

THE

ZIMBABWE REVIEW



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THE ZIMBABWE REVIEW

TO OUR READERS:

We extend our thanks to the hundreds of readers of "THE ZIMBABWE REVIEW" who have expressed their appreciation of the material that was ventilated in the columns of our previous issues. We hope to be able to continue providing revealing information on the Rhodesian situation.

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EDITORIAL

On the 3rd of March 1978, Bishop Muzorewa, the Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole, Chief Chirau and the racist, Ian Smith, signed what was called the Rhodesian Constitutional Agreement. The "Agreement" provided for effective constitutional and administrative power to remain in the hands of the racist white settler minority whilst ministerial posts and the quantitative aspect of the vote was offered to the black majority. Now, the transitional structures have been formed providing an Executive Council of Ian Smith, Bishop Muzorewa, the Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole and Chief Chirau and a council of government ministers comprising half blacks and half whites. In short, a new type of black traitors has crossed the line and become part and parcel of the reactionary racist system which the Zimbabwe liberation struggle has been fighting to destroy for so long. Constitutional Apartheid has been formalised by black signatures. Reactionarism has worn a black mask in order to campaign for the lifting of economic sanctions and international recognition.

This represents no solution of the Rhodesian problem. It is plain intrigue and conspiracy against the objectives of the liberation struggle. It is trying to cheat the masses of Zimbabwe by offering the appearance of independence without independence.

We publish, in this issue of the Review, reactions of the Patriotic Front, the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations, to the Salisbury conspiracy. In a nutshell, all the reactions reject and condemn the so-called Agreement and above all, resolve the continuation of the liberation struggle.

It is incumbent upon us to point out what we reject and why. The people of Zimbabwe are struggling to dismantle and destroy a system in which economic, political and administrative power is in the hands of a few. The few happen, by colonial design, to be white in colour and of European race. They have used their colour and race as a basis for privilege and monopoly of power. They can no longer conceive of power without privilege or race.

The white-settlers of Rhodesia are not alone in this monopolist and racist manner of outlook. They are a true reflection of the mentality of

SOLUTION OR CONSPIRACY

colonialist Britain, imperialist Western Europe and America, not to say South Africa of which Rhodesia is a miniature. Powerful economic political and other establishment forces in Western Europe, the United States of America and Canada are, therefore, backing the Rhodesian racist conspiracy to the hilt. They are pressing every conceivable button in their command to make the thing stick, and work. They are the rear-guard forces of reaction which do not want their front — the Ian Smith regime — to take defeat from the poundings of the armed liberation struggle. They are protecting the monopoly of controlling the economic and political fate of the many millions of lives on whom their power and privileged lives rest. It is this control and power which the racist regime in Rhodesia and its supporters fear to lose. They are in fact losing to the armed liberation struggle. It is the stark realisation of this fact that has led them to another art of survival. The art is the establishment of a black puppet regime which wears a black deception whilst the essential elements of economic and political (constitutional) control remain in the hands of the privileged few.

The race factor is maintained but in a highly camouflaged form. It is maintained in respect of the provisions by which the whites in Rhodesia are supposed to have 28 parliamentary seats to themselves and should be voted for racially. It is camouflaged in the black and white mixture of the Executive Council, the Council of Ministers and the Common Voter's roll, supposed to vote for the black 72 members of the Assembly.

The treachery of the Smith-Muzorewa-Salisbury Agreement, is spelt out sufficiently in arguments put out at the United Nations and in the position — papers of the Patriotic Front. Prominent among these is the provision in which the property relations — say the racial distribution of land under the Land-Tenure Act (reserves and white-owned farms) — cannot be changed radically unless and until the privileged racist minority constitutionally agree to the change by six of their representatives voting with 72 blacks in Parliament. Practically this is impossible. Six white members of the Assembly may, theoretically, cross the floor but it is completely impossible for the 72 black mem-

bers of Parliament to be unanimous on the issue considering the number of stooges that will get through under the system.

Land and all other economic monopolies are entrenched — which means they cannot be radically altered for ten years or more. This is a licence for the wealth of the country to be looted for a further ten years, now intensively.

What a masterpiece of deception by Ian Smith! Bishop Muzorewa, Reverend Sithole and Chief Chirau were excited and blinded by the empty offer of ministerial posts and privileges to themselves and their relatives, notwithstanding, of course, their incapacity to understand and their lack of vision to know what substance of power must finally rest with the people.

There is, of course, an element of dangerous opportunism in the conduct of the three reactionaries and their principal followers. They have not only sold the country to big and foreign finance but they are under desperate propulsion to lay their hands at the instruments of state-power in order to perpetuate their treachery. This applies particularly to Chikerema and Sithole.

The British and United States Governments are Governments that rest on the economic and political forces which prop the regimes of Rhodesia and South Africa. Their diplomatic task is to reduce the embarrassment caused by the inept stooges like Muzorewa, Sithole and Chirau without of course changing the direction of the so-called "internal" settlement whose basic elements they support. These governments are posing as arbiters of the Rhodesian and Namibian problems on the basis of trying to get everybody to participate in elections. They, like Vorster in his Bantustan homelands and Smith in his Rhodesian Constitutional apartheid homeland, are putting out every piece of argument to coax the people of Zimbabwe and to convince the world that going through one man one vote elections means majority rule and true independence. Rhodesia is now being used as a public relations exercise not only for its own recognition but also for the recognition of the Transkei, Bophutatswana, and other homelands once Rhodesia creates a saleable precedent. The Transkei and Bophutatswana Bantustans were also created on the basis of

one man one vote elections. The point we are making here is that democratic elections alone, even if they result in a majority Government, do not, thereby, bring about independence. It is a mechanical exercise that can be carried out outside the substance of power. This is what the March 3, Salisbury Agreement amounts to. It is this emptiness that we reject.

The Agreement has other dimensions of dangerous deception. It couples the entrenchment of the substance of power in the hands of a privileged racist minority with the promise that Ian Smith will depart from power on the 31st of December 1978. Does it really matter whether Smith dies or departs from leadership of Government or whether that leadership is exercised by Welensky, Whitehead, Muzorewa or Chirau? The departure or the exchange of these personalities, be they

black or white, in the leadership of Government neither means the departure of an oppressor privileged class nor the ushering in of independence. Lives are not being lost in the battlefield of the Liberation Struggle just to instal a black face in Government with an attached label of independence. It is the system which denies power to the masses and centres it on a privileged few, be they white, black, religious or elite which must be removed at all cost. The Patriotic Front has made it absolutely clear that independence must mean the democratisation of the entire way of life in Zimbabwe. This means that the economic and political way of life must be democratised and the instruments of state power — the army, the civil administration, the police and the judiciary — must comprise only those persons who support that way of life. This is power to the people.

THE TREACHEROUS AGREEMENT

We publish here under Schedule "A" of the actual terms of the treacherous "Agreement" entered into in Salisbury on the 3rd of March, 1978, by Bishop Muzorewa, Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole, Chief Chirau and Ian Smith. We would like our readers to see for themselves why we have denounced and condemned the "Agreement" as treachery. We have said the "Agreement" offers universal suffrage on the basis of "one person one vote" by the one hand and strips that very same vote of all power by the other. The one man one vote is left an empty slogan. The franchise is racially constructed and twisted to preserve the status quo in which real economic and political power continues to lie in the hands of a minority.

