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**PRIME MINISTER'S ADDRESS
TO THE NATION**

2nd JUNE, 1979

ZIMBABWE RHODESIA



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PRIME MINISTER'S ADDRESS TO THE NATION

The following is the text of an address to the nation by the Prime Minister, Bishop the Hon. A. T. Muzorewa, on the Zimbabwe Rhodesia Broadcasting Corporation (Television and Radio) tonight (June 2):

Nowhere, throughout history, has any new government come into power beset with more problems than those I see facing my Government. Although these grave problems are not of my Government's making, but unfortunately inherited ones, we are nevertheless committed to meet them head-on in a determined effort to resolve them. In other words, we must acknowledge their existence, the high degree of their difficulty and yet they must unflinchingly be tackled realistically and with sacrificial courage and determination by all responsible citizens of Zimbabwe Rhodesia who have a stake in this country.

Before I go on to enumerate and define the nature of these problems, I must humbly say how honoured and privileged I am to address you all tonight for the first time as Prime Minister of the new State to Zimbabwe Rhodesia.

I am aware that I speak to you on the most momentous occasion in our country's constitutional history. We are all fortunate to witness the rebirth of our nation and the commencement of a new era of freedom and independence with dignity for all our people. First, we can all share great pride in the manner in which the first historic elections of our country were conducted and the exciting outcome as witnessed by all of us and the impartial reports of the international observers. For the most successful outcome of these elections highest tribute must be paid to the Public Service, and the Security Forces with all its branches. The desire and will of the people to exercise their newly won democratic right, must be equally highly praised. Let me thank you all, on behalf of the whole nation.

I must now impress upon all of you that the election of a majority rule government is but only a first step upon the hazardous course ahead of us.

We must, therefore, strive to stop the disastrous and fruitless war in order to restore our country to peace and preserve the effi-

cient system of law and order of this country. It is an almost worn out statement of fact that the reasons for the war no longer exist, since the majority were fighting for the removal from power from minority rule and the establishment of a government of the people, by the people and for the people. That this has been certainly achieved is evidenced by the introduction of the majority rule Constitution, and crowned by the outstandingly successful elections.

I have already said our objective task is to stop the war and secure peace. In this regard our strategy is double-edged. It is one of come home and let come home. Our first call is to all Zimbabwe Rhodesians to return to their motherland without fear of detention, arrest, trial or death. In pursuance of this objective I have taken positive steps. The first of these is to send messages to our fellow countrymen and women in the bush to return in peace. I shall continue to do so. The message is on the way to inform Mr. Nkomo and Mr. Mugabe that our amnesty policy is genuine, honest and democratic in an effort to achieve reconciliation, and comes from the bottom of our hearts.

This is a unique gesture to those who would otherwise be our enemies. You know, ladies and gentlemen, in many countries, and particularly in Africa, the order of things is that those who come to power regard their rivals and opponents as permanent enemies — giving them no chance for accommodation and reconciliation. Zimbabwe Rhodesia will avoid this reconciliatory attitude as it is not only counter productive but also inevitably creates the enormous difficulty of a huge and miserable refugee population as people flee from a new form of oppression. It is therefore, my Government's full intention to pursue the real spirit of the amnesty policy until we achieve total fulfilment of our declared goal of peace in our land. My Government's pledge is to relentlessly pursue our declared democratic principles. We accept our opponents as long as they are a responsible opposition.

In addition to this, immediately following the elections I communicated officially with the leaders of the "so-called" Frontline States, notifying them that the vast majority of the people of this country had, by the 64.8 per cent. vote, elected a popular government which is what we have always desired and fought for. I proposed that we be big enough and Christian enough on both sides to forgive and forget the past. I further informed them that the attitude and policy of my Government was the desire to establish and develop a good neighbour relationship and to forge friendly

political, diplomatic and trade links. Most important of all, I advised them that I would never be party to or allow this country to be used as a base for any attempt to undermine or overthrow their governments. At the same time I pointed out that under such circumstances I believed that it was natural, reasonable and logical for me to expect them not to harbour or support anyone intent upon similar action against Zimbabwe Rhodesia. That is one side of our peace plan.

The other is that we will defend ourselves, our sovereignty, our democracy and our land against any form of aggression, until we have achieved our goal of peace, internal security and happiness to the highest possible degree for all our people, black, white, coloured and Asian. One month has now passed since I sent my goodwill message to our black neighbours. I take as a negative reply the fact that they are still allowing their countries to be used as bases to fight to overthrow our democratically and popularly elected government. The nation is entitled to know this.

