



Zimbabwe News, Vol. 9, No. 5/6

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VOICE OF ZIMBABWE

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The broadcast is aired every night starting at 8 o'clock on 25, 31, 41, 49, 60 and 90 metres on short wave and 407

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Editorials

I

The Lessons of 1977

The year 1977 will perhaps be remembered for three major developments in Zimbabwe, namely, the ferocity of the armed struggle, the deepening of unity of the Patriotic Front and the Anglo-American initiative.

The three events intertwined, one cannot be isolated from the other. The main link in this issue is of course armed struggle. Unity of the Patriotic Front is basically linked with the mobilization of the forces of the two movements and the entire people of Zimbabwe to wage resolute armed struggle against colonialism, imperialism and racism the principal enemy of the people of Zimbabwe. The Anglo-American initiative is rooted in the armed struggle. It is the direct product of the fighting that is taking place in the country. Without armed struggle there would have been no discussion about any settlement internally or externally. Zimbabwe today is in a state of siege and it may not be long before the breaking point is reached. The balance of forces is daily tilting in favour of the national

liberation forces. The last twelve months have witnessed the intensification and indeed the widening of the conflict in the country. Our combatants have penetrated deep inside the country and are operative in three quarters. Almost every district has witnessed pitched battles between ZANLA forces and rebel forces. Smith's forces have been spread so thin that they are hard to put a stop to ZANLA offensives. The enemy's viable strategy has been air raids. Using french built mirage jets, vampires, hunters, canberas and helicopters from its strategic operational bases. The enemy has been able to mount tangent, Hurricane repulse and thrasher. By these means the enemy has managed to bomb civilian positions both inside and the neighbouring countries. Air raids are usually on civilian and children. This is not only of the raids carried inside the country but also in Botswana, Mocambique and Zambia.

Enemy air raids on the masses cause alienation between the enemy and tie masses and consolidate the unity of the national liberation forces and the masses. Each air raid increases the hatred of the masses against the Smith forces. Air raids have therefore become a major organizing and mobilizing force of our people against the enemy. The masses need no formal lectures on the cruelty and barbarity of the enemy. They see for themselves the napalm bombs that kill and maim their compatriots, children and relatives, and raze the grounds their huts and granaries. That feeling cannot be one of celebration, but utter hatred and bitterness against the enemy. To do otherwise would perhaps not be human.

A revolution waged in division and disunity can never take off. It is for this reason that ZANU and ZAPU after well over a decade of separation decided in October 1976 to form the Patriotic Front. The Patriotic Front is a decisive step in the total unification of the democratic forces in the country. The basis of the Patriotic Front is the waging of the armed struggle and the presentation of a common front at constitutional talks.

Despite some destruction by the enemy of the unity of the people of Zimbabwe, 1977 saw the deepening of the unity of the two giant forces. Prophets of doom have been proved wrong. The Patriotic Front is as strong as ever before. Total merger may be a long way from achievement but concrete steps are being meticulously followed in accordance with the Patriotic Front Maputo declaration especially in bringing the two armies together in order to wage the armed struggle. Only unity achieved in this fashion will be durable. Our theme should always be armed struggle and unity.

The intensification of the war this year created favourable conditions for settlement talks in Zimbabwe hence the Anglo-American proposals of last September. This settlement initiative originated by Britain and USA was in full recognition that sooner or later Smith would be defeated in the battle field. The Anglo-American proposals were not intended basically for the people of Zimbabwe to achieve genuine independence but to create a neo-colonialist state. The overall British-USA strategy has been to create a wage between the revolutionary forces and democratic forces inside the country. In particular imperialism's strategic objective is to isolate ZANU and the Front in general. Such a treacherous scheme can only be carried out during the transitional period

at which time power would be vested exclusively in the British Resident Commissioner, Lord Carver. The latter is notorious for his putting down the mau-mau in Kenya in early 1950s and the Front forces in Malaysia in the early 1960s. Naturally what the British call "transitional arrangements" would not be transitional period at all but absolute dictatorship by Lord Carver as there would be no one to challenge. True transition can only be demonstrated when the national liberation forces dominate the transitional government as what happened in Mocambique. Short of that it would be transition with the usual colonial military dictatorship.

The fundamental issue during transitional period and after the independence is the dismantlement of colonial structures especially military structures and administrative structures. Of course, these colonial structures, the military structures, constitute the decisive structures which must be destroyed. Rebel Ian Smith's army must be disbanded and out of its ashes must be built the Zimbabwe army composed of the Patriotic forces. The dismantlement of the colonial structures and their replacement by revolutionary structures ensures the success of the revolution.

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II

Mugabe,
Zimbabwe's Helmsman

It is not usual for a journal of a Liberation movement to carry an editorial extolling the qualifications of its own leader in self praise. It is even more unusual for ZANU to do so. ZANU has always placed party before personalities. It is sound policy and that policy will be heroically and resolutely defended and upheld. Addressing a ZANU rally at Sinoia in October 1963, ZANU's first President Ndabaningi Sithole said, "Leaders come and go, but ZANU and the armed struggle must go on. If I let down the party, kick me out and pick for yourselves another President. We must not be person centered, we must be purpose centered." That was Sithole when he was still sane. He led the party until 1974 when he betrayed it and abandoned it. The party has, now picked itself another President.

On this occasion we seek our reader's indulgence for a rare departure from practice. Comrade Robert Mugabe is not just "another" President. In the context of Zimbabwe, where the people's dignity has often been abused by the constant "instant" "emergence" of "leaders", we can sing for a change with feeling - our good fortune in having Robert Mugabe as Zimbabwe's helmsman at this point in our revolution.

At long last, the people of Zimbabwe now have, after nearly twenty years of struggle, what they always deserved but lacked - a genuine leader of unquestioned integrity, rare courage, and total dedication. Robert Gabriel Mugabe who became President of ZANU in 1977 is that man. He has become the helmsman of the Zimbabwe people's Liberation war led by ZANU and ZANLA, components of the Patriotic Front.

It is sad irony that in a world whose population is now hovering around four billion human beings, there should be a serious shortage of true and genuine leaders - totally dedicated to the service of their own people and humanity as a whole. And yet it is true; good leaders are rare, great leaders are rarer still. Where are more Lenins, more Mao Tsetungs, more Ho Chi Minhs, more Julius Nyereres, more Samora Machel's? Many nations to-day are led by pimps, thieves, Kakistocrats, puppets, cowards... (you name it). A true leader of his people is a scarce resource indeed.

Right from the beginning of the modern Zimbabwe Nationalist struggle in 1957 it was clear that what Zimbabwe needed and deserved was a leader of unquestioned integrity and commitment, who was humble but as tough as nails; who would be a teacher, guide and navigator. No such leader emerged until Robert Mugabe's day came only in the period 1975-1977. Robert Mugabe would be a rare leader anywhere.

At 54 (he was born in 1923) he possesses such a diversity of talents that it would be impossible to enumerate all of them here. All we can do here is to present a brief curriculum vitae.

First, Robert Mugabe is of peasant origins. This fact is important in explaining and understanding his humility, simplicity, intensity and abundant love for the down-trodden. It also explains his deep sense of justice, fair-play, respect of human life, honesty, integrity and love of the land.

Second, Robert Mugabe is a brilliant and distinguished teacher. In this respect he not only holds two University degrees and a University Education Diploma (B.A., B.Ed. and U.E.D.), he actually taught for nearly seventeen years in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Ghana between 1942 and 1960, when he entered the struggle for the Liberation of Zimbabwe. Leading a people is a teaching function. In this regard, Zimbabweans have been lucky indeed.

Third, Robert Mugabe is an efficient no-nonsense administrator. In this regard, he does not only hold the Bachelor of Administration degree but has, as Publicity Secretary of the of the N.D.P. and ZAPU (1960-1963) and Secretary-General of ZANU (1963-1977) acquired enormous experience in resolving conflict and contradictions among the people as well as ensuring that things get done. Anyone who knows Comrade Mugabe will know that he insists on careful planning and analysis before taking action but that once decisions are taken, he has no time for non-achievers, under-achievers and malperformers.

Fourth, Robert Mugabe is a serious and brilliant economist. In this regard not only does Comrade mugabe hold the Bachelor of Science (Economics) degree but he has also read widely and deeply the major works on Marxist-Leninist economics.

Fifth, Robert Mugabe is a brilliant lawyer, who has over the years taken great and special interest in African law. The rigorous study of the law has not only sharpened his natural sense of justice but it has also enhanced his analytical skills and sharpened his mind.

Sixth, he spent ten long years in prison.

The list is endless. It is clear that no other leader in Zimbabwe (black or white) has had half of Comrade Mugabe's wide training and experience for progressive national leadership.

But perhaps what distinguishes Comrade Mugabe from the rest (Sithole, Chirau, Muzorewa...) is that he has chosen to lead the Liberation war in the forests and Mountains while the others sleep comfortably in Highfield.

In this issue of the Zimbabwe News, we publish several speeches and articles by Comrade Robert Mugabe. Readers will immediately see that at long last, the Zimbabwe Revolution is now in safe hands. It can now never be betrayed, perverted, hijacked or sabotaged. We all can thank Ian Smith who, through his stubbornness and persistent brutality, has made a protracted war necessary. All the jackals and cowards and opportunists have gone back to Salisbury to sit by the right hand of Ian Smith. So Robert Mugabe can guide ZANU's liberation war to true victory.

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Letter from the Editors

Comrade Reader / Subscriber,

Revolutionary Greetings to you all. On behalf of The Zimbabwe African National Union, we regret the inconvenience caused to you during 1977 by our inability to assure regular production and delivery of the Zimbabwe News. The last issue (vol. 9 No. 4) appeared in June, 1977. Due to unforeseen exigencies of the Liberation War now being waged by ZANU in Zimbabwe, it was not possible to produce and deliver separate issues for the July-August, September-October and November-December periods.

We are however delighted to present to you in this extra-ordinary issue, a single combined volume covering the period July - December 1977. We are confident that you will find that we have more than compensated you for your information deprivation during this period.

We are also pleased to inform you that we have now overcome the production and distribution problems that we encountered during 1977. Due to these changed circumstances, we are happy to inform you that during 1978, you will receive all the programmed six issues (January-February; March-April; May-June; July-August; September-October and NoThe Zimbabwe News,

Department of Information and Publicity

Zimbabwe African National Union

Coixa Postal 743

Maputo

People's Republic of Mozambique

30th December 1977

vember-December) promptly or within reasonable time when due.

During 1978, we intend to offer you more Information resources on the War in Zimbabwe. The Publicity Department will have available for purchase by mail order ZANU Calendars, ZANU's war posters, ZANU pins, T-shirts, and ZANU flags, by January 31st 1978. Please write-in-for quotations and further information.

You will also be delighted to learn that the Publicity Department will offer, with effect from February 1st 1978 transcripts of The Voice of Zimbabwe, a daily English medium news service broadcast over Radio Mozambique by ZANU, on

behalf of the Patriotic Front. You will find that taking a subscription for this service will enhance your understanding of the events in Southern Africa generally and in Zimbabwe in particular.

Please write us when you can and let-us know what you think of The Zimbabwe News and, in particular, how it could be improved. We intend to make it the most informative magazine on the Liberation War in Zimbabwe.

Pamberi Nechimurenea,

Rugare A. Gumbo

Secretary for Information and Publicity Eddison J. M. Zvobgo

Deputy Secretary for Information and Publicity

Letters to the Editor

Sworn enemies of ZANU puzzled and baffled

Dear comrade Editor

As the movement fighting for a free, independent, democratic and socialist republic of Zimbabwe, ZANU is loathed and hated by an array of social forces ranging from the arch-imperialists on the extreme right to some misguided Marxists on the extreme left. As the war of liberation in Zimbabwe has moved slowly and surely to its logical and inevitable victory of the oppressed masses, these forces have adopted new tactics and postures all intended to destroy the revolutionary social force of workers and peasants represented by ZANU.

The fact that imperialism, represented in this epoch and in this situation by the corpus of British and American interests, hates and loathes ZANU should not surprise anyone. That is as it should be. A genuinely revolutionary movement is inexorably set on a collusion course with imperialism which seeks to dominate and exploit the masses of the people in the third world. A cardinal point of the Anglo-American proposals published by Dr. David Owen, the British Foreign Secretary, in 1977 was to find a chink in the armour of the Patriotic Front, divide it by luring ZAPU to join the internal settlement talks of Ian Smith's regime, and isolate ZANU to the extent that it would not take part in the general elections following from the settlement. Owen's backtracking on the proposed Malta talks in September, Smith's visit to Lusaka in October, and Smith's air raid on ZANU transit and refugee camps in Mozambique in November (warmly welcomed by Owen) were all orchestrated steps to achieve that objective.

Forces of reaction and neo-colonialism in Southern Africa, represented in this epoch and in the current situation,

by the moves of detente by the Republic of South Africa, with the active support of certain African states, have not spared efforts to support, promote, and engender, the superbly neocolonialist force of the moderate leadership of Chirau, Sithole, Muzorewa and Chikerema presently inside Zimbabwe. Again the cardinal point of the so-called internal settlement is to avoid and thwart the revolutionary force of the workers and peasants represented by ZANU. If they do strike some agreement in the current talks, the thread uniting these desperate men and groups is the common fear of ZANU. But, again, this is to be expected. A revolutionary tendency is set on a collusion course with a reactionary and neo-colonialistic tendency, dialectically.

What is surprising and unexpected is when liberation support groups and self proclaimed Marxists join fervently in denegrating and discrediting a party and movement that has clearly demonstrated, in theory as well as practice, its revolutionary thrust in a situation that is complex and difficult as in Zimbabwe. We refer here to certain academics who
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are sworn enemies of ZANU who have spared no efforts in twisting the facts and bending their analysis to suit their condemnation of ZANU. Prominent in this category is Professor John Saul, formerly Professor of Political Science at the University of Dar es Salaam, who is now advising the influential Toronto Committee for the Liberation of Southern Africa (ICLSAC), not to support the ZANU led by Robert G. Mugabe. In the TSLSAC paper number 12 and 13, in an article titled ironically "Transforming The Struggle In Zimbabwe" (pages 7-11) John Saul makes statements about ZANU which are intended to support old theories he used to propound against ZANU at Dar-es-Salaam, in collaboration with his friend, the Italian economist, Giovanni Arrighi, who also taught at Dar-es-Salaam after a spell of teaching and living at the University of Rhodesia in Salisbury. Arrighi was teaching in Salisbury when ZANU was formed in 1963 and he came to the conclusion that ZANU was an elitist organisation that had no support among the workers and peasants of Zimbabwe. Saul has never set foot in Zimbabwe, and therefore, relies on Arrighi's analysis (see page 8, column 3 of Saul's paper for his quotation and reliance on Arrighi's analysis). After propounding the old Arrighi theory that ZANU is an "elitist" and "petty bourgeois" organisation, Saul runs into his first major difficulty of explaining its collaboration with FRELIMO- a movement that Saul supports fervently. Continuing his personal vendetta with the organisation, Saul resorts to quoting opinions of unnamed (and probably non-existent) FRELIMO officials who are reported to be critical of ZANU. By careful selection of quotation from these unnamed officials, the false impression is created in the minds of the reader that FRELIMO is in fact as Anti-ZANU as Saul and Arrighi. The second problem that Saul runs into is to explain the sustained fighting and revolutionary activities of ZANU. Here, again, he draws a false distinction between ZANU and ZIPA, and then proceeds to shower praise on ZIPA as if it was separate and distinct from ZANU. Unnamed ZIPA cadres are reported to represent "something fresh and promising within Zimbabwe nationalism". The reader is told a string of falsehoods like the following: "It seems clear that the distinctive process which has been shaping the promise of ZIPA's future development has not been Mugabe's or ZANU's handiwork; nor has it been the handiwork of any other of the old guard leadership sitting across the table from Smith at Geneva" (page 10).

. At the same time that Saul was advancing these arguments (December, 1976), Mugabe explained the origins and the functions of ZIPA to a London liberation support group as follows:

"We have always told people that when ZIPA was created it was as a result of our ZANU leadership and ZAPU leadership meeting to decide whether we should

start fighting; and we agreed that the best way we could start the war was by merging our two armies so that they could fight as one. Since the enemy was being reinforced we have ourselves to show unity of purpose, that unity of purpose was forged when ZIPA was established as the fighting force. And, so in ZIPA there was ZANLA, the ZANU army, and ZIPRA, the ZAPU army. But after the clashes I have referred to occurred ZAPU pulled out and only ZANLA forces remained. These are the forces which are fighting now. They are the forces which belong to ZANU. It is ZANU which erected ZANLA and therefore they remain under the control of ZANU. The question of ZIPA being an entity, a military organ which has autonomy, does not come into it at all. ZIPA which is synonymous with ZANLA is a ZANU wing and so it must be under ZANU leadership". (Interview of Robert Mugabe with Gargal Brar, representative of The Zimbabwe Solidarity Front in London, published in their Journal, "Revolutionary Zimbabwe", No. 6, January 1977, p. 11)

Although Mugabe disposed of the arguments by Saul and others at that time, the history of Zimbabwe revolution in the last year has put a final seal to it. The ZANU leadership has remained in full control of the army, and enjoys the support of the army leadership at all levels.

We should not expect Saul and Arrighi to desist from their personal Anti-ZANU campaign, and to twist their facts and analysis to this end, but we should discuss with serious Marxists what we consider to be the revolutionary character of ZANU, and its shortcomings in the spirit of criticism and self-criticism. The Central Committee of ZANU has stated that its policy will be guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism principles. But, in all political movements practice is the highest form of truth, and therefore we should examine its practice.

What makes ZANU a revolutionary party? Firstly, on all accounts it has mobilised the Zimbabwe population for the armed struggle. In the last year alone, thousands of workers and peasants have streamed across the Rhodesia-Mozambique border to join ZANLA forces. Thousands of students have left secondary schools and universities to join ZANLA forces. Several secondary schools have had to be closed down because students deserted in large numbers to join the forces. The response of so many thousands of Zimbabweans has transformed the war of liberation into a really people's war.

Secondly, ZANLA has evolved into a patriotic army, manned by well-trained cadres who have, firstly a political role of educating workers and peasants, and secondly, a military role of defending the people against the forces of repression. When they work in Zimbabwe villages and factories, the accent is on political education so that the basis of the war of liberation can be properly understood. They have formed the vanguard of a patriotic movement uniting workers, peasants, students, and soldiers.

Thirdly, the party has adopted Marxism-Leninism-Mao-Tsetung-Thought as the guiding principles of its ideology. Although an elaborate policy statement has been produced, the accent is on the practice of these principles in the productive work and military work of the party in all its organs in Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Zambia and elsewhere. In this connection, the party has learnt and is learning a

great deal from the rich experience and practice of FRELIMO in Mozambique. Mozambique's shining example in implementing socialism since the attainment of its independence in 1975 has made an indelible impression on ZANU. While a lot more work and practice needs to be done, the revolutionary process of transforming Zimbabwe has started in earnest, and firm foundations have been laid. A lot more needs to be learned from other revolutionary movements. Unfortunately nothing of practical-value can be learnt from armchair revolutionaries such as John Saul and Giovanni Arrighi. At the theoretical level where they could have made a contribution, they have approached the subject with prejudices, and biases that nullify their own analysis. If ZANU has withstood the sustained attack by Rhodesian air and ground forces for so long at a high cost of human life, it can forget the ill-founded campaigns of armchair revolutionaries in Canada, Italy, and elsewhere.

N.S. Shamuyarira
University, Dar-es-Salaam
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ZANU's War Against Smith and other Agents of Imperialism

ZANLA's crack guerrillas moving vigorously and confidently into 1978

The military situation and balance of forces prevailing in Zimbabwe now clearly shows that ZANLA has seized the initiative and enjoys a clear armed gangsters of the Smith regime. The extreme barbarity of imperialists, colonialists and capitalist regime was created among the patriotic Zimbabwean population a strong and deep hatred of murderous, terrorist Smith army. ZANLA and the masses of Zimbabwe fighting as one, are steadily growing strong and more powerful in the battles and the glory of their victories.

As comrade Robert Mugabe, president of ZANU, co-leader of the Patriotic Front, said Ian Smith and his regime must go either by unconditional surrender or by liquidation. This is now certain.

ZANLA the military wing of ZANU now covers more than two thirds of Zimbabwe with two fifths of the country virtually in our control. The Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army is now advancing, launching effective ofensives, defensive of the Zimbabwe masses in the semi-liberated areas, in the process of consolidating our zones into fully liberated areas.

In the course of these operations, ZANLA forces successfully engaged the enemy in over 120 surprise attacks, 48 ambushes, successfully carried out 85 sabotage operations and destroyed over eight major enemy camps.

Over 73 enemy vehicles were destroyed and large quantities of enemy war materials were seized. During the same period ZANLA also captured captured 15 enemy military vehicles, 2 buses, lorries, cars and money.

Over twenty five thousand Zimbabweans were freed from the keeps Smith's concentration camps euphemistically referred to by the enemy as protected villages. The people are now busy rebuilding their homes defended by ZANLA forces.

In this issue, starting with the celebrated Battle of Grand Reef, is a month by month blow.

The heroic battle of Grand Reef

On December 17, 1977, our forces launched a successful attack on the Grand Reef Military air base west of Umtali. This base is a Centre for attacks in the east of the country, and for aggressions against the People's Republic of Mozambique. It is thus of great importance to the enemy. The attack which was carried out by a company of our comrades with artillery and light weapons was preceded by careful reconnaissance. Our forces chose a moment when the camp was careless guarded and were able to take up positions inside the perimeter fence about 100 meters from the buildings. Music could be heard coming from inside. A ZANLA artillery unit opened fire first, and after a few seconds the enemy returned fire. However the enemy forces who numbered about (500) five hundred were taken completely by surprise and were unable to put effective resistance. Our comrades were able to continue the shelling for half an hour.

An estimated (400) four hundred enemy soldiers were immobilised and will play no further part in the military oppression of our people and in the criminal activities against neighbouring states. One of our comrades was killed and five others were wounded. Heavy material damage was inflicted on the enemy including the destruction of (20) twenty military aircrafts, (2) two armoured cars, (18) eighteen trucks, (12) twelve private cars and (2) two fuel tanks. Among the enemy installations wrecked by our fire was the armoury. A ZANLA sniper unit cut the Salisbury Umtali electric power line putting out the lights in parts of Umtali.

After our comrades withdrew from the scene of the attack, enemy soldiers were seen in nearby villages with blood on their clothes asking for water. Some were so confused and desperate that they drank water that had been used for washing plates. The following day, an enemy helicopter and a reconnaissance plane overflew the scene and two other planes arrived to evacuate the wounded the Smith-terrorist soldiers to Salisbury.

The success of our forces in the attack on Grand Reef is the result of the growing support of the masses for our fighters and the heightened political awareness and technical ability of the fighters themselves. Our victory of Grand Reef is another devastating blow to the enemy's morale and a further warning to the Smith regime and its puppets that the day of freedom and revolutionary national independence won on the battle field is drawing closer everyday.

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The State of the Party Recent Past and Immediate Future by Comrade Edgar Tekere, Secretary-General

When 1976 closed to usher us into 1977 the Party had still not dried its tears for more than 800 youthful, defenceless refugee Party stalwarts who were massacred by the enemy forces at Nyadzonya on 9th August.

During the following month of September Comrade Robert Mugabe led a small delegation to the Dar es Salaam summit of Front line States' Presidents. He declared openly to the Presidents and the world at large that ZANU was again re-emerging with all the military might that it had been silently regrooming after the 1974/75 detente phase. He openly declared that ZANU was not arising from the

dead because ZANU had never in fact been dead through the confusion of the ANC era set in by the paper unity agreement of December 1974. At that same meeting Rev. Ndabinyi Sithole had openly dissociated himself from ZANU in favour of Muzorewa's ANC and had categorically declared himself so to the Presidents. So it was that Comrade Mugabe had clearly emerged as head of the Party. Comrade Mugabe's declaration marked a major first stride in Party reorganization and restrengthening after the gloom of the 1974/75 era. The declarations were a confusion-clearing broom for the minds of Party members. They were a call back to a path that had tended to be blurred by the confusion of silence.

Soon after the Dar-es-Salaam summit Comrade Mugabe led his small team back to Mozambique to conclude the agreement for the establishment of the ZANU-ZAPU Patriotic Front alliance. This was a move primarily prompted by the need to ensure oneness of voice and objectives in the Geneva constitutional talks. A second and even more important, objective for the Patriotic Front was to bring together the ZANLA and the Zipra forces to fight the liberation war in unity. The month of October brought with it much rejoicing in the Party upon the release from Zambian prisons of members of the Dare and the High Command. Immediately upon release and consultations, which included Party representatives from home, the members of the Dare, who were not already members of the Central Committee, were co-opted into the Central Committee. Thus Comrade Mugabe was able to lead a stronger and enlarged leadership delegation to the Geneva Conference while the released High Command mainly concentrated on effectively resuming their duties in commanding the war effort. The end of the year then brought with it the collapse of the Geneva talks and left the Party free to concentrate on internal reorganization and the war effort.

The leadership came back from Geneva after much internal consultation on the home front's political strategy and agreeing on a clear decision to function through the People's Movement there.

The Year 1978

As the new year, 1978, opens there is a lot for the Party to look back upon. There is a lot to remember and think about. There is a lot to learn from. And there have been some painful experiences which ought to serve to strengthen all Party members through the 1978 time-phase of the revolution.

From the onset after our return from Geneva the existing national leadership group, together with the various levels of the ZANLA command, set out to vigorously render the Party leadership all embracing in order to adequately cope, with the demands of the war efforts and the necessarily continuous development of the revolution in the political, cultural and diplomatic aspects. The first major step in this direction was the summoning in March-April of a joint meeting of the Central Committee and the military command.

The most dramatic outcome of the March-April meeting was the fusion of the existing Central Committee and the military command into one national Central Committee leadership concept

- an historic and revolutionary departure from the traditional separate concepts of political and military leaderships. The meeting also set a minimum total membership of the Central Committee at thirty (30) comprising: a.) 12 Executive Committee members (Heads of Depts.)
- b.) 10 Deputy heads of Departments, and
- c.) Others drawn from any areas of Party activity.

The avoidance of a set maximum Central Committee total membership was a deliberate device to render the Central Committee numerically and functionally dynamic through the revolution. So it was that the March-April meeting closed with the Central Committee membership expanded to thirty (30) including two female Comrades.

The session of the enlarged Central Committee sat from August 31st to September 8th and emerged from that meeting with more interesting decisions:

- a.) Comrade Mugabe was proclaimed President of the Party as the main step in normalizing the Party leadership structure in relation to the Party's constitution.
- b.) The total number of executive Departments was expanded from 12 to 15 with the consequence that total membership of the Central Committee increased from 30 to 33.

Insight into some executive Departments

1. The department of Defence is a concept dating back to the formation of ZANU. It was a natural outcome of the primary motive to vigorously engage in the armed struggle as the sharpest instrument for national liberation. The department changed its name to the present one a few years after the formation of the Party. After Comrade President Mugabe, Commander in chief of ZANLA, the Department is headed by the Secretary for Defence, Comrade Josiah Tongogara with Comrade Rex Nhongo as deputy head.

It is the biggest boast of the Party that as 1977 drew to a close we had more than enough numerical capacity for the liberation job. The potential for further growth of this capacity is virtually limitless. It has therefore been possible during 1977 for the Department of Defence to widen the war front, put through a thrust that has brought war to every part of Zimbabwe and what the Party's ambition to build well consolida-

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ZANU's Secretary-General Tekere: "Let 1978 be a year of rededication."

ted and defended home base areas in which the other programmes of the socialist revolution could unfold without disruption by enemy forces.

The rate of growth of the ZANLA forces during 1977 can be reflected by the fact that it became necessary during the year to more than double the numerical strength of the High Command by new appointments. The General staff strength had to be increased to a little more than sevenfold in order to cope with the diversity of expanding military operation along the widening front and deepening thrust.

The Political Commissariat

2. The Political Commissariat is now headed by Comrade Mayor Hurimbo with Comrade Josiah Tungamirai, is not an entirely new Department. The name

changed during 1977 from Party Organization and functional concept was broadened and deepened to cope with the present and envisaged challenges of the revolution.