Quotation

Now therefore:

A. It is hereby agreed that a Constitution will be drafted and enacted which will provide for majority rule on the basis of universal adult suffrage on the following terms:

1. There will be a Legislative Assembly consisting of one hundred members and the following provisions will apply thereto:

- (a) There will be a common voters' roll with all citizens of eighteen years and over being eligible for registration as voters, subject to certain recognized disqualifications.
- (b) Seventy-two of the seats in the Legislative Assembly will be reserved for blacks who will be elected by voters who are enrolled on the common roll.
- (c) Twenty-eight of the seats in the Legislative Assembly will be reserved for whites (i.e. Europeans as defined in the 1969 Constitution) who will be elected as follows:
 - (i) Twenty will be elected on a preferential voting system by white voters who are enrolled on the common roll.

(ii) Eight will be elected by voters who are enrolled on the common roll from sixteen candidates who will be nominated, in the case of the first Parliament, by an electoral college composed of the white members of the present House of Assembly and, in the case of any subsequent Parliament, by an electoral college composed of the twenty-eight whites who are members of the Parliament dissolved immediately prior to the general election.

d) The reserved seats referred to in (c) above shall be retained for a period of at least ten years or two Parliaments, whichever is the longer, and shall be reviewed at the expiration of that period, at which time a Commission shall be appointed, the chairman of which shall be a judge of the High Court, to undertake this review. If that Commission recommends that the arrangements regarding the said reserved seats should be changed:

(i) An amendment to the Constitution to effect such change may be made by a Bill which receives the affirmative votes of not less than fifty-one members.

(ii) The said Bill shall also provide that the seventy-two seats referred to in (b) above shall not be reserved for blacks.

(e) The members filling the seats referred to in (c) above will be prohibited from forming a coalition with any single minority party for the purpose of forming a Government.

2. There will be a justiciable Declaration of Rights which will protect the rights and freedoms of individuals and, *inter alia*, will provide for protection from deprivation of property unless adequate compensation is paid promptly, and for protection of pension rights of persons who are members of pension funds.

3. The independence and qualifications of the Judiciary will be entrenched and judges will have security of tenure.

4. There will be an independent Public Services Board, the members of which will have security of tenure. The Board will be responsible for appointments to, promotions in, and discharges from, the Public Service.

5. The Public Service, Police Force, Defence Forces and Prison Service will be maintained in a high state of efficiency and free from political interference.



6. Pensions which are payable from the Consolidated Revenue Fund will be guaranteed and charged on the Consolidated Revenue Fund and will be remittable outside the country.

7. Citizens who at present are entitled to dual citizenship will not be deprived of their present entitlement.

8. The above-mentioned provisions will be set out or provided for in the Constitution and will be regarded as specially entrenched provisions which may only be amended by a Bill which receives the affirmative votes of not less than seventy-eight members.

As can be seen, Section 1 entrenches the concept of apartheid in the application of the vote — "one person one vote" though it is. A citizen, when considering either to register or to go and cast a vote, is constitutionally compelled to classify himself or herself racially first. This means that a citizen is compelled, even against his best judgement, to start off with racial poison in his head. Further, the white racists secure an overall advantage for themselves in the arrangement. Under subsection 1(b), they participate and influence, as best as they can, the voting for the 72 black members of Parliament under the provisions of the common voters roll. However, when it comes to the special 20 seats for the whites, they reserve to themselves, as a racial group, the exclusive privilege of voting for their white members of Parliament.

THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL AND SOUTHERN RHODESIA

The reactionary "Agreement" of setting up a puppet regime in Salisbury signed on the 3rd of March touched off a flurry of activities in the international scene to have it condemned. Before the signing, the O.A.U. Liberation Committee and the Council of Ministers met in Tripoli from the 13th to 27th February 1978, with the Salisbury sell-out talks as one of the major items for consideration. The Patriotic Front was represented by Comrades Joseph Msika, Secretary-General, Willie Musarurwa, Publicity Secretary, Dumiso Dabengwa, Chief of Logistics, and Joseph Zwangami Dube, Representative in Cuba — all these from Z.A.P.U. and Comrades Simon Muzenda, Vice President and Mukudzei Mudzi, Secretary for External Affairs of Z.A.N.U. The Liberation Committee set the ball rolling by passing a resolution rejecting and condemning the Salisbury "Agreement". The resolution was subsequently adopted by the O.A.U. Council of Ministers. The Council of Ministers' decision gave a go-ahead to the three O.A.U. members of the Security Council at the United Nations to seek for a meeting of the Security Council to consider the urgent matter. Consequently the Security Council convened from the 6th to the 14th of March to take the matter of Rhodesia. The current African Members of the Security Council are Gabon, Mauritius and Nigeria. They tabled

a resolution based on the O.A.U. Council of Ministers' resolution condemning and rejecting the Smith-Muzorewa-Sithole and Chirau sell-out agreement. The Patriotic Front was represented by the leaders, Comrade President Joshua Nkomo of Z.A.P.U. and President Robert Mugabe of Z.A.N.U. Bishop Muzorewa came to New York as an emissary of Ian Smith to address the Security Council. The British delegation campaigned for him to be heard but the Security Council refused him to appear before the Council.

The treacherous Salisbury Agreement was overwhelmingly rejected by the Security Council. Even Britain and her Western allies who were putting pressure against the resolution through threats of a veto realised how unpopular that decision would be and decided, instead, to abstain to the resolution. In their political standards, the abstention of the Western countries amounted to progress, though reluctant, in the direction of favourable change.

The sequence of events is best portrayed in the resolution of the O.A.U. Liberation Committee and the Council of Ministers, the statement of the Patriotic Front before the Security Council and statement of various members to the Council leading to the Security Council Resolution. We publish the series hereunder.

UN SECURITY COUNCIL ON SOUTHERN RHODESIAN

AGGRESSION ON ZAMBIA

As if to defy the United Nations, the Rhodesian regime launched an aggression on Zambian territory on the 6th March 1978, the same day that the Security Council started debate on the so-called "internal settlement". The issue was subsequently raised by the Republic of Zambia before the UN Security Council. The Council started the debate on the 15th of March 1978. The case was presented by the Hon. Foreign Minister of Zambia Dr. Siteke Mwale. The Patriotic Front participated in the debate and the other Frontline States. Herewith we publish the presentations before the Council leading to the resolution condemning the Rhodesian aggression.

Zambia

1. "At 10.00 hours, the enemy attacked Kavalamanja using 10 aircraft to bomb the area and also to provide cover to the helicopter-borne paratroopers who were jumping from the helicopters. The jets were also used to disorganize any resistance from our ground troops who were intercepting rebel Rhodesian paratroopers as they descended from the helicopters. A combination of action by the Air Defence Unit and our ground forces resulted in the shooting down of four jets, one Beaver aircraft and three helicopters.

Though the eight additional white members of Parliament are finally voted for by all the voters in the common roll, the power to select the sixteen members out of whom the eight are voted for, is exclusively retained by the Rhodesia Front on behalf of the white minority. Please note that the white minority apart from retaining the exclusive power of selecting the sixteen whites that must go before the common roll, the whites, under the common roll, participate further in influencing the course of the election. Minority power weaves in at every point to play a decisive role. This racialism is entrenched for ten years, at least. What happens to the mentality of a society which is constitutionally compelled to think racially for ten years as an extension of 90 years of disastrous racialism? Does it breed confidence? Certainly NOT. Posterity is condemned to racial prejudices for a long time.

