

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES OF U.S. FIRMS WITH
AFFILIATES IN THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

1. Non-segregation of the races in all eating, comfort, and work facilities.
2. Equal and fair employment practices for all employees.
3. Equal pay for all employees doing equal or comparable work for the same period of time.
4. Initiation of and development of training programs that will prepare, in substantial numbers, blacks and other non-whites for supervisory, administrative, clerical, and technical jobs.
5. Increasing the number of blacks and other non-whites in management and supervisory positions.
6. Improving the quality of employees' lives outside the work environment in such areas as housing, transportation, schooling, recreation and health facilities.

We agree to further implement these principles. Where implementation requires a modification of existing South African working conditions, we will seek such modification through appropriate channels.

We believe that the implementation of the foregoing principles is consistent with respect for human dignity and will contribute greatly to the general economic welfare of all the people of the Republic of South Africa.

MEMORANDUM

THE V. P. HAS SEEN



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WASHINGTON

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INFORMATION

Memo No. 861-77
April 20, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

THRU: Denis Clift 
FROM: Jay Katzen 
SUBJECT: Anatomy of a Rebel, by Peter Joyce

Attached, at Tab A, is a synopsis of the subject book, as you requested.

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Joyce, Peter, Anatomy of a Rebel
(Salisbury: Graham Publishing, 1974)

Ian Smith was born of Scottish parents in the small Rhodesian mining village of Selukwe, April 8, 1919.

Smith served as a fighter pilot in the RAF, and crashed his Hurricane aircraft during an October 1943 takeoff from Alexandria. The accident resulted in extensive plastic surgery to his face. Within four months, Smith was back in the air. In June 1944, his plane was shot down in the Italian Alps, where he fought with Italian partisans against the Germans.

Following the war, Smith returned to Rhodes University in South Africa, graduating with a degree in Commerce in 1947. He married a South African widow, and began farming in Rhodesia.

Smith ran for the Rhodesian Parliament in 1948 and became its youngest member. As early as then, his minority Liberal Party favored separate but equal development for whites and blacks; they called it a "two pyramids" approach.

Rhodesian Prime Minister Sir Godfrey Huggins at that time advanced the formation of a Federation of Southern Rhodesia with Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) and Nyasaland (now Malawi). Smith initially opposed the scheme, but resigned from his Party to join Huggins' efforts at federation. The change in heart seems to have been at least partially affected by his belief that a federation of these three states would presage a larger unity which would include Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, and eventually, present-day Botswana and South Africa itself. Smith was elected as a member of Huggins' new Federal Party and, following federation, served in the Federal Parliament beginning in December 1953.

The Federation was doomed from the start. It was dominated by white settlers from Southern Rhodesia who, as did Smith, opposed changes which would lead to black rule. Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland seceded from

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the Federation in 1962. Smith quit the Federal Party, joined the Rhodesian Reform Party in 1961, and became Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister following his Party's surprise victory in November 1962. In April 1964, Prime Minister Field was dismissed by his Party for having failed to gain Rhodesian independence from the UK on acceptable terms. Smith then was appointed Prime Minister.

Southern Rhodesia had received internal self-government from the UK in 1923, with reservations. HMG retained the power of veto over legislation enacted by the Rhodesian Legislature. This power of veto was particularly resented by Rhodesians. Smith's own distrust of the UK began early, and he is regarded by the author as even more extreme in his desire for independence than his insistence upon white rule.

Failing to reach agreement over terms for majority rule in their independence negotiations with the UK, Rhodesia declared independence unilaterally, November 11, 1965. During the final days of negotiation with the UK, Smith was heavily influenced by his personal antipathy toward Harold Wilson, and his feeling that majority rule meant chaos. In his Independence Day address, Smith said, "... To us has been given the privilege of being the first western nation in two decades to have the determination and fortitude to say 'so far and no further'".

The author describes British efforts to bring Smith to his knees through sanctions, and the Commonwealth and UN pressures on HMG to enforce the principle of no independence before majority rule (NIBMAR). An effort to negotiate a settlement aboard HMS "Tiger" at Gibraltar in December 1966 failed due to Smith's refusal to agree to what he felt was an appropriate interregnum procedure. Another try, aboard HMS "Fearless" at Gibraltar, in October 1968, also failed due to the inability to agree on a formula concerning the enfranchisement of blacks.

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Rhodesia was declared a Republic March 2, 1970, and Smith was re-elected to power the following month. An agreement between Sir Alec Douglas-Home and Smith, which would have implicitly delayed Parliamentary parity between the races until 2014, was rejected by the Pearce Commission in May 1972.

The author projects the view of Smith as an honest farmer, conscripted against his will to defend Rhodesia against the barbarian hordes of black nationalism. Rather than a strong leader, he comes across in this book as "the farmer next door" at the head of his government.

