The political lesson taught by the guerrillas is that only with the overthrow of the white minority regime will the people be able to move away from the swamps and infertile arid lands onto the fertile and healthy highlands, their original homeland. With the peasants understanding that their hard and unhealthy life is not inevitable but is caused by unnatural conditions forced upon them by the colonial regime, their support for the struggle is untiring.

This mass work is what enables ZANU to unite all the African people, practice self-reliance, and wage a protracted people's war of liberation. This is the way to a truly independent Zimbabwe, capable of standing up on its own feet.

ZANLA guerrillas in a political education class.
act in solidarity with any strike here, the position of American workers will be steadily weakened.

In the past five years, several public utility companies (in Georgia, Alabama, Florida and Massachusetts) have begun to import South African coal for energy use. Only the slave wages of the Azanian miners make it profitable to import a resource that is available in plenty here. As a result, Appalachian miners are losing work.

United Mine Workers union members in Birmingham, Alabama, protesting the importation of South African coal by the Southern Power Company.

**BANKS INVEST IN Apartheid**

Besides factories, cash investments also go to southern Africa. Corporations and banks work hand in hand. Virtually every major American bank loans money to South Africa, or to corporations that are expanding there. In 1976, Manufacturers Hanover loaned South Africa $470 million. In the same year, Harlem residents deposited $80 million in four branches of Manufacturers Hanover. Those four branches made two mortgage loans in Harlem, worth $65,000 together. That bank is taking the money of Harlem residents and using it to support the South African government. This practice of "redlining" prevents many residents of inner city communities from getting mortgages for their homes and small businesses. Banks also "redline" white working class neighborhoods such as North Bronx in New York. Even though a 10 or 12% mortgage provides a substantial profit for the banks, they are attracted by the 20% return they can get in South Africa.

The white minority in southern Africa manages industries and vast mining and agricultural concerns for the corporations and banks headquartered in New York and London. Because of its oppressed labor, mineral resources, and the white managerial class, South Africa remains an important source of profit for large corporations. The US and Britain realize that the liberation of Zimbabwe may seriously threaten the stability of the South African regime. Profits that the white settler governments share with western investors go to equip the settler armies with the most modern and deadly weapons. That is why Africans want these investments stopped.

**ACTIVE SOLIDARITY**

How do we fight against these international corporations and prevent them from playing off American and African workers against each other? The answer is to support the people of Zimbabwe with political and material support.

Just as Americans were able to aid in stopping the US war machine in Viet Nam and Kampuchea, we must work for the true independence of southern Africa — meaning non-interference from any foreign powers in African affairs. In particular, when the US corporations break the sanctions against Rhodesia, when the US continues to invest in southern Africa, when the US backs neocolonial solutions, the US is interfering, pursuing its imperialist goals.

There are many campaigns starting across the US to force banks and universities to divest themselves of investments in southern Africa. We can try to get our own
schools and banks to get rid of such investments by pressuring them and by forming or joining organizations to do this. Many churches have stopped their investments in southern Africa; members of other churches can try to move them in the same direction.

There are a number of US government moves that must be opposed and prevented. Any attempt to lift the sanctions against the white regime in Rhodesia must be stopped. The Smith regime is doomed but a lifting of the sanctions will enable it to acquire dollars by selling its products and use these dollars to buy warplanes and helicopters to prolong the war and attack refugee camps. Any attempt to split the Patriotic Front must be opposed. The Front is waging an increasingly successful war of liberation; the main hope imperialists have of preventing true independence is to split ZANU and ZAPU and even get them to fight each other.

We can use all sorts of actions to stop US interference. For example, ZSC conducted a demonstration against Mobil Oil for their breaking of the sanctions and supplying Smith with oil. We and other groups will organize similar demonstrations in the future and hope you will participate. When Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo of the Patriotic Front were invited to the United Nations by the African nations in order to repudiate the Internal Settlement, many groups, including ZSC, held a demonstration in support of the Patriotic Front at the UN. In October 1978, when Ian Smith visited the US, thousands demonstrated wherever he went, expressing the opposition of the American people.