Under Section 2, the "Agreement" provides for "protection from deprivation of property unless adequate compensation is paid promptly." In reality the properties referred to here are land, industries, factories, wholesale houses, farms, finance houses such as banks, mines, transport and other commercial establishments. Who owns these properties? Are they owned by the majority inhabitants or the white minority? These properties are owned by the white minority and by overseas companies in the United Kingdom, United States, France, Japan and other related industrial countries. Were these properties acquired by honest, fair and just means? NO. To take one example, the natural inhabitants of Zimbabwe, the black people, were forcibly driven out and deprived of their land. The industrial and commercial establishments were established and developed at the expense of the majority, the Africans, through forced labour in the mines ears pitifully low wages in all places of employment. So the question arises; 'Which deprivation in Section 2 of the "Agreement" is the provision supposed to protect — the deprivation which took place and continues to take place through daily exploitation or is that one to be conveniently put aside in order to protect the property of the original deprivers? We may as well ask; Who is to be compensated and by what? This is not a far fetched issue of settling historical scores because every deprivation and exploitation that is carried out each minute is consigned to history. These questions and arguments are not intended to advocate deprivation of property. On the contrary, they are intended to protect the principle of non-deprivation of property by demolishing the attempt to use the principle to protect property that is acquired forcibly and through robbery. Property acquired through theft and loot does not come under the category of protection and compensation.

The treacherous "Agreement" of Muzorewa, Sithole, Chirau and Smith entrenches the present unjust social system in which property relations accord monopoly and privilege to the minority. The "Agreement" makes meaningful change of this situation impossible because of the mechanism of parliamentary blockage by the minority. This means the taking of a decision is difficult; even if a

decision were finally arrived at, the instruments of power to effect that change the civil administration, the police, the army and the judiciary are firmly in the hands of the self-privileged racial minority and cannot be moved except at the instance of that minority.

Having provided security of tenure and guaranteed pensions to most of the civil servants of Ian Smith and allowed the status of dual citizenship, how much foreign currency will the state remain with after opening a free loophole for the remission of currency outside the country? If just compensation is to be paid to those who acquired their property justly, where will the money come from? In the nature of the Smith-Muzorewa-Sithole-Chirau "Agreement", it means their regime will have to impose unjust taxes on the propertiless majority in order to compensate the propertied minority.



It is for the above reasons that the Patriotic Front rejects and condemns the "Agreement" of March the 3rd, 1978. It was framed by desperate men — in fear of losing power in the case of Ian Smith and in uncontrollable thirst for the honour of ministerial positions in the case of Muzorewa, Sithole, Chirau and their followers. In either case, power to the people had to be prevented. One man one vote and ascendancy of a few thousand blacks into substantially paying jobs becomes mere cosmetic appearance to conceal continued retention of political and economic power by a minority which is at once racial.

2. "Our gallant security forces contained the situation and repulsed the attacks mounted by rebel forces, which sustained heavy casualties. It is quite clear that in this attack Smith made one of the bloodiest blunders and suffered his biggest loss in troops and aircraft. We know that the rebels and their allies would be the last to admit that, as has been discerned in the recent Western press reports.

3. "It is quite evident from the markings identified on the rebel military aircraft shot down by our security forces, as well as from other captured Rhodesian weaponry, that the latest attack was carried out with external assistance.

4. "For instance, my Government has evidence of South African military involvement in the invasion. In the light of this evidence my Government has already requested certain Governments having embassies in Lusaka to provide information as to how some of their weaponry found itself in the hands of the rebel Rhodesian forces.

5. "The massive attack against Zambia came within hours of the signing of the so-called agreement in Salisbury. It is indeed paradoxical that, instead of celebrating the signing of that sham agreement, the racist regime of Ian Smith and his cohorts elected to attack innocent Zambia while intensifying their repressive measures against the suffering people of Zimbabwe inside the country. These despicable manoeuvres demonstrate that the illegal minority regime has no intention whatsoever of relinquishing effective power and control over Zimbabwe. It is plainly evident that the recent sell-out internal agreement is intended to hoodwink the international community and to sugarcoat the instruments of black oppression with the connivance of a few misguided black Zimbabweans. The so-called internal settlement is neither internal nor a settlement at all."

Botswana

1. "The attacks have increased in frequency and lethality, for the regime now employs larger numbers of invading troops and heavy war machinery, including war planes, as in the recent attack against Zambia. These attacks are said to be "hot pursuits" against freedom-fighters — in fact, a euphemism for premeditated armed aggression against neighbouring independent African States.

2. "On the one hand, then, we see a whole array of repressive measures designed to cow the Zimbabwean people into submission and blunt their will to resist. On the other, we see dastardly unprovoked attacks against neighbouring States aimed at forcing them to abandon their sacred and brotherly duty to help their fellow men to liberate themselves.

"Needless to say, neither internal repression nor attacks against us will stop the war; nor will these attacks stop us from supporting the just struggle of the Zimbabwean people. Instead, the determination to press on to the bitter end will increase. Victory is on the side of the people of Zimbabwe.

"As a matter of fact, the drastic measures employed by the regime internally and externally are a manifestation of its own desperation as the noose tightens, as the end draws nearer."



Mozambique

1. "The People's Republic of Mozambique is being attacked because it is fully implementing the sanctions determined on by this Council of the United Nations. The People's Republic of Mozambique is being attacked because it is an independent and free country whose independence and liberty gave the United Nations the real capacity to realize the aspirations of peace and security in Southern Africa.

3. "Since Ian Smith's forces have never hesitated to violate the frontiers of Zambia, Botswana and Mozambique in their repression of Zimbabweans, thereby compelling us to an armed confrontation, it is only logical to expect no less than concerted and more widespread havoc to be initiated by both Smith and Vorster with brutal aggressive intent as a last resort to impede the total collapse of their regimes. In the meantime the people of Zimbabwe are even more inspired in their determination to continue the struggle.

"The People's Republic of Mozambique accordingly remains steadfast in its unreserved and unqualified support of the efforts of the people of Zimbabwe to liberate themselves from the chains of colonial racist domination and oppression."

Mauritius

1. "Neither peace nor stability can be restored to Southern Africa so long as Smith and his racist minority group continue in power. This has been made clear by the liberation movements of the region through the accredited leadership of Mr. Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe. Their position — and in this they speak for the people of Zimbabwe — is that the armed struggle will continue so long as the Smith regime continues in power and so long as the will of the majority is denied expression and sovereignty."

"It is not comforting to learn from the information that has been given to us by the Foreign Minister of Zambia

that compliance with mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia has been honoured more in the breach than in the observance.

2. "There is no doubt in my mind that there is an international conspiracy to maintain and to perpetuate the rule of the Smith regime indefinitely or until such time as conditions are created that would ensure the protection of certain interests. It is quite evident that the aircraft and arms which keep the Smith regime in power are being supplied with the direct involvement of South Africa and with the active participation of special-interest groups in the countries of origin. This is an intolerable situation which reveals defiance of and contempt for the Security Council's authority."

O. A. U. RESOLUTION ON ZIMBABWE

The OAU Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa, meeting in its 30th Ordinary Session in Tripoli, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya from 13th to 18th February, 1978.

- (a) Reaffirming Resolution AHG/Res. 84(XIV) adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government and through which all movements in Zimbabwe have been urged to work through the banner of the Patriotic Front to prosecute the armed struggle.
- (b) Convinced that the presently held internal talks between the racist regime and some elements will end up with detrimental results to the people in the territory.
- (c) Recognising that only the armed struggle as the principal instrument of liberation can ensure a political solution which will guarantee the real interests of the people of Zimbabwe.
- (d) Recognising further with appreciation the efforts being deployed by the Frontline States on behalf of the OAU to ensure that a just solution is attained to the problems in the territories in Southern Africa.