The ZANLA forces are a political army dedicated to doing battle until military victory. Their motivation is the establishment of a new social and political order as ZANU has expounded and taught. Comrade Hurimbo and Tungamirai now have (in addition to the traditional task of recruiting new members of the Party and organizing them into well constituted branches and districts etc.) the additional task of continually teaching the Party ideology among the ZANLA forces. They supervise the work of the Party's Chitepo College of political ideology and ensure that its teaching radiates throughout the Party ranks. As we now look forward to the challenges of 1978 the two Comrades must more deeply worry about whether or not the big thrust will be received by the Zimbabwe masses as the rest of the Party is going to demand. They must worry about the ability of the gun carrying ZANLA to transmit its conviction to the masses upon whom ZANLA's success or failure must depend. Will they be able to get the settler forces to complain more intensely than in 1973-77 that they are no longer able to tell the innocent "villager" from the "terrorist"? How much readily is the Party going to be embraced by all Zimbabwe population concentrations outside Zimbabwe? The Party expects the two comrades leading this department to satisfactorily answer all these questions.

The First Session of the Enlarged Central Committee Approved the Creation of the Department of Manpower Planning and Labour

3. The department of Manpower

Planning and Labour now headed by Comrade Matuku Hamadziripi with Comrade Robson Manyika as Deputy head. The need for this department was not foreseen at the time of the formation of the Party in 1963. The course of the revolution has now drawn the Party's attention to the need to correctly assess what Zimbabwe's manpower needs in all sectors of activity are likely to be on the advent of liberation. Comrades Hamadziripi and Manyika are therefore burdened with the tremendously tricky task of assessing such needs. They must predict what skilled manpower shortages the country is likely to suffer. They must, on behalf of the Party, study and draw lessons from the experiences of Mozambique from where many skilled Portuguese fled for the stupid reason that they would not tolerate an African revolutionary government dedicated to the quick eradication of exploitation of man by man. The two Comrades must also do all they can to find and create training facilities at emergence speed in order to significantly mitigate the skill shortages that are bound to follow liberation. Their task is further complicated by the need to determine possible sector by sector shortages, bring into account all Zimbabweans currently undergoing training and then arrive at a final by sector shortfall to be urgently narrowed, if not completely closed. If for any reason whatever, they significantly fail in their

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task the evil capitalism will be encouraged to attempt to continue to prey on us.

The department is also charged with the task of developing and maintaining relations with all progressive labour movements and work to bring the Party's influence to bear upon all Zimbabwean labour movements.

4. The department of Health is another 1977 creation also approved by the first session of the enlarged Central Committee and headed by Comrade Hebert Ushewokunze with Comrade Sekeramai as deputy head. The tasks are obvious and overwhelming in the camps. As the war effort strides ahead the department must cope with the health problems of liberated areas lying just behind the lines of the blazing guns.

The head and his deputy are highly qualified doctors who acquired considerable practical experience before dedicating themselves to the revolution fulltime. This highly technical department can boast of two more highly qualified doctors one of whom abandoned a flourishing Lusaka private practice at three days notice in response to the call of the health problems of our bush camp. Further the department can also boast of two state registered nurses who similarly abandoned their professional careers in similar response to the call of the bush.

But these are only recent examples, for ZANLA has operated for many years now without a national Executive Department. The department, before elevation, flourishes with the expertise of a large battle-hardened core of veterans who have emerged through the dusty clouds of the armed revolution as field and camp nurses caring for the bullet wounded, snake bitten, the poisoned and those taken more naturally ill.

5. Another Department approved by the first session of the enlarged Central Committee is that of Education and Culture headed by Comrade Dzingai Mutumbuka with Comrade Sheba Tavarwisa as Deputy head. The need for the Education aspect of this department was another not foreseen at the time of the formation of the Party. As the camp population has been rapidly increasing so has the young Comrades of school going age. The Party has therefore had to gear itself to the establishment of camp schools.

The department was also charged with the task of evolving a new Zimbabwe education system to replace the present settler colonial and capitalist oriented one in order to ensure that the

Zimbabwe youth grow through a system which securely places their minds on the long path of a Zimbabwe socialist revolution.

The department will also be working hard for the early opening of a Zimbabwe institute of vocational training under the directorship of Comrade Nathan Shamuyarira.

6. The Party's realization that there is bound to be a major need for reconstruction in addition to the normal development task for the country after the war led the creation of the new Department of Production, Construction and Development headed by Comrade Crispen Mandizvidza with Comrade Peter Baya as Deputy head. The department is also responsible for all the self reliance projects of the Party in the camps and elsewhere. It will be upon this department that the Party will rely for the big push from the capitalist to socialist oriented production and development. It will be through this department that the party will effect a

reversal of the exploitative system that has flourished in Zimbabwe since colonization.

The department has ploughed up and planted large tracts of land and has an ambition to render the camps completely self sufficient in food production by the end of 1978.

The Department of Women Affairs is entering the new year with a completely new look reflecting the demands of the development of the revolution. The Central Committee gave the leadership of the Department to Comrade Teurai Ropa. She is the youngest member of the Executive Committee but one of the most battle tempered and experienced ZANLA soldier who was deeply involved in securing ZANLA's control of the North East war front four years ago. She has worked out an ambitious functional structure for this old Department. During 1978 she will be burdened with the task of establishing a ZANLA Women's detachment in addition to the traditional task of managing the Political Wing. She must develop an external Women's organization for the purpose of developing and maintaining friendly relations with other progressive Women's organizations.

The Forward Look into 1978

1. The Party's Ideology has been generally laid out for many years now as socialist along the Marxist-Leninist teaching. We now enter 1978 with a Committee already appointed and charged with the responsibility of refining that ideological line for the Party. The last the Party offered in this respect was the addition of MWENJE No. 2 whose circulation has now been stopped until the set Committee produces a refined addition in a form they see fit and approved by the Central Committee.

2. The year 1977 has again closed on a very sour and painful note for the Party after the November massacres of hundreds of our innocent refugee women and children at Chimoio and Tembue. Like in 1976 we have again gone through the experience of burying in mass graves. Many are still in hospitals with grossly deformed bodies. Some

The Secretary General and Young Comrade raising their sights into 1978

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were the survivors of Nyadzonya who again survived this second round while many others did not. Evidence is that the enemy was well informed and he chose to do his worst at the school where he knew our tenderest were concentrated. Such is the nature of the enemy ZANU is fighting. There can be no question that we urgently need to defeat and bring a quick end to this war. There must be no hesitation in our resolve to completely destroy this enemy of unsurpassed evil intention. The very meagre ZANLA guard force on duty gunned down many more enemy planes than the enemy had ever dreamed possible but the urgent need is total destruction. If that total victory is to come soon, as indeed we all desire, let no single Party member be off his guard at any one moment. One big lesson to be drawn from the painful experiences is that our vigilance did not measure up to what it ought to

have been. The enemy is going to strike again repeatedly and with ever increasing frequency and sophistry and it will be serious crime against the revolution for any member to let his or her security sensitivity ebb.

Let 1978 be a year of rededication, a year of hard work by all, whatever Department we may be attached to, and let there be strict discipline. The Office of the Secretary General is going to spare no effort in ensuring that the coming year will be one with a marked difference from the last - a year of infinitely harder work, greater discipline and internal Party orderliness and unyielding vigilance. Comrade Mugabe Lays the Line at Historic Chimoio Central Committee Meeting The birth of ZANU on August 8, 1963 is without doubt destined to become one of the major events in the annals of Southern African history. Hated by imperialists and capitalists, colonialists, the Rhodesian white bourgeoisie and the African petty bourgeoisie from its birth, the party soldiered its way into Zimbabwe History. In its onward march, through the Oberholtzer liquidation (1964), the battle of Sinoia (1966), the opening of the North-East front (1972) and the eventual democratization of the war throughout Zimbabwe, the party grew stronger and stronger. Detente came like a bolt from the blue and sought to destroy the Party. ZANU survived but scarred.

During 1974/75, Primitive theocrats like Sithole and Muzorewa, political pimps like James Chikerema, George Nyandoro and all others who, like these political ciphers have always been afflicted with ideological malnutrition prayed hard for the death of ZANU. They and their reactionary and counter-revolutionary allies failed and failed dismally.

ZANU is now healthy and wellstronger than at any other time in its 15 year history. What is even more important (and in this regard all capitalists, imperialists and reactionaries can go jump into the sea!!) ZANU has become even more firmly committed to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought, taking full account of the objective and subjective political economic and social realities of the Zimbabwe National milieu.

It is in this context that the meeting of the enlarged Central Committee held at Historic Chimoio meeting that invigorated ZANU: the road now clear for a marxist-leninist Zimbabwe

Chimoio in Mozambique between 31st August and 8th September 1977 is destined to become another historic date in ZANU's heroic march towards power in Zimbabwe.

The Chimoio Central Committee meeting marked the final re-emergence of ZANU after the brutal, imperialist engineered 1974-1975 detente. It marked the final victory of ZANU stalwarts against elements that had sought to hijack the Party whose creation and development they neither understood nor had much to do with. The restoration was permanently achieved with the proclamation of Comrade Robert Mugabe, then Constitutional Secretary-General (a position he had been elected to at Gwelo in 1964 by the Congress) as President of ZANU.

The Chimoio Central Committee is also important - indeed very important

- for another reason. It was on that occasion, that Comrade Robert Mugabe delivered one of his finest, toughest, uncompromising speeches. The President pulled no punches. He cracked the whip hard. It was clear to all members of the Central Committee, all members of the High Command, all members of the General staff and indeed to every member of the ZANLA forces that at long last ZANU had a Stewart it deserved, a tough, no-nonsense helmsman who, un-

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Comrade President Mugabe and Vice President Comrade Simon Muzenda led the historic meeting

like the party's first President (Ndabaningi Sithole, now a renegade and a reactionary) preached what he believed and lived the life he preached.

In his historic address to the Enlarged Central Committee, Comrade President Mugabe was brutally frank in his analysis of the situation in the Party, the war and the country. Highlights of Comrade Mugabe's speech follow:

"I am sure all of us recognize that this meeting of the Central Committee is unique. It is unique in the following respects:

"(a) This is the first meeting of our Central Committee since its reconstruction last March, when new structural changes were made in order to suit ourselves to the situation facing the Party.

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"(b) This meeting occurs at a portantly stage of our struggle when the war has gained significant momentum and its effects are felt by the enemy and directly, called upon to re-evaluate our terms of our general policy in order to intensify our

"(c) This Central Committee also comes at a time when manoeuvres aimed at the end of our war effort and negotiations are being advanced in the name of a home and reactionary leadership in theory it pays lip service to the principle of majority rule, is in defiance of the bidding of the settler masters to the people's struggle.

"(d) We are also meeting at a stage of our revival when the Party stands in need of a structural consolidation, a clear definition of departmental functions and a systematic streamlining of appointments so that the entire Party machinery can be geared for greater efficiency and effectiveness.

"This Central Committee meeting, in order to achieve progress, has, in my opinion, to take stock of our past as indeed it must examine our present and proceed to cast its view into the future.

This is an extremely important exercise in that our revolution is an ever continuous effort. Any useful assessment must only be undertaken in its correct perspective. The past, present and future constitute the time-frame or form in which our positive and negative actions, in a continuous, creative revolutionary process, are pitted one against the other as we progressively move towards the attainment of our objectives.

I shall, accordingly, attempt a brief

review of our history - the history of ZANU and our revolution with emphasis on the immediate past.

Brief History of Our Party and Its

Struggle

Only a few days ago we celebrated

ZANU Day, the 8th of August, when, in 1963, ZANU was born in Highfield.

From the moment of its inception, it had to struggle for survival against thuggery and violence unleashed upon it by ZAPU. Its resilience, commitment to the struggle, and sense of direction distinguished it even at this early stage, for - , : whilst it fought gallantly for survival, it

took positive steps in planning for a people's armed struggle, thus defying the s at a very im- negativism of forces inimical to this ggle, a stage form of struggle.

ignificantly in "In May 1964, the Congress of Gwehave begun to lo, which gave us a Constitution and a we are, accor- Party structure with the Central Comew the war in mittee and a National Executive, manand strategy dated the leadership of the Party with war effort. the task of implementing the Party's acittee meeting tion programme and planning and effecen imperialist ted the struggle in general.

By July 1964 neutralization we had got our "Crocodile Group" into ating our suc- action, while our military training prod through the gramme was set underway.

-based stooge "In September, 1964, the Party was which, while proscribed and the leadership, except e to the prin- for those few who were outside the practice pan- country, was detained. Adjusting itself its imperialist to the new situation, the leadership,

oetnment or

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ZANLA comrades preparing a meal in the operational area.

ZANLA guerrillas are tough (ask Ian Smith!). In a Peoples Revolutionary war, acceptance by the masses and knowledge of the terrain are the guerrillas indispensable tools. ZANLA comrades have both.

War Communiqu No. 14

ZANU's war against Smith and other agents of imperialism during July 1977

July 1st, 1977

A ZANLA detachment operating in Maramba, Buhera District, successfully staged a surprise attack on an enemy concentration camp (so-called protected village) killing eight soldiers and wounding several others. The masses imprisoned in the "Protected Area" were set free and returned to their homes.

July 2nd, 1977

A reinforced ZANLA commando unit operating in the Ndanga area (southern Province) successfully ambushed two enemy bedford trucks killing 18 racist troops on board and injuring several others. The military bedford trucks were completely destroyed.

July 3rd, 1977

In a counter surprise attack against is enemy troops at Madziwa district a section of the ZANLA forces killed ten enemy troops and wounded four others seriously.

In a separate incident on the same day four ZANLA crack units carried out simultaneous surprise attacks at two racist sub-camps near Hwata (chiweshe district) and Matsirwe in the Sipolilo district. A total number of 30 Rhodesian

terrorist troops were killed and two mercenaries were captured with their British 303 rifles.

July 4th, 1977

A landmine in the Chikomo area in Maramba district exploded successfully killing thirteen district assistants troops and seriously wounding two. The truck in which these african traitors were travelling was completely destroyed.

July 5th, 1977

A heavily armed reinforced ZANLA sabotage unit completely destroyed the Maname bridge. This bridge is of strategic importance to the enemy because it crosses over the Ruya river which divides Chesa purchase area from Nyombwe district and is constantly used by enemy trucks carrying reinforcements food and war materials to support the Smith murderers in the area.

July 6th, 1977

Two members of the ZIPA Intelligence Service working in Collaboration

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Continued from page 10 conscious of the mandate from Congress and of the task of ensuring the continuation of the struggle with ZANU constituting its vanguard, delegated the task of waging armed struggle to members of the Central Committee abroad, under the Leadership of the late Comrade Herbert Chitepo.

"After- the establishment of the Revolutionary Council, armed struggle began with the Battle of Sinoia in April, 1966. The launching of armed struggle opened a new vista in our general struggle against imperialism and colonialism and regenerated a completely new confidence in our people's ability to fight for their freedom and independence. In the meantime, the environment of independence offered by Zambia, Botswana and Malawi was yet another source of inspiration and confidence.

"Our armed struggle naturally lacked experience both among the leadership and the cadreship, and soon we began suffering setbacks. There followed a loss of morale among our fighters and a general lack of enthusiasm on the part of our people to join the war. It must be said of our Party, ZANU, that it has never failed to adapt itself to the demands of any new situation. Accordingly, the leadership abroad, structurally adjusted itself as the external wing of the Party, gearing the entire machinery for a new military offensive, but preceded by an objective assessment of the situation and an adaptation of strategy.

"DARE having been formed, the revision of the general plan and strategy of the war began. Soon our fighters were fighting alongside Frelimo in the Tete offensive. In December, 1972, we opened the North-Eastern (currently, the Tete) operational area. Thereafter, our armed struggle continued to gain in ascendancy and had by 1974 assumed proportions extremely frightening to the enemy. the Detente exercise of 1974 together with the internal revolt experienced by the Party were ingenious tactics in the enemy's overall negating strategy aimed at reversing our revolutionary thrust.

"The harm done to the Party and the revolution by the revolt of 1974 within ZANLA and the accompanying Detente exercise is as much common knowledge

as common experience. The revolt though sooner suppressed than the Detente exercise was contained, left a dent on the Party that has taken time to repair. Greater damage, however, resulted from the suppressive actions taken against ZANU in Zambia.

"The vicious nature of the Detente exercise is told in sequence by the occurrence of the following sad events -

1. The assassination by the enemy of Comrade Chitepo in Lusaka,
2. The arrest and imprisonment of members of DARE and the High Command in Zambia in order to neutralise the leadership of the war,
3. The arrest and detention of hundreds of ZANU cadres in Zambia,
4. The deliberate halting of reinforcements to the battlefield as a means of exposing our fighters to the enemy.

Again, the resilience of our Party showed itself in this extremely difficult situation created by the enemy. Wherever we were, the majority of us consistently kept the ZANU torch burning, fully mindful of our Party responsibility, and with an ever-increasing commitment to the struggle. We put up a strong and principled resistance against imperialism and colonialism operation through partly the willing agency of our neighbours and partly through the treachery of our own President.

"Once we judged the moment for adaptability in posture was ripe, we struck a workable military alliance with ZAPU, called it ZIPA, and relaunched our struggle with a new vigour that confounded the enemy. As well as reviving and strengthening the old operational area off Tete, we opened new operational zones off manica and Gaza provinces in Mocambique.

Parade time at one of ZANLA's operational centers. Discipline is a cardinal principle in ZANLA.

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"The relaunching of the armed struggle became the first effective step in our bid to resuscitate the Party. We had succeeded in reconstituting our army, but we had not yet managed to re-establish the Party, especially now that the treachery and the apostacy of its top leader had become conclusive, causing a confused situation to exist in the whole fabric of our organisation, especially with the ANC domination of the political scene.

"The ANC, an amorphous and purpose-lacking body into whose orbit ZANU had found herself coerced, had striven hard, with the support of our treacherous leader, to smother ZANU. It became quite obvious to those of us who still stood formidable by ZANU's principles that only a full re-emergence of the Party would place it in a strong position to prosecute the war and defend itself against onslaughts upon it. Hence, in September last year, at the Meeting of the Frontline States held in Dar-es-Salaam, the four members of the Central committee who attended the meeting declared before the five Presidents the re-emergence of ZANU.

"In the context of a re-emerging ZANU, the cumulative effect of the various pressures we had exerted for the release of our comrades, soon bore fruit when the

long-awaited event occurred. All the Comrades, except one, got released in October.

"In the meantime, the intensification of the armed struggle had prompted another subtle move by the British and the Americans to confound an imminent military victory by ZANU through a deceptive constitutional scheme whose effect would have been to leave effective power in the hands of the settlers.

"As a Conference strategy, ZANU had formed an alliance with ZAPU. At the Geneva Conference (October- December 1976), the Patriotic Front succeeded in obstructing the enemy moves to establish a neo-colonialist regime under cover of democracy and thus in winning yet another lease for the armed struggle.

Party Unity

The Comrade President Mugabe then turned to and emphasized Party Unity.

Elaborating on this point he said:

"A brief historical background of ZANU and the struggle it has been waging has been given above. Throughout the fourteen years of ZANU's existence the one unmistakable feature that

Comrade Secretary for Defence, Josiah Magama Tongogara (extreme right), Chief Political Commissar, comrade Mayor Vurimbo and Secretary for Transport and Welfare, Comrade Kangai join comrades in a revolutionary dance.

emerges is the unity that has bound together those of us with a greater commitment to the principles and objectives of the Party.

"I define Party unity as a harmony that draws us together under the given leadership of the Party towards the achievement of its goals. Unity is in fact more than mere harmony. It is an active bond of aspirants who share in common given political beliefs. Unity is integrative of constructive or progressive or revolutionary forces in the direction of set goals.

Unity is equally disintegrative of destructive or retrogressive or counter-revolutionary forces that operate against progress and so against unity itself. I take all those of us who genuinely believe in ZANU and accept its constitutional structure and objectives and are actively working for the fulfilment of its revolutionary goals, as ZANU's constructive or progressive forces.

"On the other hand, destructive forces are those amongst us who arduously strive in any direction that militates against the Party line or who, in any way, seek, like the rebels of 1974 and 1975/6, to bring about change in the leadership or structure of the party by maliciously planting contradictions within our ranks. These constitute negative or counter-revolutionary forces because their actions are a negation of the struggle. We must negate them in turn. This is what is referred to as the negation of the negation. We cannot afford to lie low when cliquists, tribalists or regionalists are plotting daily to undermine the unity of the Party by fanning dissension

-and confusion.

Party Discipline

"ZANU is a Party full of experience. It is said experience is a great teacher, I wonder whether in respect of discipline we can claim to have learnt from experience. It cannot be denied that right from the Central Committee down to the smallest Party unit indiscipline pervades our entire structure.

"On a number of occasions, I have described discipline as having two dimensions - the external and the internal

- emphasizing that the internal kind of discipline was the more important of the two. Internal discipline is a state of order within a person that propels him constantly to do right things. It is a stage of individual development that resolves the contradictions within an individual.

"The pull to be selfish is counterbalanced by a greater pull to be selfless, the pull to drunkenness is countered by one to moderation, the pull to disobedience is negated by that to obedience, the pull to sexual givenness yields to sexual restraint, deviationism is corrected by compliance, and individualism by collectivism. The individual must comply with the order laid down by the group.

"Our group is the Party called ZANU. ZANU has an order, rules and regulations which make its system - the ZANU system of behaviour. When an individual cannot subject himself to discipline, then external discipline must apply. The Party must compel him to conform. This is where punishment comes in.

We, who are members of the Central Committee, have to demonstrate by our
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Comrades in Cultural Dance dress. ZANU is pledged to eradicate colonial culture from Zimbabwe.

own actions that we are entitled to demand of others compliance to rules of discipline. Let a greater consciousness of the tasks that confront us grow within us. Let us deserve to be ZANU.

Party Ideology

"The Party has accepted scientific socialism as its guiding philosophy. No one is born a scientific socialist. Marx was not, neither was Lenin nor Mao. Marx conceived the philosophy underlying scientific socialism. Lenin learnt, interpreted and applied it to Russia. Mao did the same in respect of China.

"We, who have accepted socialist theory as the basis of practice in our own countries, have a duty to read and understand what the fathers of that theory actually say.

"We also have to examine the theory in the light of our history and the environment of our country. Only in this way can we evolve from the pure ideology of socialism a workable practical ideology for Zimbabwe.

"The leadership must be warned that unless it can keep ahead of its followers, in its ideological education, it cannot justifiably continue to lay any sustainable claim to leadership. Ideology guides the Party. The Leadership which leads the Party must, therefore, be ideologically oriented. Otherwise, such leadership becomes a misfit. Let us with haste transform ourselves so we can deserve to lead and instruct our followers. Literature abounds. Let us avail ourselves of it!

The Patriotic Front

"The Patriotic Front is an alliance of ZANU and ZAPU. The two parties, which are its components, continue to maintain their identity as they work more and more areas of agreement for unified action.

No one can say just now whether these attempts will succeed, but it is better to try and fail than to fail having never tried.

The British-American Manoeuvres

"The British and Americans have just been holding a meeting in London. We understand they have agreed on a set of proposals whose general principles are a) Independence by September 1978

"On the other hand, destructive

forces are those amongst us who arduously strive in any direction that militates against the Party line or who, in any way, seek, like the rebels of 1974 and 1975-76, to bring about change in the leadership or structure of the Party by maliciously planting contradictions within our ranks.

These constitute negative or counterrevolutionary forces because their actions are a negation of the struggle.

We must negate them in turn. This is what is referred to as the negation of the negation."

b) Elections on the basis of one-man-one-vote

c) Cease-fire before elections.

"To us, the fundamental issue is none of all these ideas. It is precisely the fact of effective control. The question we should have answered is whether our army will constitute the security forces of independent Zimbabwe. If the answer is "No", then there is no question of any agreement by us.

The Future Prospects

"There is no doubt that our operational areas will expand and with it our ability to destroy the enemy and achieve victory. We cannot say precisely when the enemy will fall, but of this we are certain: He is on the run.

"If we maintain our Party cohesiveness and continue to uphold the armed struggle as the only form of revolutionary action capable of achieving us true victory, will come our way. The party has to surge forward with a unity of armed vigour and revolutionary purpose. As

the leadership of that Party our task must be to lead and not to mislead, to inform and not to misinform, to persuade and not to dissuade, to encourage and not to discourage, to guide and not to misguide, to direct and not to misdirect, to unite and not to disunite. We must be leaders and not 'misleaders'. We have to make a clear distinction between responsible leadership and irresponsible leadership. Our people expect great performance from us. Let us live up to their expectations.

Pamberi ne ZANU!

Pamberi ne Central Committee!

Pamberi ne Chimurenga!

"We, who are members of the Central Committee, have to demonstrate by our own actions that we are entitled to demand of others compliance to rules of discipline. Let a greater consciousness of the tasks that confront us grow within us. Let us deserve to be ZANU."

"The ZANU axe must continue to fall upon the necks of rebels when we find it no longer possible to persuade them into the harmony that binds us all."

(Mugabe)

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Zimbabwe African National Union Z.A.N.U.
Central Committee Structure in Order of Command
(As restructured by the 1st session of the Enlarged Central Committee on 4/9/77)

1. National Executive Committee
(Heads of Departments)

1. President
 - Robert G. Mugabe
 2. Vice President
 - Simon V. Muzenda
 3. Secretary General
 - Edgar Z. Tekere
 4. Secretary for External Affairs
 - Mukudzei Mudzi
 5. Secretary for Defence
 - Josiah M. Tongogara
 6. Chief Political Commissar
 - Meya Hurimbo
 7. Secretary for Information and Publicity
 - Rugare Gumbo
 8. Secretary for Finance
 - Ernest R. Kadungure
 9. Secretary for Manpower Planning and Labour
 - Matuku Hamadziripi
 10. Secretary for Welfare and Transport
 - Kumbirai Kangai
 11. Secretary for Health
 - Herbert S. M. Ushewokunze
 12. Secretary for Education and Culture
 - Dzingai Mutumbuka
 13. Secretary for Production, Construction and Development
 - Crispen P. Mandizvidza
 14. Secretary for Women Affairs
 - Teurai Ropa
 15. Special Assistant in the Office of the President
 - Emerson Munangarwa
- II. Deputy heads of the Departments
16. Deputy Secretary General
 - Don Muvuti
 17. Deputy Secretary for External Affairs
 - Webster Gwauya
 18. Deputy Secretary for Defence
 - Rex Nhongo
 19. Deputy Chief Political Commissar
 - Josiah Tungamirai
 20. Deputy Secretary for Information and Publicity

- Eddison J.M. Zvobgo
 - 21. Deputy Secretary for Finance
 - Didymus N.E. Mutasa
 - 22. Deputy Secretary for Manpower Planning and Labour
 - Robson Manyika
 - 23. Deputy Secretary for Welfare and Transport
 - Justin Chauke
 - 24. Deputy Secretary for Health
 - Sidney Sekeramayi
 - 25. Deputy Secretary for Education and Culture
 - Sheba Tavarwisa
 - 26. Deputy Secretary for Production, Construction and Development
 - Peter Baya
 - 27. Deputy Secretary for Women's Affairs
 - III. Others without Special Central Committee Functions
 - 28. - Sheba Gava 29. - Charles Dauramanzi 30. - Joshua Misihairambwi 31. - Henry H. Makoni 32. - Ray Musikavanhu 33. - Sarudzai Chinamaropa
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"The Scope and Challenges of Manpower Planning and Development"

by Comrade Matuku Hamadziripi

One approach of defining the true scope and intrinsic problems of national liberation struggle within the particular context of the present revolutionary war in Zimbabwe under the leadership of their vanguard Party - ZANU - and correct revolutionary line maintained by the ZANU leadership is to take complete stock of the Zimbabwe human factor.

Implementation of full scale social revolution is based on the key role played by the human factor both in theory and practice. The concept of social as well as scientific revolution has both the theoretical framework which is correct ideology and the practical base which is the technology. These two aspects have to be consciously developed in order to carry out our Zimbabwe revolution through to the end. To guarantee success in practice, our organic ideological unity must be developed, upheld and fully consolidated.

Since success depends on the correct line, organizational machinery technological skills and the correct analysis of the concrete conditions the task of manpower planning and development is of fundamental importance. In short, productive labour is necessarily skilled labour. It therefore follows that conscious efforts have to be made to develop the manpower potential available and committed to the revolutionary struggle.

In this context, the fundamental task of the department of manpower planning at this phase of our revolution is to popularize and implement the concept of self-reliance in order to solve on short term basis some of the acute problems immediately facing our revolution. Equally important is the need to map out manpower requirements for the army, the various Party offices both at the

headquarters and abroad. A run down of skills such as book-keeping auditing, typing, budgeting and planning need to be developed both for the present time and for the future.

In time, as the revolutionary developments continue, it generates new requirements for more and more sophisticated skills to cope with the ever increasing demands appropriate for advanced military technology and socio-economic reconstruction. Consequently, the task of manpower planning and development will expand accordingly. In this respect, as a matter of course, establishment of science and technology is the logical next step.

