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Position Papers 11
~facts and views~

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INTRODUCTION

This pamphlet consists of two articles, "White Minority Rule in Rhodesia" and "The Patriotic Front." The first article describes what life has been like under white minority rule in Rhodesia, particularly during the period from 1960-1976. Although many of the descriptions of this period are no longer accurate, since the Patriotic Front now controls over 85% of Rhodesia, they are important in order to learn why the African people have rebelled. The article describes how British settlers colonized Zimbabwe, which they named Rhodesia, and drove the African people off their land and established their domination over Zimbabwe. This system of white minority rule has been termed settler colonialism. The article shows the conditions which made the African people willing to die in order to end white minority rule. The article also describes the support given to the white minority government by South Africa and the U.S. At the end of the article there is a section of tables and graphs concerning certain aspects of Rhodesian life.

The second article deals with the nature of the Patriotic Front. The article attempts to demystify the Patriotic Front, by showing that it is not a "terrorist" organization but a national democratic organization working to forge a democratic and independent Zimbabwe. Following the second article there are two reprints of interviews with two leaders of the Patriotic Front. And the text of the internal settlement signed between Ian Smith and three Black leaders in March, 1978.

Our thanks to "Southern Africa" magazine for letting us reprint the articles at the end of the pamphlet. If you wish to keep current on developments in southern Africa it is well worth reading. The magazine is published monthly, subscriptions are $10 a year. Their address is: Southern Africa Committee, 156 Fifth Avenue, Room 707, New York, NY 10010.
**WHITE MINORITY RULE IN RHODESIA**

The modern history of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) began at the turn of the century with the settling of Rhodesia by British colonialism. The segregation of Rhodesia life has a long history. In 1930, the colonial administration passed the Land Apportionment Act which allocated 49% of the land to Europeans, 7% of the population at the time.¹ In 1957, the Native Land Husbandry Act was passed, which regulated animal husbandry in the tribal areas and dispersed traditional African communal farms into private farms.² The African people had no voice in either of these decisions. The Emergency Powers Regulations (1960) provide powers to arrest and detain people without charge, forcibly remove populations and set up protected villages, destruction of property and setting up of free-fire zones, forced labor and confiscation of crops.³

In 1965, the Rhodesian government unilaterally declared independence from Great Britain. Since then the white minority government has increased the oppression of the Black majority. Rhodesia, like South Africa has pass laws. All African males over 16 are required to carry a registration certificate (passbook), with their photo and fingerprints, at all times. The penalty for breaking the pass laws is $100 and/or up to 6 months imprisonment.⁴ Anyone in an urban area, who is not lawfully resident or employed, is classified as a "vagrant" and subject to banning from the area. The pass laws were set up to control migration of Black labor to farming and industrial areas and as a security measure.

Freedom of speech is severely limited. Under the Law and Order Act (1960), public meetings, i.e., 12 or more people, must have a permit 14 days in advance, all details must be submitted to the police, including an agenda and list of speakers, and there must be facilities for police to tape record the event.⁵ Anyone convicted of having "subversive material" or making a "subversive statement" is subject to 5 years imprisonment. In 1975 an American missionary was deported with his entire family after being accused of drawing a cartoon (never published) about the protected villages. In September 1977, 4 leading officials of the Roman Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace, all white, were arrested because the Commission planned to publish a report on torture and atrocities by the regime's security forces.⁶

There is almost no freedom of the press in Rhodesia. The radio and television are controlled by the government. All newspaper copy is submitted in advance to the Ministry of Information for censorship.⁷ Any information relating to security measures on the war must be cleared by the Ministry of Defense. The "National Security Committee" has the power to issue "D" notices to local editors, the penalty is, up to 5 years in prison and/or a $10,000 fine. No reason need be given for issuing a "D" notice, and it may not be challenged in court.⁸ Severe restrictions are imposed on foreign journalists; two years residency in Rhodesia before being allowed to report and virtually no entry into the war zones.⁹ In fact, three major British newspapers and the BBC were getting their Rhodesian reports from the same journalist who was a reporter with the Rhodesia Herald.¹⁰

Newspapers sympathetic with the Zimbabweans are banned. In 1964, the African Daily News was banned, in 1974, "Moto" a Catholic weekly was banned, in August 1976 and again in January 1977, "Umboza" a magazine published first by the United Methodist Church and then by the Christian Council of Rhodesia was banned, and in October 1978, the only black newspaper "The Zimbabwe Times" was banned. Political books can also be banned; a large number of foreign writers, such as Simone de Beauvoir, James Baldwin, and Jean Paul Satre have been declared undesirable or prohibited.¹¹

Under the Emergency Powers Regulations, individuals may be detained without trial and no reason need be given.¹² Many Zimbabweans are detained upon completion of prison sentences or after being found innocent. In September 1976, the Minister of Law and Order explained this practice to the House of Assembly, "the fact that a person is found not guilty does not mean he has not done what he has been accused of."¹³ In May 1977, at least 1,450 people were known to be detained.¹⁴

All these restrictions on democratic rights are necessary for the white minority regime to protect a highly profitable and highly unequal division of property between the white minority and the African majority. Soon after white settlers first arrived in Rhodesia they set aside reserves for Africans. In 1930, the Land
Apportionment Act legally enforced segregation in land, with most of the country divided into African and European areas. The Land Tenure Act (1959) reinforced this segregation. An equal amount of land, 45 million acres, is allocated to Africans and Europeans. Of the 45 million acres of African land, 39.9 million acres are "Tribal Trust Land" (see maps at end of this article). Areas in the tribal lands can be expropriated without compensation if a mining claim is established, the land in the tribal areas is owned communally; the agriculture is subsistence level, in effect these are little more than reservations.

Europeans make up only 4% of the population and Africans 95%, thus, as of 1975, 4% of the population owned over 1/2 of the land. Moreover, most of the European land is concentrated in a very few hands, with huge farms owned by a comparatively small number of the wealthiest white farmers and businessmen. The European land includes all the towns and industrial areas, main roads and rail links and the regions with the most favorable climate. Until April 1977 complete segregation in land was enforced; however, certain relaxations in the law made at that time will have little practical effect. For instance, in May 1977, the first white farm sold for $100,000 in cash, which is 200 times the average annual wage of a Black worker. The white government gives vastly different amounts of aid to European and African farmers. In 1977, 6000 white Rhodesian farmers had access to over $100 million worth of credit vs. a mere $1 million credit for 600,000 farming families in the tribal areas and 8000 private African farmers. The vast inequities in the countryside and the miserable life of the Zimbabwean peasants has been a major factor contributing to the success of the Zimbabwean guerrillas in driving the white settlers out of the countryside.

