

\$1.00

# Rhodesia The Propaganda War



This latest report from the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Rhodesia highlights the extent of the propaganda war being waged by the Rhodesia Front regime. It also illustrates the contradictions of the propaganda campaign—to assuage white fears on the one hand and on the other to terrorise the black population in an attempt to isolate the guerrillas. As support for the nationalist cause has increased, the propaganda has become increasingly strident. It takes several forms—displaying the mutilated corpses of guerrillas and distributing photographs of them accompanied by threats, warning the black population that if they cooperate with the guerrillas they will be killed. The latest element in the psychological warfare is the mass distribution of crude leaflets depicting guerrillas as ‘mad dog terrorists’, responsible for killing, rape and spreading venereal disease. At the same time the government has issued regulations which make it an offence to publish or distribute anything which may contribute to the spreading of alarm and despondency. Whilst the regime is thus actively engaged in spreading alarm and despondency among black Rhodesians, it is going to inordinate lengths to prevent white Rhodesians from knowing the truth of their situation.

International coverage of the war in Rhodesia is at best mediocre. There is a dearth of foreign correspondents inside the country so that several newspapers have to rely on the same reporter writing under different names. Foreign correspondents have to be careful not to be too critical of the Rhodesian regime. Those who are too critical either have to leave the country or are deported. Recently the BBC correspondent Brian Barron has been refused an extension of his work permit because when he reported on a massacre of 23 blacks in north-eastern Rhodesia he said “Well, we only have the Rhodesian security forces version of the massacre...” Few journalists are permitted to enter the operational areas and those who are allowed to do so are subject to censorship. As a result, most reporters are dependent on government statements and few have any opportunity for rounded background investigation. In consequence the realities of the war are distorted.

This report includes an analysis of the Rhodesian regime’s policy of rounding up rural Africans into “protected villages”. It is estimated that these villages now contain half a million Africans in conditions of great hardship. This inhuman policy has gone largely uncriticised in the media. Indeed Rhodesian propaganda presents these villages as havens of safety and welcomed by the local people.

It is clear that some of the atrocities of the war are committed by the Rhodesian security forces. Indeed the judgement of many missionaries on the spot is that the army is responsible for the bulk of the terrorising, brutality and killing of civilians. Rarely, if ever, is this conveyed in the international press. One incident described in this report tells of the killing of 35 civilians, most of them women and children and the serious wounding of another 31 by the security forces. The initial report of this incident in London’s largest evening newspaper, the *Evening News*, stated “guerrillas kill 34”. According to the first report in the *Evening News* “Security chiefs (said) the civilians were lined up and shot with automatic weapons”. In later editions the story had altered to the “killed in crossfire” account which also appeared in other British newspapers. The security forces, who claimed they were merely engaged in a normal follow-up operation of nine guerrillas, described the incident as “an unfortunate set-back”. Eventually the truth of what had happened was conceded but dismissed as “unfortunately inevitable in fighting of this nature”. (*Rhodesian Herald* Editorial, May 11 1977.)

The fact is, far from protecting black civilians, the Rhodesian security forces place little value on their lives. In view of such incidents it is understandable that nationalists accuse the Rhodesian security forces of shooting anything black that moves. Nor is it surprising that the control of the army and police is a crucial factor in any negotiations for a settlement.

Evidence of the kind of lawlessness which is being legitimised by the Rhodesian government is continually emerging. In the most recent example, the Rhodesian Minister for Justice and Law and Order, Hilary Squires, assured white vigilante groups that they would be indemnified against any legal repercussions if they killed anyone whilst recovering stolen cattle (*The Times*, July 28 1977). Statements from the Rhodesian government about the importance of maintaining law and order in the ‘interim period’ sound hollow under such circumstances.

CIIR LONDON

September 1977

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# Causing alarm or despondency: a crime

Mimeographed papers titled "Makoni Gandanzara Military News" were dropped from a light plane as it circled over Makoni Tribal Trust Land in Eastern Rhodesia on Tuesday, 7 June 1977.

Typed in English, the single sheets carried a crude threat to all persons in the area which read:

## WARNING TO ALL

Tigers.  
Terrorist informers.  
Terrorist agents.  
Sympathisers and feeders of terrorists.  
Recruiters for terrorist training.

There are still some people who continue to help the terrorists and a few even try to do their evil work for them. These people are counted as terrorists and will be killed by the Security Forces.

The leaflets went on to boast that the majority of people now supply information to the security forces. "This makes it easier to catch and kill the terrorists and their 'pet dogs'," it explained. Labeling the guerillas as cowards, who murder and rob innocent people, the sheet stated that "the majority of the people are tired of the terrorists and their pets." "You have now been warned," the message concluded. "Beware of the anger of the people and the Security Forces."

The same week that this propaganda was being dropped on rural villages, the Rhodesian Government issued more stringent emergency regulations. Rhodesia has been in a state of emergency since just before UDI in 1965, and the regulations have been amended 32 times. Besides giving the government more powers to punish the guerillas and those who assist them, the new regulations also further restrict the free flow of information. As the *Rhodesia Herald* of 11 June reported, "It is also now an offence to 'communicate to any other person any rumour or report which is likely to cause alarm or despondency.' This is punishable by a fine of \$100 or three months in jail. Anyone writing, publishing or distributing anything likely to cause alarm or despondency, or to lead to action which might be detrimental to national defence, public safety, public order or the termination of the state of public emergency is punishable by a fine of \$600 or six months in jail."

Such contradictory actions within the same week highlight the double standards which characterize the present situation. The government does not hesi-

tate to alarm the people of Makoni Tribal Trust Land and to make them despondent by threatening to kill them, but anyone else who writes anything to which the government objects can quickly be silenced by a jail sentence and a fine.

The new regulations also place stricter control over the taking of photographs. They give the Commissioner of Police power to confiscate any film taken anywhere in the country and processed anywhere if he believes that to do so is in "the interests of public safety or public order." Previously the "protecting authority" of an area could forbid photographs being taken and could confiscate film only within his own area. The new law removes all such geographic limitations.

The movement of journalists is severely curtailed and few are permitted within the operational areas. Those who wish to be defence correspondents must sign a document which sets down rigid conditions they must accept to obtain press accreditation. This includes submitting all their material for examination if called on to do so; receiving approval from the military and civil authorities for all interviews with any of their personnel; reporting all visits to the operational areas to the joint operational centre; and obeying the laws of Rhodesia including the Official Secrets Act which is given to every journalist who applies to be a defence correspondent.

On 8 June, two days before the new additions to the Emergency Powers (Maintenance of Law and Order) regulations were issued, a local publisher, Mr. Herbert Munangatire, ran into censorship problems. The latest weekly edition of his three month old paper, "The Zimbabwe Times," with a circulation of 25,000, was almost banned. After discussions with government officials who had gone to the printers and read through the proofs, three "offending items" were removed and the paper appeared a day behind schedule.

The church press too has not been exempt from official harassment. Mambo Press, a publishing house of the Catholic Church which puts out a monthly newspaper "Kristo" as well as many books and pamphlets, lost an appeal in January against four counts of contravening the law and order (Maintenance) Act. As Mr. Judge Lewis ruled, "Mambo Press publications—when they deal with political matters—are regarded by the Rhodesian authorities as prejudicial to the security of the country."

Mambo Press has had frequent brushes with the government over the years. Its former newspaper, "Moto", was banned in 1970 and its editor, Fr. Michael Traber, deported. Fr. Plangger, the present manager of Mambo Press, will face another court case in late July for other issues of "Kristo."

The Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace also ran into problems last month when a booklet of press cuttings about one of its publications was banned in Rhodesia. The cuttings were international

reactions to *CIVIL WAR IN RHODESIA*, a book documenting the plight of innocent civilians who are caught in the middle between government security forces and the guerillas.

Rhodesia Notice No. 594 of 1977.

**EMERGENCY POWERS ACT (CHAPTER 83)**

Order issued in Terms of Section 60 of the Emergency Powers (Maintenance of Law and Order) Regulations, 1976

IT is hereby notified that the Minister of Law and Order has, in terms of subsection (1) of section 60 of the Emergency Powers (Maintenance of Law and Order) Regulations, 1976, and on the recommendation of the Publications Advisory Committee, issued an order prohibiting the printing or publication, or the possession, sale or distribution within Rhodesia or any part of Rhodesia, or the importation into Rhodesia, of the publication specified in the Schedule.

20-5-77.

P. CLAYPOLE,  
Secretary for Law and Order.

**SCHEDULE**

Civil War in Rhodesia: A selection of press-cuttings published by the Catholic Institute for International Relations, 1 Cambridge Terrace, London, NW1 4JL.

This book, of which 30 copies were privately distributed, contained press cuttings about Civil War in Rhodesia from international newspapers including *The Times*, *The Financial Times*, *Le Monde* and *The Irish Times*.

Despite increasing press curbs, the Christian Council of Rhodesia launched a new paper in June, "The Mirror," to replace "Umbowo" which was declared prohibited in January of this year. The Council is aware that their new paper runs the same risk of being shut down unless it speaks with "a muffled voice."

These latest clampdowns on publications come at a time when the government is desperately trying to create a good image in the outside world. It appears that any information likely to tarnish it will be ruthlessly suppressed.

## Propaganda attempts to isolate guerillas

The rural psychological campaign conducted by the Smith government in Rhodesia took a new twist in April with the publication of a series of propaganda leaflets designed to discredit the guerillas. Unlike previous campaigns which warned people of the punishment they would face if they assisted the nationalist soldiers, the new leaflets attack the guerillas directly and portray them as "mad-dog communist terrorists."

The one page leaflets contain a drawing and an English text on one side, with the same text in Shona and Sindebele on the reverse side. Nine have been issued so far. They are handed out to more than half a million people living in the country's protected villages, distributed at rural schools and

are posted on shops and public buildings in the rural areas.

All nine bear the same basic message: Guerillas are communist terrorists and communists embody all that is evil. The leaflets accuse the "murdering mad-dogs" of every conceivable crime—kidnapping children, starving and beating recruits, infecting women with V.D., shooting old men and young girls, and engaging in every kind of brutality. "Terror and death is the way of the communist terrorists" is the theme running through the leaflets which read like standard one primers.