Areas of operation:

- (a) Organization of departmental personnel and overall manpower planning.
- (b) Manpower Training in all fields.
- (c) Close analysis of the manpower needs and skills vital to the success of the struggle.
- (d) Statistical recording of overall manpower on all fields both the present and the future.
- (II) Statistics of the armed forces i.e. manpower losses in the battlefields, manpower gains, defections and manpower put out of action.
- (e) Promoting research programmes in all relevant fields which ought to be developed.
- (f) Assessment of the manpower skills available within the party organs including statistical recordings.
- (g) A general survey of the potential manpower skills of the committed Party supporters inside the country and abroad.
- (h) Promoting programmes aimed at personnel training and skills development within the Party (in-service training), and special training programmes mutually arranged between the Party and friendly countries and progressive states.

The Basic Steps in the Preparation of ZANU Manpower Programme

The general rule is that the Manpower Plan should concentrate on those categories and fields which are crucial to

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their reliance does not wait until liberating the country.

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5U;A Ull,

Comrade President Mugabe on The Perspective of our Revolution

Our revolution is an ever progressive dynamic process set in the positive direction of achieving both immediate and long-term revolutionary goals. It has a past, a present and a future.

Its beginnings lie embedded in a historical past in which colonial and hence capitalist forces had, since 1890, erected a strangely exploitative socio-economic environment where the new ruler became identifiable by the following selfishly individualistic characteristics:

a) the ruler was a settler who imposed his will upon the people and had never invoked and obtained their consent, hence the First Liberation War of 1896/7.

b) The ruler was a white man to whom race and colour decided a person's status, thus creating a racial dimension in the matrix of antagonistic contradictions.

c) The ruler had with impunity acquired vast land acreages defiantly and systematically dispossessed and this disorganised traditional communities and upset the customary land system built on common ownership and common interest, by super-imposing upon it a new settler land-owner class and the resultant creation of an equally new class of land-hungry peasant population whose pervading grievance on the land issue has to this day constituted the main source of the existing generalised hostility towards the settler community. The Land Apportionment Act 1930, and the Land Tenure Act 1969, form the main legal instruments for ensuring the continuity of the inequitable division.

d) The settlers had, by employing borrowed or self-acquired capital and laying open the country to foreign multi-national investment capital and other forms of speculative capital, established a liberal economy in which the primary industrial sector (farming and mining) the subsequent manufacturing and commercial sectors turned African population (indigenous and non-indigenous) into a worker class whose remuneration on the average, always fallen below a subsistence level. It was in the contest of these ravages upon the fundamental rights of the people upon their economic resources and their political and social order, that even Comrade President Mugabe: Leading the National Democratic Revolution in Zimbabwe.

before the re-formation of the African National Congress in 1957 attempts were made by some small organisations like the old pre-1957 African National Congress, RICU (Reformed Industrial Council Union), a trade union body, the British Voice Association which though a misnomer, was an organisation that fought for the recognition and respect of people's right to the occupation and use of land and for the improvement of the general conditions of workers. Thus, in 1947, the whole of Bulawayo was, for about three days, paralysed by a general strike called by the British Voice Association.

The African politics of the time were reformist and not revolutionary, as they aimed at the correction of the grievances and not at the eradication of the root cause of these grievances - the political power base which was the birth-place of the entire oppressive system. Organisation was poor, for although the organisers were well-meaning, they were inexperienced and unknowledgeable. Ideological direction just did not exist, because the principles and objectives that formed the basis of action were superficial and not fundamental: superficial in that their general direction was the mere amelioration of the effects of colonialism and not the destruction of colonialism itself.

The period 1957 to 1961 ushered in a stage during which the reformist politics transformed into a struggle for equal rights - political, social and economic.

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ZANLA's Women's Brigade: tough, and determined to realize self-liberation through participation in the armed struggle.

The parties championing the campaign were the African National Congress as reformed in 1957 and the first real mass political organisation - the National Democratic Party 1960-1961. It was the NDP which, carrying over from where the African National Congress had left off when it was proscribed in February 1959, thoroughly drilled the masses into confidently upholding the principle of independence based on one man one vote. With this shift from remedial politics to the politics of nationalism and self-rule, there had occurred a fundamental qualitative transformation in the political approach of the leadership.

Alongside this new transformation came better organisation, planning and programming of political action. And yet no qualitative change in the means of political action took place. Between 1957 and 1961, the assortment of actions selected as the means of struggle were those of secondary character - industrial strikes, boycotts (of buses, goods, shops and beer-halls) mass protests and demonstrations, passive resistance campaigns against destocking, the payment of cattle and dog taxes and

the wide-spread contour-riding programme, and non-collaboration with civil authorities.

In adopting these means of struggle, the leadership in those days never intended to overthrow the enemy but rather draw in the hand of the colonial power so constitutional changes could be effected to bring about a government based on the principle of majority rule. The pressures were thus nothing more than a form of appeal to Britain and never took the form of a struggle against her, for she was viewed as a mediator who should mediate on the side of the oppressed.

There was hardly any difference in approach when, in December, 1961, we formed ZAPU after the N.D.P. had been banned.

The most significant change was the deliberate abandonment of the methods of strikes, demonstrations and passive resistance as „official" means of struggle, even though a number of areas in the country persisted in their non-collaboration with civil authority and refusal to destock their cattle. The main reason for abandoning these methods was the extent to which they exposed thousands of defenceless supporters to wanton shooting, arrest, torture and intimidation by the racist police. New policy in respect of „action" (as it was called) was to embark extensively on sabotage of industries, farms and commercial concerns by using any available destructive means - explosives, axes, spears, arrows, and ordinary fire. The immediate objective of these forms of pressure remained unchanged, namely to push Britain to a constitutional conference to negotiate a settlement which would yield universal suffrage and therefore lead to majority rule.

When at the end of 1962, ZAPU was banned, the inefficiency of these means revealed itself, for despite a spate of telling sabotage acts lasting over a period of just about a month calmness and peace soon reigned the scene. It was in the process of a complete re-appraisal of the entire political situation vis-a-vis the methods hitherto employed to bring about political change that ZANU was formed on 8 August 1963.

Whereas the methods of pressure employed hitherto had eschewed the use of direct force upon the enemy, ZANU became the first nationalist or-
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ZANU's successes on the ground have been solely due to its complete backing by the masses of Zimbabwe.

organisation to choose armed struggle as the chief means of subduing the enemy. The choice of armed struggle meant the building of a guerilla force, which in turn necessitated the careful planning and organisation of training facilities in those countries progressive enough to offer them. It also improved on the Party leadership the responsibility to launch a wide recruitment campaign.

The success of any recruitment campaign naturally depends on the degree of the people's awareness, and this is usually an advanced stage in a people's political consciousness. However, no serious problems were encountered in recruiting from amongst our Party Youth and by the beginning of 1964, though the violent conflict with ZAPU which sought our extinction was a great handicap, we had already produced some trained cadres, whilst many more left the country during the year for military training in friendly countries.

The year 1964 must always be remembered as the year the Party was firmly and formally constituted together with a clearly stated Party policy which resulted in a Party action programme being adopted. The following important events in 1964 must be noted:

- a) A ZANU Congress was held in May at Gwelo, which
 - (i) adopted the Party constitution drafted by the interim Central Committee,
 - (ii) adopted the Party statement of Policy which expounded socialism , (iii) elected the Central Committee of the Party and its National Executive,
 - (iv) gave a mandate to the Central Committee to formulate and embark upon an Action Programme with immediate effect,
 - (v) authorised the Central Committee to hold the Youth Women congresses.
- (b)The ZANU Central Committe, whilst recruiting and dispatching personnel outside for military training, decided that its action programme, which included armed struggle, could still start taking effect through the employment of resources. Hence the many actions which occurred:
 - a) The Crocodile Group's action in the Eastern zone,
 - b) The sabotage acts in Fort Victoria area by a group of trained cadres which included the blasting of a railway locomotive engine,
 - c) sabotage acts in the region of Salisbury involving explosive devices, d) the burning and destruction of settler farm property.

These actions formed a prelude to the subsequent launching of the armed struggle in 1966. As opposed to the „pressure and leverage" strategy of former parties, the ZANU strategy became one of absolute commitment to direct confrontation with the principal enemy. The enemy was clearly defined as Britain and her settler Kith and kin in the country. Against this enemy, was now to be employed armed struggle as the correct and principal means of confrontation with a definite view to causing him to relinquish power completely. Whilst the previous political

strategy sought the accommodation of Africans within a settler-established and settler-oriented political order, the new strategy as conceived by ZANU envisaged the creation of a new political order in which sovereignty would repose in the people of the country whose right to
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A ZANLA Company "on the double". Fitness is the bed-rock of every guerrilla. an equal vote and equal participation would be constitutionally guaranteed. The new Political order with a new power structure would provide the power base for the socialist policies that would be pursued. But whilst some general principles of socialism - common ownership of the land by the people through the state and the nationalisation of industries - were adumbrated, the further stage of basing the Party's socialist thought on the principles of scientific socialist principles had not yet been reached. A future developmental stage in our ideological conception remained to be achieved.

The launching of the armed struggle in 1966 with the battle of Sinoia opened new horizons. ZANU had demonstrated for the first time in sixty years (that is since the liberation war of 1896) that given a just cause, proper military training and political orientation, the African peasant and labourer could turn the political tables on the settler bourgeois community and liberate himself from his clutches, not merely by breaking him loose of the chains of bondage by annihilating the slave-master himself or fettering him with his own chains.

The events which mark the exaltation process of our armed struggle from 1966 have now become general know-

ledge. As a result of experience gained in the practical field of operations and from the revolutionary practice of other successful liberation movements, it was possible in 1972 to open the North-Eastern front from the Tete Province of Mozambique. A new stage had now been reached in the development of our methods of guerilla warfare. Our ideological conception had transformed and scientific socialism based on MarxismLeninism became our ideology. (see Mwenje No. 2)

The victories we scored from 1972 to 1974 for the first time actually frightened the enemy into contriving deadly schemes to negate the onward march of our struggle. By employing a strategy to destroy ZANU, the enemy resorted to two tactical approaches. The first was to subvert a section of our forces plus some of our top leadership whose assigned task was to cause a revolt within ZANLA. As the revolt wound in Progress, an attempt would also be made through the second tactical approach to get ZANU totally submerged and extinguished in a merger under the ANC of Muzorewa. The double pronged tactical approach nearly demolished our Party, but because of a dedicated core of Party hardliners with clear basic line on both the military and political arms of the Party, we survived. We however emerged badly scathed. We lost our Chairman Comrade Chitepo and some of our cadres. The war virtually came to an end in 1975. By regrouping and aligning ourselves with ZAPU on the basis of armed struggle, we brought ZANLA and ZIPRA together to form ZIPA and in January 1976, the war once again rekindled, taking a completely new look. Two

additional fronts were opened so we could launch attacks from three fronts - Tete, Manica and Gaza in Mozambique.

Since then, and despite the disintegration of ZIPA, we have continued to hammer and batter the enemy from all sides. Fully stretched, for our ZANLA forces now cover nine tenths of the country, the enemy has been forced to resort to wanton attacks upon innocent civilians within or without Zimbabwe. Outside Zimbabwe, in the rear states of Mozambique, Botswana and Zambia his targets but unashamedly have not only been defenceless civilian also such civilian targets as schools, hospitals, bridges, railways and administrative centres. The evidence of his barbarous acts of naked aggression are most ample in Mocambique.

The present stage of our struggle is thus one which, because of its escalation
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Comrade President Mugabe and Vice President Comrade Simon V. Muzenda conferring.

and devastating effects upon the enemy, will increasingly cause him to lose his sense of balance and make him run amok and, in his rampage, destroy anyone, everyone; anything that lies in his way.

With our now having created liberated and semi-liberated areas, our task, as we hound and pound the enemy, must be an intensive systematic politicisation programme to disorientate the masses in liberated and semi-liberated zones away from the social pattern of colonialist society and its individualistics, and accordingly orientate them towards a new social order and self-reliance in the following directions: i) Defence, so they can defend themselves and constantly add on to the strength of ZANLA forces. ii) Production and Construction, so they can grow their own food and produce and construct other necessary wares, developing and sustaining the habit of industry.

iii) Health and hygiene, so they can operate their own medical service, improve their standard of personal and communal hygiene.

iv) Collectivism, so they can get inducted into the pattern of a socialist co-operation as they live, produce, construct and operate in administering, defending or otherwise caring for themselves. v) Organic Unity, so they are organised in their various areas into co-ordinated basic units of the Party in their upward gradation toward central control, the function of decision making following the principle of democratic centralism (free discussion in the context of the organs and decisions reached binding all). vi) People-Army relationship, so they can appreciate and practically experience the operation of the principle that ZANLA is their Army, which does not only fight for them, and this lead them to realise, that they constitute an even greater and more powerful army than the enemy colonial forces. Unity, Co-Operation, Co-ordination with the army should be the running theme.

The year 1978 is the decisive year in our whole struggle. Our armed struggle will transform both qualitatively and quantitatively. Our scope of targets will expand and the intensity of each blow upon the enemy, each assault, each battle, must yield the long awaited desired results.

A qualitative and quantitative transformation of armed struggle presupposes not just new strategies and tactics but also their effectiveness in the given circumstances of the enemy's counter strategy and tactics. Now that we have learned a lot about our enemy and also in the light of our mistakes, set-backs and the numerous victories we have scored, our operations of 1978 must bring victory within sight. More than ever before, our first principal instrument in the war must remain our people, the second of course, our gun. Let us fully and systematically mobilise the people so that our war in 1978 is fought not just for but by the people. Let us make it people's war.

It must, however, always be borne in mind that the People's armed struggle is only one stage of our revolution. The historical analysis above has shown that there have been the following stages:

a) The stage of the growth of the people's awareness of the oppressive system yielding grievances, and resulting in the establishment of organisations within the unjust colonial system seeking remedies to them and leaving the system intact, but nevertheless resorting to peaceful methods of pressure.

b) A further stage in the political development and consciousness of our people when oppression was identifiable not only with the grievances felt but also with the colonial system and political structure begetting them. In this case the proper remedy was seen as those non-injurious pressures, which were nothing more than secondary methods of struggle, but which were now directed at non-violent or constitutional change, with the colonial power intervening to bring this about.

c) The second stage transformed itself into a third stage in the choice and definition of the correct and most efficacious means of struggle which now became armed struggle or the method of violence. Similarly, the enemy became correctly identified as not just the settler community and its regime but as the colonial power as well. A further development at this stage was ideological, leading to the acceptance of the principles of scientific socialism. This brought a socialist revolutionary dimension to the struggle and demands of us that the enemy's political structure be dismantled to create room for a new political socio-economic order, erected on completely new premises that have greater love for the people in their roles as workers and peasants.

Our Political objectives are, therefore, also the short and long term objectives of our military-revolutionary struggle. The achievement of military victory remains our most immediate objective which will be attained the moment the enemy has either fled or surrendered and our army is in place of his.

This in turn creates the opportunity for political control and organisation of the people. Thirdly the resultant political environment and the power base it offers becomes the spring-board to our socialist revolution.

But now we must wage the war, fight and win! We must destroy the Smith Regime, that is why in 1978 we must say Pamberi nechimurenga! A luta continua!

R.G. Mugabe,

President of Zimbabwe

African National Union (ZANU)

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the organisation's success in meeting its objectives.

It should also concentrate on the problem areas of the organisation.

Procedure

(I) Manpower inventory or audit including the following

(a) The analysis of the present Manpower stock and the maintenance of an efficient system of recording and storing personnel data.

(b) Analysis of skills structure.

(c) Analysis of age and sex distribution.

(d) Analysis of promotion histories.

(e) Analysis of wastage of Manpower as a measure of misallocation or wrong assignments of duty functions.

(f) Analysis of sources of recruitment.

(g) Analysis of losses from death and injuries in action.

(h) Analysis of losses from defections

etc.

Structure of the Department of Manpower Planning and Development

Personnel:

(a) Secretary for Manpower Planning and Development.

(b) Deputy Secretary for Manpower Planning Development.

(c) Directors of personnel and training.

(d) Headquarters staff-officers for Coordination.

(e) 2 secretaries and field research staff.

This is a time, "when imperialist manoeuvres aimed at the neutralization of our war effort and negating our successes are being advanced through the instrumentality of a home-based stooge and reactionary leadership which, while in theory it pays lip service to the principle of majority rule, is in practice pandering to the bidding of its imperialist and settler masters to the detriment of the people's struggle." (Mugabe)

Patriotic Front Affairs

The Patriotic Front on British "Proposals for a Settlement" in Rhodesia

MAPUTO: 12th SEPTEMBER 1977

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

The Proposed Independence Constitution (Annex A)

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

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

The Proposed Transitional Constitution (Annex B)

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

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

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

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

Secondly the premise that the Rhodesian problem is being solved in the context of a return from 'illegality to legality' is a completely wrong and irrelevant approach.

When this view is read together with clause 18 (c) of Annex B on 'Amnesty' which states that it will be necessary to extinguish both civil and criminal liabi-

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lity to such acts on both sides 'committed in Furtherance of the rebellion and those committed in resistance to is', the implication here is clearly that we, the liberation forces, were and are carrying out our struggle against the rebellion of Ian Smith

and therefore assisting the British colonial authority in bringing that situation to legality. This deliberate distortion is an insult to our people's cause.

We would like to restate that we are struggling by force of arms to liberate ourselves from intransigent British colonialism in Rhodesia and therefore to cause a movement from colonial control to genuine independence.

8. Another objectionable feature is the vesting of absolute powers in the Resident Commissioner an appointee and representative of the British Government who is empowered to administer the country during the transitional period. He shall, by himself, exercise both legislative and executive powers, be the Commander-in-Chief of all armed forces, the appointer of Judges, absolute controller of the civil service and the police - in short, the be-all and end-all of powers in Rhodesia. The Patriotic Front, the sole armed liberation force guaranteeing the people of Zimbabwe, is then called upon to surrender itself to this Resident Commissioner whilst under clause 5 of Annex B he takes over as 'Commander-in-Chief of all armed forces which may be lawfully operating in Southern Rhodesia'. Armed forces 'lawfully operating in Southern Africa' under Rhodesian law, are the fascist colonial forces presently under Ian Smith. By reference then the armed liberation forces are rendered illegal.

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

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

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ZANLA Forces

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with the masses in the semi-liberated areas, captured a black Rhodesian terrorist soldier disguised as a waiter on holiday. This service-tool of colonialism was on a mission to poison the local people's wells, food destined for freedom fighters and gather as much information as possible on the activities of the patriotic Zimbabweans.

In a separate incident on the same day, a ZANLA section operating in the Mrewa/Mtoko locality laid an ambush and killed 31 enemy soldiers.

July 7th, 1977

A ZANLA reinforced section surprise attacked the enemy troops and killed eight wounding four others at Painona village.

July 9th, 1977

The ZANLA forces operating in the Rushinga district successfully staged a surprise attack on the enemy's patrol unit of 30 infantry with an aerial support of one vampire jet and four helicopters. In the ensuing bitter battle 25 Rhodesian troops were killed, one helicopter was gunned down. On the second day the enemy went on the rampage burning down civilian homes arresting some and .9

ZANLA women: Even when dancing, guns are always in hand. murdering many in cold blood.

On the same day in a separate incident, the ZANLA forces, working in collaboration with the struggling masses in the Chitsato Concentration camp, Dotito, Mount Darwin, stormed the camp and freed all the people. Seven enemy soldiers were killed and two black soldiers captured.

July 10th, 1977

In an effort to blockade enemy transportation of reinforcements to "Protected Villages" in the Matibi No. 2 area, ZANLA forces intensified mine warfare. At 5.15 pm an enemy truck detonated a landmine which blew up the lorry to bits and pieces. 20 enemy troops perished.

A ZANLA Provincial Commander gives his comrades instructions for "action" in the field in Zimbabwe

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July 12th, 1977

Two combined ZANLA detachments attacked Chiswiti camps. 15 enemy troops were killed 1 FN machinegun, 4 FN rifles and 10, 303 rifles were captured.

In a separate incident, a ZANLA reinforced section successfully staged a surprise attack on an enemy platoon at Mukanga in the Matsai area. The enemy troops were armed with FN. rifles and a radio communication set. Ten Rhodesian terrorists were killed and several wounded.

July 13th, 1977

An enemy landrover detonated a landmine at 9.50 pm on the UmtaliRuda road near Gatsi township in the Mutasa district. Two enemy troops died on the spot and the third was wounded seriously.

July 14th, 1977

A ZANLA detachment stormed Nyamakosa camp in Mtoko and killed 12 enemy soldiers capturing 4 african soldiers. Nyamakosa is a sub-camp of the enemy used for the reinforcement of the fascist troops who through force keep Zimbabwean civilians in the Nazi type concentration camps (so-called "Protected Villages" or "Keeps").

During the same day two more enemy camps were attacked by the ZANLA forces of the Patriotic Front. The Chipfiko camp Mtoko came under heavy fire just before 8.08 p.m. The nearby Makosa camp was devastated just after 9,00 pm. The total number of the enemy losses from the two last camps was twenty racist troops killed and four african soldiers captured.

July 15th, 1977

An enemy bedford truck full of food supplies and six enemy troops on board detonated a landmine on the Makuni road in the Mashinga district. The six enemy troops were killed on the spot including the driver.

July 18th, 1977

In a counter surprise attack at Maunga Kraal, ZAKA district, six enemy soldiers were killed and several others wounded. The enemy in revenge killed two civilians and also injured two.

July 22nd, 1977

In a pitched battle last'ag over four hours with the enemy using 3 helicopters and 1 jet in the Chesa area in Mount Darwin, ZANLA forces killed 10 enemy troops and wounded several others.

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

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

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

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

We therefore do not regard the Resident Commissioner as a neutral or impartial officer. He is a straightforward colonial administrator representing the system we are fighting against.

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

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

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

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

Under clause 15 (Annex B) the proposals state further that:

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

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

The transitional provisions provide that the Resident Commissioner will take control of the above apparatus of Government set up by the fascist Ian Smith and

use it in its entirety (but for the replacement of the Commissioner of Police, and a few minor adjustments) to conduct what is called:

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

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

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

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

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

We would like to preface our remarks on this by an Acknowledgement of the positive role of the United Nations in support of the Zimbabwe liberation struggle and the enthusiasm of the member-nations to assist us as much as possible.

It is virtually clear, however, that as far as Rhodesia is concerned Britain, supported by the United States, is inviting the United Nations to assist it in restoring its colonial power and the exercise of it in its absolute sense through the Resident Commissioner. The United Nations so-called Zimbabwe Defence Force is supposed to be a "peace-keeping" force. "Peace-keeping" between what forces? The liberation war in Zimbabwe is between the armed liberation forces of Zimbabwe under the command of the

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Patriotic Front on the one hand and the British Colonial Forces on the other.

How can a United Nations committed to the policy of decolonisation in support of the liberation struggle be called upon to stand between advancing liberation forces and colonial forces with a view to assisting, the colonial power?

We would welcome the United Nations in support of the advance of the liberation struggle and not in its frustration as proposed by the British.

Under the proposals the United Nations Representative has neither powers nor discretion nor independent terms save to act in support of the colonial civil power at the instance of the British Resident Commissioner.

It should be noted that the United Kingdom had an opportunity of eighty colonial years to build a Zimbabwe Force loyal to the people of Zimbabwe.

Instead they created a monstrous colonial fascist force which today is the source of oppression. Through years of struggle the people of Zimbabwe have built a patriotic liberation army.

The resident Commissioner cannot build an army more loyal to Zimbabwe than the patriotic army born out of struggle. The people of Zimbabwe know that their independence shall come about and be defended by their sons and daughters who have sacrificed lives, sweated blood fighting in the ranks of the patriotic liberation forces.

Therefore there can be no new army for an independent Zimbabwe. The patriotic liberation forces are the army for the Defence of independent Zimbabwe and its democracy.

We of course welcome the British Foreign Secretary's additional statement recognising the liberation army.

13. It is only fair for us to be categorical on the question of the armed forces of the Rhodesian regime. They must be dismantled in toto. This includes the police who, as pointed out above, are paramilitary and have been and continue to be instruments for keeping Zimbabweans in concentration camps and carrying out third degree cruelty on civilians and freedom-fighters.

14. Similarly judges, magistrates and civil servants must be subject to screening and open to reappointment for the transitional period to ensure that unacceptable elements are precluded.

15. Further the British proposals arm the Resident Commissioner with the use of existing fascist Rhodesian laws.

In clause 9 (b) it is stated that:

"As a precautionary measure, a number of emergency powers now operating in Southern Rhodesia will need to be available to the Resident Commissioner immediately upon the commencement of the Transitional Constitution, which will therefore deem a proclamation of emergency to be in force as from that date... "

All such obnoxious laws including the Law and Order Maintenance Act specially geared against the people of Zimbabwe will be instruments available to the British Resident Commissioner.

Given such deadly instruments what form of trust are we, the people of Zimbabwe, called upon to put in the Resident Commissioner? It seems we are called upon to accept to be protected by nothing else but faith.

16. The only guarantee of the definite advent of genuine independence for Zimbabwe is the direct involvement of the patriotic liberation forces in all organs and functions of the transitional structures which secure the transition until power has been totally transferred to the people of Zimbabwe by free and fair democratic elections.

Towards this objective the Patriotic Front is ready to enter into discussions with the British Government to expedite the transfer of power to the people of Zimbabwe.

17. The problem in Zimbabwe is not the election of a "President" but:

- (i) the destruction of colonialism and its institutions;
- (ii) the attainment of genuine independence;
- (iii) the democratisation not only of the vote but of all institutions and the way of life in Zimbabwe.

It is this total objective of democracy that the colonialist fears most, hence his resort to "controlled democracy" to produce neo-colonialist puppets.

18. As indicated earlier, the objective of our armed liberation struggle is genuine independence for Zimbabwe. The British proposals for a settlement have not brought that independence.

The Patriotic Front shall press on with an intensified armed liberation struggle until the attainment of that independence.

It is up to the British Government to make the necessary improvements to its proposals to expedite a guaranteed transfer of power to the people of Zimbabwe.

Signed:

Joshua M Nkomo Robert Mugabe

Co-Leaders, Patriotic Front

The British at their Imperialist Game

Stupid Invitation Sent to Patriotic Front

LETTER OF BRITISH EMBASSY IN MAPUTO TO COMRADE MUGABE

British Embassy

Maputo

21 October 1977

Mr. Robert Mugabe

President of

Zimbabwe African National Union

Dear Mr. Mugabe,

I have been instructed by Dr David Owen to convey you the following formal invitation from Her Majesty's Government.

As you know following publication on 1 September 1977 of the White Paper "Rhodesia: Proposals for a settlement", Her Majesty's Government invited the Security Council to authorise the appointment of a representative of the United Nations Secretary General for the purpose of the discussions envisaged in paragraph 11 (c) of the White Paper. On 29 September the Security Council adopted Resolution No. 415 (1977), the text of which is attached. The Secretary-General has now appointed General Pre Chand to be his representative for these talks.

With a view to giving effect to that resolution, Her Majesty's Government now invite you to appoint military representatives to meet Field Marshall Lord Carver, the Resident Commissioner-Designate on Monday 31 October or as soon after as possible. Her Majesty's Government suggest that the first meeting should take place in Lusaka. The purpose of the meeting would be to discuss the military and associated arrangements that are considered necessary to effect Transition to majority rule in

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Southern Rhodesia. Her Majesty's Government are informed that the Secretary General's representative also wishes to take advantage of this occasion to meet your representatives. A similar meeting will be held with representatives of the regime in Salisbury.

Her Majesty's Government envisage that, depending on progress in these meetings, further meetings will be organised between your military

representatives and those of the regime, the Secretary General's representative and the Resident Commissioner-Designate at a mutually convenient site.

Lord Carver will be very ready to discuss with your representatives any questions relating to the transition period which you may wish to raise. Questions relating to the independence constitution are being handled separately. We shall be in touch with you about this shortly.

A similar invitation is being delivered to Mr. Joshua Nkomo in Canada.

I shall be happy to transmit your reply.

Yours sincerely,

J. H. Lewen

PRESSRELEASE CONCERNING
LETTER TO DAVID OWEN

The following is a letter to Dr. David Owen, the British Secretary for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs by the coleaders of the Patriotic Front Comrades Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo, on 8th December 1977 rejecting an invitation to go to London for talks.

Dr. David Owen Secretary for Foreign Affairs United Kingdom.

Dear Dr. Owen,

We hereby acknowledge receipt of your message of the 2nd and 11th November, 1977 conveyed to us in writing by the British High Commissioner in Lusaka and by the British ambassador in Maputo, respectively. In the message you express a desire to see us about the 13th of December to discuss transitional arrangements "if" we "would like to come to London."

