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Washington Office on Africa

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HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE REFUGEE CRISIS:
THE CURRENT SITUATION IN RHODESIA
Mr. Chairmen, I appreciate this opportunity to share information with your two Subcommittees about the violation of human rights in Rhodesia and one of its consequences -- the growing number of refugees who have fled to neighboring countries.

I witnessed the tremendous amount of human suffering in Rhodesia when I worked there in 1977 as the Press Secretary for the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Rhodesia. From May through August 1977 I helped to investigate the conduct of the war and to compile reports documenting the use of torture, repression and propaganda by the Smith regime as well as the killing of missionaries. On August 30, 1977 I was arrested with three other members of the Commission who were subsequently charged with publishing subversive literature. I was detained for three weeks in Chikurubi Prison and deported on September 21.

Before going to Rhodesia I had worked for seven years as the Communications Coordinator for the Catholic Church in Kenya.

In September 1978 I returned to Africa as a member of a delegation of twelve Americans visiting Mozambique. Here we saw firsthand the conditions in the refugee camps and the destructiveness of Rhodesian attacks on civilian targets.

I am presently on the staff of the Washington Office on Africa, a private non-profit organization which specializes in issues of U.S. policy toward southern Africa. Its sponsors include 9 national religious bodies, the American Committee on Africa and the United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America (UAW).

For the past 18 years I have been a member of the Maryknoll Sisters, an American missionary community with Sisters working in twenty-two countries throughout the world.
The last time that I had the privilege of testifying before the Sub-committee on Africa on October 4, 1977, I had just returned from Rhodesia after an intensive three months spent investigating the violations of human rights in the conduct of the war. Today, almost a year and a half later, the situation has grown worse, and since the internal settlement agreement was signed on March 3, 1978 there has been a dramatic escalation of the war and with it a drastic increase in the violation of human rights.

Today I will focus on four aspects of the human rights question:

1. The causes of the present conflict
2. The counter-insurgency campaign
3. The plight of refugees
4. United States complicity.

THE CAUSES OF THE PRESENT CONFLICT

The question of human rights violations in Rhodesia today cannot be seen in isolation from its history. The fight for human rights has been at the core of African nationalist politics since white settlers invaded the land of the Mashona and Matabele in 1890. The denial of basic rights, based on race alone, touches every aspect of a person's life. In Rhodesia Africans are deprived of equal access to land, housing, schooling, jobs, wages, medical care and social services. Their traditions, culture and religion are condemned as uncivilized, primitive and pagan and the laws of the land keep the black population subservient and powerless. Any opposition to this state of affairs is considered a crime and is violently suppressed. Previous witnesses have documented the extent of this oppression and its systematic implementation over the years.

Rhodesian propaganda deliberately hides the fact that it was this injustice by the white minority against the African majority which led to the war and
is responsible for its continuation. Instead the regime claims that it is defending Christianity and democracy against "communist terrorism."

As Bishop Donal Lamont of Umtali, Rhodesia, who was deported in March 1977, stated in an "Open Letter to the Government of Rhodesia":

"Far from your policies defending Christianity and western civilization, as you claim, they mock the law of Christ... The non-European people of Rhodesia are by your law denied every one of these rights which are theirs by nature... They feel compelled in conscience to fight for the elimination of all the discrimination which has degraded their people and made them second-class citizens in the land of their birth.

There can be no peace until the African people are no longer degraded and treated as second-class citizens. Many people hoped that the internal settlement would provide the basis for ending the oppression and inequality of minority rule in Rhodesia. The settlement agreement made many promises that the lives of Africans would be improved -- that discrimination would end, political detainees and prisoners would be released, and the war would be ended. But in the year since the March 3rd agreement was signed, these promises have not been kept, and conditions inside the country which I will document today show that violations of human rights have grown even worse.

The internal settlement has merely co-opted a few Africans into the existing framework and protected the privileges of the minority. Only a settlement which corrects the basic injustices in the society and restores the rights of the majority will end the war.

**THE COUNTER-INSURGENCY CAMPAIGN**

Instead of ending the war by eliminating its causes, the Rhodesian regime has attempted to eliminate support for the liberation movements by a campaign designed to terrorize the civilian population. Since 1972 it has engaged in a brutal counter-insurgency campaign coupled with intensive psychological warfare."
Special targets of this campaign are the rural African people who are both the prize and victim in the "battle for hearts and minds."

