

ZANU (Mugabe)

Doc. 31 : The Mgagao Declaration by Zimbabwe Freedom Fighters (ca. Oct. 1975)

We hereby express our deepest gratitude and appreciation for the efforts made by the O.A.U. Liberation Committee in the struggle to liberate Zimbabwe from the clutches of imperialism, colonialism, and fascism. Without the support of the O.A.U. Liberation Committee, the Tanzanian government, and Frelimo, the struggle to liberate Zimbabwe would not have developed to its present state. We sincerely hope and are fully determined to reward these noble efforts by securing the liberation of Zimbabwe people so as to make our contribution to the African revolution and the world revolution. In line with our sworn pledge to liberate Zimbabwe we hereby submit the following points for your consideration. After a careful, deep, and analytical study of the current situation in the Zimbabwe Liberation Movement in particular and the Zimbabwe revolution in general, we, as the people who have vowed to sacrifice our very lives for the liberation of our fatherland, wish to make our feelings and standpoint unequivocally clear to you in the interest of the liberation of Zimbabwe.

1. We hereby state our unwavering and unequivocal commitment to the liberation of Zimbabwe through an arduous Armed Struggle. Events and facts have clearly shown that any other course of action would be tantamount to an open betrayal of the Zimbabwe people. We therefore strongly, unreservedly, categorically, and totally condemn any moves to continue talks with the Smith regime in whatever form. We, the freedom fighters, will do the fighting and nobody under heaven has the power to deny us the right to die for our country. We vowed to fight for our fatherland and the bloodshed in the struggle to liberate our fatherland is ours and strongly not anybody else's.

2. We hereby reaffirm our support for the Unity Accord signed on 7-12-74 by which the four organizations, ZANU, ZAPU, old ANC and PROLIZI were merged under the ANC. We strongly register our support for national unity, but to us unity is not an end in itself but a means to an end. Unity is not a magic formula to liberation but it is one of the weapons in the struggle for liberation. For Unity to be meaningful in the Zimbabwe revolution, it should be based on an arduous and relentless armed struggle because any other course of action would make this same unity inimical to the Liberation of Zimbabwe. We know of three forms of unity:

- (a) Revolutionary Unity
- (b) Counter-Revolutionary Unity,
- (c) Reactionary Unity

Revolutionary Unity is for the purpose of promoting and accelerating the revolution. In this unity lies the strength of revolutionaries and we, as revolutionaries, stand for such unity.

Counter-Revolutionary Unity is for the purpose of arresting and setting brakes to the revolution. It is a weapon in the service of reactionaries in their struggle to sabotage the revolutionary struggle and is aimed at stamping out the flames of the people's struggles. This is the sort of Unity advocated by Smith, Vorster, and their allies. We strongly condemn and will wage a relentless struggle against such a form of unity. Such counter-revolutionary unity can be brought about by puppets and stooges of the reactionaries as a means of containing the revolution.

Reactionary Unity is unity of the reactionaries themselves in the struggle for the perpetuation of their existence, their evil rule and the suppression of the

broad masses of the people. We are totally opposed to it because it is a sworn enemy of the people. In your efforts to strengthen the unity of the people of Zimbabwe, we strongly hope that you will take the three forms of unity into consideration and direct your efforts accordingly.

3. We strongly condemn and completely disassociate ourselves from the Nkomo faction of the ANC. The move taken by Nkomo in holding his congress in Salisbury is clearly reactionary and divisive in the eyes of all revolutionaries and progressives of the world. It is a manifestation of various schemes worked out in the political laboratories of Salisbury and Pretoria aimed at depriving the Zimbabwe people of their right to independence based on majority rule, one man, one vote.

4. We wish to register our strong criticism over the way the ANC leadership has been exercising leadership over the revolution. These are namely:

- (a) Bishop Abel Muzorewa
- (b) Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole
- (c) James Chikerema

These three have proved to be completely hopeless and ineffective as leaders of the Zimbabwe revolution. Ever since the Unity Accord was signed on 7-12-74 these men have done nothing to promote the struggle for the liberation of Zimbabwe, but on the other hand, they have done everything to hamper the struggle through their power struggle. They have no interest of the revolution or the people at heart, but only their personal interests. They cherish an insatiable lust for power.

(a) They have failed to produce a most general line which can form a basis for all theoretical and practical activities of the party.

(b) They have failed to produce machinery capable of prosecuting and effecting the Armed Struggle.

(c) They have failed to make the necessary arrangements for our trained freedom fighters to go and reinforce our fellow freedom fighters at the front during this painful period, so as to lighten their burden.