BLACKS IN FOREFRONT

Black people in the US are particularly exploited by the financial and corporate structure through racial oppression. Precisely because of their resistance to this oppression, they have played the leading role in the struggle against racism at home and in support of African liberation.

ZIMBABWE MEDICAL DRIVE marchers in San Francisco. The Drive's first shipment sent in May, 1978, contained 1800 pounds of medicines and medical literature.

In the Polaroid workers' movement in Cambridge, Massachusetts, Black workers demanded Polaroid stop selling and making "pass photos" for the South African government. They led a boycott of Polaroid which eventually forced Polaroid to withdraw from "pass photo" manufacturing. In April 1972, Black longshoremen in Burnside, Louisiana, refused to unload chrome from Rhodesia. They were supported by a demonstration of 300 Black students from nearby Southern University. This ore was being shipped to the US in violation of a UN embargo. Chrome sales provide the racist Smith regime with the money they need to buy more guns, napalm, and other military equipment to further oppress the Zimbabwean people. This action initiated the Rhodesian Chrome Boycott, in which longshoremen and Black and white supporters in Baltimore and Philadelphia succeeded in stopping the unloading of several shipments of Rhodesian chrome at those ports.

RACISM DIVIDES WORKING PEOPLE

The stealing of resources and people's labor that the banks and corporations do in the US and overseas is increased by fostering racism that keeps working people divided. The corporations make sure there is a pool of unemployed, mainly Black and third world, whom they use as a threat to white workers to keep the whites in line and their wages low. It is the banks and corporations who are redlining our cities and forcing cutbacks in government spending for public services. The same corporations fix the system in the richest country in the world to benefit themselves, leaving Black and white workers in competition over a few dollars for education, medical services and decent housing. Without racism to divide them, the working people here would unite into a powerful force to gain what is theirs.

Just as the corporations play Black and other nationalities against white workers in the US, they pit third world people against Americans with runaway shops and racism. A major part of our work in support of southern Africa is the job of making clear to all working people where their true interests lie — in support of the Black and third world struggles here and abroad.

When the governments of Rhodesia and South Africa are overthrown, then the people of these countries will control their own economies and the virtual slave conditions they live under will be abolished. They, not manufacturers Hanover, Chrysler or other corporations, will run their own countries. The corporations will not be able to hold the threat of cheap foreign labor over our heads so easily. It will not be so easy to use our deposits and their profits to travel around the world, dominating country after country, since those countries will be free and strong enough to prevent domination. The system of "profits before people" will be weakened by the liberation of southern Africa and we in the US will be in a better position to take control of our lives out of the hands of the corporations and into our own.
WHAT YOU CAN DO

There are many things which you can do to help the people of Zimbabwe in their fight. Many activities, large and small, can be done, and all of them will be useful. The following ideas are just a few that have been done in the past.

ZANU SPEAKERS

Speakers from ZANU are available to address any group. In the past, ZANU speakers have spoken to church groups, community organizations, unions, schools, political groups, women's groups, and civil rights organizations. ZANU films and a slide show from ZSC-NY are available. Besides being an important tool, a talk by a representative of ZANU can be used as a fundraising or material-aid event. If you are interested in sponsoring a ZANU speaker, write or call the ZANU office; the address is given on the back.

CLOTHING

Tens of thousands of refugees are in camps in Mozambique; clothing is one of their major needs. Clothing is needed for men, women, children. There is a wide range of weather conditions in some of the highland regions; so, all types of clothing are needed: woolens, pants, skirts, dresses, baby clothes, blankets, etc. Shoes and sneakers are especially needed to help combat footworms. We have found, in our clothing drives, that getting the clothing is only the first step. Some storage space is needed until enough clothing is accumulated for shipping to the East Coast or the West Coast. You also need some money for this shipping within the US. The UN has agreed to share the costs of shipping overseas to Mozambique; so any clothing you collect is sent to Mozambique at minimal cost.