The vast majority of African workers are employed at skilled or semi-skilled labor. (see tables on employment and wages) The wages of white workers in Rhodesia are nearly 11 times greater than Black wages. According to the regime's Statistical Office more than 122,000 Africans earn less than $120 a year. Yet, the Poverty Datum Line (set by the Rhodesian government) is $113.33 a month. A University of Rhodesia survey (1971) showed that 90% of all Africans in commerce and industry earned less than $85 a month.

In agriculture, where 1/3 of Africans are employed, the average wage was only $160 a year. In domestic service, which accounts for 20% of all African wage earners, the average wage was $317 a year. The whites, 4% of the population, receive 62% of all wages and 90% of corporate profits. Thus, the vast majority of African workers face a life of poverty and subservience to the white minority. The oppression of African workers and their consequent alienation from the white minority government has made it difficult for the regime to fight the war, in fact, there were several demonstrations against the draft last year and the Patriotic Front is gaining support in the cities.

In order to perpetuate its domination the white minority has set up a segregated and extremely unequal schooling system. There are separate schools for each racial group: Africans, "coloreds", Asians and Europeans. In 1972-73, the regime spent $20.1 million on education for 69,901 European, Asian and "colored" schoolchildren and $21.8 million for 788,071 Africans. ($287.55/white vs. $27.66/Black) In 1977, the allocation was $557/white vs. $46/Black. Education is compulsory and the fees are low, while for Africans it is not compulsory and the fees are prohibitive. The combination of segregated, unequal, and non-compulsory education for Africans means practically no education. 2.6 million Africans over age 17 have received no education. Between 50 to 60% of all Africans drop out before completing primary school; only a fraction (0.2 - 0.5%) reach high school. In 1976, about 1/2 of Zimbabwe's Black population, 6.6 million, were under age 15, yet only 846,260 were in primary school.

All of the above inequalities, and others, are used to deny Africans participation in the government. Property, income and educational qualifications for voting effectively exclude Africans from voting. Before 1978, the Parliament had a Senate consisting of 10 whites, 10 tribal chiefs elected by a Council of Chiefs, and 3 persons of any race appointed by the Head of State. The Assembly was composed of 50 whites, 8 Africans elected by registered African voters, 8 Africans elected by 8 tribal electoral colleges. In March 1978, an agreement was signed between Ian Smith, and 3 Black leaders (Bishop Abel Muzorewa, Rev.)
Ndabaningi Sithole, and Jeremiah Chirau), the so-called internal settlement. This internal settlement supposedly provides for transition to Black majority rule. However, the fact is that 28 of the seats of the 100 seat parliament are reserved for whites, and 20 are elected from a whites only election. Also, the ministerial council will be half white and half black. And the police and security forces remain under white control.\textsuperscript{32} (more on the transitional government in the next article) Thus, Rhodesia is in essence ruled by the white minority, in the interest of the white minority, and this injustice has led to the consistent demands of the Black majority for political power.

In order to suppress the resistance of the African people the white minority regime has built a relatively huge military apparatus. The regime's security forces include the army, air force, police, the Guard force and Internal Affairs Bureau. Information as to size, strength and equipment is kept secret, however the security forces have a potential strength of up to 100,000.\textsuperscript{33} During 1977-78 the size of the regular army was 10,000 men.\textsuperscript{34} The Rhodesian armed forces have carried out many raids into the Rhodesian countryside, they have destroyed many villages and forced hundreds of thousands of Zimbabweans into protected villages (more on protected villages in next article). The armed forces have carried out ground and air attacks in Mozambique and Zambia. They have bombed many refugee camps in these areas. The Selous Scouts are notorious for carrying out raids on Zimbabwe villages while dressed in guerilla uniforms. This is the source of many of the supposed "terrorist raids which have been blamed on the guerillas. (see next article) In order to carry on the war the Smith regime has been spending huge sums on the military. In 1978, the Rhodesian government spent $470 million, over 25% of the Gross National Product, on the military.\textsuperscript{35}

Supporters of the Rhodesian Regime: South Africa and the U.S.

The only government in the world which recognizes the Rhodesian government is South Africa. South Africa has close economic ties with Rhodesia. No less than 5 of Rhodesia's ten 10 industrials are controlled by or associated with South African companies.\textsuperscript{36} One of the largest mining companies in Rhodesia is Anglo-American C Corporation, which is owned by South African, English and American interests. Rhodesia imports over $400 million worth of goods, approximately 1/4 of its gross national product.\textsuperscript{37} About 40% of this is imported from the South African Customs Union.\textsuperscript{38} According to the S.African daily the "Financial Mail", these imports consist of "machinery, oil, vehicles and vehicle spares." South Africa is the main link between Rhodesia and the outside world. Since Mozambique closed its borders to Rhodesia in 1975, the rail link between Rhodesia and South Africa is Rhodesia's main supply route. Since Rhodesia has no independent oil production it must rely on oil imports from South Africa.

While the U.S. government does not officially recognize Rhodesia it nevertheless has given Rhodesia substantial support. For five years, 1971-76, the U.S. violated United Nations sanctions on Rhodesia. On the basis of the Byrd Amendment, 1971, the U.S. allowed itself to import Rhodesian chrome. This was done in spite of the fact that U.S. stockpiles alone contained enough metallurgical trade crome to supply all domestic needs for almost four years, if not a single ton of chrome were imported from any country.\textsuperscript{40} The U.S. has been a persistent violator of sanctions in other areas: airline bookings, car rentals, credit cards, investment advertisements, and tourism.\textsuperscript{41} A 1975 study showed that American tourists to Rhodesia constituted 1/5 of the country's tourist trade with a net value of over $16 million annually in foreign exchange.\textsuperscript{42} The Rhodesian information office functions in the U.S. It is allowed to disseminate information, to lobby on Capitol Hill, to encourage American tourism and to recruit Americans to work for Rhodesia's armed forces (i.e. recruit mercanaries).\textsuperscript{43} At present there are far more than 1000 U.S. mercenaries in Rhodesia, perhaps as high as 5000.\textsuperscript{44} Regarding the mercenaries Andrew Young dismissed the issue, saying, "We've got people all over the world doing their own thing."\textsuperscript{45}
The U.S. government has also given indirect assistance to the Rhodesian military. U.S. Bell Helicopters, the same kind used in Vietnam, have been sold to the Rhodesian military. This was probably done through Bell subsidiaries in Italy, however the U.S. State Dept. must approve all arms sales to foreign countries. Also, vital oil supplies which Rhodesia needs to keep its economy and military have been sold via South Africa. Standard Oil of California S.A. and Texaco S.A. (Caltex) have sold oil to Rhodesia. In fact, one of the oil dumps blown up in December by the Patriotic Front was a Caltex dump. Also a deal was made in July 1974 whereby SASOL, South Africa's national oil company, would supply oil to Rhodesia and foreign oil companies would replace this oil. Two of the main oil companies involved were Mobil S.A. and Shell S.A.