"They must think we're stupid," commented one man after seeing the leaflets. Another said, "We know the so-called terrorists. They are our sons, brothers and relatives. We know the government tells lies about them."

Another man crumpled the leaflets in his fist and declared scornfully, "They're nonsense. They show how foolish the government is." Someone else smiled and said, "We use them to light our fires." Most feel that at least they are an improvement over previous propaganda which showed gory photographs of the mutilated bodies of dead guerillas.

Four of the nine leaflets single out the ZANU/ZANLA forces which are headed by Robert Mugabe. All nine mention Mozambique and the "evil communist camp instructors" there. The word 'communist' or 'communism' appears in almost every line and is used seven or eight times in each leaflet.

The leaflets try to convince people that the liberation movements are not an authentic national force, but are tools of communist agents outside the country. They also seem geared to diminish the popularity of ZANU and its leaders. They are very much in line with the directives for a national psychological campaign which were issued by the PSYAC (Psychological Action) Secretariat last October and recently revealed by David Martin in *The Observer*. These directives spell out the strategy to be used to sell a negotiated settlement to various groups of the population. According to these directives, the propaganda aimed at rural Africans should seek to isolate the guerillas from the general African population and it is stated very explicitly: "Persons who now persist in causing unrest and supporting terrorism can now be identified as the enemy of all Rhodesians because they wish to impose a foreign military dictatorship and are therefore agents of a foreign government (use Mozambique as an example—communist terrorists)."

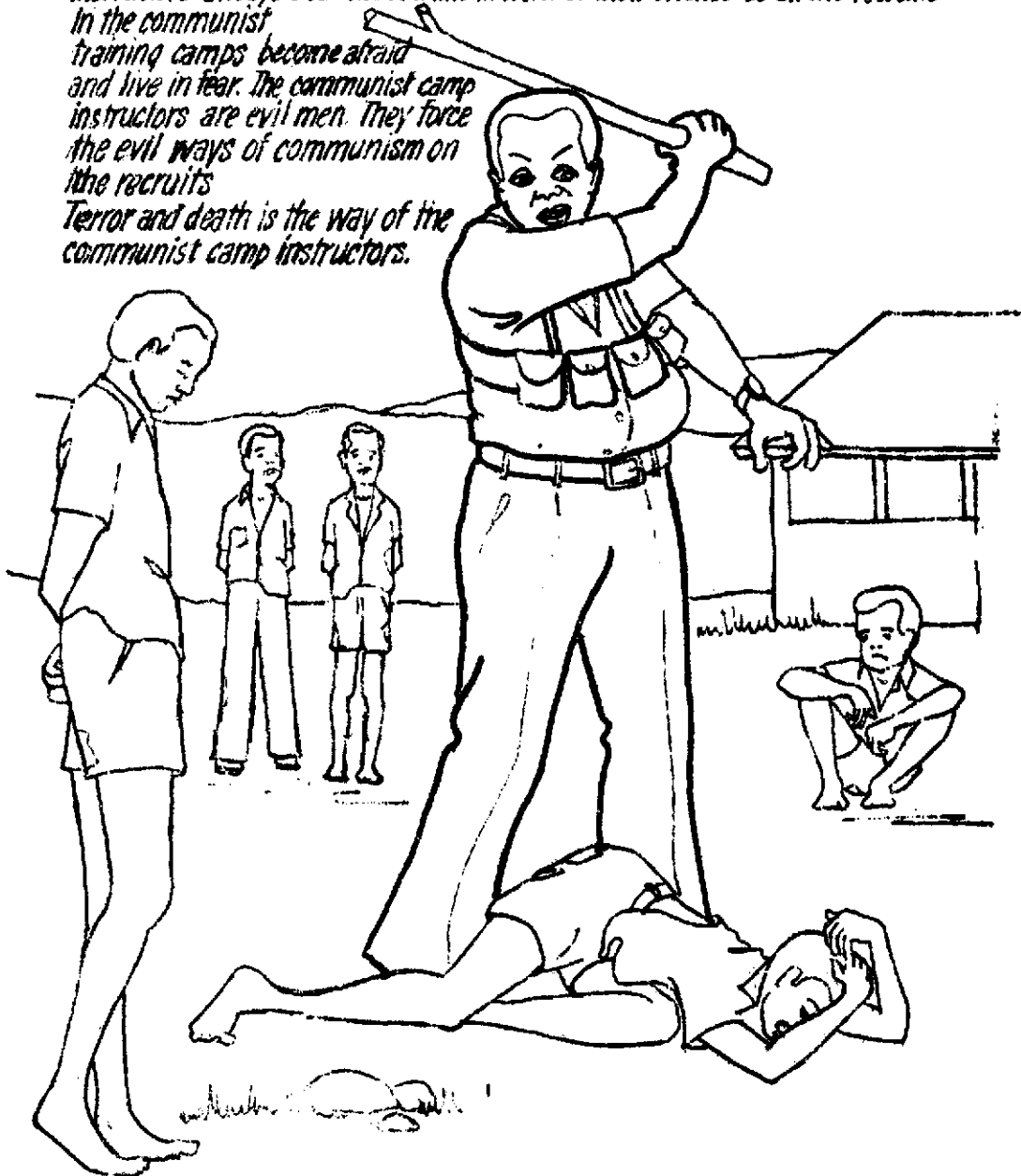
The new psychological warfare seems to be a last ditch effort to defeat those who would demand significant changes in the economic and social structures of the society. No such changes are envisaged by the present regime. The directives clearly state that despite negotiations the national aim

## ***Terror and death is the way of the communist camp instructors in Mocambique***

*See the recruit in a communist training camp in Mocambique. He is being beaten by one of the communist camp instructors. All he did was to ask for the education he was promised in Mocambique. Now he is being beaten until he almost dies. Other recruits are beaten because they become so hungry they forget their fear and ask for mealie meal. The communist camp instructors always beat the recruits in front of their friends so all the recruits in the communist*

*training camps become afraid and live in fear. The communist camp instructors are evil men. They force the evil ways of communism on the recruits*

*Terror and death is the way of the communist camp instructors.*



## ***Terror and death is the way of the communist camp instructors in Mocambique***

*See how it is to live in a communist training camp in Mocambique. The communist camp instructor has a warm and comfortable hut. The recruits must sleep in the cold and rain. This is not what they were promised when they were recruited. But the communist camp instructors do not care if the recruits live like dogs. Because now the communist camp instructors have the recruits imprisoned and can force the evil ways of communism on them.*

*Terror and death is the way of the communist camp instructors.*



## ***Do not let the communist terrorists' spokesmen deceive you with more lies and smooth talk.***

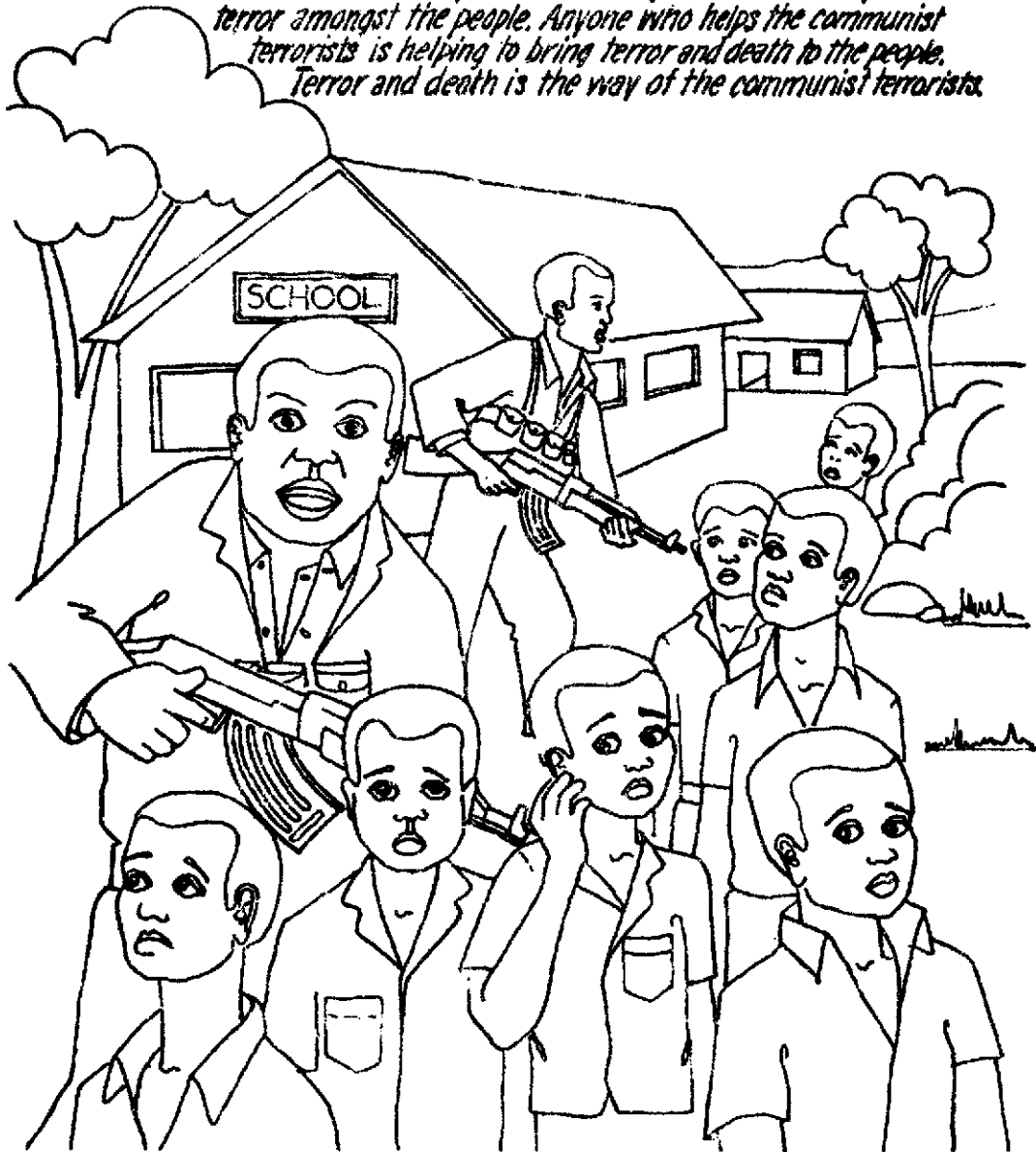
*See the spokesman for the mad dog communist terrorist gang. How many promises have such evil people made to you? How many of these promises have they kept? The communist terrorists told you long ago that they would soon rule Rhodesia. This has not happened. They have burned down stores and promised to return and build better stores. This they have never done. They have said they have a special muti which makes them invisible. Yet the security forces kill hundreds of communist terrorists every month. We who are your real friends speak to you in truth with leaflets like these. When you show such leaflets to the communist terrorists they will try to deceive you with more lies and smooth talk. They will try to deny the truth of these leaflets. Remember the promises they have made and not kept. Do not be deceived. The communist terrorists have been turned into evil men by the communist camp instructors in Mozambique. They have been trained to deceive and to spread terror and death.*