We cannot help recalling that after you had committed the international community, through the United Nations, to your "Proposals for a settlement" we, despite our non-acceptance of Lord Carver's proposed role in the

The road to becoming a ZANLA guerrilla starts with tough and rough training. In ZANU even the Central Committee members must undergo training.

July 25th, 1977

A ZANLA unit operating in Nechombo, Mtoko liquidated a sell-out who had given poisoned clothes to the people's forces. The clothes had come from Bishop Muzorewa's United African National Council, one of the fronts of imperialism in Zimbabwe.

July 26th, 1977

An enemy truck hit a ZANLA landmine at Mwanisa, on the Chisumbanje road, Chipinga. The vehicle was badly damaged and several workers were wounded.

July 27th, 1977

A building belonging to a racist settler which was being used as a store and armoury for the racist troops came under heavy ZANLA forces mortar fire in a daring broad day attack in Magambeza district. Three racist troops who had come to collect food and war materials were killed instantly. The racist settler owner of the store tried to jump through the window but was shot dead by a ZANLA sniper.

What remained of the tinned foods was distributed fairly to the local peasants.

Continued on page 29

The ZANU Revolution has produced a new kind of woman: proud, confident and totally liberated through armed struggle and ideological education.
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transition, non-the-less entered into discussion with him in Dar es Salaam. At that meeting we expressed the urgency to enter into matters of substance at a formal meeting which would reach binding transitional arrangements. It was decided then that such a meeting should be held in Malta on the 16th of November, 1977. On the 11th of November, you conveyed to us in writing through the above mentioned diplomatic channels that the racist leader Ian Douglas Smith had declined to attend the meeting in Malta. Smith's refusal to attend was, of course, of no consequence to us in view of the fact that by the liberation war we are waging and under the commitment of your Government and that of your supporters, the United States, his regime is the object of removal. In your proposal for a "settlement" you state that "the two Governments will take such steps as seem to be appropriate to secure the transfer of power by Smith on a day to be agreed."

We were surprised, however, that because the man to be "removed" had refused to attend, you had also changed your approach to the meeting in Malta. According to your message of the 11th of November it was no longer going to be a serious meeting to enter into binding agreements but a meeting in which you believed "it would be useful first to consider with the Patriotic Front their ideas about the transition period" on bilateral basis with both sides.

In a situation of such grave drain to human lives what time do we have to indulge in endless processes of trading with ideas when we must urgently reach agreed decisions to secure the transition towards ending the war and independence? Your moments of hesitation as to whether to hold the meeting in Malta or not coincided with Ian Smith's announcement on "adult suffrage" and the so called "internal settlement" as if you anticipated this. Following Ian Smith's moves, you have since in your public pronouncements adopted a welcoming posture to these moves. In your reaction on the 25th of November to Smith's election plan you say:

"The elections must be conducted in a manner which is demonstrably free and fair and all peoples and parties who intend to live in a future Zimbabwe should be free to participate if they wish to do so, whether they are at present living inside or outside Rhodesia."

The obvious implication of this is the man you set out to remove under your own proposals may now apply his own plans regardless of your proposals if only he satisfies you and not necessarily the struggling people of Zimbabwe.

The racist regime of Ian Smith invaded Mozambique from the 23.-27th November and massacred scores of Zimbabwean women and children. You failed to condemn this wanton massacre of our people. Instead you demonstrated a gleeful attitude at them and lent priority to your enthusiastic anticipations of the plans of the murderer Ian Smith.

In an interview with the British Broadcasting Corporation on the 2nd of December on the massacre of our people you said:

. "But also it might show the Patriotic Front, this may have some advantages in getting overall compromise, that the Rhodesia defence is not on its back."

For the first time after this massacre performance you elatedly referred to these murderous forces commanded by Ian Smith as forces "showing that the British colony's armed forces are not weak."

In the same interview you referred to Smith's so-called "Internal Settlement" plans and said of the Patriotic Front "or at least he Smith must give them an offer or involve them in an arrangement which they can honourably come inside and be involved in."

This indicates that you are in the process of abandoning your own proposals and abandoning the United Nations, the OAU, the Frontline States and the Patriotic Front whom you solemnly committed to your own proposals.

Clearly your intervention to us is casual and lacks seriousness in a military situation which demands urgent and binding decisions by the forces locked in combat, that is the Patriotic Front Liberation Forces on the one hand and the British colonialist army which you now admit, on the other.

In the circumstances we cannot mislead the hopes of our people by discussing with you in your present double-faced outlook. We hope you can sort yourself out soon for us to know definitely which direction you are following that of your "Proposals" or that of Ian Smith. - to enable us to know whether or not any meaningful discussions can be held with you to secure finally and fully arrangements for an unalterable advent of the independence of Zimbabwe, our motherland. Our armed liberation struggle continues.

We remain,

Sincerely,

R.G. Mugabe

J.M.N. Nkomo

Frontline Presidents Meet at Beira

President Mwalimu Julius Nyerere of the United Republic of Tanzania, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, President Augustino Neto of the People's Republic of Angola and President Samora Machel of the People's Republic of Mocambique met with the Co-Leaders of the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front (Comrade Robert Mugabe, President of ZANU and Mr. Joshua Nkomo, President of ZAPU) in Beira on the 18th December, 1977.

This meeting was an important one as it was convened while the gang of four (Smith, Sithole, Muzorewa and Chirau) were busy plotting a neo-colonial constitutional solution for Zimbabwe, in Salisbury.

The Frontline Presidents reaffirmed

the Unity of the Frontline States among themselves and with the Patriotic Front. More important the Frontline Presidents reaffirmed their "total support for the armed liberation struggle of the people of Zimbabwe under the leadership of the Patriotic Front".

The four Presidents also reaffirmed their support for the Unity of the Patriotic front.

Finally, the Presidents reaffirmed their support for the principle of negotiating with the United Kingdom, the colonial power, the modalities leading to the immediate transfer of power to the people of Zimbabwe and to national independence proceeding from the positive aspects of the Anglo-American proposals.

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- Mass rally under arms

Continued from page 27

In a separate incident the same day a ZANLA landmine exploded successfully on the Runai/Madhibuka road in Chipinga. This road was constantly used by the enemy whenever transporting its forces to and from the area. The enemy truck was completely destroyed and several enemy soldiers were killed and injured.

July 28th, 1977

A well armed ZANLA unit fired at the wheels of a datsun 1,500 being used as a getaway car by two selous scouts who had robbed a nearby african store. The selous scouts had a catalogue of serious murder cases committed in the same area. The "datsun" was burnt to ashes by the ZANLA forces and the two bandits were handed over to the local population for trial.

On the same day another reinforced section of ZIPA fighters heavily attacked a Rhodesian tea estate near Chipinga. In the ensuing fierce battle 30 enemy soldiers were killed, 7 Rhodesian tea estate lorries were burnt down and a landrover carrying some enemy soldiers in a rush to reinforce their terrorist friends detonated a landmine. In the blast, the landrover was shattered into pieces and its occupants were killed on the spot. The local peasants and workers were treated to tea by the ZANLA forces. For years, they had been denied free access to this tea by the capitalist settler whites.

July 30th, 1977

ZANLA forces stormed ZAKA district commissioner's office and killed six enemy troops and wounded two.

"I define Party unity as a harmony that draws us together under the given leadership of the Party towards the achievement of its set goals. Unity is in fact more than mere harmony. It is an active bond of aspirants who share in common given political beliefs. Unity is integrative of constructive or progressive or revolutionary forces in the direction of set goals." (Mugabe)

I take all those of us who genuinely believe in ZANU and accept its Constitutional structure and objectives and are actively working for the fulfilment of its revolutionary goals, as ZANU's constructive or progressive forces."

(Mugabe)

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"Independence is not Negotiable"

Comrade President Mugabe Address to the Tanzania Association of Journalists Comrade Chairman and Comrade members of the Tanzania Association of Journalists, I feel greatly honoured to have been invited as your guest speaker this afternoon. It cannot be doubted that in a world where ideas, opinions and

ideologies vie with each other and where the tradition has grown for governments to utilise the press as an instrument for influencing public opinion, your role as journalist has indeed become a most important one. The old saying, "the pen is mightier than the sword" would nowadays sound an understatement for journalists undoubtedly rule the world - the world of minds. I am deeply impressed by the cool and balanced nature of the editorials in the Tanzanian Press and by the factual and objective character of the news items. Please continue the excellent job of educating, informing and constructively directing the minds of the public. You have a great responsibility to make or unmake, to build or destroy.

Comrades, I thought I should address you briefly on the present political scene in Zimbabwe. "Complex", "intricate", "baffling", "confused" and "confusing" are only some of the adjectives I have heard employed in reference to the existing situation.

In a background of a raging guerilla war, the British have introduced constitutional proposals which they have led the world to believe can yield a peaceful settlement. On their side they have thought it proper to incorporate the Americans as members of their team. On our side, they have refused to deal exclusively with the Patriotic Front and have chosen as equal participants to the PF the home-based bogus leaders - Sithole, Muzorewa and Chirau. On the settler side, they have now recognised yet another delegation, besides that of rebel Smith, supposedly representative of the whites outside the orbit of the Rhodesia Front.

Can it be doubted that right from the very onset Britain has sought deliberately to confuse the situation by introducing far too many actors into the scene? Then let us proceed to examine Britain's own actions in relation to her proposals.

Owen first proposed to us the following steps in the envisaged process towards effecting a transition to independence:

- (a) Discussion and agreement
- (b) The resignation of Ian Smith and his regime
- (c) The ceasefire
- (d) the lifting of sanctions by the United Nations. (e) The installation of the Resident Commissioner in Salisbury.

Because he had offered us nothing concrete we insisted that he should put down his thoughts. The result was the White Paper entitled "British Proposals for a Settlement on Rhodesia". And yet no sooner had he published these proposals than he began implementing them without formal discussion having taken place between himself and ourselves.

Soon, new negotiators - Lord Carver and General Prem Chand - were ushered in to discuss transitional arrangements leading to a cease fire, the subject of a cease fire having been only a third step in his proposed process. Owen himself had now dropped off as a negotiator and any political discussions on the independence constitution were a matter to be handled by Lord Graham. In other words, the negotiations procedure had become double-pronged. All matters that had to do with the transitional period were assigned to Lord Carver assisted by General Prem Chand; while all those affecting the independence period proper were assigned to Lord Graham. This

parallel procedure created even greater confusion. As we know, the Carver-Chand mission was an absolute failure while that of Lord Graham never took off the ground. At that stage, Owen had already begun back-tracking, for after assuring us in Lusaka that all military arrangements in respect of the transitional and independence period could only be discussed with the Patriotic Front, he widened Lord Carver's terms of reference to include as participants the home-based bogus leadership even though they had no armies.

Then came Owen's inept handling of the proposed Malta meeting which served to show us that far from wanting to remove Smith he was in fact now seeking to give him not only a long lease of life but also an effective role to play. Smith took advantage of the circumstances he conceived favourable to him. By granting a series of amnesties to Sithole, Chikerema and others of their supporters he had effectively blackmailed them into accepting his invitation to participate in the so-called internal settlement talks. And by mere utterances of the phrase "adult suffrage", even though he had deliberately omitted the qualification "universal", he swung both Owen and Vance onto his side. After all, what the British proposals as set out purport to do is to create a neo-colonialist independent state of Zimbabwe headed by a puppet government. Smith has the same view - a parliament and government predominantly African with physical power remaining in white hands. The British and the Americans thus find no valid basis for opposing him, more especially, as he is working to preserve their own vested economic interests.

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ZANLA commandos

Like the British Government, the Smith regime is terribly worried at the prospect of a military victory by the Patriotic Front forces. Smith sees his settler kingdom crumbling. The evidence: Numerous settler farms are deserted; 1,500-2,000 settlers flee every month; white schools are closing down; 600,000 Rhodesian Dollars are spent on the war daily; the Rhodesian Dollar itself had been devalued; hotels and business establishments are closing down; civil administration had been effectively disrupted in two fifths of the rural areas; every able bodied white must now do at least seven months of military service.

Another hard push this wet season would yield a further accelerator to the crumbling pace. The circumstances are thus most grim for the regime and the British. Our operations now encompass practically every district in the country, with greater concentration on rural than urban areas. This has been deliberate strategy on our part, for the African population is thicker in rural than in urban areas, while the European settler population is thinner in rural areas and concentrated in towns. Of the seven million Africans, six millions live in rural areas. Apart, therefore, from the favourable terrain of the rural areas, the population spread in these regions combines with the natural features to offer maximum advantages for our guerilla operations.

Hence our effectiveness and the untenable situation of the settler forces.

Confronted by the reality of an imminent downfall, Smith has turned a sadistic killer who tortures, kills and massacres not to survive but because he can no

longer survive. How else does one explain the Nyadzonja, Chimoio, Mapai and within the country, Dabwa, Musami and other massacres? How else does one explain the daily list of dead civilians allegedly caught aiding or running with the guerillas? How else can one explain the incarceration of thousands of civilians either directly in goal or herded like goats into what ironically are called „keeps" or at times „protected villages"? How else can one explain the persecution of missionaries who support our just cause?

To be or not to be is his question. The slings and pangs of outrageous misfortune are not assailing him singly but in company with a surging and engulfing „sea of trouble". Will he survive or will he not? Will European rule and its economic structure of privileged whites and underprivileged blacks, of master and servant, of the white landed class and the impoverished peasantry, of the exploiting bourgeoisie and exploited worker, last? The British and Americans are all at one with Smith in trying to puzzle out this question. Hence the prevarication by Owen and his support for the in-

Internal discipline is a state of order within a person that propels him constantly to do right things. It is a stage of individual development that resolves the contradictions within an individual.

(Mugabe)

ternal settlement talks. Hence his praise for Smith's savage and brutal massacre of our innocent women and children at Chimoio. Hence Owen's false belief that the attack at Chimoio would induce us to compromise with, that is, surrender to, Smith. British vested interests must be protected at all cost. This brings us to the role of the Patriotic Front in the military and political fight against British Imperialism, colonialism and capitalism. Reference has already been made to the effect of our guerilla activities.

It is our task and intention to escalate the war so the enemy can be finally annihilated. It is equally our task to preserve our Front and indeed to consolidate it as both political and military Front so we can continually confront the enemy with one solid approach.

But we have to be guided by principle and not expediency. It is in accordance
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with the universally accepted principle of the right of a people to self-determination, that we have informed the British:

(a) that independence is not negotiable

and what is negotiable are the modalities of bringing it about.

(b) that democratic elections based on adult universal suffrage must precede independence,

(c) that a transitional power structure in which the Patriotic Front is the principle power holder and the British Government a minor power holder should be the starting point of a smooth process to independence,

(d) that Smith, his regime and its forces

must be dismantled and make way for the Patriotic Front forces to be constituted into the national army of

the country,

(e) that the nature and quality of our independence cannot be determined for us by the colonial power but by the people of Zimbabwe whose independence it will be. In any case the people of Zimbabwe cannot accept any fetters to their sovereignty. On the basis of these principles, we have expressed our willingness to enter Comrade President Mugabe addressing comrades at Parade into any fruitful discussion with the British provided they come to us with clarity of mind and unequivocation. Our war cannot end until the objectives for which it has been waged is attained. And, naturally, if victory comes to us through the barrel of the gun, as victors we shall first assume independence and work towards elections later.

Thank you again for this privilege of addressing you.

ZANU's war against Smith and other agents of imperialism during August 1977
August 1st, 1977

A ZANLA detachment made a surprise attack on 30 enemy troops at Svuura in Zaka and killed 20 enemy troops. Two armed with FN rifles tried to run through a nearby field, but tripped and were immediately killed by local masses using hoes and axes. The rest fled in confusion firing at random.

Later on the same day at 6.45 p.m., two combined detachments of ZANLA veterans stormed Rimayi, concentration camp in Chipinga area and freed hundreds of Zimbabweans, more than 19 district assistants were killed, three were captured, and several others were wounded.

August 3rd, 1977

A ZANLA commando unit carried out an attack on the Gutu police camp and captured sophisticated weapons from the enemy. The national liberation forces destroyed the enemy camp from a distance 500 meters and killed several misguided Smith policemen and wounded others seriously. August 3rd, 1977

The fascist police at Gutu office are notorious for committing such heinous crimes as cutting ears, noses and lips of African women, slitting the wounds of pregnant mothers and burning suspects alive.

August 4th, 1977

ZANLA forces operating in the Gutu area carried out a successful surprise attack on the enemy at Chiwara and killed'

ten enemy soldiers, and wounded several of the enemy troops.

In a separate incident on the same day, 4th August, 1977, 17 enemy troops were killed and 6 were injured near Silveira Mission, Bikita, when their truck detonated a landmine. These enemy troops belonged to a special unit notorious for raping young African girls,

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harrassing the masses, and for committing other brutalities synonymous with the Smith regime's fascist troops.

In another separate incident on the same day, August 4th, 1977, a convoy of four enemy bedford trucks full of racist troops was ambushed by a ZANLA commando unit at Nyashanu in Buhera. As the front enemy truck fled, it detonated a

landmine and was completely destroyed. The other tree trucks were subjected to heavy mortar fire and machine gun fire. There were no enemy survivors.

August 5th, 1977

At 7.00 p.m. a highly trained ZANLA sabotage unit completely destroyed three telephone communication systems at Chenjerai in Buhera. This completely cut off all telephone communications in the area.

In a separate incident 55 minutes later on the same day, ZANLA forces were engaged in a fire fierce battle with over thirty enemy troops at Nyaunda near Chibvuure school in Bikita, killing 8 Rhodesian terrorist troops, seriously wounding ten. The rest fled in desarray.

August 7th, 1977

At 10.00 a.m. a ZANLA unit carried out a surprise attack on an enemy platoon at a base in Muumba, Chipinga. The enemy platoon was camped at a base along a dirt road. Seven enemy soldiers were killed and several wounded. After three hours, the enemy was reinforced with infantry backed by vampire planes. One vampire plane was gunned

Comrade Josiah Tongogara, Secretary for Defence (Center), comrade Rex Nhongo (Deputy Secretary for Defence) and late Deputy Secretary for External Affairs, comrade Akim Mudende (tragically killed in a car accident in Mozambique in 1977

down and many enemy troops were killed.

A ZANLA detachment laid a mine at Chimutsa in Tamandai area. An enemy truck carrying many enemy soldiers detonated the landmine. Immediately, the ZANLA forces, who had also laid any ambush a few metres away, attacked the enemy soldiers who had survived the blast, killing about 16 enemy troops in all.

August 10th, 1977

At about 8.45 p.m. on August 9, 1977 at Maria in Chipinga a ZANLA detachment ambushed an enemy section and killed five enemy soldiers. On the same day two sections of ZANLA combatants made a daring attack on an enemy rest camp near Manjerenje Dam, Ndanga, razing to the ground the makeshift building and tents.

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"Pamberi Nechimurenga!"

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Mugabe on Chimoio and Tembue Massacres

The racist enemy forces of Ian Smith supported by those of Johannes Vorster, the racist Prime Minister of South Africa, attacked two of our transit camps. In both cases the camps were mainly civilian centres where our people have been engaged in serious self-reliance projects, such as education, agriculture, poultry, piggery, health and crafts.

The enemy, callous and inhuman in the extreme, and using French Mirage planes, vampire jets, canberra bombers and helicopters, coldbloodly massacred little children in school, patients in hospitals, workers on our farms and other productive projects. In all we have lost 100 comrades, most of them children, mothers, patients and physically handicapped people. In one case, thirty five children of 9-14 were burnt in a classroom, in another, eight patients being taken

to Chimoio hospital in ambulance were shot dead and the ambulance burnt, yet in another case, some twenty-five patients who were in hospital were cold-bloodedly shot dead and the hospital set on fire.

The enemy also destroyed farming equipment, such as harrows, planters and tractors, transport vehicles, water engines and similar equipment.

The naked attack of civilians including children and sick persons is a gross violation of international rules of war, especially of the Geneva Convention.

We wish to emphasize that the attacks in question were effected by combined Rhodesian, South African, Israeli forces and mercenaries gladly provided by France, the USA, Britain, West Germany and other Western Countries. The USA and Israeli mercenaries are particularly notorious for the callous murders and massacres in Vietnam and the Middle East respectively. This element has been imported into our area.

The use of French and American planes and the involvement of mercenaries from Western countries make these countries full accomplices of genocide and human torture against both the people of Zimbabwe and Mocambique. The involvement of Britain and the USA in the penetration of these crimes makes a mockery of the principle of peaceful negotiations they have led the world to believe they are pursuing. They

stand condemned not only as hypocrites but also as international criminals who know no bounds in their grand strategy to further the imperialist and capitalist objectives.

If the attacks of the last few days were intended to break down the back of ZANLA and ZANU in the Patriotic Front they have dismally failed and the enemy knows it. We have repeatedly

Capitalist imperial colonialism is beastly. Here the Smith murderers massacred patients, school children, women and non-combatant persons engaged in self-reliance programs. There can be no amnesty for these massacres, despite the endorsement of them by the British Government through Dr. Owen.

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stated that we run no military camps whatsoever in Mocambique. Our military bases are well-established in Zimbabwe where thousands of our fighters have penetrated the whole length and breadth of the country and are pursuing the enemy everyday and every hour. We mourn the death of our children and all those brutally massacred. Their blood, like the blood of those massacred at Nyadzonia, Dabwa, and numerous other places, shall forever water the seed of our revolution and inspire us all to fight with greater resolve than before so the enemy can be completely annihilated and our revolutionary goals achieved.

We have no doubt that the recent attacks were calculated to create, in the enemy's view, favourable conditions for the projected internal settlement talks between rebel Ian Smith and the African Quislings in the country. We regard such talks as nothing but a betrayal of the cause of the African masses of Zimbabwe. Those African stooges, Smith's Four Yes Men, who will attend them, are nothing less than traitors who stand condemned by the suffering revolutionary masses of Zimbabwe. Their own children will spit on their graves.

Finally, these persistent acts of naked and unprovoked aggression by the rebel forces of Ian Smith and his imperialist masters upon the independent People's Republic of Mozambique, must be seen as bullying offensive tactics meant to intimidate the Government and People of Mozambique into breaking their ties of friendship and solidarity with the people of Zimbabwe. We are gratified, however, that the revolutionary experience, direction and persuasion of the government and people of Mozambique under the dynamic leadership of President Samora Machel, has tempered them into supporting our liberation struggle without reservation. Our revolutionary unity is thus sustained by an acceptance by us of common principles and objectives. The year 1978 is for the People of Zimbabwe a decisive year in which our armed struggle will whatever tactics the enemy employs, take a completely new phase.

Already the enemy's position is weak. We have stretched his forces to the limits as we encompass the whole of the country with our operations.

Numerous farms have been deserted, his local administration has collapsed, his economy is crumbling, daily he suffers losses in the battlefield, daily we are consolidating our hold in the semiliberated areas. We cannot, and never will, lose. Zimbabwe News 35

Our forces are as intact as ever and the next phase of our struggle will clearly demonstrate who is suffering setbacks, who is winning and who is losing.

Our cause is a People's cause and the people will definitely win. Smith is thus facing imminent defeat.

Pamberi ne Chimurenga! Pamberi ne Hondo! A Luta Continua!

Comrade R.G. Mugabe (President of ZANU and Co-Leader of the Patriotic Front)

Smith's Massacres Primitive and Savage

The Ian Smith terrorist forces, supported by mercenaries from Israel, Britain, France, West Germany, United States and South Africa, attacked two of our transit positions in Mozambique on Wednesday and Saturday the 23rd and 26th November, killing about 160 people, mainly hospital patients, agricultural workers, women and school children.

Both the Chimoio and Tembwe transit locations, attacked on the 23rd and 26th November, respectively, were devoted to agricultural, educational and health enterprises.

On Wednesday morning, November 23rd, at about 07.45 hours, the regimes' murder squads using French mirage jets, Allouette helicopters, attacked Chimoio transit area. They committed massive acts of barbarities that would have made Attila, the Hun, green with envy.

Their collusion was aggravated by their special emphasis on attacking soft targets. As the jets and helicopters entered that Chimoio transit perimeter, the first targets were our hospital, our food stores, Chindunduma School. The farming-implements, shelters, carpentry and repair-sheds and the electrical and mechanical yards. No attempt was made to confront us in "hard" transit locations. The regime's bandits knew that such an attempt would spell suicide on their part. The attack on our Parirenyatwa Hospital center was so beastly that it has to be described for the record. Some Selous Scouts and a bunch of mercenaries were

parachuted into the hospital yard. Our mobile clinic was parked- as always- in the open with its International Red Cross markings fully visible on all sides. On this day and at this hour, there were ten patients in the mobile van, some so sick that they were strapped on stretchers. They were all dragged out of the van and slaughtered in cold-blood. The clinic was hit by a bomb and burst into furious conflaguration. As one gang was butchering helpless patients around the mobile clinic, another entered the wards and sprayed the patients with sub-machine guns. Simultaneously, all the shelters were set ablaze, some by bomb and other by explosive charges. The stench of burning human flesh must have excited the nostrils of the Ian Smith's beasts. No civilised person can find heroism in the murder of helpless patients' The charred remains of some patients told tales. Some skulls had been cracked; some heads had been severed; and other patients had various pieces of their anatomy missing - the result of savage mutilations. As Parirenyatwa burned, another squad of the cut-throats was ravishing in the attack of school children at the Chindunduma Primary School and Nehanda women's facility.

The Chindunduma School was attacked at a particular unfortunate time children aged between 8 and 14 had just commenced classes. Using mirage jets to rain bombs on each and every grass thatched classroom, these agents of international capitalist imperialism parachuted some of their mercenaries to mow-down any of the escaping children. For reason difficult to comprehend, irage gets suddenly poured napalm on injured and screaming children. About 50 children died. We say "about" because some children disintegrated when the bombs and the shrapnels hit them. Others were completely consumed by the raging fires. The adjacent Nehanda Women's Center was attacked with fury. The jets propelled bombs, napalm and bullets with relish and abandon. Those killed here were trapped in the yard or were scouring around for cover. Many were injured in flight.

The attacks at Chitepo Administrative Center and the Agricultural-Mechanical and Equipment Service Centers were equally brutal. Our tractors, carpentry shops, farming implements store-rooms were destroyed. The persons killed or injured in these areas were badly mutilated.

The only target that could be said to have had some military value or significance was our food and clothing stores. Bombs set fire to our beans storage facilities which on account of quantity burned for nearly three weeks. The clothing and canned-food store-rooms were bombed down and set on fire by hand. Some Selous Scouts who parachuted into this area poisoned all the tinned food, mealie-meal and biscuits in the hope of killing more of the survivors this way. Five people died as a result of the food poisoning. All our medicines were similarly poisoned.

At the Administrative Center, some wounded and captured were gagged handcuffed and then severely tortured before they were massacred. Others were thrown into drums with boiling water. The Smith bandits shot some of our pigs, poultry and cattle in the Chimoio transit area. They also destroyed valuable seed and fertilizer which had been readied for planting.

The attack on Tembwe Transit zone on Saturday, the 26th November, followed the Chimoio pattern except that it was less vicious and did not last for as long. There, the regime's forces destroyed shelters but when the ZANLA reinforcement encircled the Zone and replied with heavy fire, the racist gangsters retreated and fled to Rhodesia.

In these barbarous attacks the enemy had three aims - a) to destroy the ZANU/ZANLA leadership, b) to disrupt the rear so as to stall the overall ZANU military offensive during this operational phase... and c) to impress Sithole, Muzorewa und Chirau that Smith, their master, is on top of the situation and so prode them on their treacherous course. The enemy failed totally in all these objectives.

Although the attacks at Chimoio and Tembwe resulted in the death of about 160 people with over 300 injured some seriously (and their blood will be fully avenged) not one member of the Central Committee, High Command and General Staff was killed. Combined, over 90% of the casualties were women, children, hospital patients and non combat staff engaged in agriculture and other self-reliance programs.

As for the disrupting the military rear in order to slow-down the ZANLA offensive, Smith failed. No sooner had his mercenary goons committed the atrocities than ZANLA annihilated the enemy air-base at Grand Reef and humiliated the regime's forces at Norton and other places. Clearly, we have the offensive and intend to keep it.

The ZANLA offensive must have sobbered the gang of four (Smith, Sithole, Muzorewa and Chirau). The internal settlement hoax will be crushed resolutely.
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Confessions of Wonderful Mukoyi:

A Captured "Selous Scout"

Even Selous Scouts who have committed horrors on the African population are treated humanely by ZANU when captured. They undergo political education. Wonderful Mukoyi, a captured Selous Scout, aged 18 met a Zimbabwe News correspondent in one of the Z.A.N.L.A. camps and told about his experience in the racist army.