The U.S. government has given diplomatic and political support to Rhodesia, too. For example, a great deal of political support has been given in connection with the importation of Rhodesian chrome. From 1971 - 1976 the U.S. violated U.N. sanctions against importation of Rhodesian chrome. Although the Byrd amendment, which permitted the sanctions breaking, was repealed in 1976 recently there have been renewed efforts to reinstate it. Sen. Clifford Case and Sen. Jacob Javits have sponsored a bill, which has passed both houses, calling for renewed importation of chrome if the transitional government would agree to an all-parties conference and elections before the end of 1978. The transitional government, however, postponed the December elections until April 20 of this year. But a January 3 Washington Post story said, "Rhodesia lobbyists believe they only need to win over a handful of additional Senators to agree to lifting sanctions wholly or partly." Senators Schweiker an Deconini introduced a resolution on February 9 calling for President Carter to remove sanctions within 10 days of the April 20 elections. Under the leadership of Senators McGovern and Hayakawa, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee is considering sending observers to judge the elections. Hearings on these two actions have already begun. All of these actions were given impetus by Ian Smith's visit to the U.S. in October last year. This visit was condemned throughout the world, especially in view of the fact that while Smith was here enlisting support for the internal settlement the Rhodesian military launched raids into Zambia.

These are not the only examples of the United States government 's support for Rhodesia. In August of last year, British Foreign Secretary David Owen, U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, and Nigerian diplomats, on the initiative of Zambia's president Kenneth Kuanda, secretly planned to draw the Patriotic Front into Smith's transitional government. On Aug. 14, the four nations secretly negotiated a power sharing agreement between Smith and Nkomo of ZAPU. Nkomo was initially receptive. Mugabe (ZANU) and leaders of the other Front-Line states (Angola, Tanzania, Mozambique, Botswana) were not advised of the scheme until 5 days later, when ther was a follow-up secret meeting in Luanda. The talks broke down when Mugabe, the leader of ZANU, refused to take part. In this way, the U.S. attempted to split and/or co-opt the Patriotic Front.

All of these activities are in line with U.S. policy toward southern Africa as stated in the National Security Memorandum 39 (1969). In Option 2 of that document it says:

"Broader association with both black and white states in an effort to encourage moderation in the white states, to enlist cooperation of the black states in reducing tensions and the likelihood of increasing cross-border violence, and to encourage improved relations among the states in the area"..."The blacks cannot gain political rights through violence"..."The whites are here to stay and the only way that constructive change can come about is through them. We can by selective relaxation of our stance toward the white states and increased economic assistance to the black states in the region help to draw the two groups together."..."On Rhodesia, retain consular; gradually relax sanctions (e.g. hardship exceptions for chrome) and consider eventual recognition."
Fig. 3. Employment by Race, 1973

- **Africans**: 88%
- **Europeans**: 12%

No. of employees:
- **Africans**: 889,000
- **Europeans**: 116,000
- **Total**: 1,005,300

Fig. 4. Earnings by Race, 1973

- **Africans**: 41%
- **Europeans**: 59%

Earnings:
- **Africans**: R$319.8 million
- **Europeans**: R$453.9 million
- **Total**: R$773.7 million

Earnings by Race, 1976

- **Africans**: 42%
- **Europeans**: 58%

Earnings:
- **Africans**: R$479.7 million
- **Europeans**: R$873.3 million
- **Total**: R$1,353.0 million

Employment by Race, 1976

- **Africans**: 88%
- **Europeans**: 12%

No. of employees:
- **Africans**: 920,000
- **Europeans**: 120,000
- **Total**: 1,040,000

(Source: Monthly Digest of Statistics)
THE DEFENCE BUDGET

Fighting a guerrilla war has become a serious strain on the Smith regime's resources. The money poured into national security has increased dramatically over the years.

Over the financial year to 30 June 1978, the regime planned to spend around one third of its total national budget (i.e. including both budget and financing accounts) on the armed forces, the police and other security measures. The defence vote for the year (i.e. army and airforce) amounted to R5114.8 million (compared with R508.4 million in 1976-7) and the police vote to R555.6 million (R47.5 million in 1976-7).

Several other departments and ministries besides the police and the armed forces contribute to the national security drive; the Ministry of Internal Affairs, for example, is responsible for setting up protected villages and running civil defence schemes; the Ministry of Roads, oversees special works in the operational areas such as laying down all-weather tarred roads as a precaution against land mines; and the Ministry of Coordination is responsible for supervising the military call-up. Extra money is also allocated to the Prime Minister's office to cover the running costs of the army's Selous Scouts and the Rhodesian police force's Special Branch II, both of which come under Ian Smith's direct control.

Overall, the Smith regime is now spending well over £1 million a day on fighting the war.
NOTES

2. Ibid., pp. 154-155.
4. FR, p. 35, the conversion ratio is approximately 1 Rhodesian for 1 U.S. dollar.
5. Ibid.
7. FR, p. 38.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. FR, p. 39.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid., reported in "Rhodesia Herald," 9/4/76.
14. Ibid.
15. Zimbabwe Quiz, (ZQ), another pamphlet by the IDAF, p. 15.
16. Ibid.
17. FR, p. 9.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
20. FR, p. 12.
21. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
25. ZQ, p. 23.
26. FR, p. 22.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid.
31. Ibid.
33. FR, p. 53.
37. Seidman, pp. 208-209.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid.
40. Seidman, pp. 212-213.
42. NSSM, p. 45.
43. Ibid.
45. "Southern Africa," 12/78, p. 27.
50. Newsletter of South Africa Catalyst Project.
51. CH, 3/79.
52. NSSM, pp. 84 and 105.
THE PATRIOTIC FRONT

Organizations of the Zimbabwean people began to appear at the turn of the century protesting Britain's policy of colonial settlement. In 1934, the African National Congress was created. Its main activities consisted in lobbying appeals to the white authorities in Salisbury, in protest of the Land Apportionment Act, trying to persuade them to be more just towards the African majority. 2 The ANC practically died out after the 1930's.