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
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Memo No. 865-77
April 20, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

THRU: Denis Clift 
FROM: Jay Katzen 
SUBJECT: Your Meeting with Vorster

Attached at Tab A is further briefing material received from State on Apartheid and How it Works. We will retain a copy for inclusion with your final briefing materials.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
BRIEFING PAPER

Apartheid and How It Works

Before Apartheid

Racial discrimination in South Africa did not begin with the introduction of apartheid in 1948. Like most Europeans in the era of colonization, the Dutch and Huguenot settlers who first colonized the Cape of Good Hope in the mid-seventeenth century assumed early that their technological superiority over the indigenous people was proof of superiority in general. However, the theory and practice of white supremacy only became a major aspect of South African life as the struggle between growing numbers of whites and blacks for control of South Africa's land and resources began in earnest in the late eighteenth century.

But if rivalry and discrimination have been important to South Africa's racial dilemma, so has mutual dependence. This was especially the case after the discovery of diamonds and gold in the second half of the nineteenth century began to transform an isolated agrarian backwater into a major producer of mineral wealth. African labor was essential to the mining operations and as South Africa's industrial sector grew, the migration of rural Africans to the cities proceeded apace. Strict segregation was applied and Africans were kept in a position of social, religious, economic and political subordination. They had no real status in the eyes of the law, could own no land, could not move about the country freely, and were prohibited from most forms of employment. "Surplus" Africans not needed on white farms or in white industry were required to live in Native Reserves.

Despite these measures to assure white dominance, there were elements of liberalism in South African racial practices, consistent with Cecil Rhodes' dictum of "equal rights for all 'civilized' men" ("civilized" being understood to mean the adoption of Western values). The English-speaking universities were multiracial, the

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colored community was partially enfranchised. Such departures from the norms of discrimination and segregation permitted the development of African artisan and middle-class groups. With the emergence of such groups came the threat perceived by many of the Afrikaners who made up the relatively underprivileged segment of the white community that they would have their status and living standards challenged by rapidly advancing Africans. Afrikaners saw the business sector, at that time largely in English hands, as anxious to play African against Afrikaner to keep the wages of both low. These fears were heightened by the depression of the 1930s.

These factors contributed to an upsurge of Afrikaner nationalism which appealed to the ethnic solidarity of the Afrikaner majority (in the white community) against the twin enemies, the "black peril," and the English-speaking whites who were seen as abetting it.

Introduction of Apartheid

After the National Party came to power in 1948, the protection of white supremacy became an explicit objective of the government, and discrimination was institutionalized. Under the slogan of apartheid, literally "apartness," a complex network of laws was created to enforce segregation in all forms of endeavor. The Mixed Marriages and Immorality Acts were designed to prevent "immoral association" between the races, with or without benefit of clergy. Separate systems of education from primary school through university were developed and maintained. Legislation, such as the Group Areas Act, provided that all the territory of South Africa be designated as reserved for one or another racial group, with consequent large-scale (and forced) removals of nonwhite populations from areas redesignated "white." With a few recent exceptions, blacks have been systematically excluded from white hotels, restaurants, and other public facilities. A policy of "job reservation" was instituted which protected vulnerable whites by reserving certain categories of employment for whites alone. The "influx control" system of controlling the movement of Africans to and within the white areas is rigorously administered through the use of "pass books," identification documents which must be constantly renewed and updated. Hundreds of thousands of Africans are arrested each year for various infringements of these requirements.

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Probably the feature which is most destructive of the fabric of African society is the requirement that most black workers seeking work in white areas, where most employment opportunities are found, can do so only on a migratory, contractual basis. They cannot bring wives or children with them and can acquire permanent residential status in black townships adjacent to white areas only with great difficulty. At present, migrant laborers make up almost all of the unskilled work force in the crucial mining industry, and are also found in large numbers in the manufacturing sector.

Separate Development: Once in power, the National Party discovered the need for a more comprehensive approach to its racial problems, one that would offer to white South Africans, and an increasingly hostile international community, the prospect of a "solution" to the country's racial problems. Such an approach would have to justify the retention of political control by whites and yet satisfy the prevailing ethos in the international community favoring nationalism and self-determination. The theory of "separate development" evolved to meet these needs. A logical outgrowth of the fundamental Afrikaner belief in cultural and ethnic separatism, separate development has led to the creation of nine separate homelands for the African population. These are based largely on the African Reserves of earlier times. All Africans are eventually to become citizens of these homelands, which are offered the option of becoming independent. The place of the 2.2 million "coloreds" and 700,000 Indians, who have no homelands but were promised some sort of "nongeographical nationhood" instead, remains unclear.