In November 1975, a grade 7 class of 40 pupils was forced into a military truck at Mupamombe Primary School in Gatooma. The pupils who were forced to leave school had almost finished their final examinations when a racist military officer addressed them one morning: "You have no choice but to defend your country against Russian communism." One student stood up and remarked, "But, Sir, we have not seen any Russian in the war zone. It seems to me that the war is being fought between the security forces and Rhodesians who have received military training from outside". Before he could end his speech, the student was ordered to shut up and thrown into a military truck parked outside the school hall. The remaining 39 students were later forced into the same truck and driven to an unknown destination which they later found out to be Bulawayo. Wonderful Mukoyi who was then aged 16 was among the 40 unfortunate pupils.

The whole class was driven to Lewelyn Barracks in Bulawayo where they

were told that they would start their military training. They were told that they would be trained to be anti-guerilla units (better known as Selous Scouts). Before the "special" training commenced, a certain racist officer known as Aiden Dereck explained to the students that their assignment after training would be to infiltrate among the rural masses posing as liberation fighters. By this, they would then be able to punish those masses who supported the freedom fighters. It was made clear by the racist officer that the preferable punishment to any offender of the law (those masses whom they consider to be supporters or sympathizers of guerillas) would be the death penalty on the spot.

The "special" military training took them three (3) full months. The students were trained how to use Chinese semiautomatic rifle, AK 47 Soviet sub-machine gun, offensive and defensive hand grenades, 60 mm mortar and rocket launcher. The last three weeks of the training were concentrated on combat individual tactics. A certain James Chatambudza, a well known traitor who fled from the liberation forces soon after receiving his training was the chief military instructor for the "special training" at Lewelyn Barracks. Twenty white officers among whom were Stevens,

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More, and others whose names the interviewed could not remember were the "co-ordinators" between the operational area and the training department. These paid constant visits to the war zone to study about the strategy and tactics of freedom fighters and then advised the military instructors on any alterations on the training programme. A certain Evan John who was then commander general of Bulawayo military camps also paid frequent visits to the camp.

At the time of their deployment at the end of February, 1976 only 14 of the 40 students were available. The others had either escaped or had been killed by the racist guards while attempting to escape. The 14 were divided into two groups of seven each. Wonderful Mukoyi's group was flown to Umtali. Four of the group remained in Umtali while the other three who included Wonderful were driven to Inyanga Barracks, the three remained confined indoors for two weeks doing practically nothing. After the second week, a ten men section of Selous Scouts who were operating in the Inyanga region of Eastern Zimbabwe arrived at the camp. Wonderful Makoyi and his two colleagues were instructed to join the band which was commanded by a certain notorious murderer and rapist known as Lytton. Wonderful Makoyi was the section medical officer since he had received some basic medical training at Lewelyn Barracks. The "political commissar" of the section was a certain Johannes Mhembere who is well known in Inyanga region for several rape cases. The section had a communication radio which was carried by the "political commissar". The radio was used for calling emergency reinforcements when the situation demanded.

The section left Inyanga Barracks three days after its arrival and was assigned to Chikore area. With a starting salary of 98 Dollars per month Wonderful Makoyi started his murderous career in Chikore area in mid-March. He described some of the atrocious incidents in which he participated. Some of the incidents are listed below:

(i) Place - Nyadiriri Kraal Chikore, Inyanga, (March 1976). A thirteen man section of Selous Scouts posing as guerillas arrived at Nyadiriri kraal in the Inyanga region. Wonderful Makoyi was among the notorious band. The group received unconfirmed information by an informer that Mr Nyadiriri was a strong supporter of the Liberation war. On their arrival, Lytton the section commander interrogated Mr Nyadiriri who refused to reveal information

which could betray freedom fighters who were operating in the area. After torturing him for two hours without obtaining any useful information, Lytton the leader of the terror gang ordered his band to shoot down the innocent man. Each of the 13 murderers fired about 20 rounds leaving Mr Nyadiriri's bullet riddled body lying in the centre of the village. His family was ordered by the murderers not to weep for their father. Anyone who wept was threatened with the death penalty. Three days later the incident was reported by racist radio R.B.C. and the Umtali Mail. The report was as follows: "Terrorists arrived at Nyadiriri Kraal and demanded for food. Mr. Nyadiriri refused them food and the murderers gunned him down with their Soviet automatic rifles."

(ii) Place - Hwesa Inyanga (near the Mozambique - Zimbabwe border 28/7/77). The same band of Selous Scouts shot Mr. Nyarumbi crippling him in both legs for life. His wife's two fingers on the right hand, the right ear and lips, were cut off and roasted. Mr. Nyarumbi was forced to eat the roasted "meat" which he ate and later vomitted. Mr Nyarumbi was punished for failing to report the presence of guerillas in the area. Evidence for this according to Wonderful was that the Selous Scouts band had seen a lot of food in the village which they suspected was being prepared for freedom fighters.

The incident was reported by the racist radio as freedom fighters who had took part in the incident.

(iii) Place - Manyengavana Kraal near Inyanga Ruangwa Camp 20/7/77. The same band of Selous Scouts entered Manyengavana Kraal to "investigate" about some mysterious activities in the village. Mr. Manyengavana was suspected to be a sympathizer of freedom fighters. Manyengavana's wife had all her fingers and lips cut off and roasted. The husband was forced to eat the roasted "meat". Again the incident was reported that freedom fighters had undertook this savage spectacle.

(iv) Nyadzonia incident.

On 4/8/76, Wonderful Mukoyi was informed about the 600 Dollars "special mission" he had been assigned to Mozambique. At that time he was at Inyanga barracks. The details of the mission were simply disclosed to the Selous Scouts as an attack on a guerilla camp in Mozambique. The strict orders were, "Kill everyone in the camp".

Three armoured cars specially for the mission arrived from Bulawayo on 5/8/76. Inyanga Barracks supplied six

cars which comprised of one mine detector, one armoured car, three Bedford trucks and one ISUZU truck (which was demanded by force from an unknown local company and painted green for the mission). One Bedford truck reinforced from Ruangwa camp. Seven Selous Scouts among whom was Wonderful Makoyi

were selected from Inyanga Camp for the mission. In all, a total of 150 men were chosen for the "special" mission. 50 of the company were whites, 10 coloureds and 90 Africans. Forty of the Africans were Selous Scouts.

A ten car convoy left Inyanga Barracks and drove southwards to Umtali on 6/8/76. The convoy crossed the border into Mozambique by the Nyamakari dust road near Machipanda border post undetected at 4 a.m. on the 7th of August. From the border, the terrorist gang used dirt roads and travelled on until 6 p.m. the same day. They managed to avoid Vila Manica and camped at 6 p.m. on their arrival in the main road to Chimoio several miles from Vila Manica.

At 9 p.m. the same day they left their rest place and arrived at Pungwe bridge at 12.00 noon the following day (8/8/77). It took them 15 hours to get to Pungwe bridge because: firstly they travelled at low speed in order to save fuel and secondly because they were delayed at police road blocks which they managed to pass posing as freedom fighters who had captured military vehicles from the racist army. Twenty of the white ra-

cist soldiers were painted black in the face and posed as liberation fighters while the other 20 had their hands and legs tied in pretext to be captives of "freedom fighters". On their arrival at Pungwe bridge, the terrorists threw two Mozambiquean guards whom they had captured at a police road block near Vila Manica into the Pungwe river. The unfortunate guards drowned instantly since their hands and legs were handcuffed to prevent them from swimming.

A group of 16, (a blockade force) with two cars, a Land Rover and a mine detector were deployed near Pungwe bridge to check against any FRELIMO reinforcement in the area. The rest of the cars carrying the "main force" left Pungwe bridge at about 12:30 p.m. stopped to camp along the Nyadzonia dust road about 16 miles from the refugee camp until 6:30 a.m. the following day. Another Bedford loaded with explosives (TNT and dynamite weighing about 200 kg and 500 kg respectively) was instructed to drive from the camping area on the dirt road to Nyadzonia back to Pungwe bridge. The charges were later set on the bridge at 5:00 a.m. the following day (9/8/76). After setting the charges Wonderful Mukoyi accompanied by five others drove the mine detector to Nyadzonia to reinforce the main force which had left its camping site at about 6:30 a.m. The mine detector was able to catch up with the main force half a kilometer from Nyad-

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"We cut Al her fingers and lips off and gave the husband to eat" - A captured selous Scout tells about his horrid experiences in the racist Rhodesian terrorist army

zonias refugee camp and entered the camp in the convoy. A blockade force of 14 had also been deployed by the main force along the Nyadzonia road about 8 miles from the refugee camp.

On their arrival in the camp, thousands of refugees most of them women, children and the old gathered around the military cars thinking that the cars were Mozambiquean trucks which had brought their food supplies. Nyati a well known traitor who fled from the liberation forces to join the racists was the overall

commander of the terrorists. The former addressed the gathered refugees telling them he had come to kill them all so as to halt the liberation war. He opened fire with a pistol and the rest of the group fired on the unarmed refugees. Some managed to escape from the camp radius but many died on the spot. At about 9:20 a.m. Wonderful accompanied by five others drove the mine detector back to Pungwe bridge. At 10:00 a.m. he personally ignited the dynamite charges blowing off the bridge. The group at Pungwe bridge was later joined by the main force which had remained at Nyadzonia. The main force left an armoured car with its seven occupants (four whites and three blacks) at Nyadzonia. The reason given for abandoning the car was "mechanical fault". The seven occupants of the armoured car were promised that they would later be "collected" but nothing was ever heard of them.

On arrival at Pungwe the convoy drove back northwards along the Tete road past the Nyadzonia turn off and through Katandica. The racist troops turned westwards five miles from Katandica by a dirt road which lead to the Mozambique-Zimbabwe border. They crossed Gairezi river (which marks the border in the area) by pillars they had brought along. It was easy to cross the river since the water level was very low. The convoy then drove to Inyanga Barracks through Nyamaropa in Northern Inyanga.

Wonderful Mukoyi also described some incidents which reveal the acute contradictions between blacks and whites serving in the racist army. One of the incidents happened at Nyabadza Kraal in Inyanga.

In April, 1976 two platoons of 40 racist soldiers most of them whites camped near Nyabadza kraal. A section of Selous Scouts arrived at the spot and asked for food from the racist troops. The white soldiers refused them food and the Selous Scouts (among whom Wonderful was) pretended to leave and later encircled the racist soldiers who were gathered around a camp fire. The scouts shelled a 60 mm mortar on the racists. Only six of the group survived and the report which was issued said that freedom fighters had taken part in the "successful" battle. On one incident in April 1976 in Chikore, Wonderful's section shot down two racist helicopters which had opened fire on them.

According to Wonderful, mercenaries in racist Rhodesia are mostly escaped convicts from foreign countries.

"I remember about an Australian mercenary who was known as Dobby who escaped a 20 year murder sentence in Australia. Dobby used to say that, "he was too happy to be in racist Rhodesia where he was licensed to kill Africans whenever he liked." Asked about

the difference he noticed between the racist army and the liberation forces Mukoyi said that he had witnessed genuine unity between officers and men in the liberation forces. "There is no unity in the ranks and file of the racist forces because whites cannot simply accept orders from their black seniors", Mukoyi remarked.

"We also have to examine the

Marxist-Leninist-Mao-Tse-Tung theory in the light of our history and the environment of our country. Only in this way can we evolve from the pure ideology of socialism a workable or practical ideology for Zimbabwe."

(Mugabe)

Continued from page 33

ZANU's War Against Smith

August 12th, 1977

On August 12, 1977 a squad of ZANLA fighters operating on the road between Bindura and Gleendale ambushed a private car belonging to a notorious settler white farmer. The farmer and his colleagues were killed on the spot when the ZANLA forces showered the car with bullets. In a separate incident, on the same day, another ZANLA squad made a sudden encounter with an enemy force in the Subaa-Suba area in Buhera. In the ensuing battle, nine enemy soldiers were killed. In Honda, Chipinga, a reinforced ZANLA section made a surprise attack on the enemy. Four enemy soldiers were killed.

August 13th, 1977

A ZANLA section traced and eliminated a District Assistant in the Muusha TITL-Mutambara District. The District Assistant was spying on the masses who worked closely with the freedom fighters. The masses enthusiastically welcomed the death of the traitor. August 14th, 1977

A ZANLA detachment layed an ambush for two bedford trucks full of enemy soldiers in Matotedze, Mutasa District. Several enemy soldiers were killed and others injured. August 17th, 1977

A bedford truck carrying several enemy soldiers called to enforce school-fees collection in Negowani area Bikita District, detonated a landmine killing 13 enemy soldiers.

Inside Zimbabwe, South African, West German and Rhodesian planes are shot-down. This plane was shot-down in the Mapai area.

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August 20th, 1977

A ZANLA detachment made a surprise attack on an enemy base in Mhandarume area, Melsetter District. A helicopter was destroyed and five occupants killed instantly.

August 24th, 1977

5.10. - 6 p.m. A squad of ZANLA fighters attacked an enemy force encamped at St. Barbar's Mission in the Makoni District. The enemy reinforced the infantry with a Dakota and five choppers. In the ensuing battle. ZANLA fighters shot down two helicopters killing all the occupants.

August 26th, 1977

A fierce battle that lasted more than three hours took place in Muzite area, Chipinga District. A section of ZANLA fighters wiped out an enemy section of eight soldiers. An enemy bedford truck carrying about fifteen enemy troops detonated a landmine killing and wounding several occupants in the Nyamusamba / Murowe areas near Nyatanda river.

ZANU's war against Smith and other agents of imperialism during september 1977

On September 4th, 1977, a squad of ZANLA fighters laid a landmine in Mutize, Chipinga District. One of the three bedfords travelling along the mined road

carrying some enemy troops detonated the landmine. In the explosion the driver and some of the enemy troops were killed. Several others were wounded.

At 1.30 p.m. on September 8th, 1977 a ZANLA demolishing squad laid mines near Matinhidza railway station between Salisbury and Umtali. The blast that occurred derailed goods train and damaged several sections of the rail line. At 9.10 a.m. on September 12th, 1977 a section of ZANLA forces ambushed an enemy platoon in the Manyenzi area, Chipinga District. Ten enemy soldiers were gunned down on the spot and several others wounded.

At 4.15 p.m. on September 23rd 1977, a ZANLA section made a surprise attack on a section of enemy soldiers in Mushonga village Buhera. Eight enemy soldiers were liquidated on the spot and three others were wounded.

On September 29th, 1977, a reinforced ZANLA section attacked a house of farmer in the Highlands, Melssetter Di-
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"Discipline, discipline, discipline!!" ZANLA forces know this well. strict killing a family of three and captured two guns and a radio communication system.

This farmer together with his wife were notorious for physically beating their servants and other Africans from neighbouring racist settler white farmers. On September 30th, 1977 a ZANLA section laid an ambush for an enemy section at Green farm in the Melssetter District. Two enemy soldiers were killed on the spot. The landrover was completely destroyed and a radio communication system was captured.

I

Training is rough and tough, but ZANLA comrades love it.
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Dr. Owen Congratulates Smith on Massacres

Following the massacre of hospital patients, school children and non-combatant men and women at Chimoio and Tembue on November 23 and 26 respectively, Dr. David Owen, the British Foreign Secretary, congratulated the Ian Smith regime for a fine job done.

In a BBC news cast of Thursday evening, 1st December, Dr. David Owen said in part, "Rhodesia's acts of aggression against Mozambique last week might help achieve the overall settlement, by showing that the British colony's armed forces are not weak". According to Dr. Owen, the massacre against ZANU "might show the Patriotic Front and this may have some advantage in getting overall compromise that the Rhodesian defence force is simply not on its back."

These vile remarks have been confirmed by the British High Commissioner in Tanzania and the British embassy in Maputo. Dr. Owen was not misquoted. There has not been a retraction by him or a correction by the British government. The statement is therefore the authentic British government policy.

As far as ZANU is concerned, indeed as far as the Patriotic Front is concerned, there can be no advantages accruing to anyone if murdering young children, women, hospital patients and noncombatant personnel. Part (1) articles 7, 8, 9, 10,

11 of the protocol additional to the Geneva convention. of August 12, 1949 relating to the protection of victims of non-international armed conflicts (protocol (11) headed "wounded, sick and shipwrecked" read together with part (4) articles 13 and 14 of the same protocol, read together with protocol (1) of 12 August 1949 (part 2 sections 1 and 2 and part 3 section 2, part 4 chapters 1, and 4 make it clear that the acts of barbarity and massacre fall outside the pale of international law. Civilized people everywhere have come a long way from the days of Nicolo Macchiavelli. Armed conflict can no longer mean that combatant parties can resort to whatever means or what-ever targets as to them seem appropriate.

Dr. Owen, by congratulating Smith for his primitive, barbaric and massacres of defenceless civilians is guilty of the same macabre acts. It is dispeacable that a British Foreign Secretary should so aid and abet a rebel regime of bandits that has, at Dr. Owen's own English law, committed treason and persisted in treason. ZANU - indeed the Patriotic Frontis unshaken in its resolve to carry the revolution through to the end. While massacres, murder and torture will be punished fully and thoroughly upon victory, only a fool like Dr. Owen can believe that in the meantime these primitive acts have any value whatever. In particular, nothing is more guaranteed to prevent a peaceful settlement. On the contrary, acts of murder and massacre temper our Zimbabwe masses, reinforce their resolve to liquidate by arms the evil racist minority regime of Ian Smith.

We are aware that the Anglo-American proposals are one gigantic plot. They are designed to sabotage or hijack our revolution. We are aware that Ian Smith's internal settlement is nothing but a gimmick. The intention of the internal settlement is the pre-emption of our revolutionary victory and socialism. The African puppets - Muzorewa, Sithole, Chirau - are cowardly running dogs of British and American imperialism. Smith wants to use these rubber stamp traitors to cheat Zimbabweans of their inalienable right to genuine independence. They are as guilty of the Chimoio and Tembue massacres.

"Fight Hard, Fighter, Fight Hardest"

Comrade Mugabe Tells the Zimbabwe Nation in Radio Address

The Meaning of our Revolutionary Struggle: Pamberi ne Chimurenga and Revolutionary Greetings To You All Our Toiling Masses and Our Brave and Courageous Fighting Forces

When, in April 1966, the people of Zimbabwe decided to launch the armed struggle and the first group of our seven ZANLA fighters fought famous Sinoia Battle, they resolved, once and for all, to free themselves totally from the savage and oppressive rule of the settler imperialists. This decision, accordingly, marked a qualitative transformation as much in objective as indeed in the means henceforth to be employed in the pursuit of the goal of freedom and independence.

The decision has these phenomenal revolutionary characteristics which must be noted and which together add up to the elements constituting the definition of our revolutionary struggle:

1. The people had decided that independence was their inherent right which was not negotiable, whatever the circumstances. They would never debate the question whether to be free or unfree.

2. The people had also decided that since Britain, the imperialist power, and her colonial settlers had paid no heed to their persistent peaceful appeals as a down-trodden community, they would henceforth use violence, and unleash it with full vigour, upon the settlers and their regime until victory was attained.

In other words the people had a) correctly identified and defined the enemy, and b) correctly selected and defined the means of struggle - namely the armed struggle, which now became the principal method of fighting the enemy.

3. The choice of armed struggle meant the launching of a people's war. This in turn meant that the masses were henceforth to be fully mobilised into fighting and supporting a war of liberation behind a vanguard revolutionary Party.

4. The people, having chosen armed struggle as a means of liquidating imperialism, colonialism and settlerism, and of creating a new political order, wherein and whereby a social transformation could be generated, had viewed such

armed struggle as meaningful and purpose. Let it be noted that they had chosen not just armed struggle but revolutionary armed struggle, in which armed struggle did not become an end in itself but a means or instrument to an end, namely political, economic and social change to bring maximum socio-economic benefits to the masses, away from selfish and racist individualism of the oppressive bourgeois class.

"When ZANLA's bullets begin to flower..."

5. By choosing and rallying behind the armed struggle, the broad masses of Zimbabwe had clearly chosen the revolution as the sole creator of their leadership and the revolutionary policies to guide them in creating a new social order. They had accordingly pledged themselves to utmost vigilance in their task of protecting their revolution against any would-be hi-jackers or traitors.

Comrade President Mugabe: "If victory comes to us through the barrel or the gun, as victors we shall first assume Independence and work towards elections later."

To summarize, the first objective of our armed struggle is the attainment of total and unfettered independence so we can rule ourselves as we deem fit and develop our country in the general interests of the masses. This means we completely reject and would never entertain any discussion whatsoever which seeks to preserve the interests or privileges of a minority as this vitiates the principle of total independence and derogates upon the sovereignty of the people of Zimbabwe.

Secondly the struggle we are waging is aimed at the complete and not qualified overthrow of the settler regime headed by Ian Smith through which imperialism is perpetuating its barbarous rule of our masses. Smith and his racist regime are the principal enemy of the people of Zimbabwe. Our war is directed against them. How then can any sane nationalist sit at the table with the people's arch-enemy and not only sumptuously with, but also allow him to propose how we should be governed. The people of Zimbabwe have never since 1890, been ruled by the

settlers with their willing consent. Never! That is why we are fighting. That is why our ancestors fought Chimurenga chekutunga in 1896/7.

The stooges Sithole, Muzorewa, Chikerema and Chirau are now saying to the people of Zimbabwe "Accept settler rule, accept land shortage, accept poor education for your children, accept suffering, detention and political imprisonment, accept the protected villages, accept tortures, murders and massacres of our innocent children." This is what the internal talks are seeking to do, perpetuate white rule and this historically
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has meant our oppression and suppression.

Sithole, Muzorewa, Chikerema and Chirau are today discussing Smith's own plans and not the plans desired by the people of Zimbabwe. These four headless characters have no mandate whatsoever to indulge in the treacherous talks with the very savage we are working to destroy. Their treachery has exceeded bounds and now calls for our intervention. We must now classify these stooges together with the principal enemy. For where do they differ from Smith?

1. Smith wants the settler army to continue, and Chirau, Muzorewa, Sithole and Chikerema say "Yes Nkosi" to this.

2. Smith wants the whites-only Public Services and Judiciary to remain as at present. Chirau, Muzorewa, Sithole and Chikerema say "Hongu ishe" to this.

3. Smith wants the Africans to have their own vote only for its own representatives at present. Chirau, Chikerema, Sithole and Muzorewa again answer "Tazvinzwa Changamire".

4. Smith does not want any reallocation of land so that the white farmers can give up their farms and Africans acquire more land. Chirau, Muzorewa, Sithole and Chikerema again answer "Zvakanaka Mambo minda yedu yakakwana".

5. Sithole, Muzorewa, Chirau and Chikerema have been addressing meetings of white farmers and businessmen giving them assurances and stressing that they want them to continue in the enjoyment of their exploitative rights and privileges. Smith says: "Well done my boys."

6. You know Sithole, Chikerema, Chirau have denounced the people's struggle, our war for freedom as terrorism. They want the war to stop and have called fighters terrorists. Smith again says "You have done well boys".

These four cowardly unprincipled creatures who have made their objective the destruction of our revolution have long been wholly and totally rejected by the Zimbabwean masses as political ciphers. They are indeed political ciphers which are in vain struggling to become rights. Yet the more they try the deeper grows their hollowness.

Just look at this naivety. It is they who prayed Smith to pronounce the phrase "Adult suffrage", so he would appear to espouse the democratic principle of one-man-one-vote, even if he did not mean it. Smith obliged, and this became the unashamed pretext for their joining the talks.

But when we talk of one-man-onevote we mean that every adult regardless of race in the country have, not just the right to a vote, but the right to a vote of the same quality, efficacy and strength.

You know Smith wants racial voter's rolls with African voters voting for only African candidates. But when Africans

A parliament where the people of Zimbabwe have all the seats, say 100 members of Parliament, can only have meaning when the army is also a Zimbabwe people's army. If Smith has the army and the Africans have a deceptive majority in Parliament, it is obvious that Smith has the power because he has the guns and the people with their votes

Zimbabwe's feudal Lords: No room for reactionary bourgeoisie in socialist Zimbabwe.

can only vote for African candidates, and white settlers for white candidates, the operative quality of the vote, its efficacy and strength becomes vitiated by, the restriction as to the extent of its application. In this particular case, the restriction upon the vote is racial and detracts from the democratic nature of the vote by affecting its efficacy (or extent of its application) and equality of operation.

When a vote is related only to race, tribe or clan it loses its democratic character and assumes a racial tone. A democratic vote is one which can be cast either for or against a candidate not on the bias of racial or tribal affinity but regardless of his race, tribe or some such other vitiating consideration.

We should therefore never be deceived into believing that because Smith has uttered the phrase "Adult suffrage" he means the same thing as we mean when we refer to universal adult suffrage. He is employing the phrase in a subtle exercise to cheat us.

A further important point to be noted in respect of the principle of one-man-one-vote is that it can only derive its full scope and meaning where physical power (military power) has been equally and effectively transferred alongside political power to the people.

have hollow political power. Our votes must go together with our guns. After all any vote, we shall have, shall have been the product of the gun. The gun which produces the vote should remain its security officer - its guarantor.

What we stand for in the clearest terms are the following objectives: a) The unrestricted transference of full and effective power - namely both the guns and the votes - to the people of Zimbabwe.

b) In order to attain the objective of such full transfer, all the present British colonial forces in Zimbabwe should be completely dismantled, so that our forces can take over.

c) There should be no restraints or strictures imposed upon the sovereign power of the goal of our independent Zimbabwe, either in Protection of any racial group or of any other class of people of Zimbabwe, or in the preservation of the vested political, economic or other interests of an external power or powers. We refuse to bear foreign harnesses, for we cannot be anyone's horses. We should be ourselves, our own nation, whose sovereignty resting nowhere else but in our people. This is the freedom we are fighting for, we accept to bear the harnesses imposed by our people.

Smith whose record of crimes against the people of Zimbabwe would make

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him hang a thousand times over, has forfeited beyond measure, his right to negotiate with us. The only valid kind of negotiations we are willing to allow this hard-core criminal is with our firing squad.

Of course, if he is willing to surrender we would grant him audience and listen to his message, but thereafter he should be made answerable for his crimes of wanton murder and genocide, to mention only the blood-letting felonies against the people of Zimbabwe. His book of crimes is of course inexhaustible.

We wish to warn those puppets who are indulging in internal discussions with the enemy to retract immediately from their treacherous course. If they should persist in conferring with and being used by the enemy, the people's wrath will soon befall them. They should decide now, whether they wish to continue as traitors or jump into the side of the people. They cannot have it both ways- sup with the devil and be with the people he oppresses.

Our Party and our Chimurenga forces remain fully determined to ensure that the enemy is completely crushed. There is, therefore, no question of negotiating with Ian Smith. For what do you negotiate with a criminal - a robber and wanton murderer? As you know, our fighting forces are now completely on top of the situation. We are ever on the offensive against the enemy who is running away from the farms he has wrongly occupied, from his luxurious schools and home, from his exploitative business now closing down, from his citadel of power - from our country Zimbabwe. More than 2,000 settlers are fleeing every month and hundreds more are dying all the time in the battle field. We are winning! They are loosing! Our revolution annihilates all negative and reactionary forces that stand in opposition to the positive and constructive forces we represent. The war will continue, therefore, until inimical forces have been vanquished and a stage laid for the constructive and reconstructive social and economic processes to take place.

I repeat, Smith, his regime and forces must go. The people, their government, and their own revolutionary fighting forces must come in. This is our immediate goal. It is your goal. Fight hard, fight harder, fight hardest. Victory is in sight. Victory is certain.

Pamberi Ne Chimurenga! Pasi na Smith Nezvimbwasungata Zvake! A luta continua!

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ZANU in a Nutshell

1. What is Z.A.N.U.?

Z.A.N.U. is the only national liberation movement that is spearheading the national democratic revolution in Zimbabwe. It is an alliance of all the basic social classes against their common enemies, with the liberation army (ZANLA) forming the vanguard of the popular forces of revolution.

2. When was Z.A.N.U. formed?

Z.A.N.U. was formed on the 8th August 1963 in the African township of Highfield, Salisbury, in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia).

3. Why was Z.A.N.U. formed?

Z.A.N.U. was formed by the people of Zimbabwe out of the realisation that the independence of Zimbabwe would not come out of constitutional conferences, but through „direct confrontation" by our own efforts. It was also formed to further Chimurenga" (War of National Liberation) started by our forefathers in 1890.

4. What is the role of Z.A.N.U. in the Zimbabwe revolution?

Z.A.N.U. is the vanguard of the Zimbabwe revolution. It is the supreme authority whose every decision and objective has to be carried out by the various organs in the revolution.