MEDICAL SUPPLIES

The medical needs of ZANU are massive. Not only are materials needed to set up medical clinics in Mozambique and the liberated areas of Zimbabwe but also to cope with the problems of large numbers of refugees living under much worse than normal conditions due to attacks and harassment by the Rhodesian army and air force. Many groups here in the US have been involved in raising a wide variety of medical materials. Drugs, surgical equipment, stethoscopes, microscopes, crutches, textbooks, first-aid manuals, stretchers, and many more routine medical materials have been collected and sent to Mozambique. Medical workers, both professionals and nonprofessionals, can be approached to help collect materials. Medical students have donated their stethoscopes to ZANU. An owner of a drug supply house donated several thousand dollars worth of drugs. A hospital that was closing donated hospital beds to ZANU rather than have them sold for scrap. Retired doctors and dentists can donate equipment. Many examples of this type show that a little hunting can locate a good deal of medical material. Since ZANU must build an entire health care system, almost anything you can obtain will be useful.

FUNDRAISING

Money is needed for ZANU activities in Mozambique and Zimbabwe, along with maintaining ZANU offices in the US. All of the above-mentioned activities can be used together with fundraising, especially inviting a ZANU speaker to address your group. In some cases such as schools, speaker's fees may be available; in a church group, passing the hat may be effective. Cake sales, rummage sales, entertainment events, cultural shows are all well-used techniques for raising money. We have found that serving meals at meetings of groups not necessarily working with ZANU, but generally progressive, is a source of funds. It also provides an opportunity to distribute ZANU literature and begin to discuss support work.

We are sure you can think of many other ways of doing material support.

Besides raising material aid, other kinds of support are possible. Educational events are important in explaining the true nature of the situation in Zimbabwe. Political activities (demonstrations, pressure on elected representatives, etc.) can be used to prevent the US government from aiding the present repressive regime in Salisbury. We all know that the people of Zimbabwe will be their own liberators; but we can help to further their struggle and alleviate their suffering through our aid.

To Aid Materially or Financially

Contact:

Zimbabwe African National Union
211 E. 43rd Street Suite 902
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This pamphlet was published by the
ZANU Solidarity Committee (ZSC-NY)
P.O. Box 181
Bronx, New York 10453
Tel. (212) 884-8892
Your contributions will send equipment and medicine to the refugee camps and liberated areas of Zimbabwe. 30¢ will buy a vial of penicillin; $15: a half-pound of quinine to treat malaria; $100: IV tubing for an entire ward; $3000: a vehicle that can serve as a mobile clinic.

Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU)
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ZIMBABWE NEWS: Official journal of the Zimbabwe African National Union (bi-monthly). Single copies $2.50. 40% discount plus 20% postage on bulk orders of 10 or more. For bulk orders only, write to ZANU office, address above.

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ZIMBABWE NOT RHODESIA: Single copy, 50¢ plus 20¢ postage. For 10 or more, 35¢ each plus 20¢ postage.

ZANU POSTER: 17” x 22”, red, black and green on yellow paper. Price: $2.00 each plus 40¢ postage. For 10 or more $1.20 each plus 20¢ postage. The proceeds to ZANU.

SLIDE SHOW available on Zimbabwe Liberation Struggle (35 min.). Slides of Zimbabwe history. African living conditions under colonization. the present War of National Liberation. Life and Reconstruction in the refugee camps and political and material aid in the U.S for the southern Africa struggle.
ZANU Solidarity Committee (ZSC-NY)
P.O. Box 181
Bronx, New York 10453
Dear Friends,

Attached is a basic booklet on Zimbabwe that the ZANU Solidarity Committee has just printed.

We hope supporters of the Southern Africa struggle will find ZIMBABWE NOT RHODESIA useful and want to help spread this information by ordering more copies.

Single copies are 50¢ plus 20¢ postage. For 10 or more, 35¢ each plus 20¢ postage

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