*The more you listen to and believe the lies of the communist terrorists the more terror and death they will spread to the people. Terror and death is the way of the communist terrorists.*



## ***Terror and death is the way of the communist terrorist in Rhodesia***

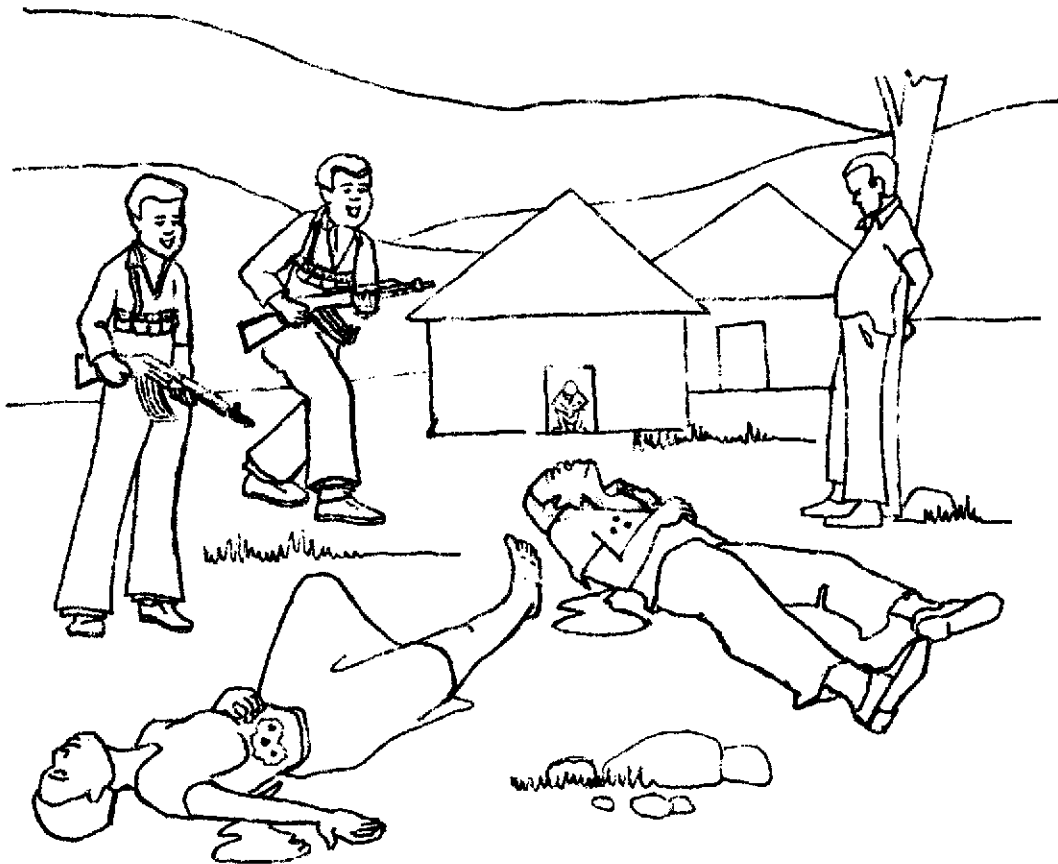
*See the mad dog communist terrorists forcing the children to leave their school. They are taking the children to a communist training camp in Mocambique. There the children will be starved. If they ask for food they will be beaten. If they ask if they can return home they will be taken away by the evil communist camp instructors and they will never be seen again by their friends or family. Those children who survive the starvation and beatings will be turned into the murdering mad dog communist terrorists of ZANU/ZANLA. They will return to spread terror amongst the people. Anyone who helps the communist terrorists is helping to bring terror and death to the people.  
Terror and death is the way of the communist terrorists.*





## ***Terror and death is the way of the communist terrorists in Rhodesia.***

*See the mad dog communist terrorists shooting old men  
and young girls with their communist AK. guns. They do  
this because they want the people to be afraid of them.  
The communist terrorists say they are fighting for you.  
Do not let them deceive you. They are fighting against you.  
They have been turned into evil men by the communist  
camp instructors in Mocambique. The communist terrorists  
are now the murdering mad dogs of ZANU/ZANLA.  
Anyone who helps the communist terrorists is helping to  
bring terror and death to the people.  
Terror and death is the way of the communist terrorists*



***The communist terrorists bring nothing but sickness and death to the people.***

*See the woman crying. She has just learned that the communist terrorists have infected her with V.D. The mad dog communist terrorists of ZANU/ZANLA have infected many women in Rhodesia with this terrible sickness. The children of such women may be born mad or blind or crippled. The women's husbands will catch V.D. and spread it to their other wives whose children, too, will be diseased. So the sickness which the communist terrorists bring from Mocambique is destroying the people. This is the way of the communist terrorists. To destroy the people with sickness and death so that their evil communist masters may come from their hiding places in Mocambique and steal the country from the people.*

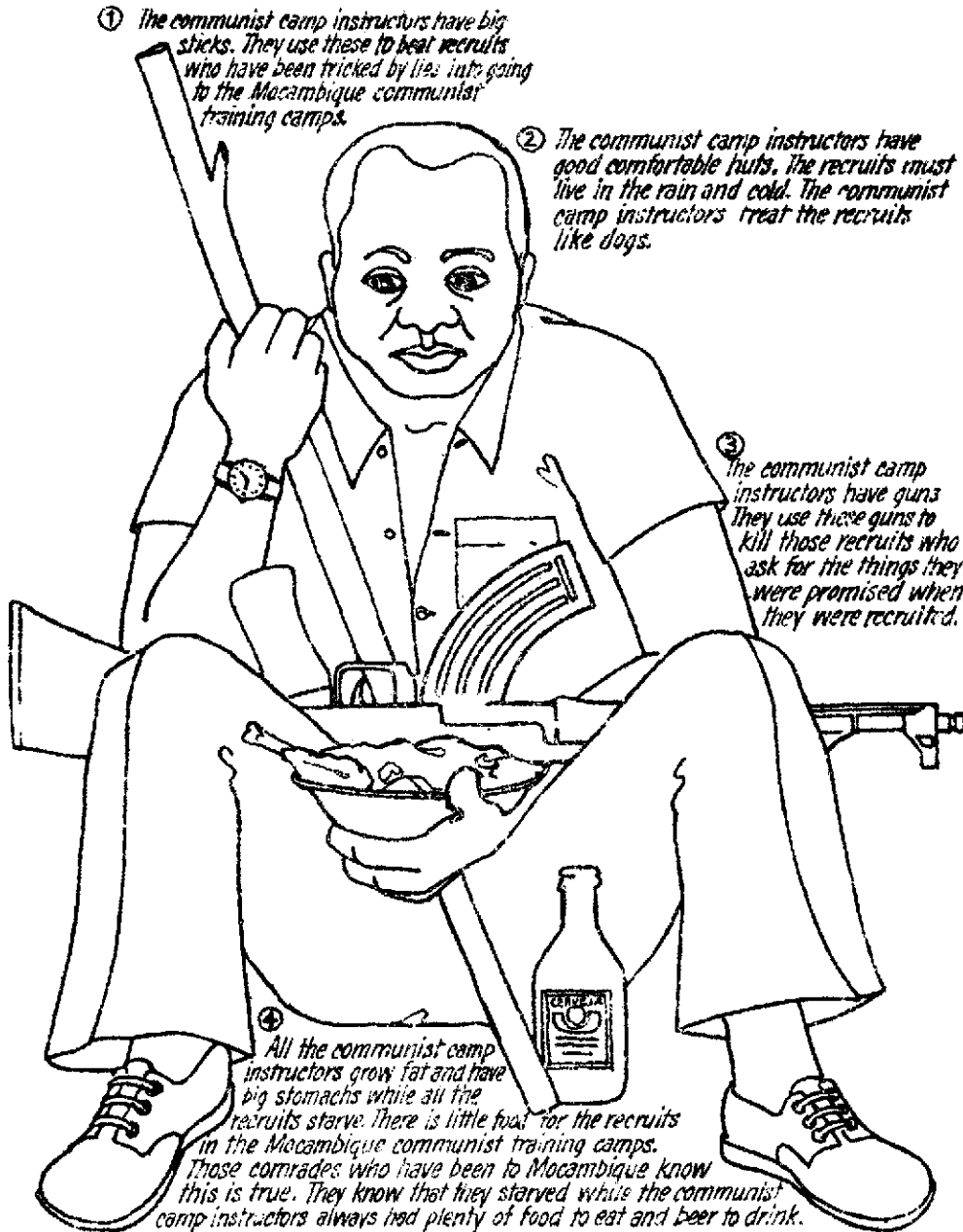


## ***Terror and death is the way of the communist terrorists in Rhodesia.***

***See how the landmines of the mad dog communist terrorists  
kill and injure innocent people. See how they damage vehicles.  
The communist terrorists know that the security forces have  
special vehicles and are not killed by landmines. So when the  
communist terrorists put landmines in the roads they know  
that they will kill only defenceless men women and children.  
The communist terrorists have been turned into evil men by  
the communist camp instructors in Mlocambique.  
Anyone who helps the communist terrorists is helping to bring  
terror and death to the people.  
Terror and death is the way of the communist terrorist.***



*This is a communist training camp instructor in Mocambique. Look at him carefully. See how fat he is. See what he is holding. He is an evil man and he works for ZANU/ZANLA. He forces the evil ways of communism on the recruits who are tricked into going to his training camp. Do not be tricked into going to the communist training camps in Mocambique. If you are forced to go there, escape as soon as you can. The communist camp instructors force the evil ways of communism on the recruits. Terror and death is the way of the communist camp instructors.*



## ***Terror and death is the way of the communist camp instructors in Mocambique***

*See the evil communist camp instructor with his big stomach. Now look at the starving recruits. There is little food in the Mocambique communist training camps and the communist camp instructors eat it all. They do not care if the recruits have no food and cry with hunger. Those comrades who have been to Mocambique know this is true. They know they starved while the communist camp instructors ate well and had plenty of beer to drink. The communist camp instructors are evil men. All they care about is forcing the evil ways of communism on the recruits.*

*Terror and death is the way of the communist camp instructors*



remains the same and "Therefore no dramatic changes will take place to the existing pattern of life, and everyone, black and white, must be encouraged to participate in maintaining normality and the preservation of order." The propagandists are also instructed, "Emphasise that this is an achievement for moderation and responsibility and a defeat for terrorism, Marxism and extremism; therefore it is not in any sense a sell-out or a capitulation.

