



Let us Fight and Rebuild
ZIMBABWE

Permanent Observer Mission to the United Nations
Z.A.N.U.

Zimbabwe African National Union
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ADDRESS BY COMRADE ROBERT G. MUGABE,
PRESIDENT OF ZANU AND CO-LEADER OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT
TO THE SIXTH CONFERENCE OF THE HEADS OF STATE AND/
OR GOVERNMENT OF THE NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES
HAVANA, AUGUST 3, 1979

PAMBERI Ne Chimurenga
PAMBILI Ngempi ye NKULULEKO
"Forward with the Revolution"

Comrade Chairman,
Your Excellencies, Heads of State and Government,
Honorable Ministers,
Distinguished Guests,
Comrades and Friends,

The Patriotic Front feels greatly honored and privileged to have been accorded full membership of the Non-Aligned Movement, in which capacity we now take our seat at this historic 6th Conference of the Movement taking place in the capital city of this unique Caribbean island, whose history of the revolutionary struggle against imperialism, fascist puppet rule, naked aggression, and a strangling economic blockade, cannot but fill those of us still locked in combat against colonial domination with admiration and deep inspiration. As we express our profound gratitude to this Conference and severally to the heads of State and Government herein assembled, may we also take this opportunity of congratulating you, Comrade Chairman, upon your election. We are in no doubt that your term of office will see the Non-Aligned Movement grow from strength to strength on the basis of its cherished principles and objectives. The Patriotic Front wishes you every success.

Comrade Chairman, we view the admission of our Liberation Movement as a full member as a demonstration by the Non-Aligned Countries of their solidarity with us in the bitter and relentless struggle we have been waging for the overthrow of imperialism and colonial settlerism and for the achievement of genuine independence and peace in our country. We thus view your support for us as support of our principles and objectives as well as of the means of struggle we have chosen for their attainment. We appreciate the fact that our admission as a full member comes soon after the OAU summit in Monrovia recognized us as the sole legitimate and authentic representative of our people.

The struggling and oppressed masses of Zimbabwe have cause to feel gratified at your expression of total alliance with them at this exceedingly crucial time in their history, when the forces of imperialism in collaboration with the forces of reaction are consolidating themselves in an effort to divert the course of our revolution, enthrall and legitimize the puppet regime and establish in our country a neocolonial state.

Comrade Chairman, it is exactly 89 years since Britain colonized our country, and 14 years since her settler rebels assumed unilateral independence. During this whole period, Britain has refused to provide a solution capable of satisfying the wishes of the majority of the people of Zimbabwe. Instead, Britain has proceeded to weave one constitutional scheme after another, every one of which has been nothing more than a cunning spider's web replete with traps for the destruction of the revolutionary movement and the continued subjection of our people under the guise of democracy. This series of constitutional traps runs from the Tiger proposals of 1967, the Fearless proposals of 1968, the Douglas Home proposals of 1971, the Kissinger plan of 1976, to the Anglo-American

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proposals of 1977-78. In every case, the scheme was proffered as a truly democratic one, and yet in essence every one of them was nothing but a gross violation of democracy couched in the hypocrisy of the so-called Six Principles. Was it any wonder that in practically every case the scheme became a flop?

In respect of the Anglo-American proposals published in September, 1977, the British adopted a more sophisticated form of cunning. Playing down their tune of the Six Principles, they began chanting our democratic slogans of "majority rule," "democratic elections," and "one-man-one-vote" and went even a step further than ourselves to recite "one-woman-one-vote." We examined their proposals and found they contained a number of positive aspects which we could not reject, for having conceded the fundamental principle that we had an inherent right to independence, the proposals then stipulated basic categorical requirements, the fulfillment of which would have charted a clear and irreversible course to genuine independence. These were:

- a. The removal of the settler regime;
- b. The dismantlement of its Forces; and
- c. The acceptance of our Liberation Forces as a basis of a Zimbabwe People's Army.

Proceeding in all honesty and with serious intentions to reach an agreement, the Patriotic Front held two meetings last year with the Anglo-Americans, the first one in Malta in January, and the second in Dar-es-Salaam in April. Indeed, we made several concessions to the British and accepted their idea of an all-parties conference. The British were, however, in no position to reach a settlement leading to genuine independence and the total transference of power to the majority of our people. Thus, they began dithering and resorting to devious behavior as part of a negation process calculated to promote the internal settlement plan as it operated conveniently to destroy their own plan.

The sum-total effect of failure by Britain to reach agreement with the people of Zimbabwe through their representative liberation movement has been to promote the entrenchment of racist and oppressive settler minority rule, condone its illegality and the succession of massacres and brutalities which it has been perpetrating against not only our civilian population but also against the peace-loving States of Mocambique, Zambia, Botswana and Angola. The regime's aggressive operations are now almost a daily feature, hardly condemned anymore by the colonial power, which, ironically, has been seeking to bless them by a sanctifying process of lifting the sanctions and granting recognition to the regime.