The Rhodesian security forces' brutal methods include torture, detention, collective fines, burning villages, confiscating cattle, forcibly removing people to "protected villages", and the indiscriminate shooting of unarmed civilians. (Although recently some protected villages have been opened up and their inhabitants released, 160 such villages remain in operation.)

A white Rhodesian recently wrote, "After it is all over the whites will be saying, as the Germans did, that they really had no knowledge of what was going on around them." I think that the comparison with Nazi Germany is not an exaggeration. Though the numbers of those persecuted and killed in Rhodesia may be much smaller, there is a similar disregard for human life and a similar resort to vicious and inhuman methods.

This was surprisingly verified by an American who served as a "security worker" on a white farm in Rhodesia last year. He stated on a local radio program last month:

To say that atrocities are committed only by guerrillas is not so. You have Selous Scouts, the SAS paramilitary units, the British South Africa Police -- all are involved in very strange activities that make some of the American actions by troops in Vietnam look innocuous.

-- The Fred Fiske Show, March 15, 1979

He went on to describe an incident in which white farmers placed landmines on roads where civilian buses ran. "There was no question in their minds that they knew that African civilians would be killed," he said, and added that the security forces knew it was being done.

Civilian deaths

This failure to discriminate between civilians and combatants has been one
of the most objectionable features of the war. The International Commission of the Red Cross has recently appealed to both sides in the conflict to honor this stipulation of the Geneva Convention, an internationally accepted code of conduct, commenting:

The conflict in Rhodesia/Zimbabwe has been fought from the outset in a particularly cruel way. Fundamental humanitarian rules accepted by all nations -- such as the obligation to distinguish between combatants and civilians, and to refrain from violence against the latter -- have been largely ignored. In fact, those who suffer most in the conflict are the civilian populations living in the war-affected areas as well as persons displaced and families separated by the hostilities.

-- Appeal by the ICRC, March 19, 1979

While media in the United States and Britain highlight white deaths as illustrations of guerrilla "terrorism", the unreported preponderance of terror and death is quite the opposite. Rhodesian security forces have killed about seven times as many unarmed African civilians as the total number of white civilians killed by guerrillas. According to the regime's own figures, 1553 African civilians have been killed by the Rhodesian security forces in the six years up to July 1978 in contrast to a total of 207 white civilians killed over the same period (New Statesman, January 19, 1979). This does not include more than 1340 African civilians killed as "recruits and collaborators" or more than 3000 refugees killed in transborder raids.

While the whole world heard about the slaying of 12 Pentacostal missionaries last June and the deaths of about 100 people in the two Viscount incidents, few read about the 60 African civilians shot in the back at Gutu in May, or the 22 villagers including 19 women and children shot and burned to death at Domboshawa in June, or the 20 African civilians killed at Nyamaropa in August while attending the funeral of a local teacher.

It is such incidents, all too common in this war, that make it impossible
to label and condemn only one side in the fighting as "terrorists." As the Catholic Institute for International Relations pointed out in November:

White Rhodesians bewail constantly the barbaric tactics of the 'terrrs', while boasting in the next breath of the ruthless and pitiless methods adopted by their own forces... But if dead babies are to be counted, it will be the Smith regime, with its Hawker Hunters, napalm and gunships which will be found culpable of mass infanticide. In November 1977, at a stroke, more than 1500 people were 'liquidated' (as the Security Forces' communiqué put it) at the Chimoio and Tembue camps in Mozambique. In October 1978, the dead were being counted in Zambia and Mozambique after the most recent raids, leaving over 1000 dead.

"Rhodesia After the Internal Settlement"

The Selous Scouts

Some of the most cruel civilian murders are the work of the Selous Scouts. A ruthless tracker unit estimated to number 1000, they masquerade as guerrillas and deliberately commit atrocities in order to discredit the liberation forces and to confuse the people. They have been dubbed "SS" after their initials, a reference to the secret police of the Nazis with a similar reputation for brutality. They come under the direct control of the Prime Minister's Office and are generally not accountable to the Joint Operational Command system controlling the rest of the security forces. They operate in a highly secretive and clandestine manner and their activities are not discussed with other members of the armed forces. When they move into an area it is "frozen" for a period in which the Scouts have complete control to operate as they wish, while other sections of the security forces stay out.

