

# The New Reality In Zimbabwe Rhodesia

Rhodesians Worldwide



An Address Prepared For Delivery  
To The National Press Club In  
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## THE NEW REALITY IN ZIMBABWE RHODESIA

I AM PLEASED TO BE HERE IN YOUR WONDERFUL FREE COUNTRY ONCE AGAIN BECAUSE IT PROVIDES ME WITH THE OPPORTUNITY OF CORRECTING THE HALF-TRUTHS AND UNTRUTHS WHICH HAVE BEEN PUT ABROAD AS TO WHAT HAS HAPPENED IN MY COUNTRY SINCE MARCH 3<sup>RD</sup>, 1978, AND MORE PARTICULARLY IN THE PERIOD FROM OCTOBER, THE DATE OF MY PREVIOUS VISIT. I WISH TO SAY THAT I NOW HAVE THE HONOUR AND PRIVILEGE TO LEAD A BLACK MAJORITY, POPULARLY ELECTED GOVERNMENT WHICH HAS COME TO POWER AS THE RESULT OF DEMOCRATIC, FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS. THESE WERE CONDUCTED UNDER UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE WITH THE MAJORITY OF THE POPULATION VOTING FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THE HISTORY OF OUR COUNTRY. THE TRANSFER OF POWER FROM THE WHITE MINORITY TO THE BLACK MAJORITY IS NOW AN ACCOMPLISHED FACT AND THERE HAVE ALSO BEEN OTHER DRAMATIC CHANGES.

THE BLACK PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE RHODESIA HAVE AT LAST ACCOMPLISHED WHAT THEY HAVE BEEN STRUGGLING FOR OVER THE PAST 88 YEARS. WE HAVE BEEN SUCCESSFUL IN ACHIEVING TRUE FREEDOM, WITH HONESTY AND DIGNITY, IN OUR OWN COUNTRY. I HAVE COME HERE TO THE UNITED STATES AND WILL ALSO BE VISITING GREAT BRITAIN, THE TWO MAJOR WESTERN POWERS DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN OUR AFFAIRS, TO TELL THEM THE TRUTH ABOUT MY COUNTRY FOR A CHANGE, AND ONCE THEY KNOW THE TRUTH, TO SEEK THEIR SUPPORT IN ENSURING THAT OUR NEWLY WON DEMOCRATIC FREEDOM

IS ACCEPTED OUTSIDE OUR OWN BORDERS..../

IS ACCEPTED OUTSIDE OUR OWN BORDERS. I AM REQUESTING THEM TO GIVE A COURAGEOUS LEAD IN SEEING THAT OUR MOST IMPORTANT POLITICAL ACHIEVEMENT IS RECOGNISED BY ALL FREE NATIONS OF THE WORLD. WE KNOW THAT IF THEY TAKE THE INITIATIVE IN THIS REGARD, MANY OTHER GOVERNMENTS WILL FOLLOW. I HAVE ALSO COME HERE BECAUSE I BELIEVE THAT PRESIDENT CARTER IS A MAN OF THE HIGHEST INTEGRITY. A MAN OF PRINCIPLE BASED ON THE HIGHEST CHRISTIAN FAITH AND A STAUNCH BELIEVER IN HUMAN RIGHTS. I BELIEVE THAT UP TO NOW PRESIDENT CARTER, HIS ADMINISTRATION, THE SENATE, CONGRESS AND THE FREEDOM LOVING PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES PERHAPS MAY NOT HAVE BEEN PRESENTED WITH A TRUE ACCOUNT OF THE CHANGES WHICH HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN MY COUNTRY.

MY MAJOR PURPOSE IN VISITING YOUR COUNTRY IS TO DEAL FACTUALLY WITH THESE MATTERS. IT IS MY INTENTION TO DELIVER THE FACTS. I WANT THEM, WITH YOUR ASSISTANCE, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, TO BE KNOWN THROUGHOUT THE LENGTH AND BREADTH OF THIS FREE LAND. I WANT THEM TO REACH EVERY HOME. I WANT THEM UNDERSTOOD AND APPRECIATED BY EVERY AMERICAN.

THEN I WILL BE CONFIDENT THAT PRESIDENT CARTER AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL RECOGNISE THE JUSTICE OF OUR CAUSE AND THAT THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT WILL TAKE THE INITIATIVE IN ENSURING THAT ZIMBABWE RHODESIA IS ALLOWED TO TAKE ITS PROPER PLACE WITHIN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND THAT SANCTIONS AGAINST MY COUNTRY ARE REMOVED.

