

AFRICA

Following Kissinger Flop,

British Take Initiative To Solve Southern Africa Crisis

Oct. 2 (NSIPS) — Following closely on the heels of the British-supported rejection by the front-line African presidents of the Kissinger-Smith proposals for a Rhodesia settlement, British Secretary of State Anthony Crosland announced this week that Britain agrees to convene a conference which will produce an interim government in Rhodesia in four to six weeks, leading to a majority-rule government acceptable to the African presidents.

Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere had proposed a timetable of majority-rule in four to six weeks following the Kissinger debacle, and British Prime Minister Callaghan put on record his agreement with this demand on Sept. 28, according to the London Times of the following day. The day before that Callaghan approved of Nyerere's proposal, British Minister of State Lord Goronwy-Roberts told the Parliament that the British Government would immediately respond to the request of the presidents of Africa's front-line states (Angola, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia, and Botswana) for a British-convened constitutional conference for Rhodesia, and announced that Minister of State for Commonwealth Affairs Edward Rowlands was leaving for Africa in order to make preparations.

Following the rejection of the Kissinger proposal, the Zimbabwe People's Army (Zipa), the only liberation group

recognized by the front-line presidents, put out their program, firmly defining the conditions under which they would cease armed struggle.

Kissinger was not informed of the Crosland initiative by the British, and was surprised when questioned about it by reporters at the United Nations on Sept. 29. After the initial shock he weakly replied that he "supported the move."

The African presidents' rejection completely ignored Kissinger and led to rapid public revelation of Kissinger's deceitful negotiating tactics, with both the presidents and Smith revealing that he had lied about the positions agreed to by the other parties.

The Manchester Guardian commented Sept. 28 that "...the method by which Kissinger extracted a commitment to majority rule within two years seems...to have not just been persuasion, but deceit."

U.S. "strategists were initially stunned" by reports that Kissinger's Rhodesian proposal had been rejected by African leaders, according to the Sept. 27 Washington Post. After a few hours of confusion, the State Department recovered and began issuing statements claiming they were optimistic, saying the African leaders had not abandoned the principle of a negotiated settlement.

Text of 5 African Presidents' Lusaka Statement

Sept. 26 (NSIPS) — *The following is the text of the statement issued in Lusaka, Zambia, Sept. 26, by the presidents of Botswana, Angola, Zambia, Mozambique and Tanzania on the agreement accepted last week by Prime Minister Ian D. Smith on the move toward majority rule in Rhodesia. The text is reprinted from Reuters.*

The struggle of the people of Zimbabwe, the African and international solidarity in the implementation of sanctions and coordinated action of all anticolonialist forces and states have together brought the isolation and collapse of the illegal racist minority regime in the British colony of Southern Rhodesia.

The presidents hailed and congratulated the people and fighters of Zimbabwe whose hard and heroic armed struggle forced the rebel regime and the enemy in general to recognize and accept the inevitability of majority rule and the need to establish immediately a transitional government to implement this principle. Thus the victories achieved by the people of Zimbabwe in their armed struggle created the present favorable conditions for the convening of a constitutional conference.

'Victory for All Africa and Mankind'

This is a victory for all Africa and mankind and particularly for all those countries and peoples who made sacrifices so that the brotherly people of Zimbabwe can be free.

Now that the pressures of armed struggle have forced the enemy to accept majority rule as a condition for immediate independence, the five presidents call upon the colonial authority, the British government, to convene at once a conference outside Zimbabwe with the authentic and legitimate representatives of the people:

- (A) To discuss the structure and functions of the transitional government.
- (B) To establish the transitional government.
- (C) To discuss the modalities for convening a full constitutional conference to work out the independence constitution.
- (D) To establish the basis upon which peace and normalcy can be restored in the territory.

Two Phases Are Envisaged

To achieve these goals two phases are envisaged. The first phase will deal with the establishment of an African majority transitional government. The second phase will be concerned with working out the details of the Zimbabwe independence constitution.

The presidents have carefully studied the proposals as outlined by the illegal and racist regime which, if accepted, would be tantamount to legalizing the colonialist and racist structures of power. Any details relating to the structure and functions of the transitional government should be left to the conference.

The five presidents reaffirmed their commitment to the cause of liberation in Zimbabwe and the armed struggle.

A luta continua. (The struggle continues.)

British Gov't Statement On Rhodesia

The following statement was made in Parliament on 27 September by Minister of State, Lord Goronwy-Roberts.

I wish to make a statement on Rhodesia....