An indication of the vital role they play in the counter-insurgency was revealed last month when their commander, Col. Ron Reid-Daly, had a dispute with the Commander of the army over the conduct of the war. It was the lower-ranking officer Reid-Daly who won and Lt. General John Hickman who was dismissed. It is thus apparent that the use of terror as a political weapon is of paramount importance to those who control the Rhodesian regime.
The Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Rhodesia monitors the activities of the Selous Scouts as much as possible. When four of us were arrested in September 1977 we were preparing to issue reports charging the Selous Scouts with two incidents which had been attributed to the guerrillas -- the killing of 27 workers at a tea estate in December 1976 and the murder of seven missionaries at Musami in February 1977. When our files were seized by the authorities so was much of our evidence, so the reports were never published. However, when the history of this struggle is fully written, I am convinced that it will fix responsibility for these incidents and many others as the work of the Selous Scouts, not the guerrillas.

Martial Law

One of the clearest signs of the continued violations of human rights in the year since the internal settlement was signed is the imposition of martial law, which now extends to more than 85 percent of the country. The meaning of martial law was made starkly clear in a paper issued by the Ministry of Information and Tourism, dated December 1978. Written on one side in English and in Shona and Ndebele on the other, it warns:

In martial law areas, the security forces can make their own laws to help them find and kill terrorists. They will not have to follow ordinary laws, because that can take too much time... Those people who help the terrorists will find lots of trouble... Here are some of the things the army can do in martial law areas:

1. They can arrest and detain people.
2. They can confiscate or destroy property such as huts and cattle.
3. They can make people work for them.

The security forces can now hold their own courts. These courts will have power to sentence people to gaol and death.

-- New Statesman, January 19, 1979

Secret Hangings

Ever since the Unilateral Declaration of Independence, the Rhodesian
regime has used emergency powers to abolish the processes and safeguards of the rule of law. Trials in camera on charges not published in advance are followed by secret hangings. For a time it seemed that these practices might be abolished by the internal settlement. But it has been recently confirmed that the transitional government has resumed the practice of secret hangings of political prisoners. According to International Defense and Aid for Southern Africa, two persons convicted by the military courts set up under the regime’s martial law regulations were hung in December and six more were hung in January. A further nine people were awaiting execution at Chikurubi prison, having been sentenced to death by military courts (The Guardian, February 9, 1979).

The Salisbury regime refuses to adhere to the Geneva Conventions which would afford prisoner of war status to captured guerillas. Instead they are summarily executed. As a long-time missionary to Rhodesia recently stated:

Those condemned under martial law are executed the day after arrival... There is no longer an 'executioner' -- as formerly -- from outside. For a time it was a prison officer. And I have heard from a good source that the medical officer does the job!

Private Armies

One of the most dangerous developments since the internal settlement has been the formation of “private armies” by Rev. Sithole and Bishop Muzorewa. Current estimates put the total number of these troops at 6000. Many have received their training either in Uganda or in Libya, Amin’s ally. Possibly the most damning indictment of these armies has been the criticism each has made of the other. Bishop Muzorewa accused supporters of Rev. Sithole of creating “nationwide Hitlerite terror” and Rev. Sithole countered with similar charges against the Bishop’s forces, including the massacre of 14 people in the Zwinba Tribal Trust Land. The Bishop retaliated on February 19 with a seven page document accusing Sithole supporters of creating “hell and terror.”
The conduct of these armies has led to two resignations from the internal settlement government. The former co-Minister of Defence and Combined Operations and member of Sithole's ZANU, Mr. John Kadzviti, was quietly fired and forced into exile in Malawi in order to avoid a scandal when it was discovered that he personally had ordered the killing of at least five persons near Sinoia last year. ZANU-Sithole lost another top member in March 1979 when Dr. Elliott Gabellah, Vice President and Joint Minister of Foreign Affairs, resigned from the party because he could "no longer reconcile my conscience with certain action in which ZANU /Sithole/ seeks to promote support for itself" (The Guardian, March 6, 1979).

A special report published by the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Rhodesia graphically describes how these private armies "promote support":

Nembudzia – The Sithole guerillas demand food from the people on a roster basis and failure to produce it means certain death. They demand meat and meat only and the people have now run out of chicken and goats and very soon will be forced to slaughter their cattle. Many people are being tortured and killed especially men. Most of the girls in the area are pregnant as a result of being raped... Anyone suspected of supporting any other party is killed and tortured.