In its present form, the homelands scheme is difficult for all but the most disciplined government supporter to defend. It is inappropriate to the circumstances of Africans in the cities and inadequate for those in rural areas. In theory, the purpose of separate development is to preserve South Africa's many cultures. As a practical matter, it exacerbates economic and social differences among ethnic groups in South Africa in a manner which hinders the progress of all of them. Under the scheme, every African in South Africa's urban areas is given a tribal classification identifying him with a particular homeland. For migrant workers, who return frequently to their traditional areas, this does not change their situation. However, a large proportion of the Africans who have been

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permitted to settle in townships near the major cities, or on white farms remote from the "reserves," have much weaker ties, or none at all, to those traditional areas. Twenty-five percent of all South Africa's blacks live in urban centers; another thirty percent live on white farms, outside the homelands. As the policy is implemented and homelands become independent, these Africans will be given the status of aliens without any claim to rights in white South Africa. This is a major source of insecurity for urban Africans. But while these individuals will lose their claims to South African citizenship, there is no prospect that the numbers of Africans needed in "white" areas will decline. In reality, government planners operate on the assumption that the need will increase.

Forty-five percent of South Africa's black population continues to live in the homelands, along more or less traditional African lines, based on subsistence agriculture. The homelands constitute only 13 percent of the territory of the country, and have little prospect of achieving genuine independence. They are poor and badly overcrowded. The integrity of the "traditional" ways has been irretrievably eroded by the ever-present system of migratory labor, which takes vast numbers of men to the cities for long periods. Although traditional African political structures continue to exist, they are propped up by the South African Government and their relationship to their people is uncertain at best. Most homelands are fragmented into a number of small separate territories surrounded by "white" South Africa.

Moreover, because of the migratory labor system, the population in the homelands contains a larger concentration of youth, the elderly, and females. According to the 1970 census, thirty-five percent of male Africans of working age supposedly domiciled in the homelands were absent from them. This further dims the prospects for economic advance in the homelands, and clearly has a severe impact on the daily lives of the persons and families involved.

The homeland of Transkei met an international cold shoulder upon its declaration of independence on October 26, 1976. The United Nations General Assembly passed a resolution calling upon member states not to recognize Transkei. It is expected that the next homeland to receive "independence," Bophuthatswana, will meet the same treatment in November of this year.

Department of State

April 1977

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MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

April 21, 1977

DATE: April 19, 1977
PLACE: Room 275, Old Executive Office Building,
Washington
PARTICIPANTS:

U.S.

Jay Kenneth Katzen *JK*

Foreign

Mr. Isiah Zhuwanara)
Mr. Max Chigwida) ANC

DISTRIBUTION:

Denis Clift, AF/S-Mr. Davidow, Chron

At their request, Messrs. Zhuwanara and Chigwida called on me at 3:30 p.m. April 19.

They presented me with the standard Muzorewa package, including the attached.

Of additional note, Chigwida decried what he estimated to be the murder by Rhodesian authorities of at least 80 black Rhodesian citizens each week, who allegedly have been guilty of only minor infractions, such as remaining out after curfew.

Chigwida also observed that although the Patriotic Front had done a "good job" of claiming all the armed

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Zimbabwe guerrillas were their own, in fact, most of the armed guerrillas are loyal to Muzorewa.

Chigwida acknowledged that the failure of the Geneva Conference was due to disagreement among the African participants.

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UNITED AFRICAN NATIONAL COUNCIL

Presidential Address to the National Consultative Assembly Gwanzura Stadium: Sunday, March 27, 1977

MR NATIONAL CHAIRMAN,

SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF ZIMBABWE,

I wish to thank you for your warm welcome and in turn, on behalf of the National Executive of your Party, I welcome you to this august Assembly. I pray God and the Ancestors of Zimbabwe that our deliberations here will lead us closer to the promised land of freedom.

We meet here today in the shadow of a great many events bearing upon the present and future of all the people of our great country, regardless of their race, colour and creed. Indeed, I would go as far as to say that the situation in this country has reached a watershed. We meet in the shadow of death and bloodshed, the death and bloodshed of thousands of sons and daughters of Zimbabwe who have fallen and are falling in the cause of national liberation.

We meet in the face of political chicanery from the enemies of the masses of Zimbabwe, enemies who wish to usurp the sacred prerogative of the people of Zimbabwe by imposing unwanted leadership on us. We meet, dear brothers and sisters, under the sword of international imperialism, a new imperialism which seeks to divert the course of our struggle and turn us into pitiful and mindless lackeys.

This solemn meeting is taking place after the collapse of the Geneva Conference, a collapse caused by the intransigence of Mr Ian Smith and his supporters, a collapse which dimmed the prospects of peace and of an end to the untold suffering of our people.