At their meeting in Lusaka which concluded yesterday the five African Presidents issued a communiqué. There are some points in this communiqué which need to be clarified, but it appears that the Presidents have accepted the principles of a transition to independence on the basis of majority rule and the need for early discussions to establish an interim transitional government. Her Majesty's Government welcome the statesmanship shown by this decision. The Presidents also called on Britain to convene a meeting outside Rhodesia to discuss among other matters, the structure and functions of a transitional government and the establishment of such a government.

Britain is ready to play a constructive role in the process of establishing an interim government.

The Prime Minister and the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary have been in urgent consultation with the African Presidents over the weekend. Messages have been sent to Presidents Kaunda, Khama, Machel and Nyerere to say that the British Government are prepared to help organize a meeting or conference to consider the structure and functions of such an interim government, and that we wish to learn from the parties concerned how and where this conference could be arranged and especially who the participants should be. Our joint aim is to work for an independent government that will be truly representative of the people of Zimbabwe. The Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Relations has put forward his departure for Botswana and is leaving tonight. In the course of his visit to Africa he hopes to have full discussions with those concerned.

While there are points arising from both Mr. Smith's statement and the communiqué of the conference of African Presidents which need to be resolved, we feel that these matters should and can be dealt with in the coming negotiations. The important thing is that the essential requirement for majority rule has been met. This provides the necessary framework and it is vital that we do not delay in building on it. It would be tragic if we failed to take advantage of the opportunity that has been created. It should now be possible for Africans and Europeans to work together to lay the foundation for peace and prosperity in an independent Zimbabwe in which all races can live in harmony. The end of guerrilla warfare and the lifting of sanctions are important to progress, and should take place after the formation of the transitional government.

Assuming that all goes well, we will at the appropriate time take such legislative action as is necessary to meet the requirements of the situation. This would initially include action to establish the transitional government. We would also at the appropriate stage, and paying due regard to United Nations procedure, revoke the existing sanctions legislation....

The following are extracts from the Minister's answers to supplementary questions.

It is difficult at this moment to forecast the likely course of events. The key event is the meeting as I call it in contradistinction to the more formal "constitutional conference" which should we hope, get under way as soon as possible, and at which representatives of all sections of Rhodesian

opinion, whatever color, creed or background, are represented. We are very willing, indeed enthusiastic to take part. From that will flow the necessary setting up of the interim or transitional government. As to the speed with which sanctions are lifted and guerrilla warfare is ceased, success with that first crucial decision would make it pretty certain — automatic — that the other two results would follow....

...We strongly suggest that we move immediately, or as fast as we can, to the preliminary conference — or to the meeting, as I call it, of all concerned including this country — so that those reservations can be accommodated in the discussions which will, of course, finally be aimed at setting up as soon as possible an interim or transitional government.

Question: "Why should they proceed with the creation of a transitional government before there is a definite decision that hostilities should cease? Why should they permit guerrilla warfare, bloodshed and violence to continue in the meantime while they are creating the transitional government? Was there any consultation, or did Dr. Kissinger intervene without consulting the United Kingdom Government or even the United Nations, which has not specific responsibility but an overriding responsibility?"

Answer: "The answer to the second question, is, of course, by consultation. The answer to the first question is that the only way to end guerrilla warfare and get a speedy lifting of sanctions is to introduce an interim government based on the aim of African majority rule."

Nyerere's Objections to Kissinger-Smith Rhodesia Plan

Interviewed in Dar es Salaam, Tanzanian President Nyerere said that the structure of the provisional government in the Smith-Kissinger plan was "decided unilaterally without the African leaders participating at all. Its composition is determined, its chairman is determined — white — its powers are determined, it is going to legislate, do general supervision and draft the constitution of independence of Zimbabwe."

"All this is decided and presented to the Africans for them to say yes or no... its minister of defense is white, its minister of law and order is white. All this is determined... If you accept this you are not really transferring power at all, you are simply entrenching that power and legalizing it."

Nyerere's remarks were reported in the Sept. 28 New York Times.

Zimbabwe People's Army Program

Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA) spokesman Chidawo Chirimuta outlined a program in London which must be fulfilled before Zipa would agree to a ceasefire in Zimbabwe:

- 1) Unconditional capitulation of the minority (Smith) regime;
 - 2) Amnesty for political prisoners;
 - 3) Dissolution of the Rhodesian Army and security forces;
 - 4) Permission for Africans to organize in trade unions;
 - 5) Abandonment of the Smith regime land distribution laws.
- Chirimuta stated that armed struggle will continue until these demands are fulfilled, irrespective of whether a black government is formed or not.

The program was reported in the West German daily Sud Deutsche Zeitung Sept. 28.