While the guerilla forces may be winning on the battlefield, therefore, they are to be denied the victory at the conference table. The propaganda

depicts them as the enemies of the people who want to "destroy the people with sickness and death so that their evil communist masters may come from their hiding places in Mozambique and steal the country from the people."

It is doubtful whether many Africans believe such propaganda. Most say that the government is wasting a lot of time and money producing useless pieces of paper. Rather than destroying the image of the guerillas, the government publicity makes them greater heroes in the eyes of the rural majority.

*August 1977*

## Protected villages on the increase



The people are kept behind fences almost like prisoners and must call out their numbers and be registered when entering and leaving the village.

At the last count (30 May) there were approximately 203 protected villages in Rhodesia, housing more than half a million people. These figures from informed sources on the spot are double the official government estimates of 250,000, or "a twelfth of the total tribal population."

The figures continue to climb as the government steps up its programme to establish protected villages in almost all operational areas. During the past rainy season (March) more than 100 new villages were established which would involve about 20,000 people according to the government's estimates of 2,000 people per village.

Nineteen tribal trust lands in Mashonaland and Manicaland are already affected, and two in Victoria Province. The people in the Wankie area of

Matabeleland have also been told they are to be moved into P.V's. Chiweshe TTL, just 45 miles north of Salisbury, where the first village was established in 1974, continues to have the highest village population with 120,000 people living in 21 villages.

It is difficult to get accurate figures of the villages, not only because they are going up so fast, but because they also come down as quickly. They are popular targets for the guerillas who cut the fences, liberate the people inside and burn down the huts. At the end of May the Provincial Commissioner for Internal Affairs, Mr. Geoffrey Henson, admitted that since the beginning of the year there had been 70 guerilla attacks on the villages. This is probably an underestimate.

The guerillas have also played havoc on the village administration by attacking personnel of the Ministry of Internal Affairs who are responsible for running the villages. On July 1, the Minister, Mr. Jack Mussett, stated in Parliament that his department had suffered high casualties with 114 killed, 25 missing or abducted and 243 wounded. He interpreted this to mean that the villages were successfully disturbing the guerillas and said, "protected villages are proving to be a thorn in the side of the enemy."

On 30 June Mr. Mussett presented a policy statement on Internal Affairs in which he reiterated the government's plan of constructing protected villages. "As part of the Defence Plan," he said, "it was decided at national level to re-settle the African people of certain areas in protected villages. This has been done, firstly, to provide protection to the African civilian population from the terrorist onslaught and, secondly, to deprive the terrorists of their sources of food, shelter, information and recruits.... I will not try to pretend that the exercise has been without hardship or difficulties for the African men, women and children involved. It is a tremendous upheaval for any person to have to leave his or her home and to change from a traditional

easy-going rural way of life to an urban type of existence with the constraints imposed by the needs of security. However, these temporary disadvantages must be balanced against the overriding advantage of being able to live in comparative safety...."

The people affected do not think much of this advantage. Few have anything to fear from the guerrillas and feel no need to be "protected" from them. They are still in danger from the security forces and can be submitted to interrogation which includes torture and beating. There have been many cases of rape in the "keeps", as the villages are called locally, and District Assistants are known to confiscate the passes (situpas) of the women which allow them to move in and out of the village, and to force the women to sleep with them in order to retrieve their passes.

The "urban type of existence" mentioned consists of a small amount of space (often 15 square meters per family), lack of sanitary facilities, clean water and sufficient food. People must build new houses from whatever they can salvage from their former dwellings and receive no compensation for the property they lose. Families are moved up to five kilometres from their fields and are often unable to produce enough to feed themselves. Their cattle are kept outside the village and are frequently stolen. The education of children is interrupted and sometimes terminated for good (47 schools have been closed because the population was moved into protected villages). The people are kept behind fences almost like prisoners and must call out their numbers and be registered when entering and leaving the village.

Recent government publicity is attempting to show that the people's attitude has changed toward the villages and that they now enter them willingly. An editorial in the *Rhodesia Herald* of 24 June stated, "The best answer to those who have condemned the villages lies in the fact that today people in areas affected by terrorism have asked for protected villages to be built." On 14 July, Mr. Jack Mussett told the Assembly that Africans in many rural areas have "pleaded to be put into the safety of protected villages to get away from the bestial attentions of the terrorists."

Many people vehemently deny this claim. "The protected villages are completely unacceptable to us," said one man from Chiweshe TTL. "A person can't like living in 15 square metres!" Another man explained, "The people really hate this government for making them leave their homes and move to a crowded place with no shelter. They would rather starve than accept help from the government."

"If we are asking to be put into the villages, then why does the government have to come and burn our houses to force us to move?" asked another man who described what had happened recently in the

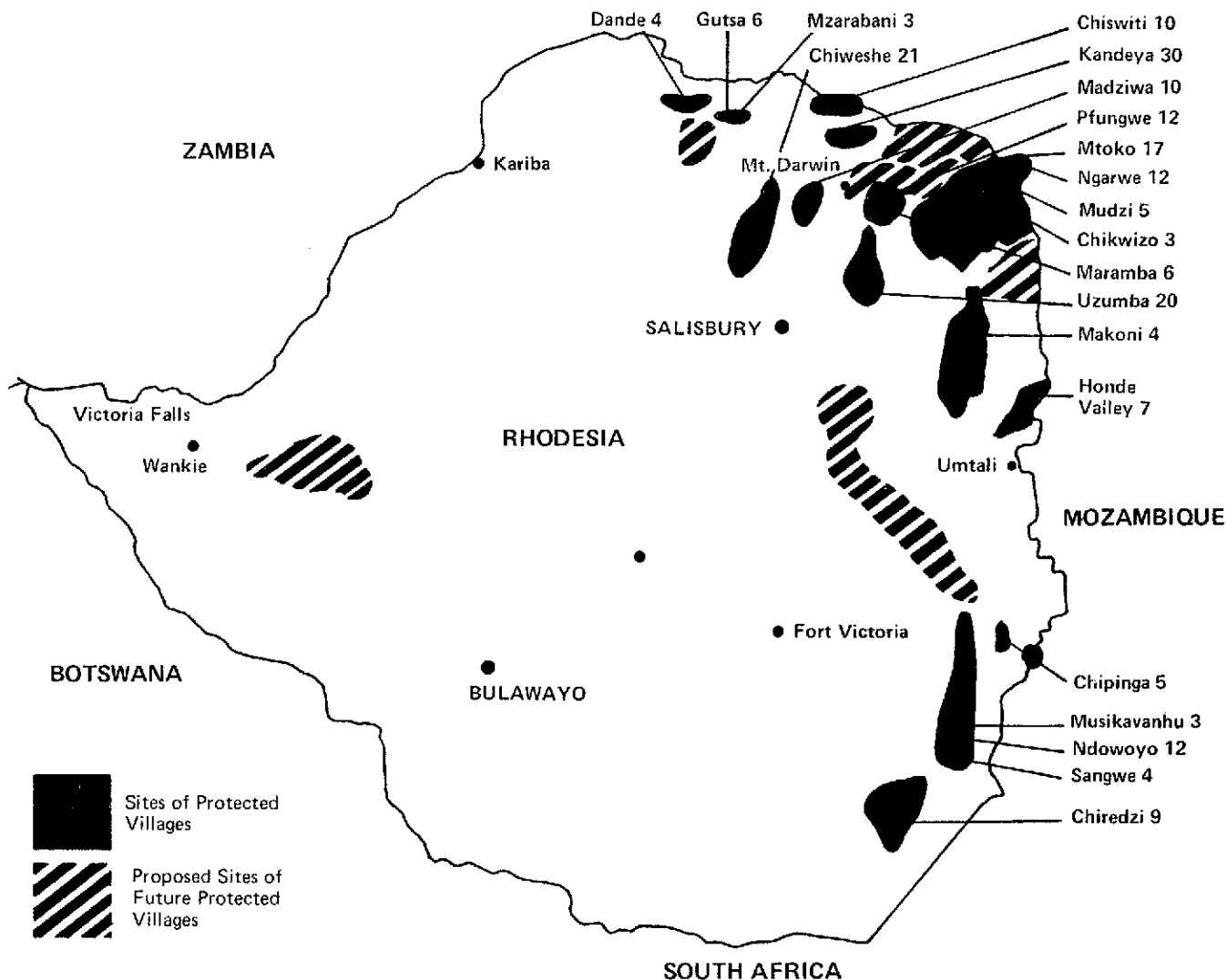
Tanda Tribal Trust Land. The people there had been given notice to move. They refused, saying they were quite safe and there was no reason to leave their villages. On 4 July 1977, the security forces came and burned down six villages containing approximately 60 families each—Dzikiti, Shuwa, Ngurunde, Nufunde, Chatambudza and Huta. As a result of this incident, an estimated 2,880 people are now living in the bush. They maintain that they are prepared to stay in the bush rather than live in a protected village.

