

POLICY STATEMENT No. 9

**The Prime Minister's
speech in
Dar es Salaam,
Tanzania**

JANUARY 24, 1983

ZIMBABWE

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Tanzania has played a crucial and unequalled role in the liberation of the African continent because it became the melting pot of the revolutionary theory and practice of each liberation movement, the Prime Minister, Comrade Robert Mugabe, said in Dar es Salaam on January 24, 1983.

Speaking at a banquet given in his honour by President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Comrade Mugabe said: "When the history of the liberation of not only Zimbabwe but the whole central and southern Africa is finally written, the crucial role which Tanzania played must necessarily portray it as the main revolutionary mould in which our various territorial struggles took definite shape and content."

The full text of the speech reads:

My visit to Tanzania should be appropriately seen as "home coming". The warm welcome that I and my delegation have received is no doubt testimony to the fact. I know that this home-coming sentiment is equally shared by all the comrades in my delegation who have come back home with me.

Let me, on my own behalf and that of my delegation express my very sincere gratitude to you and the people of Tanzania for the tremendous honour bestowed on us by your kind invitation to visit Tanzania and by the very warm welcome we have received. We feel greatly overwhelmed by your affection and respect for us. I can only hope that my Government and the people of Zimbabwe will live up to your expectations of us.

May I take this opportunity to express to you that my party, ZANU (PF), the government and the people of Zimbabwe feel deeply indebted to you Mwalimu, to Chama Cha Mapinduzi and to the government and people of Tanzania for that crucial and unequalled role, demanding immense sacrifices, which you played in rendering us abundant assistance.

Indeed, when the history of the liberation of not only Zimbabwe but the whole central and southern Africa is finally written, the crucial role which Tanzania played must necessarily portray it as the main revolutionary mould in which our various territorial struggles took definite shape and content.

Here it was that, even before Tanganyika was independent, the formation of PAFMECA was inspired with a view to linking the freedom struggles of the region as essentially one inter-African struggle. Here it was also that the politics and diplomacy combined to accelerate the pace towards Kenya's and Uganda's independence. Here it was that we who had been the victims of a contrived British Central African Federation strategy sometimes came to deliberate on how we could dismantle the stupid Federation. And when that Federation was dismantled in 1963, here it was that the people of Zimbabwe found a sound venue for the development of their armed struggle.

Indeed, here also it was that the people of Mozambique, Angola, Namibia and South Africa had venues similar to ours for the formation of their struggles. Happily, the OAU had been formed and happily it had created a Liberation Committee as an organ through which Africa could further our decolonization struggles. But more happily still, here it was that the headquarters of the Liberation Committee was established.

Tanzania, thus, became the melting pot of the revolutionary theory and practice of each liberation movement. Several military training camps accordingly emerged where our cadres were equipped with guerilla skills for the overthrow of the colonial enemy.

In the case of Zimbabweans alone, our cadres were trained and groomed for their military and political role at such centres as Chunya, Itumbi, Mgagao, Morogoro and Nachingweya. It was indeed in Tanzania that our national struggle for independence underwent a qualitative transformation and our cadres were systematically instructed in the art of the guerilla struggle for liberation.

Unfortunately, in circumstances in which there were political divisions amongst us it was inevitable that quarrels would occur sometimes resulting in unfortunate fights and killings. We certainly abused Tanzanian hospitality not only once but on several occasions.

Yet, the Tanzanians remained extremely patient and forgiving for they recognized that their selfless contribution to the struggle for our liberation had to be sustained whatever impediments lay in our way. They recognized that the freedom of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, would enhance the independence of Tanganyika in particular and of Africa

in general. It is this rare degree of sacrifice and magnanimity which has endeared the people of Tanzania and their great leader, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, to us.

Zimbabwe is now free. The people of Zimbabwe will not tire of repeating to you Mwalimu and their gallant brothers and sisters of Tanzania: "Asante sana;" "Tinotenda zvikuru;" "Siyabonga kakhulu", "We are most grateful." Equally we express our gratitude to the Frontline States, the OAU and its Liberation Committee as headed by Executive Secretary Hashim Mbita for all the assistance given us.

We recognize that our African task to effect the complete decolonization of Africa has not yet been completed. The independence process in Namibia continues to be frustrated by the insistence jointly by the United States and South Africa on the withdrawal of Cubans from Angola as a condition.

However else the Americans try to put it, and the other day Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, objecting to my use of the word "blackmail", referred to their stance as "bargaining". We fail to understand the morality underlying their theory of bargaining with the lives of the Namibian people.

The Namibian people could never be persuaded to agree that, because their Angolan neighbours have befriended Cubans who are not quite the friends of the United States, their right to independence stands forfeited unless the Cubans are withdrawn.