IT IS MY INTENTION TO DEMONSTRATE THROUGH THE PRESENTATION

OF FACTS AGAINST A CLOUD OF ..../

OF FACTS AGAINST A CLOUD OF EMOTIONALISM ON THE PART OF THE ENEMIES OF MY DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED GOVERNMENT, THAT THE REASONS WHICH LED TO INTERNATIONAL ACTION AGAINST MY COUNTRY ARE NO LONGER VALID, THEY WERE DIRECTED PURELY AND SIMPLY AGAINST A RACIALISTIC WHITE MINORITY GOVERNMENT WHICH ILLEGALLY DECLARED UNILATERAL INDEPENDENCE IN 1965. THIS GOVERNMENT NO LONGER EXISTS, MR. CHAIRMAN, I REPEAT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN - THIS GOVERNMENT NO LONGER EXISTS, IT HAS BEEN REPLACED BY THE KIND WHICH I KNOW THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL APPRECIATE. IF I MAY QUOTE ABRAHAM LINCOLN - A GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE AND FOR THE PEOPLE. A GOVERNMENT WHICH WAS POPULARLY ELECTED BY 64.8% OF THE POPULATION THROUGH ELECTIONS WHICH WERE CONDUCTED IN THE MOST HONEST, TRUTHFUL, IMPARTIAL, FREE AND FAIR MANNER. IT IS UNFORTUNATE THAT THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT DID NOT SEND OFFICIAL OBSERVERS TO MONITOR OUR ELECTIONS. HOWEVER, THEY WERE ENDORSED BY MANY TEAMS OF INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS, THESE INCLUDED THOSE MEN OF INTEGRITY OF THE FREEDOM HOUSE TEAM LED BY THAT WELL-KNOWN AND RESPECTED CAMPAIGNER FOR CIVIL RIGHTS, MR. BAYARD RUSTIN, AND THE OFFICIAL DELEGATION FROM THE BRITISH CONSERVATIVE PARTY WHICH NOW FORMS THE GOVERNMENT OF THAT COUNTRY. SIMILAR ENDORSEMENT CAME FROM THE MASSIVE CONTINGENT REPRESENTING THE NEWS MEDIA FROM ALL OVER THE WORLD,

OUR ENEMIES SAID THAT WE WOULD NOT HOLD THE ELECTIONS, BUT WE DID, THE VAST MAJORITY OF OUR ELECTORATE SHOWED TREMENDOUS AND UNEQUALLED COURAGE IN CASTING THEIR VOTES, DESPITE THE INTIMIDATION AND THREATS OF DEATH FROM THE TERRORIST GUNS. IN FACT, BUT FOR THIS THE POLL WOULD HAVE BEEN HIGHER, THE PEOPLE VOTED BECAUSE THEY HAD, AT LAST, SECURED THEIR INALIENABLE RIGHT TO DO SO. THEY CLEARLY

DEMONSTRATED THEIR DESIRE...../

DEMONSTRATED THEIR DESIRE TO DETERMINE THE FUTURE COURSE OF THEIR COUNTRY AND THAT THIS SHOULD BE ACHIEVED THROUGH THE BALLOT AND NOT THE BULLET. MANY OF YOU WILL HAVE SEEN ON YOUR TELEVISION SCREENS THAT THERE WAS A FESTIVE APPROACH TO OUR ELECTIONS, WITH CROWDS OF VOTERS GOING HAPPILY, WILLINGLY, SINGING AND DANCING, TO THE POLLING BOOTHS TO EXERCISE THEIR DEMOCRATIC RIGHT TO ELECT THE GOVERNMENT OF THEIR CHOICE. WHERE ELSE IN AFRICA COULD THIS HAVE HAPPENED? MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, I WOULD ASK YOU TO COMPARE OUR PERCENTAGE POLL OF 64,8% OBTAINED UNDER POTENTIALLY LETHAL CONDITIONS WITH THE 18,7% TURNOUT IN PEACEFUL GEORGIA LAST YEAR. I WOULD ASK YOU TO EQUATE IT WITH WHAT HAPPENS IN SO MANY OTHER COUNTRIES, PARTICULARLY ELSEWHERE ON THE AFRICAN CONTINENT. GOVERNMENTS COME TO POWER BY COUPS, FOLLOWED BY THE ELIMINATION OF THE FORMER RULERS, AND ARE IMMEDIATELY RECOGNISED WITHOUT THE EXPERIENCE OF WHETHER THE NEW REGIMES ARE BETTER OR WORSE THAN THEIR PREDECESSORS.

LET ME PRESENT SOME MORE FACTS TO CLEARLY ILLUSTRATE THE CHANGED SITUATION IN MY COUNTRY. OUR PARLIAMENT, WHICH PREVIOUSLY CONSISTED OF 50 WHITES AND ONLY 16 BLACKS, NOW HAS 72 BLACK SEATS AND 28 FOR WHITES. WE HAVE A BLACK PRESIDENT AND A BLACK PRIME MINISTER WHEREAS PREVIOUSLY BOTH THESE HIGH POSTS WERE HELD BY WHITES. THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OR CABINET UNDER THE PRE-1978 SMITH GOVERNMENT DID NOT HAVE A SINGLE BLACK MINISTER. TODAY OUR GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY CATERES FOR 14 BLACK AND ONLY 5 WHITE MINISTERS.