The Youth League of the ANC was formed in 1954. 3 It organized legal pressure against the 1957 "Native Land Husbandry Act". This Act provided for raising cattle stocks and dispersing African communal agriculture into private farms which incurred much resentment among Africans who wanted to live in their traditional manner. The Youth League was banned by the colonial regime and its leaders detained in 1959. 4

The main method used by all the organizations in Rhodesia until the 1960's was to make appeals to the British and other foreign governments against the effects of their colonial policy. In combination with peaceful protests and meetings with the Rhodesian government, 5

The Zimbabwean African Peoples Union (ZAPU) was formed in 1961. ZAPU began its activities within the tradition of previous Zimbabwean organizations. In its early history ZAPU, led by Joshua Nkomo, spent most of its time attempting to win support in Britain for the Zimbabwean people and lining up the U.N. and foreign governments to pressure the British to intervene directly in Rhodesia. 6

It was only after many years of these fruitless attempts to appeal to the rationality of British and Rhodesian colonialists that a decisive move towards armed struggle occurred. In 1963, the Zimbabwean African National Union (ZANU) was formed out of a split in ZAPU. ZANU was formed on the principle that the way to end white minority rule was armed struggle - a guerrilla war in the countryside where most Zimbabweans lived as peasants. 7 The first clash between government forces and ZANU guerrillas occurred in April, 1966. One year later ZAPU began military operations. ZANU and ZAPU reunited in 1974, forming the Patriotic Front. One common military command (ZIPA) was formed from the previously completely separate armies of ZANU and ZAPU. 8 The programs of ZANU and ZAPU contain many common elements which enabled the two organizations to unite. Both aim to establish a democratic state in Zimbabwe based on one person - one vote which will work towards the realization of socialist principles. 9 The victory of the Patriotic Front will bring to an end Rhodesia as a settler colony of Britain and establish a democratic Zimbabwe.

The victory of the Patriotic Front is drawing closer. The guerrillas have grown considerably over the last four years. In 1974 ZAPU had about 2000 guerrillas it now has over 10,000. In 1974 ZANU had over 4000 guerrillas - it now has over 40,000! 10 Over the last years 100,000 people have fled to the guerrilla bases in Mozambique, people are now arriving at the rate of 1000 a month. 11 Tens of thousands of whites have left the countryside, leaving many farms deserted. About 1200 whites are leaving Rhodesia every month. 12 The Patriotic Front now controls over 85% of the country. 13 In those areas that have been liberated, schools are functioning. In some cases with guerrillas acting as teachers and health care is provided. Every evening there is a clinic for women and babies. 14 Provincial medical centers have been built and equipped with trained doctors and nurses. Many missionaries give aid, medicines and equipment, to the liberated areas. 15

Beginning schools, with courses in math, geography, history, agriculture, metalwork, carpentry and current affairs, have been set up under very difficult conditions. Recently the Patriotic Front has begun to print its own supply of books for the schools. 16 ZANU is providing education for approximately 20,000
The war has greatly worsened conditions in the white minority areas. The Smith government has established "no-go" areas and is forcibly moving Africans into protected villages. The peoples' villages are first destroyed, then they are moved into corrugated iron shelters which are surrounded by barbed wire. Then a broad strip of land is declared a "no-go" area and defoliated.\(^{18}\) The situation inside these camps is miserable. The food supplies are deteriorating. Malaria is widespread and most of the camps lack any sanitary facilities. No ploughing was done last spring in many areas around these villages as people were forced to stay in these camps. This increased the food shortage, and people went hungry.\(^{19}\) Recently a curfew (22 hours/day) has been announced and violators are to be shot, hundreds have been killed.\(^{20}\)

In 1968, the Smith regime spent $25 million in security, in 1978 it spent over $470 million.\(^{21}\) The Smith government has lost control of over 85% of the country. Government services such as they were, are no longer provided and the people no longer pay taxes. Many white farmers have abandoned their farms and their land is being used by their former employees.\(^{22}\) The liberation forces are attacking throughout the country, and have opened up 50 of the protected villages.\(^{23}\)

The "protected villages" plan of the Smith government is exactly the same as the "statical hamlet" program the U.S. used in Vietnam and it has resulted in the same thing: misery, destruction and death for many Zimbabweans and the ultimate defeat of the government and rebuilding of a new Zimbabwe.

The Smith government, however, has refused to surrender. A few years ago Smith boasted that no blacks would enter the government for 1000 years. Now, Smith is taking part in a sham transitional government. The "transition" to Black majority rule is a sham because it calls for elections to a 100 seat parliament in which 28 seats are guaranteed for whites for 10 years. Enough seats to block any meaningful reform. And the cabinet will be composed of half-white, half-black. Also, the present composition of the white controlled security forces will be continued.\(^{24}\) On top of all this, the Smith government is asking the Patriotic Front to agree to the settlement and lay down their arms. Understandably the Patriotic Front has refused to sell-out.

Two recent events expose just how little transition is really occurring. Brian Hove, Co-Minister of Justice in the transitional government was fired last April 28 for calling for more opportunities for Africans in the courts and police force. Hove denounced the government and said Smith, "believes in the substance of power remaining in white hands, with the shadow of authority passing to Blacks. That is his majority rule." On April 30, 1500 Zimbabweans demonstrated outside a meeting of Bishop Muzorewa's Party (United African National Council) chanting "to hell with the agreement."\(^{25}\)

In late April 1978, the London Times ran an article dealing with popular reaction to the internal settlement. After conducting interviews with people in the tribal areas west of Salisbury the Times wrote, "Almost all of them had in the past supported either Bishop Muzorewa or Rev. Sithole, but had shifted their allegiance. One teacher who like everyone else I spoke to declined to give his name for fear of reprisal said: 'I used to support Muzorewa because I thought he was in touch with Mugabe and could get us genuine independance. But now I think he is as bad as Smith.' \(^{26}\)

The internal settlement is facing a severe economic crisis, as well as a political and military crisis. In Feb. 1978 war costs had forced the government to raise the sales tax from 10% to 15%, institute wage freeze of 5% and raise the income tax rate by 10%. By mid-year the war was costing the Rhodesian government $1.3 million a day, 2/5 of the country's revenue. In September, the government imposed a 12.5% "National Defense Levy", in effect a mandatory loan to the government from the taxpayers.\(^{27}\) Martial law was declared in October 1978"
nearly half the country is under martial law.