I have learnt that a few Frelimo soldiers have recently been sent into Zimbabwe Rhodesia alongside ZANLA. This has, unfortunately, resulted in a number of Mozambique soldiers being killed or captured on our soil. I appeal to President Samora Machel, in the name of humanity and good neighbourliness, to please review any decision that might have been taken to become involved in our domestic affairs.

The task of pursuing and achieving peace will necessitate the continuation of the call-up arrangements for a little while longer. We have heard some expression of concern about the call-up of whites, coloured and Asians only. (Although I have already referred to their need for continuing the call-up arrangements, I must, however, assure you that the medium-term plan is to scale down and eventually do away with the whole system of call-up.) We plan to have a vigorous programme of increasing our regular forces composed of blacks, whites, coloureds and Asians, in order to reduce the difficulties suffered by commerce and industry, because of the great role presently played by those sectors of the economy in the country's entire defence system.

Turning now to the matter of the much awaited international recognition and the removal of economic sanctions, I want to say that we have now satisfied all the conditions embodied in the six principles laid down by successive British Governments. To be

more specific: (a) the cancer and stigma of racialistic laws have now been replaced by a non-racial constitution; (b) white minority rule has given way to a popularly elected government; (c) the curse of U.D.I. has been cleansed by the March 3 Agreement of 1978 and the subsequent elections, and finally all has been crowned by the establishment of the majority rule Government.

What impeded our country's return to legality and the withdrawal of sanctions, has all been removed. In all this, I concur with the recent statements by British Premier, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, Lord Carrington and Mr. Cyrus Vance, that a "new reality" has been dramatically and democratically ushered in and now exists in this country, so that if we are to be treated honestly by the free civilized nations of the world, we can no longer be denied our proper place within the international community. Since the elections, I have sent envoys to various countries in Africa. I must therefore emphatically add that we have a new democratic reality which we, as well as the international community, must live with.

Let me say here that we look confidently forward to some positive, firm and courageous action at the earliest possible time, on the part of the British and American Governments, to take the lead and recognize us accordingly. They now have a challenge to display high qualities of statesmanship with fairness and honesty. The rest of the world that believes in and practises the letter and spirit of democracy will inevitably follow their example.

Whilst we are, I believe, entitled to expect international recognition and sanctions to be lifted, there are other most important things that we can only do for ourselves. These include freedom, mutual respect, unity, harmony and stability within the nation. I have said it before and I say it again, that it is possible to achieve unity in diversity. This can be achieved given the correct attitude and goodwill, coupled with positive effort on the part of us all. We will legislate in order to create and promote true freedom. But we will expect all to be true law-abiding citizens.

We must rid ourselves of the past negative racial attitudes between black and white, whether these were offensive or defensive. We must each make a resolution and decide that we are determined to relate to each other as fellow human beings. Here lies the secret of true harmonious living. Whilst we may have outlawed racialism from the statute book, this will mean little if we do not make a posi-

tive contribution, each and every one of us, to adjust to the new spirit of our nation, to refrain from the negative racial practices of the past and even to reform ourselves for the good of mankind. If we do not, we will find that we are ourselves destroying our young nation through bitterness and resentfulness, to the extent that we shall all be the losers, perhaps some more than others. I say rather, let us totally accept the principle of inter-dependence between the races of this country and honestly practice this to the full. I believe that all Zimbabwe Rhodesians have been endowed with the courage and capacity to face facts as they truly are and to generate complete harmony between our races.

Some of you may be somewhat pessimistic, or even cynical, about the possibility of genuine change under our new system of government. I want to assure you that changes that have and will come will be designed to benefit all the people of our country. Above all it will be change that is absolutely necessary. Some changes will be necessary if we should safeguard against and prevent chaotic resolution. My Government's unbiased, fair and just objective in bringing about that necessary change must be calmly and objectively understood and accepted. Your positive response to any necessary changes introduced by the new Government to build trust and confidence will sustain our effort to secure the future without recrimination. I want to warn some of the white members of our country to beware of the tendency to sabotage the progress of the new Government. The consequence is that we will fall together and perish together.

Now is the time to place the unpleasant past where it belongs — in the past. Now is the time for all of us to prove that this country is truly ours and without reservation move forward to provide a positive and constructive contribution to the future progress and prosperity of our nation.