MY OFFICE - THAT OF THE PRIME MINISTER - WHICH ONLY FIVE WEEKS AGO WAS 100% WHITE, IS NOW 99% BLACK. THIS IS THE KIND OF QUIET

CHANGE WHICH IS TAKING PLACE..../

CHANGE WHICH IS TAKING PLACE IN MY COUNTRY. THE POLICE AND DEFENCE COMMISSIONS, WHICH WERE ALSO 100% WHITE IN THE PAST, ARE 50% BLACK. THIS KIND OF PROGRESS HAS BEEN ACHIEVED IN ONLY FIVE WEEKS. I BELIEVE IT CAN BE SAID THAT WE ARE WORKING TOWARDS POSITIVE CHANGE AT A REASONABLE AND ACCEPTABLE SPEED. THE INIQUITOUS LAND TENURE ACT, WHICH RESERVED LARGE AREAS OF THE COUNTRY FOR WHITE OCCUPATION ONLY, HAS BEEN REMOVED. PEOPLE OF ALL RACES ARE NOW ABLE TO LIVE IN ANY RESIDENTIAL AREA OF THEIR CHOICE. THEY MAY PARTICIPATE IN BUSINESS WITHOUT RESTRICTION. OUR SCHOOLS - WHERE WE HAVE A ZONING SYSTEM AS OPPOSED TO YOUR BUSING - AND OUR HOSPITALS, ARE NOW NON-RACIAL. ALL THESE DEVELOPMENTS WERE UNHEARD OF AND THOUGHT TO BE IMPOSSIBLE ONLY 15 MONTHS AGO. I HEAR REMARKS FROM UNENLIGHTENED AND MISGUIDED PEOPLE CRITICISING OUR NEW CONSTITUTION AS IMPERFECT. I MUST EMPHASISE THE POINT THAT IT WAS DRAFTED AND AGREED UPON BY BOTH BLACK AND WHITE MEMBERS OF THE FOUR PARTIES TO THE MARCH 3<sup>RD</sup> AGREEMENT OF 1978. I CHALLENGE ANYONE TO SHOW ANY CONSTITUTION WHICH WAS PERFECT WHEN FIRST INTRODUCED OR WHICH HAS EVEN REACHED A STATE OF PERFECTION. IN THIS CONTEXT I INCLUDE THE CONSTITUTIONS OF THE COUNTRIES WHICH ARE LOUDEST IN THE UNJUST CONDEMNATION OF MY GOVERNMENT. IT HAS BEEN SAID THE BLACKS HAD NO OPPORTUNITY TO VOTE ON THE CONSTITUTION LIKE THE WHITES. THOSE WHO DID SO CONVENIENTLY OVERLOOKED THE FACT THAT IT WAS DONE SIMPLY BECAUSE MR. SMITH PROMISED THE WHITE ELECTORATE WHO WERE GIVING UP POWER, THAT THEY COULD MAKE THE FINAL DECISION OF ACCEPTANCE. WHO, I SAY TO YOU, NEEDS A REFERENDUM TO ASK THE BLACKS WHETHER THEY WANT THE MAJORITY RULE THAT THEY HAVE BEEN STRUGGLING FOR FOR SO MANY YEARS? THEY SAID THE BLACKS WERE IGNORANT OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE CONSTITUTION. THERE CAN BE NO GREATER INSULT TO

MY FELLOW BLACK COUNTRYMEN, THE BASIC PROVISIONS OF THE CONSTITUTION WERE VERY WIDELY PUBLICISED AND DISSEMINATED IN ENGLISH AND THE TWO LOCAL LANGUAGES, SHONA AND SINDEBELE. I PERSONALLY MADE SURE THAT WHILE THE CONSTITUTIONAL NEGOTIATIONS WERE IN PROGRESS I CONSULTED MY PARTY AND MY FOLLOWERS RIGHT DOWN TO GRASS ROOT LEVELS AT EVERY STAGE OF THESE. I WOULD SUGGEST, WITH RESPECT, THAT THE BLACK PEOPLE OF MY COUNTRY KNOW MORE ABOUT THE PROVISIONS OF OUR CONSTITUTION THAN THE AVERAGE PERSON KNOWS OF THEIRS IN MANY PARTS OF THE WORLD. THIS INCLUDES WESTERN NATIONS,