(d) They have failed to make arrangements for the thousands of recruits in Mozambique to undergo military training.

(e) They have failed to take any practical steps to meet the problems of our comrades in Zambia and Mozambique.

(f) They have jumped from capital to capital raising funds which have never been put in the service of the revolution.

(g) They are fond of shouting slogans about Armed Struggle as a means of gaining popularity and raising funds for their own use, but make no effort whatsoever to take practical steps to prosecute the armed Struggle. They are good only at fighting through the press and on paper.

(h) The relationship between them is characterised by mutual mistrust and intrigues which divorce them from the realities of the struggle. In our opinion the three leaders are incapable of leading the ANC. An Executive Member who has been outstanding is Robert Mugabe. He has demonstrated this by defying the rigours of guerrilla life in the jungles of Mozambique. Since we respect him most, in all our dealings with the ANC leadership, he is the only person who can act as a middle man. We will not accept any direct discussions with any of the three leading members of the ANC we have described above. We can only talk through Robert Mugabe to them.

5. We last wish to register our strong disapproval of and condemnation of the

set-up of the Zimbabwe Liberation Council as it is, for the following reasons:

(a) The Chairman of the ZLC, Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole, appointed people who were deeply involved in the internal strife within ZANU before the Commission of Enquiry had completed its task and cleared them. To the best of our knowledge, these people are namely:

- (a) Noel Mukono
- (b) Simpson Mutambanengwe
- (c) Felix Santana
- (d) Kenneth Gwiningwi

who occupy high posts with the ZLC were responsible for the death of many people in former ZANU. Another striking feature is that they are all from the home district of Reverend Sithole. This is no time for village politics. All four men have a sectarian record of corruption and subversion in former ZANU and this we can testify. Why Sithole appointed them in spite of their notorious record of which he is fully aware we just do not know. This is no time for surrounding oneself with tribal puppets. We will therefore not be part and parcel of whatsoever is done by the ZLC as currently constituted. We strongly disapprove of whatsoever actions or appointments that may be made by the present ZLC. We do, however, accept the ZLC in principle, provided the necessary rectifications and restructuring are made.

(b) We also level deep criticism against the Chairman of the ZLC, Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole, for the following reasons:

(a) In practical terms he has done nothing to promote the Armed Struggle.

(b) He has associated himself with people who caused great loss of lives in ZANU before the Commission of Enquiry probing into the matter has cleared them.

(c) He has referred to the former ZANU leaders now in Zambian prisons as murderers before they have been convicted before a court of law. Is he the judge responsible for trying their case?

(d) He was given funds from America and Britain for the maintenance of their families of ZANU leaders now in Zambian prisons, but not a penny of them has been used for this purpose. He remarked that he would never feed the families of murderers. He was also given funds for the defence of the ZANU leaders but not a penny of them has been used for the purpose.

(e) He failed to challenge the interpretation of the shooting incident at Mboroma in spite of the fact that he had the full knowledge of what happened. Instead of going to see the victims of the shooting incident in the Zambian hospitals, he decided to fly to America to one of his slightly indisposed daughters because he considered her life to be more valuable than those of the freedom fighters shot at Mboroma.

(f) He told our representatives in Zambia that Chairman Chitepo was murdered by ZANU Leaders in prison. We wonder where he got this information? Is he also a Commission of Enquiry member looking into the murder of Chairman Chitepo? If so, why did he unofficially and prematurely disclose his findings to us?

6. We strongly condemn the cold-blooded murder of our fellow freedom fighters at Mboroma and subsequent mendacious interpretation of the cause of the massacre given by the Zambian government. The explanation given by the Zambian Government is a complete distortion of what actually transpired. There was no justification whatsoever for the cold-blooded massacre of our comrades. The blood of freedom fighters is sacred and precious and is never intended to water