Comrade Chairman, it is against this background of a grim situation that the liberation movement we lead has been waging in an exceedingly vigorous and valiant manner an armed revolutionary struggle for the total liberation of our fatherland, the abolition of an oppressive fascist

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rule, and the creation of an independent and democratic State of Zimbabwe. We are glad to report to this august assembly of committed allies and friends upon whose material military and non-military aid our just struggle has depended for its success, that we have, through numerous victories scored against the enemy in the battlefield, made most significant advances in our operations. Transforming the armed struggle through a series of strategies, we have managed to extend the totality of our operations effectively to ninety percent of the total land area of the country, one-third of which constitutes our liberated zones, in which power has been passed on to the people through various committees at village and district levels. These areas also constitute centers of collective projects in production, construction, education, health and sanitary activities. The effective character of our operations has also resulted from our systematic choice of enemy targets for destruction, and these have included not only military bases and centers of civil administration, but also such economic targets as fuel storage depots, electric power centers and installations, the internal and external rail and road routes for the movement of economic goods within the country and to and from the sanctions-busting countries. Our operations in urban centers, although a later development resting on the consolidation of the rural bases, continue to spread and intensify.

Comrade Chairman, it is the nature and circumstances of our conflict situation, deepened by the armed character and hostility of the enemy, which lead us to adopt armed struggle as the principal form of struggle for our liberation. Through it, we have to a substantial measure carried out the decolonization process of our country, the responsibility for which Britain, as the colonial power, had continually shirked. Any settlement proposals, therefore, which ignore the realities of our situation and the fundamental decolonization role our liberation forces have played have no chance of succeeding.

Comrade Chairman, imperialism is an unrepentant and most obdurate monster. Instead of having learnt its lessons of defeat in Mocambique, Angola, and Guinea Bissau, and proceeding to work out a strategy of averting a series of other ignominious defeats in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, it has chosen to persist in its open challenge to democracy and the liberation forces championing that democracy. In both Zimbabwe and Namibia, where the strategy of propping up internal regimes comprised of an alliance of colonial settlers and reactionary puppet groups is being pursued, imperialism intends to legitimize those regimes and, having placed at their disposal huge arsenals of arms, pit them against our liberation movements. This way, the claim could then be made that African was fighting against African in a civil war caused, as they would allege, by power-hungry communist rebels. The phenomenon of colonialism or neocolonialism would be denied. The strategy is not new, for the Americans tried it in Vietnam as they sought to Vietnamize the conflict by propping one puppet regime after another, the last of which was the disgraced Van Thieu regime. This strategy is bound to fail in the same manner as it collapsed in Vietnam.

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The present British government, headed by Margaret Thatcher, has pronounced itself in favor of lifting sanctions and granting recognition to the internal regime. Now, however, it has decided to begin its exercise by convening an all-parties conference to be held on the 10th of September in London. The Patriotic Front has been invited to attend and to send as many delegates as the internal regime. It has accepted this invitation and will thus attend the conference in order to assess whether there is now a serious intention on the part of the British Government to negotiate genuine independence. We have already enunciated the basic political position we hold and whose essential principles will guide us at this Conference. The statement of the basic position issued in Dar-es-Salaam on the 20th of August, 1979, following a meeting of the Co-ordinating Council of the Patriotic Front, reads as follows:

"A Statement of the Basic Political Position of the Patriotic Front

"1. The reality in Zimbabwe is that of a war situation in which the Liberation Forces of the Patriotic Front, as representing the interests of seven million Zimbabweans, are locked in a bitter conflict against the forces of the rebel regime representing the racist settler minority.

"2. The historical development of the present conflict situation consistently demonstrates that Britain, as the colonial power since 1890, has, in successive stages, not only deliberately refrained from exercising her colonial responsibility toward the Zimbabwean people, but also yielded to the racial demands of the settler minority community to the extent of acquiescing in the illegal act of the unilateral declaration of independence.

"3. Since the Patriotic Front Forces assumed the revolutionary task, it has, to a very great extent, redressed the imbalance of power between the oppressed and subjected majority and the oppressive minority ruling class through the instrumentality of armed struggle. By its sweat and blood, therefore, the Patriotic Front has become the effective and decisive factor in the decolonization process which the colonial power had failed to accomplish. Accordingly, by the fact of the advance of the liberation struggle resulting in the establishment of firm and indisputable control over a vast region of the country and the extension of its military operations over ninety percent of the total land area of Zimbabwe, the Patriotic Front, which enjoys the fullest support of the masses, has become the only dominant force operating against the British settler colonialist system, thus diminishing the role of Britain as the sole decolonizing power, to the extent to which it has become merely minimal.