We reject outrightly this immoral and illegitimate demand and insist that Resolution 435 be recognized and implemented against the background of the provisions of the United Nations Charter and the inherent right of self-determination of the Namibian people.

Apart from the situation of political impasse in Namibia, there is the continually worsening situation in South Africa where the apartheid system grows more vicious by the day. In its national dimension, it continues to be more oppressive and exploitative of the broad masses of South Africa.

We take note of, and applaud, the successful strides which are being made by the ANC, PAC and the South African masses in intensifying their fight for the establishment of democracy in the country.

In its international dimension, the apartheid system is sought to be sustained by a planned strategy of a military and economic nature against Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. The recent brutal attack on ANC refugees in Lesotho is another manifestation of this strategy aimed at destabilising our systems in the hope that such destabilization can lead either to the toppling of our governments or to our coercion into accepting the system of apartheid and thus become subservient to the South African regime. Zimbabwe refuses to be intimidated into abandoning its basic principles and the moral and political stand it has taken against apartheid.

My visit provides us with another opportunity for a mutual appraisal of Zimbabwe's and Tanzania's economic relations and examining effective and more practical methods of implementing the agreements that have already been concluded between our two countries. It is their exact fulfilment that must be the concern of all of us.

My delegation and I are aware that you have been engaged, since the Arusha Declaration of 1967 on a more systematic programme of achieving socialist transformation in Tanzania. We in our party, ZANU, having accepted socialism as our guiding philosophy for the transformation of our society, have a lot to learn from how you proceeded in the first instance to organise a socialist programme and secondly how you have gone about its fulfilment.

Whatever constraints you have had, and economic constraints there shall always be on developing countries, regardless of ideology, we applaud the decision by the Tanzanian people to work for the creation of a socialist state. Like you we believe socialism, with its principles of equality of man, and therefore, equal ownership of resources and means of production, equal right to contribute labour inputs and equitable sharing of returns, equal right to social services and amenities, is a truly moral and selfless philosophy as opposed to capitalism and its host of inequalities and its emphasis on selfish individualism. Where socialism aims at the collective interest or communal sharing, the other promotes self-aggrandisement and acquisitiveness in the individual.

In Zimbabwe our struggle for equity and justice in the economic sector has hardly begun. We have just published our Three-Year Transitional National Development Plan under which we shall endeavour to lay a basis for socialist transformation across the various economic and social sectors.

This year as the year before, we are continuing all our efforts at rallying all our people whether they be workers, peasants or commercial farmers, industrialists or mining enterprises or whether they are public servants behind the tasks and programmes for fulfilment under the three-year plan.

But, like you and other Third-World countries, we have serious economic constraints facing us, arising mainly from our lack of enough capital inputs, technology, skills and the depressed international market which offers our commodities poor prices.

We recognize, therefore, that the struggle for economic independence is going to be difficult. However, we take comfort in the fact that we are related to our neighbours in the region through SADCC and the PTA in the full hope that we can build a system of economic interdependence in the region which would have the effect of reducing our economic dependence on South Africa and other developed countries on which our economies have tended to rely to their detriment.

Whatever attempts we make at regional unity, and whatever regions of Africa we belong to, we all are of the African continent.

The unity of Africa, which you, Mwalimu, and other African leaders of the time charted by founding the Organization of African Unity in 1963, must continue to be sustained. The two attempts to convene the OAU Summit in Tripoli which failed to achieve a quorum have shown us that there are some elements, fortunately a minority of the OAU members, whose negative tendencies if allowed to continue will ultimately wreck our organization.

Zimbabwe is delighted that those who have proved true to the OAU Charter and its principles are member states upon whose integrity we can continue to rely for the sustenance of the organization whatever the machinations of the dissident members and their manipulative masters might be.

Accordingly, my country hopes that the third attempt at convening the OAU Summit will not be allowed to suffer the same fate as the two previous attempts. Surely, the issue of Western Sahara must now be taken as having long been concluded by the recognition granted the Saharawi Republic at the Sierra Leone Summit in 1980.

Zimbabwe and Tanzania have identical positions not only on many African issues, but also on the Middle East and the urgent need to find a home for the Palestinian people in Israel.

Let me conclude my address to you in the way I began by once again thanking you for having us back home. I want to assure you on behalf of the people of Zimbabwe that the bonds of friendship and solidarity between us will continue to grow each day from strength to strength.

May I now request all of you to join me in a toast to:

- (a) the long life and health of Comrade President Mwalimu Julius Nyerere and Madam Nyerere;
- (b) the success of *Ujamaa*;
- (c) the continued unity and friendship between the people of Tanzania and Zimbabwe;
- (d) the Unity of the OAU.