Gokwe – The first priority is to build up Sithole's party: Spend all night with singing and slogans "Down with Muzorewa" "Down with Smith" as well, of course, as with Patriotic Front leaders. People are forced to have membership cards (50¢) of the Sithole party. Have to pay (each house) a weekly contribution of 25¢ for upkeep of party. If people refuse... they are tortured and shot.

The whole morality of the area has been destroyed, not a girl has been left unmolested. Husbands are powerless to protect their wives. If they defend them they are shot.

Gandachibua-Njanja – These Sithole people beat up many people for small things like coming late to meetings, preparing food badly, etc. and killed many.

Not only has the existence of these "private armies" or "auxiliary forces" paved the way for political intimidation on an unprecedented scale
before the April elections, but it also exposes the splits within the internal alliance and makes nonsense of the claim that Muzorewa and Sithole are moderates and democrats.

**Destruction of Property**

Shortly after martial law was proclaimed on September 23rd, a "scorched earth" policy was adopted in areas of the country where guerrilla support was suspected to be high. Whole villages are burnt to the ground, inhabitants are rounded up for interrogation often accompanied by beatings and torture, cattle are confiscated and crops destroyed. The victims often end up as forced labor on the nearest white farms.

The Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Rhodesia and Christian Care, a voluntary aid organization, documented that 718 families had their homes burned down by security forces between September and December in the areas of Salisbury, Gwelo and Umtali. On January 13th another four villages were burned. Just two weeks ago more were burnt in Mrewa and Chihota. In all cases, the soldiers ordered people from their homes without giving them time to collect their belongings before their homes were set alight. *(The Observer, January 28, 1979).*

Mt. Lot Dewa, an African member of Parliament, submitted a report in Parliament in January detailing the burning of villages in his constituency, Matojeni. In addition, he pointed out that civilians are used as shields by security forces in areas where they fear a guerrilla ambush and that people are forced to work on the roads daily. Refusal means automatic destruction of property. As Mr. Dewa concluded, "... people are desperately suffering at the hands of those who should be protecting them." *(Report on Matters of Concern in the Constituency: Burning of Homes and Granaries, December 30, 1978)*
Starvation Tactics

The government is deliberately denying food to people in areas where there are food shortages in order to deny food to the guerillas. Deaths by starvation are already being reported and malnutrition among children is common. A recent survey involving 2400 children under 5 years showed that 17 percent were below average weight, many by as much as 50 percent. Missionary doctors in the country have issued warnings that mental retardation and permanent brain damage may be the result of the government's "starve the terrorists" policy.

The International Committee for the Red Cross which recently received $1 million in funds out of a possible $5 million appropriated by the U.S. Congress to spend inside Rhodesia, confirmed that military authorities in the Mtoko and Mrewa districts have ordered a halt to the distribution of Red Cross food and medical supplies. In an appeal issued on March 19, 1979 the Red Cross specifically requested the transitional government in Salisbury that it:

-- ensure normal supply of food to the civilian populations in rural areas and stop the destruction and confiscation by its armed forces of goods (foodstuffs, cattle) that are essential for the survival of the civilian population in the war-affected areas;

-- permit continued material and medical relief assistance ... and allow the ICRC to resume relief distribution in those areas where they have been forbidden by the security forces.

In the light of the upcoming election, the government's food policy takes on added significance. As a missionary who has worked in the country for many years wrote to a friend recently:

I believe that shortly before 'elections' there will be a massive exercise in food bribery in order to obtain support. And this exercise could break down the resistance of the starving and give some sort of credibility to the 20th April.
THE PLIGHT OF REFUGEES

One consequence of the transitional regime's cruel and inhuman policies has been a growing exodus of the African population. Unlike whites who are also fleeing but for different reasons, the Africans have no savings, few marketable skills and little desire or opportunity to resettle elsewhere permanently.

The majority become refugees in the neighboring countries of Botswana, Zambia and Mozambique. Their numbers have multiplied rapidly after the internal settlement, almost doubling in the last six months.