1. Totally rejects the internal talks being held in Salisbury which are aimed at retaining and legitimising white minority power;
2. Further rejects any outcome of the fraudulent talks taking place between the racist minority regime of Ian Smith and certain unrepresentative elements;
3. Calls upon all the OAU Member States and the international community to refrain from giving recognition to the outcome of such talks;
4. Urges all Movements concerned to support the efforts of the Patriotic Front in their negotiations with the United Kingdom, the legal administering power of the territory;
5. Calls upon all OAU Member States to increase their material and financial aid to the armed struggle being waged by the Patriotic Front;
6. Extends admiration and full support to the Heads of States, Peoples and Governments of the Frontline States who for the ideals and principles of the OAU have committed themselves to the total liquidation of the racist minority regimes of Southern Africa.

This resolution was later adopted by the OAU Council of Ministers.

SELF RELEIANCE FARMING PROJECTS



A comrade ploughing the little plot in Zambia. This plot will be planted with maize.



The little plot now under maize, with Comrade A. F. Jirira in the foreground. The maize is about two feet High.



A G.D.R. journalist photographing the head of the farming project in Lusaka Comrade A. F. Jirira in a field of maize and pumpkins.



A G.D.R. journalist interviewing Comrade Jirira in the now five feet or so maize.

ADDRESS TO THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL ON THE

PROBLEM OF ZIMBABWE



**by Robert Mugabe
and Joshua M. Nkomo
(Co-leaders of the Patriotic Front
of Zimbabwe) March 9, 1978**

Mr. President, on behalf of the struggling people of Zimbabwe and the Patriotic Front, the spearhead of our people's revolution, we wish to express our appreciation to you and members of the Security Council for permitting us to address you on this occasion in the history of our country. Today we appear before this august body to discuss the deteriorating situation in our country. Mr. President, the coincidence of your presidency over this august body and your country's colonial responsibilities over our country, makes this session of the Security Council a special one, particularly considering the fact that your person has had the opportunity to direct efforts to find a negotiated settlement to the problem of our

country. We hope that your own experience with the Smith regime and its agents will help this session to find means of averting the catastrophe that hangs ominously over the heads of our people.

Mr. President, members of the Security Council, despite the violence, terror, and brutality that we daily experience from the terroristic despotism that is "Rhodesia", we appear before you in a constructive spirit and frame of mind. Yes, Mr. President, wanton mass killings of our people by the racist Rhodesian regime have reached genocidal proportions. Yes, men and women, the young and the aged, in fact, whole families are being daily uprooted from their homes into concentration camps which have neither sufficient food nor sanitation facilities. This barbarous treatment of our people by the racist white minority regime threatens to destroy completely any chance for racial harmony in our country. Despite this racist wrecklessness of the Smith regime against our poor people, we continue to maintain the progressive position that in Zimbabwe we are not fighting white people but a racist system whose continued existence poses a serious threat to the security of Africa as a whole. On our part as leaders of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, we have been involved in this tough struggle against the evil that is

"Rhodesia" for too long now to respond emotionally to Rhodesian acts of barbarism. After so many years in hard struggle, we have come to appreciate the fact that any struggle whose principles are based on emotional responses to the evils that it seeks to correct cannot succeed. Hence our position that armed struggle is the only effective means of bringing about meaningful changes is a well considered position. This is a position that we hold firmly and consistently.

Since we first brought the colonial problem of Zimbabwe to the attention of the United Nations two decades ago, this problem has continued to exercise the minds of the international community. At the beginning of our international campaign, particularly before 1965, our efforts to make the international community appreciate the gravity of the problem posed by minority rule in Zimbabwe were sabotaged by the British who then argued that Southern Rhodesia was a self-governing colony whose decolonization fell outside the normal United Nations Trusteeship frame of reference. Encouraged by this attitude of Britain, Rhodesian settlers under the leadership of Ian D. Smith seized power in 1965 and declared themselves unilaterally independent of Britain. Since then the efforts of Britain in the United Nations attempts to end minority rule in our country have taken the form of seeking to return the Rhodesian regime to legality, a position that is not the same as the liberation movement's objective of liberating the country from minority rule. Mr. President and Members of the Security Council, we wish to stress the fact that the liberation movement of Zimbabwe has never questioned Britain's constitutional authority over the colony of Southern Rhodesia. However, it is also true that Britain's objective of returning the regime to legality (particularly when the administering power begins to act as if she wants to bring about this through the efforts of the liberation movement) has flown in the face of the main objective of the liberation movement, namely total liberation from minority rule.

It is against this background that today the Patriotic Front's interpretation of the results of the so-called "internal settlement" differs fundamentally with that of the British Government who seem more interested in returning Smith to legality than in removing him. Hence in 1966 Britain and the illegal regime held what are known as the **Tiger Talks** near Gibraltar. The British had two objectives in these talks, namely (a) to get Smith to promise not to declare Rhodesia a Republic; (b) to ask Smith not to impede progress toward majority rule. The following year in 1967, Britain and the regime again met in what are called **Fearless Talks**. In both these encounters with the regime, the British Government was more interested in returning the regime to some form of legality. Here lies the difference in principle between us and those that have been telling the world that the results of the so-called "internal" settlement represent "a step in the right direction".

Mr. President, Members of the Security Council, as you all know, even these British half measure to deal with the problem and other subsequent attempts to transfer power

to the majority of the people of Zimbabwe have failed because the Smith regime would not contemplate any arrangement that sought to alter its institutions of power. All these pointless attempts foundered on the same rock — which is the foxy and racist Smith. Although the Patriotic Front and the British Government may disagree on exactly why the Geneva Conference failed, there is no blinking the fact that in Geneva, Smith's contempt for Africans was unmistakably clear. After the Geneva fiasco, the British and the Americans put together what some people call the Anglo-American plan for Zimbabwe. While the Patriotic Front agreed to consider the proposals as a bases for negotiations the Smith Regime rejected these proposals outright, and opted for negotiations with African elements opposed to the liberation movement. We give this brief resume of Smith's prevarications and deceitful tactics not because we want to express any preference between the Anglo-American plan and the so-called "internal" settlement, but to underline the fact that the Smith regime has never conceded the possibility of handing over power to Zimbabwean majority.

Understandably, the fraud that the Smith regime has been able to draw with the active assistance of African stooges and traitors has received a great deal of attention in certain western circles. This support for the so-called "internal" settlement by western reactionary elements does not surprise us because these are the same forces that have kept the Smith regime afloat in flagrant violation of United Nations sanctions against that regime. At no stage in the history of our struggle, have these forces given us encouragement, let alone support.

What is the nature of the "settlement" conspiracy of the Smith regime? As can be expected from professional racists, the "settlement" conspirators have predicated any settlement to the country's problems upon the principle that blacks and whites in Zimbabwe shall remain separate communities. Hence the whole scheme seeks to devolve power to the Zimbabwean community through racial channels. This can be seen from the text of the eight point agreement signed by Ian Smith and the three blacks puppets, namely:

1. **BILL OF RIGHTS:** There must be a justiciable Declaration of Rights to protect the rights and freedom of the individual. This must provide in particular protection from deprivation of property unless adequate compensation is paid promptly. This in truth is a Bill of Race, not of Rights.
2. **THE JUDICATURE:** To make the Bill of Rights effective, there must be an independent judiciary free from political influence. To ensure a competent bench there must be high qualifications for the appointment of judges.
3. **PUBLIC SERVICE BOARD:** To maintain the confidence of the public service and also to maintain the confidence of the people in the professional neutrality of the public service, the Public Service Board (or commission) must be established as an independent body, whose composition and functions should be entrenched.