The U.S. government has said it will not recognize the transitional government because it does not include the Patriotic Front. Does this mean the U.S. government sympathizes with the Patriotic Front? No, it does not. The U.S. and British governments are aware of the strength of the Patriotic Front. The transitional government is no solution to the problem in Rhodesia. If the U.S. and British cannot get the Patriotic Front to agree to their terms, i.e., terms which would protect the U.S. and the very large British investment in Rhodesia, then they will continue their efforts to split the Patriotic Front. According to Mabanfando Sibhale, one of the Black participants in the transitional government British Foreign Secretary Owen offered him British assistance if he could bring Nkomo into the internal settlement. The influential British paper "Economist" has argued that IMF aid to Zambia be conditioned on Zambia’s getting Nkomo into the internal settlement.

In August 1978 the U.S. government along with Zambia and Nigeria attempted to bargain with Nkomo to convince ZAPU to join the transitional government. At first Mugabe and ZANU were left out. When Mugabe was brought to the second session of the talks he refused to participate and the talks broke down.

So far, these attempts to either co-opt or split the Patriotic Front have failed and the fighting continues. There is also significant internal disagreement in the U.S. government over recognition of the settlement. The ranking Republican on the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Clifford Case, introduced a resolution March 9, 1978, calling for serious consideration of the internal settlement. The House and Senate voted to lift economic sanctions against Rhodesia at the end of 1978, provided a new government was elected according to the bogus constitution described earlier.

Since then, as described in the first article, new attempts have been made in Congress to either end sanctions against Rhodesia and/or recognize the internal settlement after the April 20 elections. These attempts were given new impetus by Smith’s October 1978 visit to the U.S. As the influential foreign policy quarterly, "Foreign Affairs" put it, "the Salisbury regime had begun to lose the war during the year; its leaders acknowledged in private that their success depended on their ability to attract external support to their side. This led them to concentrate on persuading the American and British publics to reverse their governments' policies by openly supporting the internal settlement." Of course, since Smith was surrounded by security agents during his visit to New York and Washington and his main meetings were with U.S. Congressman, he met very little of the American public. His mission was not to persuade the American people to change U.S. government policy, but simply to talk to his influential backers and U.S. congressmen and get them to change U.S. policy.

Clearly, Britain which has been the major arms supplier to the Smith regime and has substantial investment in Rhodesia is not going to suddenly switch to supporting the national democratic revolution in Zimbabwe. Nor will the U.S. government which has also supplied arms and has some investment there, but is also worried about the effect a victorious revolution would have on South Africa where there is much greater U.S. investment.

What has become even more clear over the past year though is that the Patriotic Front is determined to end white minority rule and rebuild Zimbabwe. And it is going to do it no matter what the U.S. and Britain do.
The U.S. press has carried a number of stories of guerillas wantonly killing white civilians in Zimbabwe. Upon investigation these stories have proven to be false. Last year, more than 30 missionaries were arrested or imprisoned and a similar number deported by the regime. In a recent incident 94 Black civilians were killed during an attack on a village by Rhodesian security forces. Although it was discovered that no guerillas were involved the Rhodesian authorities said the killings occurred during a "cross-fire" with guerillas.

The circumstances of these alleged guerilla attacks is also important. The recent killing of missionaries and their children at Vumba near the Rhodesian border occurred after the revelation by survivors of a previous attack on Vumba that Rhodesian security forces had massacred nearly 100 villagers and that no guerillas were involved. The killing of two Red Cross workers last May followed the gift of a Red Cross mobile clinic to Rhodesian refugees in Mozambique. One of the first missionary killings was of Bishop Adolph Schmitt, a life-long friend of the Patriotic Front leader Joshua Nkomo.

The Rhodesian security forces also contain many blacks and their notorious Selous Scouts unit masquerades as guerillas in attacks upon rural villages, mission stations, and refugee camps. The pattern of these attacks is remarkably similar, the Scouts wear guerilla dress, they carry Soviet made weapons, they call each other "comrade", and they always leave one eyewitness to relate the attack. After the killings "ballistic evidence" is produced to "prove" that the fatal bullets were supplied by the Soviet Union. Actually the Smith regime has summed up best its attitude towards the killings in the warning it gave to a priest charged with failing to report guerillas in his area, "one dead missionary is as good as 100 dead terrorists to us."

Another myth that has been spread about the liberation movements is that they are heading towards a racial bloodbath. But what has been the history in other African countries where colonial, white minority governments were overthrown by national democratic revolutions. Donald Woods, a white journalist who is banned in South Africa gave a succinct description: "If they point to 'what has happened to the whites in the rest of Africa', my reply is "what indeed has happened to the whites?" The Mau Mau killed fewer whites in Kenya (36) than the Nationalists have killed Blacks in detention in South Africa. More whites have died by the policies of Ian Smith's government in the civil war in Rhodesia than have died under Black governments in Zambia, Tanzania, Kenya, Malawi, Mozambique, Angola, and even Uganda, together.

Who, after all, has been herding hundreds of thousands of Zimbabweans into concentration camps, 'protected villages', after they've burned their homes to the ground? It is the Smith regime. And who has freed the people from over 50 of these camps and set up schools" hospitals and reconstruction of homes in the liberated areas? It is the Patriotic Front.

What is happening in Rhodesia is not a racial war but a national democratic revolution. The Black Africans who make up over 95% of the population are determined to end the domination of the white minority government and establish a democratic state, one person - one vote, i.e., Black majority rule. The Zimbabwean people have decided that they will determine their destiny, not the white minority, and they are expressing this in the support they are giving to the Patriotic Front. The aspect of white vs. black that appears in the war comes mainly from the fact that most of the whites in Rhodesia are big landowners, sons of British colonial administrators who are now in the Rhodesian government, etc, who have enforced a brutal system of white minority domination and exploitation. The revolution is aimed at bringing an end to this system, therefore it is mainly directed at these white oppressors. It has nothing to do with so-called "inherent racial antagonisms" since many white missionaries have aided the guerillas, and have been deported or arrested for doing it.
Why should the American people support this liberation movement?

The struggle of the people of Zimbabwe is for self-determination. They have fought towards this end through all manner of strikes, demonstrations, and protests. The people have taken the road of armed overthrow of white minority rule because the regime has given them no choice. The Black people in Zimbabwe have a just cause and they are working toward its realization through the only means open to them. Therefore we should not oppose this liberation movement. We should support their struggle to end white minority rule, for one person one vote, Black majority rule.

First we can give material aid – money, food, clothing – to the liberation organizations and give them political support through bringing them to speak on campus. Second we must oppose the U.S. government and corporations who are supporting the white minority regime. Demands for U.S. corporate withdrawal and maintaining an’ strengthening economic sanctions, and university divestment have been raised around the country. These demands are in line with what the African people are fighting to achieve, and have been called for by every liberation organization.