5. Who is the enemy?

The immediate enemy is imperialism represented in Zimbabwe by British and American economic interest. The agents of this imperialism are the Rhodesian white settlers who have used their political power to entrench British and American capitalism. To do this effectively they have introduced racism as a state doctrine. The long-term enemy is the African petty bourgeoisie that has been produced by colonial capitalism, and uses tribalism, sexism, religion and even nationalism to perpetuate capitalism in Zimbabwe.

6. What is Z.A.N.U. ideology?

Z.A.N.U. is guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism. It aims at achieving a socialist revolution. However before the achievement of such a socialist revolution, a transitional stage of National Democratic Revolution is necessary. The national democratic revolution, is the necessary preparation for the socialist revolution, and the socialist revolution is the inevitable sequel to the national democratic revolution. The deeper the national democratic revolution, the better the conditions for the socialist revolution.

7. What are Z.A.N.U.'s political objectives?

The main political objectives of Z.A.N.U. are to create a free democratic independent and socialist Zimbabwe and to remove the political domination of the foreign element in our society and its imperialistic and capitalistic tentacles. Our goal is true national independence and socialist reconstruction of the fatherland.

8. What are Z.A.N.U. economic objectives?

The main economic objectives of ZANU are to create a self-supporting socialist economy in which all the means of production and distribution will be fully in the hands of the people of Zimbabwe as a whole. The present capitalist economic system which benefits a few settlers in Rhodesia and other foreign countries like South Africa, Britain, United States, West Germany etc. will be abolished.

9. What is Z.A.N.U.'s land policy on labour and welfare?

Z.A.N.U. policy on labour and welfare is that workers will own directly or indirectly the factories for which they work. All discriminatory labour and trade union legislation will be repealed and all other exploitative practices terminated. Persons who cannot work because of old age or physical handicaps will be the charge of State. A social-security system will be introduced to care for and assist all workers and labourers, and especially mothers during times of illness and child-birth.

10. What is Z.A.N.U.'s education policy?

Z.A.N.U. will introduce free and compulsory education for school for all children. It will also introduce adult education and will provide enough technical and

vocational schools with a view to giving all workers and peasants opportunities to improve their skills.

11. What is Z.A.N.U.'s policy on culture?

Imperialists practice cultural aggression through the stage, screen, mass media, literature

"Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Theory needs practice to produce revolution!" says ZANU

ture, school and the church. Through these they have created a false impression that their culture is good and ours is bad. Consequently, our rich cultural heritage has been lost. In a free, democratic, independent and socialist Zimbabwe people will be encouraged and assisted in building a new Zimbabwe culture derived from the best in what our heritage and history have given, and develop it to meet the needs of the new socialist society in the twentieth century. Mental decolonization is as necessary a part of our struggle as the complete political and economic independence which we are fighting for.

12. What is Z.A.N.U.'s policy on national unity?

Z.A.N.U.'s policy on national unity is based on a common struggle against a common enemy to build a free democratic socialist Zimbabwe and to fight exploiters and imperialists of whatever colour or race and their agents. Existing racial and ethnic divisions are the work of imperialists who are enslaving us. They must be removed and measures taken to ensure freedom and full security of all Zimbabweans. Tribal organisations and political parties based on tribalism will be banned.

13. What is the most pressing task facing Z.A.N.U.?

The most pressing task facing Z.A.N.U. at present is the intensification of the armed struggle.

14. What is Z.A.N.U.'s position in Southern African detente?

Southern African detente was initiated by Pretoria in October 1974 as a means of completely destroying the armed struggle and the radicalisation of the Zimbabwe population. It was reinforced by the Henry Kissinger shuttle diplomacy in 1976, and the Owen Young mission which produced the Anglo-American proposals in September 1977. More detentes will come in future. These detentes are a trick by South Africa and the imperialist powers to thwart and destroy the armed struggle in Zimbabwe in particular and Southern Africa as a whole. Their principal aim is to achieve a cease-fire without changing the hated colonial-capitalism system in Southern Africa substantially. We in Z.A.N.U. would like to make it clear that there is no power on earth that will stop us from winning our country back by armed struggle.

15. What is Z.A.N.U.'s foreign policy?

Z.A.N.U.'s foreign policy is determined by two cardinal principles: to fight against imperialism and to unite with all progressive forces throughout the world. Progressive forces throughout the world are engaged in titanic global conflict with imperialism and capitalism. Because the enemies we fight are both local and international, we have thrown our weight on the side of progressive forces everywhere. We support the policy of African Unity enshrined in the Organisation of African Unity (O.A.U.) Charter.

Inspiration Corner

President Machel and The Mozambiquan Revolution: Something New and Inspiring in the Third World

Comrade President Samora Machel: short of stature, but as big as Africa: He has sent imperialists around the world into caucous.

A spectre is haunting the bourgeoisie in the whole of Southern Africa, the spectre of Scientific Socialism. The victories of FRELIMO and MPLA over Portuguese colonialism in 1974 and the transformations of these Liberation movements in 1977 into Vanguard Parties guided by Marxism-Leninism has caused imperialists in Washington D.C., London, Paris and Bonn and their agents in Southern Africa to have many a sleepless night.

There was a time in Africa when various social and economic theories were propagated in the new states. Some asserted that the African was somehow inherently a born socialist and that therefore once the white rulers returned to their metropolitan homes exploitation of man by man would come to an end.

Nearly 20 years of political independence for many African states have shown that black men - like white men

can exploit others just as viciously. Some asserted that traditional African structures were best suited to solve African problems. But what came out of this was simply the emergence of President-monarchs surrounded by cliques masquerading as nationalist parties whose main task was to combine with imperialists in exploiting their workers and peasants and in looting, stealing and pillaging their national treasuries. The result is many African states have been marching backwards into underdevelopment and bankruptcy.

A few, among them President Samora Machel, have opted for Scientific Socialism adapted to the objective and subjective realities of their own countries and peoples.

The Mozambique Revolution is of singular significance to the entire future of Africa. Barely three years old, The People's Republic of Mozambique has become an inspiration for all progressive people around the world. A visitor does not have to spend longer than 24 hours in Maputo before realising that the young Republic, despite massive sabotage committed by the colonialists before they left, is probably the cleanest in Africa. Everywhere, one sees social and political order of the highest standard. The economy is in the upward swing. The people - everywhere in Mozambique - show a sense of purpose, a deep sense of commitment to defend, preserve and protect the revolution.

All this is not by accident. FRELIMO, the vanguard Party and its helmsman comrade Samora Machel have planned it all. It is the result of careful study and analysis, guided by Marxism-Leninism, that has brought into being the reality of the People's Republic of Mozambique.

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The Zimbabwe African Nation Union is particularly privileged to learn from FRELIMO on a day to day basis. The slow but definite transformation of ZANU

into becoming the Leading Liberation Movement in Zimbabwe, guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought, has been as much a result of the party's role as the main fighting force against the Ian Smith regime as of its association with FRELIMO.

As the armed struggle against the Smith regime escalates in 1978 and victory draws nearer and nearer, many people are talking about the shape and structure of an independent Zimbabwe. On the one hand, the British Government with its agents (Smith, Sithole, Muzorewa and Chirau) would like to create governmental structures based on the Westminster model to assure neo-colonialism in Zimbabwe for all time. On the other hand, the Patriotic Front want to create structures that are watertight, structures that will assure the permanence of the revolution led by a vanguard party of workers and peasants.

The Patriotic Front has endorsed the principle of elections. Much is to be discussed about what form of Government and what form of State are to be created.

To assist the debate, Zimbabwe News found President Machel's speech of August 31, 1977 at the opening of the first Session of the First People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Mozambique to be so important that we reproduce it here verbatim. The Zimbabwe African National Union endorses completely the ideas and the analysis running throughout this speech. It substantially represents ZANU's view of the role of the law-making Organs in an independent, truly socialist Zimbabwe. Obviously, the objective and subjective factors in Zimbabwe differ in many ways from those in Mozambique. However, the philosophical and ideological position underlying President Machel's speech is without doubt, unchallengeable.

"The Party has to surge forward with a unity of armed vigour and revolutionary purpose."

"We, who have accepted socialist theory as the basis of practice in our own countries, have a duty to read and understand what the fathers of that theory actually say." (Mugabe)

President Samora Machel "Let us elect our assemblies to consolidate people's power and improve our life"

(Speech at the opening of the First Session of the First People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Mozambique, August 31, 1977)

Honourable Deputies,

In accordance with articles 37 and 42 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of Mozambique the First Session of the First People's Assembly, supreme organ of our state power, has begun. The Assembly is meeting in its provisional composition as laid down in the constitution.

Of the 207 deputies, 202 are present. Five deputies are absent on Party and State missions. All the absences are thus legitimately justified, and there is the necessary quorum for our work.

We feel that even in this provisional composition, including workers, peasants, Party cadres in the Party and State apparatus and members of the defence and security forces, the People's Assembly is satisfactorily representative of our country's present stage of economic and social development.

In opening the proceedings, we would like to give warm greetings to all the deputies, who are fighting on difficult fronts in all sectors of national activity, fronts on which the future of our Country depends. Through them we greet what they represent: the working class, the peasantry, the soldiers, the workers in science, culture, the services, the civil service, the artisans, youth, women, in short, the Mozambican People from the Rovuma to the Maputo, the People united and determined to overcome misery, to build a better future, to defend their country.

Honourable Deputies,

During the coming months, in accordance with article 39 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of Mozambique, the first general elections will take place in our country. The Locality, Town, District and Provincial Assemblies, and the People's Assembly, will be elected.

These elections are of great historic significance; they are the first to be held throughout our country, the first in which millions of men and women, millions of workers, will elect their representatives at all levels. Two years after the proclamation of our Independence, an independence that is at one and the same time a rupture with the colonial power and the emergence of a state founded on the Worker-Peasant alliance, the creation of the People's Assemblies means the consolidation of class power, of People's power. This is an important moment when the people, in an organized way, affirm the reality of their power. The power of the people serves the people; strengthening it improves the people's lives.

The democratisation of working methods and the popularisation of the political line that accompany the elections and the founding of the People's Assemblies, establish irreversible situations in the evolution of our revolutionary process. The masses become conscious of the fact that they are responsible for their state, that their state will be what they decide it should be.

The masses assume their responsibility as the creators and masters of their destiny, the creators of their own happiness. This awareness and determination makes the people's conquests irreversible, and will block and annihilate any attempt by reaction and imperialism to bring down our People's Republic. : The exploiting class are thrown from power once and for all, the working class and its principal ally, the peasantry, are installed in the supreme organs of state.

The question of power is fundamental to the Revolution. The Revolution triumphs or fails when it holds or loses power. Without taking power there can be no revolutionary conquests, no revolutionary transformations in society. This is logical since power is the capacity of a class to impose its interests, to impose its will on the entire society, the capacity of this class to mould society in accordance with its interest, to lead it to mould society in accordance with its interests, to lead it through the transformation process that satisfies those interests.

In their efforts to keep the masses confused, and in their deliberate action to prevent the masses from gaining power, the exploiting classes spread the myth of the neutrality of power. According to bourgeois theorists the state is neutral; the state of bourgeois law is a state above classes and their conflicts; a state that could be used independently, by exploiters and exploited. Thus, the question of the

conquest of power by the workers, of the overthrow of the exploiting classes and their state apparatus, is never raised. In consequence, the question of instituting dictatorship of the proletariat is also never raised. This is an attempt to demobilise the working class,

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an attempt to convince the working class that their struggle to overthrow the power of the bourgeois state is useless.

The historical experience of the people, the historical experience of our People, shows us that these theories are wrong. In our country, successive classes of national and foreign exploiters held power, always to the detriment of the interests of the overwhelming majority of the People. Contrary to the interests of the vast majority, the feudal chiefs promoted slavery, the oppression of women, the domination of youth, and divided the people, fought the unity of the people, creating favourable conditions for the colonial conquest. The colonial bourgeoisie organised society so as to impose its interest of pillage. It brutalised, depersonalised, and massacred our People and these crimes became the aims to which society as a whole had to submit. It wanted to mould society to such an extent that it reached the point of forcing a Mozambican to deny his personality, to transform himself into a little black Portuguese. We reached the ridiculous extent of seeing people from our land, people we knew well, people for whom we could trace generations of Mozambican ancestors, make public speeches where they prided themselves on mythical Lusitanian and sailor ancestors.

Assimilation was no capricious exercise by the Portuguese coloniser, it was an extreme form of the exercise of power by the colonial bourgeoisie.

By its very nature and class objectives, the People's Liberation War created favourable conditions such that, in our historical circumstances, we could accomplish the tasks of the National Democratic Revolution, and begin the process of the People's Democratic Revolution. At the time of the struggle against the new exploiters who arose within FRELIMO, the need to build from the ruins of colonialism a new kind of society, a new type of power, became clear to the broad masses in the liberated areas.

In the practice of the revolutionary process, the working masses had come to understand that the central question of our struggle was to know which class or classes should hold power in our society, and also what concrete measures should be taken to win this power.

The answer we found was that we must prevent Mozambican exploiters from occupying the vacancies left by colonialism, prevent the small national exploiters, allied to imperialism, from occupying power and progressively turning FRELIMO, the Marxist-Leninist Vanguard Party, into the Mozambican Revolution

Its power is the power of the People.

They are turning themselves into a new bourgeoisie. Our fight was to destroy the small crocodile on the river bank instead of leaving him to grow and turn into a strong crocodile. We did this by destroying the political and economical power of the feudal regulos; we also did it when we took control of trade and encouraged the

organisation of collective modes of production in the liberated areas. As far as structures were concerned, we systematically rejected all those who aspired to become new exploiters. The people's committees of peasants in cooperatives and poor peasants, allied to the soldiers, were the first forms of the new power in the liberated areas.

With the victory of National Independence the struggle against attempts to distort the revolutionary content of our fight intensified. The recent political and ideological battles to destroy the colonial capitalist state apparatus, against economic sabotage and the destabilisation of our power, are other such moments in the defence of our fundamental interests.

This is not a theoretical and abstract battle. It is a battle where the improvement of our life, the possibility that we, and in particular our children, may live in prosperity and comfort, is at stake.

There is a radical difference between the power of the working class and its fundamental ally, the peasantry, and the power of the exploiters.

The working class and the peasantry constitute the overwhelming majority of our People, the essence of the working

classes. Their power is the power of the vast majority, their interests are the interests of the vast majority of the people. They exercise power as the vast majority and impose their will on the handful of exploiters.

Another fundamental aspect, perhaps the principal one, of the holding of power, by the working class is that by freeing itself and holding power, it not only liberates itself, but liberates and benefits the whole society. The power of the working class leads to the harmonious development of the whole society.

The working class, contrary to all other classes, is the only social formation which, by virtue of its class position, can never claim private ownership of the means of production. There is no point in a worker becoming the owner of a machine in a factory, he cannot do anything with one machine, he cannot produce.

In order to produce the worker needs a collection of machines and other means.

The industrial process is highly collectivised, planned; without this the factory stops. The appearance of the working class as the class leading to the progress of society as a whole, stems precisely from this fundamental contradiction of capitalism - the contradiction between the highly collective production process and the private ownership of the means of productions. The working class resolves the contradiction, collectivising the means of production and this benefits the whole society.

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The Third Congress was historic and a landmark for the people of Mozambique.

If we consider our experiences over these two years we can see evidence on this fact. In our country education was controlled by private interests. Before we nationalised education only 695,855 children, a great many of these foreign, attended school. Education today benefits more than 1,300,000 children.

Education today benefits all the people. We already have free education up to the 6th class. After nationalisation the number of secondary schools rose from 43 to 103 in two years.

At this moment the People are discussing the law on the socialisation of medicine, a law that will make medical assistance virtually free. We can already see how attendance at our hospitals has increased after the nationalisation of health, after the conquest of health by the workers. For example, the number of medical appointments for children at the Maputo Central Hospital, which was 3,537 in the first six months of 1973, rose to 35,488 in the first six months of 1977. That is, a ten-fold increase.

How was it possible that, only two years after independence, we could take a measure such as the socialisation of medicine, an objective that in many countries appears to be utopian or unachievable?

The answer is this: It was the end of the rule of the exploiters, it was the power of the people!

In the field of supplies, despite the difficulties and speculation that we have still not managed to eliminate, we can see that in the state farms, in the cooperatives and in the people's shops or on their stalls, prices are lower, cheaper.

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Even in sectors where we have not yet intervened, as in the case of clothing and footwear, we can nevertheless already compare the prices in the people's shops and consumer cooperatives with the prices in the private sector.

In all the towns of our country, large or small, we know the rents of the houses. Today, because we nationalised rented buildings, we pay much cheaper rents than before. We can state with virtual certainty that house rents in our country are among the lowest on the whole African continent.

These are some examples of the results of working class gains in our country: They are still few and recent, but already show to everyone how the conquests of the working class benefit the entire society. The children who go to school and to hospital, the citizens who live in the buildings are not only workers and peasants, they belong to all social strata that is, the measures taken by the working class benefit all: including members of the petit bourgeoisie. Only the big exploiters do not benefit.

Power is always the power of a class. When a class imposes its will, those who refuse to accept this imposition must be forced to, those who oppose this will must be repressed. That is why we say that all state power, any State, any power, is a dictatorship. For example, colonialism forced us not to be Mozambicans, forced us to accept the machila, forced labour, the palmatória, the pillage of land and cattle, forced us to accept the lack of medical assistance, the lack of schools, illiteracy etc. If we did

not accept all this we were beaten, arrested, deported, murdered, massacred. This was colonial-capitalist dictatorship exercised by the colonial-capitalist state. In our country this colonial-capitalist dictatorship was exercised through the particularly oppressive forms of fascism: deprivation of all liberties and the prohibition of any form of political activity. The people had to impose their will on Portuguese colonialism. The people had to repress colonialism with weapons in the hand. The antagonistic contradiction that set us against Portuguese colonialism took its most acute form with the war that lasted ten years. After winning national independence we had to continue imposing our interests and our

will on the class enemy, and on imperialism which attacks us. That is why we are engaged in creating a strong army, in strengthening our defensive capacity in order to force imperialism to respect the frontiers of our State and our sovereignty.

A third aspect that characterises our power is that it practices dictatorship and repression against an exploiting minority, thus enabling the broad masses to benefit from greater democracy, the fullest liberties. Our power represses the exploiters, prevents them from pillaging our riches and keeping the broad masses in permanent misery. If we had not wielded our power against the land speculators, we could not have benefited from free land on which to build the house we live in. If we had not destroyed the power of the landowners it would have been impossible for us to create the state farms and cooperatives, that improve the peasant's lives and provide us with abundant, good and cheap agricultural products. If we had not repressed the saboteurs of our economy, the colonists and bourgeoisie who want to transfer abroad huge sums of money and goods and equipment necessary to our economy, we could not have foreign exchange to buy the tractor for the cooperative, to import the essential articles that we do not yet produce. This repression that we practice against a handful benefits the vast majority. We are freeing ourselves from hunger, nakedness and misery because we were capable of exercising our power against those who were the agents of these evils. No-one gave us the land or the buildings. We will only have what we are capable of imposing.

It is in this way that real freedom is being born, real democracy, not the freedom of words.

Despite our limitations in personnel and cadres, despite the backward economic development we inherited, the masses are mobilised; they have a deep sense of their interests and that they are fighting to improve their life. The soil is fertile for the progress of the Revolution.

This situation determines the nature of our power, the nature of the dictatorship we practise: democratic, revolutionary dictatorship.

Our dictatorship is democratic by virtue of the very nature of the classes that wield power, the working class and the peasantry. It is democratic by virtue of the liberties that are won and practised by the broad working masses; our People, through the Assemblies, will effectively wield power; our People are materialising the right to education, to health, to housing, to work, the right to clothe and feed themselves properly, the right to a better life, to progress. Our dictatorship is revolutionary because it introduces radical transformations in the social relations of production, transformations in the consciousness of men, transformations that enable the transition to the next stage - the stage of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the stage of socialist democracy.

Honourable Deputies,

The Third Congress of FRELIMO took place from 3 to 7 February this year.

Within the framework of the construction of the new society the Third Congress was of fundamental historical importance. Here we drew up the essential strategy for our struggle in the phase of the construction of People's Demo-

cracy. Here we created the Party of the working class, the Vanguard Party and highest form of organisation of the working classes, the Marxist Leninist Party. Here we defined our line of action in all fields: in the building of the People's Democratic State, in the organisation of collective life, in the construction of our developed and independent economy at the service of the broad masses, in defence of our country and our Revolution.

Analysis of the present political, economic and social situation of our country shows that we have taken important steps towards the State's fulfilment of the directives of the Third Congress.

At the level of the State apparatus the fight to destroy the structures and methods of work of the colonial-capitalists has been continued and intensified. A new system of collective leadership is being implemented at various levels of the State apparatus. One important step towards the construction of the new State apparatus was the decision taken by the Council of Ministers to create Productivity Control Councils in the State structures, extending these the experience of the Production Councils.

However, difficulties continue in the implantation of State organs at Provincial, District and Locality levels.

During this period the creation of State structures to direct the economic sector was stimulated, although its effectiveness is very limited because of delays in the establishment of its local structures. In order to solve the most urgent and serious national problems, the principle of creating special interministerial committees was adopted.

At the 3rd Congress of FRELIMO, President Machel and members of the Central Committee joining applause.

We also began to establish the bases for the scientific planning of the economy. The State is rapidly becoming the organiser and transformer of our economic and social life.

In the countryside, we have witnessed the rapid and forceful growth of the communal village and cooperative movement, and the development of state farms. This is already achieving particular success in the Limpopo Valley, because of its size and because it is where the masses are overcoming the great difficulties and damage caused by natural disasters.

In the industrial sector our efforts are being concentrated on increasing production and productivity, the reorganisation of production units with administrative committees, the formation of management units for each branch of production, the nationalisation of strategic sectors, as the case of oil refining, the definition of prototype statutes for the state enterprises and the regulation of activity in the private sector.

In order to progressively normalise trading we created the National Supply Commission, with the priority task of resolving the most serious problems in the supply of basic necessities. We strengthened control over imports and wholesale distribution, widened the network of People's Shops in all the Provinces and intensified the formation of consumer cooperatives throughout the country.

In the social sectors we registered important victories, particularly in health and education. During this period we materialised the priority given to Preventive

Medicine through a series of activities, notably the national vaccination campaign which reached 93 to 98% of the population, very significant figures on the African continent. The training of 448 Health personnel this year was ten times the number trained in 1974. In primary and secondary education together we created about three thousand schools, trained thousands of teachers and more than doubled the school population in relation to 1974.

We find that with the progress in the implementation of the Third Congress directives the class struggle in our country is intensifying. The enemy adopts new modes of action, more subtle and subversive. Reaction tries to take advantage of our shortcomings for its attacks against our People. This situation is particularly evident in the shortages of basic products essential to the population and other goods essential for the

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growth of our economy. At the same time, economic sabotage, speculation hoarding and the flight of foreign exchange, are actions developed by the enemy. In the document "How the enemy. Acts", the Council of Ministers analysed the modes of action of imperialism, which reckons with the complicity of the bourgeoisie, that is still strong in our country. The strategy of imperialism is to provoke discontent and social unrest at home, while from outside it intensifies the escalation of aggression against our country, our People and our Revolution, using the illegal racist regime of Southern Rhodesia as its main instrument.

We are vulnerable to the enemy's actions because of the shortcomings of our structures and our methods of work. The habit of day to day planning, defining and keeping to priorities in each sector, does not exist. Sabotage and delaying actions are not immediately detected because control of the execution of tasks is disorganised. When we point out the failures many people merely attribute them to the enemy action, with no thought given to inadequacies in their own work. This form of opportunism must be energetically fought.

The removal of the enemy from the state apparatus is one of the conditions for winning the class fight. We must intensify the implantation of the Party in the State apparatus so that it becomes proof against infiltration, and incorrect methods of work alien to the life of the masses are eliminated.

We know that the destination of the old is accompanied by the construction of the new. The construction of a new kind of State that materialises the interests of the working masses, necessarily implies the creation of the People's Assemblies. They will create conditions for the working masses to feel that the State is an instrument for the realisation of their aspirations.

Honourable Deputies,

Throughout the period following the Third Congress of FRELIMO we witnessed a significant growth in the international prestige of our Party and State. Our international policy, founded on the principles of proletarian internationalism and peace is widely understood and supported in Africa and the world. It has led to the strengthening of links of solidarity with other peoples and the development of relations of friendship and cooperation with numerous States.

Our diplomatic and commercial relations with the socialist countries, the Africa States and the World in general have grown, based on the principles of equality, non-interference in internal affairs, mutual respect and reciprocity of benefits. Of particular importance has been the development of intimate relations of friendship, cooperation and mutual help with the brother countries of the "Front line", especially with the United Republic of Tanzania and the Republic of Zambia to whom we are already united by agreements of friendship and cooperation. It is in our interest, and an integral part of our policy, to develop identical relations of friendship and cooperations with all neighbouring States. In this respect we have maintained very close contact with the People's Republic of Angola, Democratic Republic of Madagascar, and the Kingdoms of Swaziland and Lesotho. The international situation is developing favourable for the cause of freedom and independence, for the cause of revolution. The new conditions created by the victories of the national and social liberation struggle and the strengthening of the socialist zone make Peoples to face imperialism successfully, to go forward on the road of socialism and to preserve world peace.

Nevertheless, the imperialist, racist and Zionist circles try to counteract this evolution. Supported by imperialism, the racist and Zionist systems transform Southern Africa and the Middle East into the two main areas of international tension. In both cases, regimes condemned by all Humanity intensify the arms' race and are preparing themselves to introduce atomic weapons.

It is with surprise and indignation that the international community sees the Western countries, which created all the favourable conditions for Pretoria to have nuclear weapons, now hypocritically proposing to condemn the nuclear experiments that the racist regime shortly intends to make. These same Western countries have already supplied Pretoria with the necessary aircraft for the apartheid regime to carry out nuclear attacks against Africa.

Combining political and diplomatic manoeuvres with economic blackmail and military aggression, the western powers try to destroy the people's regimes, particularly on the African continent.

The aggression against the People's Republic of Mozambique and Angola, the invasion of the People's Republic of Benin, the assassination of our dear comrade Marien N' Gouabi form part of this vast plan to try and make the wheel of history turn backwards.

Within the same perspective imperialism, using local reactionary forces and the exacerbation of secondary questions, encourages conflicts between African States, to the detriment of the people's interests and the cause of the, Revolution in Africa.

In the Indian Ocean the evil presence of air bases and fleets of imperialists countries continues, against the expressed wish of all the countries bordering to the zone.

In South Africa, under the leadership of ANC, the struggle of the broad masses, against the apartheid system has intensified. The great popular uprisings, symbolised by Soweto, demonstrate the People's fighting capacity, the fragility of the regime, the incapacity of the repressive system to hold back the people's movement.

In Namibia, the victories achieved by SWAPO combines with international action, have led to certain positive developments. However, the South African refusal to recognise SWAPO the legitimate representative of the Namibian People persists, as does the South African refusal to acknowledge the unity and territorial integrity of Namibia.

The victories of the Patriotic Front in the field of unity are the basis of the great political, military and diplomatic successes achieved by the Zimbabwe People. The Patriotic Front has been recognised by Africa as the representative of the People of Zimbabwe. Inside Zimbabwe the political and military fight, the national liberation struggle, is developing rapidly. Sensitive and strategic enemy zones are being hit by the liberating action of the patriots. The international community has reinforced its condemnation and isolation of the rebel minority Government.

Here we must stress the success of the United Nations Conference in support of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, which took place in our capital.

The Maputo Declaration, approved at that time, is a document, which, in addition to moral and political solidarity, clearly the paths to be followed to put an end to the criminal regimes.

The survival of Ian Smith's minority racist and illegal government is due exclusively to the complicity and support it receives.

The People's Republic of Mozambique, as affirmed in the Declaration of 18 June, decided to put an end once and for all to the aggression to which it is sub-
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Comrade Samora Machel, President of FRELIMO and The People's Republic of Mozambique shakes hands with Comrade President Robert Mugabe of ZANU: a symbolism for the inseparability of the destinies of Zimbabwe and Mozambique. A luta continua.

ject. Our state will not tolerate any new aggression; our state, supported by the International Community, namely friendly states and allies in Africa and the World, will react against any new aggression. Our People, our Government were touched by the unanimous reaction of the international community in support of the strengthening of our defensive capacity, in support of the reconstruction of the zones devastated by racist aggression. At this level, the decision of the United Nations Security Council, and the mission to our country by the United Nations delegation led by an Assistant Secretary General of the UN, were of particular importance.

Within this context, our state has followed attentively the consultations of the Namibia question between the five western members of the Security Council. If these consultations are taking place within the context of Security Council Resolution 385, if they are aimed at the total and complete independence of the whole territory of Namibia, including Walvis Bay, if the five western powers do not aim to substitute SWAPO or the Namibian People, if they respect the will of the Namibian people, expressed through SWAPO, their only and legitimate representative, the the western initiative will be a success.