"4. By virtue of its established military and political position and its endearment to the masses, the Patriotic Front has become the sole, legitimate and authentic representative of the people of Zimbabwe, without whose consent no settlement of whatever kind could ever succeed.

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"5. The Patriotic Front, recognizing that the process of achieving an acceptable constitutional agreement is necessarily a movement from war to peace, holds that the basis of any desired constitutional settlement cannot fall short of the complete removal of the causes of the war, through the disbandment of the oppressive and racist regime together with its physical instruments of control, and its consequent replacement by a truly democratic government into whose control the Liberation Forces are placed and transformed into the People's Army.

"6. The movement from war to peace, being a movement from an undemocratic and oppressive settler minority rule to a democratic system, cannot at the same time be based on a constitution of the very racial and undemocratic system it seeks to destroy. To do so is not only to vitiate the principle of democracy, but also to sanctify illegality and racism. Similarly, to incorporate in a purportedly democratic constitution provisions creating a special position for groups or communities or according such groups or communities any preferential treatment on no other bases than those of race and color is repugnant to the principles of democracy as we understand and cherish them. All citizens, being equal before the law, must enjoy equal rights and privileges.

"7. The process of establishing peace from war must aim at the achievement of genuine independence through the utilization of such modalities as are promotive and not inhibitive of the process. In this regard, the election process leading to the emergence of the government of an independent Zimbabwe should not only be democratic but should also come under the supervision of such persons or groups of persons as possess an objectivity and impartiality which are beyond question. The Conservative Government of Britain having publicly endorsed the fraudulent elections held by the present illegal regime in April as "free and fair," and having pronounced themselves in favor of lifting sanctions, has forfeited every right to supervise the process of change. It is decidedly biased in favor of the illegal regime.

"8. Any proposed scheme envisaging the solution of the Rhodesian problem must be consistent with the expressed wishes and interests of the people of Zimbabwe and the course which the international community, in particular the OAU, the Non-Aligned Movement, and the United Nations, has prescribed and advocated with consistent vigor over the last seventeen years, that is since 1962. During this period, the United Nations has consistently demanded that Rhodesia be decolonized to the satisfaction of the people of Zimbabwe. Both the General Assembly and the Security Council rejected UDI in 1965 at the request of Britain (Resolutions 232 and 252). In 1977, Britain sought and obtained from the Security Council a Resolution empowering the United Nations to supervise elections in Zimbabwe under the Anglo-American plan. In March 1978, the Security Council passed a resolution rejecting the March 3rd so-called internal settlement and called for a solution based on the United Nations resolutions on Rhodesia.

"9. The Patriotic Front has always recognized that the principle of serious negotiations to bring about a genuine settlement leading to the total transference of power, from the settler racist minority to the majority of the people of Zimbabwe, could not be excluded as an additional

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means of resolving the present conflict. The Patriotic Front, therefore, expresses itself in favor of entering into serious negotiations with the British Government with a view to assessing whether any substantial area of agreement exists between Britain and itself.

"10. By accepting the British invitation to attend the proposed conference, the Patriotic Front must clearly be understood to have done nothing more than indicate its willingness to negotiate a solution. It rejects both the proposed constitutional framework, which has as its basis the illegal internal settlement constitution, and the proposal of a ceasefire it unjustifiably makes. The war will, therefore, continue until the objective of liberation has been achieved."

This, Comrade Chairman, is the position the Patriotic Front is adopting as its general approach to the envisaged negotiations with Britain. As will be remembered, this was the approach we adopted in relation to the Anglo-American proposals, and we hope that this august assembly of Non-Aligned Countries will give it its fullest backing.

I wish to state it quite clearly that until victory has been achieved, we shall continue to intensify the liberation struggle; accordingly we appeal to you to continue in your previous efforts to extend to us all the assistance possible so we can transform the situation progressively towards the complete overthrow of the enemy. May we express the profound gratitude and indebtedness of our people to you all for the collective efforts you have continually exerted in total support for the aspirations of our people. Our especial thanks go to the OAU and to the Frontline States for the crucial role they have played in the furtherance of our struggle. Indeed, the Frontline States, far from submitting to the intimidatory tactics of the enemy and his callous acts of aggression, are more than ever before strengthened in their resolve to continue their assistance to us.

We also wish to acknowledge the substantial material assistance we have received from socialist and other progressive countries which are not represented in this movement. To them all, and to the progressive and voluntary organizations in western countries who support our just cause, we say "thank you; keep it up."

Finally, may we register our appreciation of the solidarity we enjoy from our sister Liberation Movements in South Africa, Namibia, Western Sahara and from the PLO. We reciprocate with full pledges of solidarity for their just cause, and together with them we say:

A LUTA CONTINUA!

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