Finally, the Black peoples’ fight for liberation in southern Africa has a relationship to this country as well. The same corporations that oppress Black people in southern Africa through low wages and no democratic rights – also oppress Black people in this country. Ties should be developed with the fight for liberation of Black people in the U.S. As Malcolm X said, “if you don’t understand what’s going on in the Congo you won’t understand what’s going on in Mississippi.”38
NOTES

2. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Gibson, p. 156.
6. Ibid.
7. Gibson, p. 162.
9. FR, p. 31.
10. Speech given by ZANU member at Northwestern University, April 26, 1978.
11. FR, p. 60; also "Patriotic Front Firm on Struggle," article in May 24, 1978 issue of the "Guardian" newspaper.
15. Ibid.
20. FR, p. 17.
25. Ibid.
31. South Africa Catalyst Project Newsletter, 3/79; or Newsweek 7/24 issue, article on Rhodesia.
32. "Foreign Affairs," 'America and the World' issue 1979; article on Africa.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid.
Three Months With the Guerrillas of ZANU

Last August, Justin Nyoka disappeared. Nyoka was a well-known black journalist living in Rhodesia. He had covered the war in Rhodesia for the BBC, The Observer in London, and the Rand Daily Mail and The Star in South Africa. Before his disappearance, Nyoka had received warnings from the Smith regime in Salisbury that the Patriotic Front laid plans to kill him. In the fall, the Salisbury government unleashed a torrent of propaganda that Nyoka had been kidnapped and assassinated by the Patriotic Front.

But in December Nyoka reappeared, alive and well in Maputo, Mozambique, and revealed that he had traveled for three months as a guest of ZANU throughout the areas of Zimbabwe held by the Patriotic Front. Nyoka's description of life in the liberated zones of Zimbabwe is the best view yet of that little-known aspect of the war in Rhodesia.

In a taped interview in Maputo, Nyoka revealed details of his meeting with members of the ZANU guerrilla group that claims responsibility for the December attack on the oil storage tanks outside Salisbury. Both wings of the Patriotic Front have said they were responsible. That attack destroyed at least 15 percent of Rhodesia's oil supplies. Nyoka says it was just the initial step in a new, carefully planned ZANU strategy.

"They were talking in terms of 'We are going to hit specific targets. We are going to hit these petrol depots. We are going to hit military installations, electricity installations, in Salisbury,'" Nyoka said. "Then we go. They have started. And this is just the beginning."

Encirclement, according to Nyoka, is the main element in ZANU's military strategy. The plan is to encircle the towns and when the whites leave to take control," Nyoka said. "The plan is to do this on a large scale that Smith's forces just can't cope.

Many villages and small towns already are in the hands of the guerrillas, Nyoka said. In some areas no whites other than missionaries have been seen for two years. In other cases, he said, the guerrillas feel so secure that they enter nominally white-held towns with confidence.

Recalling a visit to the village of Enkeldown, he said, "ZANU is in control of the surrounding area so much that it is possible to actually send people or go and get cold drinks and you can still drink the soft drinks very cold when you get back." He added, "This happened throughout the trip.

Schools and Clinics Functioning

In those areas that have been liberated, Nyoka said schools are functioning, in some cases with guerrillas acting as teachers, and health care is provided.

"Every evening there is a clinic for women and babies," he reported. "Then, when they have built provincial centers, where you actually have trained men, where they don't only deal with fractures, they deal with the serious wounds including fractures."

Particularly striking, he said, is the level of political awareness among rural people.

"They have been mobilized absolutely," he said, adding that most of this has occurred within the past year. In contrast, he said, "protest and other indications of opposition in the current regime are still extremely limited in urban areas."

During the three months of his trip, Nyoka traveled over most of the eastern section of Zimbabwe.

All of the area he traveled in was controlled by ZANU, according to Nyoka, a ZANU supporter. He added that there have been "many clashes" between ZANU and ZAPU forces over control of various areas. Maintaining that ZANU has many more men inside Zimbabwe than ZAPU, Nyoka said it was not unusual to encounter a group of 300 or more guerrillas.

As for foreign missionaries, Nyoka had a completely different story to tell than the one generally reported in the Western press. He said that missionaries have been "pouring aid into the liberated areas." He added, "This is why I say, how can guerrilla forces be accused of killing missionaries indiscriminately when in fact I met missionaries who bought medicines and equipment? And they sat at discussions, they asked questions, they contributed to the discussions."

Nyoka said that while there are some missionaries opposed to the liberation struggle—"I was told that there is an American missionary who goes about armed," he reported—the "rank and file of missionaries" are "absolutely dedicated to the struggle."

Moving Ahead To Freedom

The war for a free Zimbabwe is almost won; in important interviews two key liberation leaders explain why.

After more than ten years of bitter guerrilla war against apparently overwhelming odds, ZANU and ZAPU, now allied in the Patriotic Front, are emerging as victors in the struggle for Zimbabwe. Their success has surprised not only Ian Smith, who had believed that white minority rule would last "a thousand years," but also the ruling echelons in Washington and London, which are now scrambling to prevent the Front from actually taking power.

In Maputo in September, Sister Janice McLaughlin spoke to two of the men playing vital roles in building this victory, Josiah Magama Tongogara, ZANU Defense Secretary, is directly in charge of organizing the movement's fighting forces and designing its very successful military strategy. Yet above all, he stressed the importance of winning the support of Zimbabwe's people. "The masses are the backbone of the struggle," he told Sister McLaughlin, "Without the masses you cannot succeed."

Carrying this theme further, Dzinai Mutumbuka, ZANU's Secretary for Education and Culture explained the importance of freeing the minds of Zimbabweans from the shackles of colonial ideas. A transformed educational system, he said, will develop ideas that "serve the interests of the masses." He stressed also the need to plan for peace, warning that "it is possible to win a military victory and be unprepared to take over."
Mobilization Necessary for Victory

Can you explain the links between the rural people and ZANLA (Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army) forces?

The fundamental task in armed struggle is to mobilize the masses to back you up. Without the masses you cannot succeed. They are the backbone of the struggle. The first thing we did when ZANU was formed in 1963 was to begin to mobilize the masses.

There are three phases of mobilization. The first phase is to get the people to accept the armed struggle, to eradicate their fears and to surmount their difficulties. The second phase is to make people understand the party policy—what you are fighting for. This is the stage where the masses participate physically. You arm them if you are able. If not, there is a lot they can do to complement the struggle. We get food from the people, clothes and information.