We have also followed with great attention the Anglo American initiatives with regard to Zimbabwe. In the past these initiatives have systematically failed because of the intransigence of the minority, illegal and racist regime. The experience of 12 years of negotiations has shown that the rebel colonists refuse to abandon power, shielded as they are by the support and complicity they receive. The solution to the Zimbabwe problem is through recognition of the Patriotic Front, and acceptance of the necessity to impose the dismantling of the repressive rebel apparatus.

In close alliance with the "Front Line" countries and as in the past, the People's Republic of Mozambique will fulfill unconditionally its internationalist duty towards the struggle of the Zimbabwe People and other oppressed peoples.

Honourable Deputies,

The creation of the People's Assemblies marks a decisive stage in the process of the construction of People's Power. It is in the Assemblies that our Power is materialised, it is in the Assemblies and through them that the People effectively exercise Power, it is in the Assemblies that the people's democratic order we are building finds its political foundation at state level.

In our country, the Assemblies already have a history, they were forged in our struggle and in our blood. Our Assemblies are born of and are rooted in the democratic tradition lived by the masses in the liberated areas. They are born of the frequent people's meetings,

they are born of the collective and democratic tradition lived by the masses in the liberated areas. They are born of the frequent people's meetings, they are born of the collective and democratic structures, from the circle of the Province; and it was through them that the life of the masses was decided by the masses themselves, led by the political line of FRELIMO. The creation of the Assemblies also draws its inspiration from the lessons learned in the experience that our people, under the leadership of FRELIMO, have already gained through the creation and functioning of the Grupos Dinamizadores the Democratic Mass Organisations, and the Productive Councils, as well as through the many other activities that imply the political participation of the broad masses. At every level of the state the Assemblies are the supreme expression of the interests and will of the working class and its fundamental ally, the peasantry. The Assemblies have complete power at each level because:

- They are representative of the working classes, owing to the democratic election of their members.
- They comprise the most dedicated elements of the People, who win the people's confidence by their behaviour, and whose actions symbolise what we want to build.

The People's Assemblies exercise power in a coordinated and unitary manner. Through their powers, and the way in which they exercise such powers, the Assemblies are organs of decision, execution and control. Because the Assemblies cannot be permanently in session, they create the appropriate instruments to exercise the power that is inherent to them - thus arise the governmental or state apparatus and the Judicial apparatus. But at each level these do not exist separate from the Assembly; they are the instruments created by the Assembly, that report

to Assembly, are subordinated to the Assembly, execute the will of the Assembly. The Assemblies and the organs created by them are governed by the principles of Democratic Centralism.

At each level all the state organs are responsible, on the one hand, to the Assemblies at the respective level and, on the other hand, to the state organs at the higher levels. Thus, for example, the Locality Government is subordinate to, on the one hand, the Locality Assembly and, on the other hand, the state organs of the district.

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The unity of power, democratic centralism and double subordination, are the three pillars on which the functioning and organisation of the Assemblies and the apparatus created by the rest. It is these three principles that, for the first time at national level, enable the working class and its fundamental ally, the peasantry, to exercise full power.

The unity of Power, or its division, is a theme that has concerned bourgeois jurists. According to them there are three powers, the legislative, the executive and the judicial, as a condition for what they classify as the political and social equilibrium of society. A brief analysis shows us that in a bourgeoisie society there existed in reality only the power of the bourgeoisie.

Legislative power was an expression of the class power of the bourgeoisie. The laws were made by the bourgeoisie and served the interests of the bourgeoisie. It was these laws that legitimated colonialism and exploitation, it was these laws that condemned us severely if we opposed the bourgeoisie. It was the Assemblies and the parliaments of the bourgeoisie that created the laws introducing forced labour in our country, that made the laws that took our lands for the colonial settlements, that created the laws that forced us to cultivate cotton and sell it to the companies at derisory prices.

Judicial power was also the power of the bourgeoisie. The courts, ostensibly just and impartial, were bourgeois courts that judged and condemned us in keeping with the bourgeois laws, where judges and lawyers came from the bourgeoisie, represented the bourgeoisie and traded with our most elementary rights in favour of the bourgeoisie. In the courts the winner was not the one who was right, but he who had money to pay the best lawyer, he who had influence and friends, he who was the owner of the factory and not the worker, he who was the landowner and not the peasant, he who was the landlord and not the servant. The bourgeoisie courts never condemned the torturers of PIDE, but condemned the victims of PIDE. They never condemned those who organised and conducted massacres in our country, but condemned and punished severely those who dared to denounce such massacres.

Colonial executive power was also an instrument of the bourgeoisie. From the Governor-General to the *Chefe de posto* the whole colonial administrative apparatus had a single objective; to do everything so that the big companies, the capitalists, could exploit the People. It was the colonial administration that was responsible for the massive and coercive recruitment of Mozambicans for forced labour, it was the colonial state that was responsible for the expulsion of

Mozambicans from the fertile land where they later installed the colonial settlements, and for collecting the taxes with which it financed the army and the other repressive forces that arrested, beat, murdered, massacred us.

The so called system of the separation of power is nothing more than a division of tasks between the servants of the same class, camouflage for the power of the bourgeoisie class, a power that is exercised for the benefit of a handful of exploiters and to the detriment of the interests of the broad working masses.

The main task of the People's Assemblies, in addition to the structuring of the state organs, is to promote the social progress of the workers, through the consolidation of state order and discipline, and the continuous raising of production and productivity. They depend on the maximum participation of the people in carrying out the tasks of the state.

Under the leadership of FRELIMO, the People's Assemblies contribute towards the understanding and implementation of the decisions of the Third Congress of FRELIMO in all sectors of activity in the country, as well as to the deepening of national unity and consolidation of the democratic revolutionary dictatorship.

In our People's Assembly, we are the Deputies, we workers, we peasants, we who are born of the exploited people.

Our aim is to build a New Society that corresponds to our interests. Our methods of work must be simple and effective and our decisions must be democratic in both form and content. In content because they correspond to the real interests of the broad masses. In form, because the broad masses participate in drawing up the decisions and feel that they are theirs.

The Assemblies must dedicate themselves to solving concrete problems in the People's lives, making every effort to resolve them. Difficulties in water supply to a communal village or communal suburb, difficulties in outlets for goods produced by the people, the school that must be opened, the road that must be cut in the middle of the bush, the shop that must be opened, the cooperative that must be supported, the cultural and sporting activities that are disorganised, these are some of the pro-

blems that should preoccupy our Assemblies, that each Deputy must study and resolve in the People's interest. The Assemblies, the deputies, must be constantly concerned to control the working and efficiency of all the services at their level, to watch and ensure that each civil servant, each public servant, represents our State correctly, reinforcing unity between the people and the State. The assemblies must guarantee that all citizens get effective support and a non-bureaucratic solution to their problems, within existing possibilities, from the state services. The Assemblies must punish severely those civil servants who, by their behaviour, reveal neglect, incompetence or insensitivity towards the people.

In this context, the Locality Assemblies are of the utmost importance because, since they are the first level of People's Power, they are thus more directly linked to the daily life of the masses.

In this respect it must be emphasized that when we speak of locality we do not refer only to the localities that exist from an administrative standpoint. It is a fact that alongside the actual localities (the majority of which are former headquarters of administrative posts) new populational centres have been formed, among them

communal villages. The electoral law, taking into account that the old administrative division is now out of date and considering the political and social dynamism of these new social agglomerations, expressly foresees the possibility of Locality Assemblies being formed in these populational centres.

The present People's Assembly will analyse and approve the Electoral Law proposed by the FRELIMO Central Committee, an Electoral Law that will define the criteria, conditions and method of elections for the People's Assembly and for the Provincial, District, Town and Locality Assemblies.

In our country, in our elections, we are designating our representatives, those who serve the People, those who will effectively direct the State of the worker-peasant alliance, in the name of the working class and the peasantry. The future deputies live and work with us in the factory, in the state enterprise, in the cooperative, in the barracks, in the public office, in the school, in the hospital, in the shops, in the restaurant, on the fishing boat, in the cobbler's, everywhere where we work and live. Our deputy is our companion in the factory who, in the difficult hours of confusion and economic sabotage, led us in the battle to raise production and pro-

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Comrade President Machel with Premier Fidel Castro. The People's Republic of Mozambique like the Republic of Cuba, must build socialism in circumstances of blockade by Imperialist countries. Guided by the correct line, the Mozambiquan revolution will certainly succeed.

ductivity, he is the worker who fought indiscipline and carelessness, who looked after his machine so that it would always work for us. Our deputy is the best peasant in the cooperative, he who mobilises the masses to integrate themselves into the communal village, he who raises our vigilance, who, by his example and his words, teaches us to produce more and better. Our deputy is the soldier, the conscientious policeman, with an iron discipline and total dedication to the service of the People and the Revolution, our deputy defends our frontiers against criminal invaders, our deputy guarantees the tranquility and peace of our streets and homes against reactionaries and bandits. Our deputy is the doctor, the nurse, the midwife who does everything so that in Hospital the people can find health, who continually act so that we can learn about and defend health in our villages, suburbs and work-places. Our deputy is the teacher and the conscientious student, the scientist and the artist who fight so that science and culture can become the people's instruments, assumed by the people. Our deputy is the civil servant and the employee, those who, in the public offices and firms, fulfil the noble mission of serving the People with the efficiency of their work, showing sensitivity and respect in their dealings with people. Our deputy is the miner and fisherman, the waiter and hotel worker, the typist and driver, the cobbler and carpenter, the artisan and small trader, in short, all those who serve the People with their exemplary work.

People's Election Commissions will be formed at national level and in each province, district, town and locality to direct the electoral process leading up to the formation of the Assemblies.

The duty of the present People's Assembly is to nominate the National Election Commission.

The Election Commissions have the following essential functions:

- To take the necessary decisions for the implementation of the Electoral Law;
- To control the electoral process and ensure the observation of the constitution and the dispositions of the present Law during the Elections;
- To make public with due notice the lists of candidates for deputies so that they are widely known by the masses;
- To confirm and publish widely the results of the elections;
- To receive and analyse complaints that might eventually be presented.

Honourable Deputies,

With the present session of the People's Assembly a vast process of explanation, mobilisation and organisation of our People for the holding of general elections for the People's Assemblies, is set in motion. From the Rovuma to the Maputo, the People are going to elect their Assemblies.

The Party and the State must take the necessary measures to ensure that our elections are a school for the education and political formation of our People. The elections for the Assemblies must contribute to a striking development of the democratic habits of active and conscious participation in the political life of the country, among our people and here once again we differ absolutely from the electoral forces of the bourgeoisie, where the citizen's participation in political life is limited to the formality of depositing a voting card after every few years. In our factories, cooperatives and state farms, in our barracks, in our schools, public offices and hospitals, in our communal villages and suburbs, citizens will meet, not only to get to know and choose the deputies, but also to discuss in depth the meaning of the elections in the process of the consolidation of People's Power, the importance they have in the history of our country and the forms which, after the elections, popular participation in the direction of the State, should take. In their turn, the candidates for deputies will present themselves to the masses, not to make demagogic promises but to discuss with them the programme of activities to be implemented, through the participation of everyone, in fulfillment of the tasks defined by the third Congress.

The holding of general elections and the formation of the People's Assemblies are a decisive step forward in the consolidation of People's democratic power. As such, they must be accompanied by wide mobilisation campaigns of our People aimed at other forms of consolidating our class power. In this context are included:

- The continuation of the process of structuring the Party, in particular the recruitment of new members and the creation of the base structures in the areas already defined as priorities;
- The intensification of the offensive to increase production and productivity;
- The launching of a campaign of emulation in support of the elections.

"Let us elect the Assemblies to consolidate People's Power and improve our life".

Long live the Mozambican People, united from the Rovuma to the Maputo! Long live FRELIMO, Vanguard Party of the Mozambican working classes! Long live the Third Congress of FRELIMO!;

Long live People's Democratic Power; Long live the people's Democratic Revolution, path to Socialism! Long live the organised people!
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Comrade Mugabe's Appeal to all Progressive Mankind

Our Party, the Zimbabwe African National Union, which operates within the Patriotic Front, is seeking financial and material aid to maintain thousands of Zimbabweans who cross the border from Rhodesia into Mozambique.

Due to the intensification of the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe, the influx of displaced Zimbabweans into Mozambique is increasing considerably. We estimate that more than 57,000 Zimbabweans are now living in Mozambique in camps which are jointly administered by the Mozambican Ministry of the Interior Service for Refugees and the Zimbabwe African National Union. Uppermost in our minds is the existing shortage of food. This is made more acute by the continuous influx of our displaced people. We are faced with the problem of providing them with food, clothes, education, social and medical services.

Background: Rhodesia is still a British colony. It is in the grip of a rebel, minority and racist regime of Mr. Ian Smith which maintains a brutal police state. Because of the refusal of the Smith regime to accept genuine majority rule in Zimbabwe, the Zimbabwe African National Union found no other way of gaining the freedom of our country other than by training ourselves across its borders to liberate it and to re-gain our people's right through an armed struggle. A guerilla war started and has now spread to most parts of the country. So far there are more than three and a half million people living in semi-liberated areas inside Rhodesia.

Repression, by the Smith regime, of the civilian population provoked their exodus into Mozambique. From July, 1975, following the independence of Mozambique, the number of Zimbabweans crossing the border and given assistance through the Mozambican authorities has steadily increased to its present level.

The Government and people of Mozambique are making great contributions towards the welfare of our people. They are in the fore-front of observing UN sanctions against Rhodesia; engaged in a programme to repatriate exMozambican refugees who had fled to Tanzania during the period of Frelimo's struggle against the Portuguese minority rule in Mozambique; and their country is in the process of achieving self-reliance.

The Zimbabweans in Mozambique

are in two categories. The first category is of girls and boys in their late teens and young men and women under the direction of the ZANU Central Committee. These were motivated to leave their country by the desire to liberate it from the oppressive and inhuman conditions prevailing in Rhodesia. They compose the liberation forces and are catered for separately.

The rest of the Zimbabweans in Mozambique are catered for in three main centres: Doroi, Toronga and Mavudzi. Our latest count reflects that there are 17,000 living in Doroi, 12,000 at Toronga, 6,000 at Mavudzi and 22,700 at small centres elsewhere. They arrive unheralded and so their reception has so far not been adequately provided for and prompts us to make this appeal for financial and material aid. We are in most urgent need for food, clothes, medicines, educational

and agricultural equipment. We want to increase the production of food for them and this improve on our self-reliance projects of production and small scale industries such as building, carpentry, motor-mechanics, water purification and telecommunications.

Food: Our daily meals consist of our staple food, sadza, and relish of beans and rarely a little meat and/or vegetables. Our Department of Welfare and Transport revealed that in the last two months we used food to the value of 9 3/4 million escudos. This means that until we can produce our own maize in sufficient quantity to meet our needs, we shall require the following items of food every two months:

Foodstuff	Quantity	Estimated Cost
Beans	200 tons	1,000,000
Maize-meal	500 tons	2,000,000
Sugar	60 tons	500,000
Salt	50 tons	50,000
Nutrovit	10 tons	700,000
Dried Meat	500 tons	3,000,000
Whole Milk	500 tons	1,500,000
Vegetables (to supplement our supply)		500,000
Cooking oil		500,000

A tota extimated cost of: 9,750,000

We are able to produce our own maize and vegetables but not in sufficient quantity to meet our needs. The importance of food to healthy _minds and bodies cannot be over-emphasized. This will mean less medicines!

Clothes and blankets: Until we are able to make our own clothes, we shall require clothes for all sizes of people from babies to old men and women. We have a greater need for men's clothes. These can be conveniently worn by girls and women at work and other occasions. Shoes are also in short supply. They are essential for protection against jiga-fleas. Any second-hand item of clothes is most valuable to us. Warm clothes are needed for babies and young children who are susceptible to pneumonia. Our nights are often very cold, particularly during winter. We need a lot of blankets which are obtainable in Mozambique.

Medicines: Our department of Health has prepared and issued a comprehensive list of medicines that we require and the common diseases that affect us in the camps. The list is too long to attach to this letter but can be sent to those interested on request to the Secretary for Health, Caixa Postal 393, Chimoio, Mozambique. There is need to provide accommodation of a semi-permanent nature such as prefabricated houses to accommodate our patients. Provision of camp-beds would be an essential comfort.

Related to health is the rehabilitation of our comrades who were disabled during the Nyadzonya massacre in August, 1976. Most of them lost vital limbs. They are mostly refugees who were caught unaware. We shall be most grateful for facilities to rehabilitate them.

Education: Presently we have an enrolment of over 10,000 pupils with a further 20,000 destined for Adult Literacy classes. Our schools range from creches to secondary.

We are short of the most basic school materials. We are often forced to undertake our lessons under the trees and frequently use the earth for written work. Our youths are very keen to learn and are intelligent.

Educational material in the form of blackboards, chalk, exercise-books, pencils, ball point pens, rubbers, maps, laboratory equipment, text-books on English, Portuguese, French, Geography, Economics, Accountancy, Book-56 Zimbabwe News

keeping, Administration, Short-hand Sciences (Biology, chemistry, Physics), Mathematics, Arithmetic, Shona and Ndebele are most urgently needed.

We hope to produce our own textbooks in due course. For this we require typewriters, duplicating machines and assorted paper. We also need literature of a progressive nature to stock a Central Library which we would like to establish for all our schools.

If more detailed information is required, it is available from the Secretary for Education and Culture, Caixa Posta. 393, Chimoio, Mozambique.

Production and Construction Equipment: We have just created a new Department of Production, Construction and Development to take care of our self-reliance projects such as food production and small scale industries. We need tools to enable us to undertake building, carpentry, handcrafts and tailoring work. Rolls of cloth, sewing machines, sewing thread and needles are also needed.

Vegetable seeds are needed all the year round but during our rainy season, which sets-in in November, we require seed-maize and beans to plant. We also need fertilizers.

Should you wish to make a financial donation to us, we shall be pleased if you would please remit it to the Zimbabwe African National Union, Caixa Postal 743, Maputo, Mozambique. Alternatively funds can be transferred to our banking account number

20.00.50.934.825 with Banco de Mozambique in Maputo. In this case a separate advice will enable us to locate the donation and acknowledge its receipt.

All materials donations should be sent to us through the port of Beira and addressed to the Zimbabwe African National Union, Caixa Postal 393, Chimoio, Mozambique. The bills of lading should be sent to our office at Maputo. The same applies for goods sent by airfreight.

We wish to continue to develop our disciplined hard working way of life which will offer a constructive pattern for the future development of our country. In our camps of young Zimbabweans in Mozambique and within Rhodesia, there are significant points of new growth. It is in these camps that the new spirit is being born, developed and put into effect to break through the current deadlock and to give courage and confidence to the people of a new Zimbabwe.

The current situation in Rhodesia is well known. There is a gulf of understanding between us and the oppressive colonist regime. But consequent to our action to liberate our country, talks were held at Geneva and new „proposals for a

settlement" put forward by the Anglo-Americans. Our objective is to live in a free and independent Zimbabwe. This has yet to be achieved. „African leaders" within Rhodesia may talk with Mr. Smith to achieve an „internal settlement". This has happened many times before. We, across the border, are training to provide the National Army for Zimbabwe. This will safeguard the country's security and maintain our people's law and order. This cause is a noble one and we cannot go back on it. We are supported by the presidents of the five frontline states and recognised by the Organisation of African Unity.

We are aware of the need for wise and farseeing statesmanship to unify our country by bridging the artificial racial gulf and to heal the wounds and bitterness caused by the current war. Our party is prepared for this task which can only be performed by those who are involved in the war and which should be done during the early stages of the coming into being of the new state of Zimbabwe. This appeal to supporters us who are seeking the way of constructive action for the national liberation of Zimbabwe is made in the belief that help given to us now will help us to avoid further loss of life through malnutrition and disease. It will help us to help ourselves through our self-reliance projects.

Our Finance and External Affairs Departments are willing to send small delegations to friendly countries who wish to organise fund-raising campaigns. They will address public meetings and give further information about our liberation struggle.

Finally we must thank the Government and the people of the People's Republic of Mozambique, other progressive governments and various United Nations agencies and progressive organisations and individuals for the support that has enabled our liberation struggle to progress to its present stage. We hope that their help will continue to come until our country is free and our people are able to return to share equal opportunities with their fellow citizens.

With our revolutionary greeting Pamberi neChimurengal

Yours in the struggle,

R. G. Mugabe

President of the Zimbabwe

African National Union (ZANU)

Department of Production, Con. struction and Development/ Emergency aid fot ZANU in Mozambique

In the wantom destruction of persons and property, our few lorries and tractors were set on fire, seed granaries were also set on fire, fertiliser dumps with 60 tons of fertiliser were destroyed, and several persons killed or maimed who were already engaged in planting this season. The agricultural programme of planting several hundred hectares of prepared land this month and this season has been disrupted. As we must plant and replant before the end of January, 1978, we appeal to all supporters, progressive organisations and governments to give us the following emergency aid:

Seeds:

40 tons of maize for 1,212 hectares prepared.

5 tons of beans for 202 hectares of land prepared.

5 tons of groundnuts for 202 hectares prepared.

5 tons of sunflower seed for 202 hectares prepared.
20 tons of Irish potatoes for 202 hectares prepared.
Tobacco - 3,500 young plants were destroyed and could not be replaced now. The seeds listed above can be purchased in Swaziland.

Fertilisers:

We need 50 tons of fertilisers (both nitrogenous and phosphatic fertilisers), and 10 tons of lime. The fertilisers can be purchased in Maputo by arrangements with the Government.

We also need 20 tons of chicken mash for 7,500 chicken left after 7,000 had been shot or burnt in the wanton destruction.

Farm tools:

6,000 shoes, large and small 4,000 shovels and spades 4,000 adze, 4,500 sickles
2,000 axes

200 wheel-burrows

3,000 mattocks and picks 5,000 garden forks

6,000 pairs of gum boots (different sizes for adults)

5,000 fertiliser cups and spoons 1,000 watering cans for gardens. The farm tools listed above can be purchased in Maputo. C.P. Mandizvidza, Secretary, Department of Production, Construction and Development.

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ZANU Needs Medicine

Drug Requisition Refugee Camps - Urgent short list

1. Antibois Quantly required

Penicillin tablets.(250 rags) 200,000

Penicillin tablets (500 mgs) 100,000

Penicillin Injections:

Procaine Penicillin vials 80,000

Benzyi Penicillin vials 80,000

Bidillin vials 100,000

Bicillin tablets 200,000

Penicillin Syrup Large quantities

Penicillin Ointments:

Eye tubes 24,000

Topical tubes 24,000

Streptomycin cials 100,000

Tetracycline *

Capsules (250 mp) 200,000

Injection vials 80,000

Syrup Large quantities

Ointment: Eye tubes 24,000

Ointment: Topical tubes 24,000

Chloromphenical

Capsules (250 ags) 100,000

Suspension Large quantities

Ointment: Eye tubes 24,000

Ointment: Topical tubes 24,000
 Vibramycin
 Capsules 10,000
 Syrup Large quantities
 2. Sulfa Drugs
 Triple Sulphanomide tablets 250,000
 Sulphadimidine tablets 250,000
 Pthalyl-Sulphathiozole tablets 250,000
 3. Anti.Dias'hena agents
 Mist Kaolin (Suspension)
 Kaomycin (Suspension)
 Guaninycin (Suspension)
 Lomotil (Suspension)
 Lomotil tablets
 Lomotil with Neomycin tablets
 4. Andacids
 Aluminium Hydroxide tablets
 Aluminium Hydroxide Suspension
 Actal tablets
 Actal suspension
 Magnesium trisilicate tablets
 Magnesium trisilicate suspension
 Hexaform tablets
 Mucaine suspension
 S. Brondiodilators
 Aminophylline
 250 mags intravenous ampoules
 500 rags intravenous ampoules
 Franol tablets
 Celestone tablets
 6. Cough expectomnts/syrup
 H istalix
 Benylin
 Linctus Codein
 Mist pertussis
 7. Antilpyreliue-snagesics
 Panadol tablets
 Beserol tablets
 Paracetamol tablets
 Large quantities Large quantities Large quantities Large quantities
 25,000 25,000
 500,060
 Large quantities
 500,000
 Large quantities
 500,000

Large quantities
 25,000
 Large quantities
 15,000 10,000
 20,000 10,000
 Large quantities Large quantities Large quantities Large quantities
 100,000 100,000 100,000
 Codeine tablets
 Soluble aspirin
 S. Anti-infective agents
 Indocin capsules
 Phenyl-Butazone tablets
 Varladas tablets
 Grenzyl tablets
 Irgapirin injection
 Hyaluronidase Ampoules
 9. Sedatives-synoptics-tranquillizers
 Anatsol tablets
 Aterax tablets
 Phenobarbitone tablets
 Librium tablets
 Librium tablets
 Librium ampoules
 Largactil tablets
 Largactil ampoules
 Diazepam tablets (5 mgs)
 Diazepam injection (10 mgs)
 Tryptanol tablets (250 mg)
 Tryptanol injection
 Melleril tablets
 10. Drugs acting on urinary tract
 Penbritin capsules
 Penbritin injection vials
 Penbritin syrup
 Pyridium tablets
 Mist pot. Citrate
 100,000 100,000
 100,000 50,000 100,000 100,000 50,000 10,000
 10,000 10,000
 100,000
 10,000 10,000 10,000 10,000 10,000
 100,000
 10,000 10,000 1 5,000 10,000
 5,000 5,000
 Large quantities
 10,000

Large quantities

Diuretics

Lasix tablets	10,000
Lasix injection	5,000
Moduretics tablets	10,000
Hydrochlorothiazide tablets	10,000
Mesalyl injection	5,000

11. AAd-malarla drus

Daraprim tablets	500,000 or more
Chloroquin tablets	500,000 or more
Chloroquin injection	500,000 or more
Nivaquin tablets	500,000 or more

12. Anthelmintics

Combantrin tablets	100,000
Combantrin suspension	Large quantities
Mintezole tablets	100,000
Mintezole syrup	Large quantities
Piperazine tablets	100,000
Piperazine Elixir	Large quantities
Ambilhar tablets for adults	25,000
Ambilhar tablets for children	15,000
Vanguin tablets	15,000
Vanguin suspension	Large quantities
Alcopar	Large quantities
Etrenol injection vials	15,000
Yomesan tablets	15,000

13. And-iallery drugs

Mepyramine Maleate tablets	100,000
Mepyramine injection	20,000
Mepyramine cream tubes	12,000
Phenergan injection	20,000
Phernegan elixir	Large quantities
Prednisolone tablets	15,000
Prednisolone ointment tubes	12,000
Caligesic ointment	12,000
Lucacorton ointment with Neomycin	12,000

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'A J

Here Comrade Dr. Muvuti, one of ZANU's medical team, tends the s

14. Atd-caryza agents

Asafen tablets	15,000
Contac capsules	15,000

15. Nutiltlual drup

Periactin tablets	
Nicotinamide tablets	

Nicotinamide injection
 Vitamin B Complex tablets
 Vitamin B Complex syrup
 Vitamin A capsules
 Vitamin A injection
 Neurobiotic injection
 Vitamin B 12 injection
 Iron preparations tablets
 Iron preparations injection
 Ascorbic Acid
 Calcium gluconate tablets (effervescent) 16. Drugs acting on the uterus
 Ergometrine tablets
 Ergometrine injection
 Syntometrine injection
 Stilboestrol tablets
 17. Cardio-vascular system drugs
 Adrenalin injection
 Adrenalin solution (topical)
 Atromid-S capsules
 Declinax tablets
 Digoxin tablets (0,25 mgs)
 Digoxin injection (0,25 mgs)
 Peritrate tablets
 Aldomet tablets
 Rautrax-25 tablets
 Brinerdin tablets
 18. Central nervous system drugs
 Epanutin with phenobarbitone capsules
 Paraldehyde Vials
 Lignocaine ampoules
 Coramine ampoules
 Dental catridges
 Pethidine ampoules
 Morphine ampoules
 10,000
 500,000
 20,000
 250,000
 Large quantities
 10,000
 5,000 5,000 10,000
 250,000 20,000 100,000
 10,000
 10,000 10,000 5,000 10,000
 2,000 Large quantities
 5,000

10,000 20,000 10,000 5,000 10,000 10,000 5,000
5,000 5,000
25,000 10,000 10,000 5,000 15,000

ick comrades

"As the leadership... our task must be to lead and not mislead, to inform and not to misinform, to persuade and not to dissuade, to encourage and not to discourage, to guide and not to misguide, to direct and not to misdirect, to unite and not to disunite. We must be leaders and not 'misleaders'." (Mugabe)