4. **RETENTION OF ADMINISTRATION:** In order to provide a smooth transition and to ensure the continued efficient administration of the country, the civil service, the Police, the defense forces, and prison services should be retained in a high state of efficiency and free from political interference.
5. **PENSIONS:** This is a most important aspect for the retention of white confidence. Pension payable from the Consolidated Revenue Fund must be guaranteed and freely remittable outside the country. With regard to private pensions funds, the rights of employees and other persons who are members of private pension funds must be guaranteed.
6. **CITIZENSHIP:** In order to encourage whites to remain, provision for dual citizenship must be retained.
7. **ENTRENCHMENT OF CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS:** The above provisions must be entrenched so that the majority of 72 plus 6 of the membership of Parliament is required for their amendment.
8. **WHITE REPRESENTATION IN PARLIAMENT:** To retain the confidence of the whites in regard to the entrenched safeguards in the Constitution, 28 of the seats in Parliament should be reserved for direct election by white voters.

In short, the eight points agreement speaks for itself with respect to how Smith and his puppets have sought to entrench white privilege in our country. If we consider the fact that the present war in Zimbabwe is the culmination of a crisis built upon institutionalized racial separation, then we can see that the creation of an apartheid franchise cannot solve the problems of our country. It is for that reason that the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe has maintained the position that it is fighting for a non-racial society, because we do believe that any solution based on racial lines is no solution.

Mr. President, we believe that those who have found South Africa's apartheid policies morally indefensible and intellectually grotesque, cannot characterize Smith's creation of a constitutional homeland "a step in the right direction" because there is no qualitative difference between South Africa's constitutional homelands and Smith constitutional homeland solution to our problem. According to the eight-point agreement signed in Salisbury, the so-called "internal" settlement does not address the transfer of power to the majority with respect to the institutions of power that are the linchpin of the racist colonial system of the Rhodesian minority regime. For a fascist and colonialist regime, these strategic institutions of power as the civil service, the judiciary and security forces. In the so-called "internal" settlement these institutions will remain as they presently stand. If you accept the centrality of these institutions for any government to function effectively and if you consider the fact that 100 per cent of the Rhodesian judiciary is white, 99.9 per cent of their civil service is white, and the whole leadership of the security forces is completely white, then you understand the fact that in terms of real power, this agreement does not settle anything. The agreement does not constitute a

settlement because it cannot end the war raging in the country. The situation in Zimbabwe is a war situation. No agreement that does not take into account the realities of this war situation can produce a settlement. The reality is that only those locked in a combat are capable of bringing about a settlement. Similarly the composition of the future army of Zimbabwe is a matter for those in control of the fighting. It is only the Patriotic Front liberation forces that can guarantee the irreversibility of majority rule and independence. To the masses of Zimbabwe who actively support armed struggle and form its rock base, the agreement is a betrayal of the struggle. These masses continue to pay heavily at the hands of Smith's terroristic assassins who shoot them as "curfew-breakers" or summarily execute them for collaborating with freedom fighters.

Mr. President, Members of the Security Council, we know that this august body as the guardian of international peace and security needs take a serious view of attempts by the Smith regime to concoct a "settlement" which is bound to deepen the conflict. The Patriotic Front totally rejects the so-called "internal" settlement by the illegal, racist regime and its African puppets. This means that as far as we are concerned armed struggle continues until our people's demands for a complete transfer of power are met, and we shall work for the complete overthrow of the existing colonial regime, now joined by a small clique of black puppets. In this regard, the Security Council should follow the example of the organization of African Unity (OAU) Ministerial Council which meeting in Tripoli repudiated the Salisbury agreement as a fraud designed to protect guarantees of privilege for the white minority.

Mr. President, as we have already noted above the so-called settlement is conceived within the framework of South Africa's definition of African self-determination as exemplified in the obscene creation of the Transkei and Bophuthatswana homelands. In this connection, Members of the Security Council should take note of the fact that Mr. Smith and Mr. Vorster have designed a common strategy to concoct similar "settlement" in Zimbabwe and Namibia. This is to say that the agreement between Smith and black puppets in Salisbury immediately encourages South Africa to move in the same direction in Namibia. Shall Members of the Security Council permit the creation of a belt of puppet regimes across Southern Africa, the chief purpose of which is to make the world safe for apartheid?

Mr. President, Members of the Security Council, we call upon the United Nations Security Council to repudiate the so-called Salisbury agreement in the name of peace and justice, and reaffirm its condemnation and isolation of the illegal regime of Rhodesia.

In the meantime, Mr. President, we want to reaffirm our position, namely that any attempt to find a negotiated settlement, namely that any attempt to find a negotiated settlement to the problem of our country by by-passing the liberation forces of the Patriotic Front which now controls more than two thirds of the country will not solve anything. The masses of Zimbabwe are solidly behind us, hence our capability to sustain the war despite the Salisbury fraud.

Upper Volta

1. "This is the so-called internal settlement thought up by Ian Smith and the white minority, to suit themselves and in their interest, cannot objectively guarantee the exercise of power by the people of Zimbabwe for the people of Zimbabwe. It is intended first of all to cause a fratricidal civil war for which the people of Zimbabwe would pay the costs in the resultant disastrous consequences."

United Republic of Tanzania

1. "Let me make one point abundantly clear. In calling for the rejection of the so-called internal settlement, we do so conscious of the fact that this deal is in reality an invitation to further violence and further bloodshed. It is an invitation to prolonged warfare. We are also conscious of the fact that what the Smith regime is trying to do is to promote what has rightly been described as a "black-one-black civil war.

2. "But it is both ludicrous and naive to believe that there can be a cease-fire in Zimbabwe without the consent of the fighting forces under the leadership of the Patriotic Front.

3. "It is even more absurd to expect that those forces will acquiesce in the effective perpetuation of the power of the minority in a different guise, as envisaged under the so-called internal settlement.

4. "Moreover, we shall continue to mobilize active and concrete support for the fighting forces under the leadership of the Patriotic Front,

because we sincerely believe that only the pressure of the armed struggle, combined with the relentless pressures of the international community, can confound once and for all the intrigues and schemes of the Smith illegal racist minority regime, and we are confident that all men and women of goodwill will support this struggle, as they must with no less commitment support a genuinely negotiated settlement."

Zambia

1. "Zambia has been watching the situation in Rhodesia very closely. We have reached the conclusion that the recent so-called internal settlement in the British colony of Rhodesia is a sell-out and cannot provide a meaningful solution of the Rhodesian problem for a variety of reasons. "The so-called internal settlement in essence perpetuates the illegal regime in Rhodesia. We regard it as retrogressive. It is even worse than the Kissinger proposals of 1976 which were rejected in Geneva. It clearly entrenches not only Smith but also white minority rule in Zimbabwe.

2. "In concocting his so-called internal settlement scheme, Smith was so naive as to behave as though the thousands of freedom fighters now dealing devastating blows to his regime did not exist. To believe that these brave young men and women, who have sacrificed their lives for the liberation of Zimbabwe, could lay down their arms because of a sham settlement is to indulge in a costly exercise in self-deception. Indeed, one must live in a fool's paradise not to know that only the genuine liberation of Zimbabwe will stop the war that is now raging in that unfortunate land. Realistically speaking, no settlement in Zimbabwe that excludes the fighting forces of the Patriotic Front can be sustained."

Venezuela

1. "Our delegation feels that even though the information we have received on the recent agreement reached in Salisbury is incomplete, it is quite clear that that agreement constitutes just one more hoax perpetrated by the illegal minority regime in its desperate efforts to maintain the odious privileges and forms of discrimination whose existence is the *raison d'être* of the movements struggling for liberation and independence and for the recognition of inalienable political, economic and social rights.

2. "The national groups that have accepted a settlement with the illegal Smith regime have by doing so placed themselves in the same position of illegality which this Council has condemned."