We are presently in the third phase of mobilization—that of creating political power, of involving the people in party organizations. We are setting up our own structures in the liberated areas in Zimbabwe. This is the phase of consolidation. It’s decisive. We can’t succeed without the cooperation of the masses.

All of our cadres have both political and military training and all are involved in mobilizing the masses.

The Western media accuse ZANLA forces of intimidating the people and of being undisciplined. How is the behavior of ZANLA guerrillas controlled?

The ZANLA disciplinary code guides us in all our operations. You’re a party watchdog in the field. You must mix with the masses, be polite with them and not ill-treat them. You mustn’t take anything by force. You must pay for what you get. You must not take liberties with women. These are only some of our rules. If you don’t observe them you are liable to punishment. We’re very strict.

We’re a force fighting to liberate the people, with the interests of the people at heart. If we mistreat them we can’t succeed. We can’t determine when the war will end. So to sustain the support of the people we must observe these regulations.

Have your forces, as some have accused, committed atrocities and killed missionaries?

This is a horrifying thing. We’ve got our military court and we’ve been guarding against this all along.

The missionaries help us. They give us medicine and clothes. Why should we kill them?

We have learned that some of our greatest supporters are white. Many of the white farmers have contributed more to the armed struggle than some Africans. Smith even wondered why we hadn’t attacked certain farms in the northeast. The white man who warned me where the enemy was appeared more comradely to me than my African brother who would report me to the enemy.

So it grew up in our minds that we are not fighting a racial war. We began to study who is our friend and who is our enemy. The number one enemy is the one who points a gun at us, regardless of color. We are fighting to establish racial, to make all people equal. Skin color doesn’t matter if you are born in Zimbabwe you will share equally.

These massacres are carried out by Smith and the Sbuh Scouts to discredit us and to turn the whites against us. It’s not only the missionaries who are murdered like this. Many teachers who support the armed struggle are killed and their deaths blamed on us. Troops in ZANLA uniforms come to the concentration camps and murder people.

There are often reports of fighting between the ZANU and ZAPU forces inside Zimbabwe. Are these accurate?

There is no basis for fighting between us. This type of thing comes from Smith. He would like to put a wedge between us, would like us to split. It’s the old tactic of divide and rule.

In the West you personally are often pictured as being more radical than the political leadership in ZANU, as being a hard-line Marxist, and it has been suggested that this will lead to splits in ZANU. Can you comment?

Maybe what they’re saying is that Tonga is one of the consistent freedom fighters. I’ve been in this since the beginning. Probably because I had my military training in a socialist country. [China, to be precise], they say I’m a Communist. Because we’re happy to go to China, they say we’re Chinese.

The imperialists never felt there would be an armed struggle that would reach this stage in southern Africa. They know we have principles that have reached this stage, so they say it’s Communism. I don’t know what they mean by Communism. We have one pot, we eat together. Tonga doesn’t have his own pot. If they want to interpret this as Communism, O.K.

I’ve stood firm in approving Smith and will stand firm. I’m not an easy compromising chap.

They try to create divisions in ZANU that don’t exist. I set my orders from Mugabe, I execute the orders from him.

You are a pioneer in the armed struggle. How did you get involved and how did you thinking develop?

I came to the struggle as a young boy when I was a member of the youth movement. I began my political involvement on a part-time basis and went for training in 1964. I was influenced by the environment in which I grew up. I was born in a poor family. I would listen to my parents talk about poverty being imposed on them by a system run by a group of people who had invaded our country and taken our land. This kept growing in my mind and I decided that I had power I would hit this system and knock it down. When I started reading revolutionary books, I discovered it was possible to fight a group of oppressors and turn things around.

My name means, “We just say even there are difficulties.” My grandfather gave that name when the colonizers passed through our land and he refused to move. He told them, “We’ll stay even if you have to kill us.” So that’s the name I was given. I’m proud of this. So my name, my upbringing, have all helped to form my personal convictions.

Dzingai:
Education For Decolonization

What is the work of the Department of Education and Culture?

We are responsible for the education of all our children in Mozambique as well as the school children in the liberated areas in southern Africa. There are more than 100,000 students here in Mozambique and not less than 100,000 in the liberated areas.

Sometimes I think that I should be called
We want to transform totally the educational system in Zimbabwe. The first thing we will do is close all the prestigious institutions. We will reopen them on a firmer basis, in the interests of the masses.

**How is culture being utilized in the struggle to build a new society?**

A new culture is springing up in the revolution. We are forced to adjust our ideas to new circumstances. For instance, it is important to note the role of women in the struggle. Formerly, men were considered more important than women. Women were merely tools. But when you struggle together with women and see them sacrifice you can no longer hold these views. Some of our greatest heroes are women.

Colonialism brings about the destruction of a people's culture. In the process of acculturation, people are told that everything about their culture is ugly or bad. The communal aspects are played down, discouraged.

Colonialism encouraged individualism and the cult of personality. It fostered the concept of private ownership. The beautiful thing about our circumstances now is that none of us owns anything. All is party property for the good of everyone. We want to transfer this concept to an independent Zimbabwe where all things will belong to the whole people.

Culture is not static. We can't go back to the past but we want to promote the good aspects of our culture that were destroyed. Our songs are changing in the revolution. We don't sing about the weather and love anymore but about the heroes of the revolution, the assistance of the masses, the attacks of the enemy.

**What kind of political education do young people receive?**

Our youth are highly politically motivated, but we try not to overload them with complex socialist things. It's not good just to theorize. They listen to Mugabe's speeches and ask questions about the struggle and the new society we are creating. The children eat together, play together and do everything communally, and the new values are expressed in their poems and essays.

**How do you choose students for higher education?**

Together with the Department for Manpower Planning, we have made a survey of our manpower needs. It is possible to win a military victory and be unprepared to take over, so we have made plans to educate our cadres in various fields. For instance, we have three pilots who were sent out in 1973 and who graduated this year.

When we select people for specialized fields, we have certain criteria—academic ability as well as ideological awareness. It would be an irony to educate people who were going to thwart social transformation. Some are reluctant to go and we have to explain that there are different aspects of struggle. If we don't train our own people, the British and Americans will use their agents to subvert our revolution.

We are planning to establish the Zimbabwe Institute to train middle-level skilled people to run the country. There will be various components but the most important will be the integration of manual and intellectual work.

The model of development has to be clearly defined. We think it will be agriculturally based. If we are self-sufficient in food production, the basis is firm. If you can feed your people, you can move ahead. The struggle for life is a struggle for production.

**What are some of your problems?**

We have problems because of our circumstances. We don't have classrooms, chalk, blackboards, pencils, paper or books.