The chairman of the Chiweshe Residents Association says that the villages do more harm than good. In a statement which he issued on 25 July for the Association, a self-help group assisting the people of Chiweshe, he described the continuing hardships of life in the protected villages. In contrast to recent government and newspaper reports that life has improved and that people's attitudes become favourable after the first two years in a village, he states that the villages continue to be extremely unpopular. "The government has lost the support of the African population tremendously due to the protected villages as well as its discriminatory laws," he declares.

His statement described some of the problems in the P.V.'s including lack of clean water, lowering of educational standards, increases of venereal disease and the depletion of natural vegetation. He suggests that the government "free people in the protected villages" immediately as proof that it is serious in its pursuit of a peaceful settlement.

Almost every week there is a feature story in the paper showing the success of a particular village and painting them in a very positive light. People on the spot give a different picture. "People have lost all hope," reported an official of the Salisbury Archdiocese who visited the Mtoko area in July where he saw people living out in the cold because their former houses had been burnt by the army and they were still building their new houses. Some people have had to move three times. A doctor from one area reported that the people do not come for treatment when they are sick. "They say they may as well die than live in such hell," the doctor said.

A churchman familiar with the villages refuted the rosy picture painted by government sources and urged people to try and put themselves in the other person's shoes. "How would the population of say Borrowdale, Braeside, Avondale, Marlborough and Mount Pleasant (European areas) feel," he asked, "if their houses were burnt down and they themselves herded with their belongings into a space of 15 square meters and told to build their own shelters and dig their own latrines? How would they react if they were told that there would be no compensation for their homes and property and that there could be no guarantee that they would ever be allowed to return to their former homes?"



While the government has rejected claims of starvation within the "keeps", as the villages are called by the people, it is a fact that voluntary agencies and organisations have often had to come to the rescue. Last year, the Emergency Relief Committee of Christian Care spent more than \$60,000 providing food, clothing, blankets, accommodation, education and health services to residents of the protected villages. The first seven months of 1977 it has already spent more than \$73,000!

A report from the Mtoko area in May stated, "The prime need of the people at the moment is blankets and this will be the prime need for at least the next three months. When winter comes to an end so will the food and from August onwards the prime need will be mealie-meal." A report from the Umtali Diocese in April states, "Already people are hungry in the protected villages and the situation food-wise is certain to deteriorate. Food and property were moved during the rains which were unusually severe

this year. Much of the food is rotting. No ploughing was done as the people had to transport everything themselves and also to build huts."

Another report from Dande TTL in the north says, "Aid of any kind is most urgently needed for Mabomo and Chapoto. Mabomo was resettled in the bush without clinic, school, stores, post offices, etc. No cattle. Chapoto is cut from the outside world through war activities. Ganano is in a similar position....Malaria is rampant. Villages west of the Utepe River are not allowed to have any cattle because of tse-tse fly." From Chiweshe a report states, "Most desperate need of the people is safe sanitary facilities. Insufficient and polluted water poses a related problem to health and Chiweshe has been noted for the incidence of typhoid in the past."

More than half a million people have been forced to live in such difficult conditions and to create new lives from nothing. The real irony is that in many areas the guerillas move in and out of the villages



freely. This has been confirmed by many people who say that the guerillas either make friends with the D.A's or threaten them. If the villages fail to cut off the guerillas from the local population, what purpose do they serve except to make life miserable for their inhabitants?

## PROTECTED VILLAGES

### MASHONALAND PROVINCE

Tribal Trust Land	No. of P.Vs.	Total	Approx. Pop.	Totals:
Dande	4		1,800	
Mzarabañi	3		5,600	
Gutsa	6		3,832	
Chiswiti	10		17,000	
Kandeya	30		60,000	
Chiweshe	21		120,000	
Madziwa	10		25,000	
Uzumba	20		70,000	
Maramba	6		12,000	
Pfungwe	12		16,000	
Mtoko	17		68,000	
Mudzi	5		20,000	
Ngarwe	12		48,000	
Chikwizo	3	159	12,000	479,232

### MANICALAND PROVINCE

Honde Valley	7		14,000	
Chipinga Area (Mt. Silinda, Chikore)	5		7,600	
Ndowoyo	12		24,000	
Musikavanhu	3		6,000	
Makoni District	4	31	10,000	61,600

### VICTORIA PROVINCE

Sangwe	4		8,000	
Chiredzi	9	13	32,000	40,000
<b>TOTALS</b>		<b>203</b>		<b>580,832</b>

August 1977

# Rhodesian army pursues policy of systematic torture

Reports of torture at the hands of government security forces continue to be the rule rather than the exception. Furthermore, under the provisions of the Indemnity and Compensation Act, a soldier or other government official can torture or kill a prisoner and the matter cannot be brought to court if the Minister certifies that the action was committed in good faith to suppress terrorism or to maintain public order.

Not only do the brutal methods invite retaliation, but it is questionable whether they have any effect

except to make enemies of the rural population. The army already employs informers who keep it well posted on all security matters. The army must also be aware that such methods tend to yield lies. When people can stand no more torture, they will agree to whatever their interrogators say, whether it is true or not.

The army is purported to be defending the local people and to be fighting to safeguard their interests. The practice of torture can hardly be the best means to convince people that the army is on their side. On the contrary, the army and police have become the greater enemies and are hated and feared by the people.

There is a realisation by the commanders of the security forces that they cannot win the war. This realisation appears now to be shared by some ordinary soldiers. Occasional reports have been received that members of the security forces, particularly towards the end of a tour of duty, have deliberately avoided contact with the guerillas. Sometimes when guerillas have been located, the security forces have moved in the opposite direction. Other reports state that after a guerilla operation, the army often interrogates and tortures the local people in the vicinity.

Whatever the reasons, the practice of torture has become a common event in the lives of people in the rural areas. Schools are frequent targets of interrogation campaigns. One common method of torturing students which leaves no tell-tale marks is the towel and hose method. The students are stripped naked, a towel is put over their faces and running water is sprayed in their mouths and noses through a hose. "It gives the impression of suffocating or drowning," one headmaster explained.

Any area in which there has been guerilla activity can also expect a gruelling interrogation session. The emergency powers allow the government to detain anyone for questioning up to 60 days without pressing any charges. No one is exempt, including priests and sisters who have been questioned and beaten like everyone else.

The government accuses the guerillas of victimising and intimidating the people. Most of the people would turn and point a finger at the government and declare that it is responsible for most of the terror in the country. Following are two recent examples which help explain why the people feel this way. The names have been omitted to protect those involved from further harassment.

## 1. Security Forces Inflicted Burns

At about 11 o'clock on the morning of 21 December 1976, Mr. P.M. was working with his wife and children on his land when a group of 24 soldiers approached, 22 Africans and 2 Europeans. One of the Europeans asked him where the "terrorists"

Mapeadanga aya akanzaiwa neMapurisa neVhosaja edu  
mochingura chichangopitwara ichi.



Credit: u.n.

Rhodesian propaganda leaflet. Caption reads: "These terrorists were killed by our police and soldiers a short time ago."

were and Mr. M. replied that he didn't know. He had only heard they were in the area. The soldier then accused him of harbouring the "terrorists" and beat Mr. M. on his lower back with a large stick until he fell and was then bound by his wrists with wire and tied to a tree.

Meanwhile the other soldiers had been preparing to eat and had made a fire on which some beer was boiling. The European soldier took this sweet liquid and poured 15 cups over Mr. M's head and about 5 cups over his shoulders. After the meal, the same soldier poured the boiling beer countless times over Mr. M's feet.

While this had been taking place, Mrs. M had been beaten by some African soldiers. She was then taken with her children to see her badly burned husband who had been detached from the tree and taken to the kraal. The European soldier who had tortured Mr. M then said he regretted the severity of his treatment and now thought that Mr. M had not been aware of any specific "terrorist" presence in the area. He advised him to seek medical treatment but when he was told that the nearest clinic was 16 miles away, he did not volunteer to provide transport. An African soldier bandaged Mr. M's wound and gave him some pills.

Early the next morning, Mr. M supported by his wife and brother, walked the 16 miles to the hospital. He was a fulltime patient at the hospital for nine

weeks. He continues to visit the hospital even now (July) for respiratory difficulties which appear to have developed as a result of this incident. He now has trembling hands which make it hard for him to write or even hold a cup of liquid. He has difficulty focusing his eyes when reading and is unable to walk for any distance without pain. He has occasionally fallen to the ground when walking in the sun without a head covering and says that his wife now does most of the work on their land since he can no longer work satisfactorily.

## 2. Severe Beating by Security Forces

F.S., 21 years old, was on his way to the shops with a friend to buy some bread on Sunday morning, 19 June 1977. They were stopped by soldiers who asked to see their situpas (passes). They were then taken in a lorry to Chisasike Camp where they joined a crowd of people sitting outside and being called one by one into a tent for questioning by two European soldiers and two African soldiers. When it was F.S.'s turn they asked him when he had last seen the "terrorists". He answered that he had never seen them, but only read about them in the newspapers and in the government propaganda pamphlets.

When he kept denying that he had seen the guerillas, the soldiers made him remove his clothes and attached an electric device to his ankles which he said gave "a terrible pain". They made him lie face down and beat him on his shoulders, back and buttocks with something which F. described as "a rubber fanbelt". The process went on for a very long time until F. began to lose consciousness. The soldiers said they were going to kill him if he didn't tell them the truth.

The soldiers then said they were going to get something to eat to make them stronger so they could beat him harder. By this time F. couldn't see very well and only passed blood when he urinated. He said that he was afraid that the soldiers would really kill him so he decided to tell them lies. When they returned, he told them that he had seen the "terrorists" and made up stories about the kinds of meetings they hold.

He was released the next day but was very weak and sick. When he reached his village with the help of his friend, he was so sick that the people were afraid he would die and hired a car to take him to the hospital. He was admitted to the hospital and remained there as a fulltime patient for five weeks. He was beaten so badly that his left shoulder and right buttock were still oozing blood and pus more than a week after treatment began.