Bolivia

1. "If we were to permit the illegality of the Southern Rhodesian regime to be compounded by the arbitrary creation of a successor Government to its apocryphal authority, we would be promoting an indefinite continuation of an anomalous situation and an open defiance to the authority of our Organization. That would be a serious situation that would give rise to further friction and create the immediate risk of civil war with repercussions that would extend beyond the African continent and might plunge the whole world into darkness."

Nigeria

1. "We have, of course, been aware of the Salisbury talks from the press, as of the Turnhalle talks over the months. We have treated these talks with the contempt that they deserve. We also regarded the so-called Salisbury internal settlement with utter contempt. We treated it as something contrived by the illegal racist regime with its cohorts in Pretoria in the hope of delaying its doom.

2. "We regarded it not as a problem but as a symptom of the malaise of the racist regimes in Southern Africa generally, which are desperately trying to formulate fake solutions in a vain attempt to bamboozle world public opinion.

3. "This blatant fraud of an agreement reportedly signed in Salisbury last Friday is nothing but Smith's charter for the preservation of minority interests and the perpetuation of white control in a supposedly black-majority-oriented Government. No one can fail to see that this fraudulent agreement is the worst contrivance in modern constitutional history. It is hardly surprising that the Patriotic Front, as well as the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), has rejected it. My delegation call on this Council not only to reject the so-called internal settlement but to condemn it."

China

1. "However, since the Zimbabwe people, who have been tempered through long struggles, were not bluffed in the past by the military suppression of the reactionaries, they cannot possibly be taken in today by

Smith's political intrigues. History shows that no reactionary forces will ever change their counter-revolutionary nature, nor will they step down from the stage of history of their own accord. In the "internal settlement" agreement it concocted the Smith regime has placed in its firm grasp the two vital issues, political power and military forces. This reveals most clearly that its evil doing runs completely counter to the genuine independence and liberation of the people of Zimbabwe."

USSR

1. "It is well known that as it draws closer to its doom everything obsolete and reactionary tends to intensify its struggle against what is new and progressive and resorts to the most subtle contrivances in order to keep its hold on power and the wealth it has plundered. The Salisbury deal between the chief of Rhodesian racists, Ian Smith, and the so-called moderate African leaders is aimed at creating a government which, on the one hand, would guarantee the preservation of the political, economic and social domination of the white minority and, on the other, would create the semblance, and only the semblance, of participation by representatives of the African population in the government of the country. It has been possible to find collaborationists who are ready to go along with the perpetration of this fraud, but they no more represent their people than did those who in the last war collaborated with the Hitlerites in the occupied countries of Europe. These are attempts by the racists and their protectors to make the illegal regime of Salisbury appear more acceptable or, to be more accurate, less revolting.

2. "The redecoration of the facade

of the racist State in Rhodesia should, according to the calculations of the strategists of neocolonialism, allow the Western Powers to take no further part in talks with the patriotic forces of Zimbabwe. In putting forward plans which pay lip-service to the principle of government by the African majority in Rhodesia, what the Western Powers are doing in actual fact is tantamount to legitimizing the racist regime in one form or another and undermining the national liberation struggle of the people of Zimbabwe. It would appear that they are banking on splitting the anti-colonial front of African States and trying to get some of them to recognize the deal between the racists and those Africans who are willing to go along.

3. "The Soviet Union supports the idea that there is a need to transfer power as soon as possible to the people of that country, and I should like to take this opportunity to stress that, for us — for the Soviet Union — there is only one legitimate representative of the people of Zimbabwe: the Patriotic Front."

Czechoslovakia

1. "The minority regime — long since obsolete — in its attempts to preserve power in its own hands, is hoping that by means of the achievement of an agreement with the venal elements inside the country and the subsequent creation of a puppet regime, it will be able to keep the Patriotic Front outside any decisions affecting the fate of their country, and it hopes in this new way to entrench its domination over the indigenous African population and lend it the appearance of legitimacy.

2. "The agreement signed the other

day in Salisbury does not even formally provide for the transfer of power to the African majority although Smith and the so-called moderate African leaders who went along with him in this shameful deal are trying to represent it as doing so. On the

contrary, it clearly banks on the further preservation of all power in the country within the hands of the racist minority, which will continue to retain possession of all the machinery of violence and oppression that has been created in Zimbabwe

during the 12 years of the existence of the illegal regime. The provisions of the deal are aimed at preserving the privileges of this minority in the political and economic fields."

QUOTES AND COMMENTS

The following is a quote from a British paper the GUARDIAN reporting on a speech made by Bishop Abel Muzorewa on arrival in Salisbury on the 19th of March, 1978, following the failure of his mission at the United Nations to campaign for the recognition of the Smith regime. At the airport Muzorewa was met by a Mr Andre Holland, Ian Smith's Deputy Minister of Information, who gave him a bulletproof vest to put on before venturing to a meeting of his people in Highfields. This is what Muzorewa said:

"We want to retain white confidence because we want roads, bridges and employment. The so-called revolutionaries make a lot of noise but many are starving. We suffered enough. The surest way to ensure food in our stomachs is to encourage whites to stay to build this country for the benefit of all."

Review Comment

Obviously the Bishop was putting across to his followers that he sold away the actual power of Zimbabwe's independence to the white settler minority in exchange for food "in the stomachs" and bridges. But, dear Bishop, how does this same class of privileged few build the country for the benefit of all when it did not only fail to do so but did they very opposite for nearly a century with the very same powers you have now signed away to them for a further term of ten years? Is there anything in life called "white-confidence" which you want to retain? This

whole talk about "white-confidence" is perfect fiction. It is another phrasing for the retention of power and privilege on the basis of race.

The Patriotic Front will never allow racism and class privilege to seek to exist in any form in Zimbabwe. The masses cannot be held to ransom by skills of a section of the community. The essence of democratic independence is to release the vast potential in the masses which is suppressed by the self-privileged minority through monopoly of skills and power. The monopoly must be broken and not retained, dear Bishop.

We are today quoting some remarks made by James Chikerema in Salisbury on the 13th of March, 1978. We are publishing them to illustrate the depth and disgrace to which dangerous opportunism can throw a man. Chikerema fell into the abyss of treachery after President Nkomo had tried his best to pick him from the dustbin of Frolizi in which he had thrown himself in 1971.

This is what Chikerema had to say to his fellow opportunists:

"We must all close ranks. We are all facing threats and dangers from all corners. The agreement has thwarted President Kaunda and the nationalists outside from imposing communism in Rhodesia. Every week people are being killed and everyday people are starving to death. Every month we see the British up to some intrigue and the Russians getting nearer and nearer. We the people

of Zimbabwe do not like war for the sake of war. We have supported war because we want one person one vote. There will be people who will say the agreement is not perfect. Those who are crying for the perfect are crying for the moon."

Review Comment:

This is a man who once posed as a guerrilla leader asking for weapons from supporting countries. Did he not know that the Soviet Union was a Communist country? By what stretch of imagination can Kaunda, a humanist, spread the influence of communism? President Kaunda has never, even for a day, pretended to decide a social system for another country. So, James Chikerema, you pushed other peoples sons to the battlefields and to the gallows only to get a vote to place you in a ministerial post. The guerrillas you deserted are still in the battlefield and some still in prisons. They are fighting the regime you have now joined and they are in the prisons of the regime you are now a part. Is it a surprise that your instinct tells you that you are facing dangers from all corners? It seems you even know that you committed treachery through the "agreement" of March 3rd, 1978, because, on your own, you admit that it is not perfect. For your information, if you can't face the truth, it is the regime of which you are now a part which is killing people every week and starving them to death daily.