"The leadership (of ZANU) must be warned that unless it can keep ahead of its followers, in its ideological education, it cannot justifiably continue to lay any sustainable claim to leadership. Ideology guides the party. The leadership which leads the Party must therefore be ideologically oriented. Otherwise, such leadership becomes a misfit. Let us with haste transform ourselves so that we can deserve to lead and instruct our followers. Literature abounds. Let us avail ourselves of it." (Mugabe)

M I. Par suspension
Oralax/Conolax tablets
Vegetable Laxative tablets

20. Anti-emetia

Avomine tablets
Stemetil tablets
Stemetil injection
Maxolon tablets

21. Anti-diabetis

Insulin Zinc Suspension Semilente
Insulin Zinc Suspension Ultralente
Diabenese tablets
Dannil tablets

22. Anti-gout preparations

Benemid tablets
Indocid tablets

23. Anti-scorbutla

Tetmosol lotion
Tetmosol soap
Benzyl Benzoate Emulsion
Fungicides, Keratolytics, Cleansing Agents
Fulcin 500 mgs tablets
Grisovin 500 mgs tablets
Tinaderm Solution

Large quantities

20,000 20,000
10,000 15,000 10,000
5,000
10,000
1,000 2,000 2,000
5,000 5,000

Large quantities
 240,000 Large quantities
 10,000 10,000
 Large quantities
 24. Assorted vsdnes Large quantities
 Dr. H.S.M. Ushewokunze Zimbabwe African National Union
 P.O. Box 393, Chimoio.
 Manica Province.
 Republik of Mozambique.
 19. Laatlves
 Mist. Mag. Sulphate
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 Large quantities

Surgical equipment requisition 1 .
 Surgical anliseptica Cetavlon 100 Litres
 Hibitane 100 Litres
 Alcohol 100 Litres
 Ether 100 Litres "4
 Physohex Emulsion..... 100 Litres
 Polybactrin Spray Large quantities
 Rikospray Large quantities
 Sofratulle Large quantities
 Mercurochrome Large quantities
 Acriflavine 50 Litres
 Eusol 100 Litres
 Hydrogen Peroxide 50 Litres
 D.D.T Large quantities
 D ettol 150 Litres
 Intravenous fluids and equipment Saline Vacolitres 1,000
 Dextrose Vacolitres 1,000
 Dextravan Vacolitres 1,000
 Darrows Vacolitres 1,000
 Ringers Solution 1,000 ZANU doctors serve the people
 Infusion Sets 5,000
 Intavenous Infusion Catheters 5,000
 Miscellaneous
 BAL Injection (ampoules) 500
 Calcium Disodium Versenate tablets 1,000 Calcium Disodium Versenate
 ampoules 500
 Lethidrone (ampoules) 1,000i
 Cotton Wool Large quantities
 Gauze Rolls Large quantities
 Gauze Bandages Large quantities
 Sanitary Pads Large quantities

Clinical instruments plus surgical equipment Syringes- 2.c.c
 Large quantities
 Syringes- 5. Large quantities
 Syringes- 10. c.c Large quantities
 Syringes- 10. c.c. (preferably nylon) Large quantities
 Syringes- 20. c.c. (preferably nylon) Large quantities
 Hypodermic Needles(Assorted and to correspond with syringes supplied
 Large quantities
 Aspiration sets Large quantities
 Surgical Scissors (Mayo, Plaster, etc.) Large quantities
 17 year-old comrade whose stomach was cut open by Smiths murder squads
 Scalpel Blades (Assorted) Large quantities a few
 Scalpel Handles (Assorted) Large quantities at Chimoio.
 Needle Holders (Assorted) Large quantities
 Forceps
 Dissecting, toothed, non-toothed, artery, Spencer-Wells, Sponge holding,
 mosquito, Straight, Curved etc.... All in Large quantities
 Sterilisers (electric and non-electric) 10
 Kidney dishes and bowls (Assorted) Large quantities
 Suture Materials
 Silk (Assorted) Large quantities
 Chromic Catgut (Assorted) Large quantities
 Other(Assorted) Large quantities
 Needles (Straight, Curved, Cutting and round bodied) Large quantities
 Hoemostasis
 Koher's 50
 Pe n's 50
 Chain's 50
 M oynhan's 50
 Towel Clips 100
 Rubber Gloves (sizes 6,7 and 8) 500 pairs
 Trocar and Canula 10
 Amputation Knives 10
 Plaster of Paris Large quantities ZANU's only mobile clinic
 was shattered by the racist, terrorist forces. The patients were slaughtered
 in cold blood.
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 Rubber drainage tubes
 Urethra Rubber Catheters
 Dental Sets
 Sterile Gauze (Pads, packs and Balls) Triangular Bandages (crepe, figure
 of eight and roller)
 Bandages (Elastic, Adhesive and Plaster) Laparotomy retractors (Assorted)

Thoracotomy retractor
 Vaginal Specule
 Rectal Speculae
 Operating Field draps and towels or materials to make some. Prostheses
 (Assorted)
 Traction equipment for fractures (Assorted) Extra-medullary osteosynthesis

 metal plates and screws
 Intra-medullaryosteogyntheis
 nails, (Smith-Petersen)
 Splints (Kramer's and Thomas)
 Lumbar Puncture needles
 Trephine Instruments
 100 100
 10
 Large quantities
 Large quantities Large quantities
 20 pairs 20 pairs 20 pairs 20 pairs
 Large quantities Large quantities Large quantities Large quantities Large
 quantities Large quantities Large quantities
 25
 10 sets.
 Other dialeul and laboatosy istrum ents
 Thermometers Oral 1,000
 Thermometers Rectal 1,000
 Thermometers Subnormal 50
 Sphygmomanometers 20
 Rubber Tourniquets (Esmarch's) 1,000
 ZANU Needs Books
 Dzingai Mutumbuka, Secretary for Education, Declares
 Percussion Hammers
 Microscopes
 Stethoscopes
 Ophthalmoscopes and Auroscopes
 Laryngoscopes
 Foetal Stethoscopes
 Blood Groupiga (RH, A, B, 0)
 Haemoglobinometers
 Haematocrit pipettes
 Clinistax, Albustix, Labstix, Acetes etc Acu-puncture sets
 Gravitest Reagents/Pragnosticon Planotest
 20 10
 20 10 10 25
 Large quantities
 Any types
 25

Large quantities
50 50
ad plan

Medical dits	10,000
Hotwaterbottles	120,000
Oxygen Masks	200
Stretcher beds	500
Paraffin Refridgerators	5
M obile clinics	2
Ambulances	4

Essential spare parts for supplied vehicles
will be appreciated

We shall say "thank you" in a free Zimbabwe

Presented by: H.S.M. Ushewokunze Secretary for Health

"The Party has accepted Scientific Socialism as its guiding philosophy. No one is born a scientific socialist.

Marx was not, neither was Lenin nor Mao. Marx conceived the philosophy underlying Scientific Socialism. Lenin learnt, interpreted and applied it to Russia. Mao did

the same in respect of China." (Mugabe)

Department of Education and Culture Zimbabwe African National Union
(ZANU)

Introduction

As a result of the deteriorating situation inside Zimbabwe itself with the illegal smith regime committing daily atrocities against local civilians, many thousands of refugees have fled into Mozambique. These indude Zimbabweans of all ages, ranging from babies in arms to old men and women in their seventies. There are at present more than 60000 refugees.

Attempts are being made to ensure that these refugees are able to enjoy some basic amenities, including medicine and education. Five schools have been opened for more than 9000 refugee children. In addition we have adult education courses. For these schools to operate successfully there is a never-ending need for basic text books and reference books.

In addition, some emphasis is being placed on ensuring that the education given will lead to the students to learn the principles of self reliance and self-sufficiency. Hence there is emphasis on agricultural and industrial education, as well as on the more academic aspects of education.

The following booklist is an attempt to provide the schools with some basic books, mainly reference books which are urgently needed.

I. Books published by Intermediate Technology, 9 ing Street, London WC2E 8HN. 10 copies of each.

Price per copy

(Sterling)

1. Aid and Self Hep

by Elizabeth O'Kelly 3.95

2. The Preparation of Soap TOOL. 1976

.45

- The Backyard Dairy Book Prism Press, 1975 1.25
- Complete Technical Drawings for nine items of farm equipment designed for local construction, 1973/76
- a) Manual broadcast sower 3.50
- b) Weltding jigs, three designs 1.50
- c) Treadle-operated peanut thresher 2.50 d) „Wananchi" ox-cart .50
- e) Donkey cart 1.00
- f) Polyrow peristaltic pump sprayer 1.50 g) Hand pushed sod seeder 1.00
- h) "SATEC" multi crop seeder 2.50
- i) "Murrells" pack saddle .45
5. Dimensional Drawings - Photoprints with text, Agriculture Green leaflets. 1973/76. a) "Kabanyalo" toolbar b) Chitedzo ridgemaster toolbar c) Prototype multi-purpose ox drawn tool d) Two dod crushers e) Prototype multi-purpose ox-drawn tool f) IDC weeding attachment for Emcot plough g) Adjustable width „V-drag" ditcher/bund former h) Sled-type corrugator/irrigation furrow former i) Single row and 3 row rice seeders j) Rotary weeder for row planted rice k) Multi-action paddy puddling tool l) Cassave grinder m) Rotary corn thresher n) IDC-BORG grundaut lifter for Emcot plough; IT groundnut lifter o) IT granule applicator p) IT expandable cultivator q) Hand-operated seed dressing drum r) IT high clearance rotary hoe s) Weeder mulcer t) Foot powered thresher u) "Rasulia" bladed roller thresher v) Rice transplanter platform w) Oil soaked wood bearing x) Harrows - high-clearance peg tooth, triangular spike-tooth, flexible peg tooth, Japanese harrow. Price: Between 25 to 30p for each pamphlet. Total Price for Section 5: 6.80
6. Forest Farming. By J. Sholto Douglas and Robert A. de J. Hart. Watkins. 1976. 3.85
7. Rural Development Project: An Example of Farm Land Survey Technique Using Local Ressources using local ressources for the identification of technologidal bottlenecks in African Agriculture, with an example of its use in Zambia. Revised by John Boyd, 1976. 3.00
8. Report on Farm Equipment Development Project, Nigeria. by John Boyd and E.A. Ayok. (15 items of equipment) 1974. 4.00
9. Tools for Agriculture: A Buyer's Guide to Low-Cost Agricultural Implements. Compiled by John Boyd. Fully revised 1976 edition forthcoming. 10. The Winnower. Technical report with constructional drqings an a hand operated winnower. Produced by the IT Working Group at the Techaische Hogeschool, Eindhoven. 1974 .55
11. Information Papers. Four reports and case studies on building.
- No. 6 The Bradford Seminar II held at the Project Planning Center at Bradford University. No. 7 The National Construction Corporation, Kenya: A Study of an African Contractor Training Organization.
- No. 8 Kenyan Building Contractors: Pracitices, Problems and Needs.
- No. 9 A Management Handbook for the Nigerian Building Contractor.

Price: Pounds for each book. Total 8.00
12. Lime and Alternative Cements.
Compiled by Robin Spence. 3.50
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13. Manual on Building Construction. By the Rev. Harold K. Dancy. A practical illustrated handbook on the construction of small buildings using local materials. 1975 1.50
14. A Manual on Building Maintenance. Vol. 1: Management. 1,25
15. A Manual on Building Maintenance. Vol. II: Methods. Forthcoming.
16. Teachers Manuals. Set of six "kits", each a book with a two-part illustrated lecture and companion business game/simulation exercise. Kit 1 How to Decide Business Policy Kit 2 How to do Accounting Kit 3 Contracting and the Client Kit 4 How to Estimate and Tender Kit 5 Planning and the Contractor Kit 6 Introduction to Work Study Price: 3 Pounds for each kit. Total 18.00
17. Methane. Compiled by Dr. Leo Pyle and Peter Frankel. 0.80
18. Methane Digestors - For Fuel Gas and Fertiliser. By L. John Fry and Richard Merrill. 1.50
19. Practical Building of Methane Power Plants. By L. John Fry. D.A. Know, 1974 3,75
20. Health, Manpower and the Medical Auxiliary. 1971. 1.50
21. Intermediate Techniques. Booklet of sketches of specialized hospital furniture and equipment for the physically handicapped for local construction. 1973. 0.20
22. Oaediatic Priorities in the Developing World. By Dr. David Morley. Butterworth, 1973. 1.25
23. Simple Dental Care for Rural Hospitals. The Medical Missionary Society. 1973 0.40
24. Simple Designs for Hospital Equipment. 1973.
1. Invalid carriage with chain drive and brake
 2. Hospital bedside table and locker
 3. Hospital war screen
 4. Dressing and instrument trolley
 5. Bush wheelchair
 6. Hospital wheelchair
 7. Bush ambulance
 8. Hospital blood transfusion drip stand
 9. Folding bed (wire spring)
 10. Paraplegic turning frame
 11. Hospital folding bed (metal place spring)
 12. Hospital patient's trolley. Price: 0.25p each. Total: 3.00
25. The Training of Auxiliaries in Health Care. Compiled by Katherine Elliott. 1975. 1.50
26. Iron Foundry - An Industrial Profile. 1975 1.00
27. Simple Methods of Candle Manufacture. 1975. 0.50
28. Carts. 1973 0.45
29. First Step in Village Mechanization. By George A. MacPherson. Tanzania Publishing House, 1975.

- 3.50
30. How to Make a Metal Bending Machine. 1973 0.50
31. Oil Drum Forges. Full technical specifications for making a simple forge from an oil drum with (a) foot-operated bellows pump or (b) hand-operated fan. Revised 1975. 1.00
32. Economically, Appropriate Technologies for Developing Countries: An Annotated Bibliography. By Dr. Marilyn Carr. Forthcoming. 33. Energy and Agriculture in the Third World. A Report to the Energy Policy Project of the Ford Foundation by Arjun Makhijani in collaboration with Alan Poole. Ballinger Publishing Co., 1975.
- 2.40
34. Lectures on Socially Appropriate Technology. Technische Hogeschool, 1975. 2.95
35. Non-Agricultural Choice of Techniques: An Annotated Bibliography of Empirical Studies. By Gareth Jenkins. Institute of Commonwealth Studies, Oxford, 1975. 2.75
36. Appropriate Technology Sourcebook. Volunteers in Asia, 1975. 0.75
37. Energy Primer. Comprehensive technical book about renewable forms of energy - solar, wind, water and biofuels. The Portola Institute, 1974. 3.00
38. Radical Technology. Wildwood House, 1976. 3.25
- Criticism, self-criticism, study and revolutionary practice; these are vital elements in a democratic revolution.
39. Technology for Development. Voluntary Committee on Overseas Aid and Development. 1.15
40. A Bibliography of Low-Cost Water Technologies. 1974. 1.00
41. Chinese Chain and Washer Pumps. Compiled by Simon Watt. 1976. 0.95
42. The introduction of Rainwater Catchment Tanks and Micro-Irrigation in Botswana, 1969. 1.70
43. A Manual on the Automatic Hydraulic Ram Pump. By Simon Watt, 1975. 1.00
44. Report on Low-Cost Water Membranes by David Maddocks, 1975. 3.50
45. Salawepump. TOOL. 1975. 0.5
46. Water Treatment and Sanitation. 1976. 1.50
47. Food from Windmills. By Peter Fraenkel. 1975. 3.00
48. Simplified Wind Power Systems for Experiments. By Jack Park. Helion. 1975. 3.00
49. Village Technology Handbook. Volunteers in Technical Assistance, 1970. 6.00
50. Automotive Operation and Maintenance. VITA, 1975. 4.50
51. Smoking Fish in a Cardboard Smokehouse. VITA, 1966 0.50

52. How to Salt Fish. VITA, 1966 0.50

53. Solar Cooker Construction Manual. VITA, 1967 1.40

54. Fresh Produce Handling and Distribution. VITA, 1968. 0.50

55. Groundnut Huller. VITA, 1970. 0.50 56. How to Perform an Agricultural Experiment. VITA, 1971. 1.00

57. Making Building Blocks with the CINVA-Ram Block Press. VITA, 1960. 1.50

58. Small Scale Manufacture of Burned Building Brick. VITA, 1968. 0.80

59. Waterproofing Soil Construction. VITA, 1973. 0.80

60. Health Records System. VITA, 1971. 1.00 61. Bandages Impregnated with Paster of Paris. VITA, 1971. 1.00

62. Low Cost Development of Small Water Power Sites. VITA, 1976. 1.40

63. Hydraulic Ram for Village Use. VITA, 1970. 0.80

64. Low Cost Windmill for Developing Nations. VITA, 1970. 1.40

65. Design Manual for Water Wheels. VITA, 1975. 2.70

66. Handpumps for Village Wells. VITA, 1975. 1.00

67. Playground Manual. VITA, 1969. 1.40 68. Simple Furniture Design. VITA, 1975. 0.50

c) Phrase Books

1. 00.3266 5. Antonio de Figueiredo and Jillian Norman, Portuguese. (100 copies)

d) BiographylAutobiography

1. 02.0563 2. T.B. Bottomore, Karl Marx: Selected Writings in Sociology and Social Philosophy. .80 2. 02.0757 0. Isaac Deutscher, Stalin. 1.50 3. 00.3878 7. George Jackson, Blood in My Eyes. .50

4. 00.3315 7. George Jackson, Soledad Brother. .75

5.02.1594 8. Nicolaievsky, Boris, and Otto Maenchen-Helfen, Karl Marx: The Man and the Fighter. 1.50

6. 02.0840 2. Stuart Schram, Mao Tse Tung. 1.25 7. 02.0809 7. David Shub, Lenin. 1.25

8. 00.2824 2. The Autobiography of Malcolm X. 1.00

e) Penguin Classics

1. 044.143 3. Chekhov, Lady with Lapdog and Other Stories. .75

2. 044.291 X. Gorky, My Apprenticeship. .85 3. 044.178 6. Gorky, My Childhood. (200 copies) .50

4. 044.107 7. Machiavelli, Prince. .50 5. 044.139 5. Tolstoy, Childhood, Boyhood, Youth. .80

f) Reference Books

1. 051.054 0. Atlas of World History. 1.00 2. 051.003 6. Dictionary of Biology. .90 3. 051.015 X; Dictionary of Building. 1.10 4. 051.044 3. Dictionary of Commerce. .95 5. 051.039 7. Dictionary of Computers. 1.00 6. 051.022 8. Dictionary of Economics. 1.00 7. 051.019 2. Dictionary of Electronics. 1.00 8. 051.022 8. Dictionary of Geography. .90
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9. 051.049 4. Dictionary of Geology. 1.25 10. 051.026 5. Dictionary of Modern History, 1789-1945. 1.00
11. 051.010 9. Dictionary of Politics. 1.25 12. 051.005 2. Dictionary of Psychology. .90 13. 051.001 X. Dictionary of Science. 1.00 14. 051.029 X. English Dictionary. (200 copies) 1.50
15. 051.033 8. Dictionary of the Theatre. .90 16. 051.063 X. Handbook of Management. 1.00 17. 051.048 6. Medical Encyclopaedia. 1.50 18. 051.069 9. Medicines: A Guide for Everybody. 1.50
19. 051.007 9. Roget's Thesaurus. 1.50
20. 051.059 1. World Atlas. (200 copies) 1.50

g) African Library

1. 041029 5. Samir Amin, Maghreb in the Modern World: Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco. .45
2. 041.035 X. Samir Amin, Neo-Colonialism in West Africa. .70
3. 041.024 4. O.R. Dathorne and Willfried Feuser, Africa in Prose. .40
4. 041.039 2. Basil Davidson, In the Eye of the Storm: Angola's People. .90
5. 041.040 6. Ruth First, Libya: The Elusive Revolution. .70
6. 041.041.4. Martin Loney, Rhodesia: White Racism and Imperial Response. (50 copies) .70 7.041.042 2. Anthony Martin, Minding Their Own Business. .90
8. 041.007 4. Gerald Moore and Ulli Beier, Modern Poetry from Africa. .75
9.041.002 3. Roland Oliver and I.D. Fage, A Short History of Africa. .90
10. 041.046 5. Rev. John Paul, Mozambique: Memoirs of a Revolution. .80
11, 041.044 9. Freda Troup, South Africa: An Historical Introduction. 1.25

h) Language and Literature

1. 02.1809 2. David Craig, ed., Marxists on Literature. 1.50
2. 02.0740 6. Manya and Eric de Leeuw, Read Better, Read Faster. (50 copies) .75

i) Plays

1. 048.063 3. Bertold Brecht, Parables of the Theatre. .60

j) Handbooks

1. 046.204 X. Book of Playgroups, Joyce Lucas and Vivienne McKennell.
.80

k) Poets

1. 042.117 2. Aim6 Cisaire, Return to My Native Land. .20

l) History

1. 02.0749 X. E.H. Carr, History of Soviet Russia Vol 1. 1.25

2. 02,0750 3, E.H. Carr, History of Soviet Russia, Vol.2. 1.50

3.02.1768 1. E.H. Carr, Foundations of a Planned Economy, Vol. 1.
2.50

4.02.1907 2. E.H. Carr, Foundations of a Planned Economy, Vol. 2.

3.00

5. 02.0694 9. C.P. Fitzgerald, Birth of Communist China. .75

6. 02.1782 7. C.P. Fitzgerald, Concise History of East Asia. .85

7. 02.1963 3. Joe Slovo, Anthony Wilkenson and Basil Davidson, Southern
Africa. 1.25

8. 060.018 3. Jan Vansine, Oral Tradition. 1.10 9. 02.0762 7. Raymond Williams,
Long Revolution. 1.00

m) Geography

1.02.0706 6. Paul Fordham, Geography of African Affairs. .60

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ZANU's war diaries: Some memorable battles in 1977

(partial list only)

(Tete: northern region in Zimbabwe; Manica: middle region in Zimbabwe; Gaza: southern region in Zimbabwe)

July 1977

Day	Place	Province	Activities	Enemy Casually
ZANU Casually				
1st	Nyanyadzi	Manica	surprise attack on	28 killed
none				
enemy camp			2 military vehicles destroyed	

1st	Maramba	Tete	attacked "Keep"	8 District
	Assistants killed (protected village)		masses released from "Keep"	
2nd	Ndanga	Gaza	Ambushed enemy	18 troops
	killed, wounded other 2 trucks destroyed			
3rd	Madziva (Shanwa)	Tete	Counter attack	10 enemy
	killed 15 enemy troops attacked	4	wounded	
4th	Chikono Maramba	Tete	Landmine	13 District
	Assistants killed 2 wounded, 1 truck destroyed			
6th	Mrewa Mtoko Locality	Tete	Ambush	31 enemy
	soldiers killed			
7th	Painona Kraal		Surprise attack	8 enemy troops
	killed 2 wounded			
8th	Rustinga	Tete	Surprise attack	25 enemy troops
	killed 1 chopper gunned down			
9th	Dotido	Tete	Freed or Rebased civilians from	7 enemy
	soldiers killed Chitsatso concentration camp	2	District Assistants captured	
10th	Matibi No. 2 Area	Gaza	Landmine	1 lorry
	destroyed 20 enemy troops killed			
12th	Chiswiti		2 ZANLA Detachments	15 enemy
	troops killed in combat	1	FN machine gun captured	
	4 FN rifle, 10 303 AK rifle			
12th	Makanga	Gaza	Surprise attack on	10 Rhodesian
	enemy troops killed enemy platoon	several	wounded	
13th	Buhera (near Biriwiri	Gaza	Surprise attack	It enemy
	troops killed in Metseller sec. captured		4 wounded, 1 machine gun	
14th	Makosa camp and	Tete	attack on enemy	10 enemy
	troops killed Chipfiko camp		4 District Assistants captured	
15th	Makuni Road		Landmine	6 enemy troops
	killed (Mashinga)		Food supplies destroyed	
18th	Mawunga Kraal	Gaza	Counter attack	6 enemy
	soldiers killed several wounded			

18th Zivinto Gaza ZANLA commando surprise attack 10
 selous scouts killed none
 using motor machine gun on enemy
 a great relief to civilians

21st Gwangwava Gaza ZANLA demolishing unit battle I I
 enemy soldiers killed
 with enemy troops 3 wounded, 3 bridges destroyed
 I defected, I telephone poles destroyed

22nd Chesa Area Mt. Darwin Tete Pitched battle lasting 10
 enemy troops killed
 4 hours. Enemy using others wounded
 3 helicopters and I jet

26th Mwanisa Gaza Landmine I enemy truck
 destroyed
 several workers wounded

27th Magambeza attached settler building with 3 enemy
 troops killed
 motor. Food distributed to local Settler owner killed by ZANLA peasants

28th Chipinga Gaza ZANLA attacked tea estate 3N
 enemy soldiers killed
 Fearce battle ensured 7 Rhodesian tea estate lorries destroyed
 Gaza Stormed by ZANLA forces
 Enemy landrover reinforcement destroyed and occupants killed
 6 enemy troops killed
 2 wounded

30th Zaka DC's Office

1st Svuure Zaka
 Rimayi concentration canp
 Chipinga

3rd Gutu Police camp t

4th Gutu Chiwara Kraal
 Nyaghanu in Buhera 4th Silveira Mission Bikita

5th Chekure school in Bikita
 Gaza
 August 1977
 ZANLA Surprise sftack Zimbabweans freed,
 Gaza ZANLA Commando unit
 with sophisticated-weapons
 captured from t.e einemy
 destroyed camp
 Gaza Surprise attack on enemy soldiers
 2 ZANLA AmbuiSh and landmine
 detonation
 Gaza Truck detonated a landmine
 Gaza

LANLA attacked .. Rhodesian terrorist troops
2) enemy troops killed -' Several District As Stants killed
Ae

7th	Muumba enemy base enemy soldiers killed in Chipinga reinforced with infantry a vampire planes. I vampire plan was destroyed	Gaza	ZANLA unit	7
9th	Chimutsa area enemy troops killed, trucks were also destroyed	Gaza	Ambush by ZANLA forces	16
10th	Maria in Chipinga Rhodesian terrorist enemy section	Gaza	ZANLA ambushed art	5
10th	Monjerenje in Zaka Enemy makeshift building and on an enemy rest camp	Gaza	ZANLA daring attack tents razed to the ground.	
11th	Mutize district soldi'ers killed	Gaza	ZANLA surprise attacks	4 enemy
12th	Buhera in the Rhodesian terrorist troops Suba-Suba area	Gaza	ZANLA pitched battle with enemy troops killed	9
12th	Honda Chipinga Rhodesian terrorist troops enemy troops	Gaza	ZANLA Battle with killed	4
14th	Matotedze in Mutasa enemy soldiers killed district	Gaza	ZANLA detachment ambushed 2 bedford trucks several injured	7
20th	Mhandarume enemy base I helicopter was destroyed and melsetter district	Gaza	ZANLA attacked enemy base 5 occupants killed instantly	
24th	St. Barbara Mission helicopters were shot down Matsoni district	Gaza	ZANLA squard attacked enemy base. Enemy used air killing all occupants	2
26th	Muzite area - Chipinga section of lasted for 3 hours September 1977	Gaza	a fierce battle that 8 soldiers wiped out	Enemy
12th	Manyenzu Chipinga enemy troupes killed several wounded	Gaza	Ambush	10
23rd	Mushonga Village Buhera enemy soldiers killed	Gaza	Surprise attack	8

3 killed
 29th Melssetter Gaza Farm house and attack Family of
 3 killed
 captured 2 guns and radio system
 NB notorious farmer in beating
 african servants and african
 from neighbouring villages
 30th Green Farm Melsseter Gaza Ambush 2 enemy
 soldiers killed
 landrover destroyed
 radio communication captured
 December 1977
 17th Grand Reef enemy Air Base Manica Surprise attack with artillery
 20 enemy aircrafts were
 This is an enemy centre and light weapons from 100 meters destroyed,
 2 armoured cars and
 for attack against our people from the buildings. Shelling went 18 trucks
 12 private cars,
 in the semi-liberated areas on for half an hour. 2 Fuel tanks
 destroyed,
 of the countries and aggressions ZANLA supper unit cut several
 dead.
 against the People's the Salisbury - Umtali Lights put out in
 Republik of Mozambique electric power line. parts of Umtali
 Several Smith policenen wounded others seriously. The.se police had been cruel
 to Zimbabwean wome,
 10 killed and seNerai wounded
 4 bedford trucks of racist troops
 3 trucks completely destroyed
 17 enemy troops killed
 6 injured. These belonged to the notorious special unit known for its herrassing of
 the masses African
 8 Rhodesian terrorist troops killed 10 seriously wounded