One of the most deplorable aspects of the war in Rhodesia is the high incidence of civilian deaths. According to government figures, civilian deaths for 1977 alone already number 532. This is more than four times the number of government soldiers killed

during the same period (129) and almost as many as the number of guerillas killed (725).

The breakdown of casualties recorded in the official security force communique is as follows:

**DEATHS RECORDED FROM 1 JANUARY-30 JUNE 1977**  
**Civilians killed by security forces**

Curfew breakers	58
Running with and assisting	53
Terrorist recruits	99
Failing to halt	13
Crossing to Mozambique	7
Caught in crossfire	54
	<hr/>
	284

**Civilians killed by guerillas**

Africans	188
Europeans	12
Landmine explosions	48
	<hr/>
	248

**Totals**

Civilians killed	532
Guerillas killed	725
Security forces killed	129
	<hr/>

TOTAL: 1,486

While these figures are high enough, they are an underestimate since many deaths, both civilian and military, are reported to the Justice and Peace Office that never appear in the official communiques or in the newspapers. For instance, on 6 July, members of the security forces were burning six villages in the Tanda TTL when they were attacked by guerillas and nine were killed. The incident itself never appeared anywhere, and the names of only two of the soldiers were reported the following week as "killed in action."

The fatal shooting of three children and a teacher by security forces at Kandenga School in Buhera District on 18 April also never appeared in the official communique though it was reported in the newspapers 11 days later as a "contact tragedy."

The fatal shooting of a mentally retarded boy in December was also never publicised. The 19 year old young man, Noah Chirema, was herding cattle with a friend on 3 December when they were stopped by a security force patrol for questioning. Noah was beaten and then shot through the right buttock. He was admitted to the hospital that evening and died five days later.

On 24 April at Viriri, Vaduzza Wadzinenga was on his way to Mukono School when he was stopped and taken to Chiurwi camp for questioning. He was beaten so badly that he died on 25 April and was

buried at his home near Viriri. Also on 24 April in Viriri, Gilson Chiduku, 24, was shot and killed as a curfew breaker about 50 yards from his home. Neither of these incidents ever appeared in any official communiques or newspaper reports. Multiply this by the whole country and one begins to realize the extent of the real death toll.

Army deaths are also known to be underreported. It is believed that the government fears morale would be lowered if the true figures were known. (The number of security forces killed in the first half of this year [129] is almost half the total number killed in the previous four years [268].) Therefore, the death of mercenaries is seldom reported. These make up a sizeable proportion of the army. An army spokesman admitted in May that so many mercenaries apply the government no longer needs to recruit them. He said that the greatest number of mercenaries come from America, Great Britain, Canada, New Zealand and Australia.

The death of African and Coloured soldiers is also often kept quiet, and it is believed that their families are paid to keep the deaths a secret. Again it is difficult to know if all the reported "terrorist" deaths, are indeed "terrorists" or if many of them are civilians. Propaganda leaflets dropped on rural villages have warned that people who help the guerillas "are counted as terrorists and will be killed by the security forces." If this threat is kept it helps to explain the high count of guerilla deaths when reliable sources from the operational areas indicate that few contacts actually take place between the nationalist soldiers and Smith's army.

All these practices make it difficult to know the true situation, but it is certain that civilians bear the brunt of the war. Since December 1972 a total of 1,552 African and 82 European civilians have died, victims of both sides in the conflict. This is five times the number of security forces killed during the war (329) and more than half the number of guerillas killed (2,567). Among these deaths are 222 curfew breakers and 227 listed as "running with or assisting terrorists." These statistics raise vital questions about the conduct of the war.

One can easily understand the confusion of villagers when so many of them meet their death at the hands of the security forces who purport to be their protectors. One can excuse them for asking whether they have more to fear from the army than from the guerillas.

August 1977

# Two case studies of the killing of civilians by Government forces

## 1. Killing of three children and a teacher at Kandenga School, 18 April 1977

A recent incident in which security forces killed three children and a teacher and wounded 12 other children is a tragic example of the gravity of the situation. In this case, as in many others, the version of the security forces differs substantially from the accounts given by the injured victims and other eye witnesses. Furthermore, it appears that an attempt was made to hide the matter from the public and the story never appeared in the official Security Force Headquarters communique and was only published in the newspapers 11 days after the incident occurred. There were also factual errors in the report. The school was misnamed Kandeya rather than Kandenga. Four children were reported dead rather than three and no names or details were given of the dead or injured children.

The "contact tragedy," as it was termed by the newspapers, took place at 12:30 on the afternoon of 18 April at Kandenga School which is about 10 km. from the Sabi river in the Sabi Tribal Trust Land. Ac-



Victims of soldiers attack, Nyevero Zariro (third from left) and Grace Zariro (fourth from left).

ording to the newspaper account, "Terrorists in this area are regarded by the security forces as being the most aggressive they are fighting."

The story which first appeared in the 29 April edition of the *Rhodesia Herald* quoted only a "security forces spokesman" and gave the following account. There had been several ambushes by "terrorists" in the vicinity of the school and on 18 April ten "terrorists" were sighted in the area. Five were seen moving through the bush and entering the school. According to the spokesman, "The terrorists rounded up the pupils and moved them out of the buildings to the centre of the school grounds." At this stage the ground patrol of the army called for assistance from the air force and five helicopters flew to the scene.

As the helicopters approached the school, some of the children and the "terrorists" rushed into one of the buildings while the others scattered to hiding places throughout the school compound. The security forces claim that there was no firing from the helicopters as they circled the school. (There are bullet holes in the roof of the school.)

The security forces allege that the "terrorists" opened fire on the ground forces who returned it but aimed high to miss the children which accounts for the bullet holes in the roof. When two of the "terrorists" ran from the building towards a hedge-row about 50 m. away they were killed by a stop group of the security forces. Another two met the same fate when they also ran from the building in the same direction. The spokesman admitted that the guerillas "did not use the children as a shield."

The stop groups north of the school then saw a movement in the grass about 100 m. away. Security forces opened fire. According to the newspaper, "It was in that action that the four children were killed and others were injured." The spokesman explained that the children had run from the school building to take cover in the bush.

The teacher, Mr. Jackson Tachiona Maisiri, died in the building where the "terrorists" reportedly fled. "At some stage security forces' ground fire was directed at this particular building," was the vague explanation of the security forces spokesman.

Both the security forces spokesman and the school children agree that the contact lasted for a long time. "It went on for longer than the security forces would have liked," their spokesman said. "The reason was that there were schoolchildren in the grounds and the security forces made every effort not to involve them."

The fifth "terrorist" was reported to have escaped.

The bodies of four "terrorists" and their weapons and personal equipment were alleged to have been recovered from the scene.

The children and the teachers tell an entirely different story. They steadfastly maintain that there were no guerillas at the school that morning. At 12:30 all the pupils were assembled in the school yard for dismissal when they saw helicopters circling overhead. The head teacher and school children ran towards the school gate where two of the helicopters were landing outside the wire fence surrounding the compound. Three European soldiers got out with guns. Without any warning they shot into the group of children killing three: Jenni Kandenga (grade 7), Zeketia Zvekure (grade 2), and Raphinos Zariro (aged 3 years). Others were injured including: Nyevero Zariro (16 years) with a bullet grazing her shin; Grace Zariro (grade 7) with a bullet which passed through her right shoulder; James Kujinga (grade 1) with a bullet in his thigh above his knee; Sarah Mutsauri (grade 6) was also injured. All the above were taken to Buhera Hospital.

Janet Nyembe (grade 6) and Sarudzai Kandenga (grade 4) were both taken to Enkeldoorn Hospital with bullet wounds. Enos Kandenga was badly wounded and taken to Harare Hospital as was a teacher, Mr. Eddison Chivongodza, who was shot in the shoulder.

Two soldiers then went around the classrooms. Another teacher, Mr. Jackson Tachiona Maisiri, had hidden under some desks and was shot dead. Shots were fired through the roofs of the classroom from a helicopter circling overhead and a grenade was dropped from the helicopter near the latrine injuring teacher Muchina who was hiding there.

On 2 May, the *Rhodesia Herald* carried an editorial on the incident entitled, "Tragic Event," expressing regret at the loss of young lives and questioning the attempt to hide the matter from the public.

It stated "We believe that nothing was gained by failing to release details of the tragedy for 10 days, and then only after inquiries from the newspapers. In the absence of any official news, rumour was given time to grow and spread. It is on unfortunate incidents like this that the enemies of Rhodesia feed...It may be that details of the incident at Kandeya were not known to those responsible for keeping the public informed. But they most certainly ought to have been."

## **2. 35 Civilians killed at Dabwa and 31 injured, 6 May 1977**

Another "tragic event" took place the following month when 35 African civilians, including women and children, were killed and 31 others wounded at Dabwa kraal in the southern area of Ndongwa Tribal Trust Land. According to the *Rhodesia Herald*, this

was the worst reported incident of civilian deaths since September 1976 when more than 30 were killed.

Those dead at Dabwa included 16 women, 12 children and 7 men. They were gathered in the kraal with approximately 200 others when the shooting took place at about 9:30 Friday night, 6 May.

The incident was reported briefly in the official security forces communique of 9 May and the newspaper account of 10 May was based on evidence given by Superintendent Jim Carse of the special branch in charge of the Criminal Investigation Division in the Chiredzi area. According to Supt. Carse, the civilians were killed in crossfire between about nine "terrorists" and 15 members of the security force who were on a "normal follow-up operation."

The contact followed the robbery of two buses in the area. "The security forces on the ground entered the kraal as a result of information they received," explained Supt. Carse. "As they entered the kraal area it was obvious to them that a meeting was in progress...and it was obvious to the African members of the patrol that it was a terrorist who was addressing the meeting. They were close enough to hear the terrorist."

At this point, a lone sentry is reported to have opened fire on the security forces. "After the terrorists opened fire the security forces did the same thing," reported Supt. Carse. "Panic ensued with people running everywhere. After seven minutes the security forces ceased fire."

Only one "terrorist" is reported to have been killed in the operation and there were no casualties among the security forces. According to the security force communique, several "terrorists" were wounded and "quantities of communist arms and equipment were found at the scene."