the soil of African States, but that of our beloved fatherland in the Zambian Government clamour for a peaceful settlement of the Zimbabwean problem affecting 6 (six) million people who: it fails to solve peacefully the problem at Mboroma which concerned only a handful of people. How does the Zambian Government reconcile the two situations? When Smith shot 13 (thirteen) of our Zimbabwe patriots the Zambian Government condemned the massacre, so, naturally, we expected the Zambian Government to condemn its own actions. Since they agreed that Smith could have found another way of resolving the problem peacefully, they, too, could have found a way of resolving the Mboroma problem peacefully. After all, all the Zimbabwe Freedom Fighters at Mboroma were disarmed by the Zambian Government itself. In our opinion the shootings of our comrades at Mboroma was a carefully calculated move aimed at eliminating the militants within the ANC army. Clearly and beyond any doubt the Zambian action has generated hostilities between itself and the Zimbabwe Freedom Fighters. It is for this reason that we seek for cooperation of the O.A.U. Liberation Committee, the Tanzanian Government, and the Mozambique Government in ensuring the evacuation of our Comrades in Zambia into a safer territory. We consider Zambia to be hostile enemy territory. After having shot the leading cadres, including girl cadres of our fellow fighters at Mboroma, it will be ridiculous and stupid of anyone to expect cooperation between our fighters and the Zambian Government. The earlier they get out of Zambia the better. It is therefore for this reason that, on humanitarian grounds we sincerely and earnestly implore both the Tanzanian and Mozambique governments to allow entry of our fighters into their territories. If this fails, we shall appeal to the International Red Cross to investigate the conditions of our fighters in Mboroma since they are virtually prisoners of the Zambian Government. In our opinion Freedom Fighters cannot become the private property of an African State. We are not Zambia's property. We sincerely hope that the O.A.U. Liberation Committee, the Tanzanian Government, and the Mozambique Government will give urgent and serious consideration to the evacuation of our fellow freedom fighters from Zambia.

7. In view of the great problems affecting the Zimbabwe revolution, we strongly appeal to the O.A.U. Liberation Committee, to the Tanzanian Government and the Mozambique Government to make the necessary arrangements for the prosecution and intensification of the armed struggle inside Zimbabwe. This can be done by giving passage to our trained fighters to go back home and fight, and giving us our consignment of arms and ammunition that came from China. Another of our present problems is the training of our thousands of recruits currently in Mozambique. We shall be most grateful if you make the necessary arrangements for the training of our fighters. We have at present sixty military instructors without any work at all because of the current situation. You can either allow our fighters to undergo military training in Mozambique or here in Tanzania so long as they are out of Zambia or not in Zambia.

If the O.A.U., the Tanzania and Mozambique Governments cannot do anything to support the Armed Struggle in Zimbabwe, we shall kindly request to be directed back to Zimbabwe where we

shall start from throwing stones. The fighting skill is already here, the weapons we shall get from the enemy, and food we

shall get from our masses of the people who always have supported our Armed Struggle. We just cannot afford to stand

and stare at the Smith regime and allied forces of reaction whittle away every ounce of the rights of the people of

Zimbabwe. If we cannot live as free men, we rather choose to die as FREE MEN.

SIGNED BY ZANLA OFFICERS AT MGAGAO

Doc. 32 : Report of the ANC/Nkomo on the Formation of a Zimbabwe Military Committee - High Command in Nov. 1975 (30.8.1976)

"Following the Zimbabwe Unity Agreement of December 7, 1974, which brought ZAPU, ZANU, and other Zimbabwean movements into an enlarged African National Council, former ZAPU party leadership and former ZANU representatives entered into negotiations to concretise the unity at military level. A meeting to this effect was held in November 1975 in Dar es Salaam under the auspices of the Executive Secretary of the Libera-

tion Committee, Colonel Hashim Mbita. The meeting later culminated in the formation of the Zimbabwe Military Committee - High Command - in Mozambique.

"The committee comprised 18 members, nine from each former organisation. Its terms of reference were: -

- Consolidation of unity among ANC fighters;
- Recruitment and unified training

of cadres in preparation for the intensified armed struggle;

- Unified deployment of combatants, and mass mobilisation;
- Consolidation of a single military command.

"The committee recognised the existence of political leadership and that it would not assume a political leadership role, but would remain an ANC military instrument which would not

indulge in inimical slogans denouncing the political leadership. The Committee also agreed to abolish all divisive and partisan slogans and to adopt new revolutionary slogans aimed at promoting unity among the ANC fighters. "The Liberation Committee Executive Secretary participated in the preliminary formulation of this agreement which was communicated to the Mozambique Government by the Military Committee - High Command...

Doc. 33 : DARE re Chimurenga's (ZANU) Position on the Current Situation in Zimbabwe (ca. Nov. 1975)

The DARE reChimurenga (Supreme Council of ZANU) has closely followed the current developments in Zimbabwe in general and in the Zimbabwe liberation Movement in particular. We are fully aware of the imperialists' machinations in our country and the unity problems in the African National Council (ANC) characterized by the antagonistic contradictions between the Muzorewa and Nkomo factions. All these developments only confirm the correctness of our appraisals of the Zimbabwe situation in particular the general line we had developed before we were physically separated. We therefore wish to register here once again our position on these issues and urge our compatriots and friends everywhere to support this line as it is the only correct line on Zimbabwe today.