WE ARE ACCUSED OF GIVING TOO MUCH INFLUENCE AND POWER TO THE WHITES. LET US FACE FACTS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, THESE WHITES OF ZIMBABWE RHODESIA ARE NOT TOURISTS, VISITORS OR EXPATRIATES. THEY ARE CITIZENS BY BIRTH, SOME GOING BACK TO THE FIFTH GENERATION. THEY SHOULD, IN FACT, BE PROPERLY TERMED WHITE AFRICANS. WHATEVER THEY PRODUCE AND WHATEVER CONTRIBUTION THEY MAKE IS FOR THE BENEFIT OF ALL OUR PEOPLE, NOT ONLY FOR THEMSELVES. THE CONCESSIONS WE GAVE TO THE WHITES, AT LEAST FOR THE INITIAL CRUCIAL STAGE OF ANY COUNTRY'S INDEPENDENCE, IS A SMALL PRICE TO PAY TO RETAIN THEIR SKILLS AND EXPERTISE. THESE ARE INDISPENSIBLE IF OUR COUNTRY IS TO FLOURISH AND FULFILL ITS TREMENDOUS ECONOMIC, INDUSTRIAL, MINING AND AGRICULTURAL POTENTIAL. WE HAVE ALL SEEN WHAT HAS HAPPENED ELSEWHERE IN AFRICA, WHERE AFTER INDEPENDENCE, EMOTIONS TOOK OVER FROM REASON AND LOGIC - WHERE THE POSITION OF WHITES WAS MADE UNTENABLE - WHERE THERE WAS WHOLESALE NATIONALISATION WITHOUT THOUGHT BEING GIVEN TO THE EFFECT - WHERE COUNTRIES WHICH WERE RICH AND PROSPEROUS AT THE TIME OF HANDING OVER ARE POOR AND IMPOVERISHED - WHERE THEY INDULGED IN AFRICANISATION FOR THE SAKE OF IT WITH COMPLETE DISREGARD TO REALISM AND PRAGMATISM,

INDEPENDENT THEY MAY BE, BUT ..../

INDEPENDENT THEY MAY BE, BUT IT IS PAPER INDEPENDENCE. THEY NOW RELY ON CHARITABLE HANDOUTS AND GO ROUND WITH THEIR BEGGING BOWLS TO KEEP THEIR COUNTRIES RUNNING. THEIR EXPERTISE COMES FROM FLY-BY-NIGHT EXPATRIATES - PEOPLE WITH NO STAKE IN THE COUNTRY AND LESS INTEREST. PEOPLE FROM ALL OVER THE WORLD WHO GO THERE AS ECONOMIC MERCENARIES AND END UP FATTENING THEIR OWN POCKETS, LEAVING THE COUNTRIES THEY ARE SUPPOSED TO SERVE BANKRUPT.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, I HAVE NO INTENTION OF ALLOWING MY COUNTRY TO FOLLOW SUCH A ROAD TO ECONOMIC DESTRUCTION. RATHER, I DO INTEND TO TAKE THE PATH WHICH WILL LEAD US TO PROSPERITY AND EVEN AFFLUENCE BASED ON A COURSE OF REASON, REALISM AND PRAGMATISM AS I HAVE MADE CLEAR ON MANY PREVIOUS OCCASIONS.

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MOREOVER, THE CIVIL SERVICE IN MY COUNTRY IS NOT AN IMPOSED ADMINISTRATION. IT HAS GROWN AND DEVELOPED FROM WITHIN. OUR POLICY ON AFRICANISATION IS BASED SOLIDLY ON THE REALISATION AND ACCEPTANCE THAT ALL WHITES AND BLACKS IN ZIMBABWE RHODESIA ARE AFRICANS.

FOR THE BENEFIT OF THOSE PEOPLE WHO SAY WE SHOULD THROW THE WHITES OUT OF OUR COUNTRY, I AM REMINDED OF THE TIME OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT WHEN I LIVED IN YOUR COUNTRY. IT WAS A TIME WHEN THERE WERE CALLS FOR THE NEGROES TO BE SENT TO AFRICA. THOSE WHO PROPOSED THIS CONVENIENTLY OVERLOOKED THE FACT THAT THEIR BLACKS WERE AMERICAN CITIZENS, EXTENDING BACK PROBABLY OVER MORE GENERATIONS THAN THEMSELVES. THE SAME TYPE OF UNREALISTIC PERSONS WOULD HAVE ME SEND OUR WHITES TO EUROPE. THE IDENTICAL SITUATION APPLIES. OUR WHITES WOULD BE JUST AS OUT OF PLACE IN EUROPE AS YOUR BLACKS WOULD BE IN AFRICA. IT IS A PITY

THAT MORE COUNTRIES DO NOT..../

THAT MORE COUNTRIES DO NOT REALISE, AS WE DO, THAT THE RACES ARE INTER-DEPENDENT UPON EACH OTHER FOR THE GOOD OF ALL.