While Supt. Carse admitted that the killing of civilians was an "unfortunate setback," he placed the blame on the victims. "I think the locals knew they had done wrong by allowing the terrorists to come into the area and call a meeting," he said. Shortly before blaming the villagers, however, the Supt. himself stated, "They know they have got to attend these meetings, otherwise the terrorists may come back and kill them."

An editorial in the *Rhodesia Herald* of 11 May entitled "Victims of War" commented on the event observing that "such tragedies are unfortunately inevitable in fighting of this nature." It continued, "The security forces have given a frank account of the events that led to the shooting. There is no reason to disbelieve it. After all, when bullets and people start to fly on a dark night who can say who is friend or foe, let alone civilian?"

The security forces also defended the operation,

saying that they had "no alternative but to open fire." Though not actually present during the operation, Supt. Carse said, "I am completely satisfied that they acted as I would have if I had been there...I cannot see us altering instructions to security forces to cease firing if they are being fired at by the terrorists."

June 1977

## What is the policy towards civilians?

Whatever the true story of the incidents at Kandenga School and Dabwa kraal, the fact that 39 civilians, mostly women and children, were killed by security forces raises serious questions about the policy of the government towards civilians in the operational areas. In particular these incidents illustrate the lack of distinction made between civilians and belligerents and the disregard for the safety of civilians.

The government's disregard for the lives of villagers who "harbour terrorists" is no secret and was spelled out in parliament by Mr. Van der Byl when he was the Minister of Defence. "If villagers harbour terrorists and terrorists are found about in villages, naturally they will be bombed and destroyed in any manner which the commander on the spot considers to be desirable in the suitable prosecution of a successful campaign...Where the civilian population involves itself with terrorism, then somebody is bound to get hurt and one can have little sympathy for those who are mixed up with terrorists when finally they receive the wrath of the security forces."

He apparently has as little sympathy for villagers who incur the "wrath" of the "terrorists" by refusing to assist them. When "wrath" can mean death from either side the villagers have little room for choice. It is the government itself which publicises that "terrorists" use force and intimidation against innocent black civilians. Do security forces doubt the government propaganda, or do they really care whether civilians have involved themselves voluntarily out of sympathy with the guerillas or whether they have been compelled to be "mixed up with terrorists" out of fear, intimidation and danger of death? One wonders if they make any effort to distinguish this before firing.

The harsh attitude of security forces towards civilians is regularly spelled out in the propaganda leaflets dropped in the Tribal Trust Lands. On June 7, for instance, a leaflet dropped in Makoni Tribal Trust Land stated, "There are still some people who continue to help the terrorists and a few even try to do their evil work for them. These people are coun-

ted as terrorists and will be killed by the security forces." Could these be some of the 622 casualties for this year counted as terrorists in the security force communiques?

What then is the policy if the security forces come upon a meeting such as allegedly took place at Dabwa? Will it be assumed, as the Minister implied, that the villagers have freely entertained those guerillas and therefore disregard the very real prospect of large scale civilian casualties? Or is the policy to hold back and to do the utmost to avoid a full scale battle in which civilian casualties will be inevitable?



### REWARDS

Government will pay substantial rewards to anyone who volunteers secret information which leads to the death or capture of terrorists or their supporters and the capture of their weapons.

The names of anyone giving information will remain secret.

The amounts of the rewards offered by Government are:—

Five thousand dollars for a senior terrorist leader.

Two thousand five hundred dollars for a terrorist group leader.

One thousand dollars for a terrorist.

One thousand dollars for each terrorist vehicle mine.

One thousand dollars for each terrorist heavy weapon of war.

Five hundred dollars for each terrorist machine gun.

Three hundred dollars for each terrorist light personal weapon.

Three hundred dollars for each full box of terrorist ammunition.

Three hundred dollars for each full box of terrorist grenades.

Three hundred dollars for each full box of terrorist anti-personnel mines.

These rewards will not be payable to a civil servant who is engaged on duties concerned with anti-terrorist activities or to a member of the Security Forces, unless he obtained the information while he was off-duty.

By order of the Government of Rhodesia.

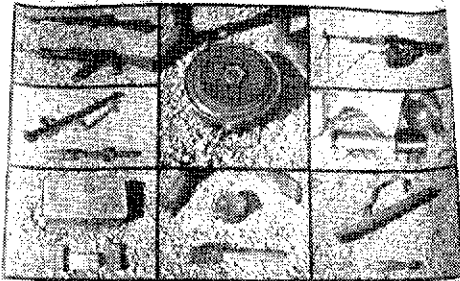
14/11/74.

Printed by the Government Printer, Salisbury.

Is it a legitimate excuse to plead that the security forces acted correctly in the Dabwa incident because when fired upon they were forced to return fire? Should they have approached so close to the village that they would attract fire which they would then have to return? Should they have returned fire in such a situation when they knew that a large number of civilians were in the direct line of fire? To return fire from a guerilla is one thing, but to direct fire at targets in the midst of civilians is another.

Again in the case of Kandenga School, is it the policy of the forces to corner guerillas (if there were any) in the midst of civilians and open fire? Could they have hidden in wait until the guerillas left the school compound and were out of range of civilian targets. Is it the policy to shoot at moving grass without verifying whether it contains enemies or in-

## MAKE MONEY LOOK FOR THESE



THESE ARE SOME OF THE THINGS CARRIED BY TERRORISTS  
AND YOU WILL BE PAID MUCH MONEY FOR SHOWING OR  
SAYING WHERE THEY CAN BE FOUND.

ALSO YOU WILL BE PAID AT LEAST \$1000 FOR INFORMATION  
LEADING TO THE DEATH OR CAPTURE OF A TERRORIST.

**Propaganda leaflet.**

nocent children? What is the policy about the use of helicopters in areas heavily populated by civilians?

The manner in which the deaths of African civilians are reported is another indication of the disregard in which their lives are held. In all official security force communiques, they appear as non-persons without names or any personal particulars. This is the same way in which the deaths of "terrorists" are reported. On the other hand, the

deaths of any members of the security forces are reported in full, as are the deaths of white civilians, giving their name, age, marital status and number of children.

Another disturbing fact about civilian deaths is the large numbers killed as curfew breakers and those killed for "running with and assisting terrorists." Since the beginning of this year, 57 curfew breakers have been killed and another 43 have died for running with and assisting. This does not include another 13 killed for ignoring calls to halt and 93 killed as "terrorist recruits." What criteria are used to determine whether a person is a recruit? Is any attempt made to find out if those "running with and assisting" are doing so freely, or under duress? Are Africans well informed of curfew hours and can they distinguish them accurately without watches? What policies, if any, deal with such cases?

The civilian death toll makes clear the contradictions in the government's anti-insurgency policy and highlights the double standard operating. While the government spares no words in condemning the guerillas for intimidating and killing innocent African civilians, its own security forces are guilty of the same crime and have killed a total of 267 civilians since the beginning of 1977 not to mention those injured. One can easily understand the confusion of villagers when so many of them meet their deaths at the hands of the security forces who purport to be their protectors. One can excuse them for asking whether they have more to fear from the army than from the guerillas. One can also understand why they might feel that any black person is a target for trigger-happy army personnel.

*June 1977*

## A survey of security legislation in Rhodesia

Two acts, both originally passed in 1960, the Emergency Powers Act<sup>1</sup> and the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act<sup>2</sup> form the basis of security legislation in Rhodesia. Initially they were aimed at preventing violent political disorder within urban areas but the African nationalists switched their activities from internal political agitation and embarked on a guerilla warfare campaign operating from outside the country. Since then the security legislation has been aimed at stamping out "terrorism" and preventing the guerillas from receiving support from the civilian population. The government sought to counteract guerilla activity not only by military action but also by the creation of a battery of new security provisions, by substantially increasing the penalties for existing security laws and by moving large numbers of civilians into protected and consolidated villages to cut off food supplies and other assistance to the guerillas.

Since 11th November, 1965 there has been a con-

tinual declared state of emergency and under the Emergency Powers Act a multiplicity of drastic measures has been passed. This Act allocates to the President far-reaching powers which extend even to the amendment by regulation of pre-existing laws.<sup>3</sup> He may use these powers whenever it appears to him necessary or expedient for the public safety, the maintenance of public order, the maintenance of any essential service or the preservation of the peace<sup>4</sup>. Regulations made by the President are deemed to be valid even if inconsistent with any law<sup>5</sup>. The following are examples of some of the ways in which these powers have been exercised:

- a) The Minister may close border posts if he suspects that guerillas have come from or are seeking refuge in a neighboring country<sup>6</sup>.
- b) Government officials may impose group

punishment upon the inhabitants of an area in certain circumstances<sup>7</sup>.

- c) A National Security Commission has been established which has power to prohibit the publication of certain items by the news media—penalty for breach—\$10,000 fine or five years imprisonment or both<sup>8</sup>;
- d) Anti-terrorist legislation is given extra-territorial effect by making it an offence for any person resident in a country outside Rhodesia who outside Rhodesia gives any assistance to the guerillas. It also gives Rhodesian courts jurisdiction to try such persons irrespective of the circumstances in which the person concerned has entered Rhodesia or been apprehended<sup>9</sup>. In other words, nationals of Botswana or Zambia, etc. could be kidnapped and made to stand trial in Rhodesia.

One of the most drastic innovations is the introduction of special courts to try offenders against the anti-terrorist legislation<sup>10</sup>. It has always been the policy of the Rhodesian government to treat such people as common criminals and not as prisoners of war. These courts are empowered to give any sentence, including the death sentence. The President of the court must have certain minimum legal qualifications<sup>11</sup> although he need not be a judge but the special court will also have two or three other members who need not have any legal qualifications. The President decides all matters of law but other questions are decided by a majority vote. Thus non-legal members could—and have—overridden the President on the matter of the death penalty. The accused is entitled to be represented by an advocate or attorney of his choice but if the President is of the opinion that this cannot be obtained without undue delay the accused is only entitled to be represented by a pro deo lawyer. Since the courts are frequently held in remote parts of the country and at short notice this provision is invoked regularly.