I have a noble vision that we all wish to live in a country where persons are measured not by the colour of their skin, nor the circumstances of their birth, but by the content of their character. I have a noble vision that here in Zimbabwe Rhodesia, people, many people, are endowed with the capacity to generate true harmony between races that will pleasantly live together in peace and dignity. By God we must make it so!

After saying that, I wish to allay the fear that inevitably accompanies any change from one system of government to

another — especially when the majority gain constitutional power from the minority. The latter understandably tend to feel threatened by the prospect of the majority using their majority power. I personally do not see real good justification for that fear.

The majority have, though under much humiliation, been accustomed to charitable relations towards the minority rulers. There is fertile ground for inter-racial harmony and reconciliation, hence I have repeatedly not hesitated to assure you all of a place in this country for everyone who wishes to make it their home and accordingly contribute fully to the much desired national reconstruction and development. On the other hand, the majority equally fear that their aspirations will be thwarted as they attempt to actualise their newly won liberties. Rather than let these mutual fears run high and make us morbid and unproductive, we must move forward in confidence and trust one with another.

I do not need to remind you all that one of the worst enemies of Africa is tribalism. In many parts of our continent this disease has had most disastrous consequences, such as bloody civil wars, coups and counter-coups which have been grossly exploited by super powers for their own ends. In setting up the Government, I have tried to create a truly nationalistic administration, based on non-regionalism, non-tribalism, and non-sectionalism. In Zimbabwe Rhodesia we will place an inevitable duty on leaders of all sectors of our society to make a concerted effort to live together in mutual respect and harmony regardless of their origins.

My honest intention is to make this constitutional experiment work. I have always believed that the "Government of National Unity" is a suitable basis for a troubled nation to proceed in a true spirit of national unity. We here in Zimbabwe Rhodesia believe that, because of the very nature of our ethnic diversity, tribal plurality and armed political factions, we badly need to work hard for the success of the experiment. With that, I am pledging the Party's full loyalty to and co-operation with other political parties and various arms of our Government, namely, Cabinet Members, the House of Assembly, the Senate and the Civil Service. In return we shall naturally expect that this co-operation and supportive attitude would be reciprocated in word and deed.

There has unfortunately, of late, been what I consider to be mischievous, irresponsible, naked arrogance, and, I might even go so far as to say, treasonable behaviour by some leading politicians.

And it comes at a time when we expect maximum responsibility and the most constructive behaviour from all outstanding leaders of our land. Even more unfortunate and certainly undesirable are the instances that have come to my attention of innocent people being tortured and killed for supporting me, my party, and the government of National Unity. The agents of such senseless and wicked victimization surprisingly have not been our obvious enemies, but those who subscribe to the March 3, 1978 Agreement.

It is a declared intention of my Government to protect the rights and liberties of all our people. We will therefore, not — never — tolerate political hob-knobbery, obstructionism, and meddling in this regard, which I understand is being supported by a few politically oriented civil servants. It is not asking too much to expect that a government elected by such a resounding majority of the electorate deserves the nation's dedicated service and unquestionable loyalty. If that assistance, co-operation and support, which any democratically elected government is entitled to, is not forthcoming, and all they get is organized sabotage, surely everyone knows that it is a universal practice for any such government to use its teeth and whip the process of law and order to eradicate every bit of nonsense intended to deprive the people of their freedom and peace.

Many people are still asking me for an all-party conference. To them I say, honestly and sincerely, that the matter should be referred to the British and American Governments and to Mr. Nkomo and Mr. Mugabe. I do so because in October of last year we placed this question very squarely in their hands. Whilst the members of the Executive Council of the Transitional Government were in Washington, we told them to convene such a conference which we would be prepared to attend. It was even proposed that this should take place within the following two weeks. That two weeks has not extended to seven months. I make this point most strongly. No one, anywhere, can point the finger at us and accuse us of not wishing to attend an all-party conference. We accepted such a course of action and are on record as having done so. We are not on record as having rejected it.

We have heard it said by our enemies, both here and abroad, that my Government and I are mere stooges, or puppets, of the previous white establishment. I want to make it abundantly clear that we are a government of the people, elected by the people and will serve the best interests of the people. The power we wield is, in

fact, the people's power and we will therefore legislate in accordance with the full mandate given us by the people. If it is always the case that every government must be a "puppet" of someone or something, then I must tell you that my Government would choose to be a puppet of the people of Zimbabwe Rhodesia as a whole, who elected them to power.