Bolivia, Gabon, India, Kuwait, Mauritius and Nigeria:

DRAFT RESOLUTION

The Security Council, adopted the following resolution on Friday the 17th of March, 1978, on the question of Rhodesian aggression.

Taking note of the letter of the representative of the Republic of Zambia contained in document S/12589,

Having considered the statement of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Zambia,

Gravely concerned at the numerous hostile and unprovoked acts of aggression by the illegal minority regime of Southern Rhodesia violating the sovereignty, air space and territorial integrity of the Republic of Zambia, resulting in the death and injury of innocent people, as well as the destruction of property, and culminating on 6 March 1978 in the armed invasion of Zambia,

Reaffirming the inalienable right of the people of Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) to self-determination and independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, and the legitimacy of their struggle to secure the enjoyment of such rights as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations,

Recalling its resolution 423 (1978), which, *inter alia*, declared as illegal and unacceptable any internal settlement under the auspices of the illegal regime and called upon all States not to accord any recognition to such settlement,

Further recalling its resolutions 326 (1973), 403 (1977), 406 (1977) and 411 (1977) condemning the illegal regime of Southern Rhodesia for its acts of aggression against Zambia, Botswana and Mozambique.

Conscious that the liberation of Zimbabwe and Namibia and the elimination of apartheid in South Africa are necessary for the attainment of justice and lasting peace in the region, and in the furtherance of international peace and security,

Reaffirming that the existence of the minority racist regime in Southern Rhodesia and the continuance of its acts

of aggression against Zambia and other neighbouring States constitute a threat to international peace and security,

Conscious of the need to take effective steps for the prevention and removal of threats to international peace and security,

1. Strongly condemns the recent armed invasion perpetrated by the illegal racist minority regime in the British colony of Southern Rhodesia against the Republic of Zambia, which constitutes a flagrant violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Zambia;

2. Commends the Republic of Zambia and other Frontline States for their continued support of the people of Zimbabwe in their just and legitimate struggle for the attainment of freedom and independence and for their scrupulous restraint in the face of provocations by the Rhodesian rebels;

3. Reaffirms that the liberation of Namibia and Zimbabwe and the elimination of apartheid in South Africa are necessary for the attainment of justice and lasting peace in the region;

4. Calls upon the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, as the Administering Authority, to take prompt effective measures to bring to a speedy end the existence of the illegal racist minority regime in the rebel colony of Southern Rhodesia, thereby ensuring the speedy attainment of independence under genuine majority rule and thus contributing to the promotion of durable peace and security in the region;

5. Decides that in the event of further acts of violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Zambia by the illegal racist minority regime of Southern Rhodesia, the Security Council will meet again to consider the adoption of more effective measures, in accordance with the appropriate provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, including Chapter VII thereof.

RESOLUTION 423 (1978)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 2067th

meeting on 14 March 1978

The Security Council,
Recalling its resolutions on the question of Southern Rhodesia and in particular resolution 415 (1977) of 29 September 1977,

Reaffirming that the continued existence of the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia is a source of insecurity and instability in the region and constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security,

Gravely concerned over the continued military operations by the illegal regime, including its acts of aggression against neighbouring independent States,

Indignant at the continued executions of freedom fighters by the illegal regime,

Considering the need for urgent measures to terminate the illegal regime and establish a Government based on majority rule,

1. **Condemns** all attempts and manoeuvres by the illegal regime aimed at the retention of power by a racist minority and at preventing the achievement of independence by Zimbabwe;

2. **Declares** as illegal and unacceptable any internal settlement under the auspices of the illegal regime and calls upon all States not to accord any recognition to such settlement;

3. **Further declares** that the speedy termination of the illegal regime and the replacement of its military and police forces is the first prerequisite for the restoration of legality in Southern Rhodesia so that arrangements may be made for a peaceful and democratic transition to genuine majority rule and independence in 1978;

4. **Declares** also that such arrangements as envisaged in paragraph 3 include the holding of free and fair elections on the basis of universal adult suffrage under United Nations supervision;

5. **Calls upon** the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to take all measures necessary to bring to an end the illegal racist minority regime in Southern Rhodesia and to effect the genuine decolonization of the territory in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and other United Nations resolutions;

6. **Considers** that, with the assistance of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the United Kingdom as the administering Power should enter into immediate consultations with the parties concerned in order to attain the objectives of genuine decolonization of the territory

7. **Requests** the Secretary-General to report, not later than 15 April 1978, on the results of the implementation of this resolution.

STATEMENT



By
MR. T. G. SILUNDIKA
REPRESENTATIVE OF THE
PATRIOTIC FRONT
To The
UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL
On
RHODESIAN AGGRESSION ON ZAMBIA

Your Excellencies
Mr. President, Members of the Security Council,

I would like to thank you sincerely for having allowed me to address you on the crucial subject before you, namely, the aggression against Zambia by the Southern Rhodesian illegal regime, on the 6th of March, 1978. I represent the struggling masses of the people of Zimbabwe under the leadership of the Patriotic Front. It is our sad historical lot to live with this British creation, the Southern Rhodesian fascist regime, and it is our

life-given determination to overthrow it at all cost. We and the "Frontline States" in the liberation struggle in Southern Africa are, therefore, the direct witnesses of these events of blatant aggression.

Mr. President, the issue really is not whether the aggression took place. His Excellency, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Zambia placed irrefutable proof before this Council yesterday and referred to several other incursions that so often occur on the sovereign territory of his country, perpetrated by the Rhodesian regime. The Governments of the Republics of Botswana and Mozambique have also placed before this Council proof of serious aggressions on their territories. The Council has had to deal, several times before, with grave reports of aggression which cost hundreds and hundreds of lives of women, children and aged Zimbabwean refugees at Nyadzonya and Chimoio in Mozambique.

The real issue before this Council, therefore, is why the illegal, fascist and racist regime of Rhodesia feels free to carry out these aggressions ever more frequently, with such blatant impunity. What must be done to bring these aggressions to an end? The answer lies in the origin and nature of the regime. Mr. President, it is our view that the Security Council should put aside its diplomatic niceties and nail responsibility for these aggressions squarely and unsparingly on the United Kingdom Government. The British Government should not be allowed to get away with such serious crimes to humanity by playing merry-go-round with international opinion. She cannot carry colonial responsibility for Rhodesia and, at the same time, reserve to herself the option to choose what is or is not convenient to her responsibility in the conduct of a fascist regime she has always encouraged to continue to exist.

Nothing has encouraged the Rhodesian regime more in its fascist acts of oppression and aggression than growing attitudes towards its support in the British House of Commons, and the conse-

quently policy of successive British Governments of refusing to take direct action to remove that regime.

Mr. President and Members of the Security Council, there is more to it. The Council has just concluded its debate on the "so-called internal agreement". We are grateful to the Council for having taken a decisive position against that racist settlement manoeuvre. The crux of the matter, however, still lies in the continued existence of the Rhodesian regime and its liberty to carry out its political conspiracies, such as the so-called "internal agreement" and the incessant aggressions so costly to human lives of neighbouring States. When the world, in 1965, waited upon the then Labour Party-Government of the United Kingdom to descend on what it told the world was a rebellion, to bring it to an end, the United Kingdom openly assured the rebel Ian Smith that it would not take such measures. Smith got his lease of life. This resulted in the problems which the people of Zimbabwe, the Frontline States, the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations are currently grappling with.