MR. CHAIRMAN, I AM A TRUE BELIEVER IN HUMAN RIGHTS. I WILL NOT, THEREFORE, ALLOW THE PERSECUTION OF ANY SECTION OF ANY COMMUNITY IN MY COUNTRY WHATEVER FORM THIS MAY TAKE.

MY EXPERIENCE OF FIVE WEEKS AS PRIME MINISTER IS ONE OF COMPLETE CO-OPERATION FROM MY WHITE FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN AT ALL LEVELS IN GOVERNMENT, THE PRIVATE SECTOR AND THE ENTIRE SPECTRUM OF LIFE IN OUR COUNTRY.

AS YOU MAY KNOW, I HAVE MYSELF TAKEN THE CABINET PORTFOLIOS OF COMBINED OPERATIONS AND DEFENCE. THE MILITARY COMMANDERS, THEREFORE, OPERATE UNDER MY POLICY DIRECTIVES. THEIR LOYALTY TO ME PERSONALLY AND THE STATE IS BEYOND QUESTION. SIMILARLY, ONE OF MY BLACK COLLEAGUES IN THE CABINET CONTROLS THE POLICE, WHOSE LOYALTY AND DEDICATION ARE EQUALLY ASSURED. FURTHERMORE, THE SECURITY FORCES OF OUR COUNTRY CONSIST OF MORE THAN 80% BLACK PERSONNEL. THEIR DUTY AND RESPONSIBILITY IS NOT TO LOOK AFTER THE INTEREST OF WHITES ONLY, BUT THE LIVES AND PROPERTY OF ALL RACES.

IN THE LIGHT OF WHAT I HAVE SAID, YOU MUST ACCEPT THAT WE HAVE DONE ALL THE FREE WORLD HAS ASKED OF US. WE HAVE SATISFIED THE SIX PRINCIPLES LAID DOWN BY SUCCESSIVE BRITISH GOVERNMENTS FOR A RETURN TO LEGALITY AND THE REMOVAL OF SANCTIONS. WE HAVE MET THE CASE-JAVITS CONDITIONS. IN THIS REGARD, LET ME SPELL OUT IN NO UNCERTAIN TERMS OUR ATTEMPTS TO NEGOTIATE WITH AND EVEN ACCOMMODATE THE PATRIOTIC FRONT.

DURING THE TALKS WHICH LED ..../

DURING THE TALKS WHICH LED TO THE MARCH 3<sup>RD</sup> AGREEMENT AND THE FORMATION OF THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT, MY FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN, JOSHUA NKOMO AND ROBERT MUGABE, WERE CONTINUALLY INVITED TO PARTICIPATE. INDEED, I KEPT SAYING DURING THE LIFE OF THAT GOVERNMENT, THAT THERE WERE TWO EMPTY SEATS FOR THEM ON THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL. THEY DECLINED THESE OFFERS, WHEN I WAS HERE WITH MY FORMER COLLEAGUES ON THAT EXECUTIVE COUNCIL IN OCTOBER OF LAST YEAR, WE AGREED TO TALKS WITHOUT PRE-CONDITIONS, WE WERE, IN FACT, TOLD THAT SUCH A CONFERENCE WOULD BE CONVENED WITHIN TWO WEEKS. THESE TWO WEEKS HAVE NOW EXTENDED TO EIGHT MONTHS. NO ONE, ANYMORE, CAN POINT A 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.

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WE INVITED THE PATRIOTIC FRONT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE DRAFTING OF OUR NEW CONSTITUTION AND TO TAKE PART IN THE ELECTION, AGAIN THEY DECLINED, ON THE SUBJECT OF THIS LAST REJECTION, I WAS ASTOUNDED TO SEE PRESIDENT CARTER ON OUR TELEVISION AND TO HEAR HIM SAY THAT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT HAD BEEN BANNED FROM THE ELECTIONS. THIS WAS INCORRECT. NOT ONLY WAS THE PATRIOTIC FRONT NOT BANNED FROM PARTICIPATING, IT WAS BEGGED TO RETURN TO TAKE PART IN THE ELECTION. I AM QUITE CERTAIN THAT YOUR PRESIDENT WOULD NOT SPEAK AN UNTRUTH WITTINGLY. I CAN ONLY ASSUME THAT HE WAS BADLY INFORMED AND I SEE THIS AS AN ILLUSTRATION OF WHAT WE HAVE TO CONTEND WITH WHEN IT COMES TO ATTEMPTING TO PROJECT THE TRUE SITUATION IN MY COUNTRY. AS A RESULT OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT'S ATTITUDE, WE HAD NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO GO AHEAD WITH OUR PLANS. THROUGH THESE WE