However, I have often believed that this sort of attitude to our new Government is either idle talk, sour grapes, or a deliberate and unjustified insult to the dignity and integrity of our people as free electors of their Government. We as a Government view our task as that of establishing an irrevocable process of emancipation of our people as a whole from white control and domination; emancipation from a crippling inferiority complex; emancipation from inequality of opportunity enshrined in the job reservation laws; emancipation from exploitation of man by man; emancipation from a dehumanizing practice through a master-and-servant relationship, real emancipation from white supremacism; emancipation from paternalism and above all emancipation from ideological subordination by externally imposed leadership. Our Government will strive to achieve total liberation from all these evils. And when we have fully achieved that true freedom, peace and prosperity, no foul-mouthed idiot will dare say we are puppets or stooges of some white establishment.

As one of the last countries in Africa to achieve sovereignty, let us take this as a golden opportunity to study Africa's progress after independence, and learn by both their successes and mistakes. We must use this experience and knowledge and learn from and avoid the many pitfalls into which the majority of other states have fallen. Were some of them not rich and self-sufficient economic entities at independence? But many of these are now poverty-stricken "banana republics" through senseless pride, laziness, maladministration and frivolous economic spending. No wonder there are many people in these "banana republics" who rue the day they achieved political independence and who now furtively wish that their former colonial masters were back!

With our very life and honour I say we Zimbabwean Rhodesians reject this. Zimbabwe Rhodesia will demand and work for the very best of what freedom and independence means. We effectively reject counterfeit, second-rate and worn-out ideologies — ideologies that have no bearing or meaning to our accustomed and proven way of life. Our future generations must not have

reason to accuse us of delivering to them a country whose independence is a fraud, a sham and a hollow shell with mere trimmings or coating of just political independence — namely a brand new flag, sleek and shiny limousines for government and top business executives, black faces in Parliament — while those who govern are not accountable to the governed for their actions.

My Government will not be found lacking in urging and leading by example, to ensure that our people do not fall into the similar trap which many other African nations have fallen into where independence is equated with exemption from hard manual work. Wherever laziness is a celebrated order of any society, starvation is a sure guest to such a nation. Laziness is also a sad, sure prelude to the fall of industrial and commercial productivity. We cannot all seek and find white-collar jobs and consider manual work too menial and despised. We must rediscover and embrace the dignity of labour as a high social ideal from our forefathers.

Opportunities and rewards for initiative, joy in manual work, co-operative effort and sharing with those in need and the disabled, are the traditional economic values of our people. These must remain the cornerstone of our new economic ideology.

Around the world we have seen too many illustrations of starving people which make us shudder. We have witnessed states faced with certain economic collapse and we have also observed national leaders who live in colossal luxury, apparently disinterested and insensitive to the plight of their own people.

I am determined that Zimbabwe Rhodesia will not go down that shameful path to destruction. Hence I reiterate that the rebuilding of our country will require hard work and accompanying sacrifice. If we give it that, it will in turn reward us with a new prosperity and a sense of community, as well as pride in building together a healthy, well-fed and powerful nation-state called Zimbabwe Rhodesia.

In this address I am silent on economic problems because it is a long statement. I will deliver it to you in the very near future in part two of my address to the nation.

Finally, it has been rightly said that the price of freedom is eternal vigilance. It will take the concerted effort, even sacrifice, of us all to ensure the cherished freedom for which so many have

gallantly fought and died. Genuine independence is something that can be enjoyed by all the people. We, the people of this land, must strive towards genuine independence and freedom in our daily lives, in our economic life, in our culture and in our religion. We must accept the principle that freedom and independence includes the responsibility to be held accountable for our actions and not be found wanting in this regard. From this day on, major battles still have to be won. We must ascend and accelerate in development to total self-sufficiency. We must build one nation and stamp out racism and tribalism, which are the curse of any civilized society. We must create a land of happiness, reconciliation and harmony.

With a true spirit of co-operation between all our people — black, white, coloured and Asian — and with the Lord's guidance, these tasks should not be beyond us. Once they have been achieved, as I believe is within our capability, we will be able to proudly say that in Zimbabwe Rhodesia we are one people, one country, one nation, and we shall be the envy of all others — the jewel of Africa.

May God bless you all.