(1) At this present state in our revolution, the principal contradiction is that between imperialism (represented by the Smith regime) and the Zimbabwe people. All the contradictions among the various factions, classes or groups within our country are relegated to a secondary and subordinate position.

(2) Faced with this, all people favouring resistance to the Smith regime must unite in a broad national united front.

(3) The only way to resolve the major contradiction between imperialism and the African people of Zimbabwe in our society or the only way to defeat imperialism and to liberate Zimbabwe is through ARMED STRUGGLE. While other forms of struggle are necessary and should be utilised whenever conditions permit, ARMED STRUGGLE is the principal form of our struggle at this stage of the revolution.

(4) It is in the light of this that we fully endorse and support the revolutionary stand that you have taken in forming a provisional military command with the militant comrades of ZAPU. This in line with the Party's general strategy to achieve genuine unity with the forces that are interested in uniting with us in action.

(5) We also fully support the revolutionary stand taken by the African Liberation Committee on Zimbabwe Freedom Fighters.

(6) We, in particular wish to express our deep gratitude and heartfelt thanks to the Mozambican and Tanzanian leaders and governments for their revolutionary stand in not only dealing directly with Zimbabwe Freedom Fighters but also by giving them the necessary and concrete

support, assistance and facilities in order to resume and intensify armed struggle in Zimbabwe.

(7) We instruct all our representatives and external organs to fully support the United Freedom Fighters of Zimbabwe.

(8) We request the African Liberation Committee to use its good offices to authorize that our Party (ZANU) property and assets in Zambia, Tanzania and the United Arab Republic of Egypt be surrendered to the Committee of the United Freedom Fighters of Zimbabwe.

(9) We urge our friends in Africa and abroad and all the progressive forces in the world to support the committee of the united Freedom Fighters of Zimbabwe.

(10) At this present stage in our revolutionary struggle the military path is all too often marked with fire and blood and our people are threatened with even worse repression, exploitation and misery. The DARE once again appeals to fellow countrymen, whatever the past or present differences of political opinion and of interests among the political factions, whatever the differences of political views and of interests among our countrymen in their various walks of life, whatever the

past or present hostilities among the various groups, we should all truly realize that brothers quarrelling at home join forces against attack from without and first and foremost we should stop the factional wrangling and recrimination so as to concentrate our country's resources on the fighting for the sacred cause of liberating our country from the shackles of imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism.

Pamberi reChimurenga Gidi chetel

DARE reChimurenga (ZANU)

Signed by:	
Executive Secretary	Mukudzei Mudzi
Chief of Defence	Josiah M. Tongogara
Publicity and Information	Rugare N. Gumbo
Labour, Social Welfare	Kumbirai Kangai
Treasurer	Matuku Hamadziripi

* [See Doc. 32]

Doc. 34 : Excerpts from an Interview with R. Mugabe (21.1.1976)

Mugabe:

I think the ANC external wing has not recognized its full responsibility. The freedom fighters in Mgagao and the freedom fighters in all the camps in Tanzania and Mozambique are ready for action. In order to undertake this action, they needed the guidance and direction of the external wing of the ANC. This action wasn't forthcoming. They were left without food, left without clothing, left without medical supplies, and those in the front were not given arms and ammunition. And so the situation has developed to the extent that there was a belief in the camps that the ANC was bent on destroying the revolution rather than promoting it....

The main thing is really to build up an organ which is viable. Now, in my opinion, the entirety of the army is a ZANU army. The ANC external wing is predominantly a ZANU body and ZANU must of necessity command a dominant position in all the organs. There cannot be any unfolding of the revolution unless it takes into account that the main body is ZANU. The distribution of power between the various parties just now does not reflect the dominance of ZANU, and in fact the feelings expressed by the Mgagao comrades, and which have been echoed elsewhere, is mainly because

these comrades do not see the continuation of the armed programme as originally launched by ZANU. In my opinion, the whole ZLC must be disbanded....

MUGABE: Well, I think President Kaunda has been the principal factor in slowing down our revolution. He has arrested our men, locked them up, and within his prisons and restriction areas there have been cases of poisoning, and there's also been murders.

WHITE: By who?

MUGABE: By his men. By Kaunda's army.

WHITE: You have proof of that, do you?

MUGABE: Yes, thirteen of our people were shot dead, cold bloodedly. And one cannot regard this as an act conforming to principles of humanism.

WHITE: Those are very strong charges. I mean a lot of people would say that nobody's done more for Rhodesian nationalists than President Kaunda. He has suffered more and Zambia has suffered more than any other country.

MUGABE: True, no one denies that in the past President Kaunda has done quite a lot for us. But that's no reason for negating his past is it?