HAVE EFFECTED A PEACEFUL ..../

HAVE EFFECTED A PEACEFUL TRANSFER FROM WHITE MINORITY TO BLACK MAJORITY RULE,

SINCE THIS GREAT ACHIEVEMENT, I HAVE CONTACTED MR, NKOMO AND MR. MUGABE IN WRITING UNDER THE SPIRIT OF AMNESTY I HAVE DECLARED, I MADE IT CLEAR THAT THEY AND ALL THEIR FOLLOWERS WERE COMPLETELY FREE TO RETURN HOME IN SAFETY WITHOUT FEAR OF ARREST, IMPRISONMENT, TORTURE OR DEATH. I DECLARED TO THEM MY HONEST INTENTION OF ENTERING INTO DIALOGUE WITH THEM, AND ANYONE ELSE FOR THAT MATTER, WHO IS TRULY AND SINCERELY INTERESTED IN FOLLOWING THE SAME COURSE AS I AND MY GOVERNMENT, OF SEEKING PEACE FOR OUR COUNTRY AND OUR PEOPLE.

IMMEDIATELY AFTER OUR ELECTION AND BEFORE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF MY GOVERNMENT, I COMMUNICATED WITH THE LEADERS OF THE FRONTLINE STATES IN A SPIRIT OF RECONCILIATION. I POINTED OUT TO THEM THAT IT WAS OUR EARNEST DESIRE TO LIVE IN PEACE, HARMONY AND FRIENDSHIP WITH EVERY OTHER NATION ON THE BASIS OF MUTUAL RESPECT AND ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION, I PUT TO THEM FAR REACHING PROPOSALS FOR A NORMALISATION OF THE SITUATION BETWEEN OUR GOVERNMENTS, OUR PEOPLES AND OUR COUNTRIES. I INFORMED THEM THAT I WAS OPEN TO ANY SUGGESTIONS THEY MIGHT CARE TO MAKE TO ACHIEVE THESE OBJECTIVES. YOU WILL OBVIOUSLY ASK WHAT REACTION I HAVE RECEIVED TO THESE SINCERE ATTEMPTS AT RECONCILIATION? IT IS WITH PROFOUND DISAPPOINTMENT THAT I HAVE TO TELL YOU THAT I HAVE RECEIVED NO RESPONSE WHATSOEVER FROM THE PRESIDENTS OF ZAMBIA, MOZAMBIQUE AND BOTSWANA. THE SAME APPLIES TO THE LEADERS OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT.

THE ONLY IMPLIED RESPONSE ..../

THE ONLY IMPLIED RESPONSE DISCOVERED BY MY INTELLIGENCE STAFF IS THEIR PLAN TO ESCALATE THE WAR. AFTER WHAT WE HAVE ACHIEVED, AND WHAT WE ARE ATTEMPTING TO DO, RECOGNITION IS WITHHELD AND SANCTIONS ARE MAINTAINED AGAINST US. I ASK YOU IN ALL SINCERITY - WHERE IS THE JUSTICE - WHERE IS THE MORALITY IN THIS SITUATION? ELSEWHERE IN AFRICA, AS I SAID EARLIER, COUP IS FOLLOWED BY COUNTER-COUP AND THE LATEST MILITARY USURPER IS RECOGNISED BY THE FREE WORLD EVEN WHILE HE IS BUSY EXECUTING HIS PREDECESSOR.

I AM SURE YOU REALISE, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, THAT HAD I COME TO POWER BY COUP OR COUNTER-COUP, AND EXECUTED MY PREDECESSOR, I SHOULD NOT BE HERE ASKING FOR RECOGNITION. I WOULD HAVE BEEN AUTOMATICALLY RECOGNISED WITHIN 24 HOURS OF TAKING POWER.

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ONE ABSOLUTELY ILLOGICAL, COMPLETELY PUZZLING AND ABSOLUTELY NONSENSICAL OPINION I HEAR QUITE OFTEN FROM MY BROTHER AMBASSADOR ANDREW YOUNG IS THAT THE LIFTING OF SANCTIONS WILL HURT MY PEOPLE. THE TRUTH IS THAT THE CONTINUATION OF SANCTIONS IS TRAGICALLY PREVENTING ME FROM RESTORING PEACE TO MY COUNTRY. THIS IS MY PRIME TASK. SANCTIONS INHIBIT US FROM DEVELOPING OUR ECONOMY - THEY PREVENT US FROM EXPANDING THE EDUCATIONAL AND MEDICAL FACILITIES - THEY INHIBIT THE INCREASE OF EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES. MR. CHAIRMAN, IT IS NATURAL FOR ANY NATION ACHIEVING FREEDOM TO EXPECT ITS NEW GOVERNMENT TO TAKE IMMEDIATE ACTION WHICH WILL IMPROVE THE CONDITIONS OF LIFE OF THE PEOPLE, PARTICULARLY IN SUCH AREAS AS EMPLOYMENT AND WAGES. MY COUNTRY IS NO EXCEPTION. IN FACT THERE IS AT PRESENT A CRISIS OF EXPECTATION. I ASK YOU, HOW CAN I MEET THE GENUINE AND LEGITIMATE EXPECTATIONS OF MY PEOPLE WITH THE EVIL OF SANCTIONS, WHICH WERE IMPOSED ON THE SMITH GOVERNMENT AND CONTINUE TO BE LEVIED AGAINST MY

POPULARLY ELECTED MAJORITY RULE GOVERNMENT.