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<tr>
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<th>July 1978</th>
<th>March 1979</th>
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<tr>
<td>Botswana</td>
<td>11,000</td>
<td>18,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zambia</td>
<td>33,000</td>
<td>44,600</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mozambique</td>
<td>70,000</td>
<td>100,000</td>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>114,000</td>
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(United Nations High Commission for Refugee estimates)

The Zimbabwe refugee problem is so serious that the International Committee for the Red Cross (ICRC) spends 36 percent of its total Africa budget for Zimbabwe refugee assistance, and the UNHCR has recently almost doubled its original 1979 budget for Zimbabwe refugees:

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<th>Original Budget</th>
<th>Revised Budget</th>
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<tr>
<td>Botswana</td>
<td>$1.2 million</td>
<td>$3 million</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zambia</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mozambique</td>
<td>3 million</td>
<td>6 million</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>$4.5 million</td>
<td>$9 million</td>
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Statistics can be dry and meaningless, but the realities behind them tell a story of immense suffering coupled with great courage and perseverance. To give just one example, Tronga Camp in central Mozambique, held 16,000 refugees when I visited it in September with an American delegation. Half of the inhabitants were under the age of 17 and many of them were orphans. There were only 5000 blankets for three times as many people. Classes for 6000 students
were held under the trees with no books, papers or pencils. Medicines were scarce and food consisted mainly of sadza (maize meal boiled with water) and greens.

Self-reliance was the camp's policy and all houses, beds and stools were made by the refugees themselves. There were sewing machines but no cloth. The large garden supplied the vegetables for the camp's meager diet though farming was frequently disrupted by fear of Rhodesian air raids. People were busy building a new life out of almost nothing, in the most difficult circumstances. The Mozambique government and the United Nations High Commission for Refugees were doing their best to assist, as were the workers of Mozambique who contribute one day's pay a month to the Solidarity Bank for Zimbabwean refugees.

I am encouraged by the recommendation of the House Africa Subcommittee that additional funding should be allocated for African refugees and that the restrictions against providing assistance to Zambia and Mozambique should not be reimposed, and hope that these recommendations will be followed by the full House. I am also encouraged by the appointment of a special ambassador for refugee affairs and I hope that former Senator Dick Clark's appointment will be confirmed without delay.

Bottleneck in Botswana

Officials of international relief organizations are concerned about the mounting number of refugees in Botswana, a country which is ill-equipped to handle the recent build-up. Before the internal settlement agreement of March 3, 1978 there were only 3000 Zimbabwean refugees in Botswana. That number has multiplied six times in the short space of a year. The problem was aggravated in February when flights arranged to transport more than 10,000 refugees from Botswana to Zambia were cancelled. Maersk Air of Denmark, which
had contracted to make 84 flights each carrying 127 refugees to Lusaka, discontinued the flights when it was informed by the Foreign and Commonwealth Offices in London that the Rhodesian regime intended to destroy the aircraft, either in flight or on the ground.

Appeals by Botswana to the British government to protect these flights or make alternative transport arrangements have gone unheeded. As a result, the refugee population in Botswana continues to expand at an alarming rate, placing a great burden on Botswana’s scarce resources, and a threat of attack by Rhodesia. The situation is urgent and demands attention of all those concerned about human rights, including these two Subcommittees.

Attacks on Refugee Camps

According to official Rhodesian statistics, the security forces have killed more than 3000 people in trans-border raids, the majority of them refugees. Many innocent citizens of the host countries have also been killed. In fact, President Nyerere has stated that more Mozambicans have been killed by the Smith regime than in Mozambique’s own struggle against Portuguese colonialism (Crusade for Liberation, page 29). The ruthlessness of these raids has been well documented in reports to the United Nations Security Council.

As well as attacking the camps, the Rhodesian regime also drops threatening leaflets to frighten refugees into returning to Rhodesia. After the October/November raids on Zambia, leaflets dropped on refugee camps in Botswana showed photos of the dead and warned:

Death at Mkushi - Hundreds of ZIPRA cadres died like this one at Mkushi... Their bodies were eaten by jackals and hyenas for even the Zambians feared to go near...

226 killed, 629 injured in ZAPU Refugee Camp Raid (Headlines in Zambia Daily Mail). If you go to Zambia, you will die as they died.
Shortly after I visited Tronga, similar leaflets were dropped on the camp telling the inhabitants to go home. In panic, the refugees fled into the bush fearing that bombing and napalm would follow. It took several weeks before many of them returned and the following month they were still afraid to go into open fields to farm.