The main objective of the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act is to stamp out guerilla activity. Guerillas entering Rhodesia are generally charged with murder, commission of acts of terrorism and sabotage and unlawful possession of arms of war<sup>12</sup>. The death sentence is mandatory in the absence of extenuating circumstances. The second main offence created by the Act is that of going for guerilla training or recruiting persons to go for such training<sup>14</sup>. Again the death sentence is mandatory unless the accused is a pregnant woman, under 16, or it is found that special circumstances existed. Regulations promulgated under the Emergency Powers Act<sup>15</sup> do away with any attempt to distinguish between mere preparation and an at-

tempt—both are equally an offence. The final crime is failing to report the presence of guerillas and harbouring, assisting and concealing them<sup>16</sup>. These are regarded as necessary because the “terrorists” are waging a guerilla campaign where the essential elements are mobility, stealth and surprise and they are heavily dependent upon assistance from the local African civilian population. There is a maximum penalty of death or life imprisonment.

The intensification of the war has led to harsh counteractive measures. Law and order has come to mean precisely the opposite to Black Rhodesians who are caught in its endless regulations and restrictions. A recent letter to the editor of the *Rhodesia Herald* pointed out that if a future government chooses to be repressive it need only retain the present laws!

August 1977

## The War – myth and reality

After a period of sporadic incursions beginning in late 1964, nationalist guerrillas launched a sustained offensive in north-east Rhodesia in December 1972. Since then, in the period up to March 1977, over 4,000 people have been killed—more than 2,727 guerrillas, 256 soldiers including a number of South African Police and some 1,473 civilians including 79 whites. The figure for civilian dead include some 632 who the government admit have been killed by the security forces for breaking the curfew or ‘running with’ the guerrillas. These are official government figures and therefore need to be treated with caution. They do, however, give some indication of the nature and the scale of the war. If the war has seriously disrupted white Rhodesian society its impact on African life has been disastrous. Nevertheless the image of the war presented in the British media is that of a beleaguered white minority who bear the brunt of the hardship and are its real victims. Typical of this is the following four-page pull-out which appeared in the *Daily Mail* of July 15th, 1977. The *Daily Mail* is one of Britain’s leading daily newspapers with a circulation of almost 2 million. By contrast, we have included in this appendix copies of leaflets which were distributed in 1973 in schools, stores and rural councils throughout the northern and north-eastern districts of Rhodesia, showing close-up photographs of the mutilated bodies of African civilians who the leaflets said had co-operated with the insurgents and were killed by the Security Forces. In each case the victims name and village were stated. The caption read: “Warning. These men died because they helped the terrorists! Tell the police and our soldiers who the terrorists



are, because this will bring back peace to your villages."

Similar pictures of insurgents killed in action were distributed in the Chesa Purchase Area, the Masoso Tribal Trust land and other districts. The caption reads: "These terrorists were killed by our police, and soldiers in such a short time! The Masoso Tribal Trust land has been closed so that the police and soldiers can seek out the terrorists and those who help the terrorists. As you know, terrorists have entered your area, and so they are given assistance by the people of your area. In order for the police and soldiers to be able to do their work properly, your schools, butcheries, grinding mills and general stores have been closed." (cf *Civil War in Rhodesia*, October, 1976.)


CIIR  
London  
September 1977

FOOTNOTES

1. cap. 83
2. cap. 65
3. s. 5
4. s. 3
5. s. 4
6. RGN 174/1973
7. RGN 101/1973
8. RGN 301A/1976
9. RGN 405/1977 s. 44
10. RGN 333/1976
11. a judge, an ex-judge, a person qualified to be appointed as a judge, a magistrate, advocate or attorney of not less than ten years standing
12. S.v. Hove 1977(1) S.A. 518 (R., A.D.)
13. s. 37
14. s. 24
15. s. 43
16. s. 51



DAMATSANGA SERESTA  
MARIKO KRAAL



## TO ALL THE PEOPLE

Terrorists have recently entered some Districts of Rhodesia causing great hardships for the people. Many of these terrorists have been killed or captured by the Security Forces.

Government is determined to enforce Law and Order.

The terrorists may come to your area and ask for food, shelter and your help in their evil and unlawful doings. Any person giving help, or failing to report the presence of these terrorists will be severely punished.

### Rewards

Substantial rewards will be paid to any person for true information given to the Security Forces, or to any member of the District Commissioner's staff, on the whereabouts of terrorists or their helpers, or on the whereabouts of terrorists' weapons.

### Punishments

Those who help the terrorists will be severely punished.

Those who have information of terrorists, their weapons, or people who have helped the terrorists, and fail immediately to report this information to the Security Forces, will be punished.

### Penalties

Any person found guilty of assisting the terrorists may be sentenced up to twenty years imprisonment.

People of any kraal, village or of an area withholding information concerning terrorists, or assisting terrorists, may be fined collectively.

To assist the Security Forces in your area in the search for terrorists or their helpers, it may be necessary to close the schools, stores, mills, butcheries and beer-halls. Also, all motor traffic may be stopped from leaving or entering your area.

Remember obey the Law and you will be protected.

# THIS MAN WAS WISE

He helped the terrorists and he was  
sentenced to 15 years in prison and his  
cattle were sold.

## NOT THESE PEOPLE ARE HUNTERING!

1

They helped  
the terrorists

5

Some went to  
prison for 15 years

6

others had their  
cattle sold



The casualty: A young white soldier injured in jungle fighting is airlifted to hospital.

# The war without hope . . .

RHODESIA is today a nation under siege. It is a country fighting a war it cannot win against the guerillas of Black Africa and world opinion. It is a war that for the whites stretches into every home, every school, every shop, every facet of their lives. Rhodesia is the land where the white man props his gun next to the television, where a woman shopping for a new dress packs a pistol in her handbag.

Today the Daily Mail brings that troubled land

into sharp focus with a four-page Photo Special that achieves a new height in pictorial journalism. The price of the savage conflict in human terms is starkly shown in the picture above. A young soldier, seriously ill with head wounds from a jungle-skirmish, is taken

out of a helicopter ambulance. For him at least the fighting is over.

For hundreds of thousands of others the war goes on, although in an attempt to forget it, Rhodesia has become a crazy, crazy land. People are fighting on the borders for the survival of their

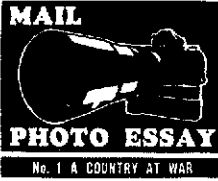
way of life but in the towns the nightclubs are full and in the restaurants dinner-jacketed and evening-gowned whites eat from tables adorned with crisp napkins and glittering cutlery.

The toast in the bars is 'Bravo, Rhodesia!' and 'Good old Prime Minister Smithy!' And the house agents are full of homes put up for sale by those emigrating because black majority rule is inevitable.

Turn to Pages 20 and 21

**Daily Mail Four-Page Special with pictures by Geoffrey White**

Reprinted by kind permission of The Daily Mail



# Jump to it, Fire Force!

**OPERATION** Fire-Force is go. He has leapt, gun at the ready, from the helicopter many times in training. This time he could already be in the rifle sights of a freedom-fighter in the rough country below. Fire-Force is the Rhodesian Army code-name for a drop against guerillas. The Rhodesians boast the best bush-fighting force in the world. But they are losing ground. Once their ratio of kills was 10 to one of their own men. Now the figure has slumped to three to one. And the guerillas swear that for every man who dies another will take his place.



Time for a break in a troops' canteen

## Mercenaries move in

**HUNDREDS** of mercenaries have flocked to join the Rhodesian Army in recent months.

The Rhodesians have recruited 10,000 foreigners—but the army could have been boosted by 10,000 if all the foreign volunteers had been accepted.

“We weed out many,” says Major Lamprecht, the chief recruiting officer. “We can tell the nut cases by the way they draft original applications.”

Why do they come? Money is only one reason—and, since foreigners receive the same basic pay as their Rhodesian counterparts, it is not even a major consideration in most cases.

“I am here because this is the only worthwhile war going on at present,” confides a Vietnam veteran of the U.S. Special Forces who is now a major in the Rhodesian Army. “Besides, it’s Communism we are fighting here.”

Rolf Kaufeld resigned his commission as a captain in the West German tank corps to join the Rhodesian Army. According to

him, most of the West Europeans signing up are doing so because they ‘got fed up with their own societies.’

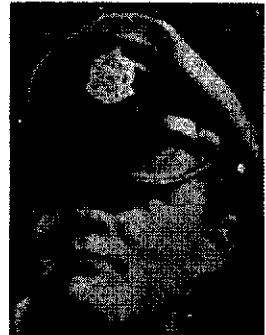
The training the foreigners get is gruelling.

John Asher, 28, a veteran of the Green Berets in Vietnam, said: “We jogged for 14 miles with 65 pounds on our backs and carrying a 9.8-pound FN rifle.”

“We also had to jump from a Dakota at only 350 feet. That’s seven seconds from the time you jump until you hit the ground.”

Asher lost 45 pounds in his 42 days of training. His 27-man squad included only two Rhodesians. The rest were South Africans, Australians, New Zealanders, Frenchmen, Poles, Israelis and Italians. A lone Belgian held the record with five foreign wars to his name. At only 34, Pierre Marin had already fought in the Congo twice, in Biafra, in Chad and in Djibouti.

Not all the foreigners last. So far 12 Americans have deserted. But more recruits arrive every day. Many accuse the Carter Administration of spurning Rhodesia.



Soldier of fortune... one of the hundreds of mercenaries who boost the ranks of the Rhodesian Army. And more are arriving every day.

This report was prepared by members of the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace inside Rhodesia. At the end of August 1977, even before the report was released, the Smith government arrested four commission members in connection with the compilation of the document. Sister Janice McLaughlin, an American, was held in detention for three weeks and then deported. John Deary, Brother Joseph Depuis and Father Dieter Scholz have been charged under the law and order and official secrets act. They were released on bail, and, as of January 1978, still await trial.

While differences exist between ourselves and the Commission, particularly as expressed in relation to the reasons for the Zimbabwean population's support of the liberation forces, the Africa Fund is reprinting this report because it provides invaluable, carefully documented information about the tactics being used by the Smith government against the Zimbabwean people. We thank the Catholic Institute for International Relations for permission to reprint the report in its present form.

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