Today the Smith regime, with impunity, has sought to legitimize itself by trying to wear a black mask through the so-called "internal settlement". What has this Council heard? As in 1965, the Governments of the United Kingdom and United States have encouraged the racist regime to believe that the only hurdle it needs to cross before gaining international legitimacy is to contrive what can be labelled "one man, one vote" elections. Balthazaar Vorster could have as well come to impress this Council on the fruits of his Apartheid policies in his Bantustan homelands of the Transkei and Bophutatswana. The people of Zimbabwe are being persuaded to see merit in the conspiracy of a criminal racist regime. How else could the Rhodesian regime see this approach of the United Kingdom and United States Governments than as encouragement for a further lease of life? The people of Zimbabwe are being asked to lay down their weapons in order to count the number of beautiful teeth of a beast that is pouncing upon them to tear the people to pieces. Is that friendly advice? Can the Frontline States be expected to wait and watch as the beast jumps across its borders?

Mr. President, there is more to it! The mass

killings of the people of Zimbabwe, the aggressions on Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia are being carried out by racist fascist forces which comprise mercenaries being recruited continuously from Britain, the United States, West Germany, France, Belgium, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. How do these mercenaries escape the efficient security network of countries which profess so much love for "freedom, peace and security"? Is the recruitment of these mercenaries, to commit aggression in Africa, an expression of democracy? From where does the Rhodesian regime obtain its materials of war and the foreign currency to pay these mercenaries in their foreign accounts? Is it by accident that these mercenaries, and the multi-national corporations which finance the Rhodesian regime, come from the white-west that enslaved, colonized and has continued to exploit black Africa for so long?

The oppression of the people of Zimbabwe and the frequent aggressions on Zambia, Mozambique and Botswana are not just isolated acts of the illegal regime of Ian Smith — they are a coordinated wholesale assault by economic, political and racist forces against the independence struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.

The Security Council, in its own honour and that of the United Nations, in the name of peace and security, cannot afford to miss the slightest opportunity to condemn the aggressions of the Rhodesian regime against Zambia, and to call upon the United Kingdom Government to stop these aggressions.

Mr. President, for our part in Zimbabwe, we would like to assure our brothers and sisters of Zambia, Botswana and Mozambique that we are resolutely committed to bringing down the Rhodesian fascist regime by armed struggle. We call upon this Council to urge its members and those of the United Nations, as a whole, (except South Africa) to give the Patriotic Front moral, material and diplomatic support to bring down the fascist regime of Rhodesia by armed struggle. The downfall of the regime will automatically mean genuine freedom to the people of Zimbabwe, the end of all aggressions against neighbouring States, and a step towards the freedom of Southern Africa.

I thank you!

GAGGING MOUTHS IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA

Questions are often asked as to why ZAPU, in the Patriotic Front, does not demonstrate its mass base. These questions arise because the Rhodesian, South African and Western press media persistently carry reports of Bishop Muzorewa commanding the largest following of blacks, the Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole making whistle stops in cities addressing hundreds and Chief Chirau claiming traditional support in the rural areas. In the absence of proof to the contrary, these reports gain prominence and credibility. Of course, in the absence of normal human beings, the tallest among dwarfs becomes the tallest person. The Smith regime applies its machinery of suppression and obstruction to the maximum against the Patriotic Front, its various organs, officers and members. The regime, together with its puppets – Muzorewa, Chirau and Sithole – peddles the propaganda that the Patriotic Front has only ten per cent support of the population in the country.

The African National Council (Zimbabwe), loyal to the leadership of comrade President Nkomo, decided to challenge this reactionary claim in January. It sought a permit to hold a rally at the Gwanzura Stadium, Highfields, Salisbury, on the 28th of January, 1978. The application was filed some three weeks in advance. The rally was planned for Salisbury supporters of the party only. A week before the rally, the regime monitored the momentum towards the rally and panicked. It then demanded a surety (guarantee) of 30,000 R\$ from the ANC(Z). The pretext was that there would probably be damage to property because of the rally. But the real effort was to put an obstruction to the holding of the rally. However, the guarantee of that amount was delivered by the organisation.

Faced with the definite prospect that the rally was, in fact, going ahead, the regime withdrew the permit and banned the rally, three days before it was due. The ban on the rally was followed a day later, 26th January, by a ban on all news media in the country not to publish statements or anything related to the ANC(Z) or the Patriotic Front as a whole. Obviously the regime feared the collapse



of the myth that Muzorewa has most support. Banning the rally would help to sustain the fiction of Muzorewa's support, on which a number of intrigues are being built. We publish hereunder the notice to various news media banning the publication of anything related to the Patriotic Front. You will observe that the regime left to itself the option of allowing publication of anything discrediting or detrimental to the Patriotic Front. This ban is up and above harassments, suppressions and restriction of the movements of the members and officers of the Patriotic Front within the country.

D NOTICE NO. 1 of 1978

TO: The Editor,
Zimbabwe Times,
P.O. Box 1467,
SALISBURY.

WHEREAS the National Security Committee appointed under section 3 of the Emergency Powers (D Notice) Regulations, 1976, is satisfied that the organisations or associations specified in the Schedule hereto actively support and encourage terrorism against the peoples of Rhodesia:

NOW, THEREFORE, the said Committee, in terms of section 5 of the said regulations, prohibits the publication, without the consent of the said Committee, of any information or statement which relates or purports to relate, directly or indirectly, to any statement which has been made or which purports to have been made by the leader or an office-bearer of any organisation or association specified in the Schedule hereto in relation to the activities or policies of that organisation or association or the activities or opinions of the leader or any office-bearer or member thereof:

Provided that nothing contained herein shall be construed as prohibiting the publication of any information contained in an official Government statement or communique.

SCHEDULE ORGANIZATIONS OR ASSOCIATIONS WHICH SUPPORT AND ENCOURAGE TERRORISM

1. The African National Council (Zimbabwe);
2. The Patriotic Front;
3. The Peoples Movement;
4. The Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA);
5. The Zimbabwe People Liberation Army (ZPRA)
6. The Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU);
7. The Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU).

26th January 1978

SECRETARY TO THE NATIONAL SECURITY COMMITTEE

I, TENDAI hereby acknowledge that the original of this notice was served on me this 26 day of January, 1978.

(D NOTICE) attached

Despite these bannings and suppressions, in fact because of them as well, the Patriotic Front liberation forces enjoy the most popular support in Zimbabwe.

WARNING

The Vice-President of the Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union, Comrade Josiah Chinamano, on the 22nd of March, 1978 issued a strong warning to Bishop Muzorewa, the Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole and Chief Chirau following their integration into the Smith regime when they were sworn in as members of the so-called Executive Council. Comrade Chinamano said:

"The three Africans who have joined the (Rhodesian) rebellion must know that from now on they bear responsibility for the killings in the operational areas; for the concentration camps — called protected villages; for the continued detention of their people; and for the execution of their brothers convicted for (what the regime calls) political offences."

DID YOU HEAR?

Three new training camps of the Rhodesian regime have been discovered. They are at Shabani, Gwelo and at Chirundu. Between them they are trying to raise four battalions (4.000) of black troops. The recruitment is being carried out through the assistance of Muzorewa, Sithole and Chirau. A group of deserters and traitors to the armed liberation struggle is being intergrated into this force. One of them, who is being groomed for command of this force, Grey Mtemasango, was recently on a short visit to London. It is this force on which the Reverend Sithole and the Bishop base their claim for control of guerrillas. Routes through some bushy areas are currently being surveyed to lead this treacherous force through after it has been sufficiently prepared and rehearsed for the moment when Muzorewa and Sithole will try to hoodwink the world by a call to the guerrillas to return. Plans for calling the international press to report on these pathetic figures are under way.

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IMPORTANT: Please note that our frequencies are changed in March, May, September and November. The details are announced at the end of our programmes

GDR, 116 Berlin

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