



LET US FIGHT AND REBUILD
ZIMBABWE

Z. A. N. U.

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Statement presented to the United Nations Committee of the Decolonization of Southern Rhodesia on **Wednesday, November 30th, 1977** by **Tirivafi J. Kangai**, Chief Representative to the United States. Four regarding

Comrade Chairman,
Your Excellencies,

Allow me on behalf of Patriotic Front to thank you for giving us this opportunity to apprise this world body of the situation in Zimbabwe. We would like to thank you Comrade Chairman for the way you have handled meetings of this Committee and the support your country is giving to our liberation movement. We are also happy to notice the memberships of Vietnam and Djibouti to this world body. The experience of the Vietnamese struggle against colonialism and imperialism will be a great contribution to this Committee. At the same time, the independence of Djibouti shows once more that the African people are determined to be masters in their own lands.

Comrade Chairman, in early sixties, the people of Zimbabwe resorted to armed struggle as the only method that would topple the colonial racist regime in Zimbabwe. We did so because we had exhausted all other forms of struggle. We went through mass rallies, economic boycott and civil

Pamberi Nechimurenga

"Forward with the Revolution"

disobedience but nothing was achieved. Instead we got imprisoned, exploited and shot by the settler regime.

Militarily, we have the upper hand over the enemy. We operate on all fronts of the country. This has caused the stretching of the enemy forces and Smith's call-up of his territorial soldiers and recruitment of mercenaries. Two-thirds of the country is under military operation. The rebel economy is getting disrupted and the emigration rate has grown to about 1700 every month. We have since started expanding our cells within the cities although most of the fighting is in the countryside.

Comrade Chairman, this form of struggle--armed struggle--is paying dividends. It is armed struggle that forced Ian Smith to go to Geneva last year. It is armed struggle that has forced the enemy to accept majority rule in principle. Let me emphasize here that our forces have vowed to wage armed struggle until a peoples' government is established in Zimbabwe.

The struggle that we are waging in Zimbabwe is not a racial one. It is not a black-white confrontation. We are fighting a system whereby a few people regardless of the color of their skin enjoy political, economic and social power at the expense of the majority. It is a struggle between the exploited and the exploiters. We don't shoot white or black civilians. We attack the Rhodesian colonial army, army posts, police and farmers who are military reservists and who use their farms as intelligence posts for the enemy. Our view is that if Britain and Smith hand over power to a few black puppets who will continue to exploit the black majority the way Smith is doing, the revolution will continue.

The Geneva Conference and other conferences before it were there because of armed struggle. The current British proposals are there to disarm us and give Ian Smith a breathing space. This is what happened exactly during the Southern Africa Detente of 1974.

Britain and the United States would like to maintain their economic and cultural interests by installing a puppet regime in Zimbabwe. This is the main objective of the current British Proposals on Zimbabwe.

Before we outline our objections to the current proposals, let us restate that we do not accept direct U.S.A. involvement in the decolonization of South Rhodesia for the following reasons:

The U.S. has no constitutional responsibility over S. Rhodesia. U.S.A. may advise or consult Britain but it should not co-sponsor or co-chair any conference for the decolonization of our country. Any settlement has to be between the British Government and the Patriotic Front. These are the adversaries in the present armed conflict. The U.S.A. is a beneficiary of the status quo in S. Rhodesia and as such is incapable of producing a formula for an independent Zimbabwe which will disadvantage U.S.A. corporate interests. You are all aware of U.S.A. multinational companies trading with the Smith regime despite U.N. economic sanctions. Mobil Oil has supplied oil to Rhodesia for years and is still doing so. The U.S. has not abided by the U.N. Maputo Declaration which called for closure of Rhodesia Offices like the one operating in Washington, D.C. at the moment. On the verge of France's defeat in Vietnam, U.S.A. stepped in and you are all aware of how the Vietnamese people suffered. We believe that U.S.A. would like to replace Britain in exploiting the people of Zimbabwe.

We also believe that U.S.A.'s involvement internationalizes the conflict in Zimbabwe in particular and Southern Africa in general. Other major powers would also want to be involved and this causes superpower conflict in the region.

Comrade Chairman, our liberation movement rejects the following key elements of the current British Proposals for a solution to the Crisis in Zimbabwe!

According to the proposals, during the transitional period the resident Commissioner appointed by the British government "will be vested responsibility for all Executive and Legislative functions." It appears that the liberation movement has fought the illegal regime for 12 years simply to transfer power to an all-powerful colonial administration. The Resident Commissioner Designate has been appointed without any consultation with the Zimbabwe people. The Smith regime should surrender power to the people of Zimbabwe, not to Britain. Our view is that the Transitional Administration must have the confidence of the people and therefore must be acceptable to the liberation movement and involve their full participation.

Regarding the Rhodesian Police forces the British White Papers say "the primary responsibility for the maintenance of law and order during the transitional period will be with the (existing) police forces." The police, many of whom are para-military, have played a critical role in enforcing the repressive legislation and emergency regulations. They are well practiced in intimidation and torture and are bitter enemies of the liberation movement. It would be naive to imagine that they would not use this position to ensure that a future government was not composed of those who had suffered at their hands in the past. If the Zimbabwe people

are to have confidence in the transitional arrangements, then the existing forces of the illegal regime must be dissolved and replaced by forces of the liberation movement.