DO THOSE PEOPLE WHO CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THE WAR HONESTLY AND SINCERELY BELIEVE THAT THERE SHOULD BE BLOODSHED, WITH HUNDREDS BEING MAIMED AND KILLED EVERY DAY, IN ORDER TO IMPOSE CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS OF THEIR CHOICE AS THE LEADERS OF ZIMBABWE OR AS A MEANS OF CHANGING ONE OR TWO WEAK POINTS IN OUR CONSTITUTION?

WHEN MY GOVERNMENT TOOK OFFICE, THE WESTERN POWERS MISSED A HEAVEN-SENT OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE A REAL AND POSITIVE CONTRIBUTION TO RESTORING PEACE IN MY COUNTRY. THE PATRIOTIC FRONT, THEIR MARXIST MASTERS, AND THE FRONTLINE STATES, WERE DESPONDENT THROUGH THEIR FAILURE TO DISRUPT THE ELECTIONS. THEY EXPECTED AND FEARED IMMEDIATE RECOGNITION BY THE WEST, KNOWING THAT THIS LEAD WOULD BE FOLLOWED BY OTHER AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS, WHICH WOULD MAKE IT MORE AND MORE DIFFICULT FOR THEM TO CONTINUE HARBOURING THE GUERRILLAS OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. THE WAR WOULD HAVE WITHERED AND DIED, THAT OPPORTUNITY WAS LOST AND THE ENEMIES OF DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM HAVE MADE GOOD USE OF THE RESPITE TO PLAN AN ESCALATION OF THE FIGHTING. LARGE QUANTITIES OF RUSSIAN WAR MATERIEL HAVE BEEN FLOWN INTO ZAMBIA FROM ANGOLA FOR JOSHUA NKOMO'S WING OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT SINCE THE ELECTIONS AND THE FORMATION OF MY DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED GOVERNMENT.

SOME OF THIS, AS YOU KNOW, WE HAVE DESTROYED IN ZAMBIA BEFORE IT COULD BE USED AGAINST THE PEACE LOVING PEOPLE OF MY COUNTRY, IN OUR RECENT RAID AGAINST ZIPRA INTELLIGENCE HEADQUARTERS IN LUSAKA

WE OBTAINED DOCUMENTARY PROOF..../

WE OBTAINED DOCUMENTARY PROOF OF A MORE INTIMATE AND EXTENSIVE RUSSIAN INVOLVEMENT IN ZIPRA MILITARY ACTIVITIES. IT IS CLEAR THAT THE RUSSIANS NO LONGER ACT AS ADVISERS BUT HAVE BECOME MORE INVOLVED IN THE DAY-TO-DAY PLANNING OF ZIPRA OPERATIONS AND TACTICS, FOR THIS PURPOSE, FIVE NEW SOVIET OFFICERS RECENTLY ARRIVED IN LUSAKA. THE ZIPRA STRENGTH IN MEN AND MATERIALS IN ZAMBIA EXCEEDS THAT OF THE ZAMBIAN ARMY. THE INTELLIGENCE MATERIAL WE CAPTURED INDICATES THE CLEAR INTENTION OF NKOMD AND HIS RUSSIAN MASTERS TO PUT PRESSURE ON PRESIDENT KAUNDA AND ALSO TO STAGE DEMONSTRATIONS AND OTHERWISE DISRUPT THE PLANNED COMMONWEALTH PRIME MINISTERS' CONFERENCE.

THE EAST GERMANS TOO, ENCOURAGED BY THE WEST'S PASSIVENESS IN ACTION AND COWARDICE, ARE NOW MOST ACTIVE AS UNSCRUPULOUS PAWNS OF THE RUSSIANS IN ATTEMPTING TO IMPOSE THEIR HATED IDEOLOGY THROUGH THEIR WILLING PUPPETS OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT ON MY COUNTRY, SO MUCH FOR THOSE WHO CLAIM THAT THE REMOVAL OF SANCTIONS WOULD INCREASE COMMUNIST INVOLVEMENT.

THE COMMUNISTS ARE ALREADY FULLY INVOLVED, AND PRESIDENT KAUNDA IS FAST BECOMING A PRISONER IN HIS OWN COUNTRY. AS FOR JOSHUA NKOMO, I NEED NOT REMIND YOU THAT HE IS THE MAN WHO GLOATINGLY BOASTED THAT HIS TERRORISTS HAD SHOT DOWN TWO CIVILIAN AIRLINERS USING SOVIET MISSILES.