Aside from verbal condemnations, the West appears to have done little to discourage this naked aggression across Rhodesia's borders into Zambia, Botswana, Mozambique, and most recently, Angola. President Samora Machel of Mozambique pointed out the inconsistency of the West's position when he delivered a major address last September. Exposing the double standards and racism inherent in the West's policy toward Rhodesia, he asked:

What would have been the reaction of Great Britain or the United States if the 650 refugees massacred at Nyazania had been English?

What would their attitude have been if the dozens of people hanged and murdered by the regime were white North Americans? Africa is full of recent examples which give the answer.

UNIVERSITY STATES' COMPLICITY

These double standards have been evident in the West's dealings with Rhodesia ever since the advent of colonial rule. The rights of the African majority received little attention and less concern from the Western world since 1890, but now that some kind of change is imminent there is a sudden and ironic interest in the fate of the 250,000 whites. As Garfield Todd, former Prime Minister of Rhodesia, commented last May:

I have suggested to both the British and Americans that if 90,000 adult blacks were keeping six million whites in subjection the West would quickly find a way to free their kith and kin.

-- Rhodesia Herald, May 15, 1978

The British and Americans have not taken firm action even to ensure that their own proposals were implemented -- both sanctions and the Anglo-American
peace plan.

The Smith regime could not have survived for 14 years without Western assistance, and in particular without the supply of fuel and weapons. Commenting on Western collaboration in the ever-escalating war, a missionary priest in Rhodesia recently wrote:

I do not find it easy to maintain an optimistic view in the presence of such appalling present suffering, dehumanisation and barbarity and I am horrified with the western world that goes on supplying us with everything - there is little shortage of petrol in spite of the departure of the Shah.

I believe it would be far more profitable to send a team of observers to monitor Western compliance with sanctions than the internal elections! It is the height of hypocrisy for the West to call for peaceful means to end the war, and fail to observe sanctions -- one of the few peaceful means available.

I am aware that investigations of alleged sanctions-breaking by U.S. oil companies and by the suppliers of 11 Huey Bell helicopters to Rhodesia are being conducted respectively by the U.S. Department of Treasury and the Department of Commerce. While these investigations seem promising developments, a previous investigation by the Department of Treasury yielded zero results, and this present attempt is likely to prove equally unsuccessful unless there is strong political pressure for the creation of an independent commission of inquiry.

In Great Britain such a special commission of inquiry into sanctions-breaking by British corporations was created under the chairmanship of an impartial highly respected lawyer. I believe that such a commission, adequately funded for staff and with full powers of subpoena, could develop a solid basis of fact which would demonstrate the extent and nature of U.S. covert support for the Smith regime. I urge these Subcommittees to seriously consider calling
for the formation of such a commission -- in my opinion, long overdue.

CONCLUSION

Human rights will continue to be violated in Rhodesia until there is a just settlement which is acceptable to the people as a whole, and until a government is established through internationally-supervised elections. These are less likely to happen if the United States backs the internal settlement regime and gives its leaders false hope that they do not eventually have to come to terms with the Patriotic Front, and to address the causes of the war.

Lifting sanctions would support the continuing violation of human rights and would produce the very results which the United States wants to prevent:
- an escalation of the war causing more suffering and bloodshed
- greater intransigence on the part of the internal leaders and an unwillingness to negotiate or accept internationally-supervised elections
- loss of U.S. credibility in independent Africa
- the risk of increased involvement by the Russians and Cubans
- the end of America's role as a mediator in southern Africa
- a hardening of racial attitudes and a greater exodus of whites

On the other hand, non-recognition and a rigorous enforcement of sanctions including the cutoff of oil, weapons and mercenaries, are possibly the strongest weapon the West possesses to persuade the internal leaders to negotiate.

As the United States prepares to make a decision which will affect its future relations with all of Africa, I would like to recall the plea of Tanzania's President Julius Nyerere when he visited the U.S. in August 1977 to urge a greater western commitment to majority rule in Rhodesia:

It is our hope that America will use its great influence, and a little of its power, to support those who struggle against great odds for justice -- and therefore for ultimate peace -- in southern Africa.

San Francisco, August 6, 1977