ZIMBABWE AND THE COMMON-WEALTH CONFERENCE

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(This important statement, especially written for Labour Monthly by Mr. Nyandoro, expresses the viewpoint of the Zimbabwe People's Union on the outcome of the Commonwealth Conference. In this connection, in view of the attempts of the outside press to create a picture of division of the national movement, it is worth noting that in a Resolution unanimously passed at the first Afro-Asian-Latin American People's Solidarity Conference, Havana, January 1966, that Conference recognised 'the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) as the only Liberation Movement and the only authentic representative of the African people of Zimbabwe'.—Ed., LM.)

THE Zimbabwe African People's Union has made its position quite clear on the issues involved in Southern Rhodesia. Force is the only means left to crush the illegal Regime and even after the

crushing of the illegal Regime there will still be the problem of the type of Government to run the affairs of the country. Again ZAPU has made it quite clear that only a Government based on One man One vote can meet the wishes of the majority of the people of Zimbabwe.

The Commonwealth Conference Communiqué is significant only in this respect, that it spells out in greater detail the difference between the stand of the British Government and that of the majority members of the Commonwealth. We attach greater importance to the stand of the British Government as this is what will be carried out in Southern Rhodesia.

The Commonwealth stand can be summarised as follows:

- (a) That there should be no independence before majority rule, i.e., One man One vote.
- (b) That force is the only means that can end the Southern Rhodesia Rebellion.
- (c) That complete mandatory sanctions including exports and imports, should be applied under Chapter VII, articles 41 and 42, of the United Nations Charter.
- (d) That political restrictees should be released before the formation of an interim government.

The British stand once again has shown the usual deliberate equivocation and complete reluctance to do anything that would upset the existence of a supremacist minority regime in Southern Rhodesia. It is not surprising, therefore, that Britain made a stand at the Conference for continuation of talks about talks. By granting Smith a three months grace Britain has refused to declare unequivocally that majority rule must be established before independence. It has refused the use of force and has opted for selective mandatory sanctions despite the general demand at the Conference for complete mandatory sanctions. On the question of the type of Government to be established after the crushing of the Smith regime—Britain is toying with the idea of an interim Government which will negotiate for independence. It is quite clear from the Communiqué that the British Government has rejected completely all the demands of the majority of the members of the Commonwealth.

ZAPU therefore unreservedly rejects the whole of the British stand and their course of action. We rejected and still reject the so-called six principles and the British sanctions policy as a means of ending the British colonial and settler rule in Southern Rhodesia. Our rejection is based on the fact that the British stand and course of action are a *de facto* recognition of the Smith regime and an

invitation to Smith to accept a minority independence conferred by Britain.

Our position with regard to the Southern Rhodesia problem is quite clear and simple. Our objective is the establishment of a government based on One man One vote before independence. The question of independence can only be negotiated by a government elected by all the people of Southern Rhodesia on the basis of One man One vote.

Our means to achieve this objective is by the use of force and hence we as a Liberation Movement have long since embarked on a policy of armed struggle. We therefore call upon all those who support the objective of our struggle to give us positive and practical assistance. We consider the three following requisites as fundamental to the Constitutional settlement in Southern Rhodesia:

- (a) Smith and his Regime must be forced to surrender unconditionally.
- (b) Joshua Nkomo and all other political prisoners must be released unconditionally.
- (c) A fully representative constitutional conference must be convened for the sole purpose of devising a constitution based on One man One vote.

It is only after these steps have been taken that the question of independence can be considered.

The people of Zimbabwe through their only political Liberation Movement ZAPU are committed to an armed struggle and despite the strength of the British armed and British equipped fascist forces of Ian Smith and despite the aid overtly supplied by South Africa, we will fight till the minority rule is crushed in Zimbabwe.

The imperialists together with the capitalists with vested interests in Southern Rhodesia, are doing everything to weaken our struggle and will continue to create diversive situations in order to help the continuation of a minority rule in the country.

To all our friends and other progressive nations we must make it quite clear that ZAPU, being the Zimbabwe people's movement, makes no apology for its stand over Rhodesia. ZAPU will wage a relentless struggle which will gain momentum with the passage of time till finally the minority settler regime is crushed. The establishment of a people's government based on One man One vote is the only means of ending the crisis.