We have no problem of motivation. Our problem is logistical. We don't have a budget, but our will and determination to succeed are unchallengable.
WHEREAS the present constitutional situation in Rhodesia has led to recognition and other sanctions by the international community against Rhodesia and to the conflict within Rhodesia and from neighboring territories.

AND WHEREAS it is necessary in the interests of our country that the present situation should be treated that will lead to the termination of such sanctions and the cessation of the armed conflict.

AND WHEREAS, in an endeavor to reach such an agreement, delegates from the Rhodesian Government, African National Congress (Sabotage), United African National Council and Zimbabwe United People's Organization have met during the last two months in Salisbury and having discussed fully the proposals put forward by the various delegations, have reached agreement on certain fundamental principles to be embodied in a new constitution that will lead to the termination of the aforementioned sanctions and the cessation of the armed conflict.

NOW, THEREFORE,

A. It is hereby agreed that a constitution will be drafted and enacted which will provide for majority rule on the basis of universal adult suffrage on the following terms:

1. There will be a legislative assembly consisting of 100 members and the following provisions will apply thereto:
   a. There will be a common voters' roll, with all citizens of 18 years and over being eligible for registration as voters, subject to certain recognized disqualifications.
   b. 72 of the seats in the legislative assembly will be reserved for whites, i.e., Europeans as defined in the 1969 Constitution, and
   c. 28 of the seats in the legislative assembly will be reserved for blacks who will be elected by voters who are enrolled on the common roll.
   d. Eight will be elected by voters who are enrolled on the common roll from 16 candidates who will be nominated, in the case of the first parliament, by an electoral college composed of the white members of the present House of Assembly and, in the case of any subsequent parliament, by an electoral college composed of the 28 whites who are members of the parliament dissolved immediately prior to the general election.
   e. The reserve seats referred to in (a) above shall be retained for a period of at least 10 years or of two parliaments, whichever is the longer, and shall be reviewed at the expiration of that period, at which time a commission shall be appointed, the chairman of which shall be a judge of the 1969 Court, to undertake this review. If that commission recommends that the arrangements regarding the said reserved seats should be changed,
   f. An amendment to the constitution to effect such change may be made by a bill which receives the affirmative votes of not less than 31 members.
   g. The said bill shall also provide that the 72 seats referred to in (b) above shall not be reserved for blacks.
   h. The members filling the seats referred to in (c) above will be prohibited from forming a coalition with any single minority party for the purpose of forming a government.

2. There will be a just declaration of rights which will protect the rights and freedoms of individuals and, inter alia, will provide for protection from deprivation of property unless adequate compensation is paid promptly, and for protection of pension rights of persons who are members of pension funds.

3. The independence and qualifications of the judiciary will be entrenched and judges will have security of tenure.

4. There will be an independent public services board, the members of which will have security of tenure. The board will be responsible for the maintenance, promotion and discharge of the public service.

5. The public service, police force, armed forces and prison service will be maintained in a high state of efficiency and free from political interference.

6. Pensions which are payable from the consolidated revenue fund will be guaranteed and charged on the consolidated revenue fund and will be remittable outside the country.

7. Citizens who at present are entitled to dual citizenship will not be deprived of their present entitlement.

8. The above mentioned provisions will be set out or provided for in the constitution and will be regarded as specially entrenched provisions which may only be amended by a bill which receives the affirmative votes of not less than 78 members.

B. It is hereby also agreed, that following the agreement set out above, the next step will be the setting up of a transitional government. The prime function of the transitional government will be:

a. To being a caretaker, and
b. To deal with related matters such as:
   i. The composition of the future military forces, including the recruitment of the forces which wish to take up a military career, and the rehabilitation of others,
   ii. The rehabilitation of those affected by the war.

C. It is also hereby agreed that it will be the duty of the transitional government to determine and deal with the following matters:

a. The release of detainees,
   b. The review of sentences for offenses of a political character,
   c. The further removal of discrimination,
   d. The creation of a climate conducive to the holding of free and democratic elections,
   e. The drafting of the new constitution in terms of this agreement,
   f. The procedures for registration of voters with a view to the holding of a general election at the earliest possible date.

D. It is hereby also agreed that the transitional government will comprise an executive council and a ministerial council, and the following provisions will apply thereto:

1. Composition:
   a. The executive council will be composed of the prime minister and three black ministers, being the heads of those delegations engaged in the negotiations. The members will take turns in presiding as chairman of the executive council in such sequence and for such period as that council may determine. Decision of the executive council will be by consensus.
   b. Functions:

   i. The executive council will be responsible for ensuring that the functions given to it and the duties imposed on the transitional government by the constitutional agreement are dealt with as expeditiously as possible. It will take policy decisions in connection with the preparation and drafting of the new constitution and the other matters set out in sections B and C of this agreement and with any other matters which may arise.
   ii. The executive council may refer the matters so set out in sections B and C of this agreement, or any other matter, to the ministerial council for examination and recommendations.
   iii. The executive council will review decisions or recommendations of the ministerial council and may confirm such decisions or recommendations or refer them back to the ministerial council for further consideration.

2. MINISTERIAL COUNCIL

a. Composition:
   i. The ministerial council will be composed of equal numbers of black and white ministers. The black ministers will be nominated in equal proportions by the heads of those delegations engaged in the negotiations. The white ministers will be nominated by the prime minister. The chairmanship of the ministerial council will alternate between black and white ministers. The prime minister will nominate which white minister shall take the chair, and the heads of those delegations engaged in the negotiations will nominate which of the black ministers shall take the chair in the sequence and for the period determined by the ministerial council.
   b. Functions:
      i. The ministerial council will operate in the cabinet to advise the executive council on all matters referred to it by the executive council and on any other matter it thinks fit.
      ii. The ministerial council will make recommendations to the executive council on all matters referred to it by the executive council.
      iii. The ministerial council will be by majority vote and subject to review by the executive council.

3. PARLIAMENT

a. Parliament will continue to function during the life of the transitional government and will meet for the following purposes as and when the executive council considers it should be summoned:
   i. To pass a constitution amendment act enabling ministers who have not been elected to parliament to serve for periods in excess of four months.
   ii. To pass the 1978-79 budget.
   iii. To enact any legislation or deal with any other matter brought forward by the transitional government (e.g. for the further removal of discrimination),
   iv. To enact the new constitution,
   v. To nominate 16 whites for election by voters on the common roll to sit as the seats reserved for whites.
   vi. The work of the various select committees and of the Senate Legal Committee will proceed as normal.

E. It is hereby agreed that independence day shall be Dec. 31, 1978.

Signed at Salisbury, this third day of March 1978.