Regarding the United Nations Zimbabwe Force, under Paragraph 11 (C) of the proposals, three possible roles for the U.N. Zimbabwe Force are set out as follows:

- "(1) the supervision of the cease-fire
- (2) support for the civil power
- (3) liaison with the existing Rhodesian armed forces and with the forces of the Liberation Army."

In fact the use of the word Zimbabwe is a misnomer since the Force is supposed to be in operation during the transitional period and the civil power would be the British Resident Commissioner. Comrade Chairman, we have high regards for the United Nations in areas of fighting diseases, hunger, and promoting education. However, the U.N. has performed negatively in areas of peace-keeping. The Congo, Cyprus, Korea and Middle East crises are still fresh in our minds. Why would Zimbabwe be an exception? The United Nations are making an important and continuing contribution to assist the Zimbabwe Peoples' struggle. However, if a United Nations Force was to operate in the situation envisaged under the existing proposals for the Transitional period it could discover itself acting for the Civil Power, Britain, through its Resident Commissioner, against the Zimbabwe People. We feel that we should be our own peace-keepers.

A key element of the white paper is the Zimbabwe Development Fund. This Fund was originally described as a method of "buying out the whites." However, it is now presented in a different form. Nowhere does it state

explicitly that the Fund will be based on the priorities and plans of the Government of Zimbabwe itself. Indeed it contains explicit commitments to the role of external private investment. For example it refers to (Annex C paragraph 5) "Commercial capital flows, especially in extractive, processing and manufacturing industries." Again (Annex C paragraph 10) "The Fund will also facilitate action . . . to encourage commercial trade and private investment flows to Zimbabwe."

The Fund therefore appears to be determining in advance the character of economic development of Zimbabwe. Our view is that the Development Fund is intended to give an unborn state a loan that will take a long time to pay back. It is a way of injecting capital in our country for profit by invisible masters.

Comrade Chairman, because of the foregoing, we regard the current British Proposals as the usual practice of imperialists to frustrate our people's revolution. We reaffirm armed struggle as our only salvation. We are willing to negotiate but will continue to fight until total power is surrendered to us. We call upon African states, Socialist states and Scandinavian countries to support our liberation war until final victory. There can be no cease-fire before we know the role we are to play in the transitional government. We should participate fully in the transitional government. There can be no cease-fire until the enemy forces are dismantled. The law and order should be maintained by our peoples' forces during the transitional period. We recommend that economic sanctions should not be lifted, but that they should be intensified.

Since the intensification of armed struggle in Zimbabwe, the minority regime has resorted to terror-torture tactics on innocent civilians. For

example hundreds of thousands of civilians have been placed in concentration camps with a dusk to dawn curfew. Curfew breakers are punished by death. The inmates of those camps now know that if they do not make it at the gates by 6p.m. they dare not go. Instead they escape across the borders to the friendly neighbouring states.

As a result there are thousands of refugees in Mozambique, Zambia, Botswana and Tanzania. The Smith regime pursues these defenseless Zimbabweans and kills them in cold blood. Last year Smith's terrorist forces killed over a thousand refugees at Nyadzonya, Mozambique. Just a few days ago Smith forces killed several refugees and wounded many more at our refugees camps in Mozambique. These were mainly old women and children. These acts of aggression on African states and Zimbabwe refugees are supported by some western countries. Those western countries supply the Smith regime with oil, weapons and manpower. We strongly denounce those countries and call upon the U.N. to take strong measures against those countries.

The defenseless refugees need food, clothing, medical supplies, educational facilities, ambulances and mobile clinics. We are also in the process of establishing Zimbabwe Institutes. These institutes will help train our people in formal education as well as technical education. Comrade Chairman, we appeal to this august body so that the U.N. specialized agencies should look into this situation seriously.

Finally Ian Smith after killing our people in Mozambique told the world that he is going to have an internal settlement with certain individuals in Zimbabwe. This action is geared towards provoking a civil war in our country. The so-called internal settlement is aimed at putting puppets in power who will continue to exploit our people the way Smith is doing. The Rhodesian army which destroyed Mapai, killed our people at Nyadzonya and now at Chimoio and Tete is supposed to remain intact and "maintain" law and order for those puppets in Zimbabwe. We do not see how people who call themselves revolutionaries and fathers of the revolution can go to that extent of appeasing Ian Smith and his terrorist forces. Comrade chairman, we would like to warn Smith his supporters abroad and those puppets that anybody who stands in the way of our peoples' revolution will be crushed. We would also like to stress that there will ^{be} not any solution in Zimbabwe until total power is surrendered to the Patriotic Fighting forces. No deal which bypasses the revolutionary forces will last long in Zimbabwe. We are prepared to wage armed struggle until Smith and his stooges are crushed once and for all.

Forward with the Revolution!

Pamberi ne Chimurenga!