THE DELAY OF EVEN ONE DAY IN LIFTING SANCTIONS IS NOT ONLY COSTING LIVES - IT IS INCREASING THE DANGER OF GREATER COMMUNIST PARTICIPATION. THE TIME IS OVERDUE FOR THE WESTERN POWERS TO ACT

FIRMLY AND DECISIVELY. THE..../

FIRMLY AND DECISIVELY, THE TIME FOR APPEASEMENT IS OVER, THE SITUATION IS TOO URGENT FOR CONSIDERATION OF SHORT-TERM SELF-INTEREST TO DETER GOVERNMENTS FROM DOING WHAT IS HONESTLY AND MORALLY CORRECT BY ALL CRITERIA OF JUSTICE, MORALITY AND HUMAN RIGHTS.

MANY QUESTIONS HAVE BEEN ASKED OF MY COUNTRY, AND UNJUSTIFIABLY CONTINUE TO BE ASKED, I BELIEVE WE HAVE THE RIGHT TO POSE SOME OURSELVES TO THE REST OF THE FREE WORLD.

I DO SO BECAUSE I AM CONVINCED THAT THE ONLY REASON FOR THE CONTINUING DENIAL OF THE BASIC RIGHTS OF INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION AND THE REMOVAL OF SANCTIONS TO THE PEOPLE OF MY COUNTRY IS THE LACK OF HONESTY AND INTEGRITY BY THOSE COUNTRIES WHO ARE OUR ENEMIES. IT IS ALSO PERHAPS DUE TO IGNORANCE AND THE FACT THAT THE FREE WORLD IS AFRAID TO ACT WITH PURPOSE IN A DECISIVE MANNER, I FAIL TO SEE WHY, CANNOT THEY SEE AND APPRECIATE THAT WE ARE THEIR FRIENDS AND ARE HELPING TO FIGHT THEIR BATTLE ALSO?

IT IS ENTIRELY A QUESTION OF WHETHER TRUTH RATHER THAN LIES WILL TRIUMPH - COURAGE RATHER THAN FEAR WILL CARRY THE DAY - REASON RATHER THAN PETTY EMOTIONALISM WILL WIN - DEMOCRACY RATHER THAN TOTALITARIANISM WILL BE ACCEPTED - PEACE RATHER THAN TERRORISM WILL BE SUPPORTED, BALLOTS RATHER THAN BULLETS WILL BE RECOGNISED, FREEDOM RATHER THAN COMMUNISM WILL BE GIVEN A CHANCE, THE ANSWERS ARE TO BE FOUND IN THE HEARTS AND SOULS OF THE PEOPLE OF THE FREE WORLD.

FINALLY, MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES ..../

FINALLY, MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, I HAVE DEMONSTRATED BEYOND ANY DOUBT THAT ALL THE INIQUITIES WHICH COMPELLED THE BLACK PEOPLE OF MY COUNTRY TO FIGHT WHITE MINORITY RULE AND WHICH CAUSED THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO OUTLAW THAT GOVERNMENT AND IMPOSE SANCTIONS, HAVE BEEN EFFECTIVELY REMOVED. THERE IS NO LONGER ANY MORAL, LEGAL, POLITICAL OR ETHICAL REASON FOR ANY RATIONAL, CLEAR THINKING AND WELL INFORMED PEOPLE, WHO TRULY BELIEVE IN DEMOCRACY, TO CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN SANCTIONS AGAINST MY COUNTRY, AND WITHHOLD RECOGNITION FROM MY FREELY, FAIRLY AND POPULARLY ELECTED GOVERNMENT.

I LEAVE YOU WITH ONE FINAL QUESTION WHICH CAN ONLY BE ANSWERED BY THE WESTERN POWERS. WHAT MORE DO YOU EXPECT OF ME, MY GOVERNMENT, MY PEOPLE, AND MY NATION? I BELIEVE THAT WE HAVE DONE EVERYTHING AND MORE THAN CAN POSSIBLY BE DONE, TO RESTORE OUR LITTLE COUNTRY INTO A PEACEFUL, STABLE AND PROSPEROUS LAND WHICH CAN BECOME A SHINING LIGHT ON THE DARK CONTINENT AND THE ENVY OF ALL OTHERS IN AFRICA, A COUNTRY WITH EVERY PROSPECT OF BECOMING THE 'JEWEL OF AFRICA', GIVEN AN HONEST OPPORTUNITY. ONLY WITH YOUR HELP CAN WE MAKE THIS A REALITY. I BEG YOU, DO NOT FAIL US - DO NOT FAIL YOURSELVES AS TRUE BELIEVERS IN DEMOCRACY.

THANK YOU FOR LISTENING TO ME, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN.

THANK YOU, MR. CHAIRMAN.