This great Assembly, therefore, must deliberate on these grave issues facing us and together we must come out with solutions to the problems of our people, with a strategy for peace, with a blueprint for a truly independent Zimbabwe. Together, and in our unity, we must plan the course of our destiny. In doing this, we must now, I repeat, we must not betray the dead, the dying and those yet to be born. We must not betray the aspirations of the peoples of this country, young and old, black and white. We must not betray the unborn generations for whom we are striving to create a just and free society. In this challenge lies the gravity of the task facing this Assembly. Some of you will ask: How shall we fulfil this challenge? I know that many in this country believe that the issues are simple and straightforward, I know that, weighted by severe suffering, many of us are advocating shortcuts, advocating any moves which might bring our pain and misery to an end. Allow me, dear brothers and sisters in the struggle, to give part of the background to our present situation so that we can place this meeting into its proper perspective.

Mr. Chairman,

Early in 1972, in our submission to the Pearce Commission at Banche House College, we categorically and loudly rejected the Smith-Home proposals because to accept them meant to legalise UDI and to perpetuate the dictatorship of the minority over the majority. Our position today remains unchanged. People have not died and suffered so that we can obtain a few more parliamentary seats, a few ministerial posts, a windfall of millions of dollars or pounds, the dubious right to buy European farms or the pleasure of sharing toilets with whites. No, these are miserable crumbs, mere peanuts to appease or pacify us and offered to late in the day. There never has been a substitute for national sovereignty based on the sacred principle of one man one vote. That remains our goal and that is our position.

Mr Chairman,

At Geneva, your delegation presented the most militant, the most democratic and the most effective proposals designed to ensure the early advent of genuine majority rule. Acting on your specific mandate, your delegation stood firm on the demand that the people of Zimbabwe must be effectively involved in the election of the leader to form the transitional government. In keeping with your mandate, we insisted that there must be a one man one vote referendum. We now hear a lot of rubbish and hollow propaganda that it was the so-called Patriotic Front which took a tough line. The truth is that the Patriotic Front went to Geneva to wreck the Conference. That is what their external masters and king makers told them to do. What is militant about begging the British Government and the so-called Frontline States to nominate a Government for Zimbabwe? What is militant about refusing to accept the principle of one man one vote? Fellow freedom fighters, is it not a betrayal of the masses, of the dead and dying, of Zimbabwe, to want a nominated government to rule us? What is militant about shouting that, you the millions of Zimbabwe "need political education", before you can vote? That is what they said. What an insult and what a shame!

Mr Chairman,

I can now say it, the real reasons why Geneva failed were:

- 1 Because Mr Smith was stuck on the Kissinger Proposals, and
- 2 Because the Pathetic Front was stuck on the fear of one man one vote. These two undemocratic fronts adopted delaying tactics wanting to buy time. The Nkomo-Mugabe Front spent *three weeks* talking about a date. I do not know anything more unpatriotic than to dilly dally over a date while our people are dying and suffering.

Since the formation of the United African National Council, and indeed long before that, we have consistently and insistently declared that peace and stability will only come to our country when the oppressive racist system under which we live is removed. The economic, social, diplomatic, cultural and political hostilities being waged upon the majority by the Smith regime must go. The war which continues to take away lives of people of all races, the misery under which people of all

racism, violence and inhumanity which now characterise our society, and the international isolation which reduces Rhodesia to the status of a leper colony, all these evils will only end with the removal of the oppressive system maintained by the Smith regime.

We have, have we not, persistently advocated that the only and effective way of achieving peace is for Mr Smith to surrender power unconditionally and immediately and allow a complete and overall transfer of power from the minority to the majority? THIS IS WHAT WE DEMAND NOW, HERE, IN GWANZURA STADIUM, THIS HOUR, THIS MINUTE, ON THIS SUNDAY, MARCH 27, 1977.

This is our demand and the demand of the thousands of Zimbabweans who have left home and the millions who live as slaves in their own homeland. We wish friend and foe to take note of this. *We believe, unshakeable, that the only proof of Mr Smith's sincerity about majority rule is that he hands over power to the majority through the exercise of one man one vote. That is the simple formula for the cessation of all forms of hostilities and creation of harmony and progress for all people of Zimbabwe, Black, White, Coloured and Asians.*

Time, for Mr Smith and his supporters, has run out. There is no more time to be bought. There is timeruptcy. It is out of stock. The blind refusal to accept this simple truth continues to cost this nation irreparable losses in life and heavy damage of race relations, and property.

We therefore, now propose a five point plan to complete the liberation struggle of Zimbabwe by following this trouble-shooter kind of settlement programme.

Point No. 1: That Mr Smith categorically and unequivocally surrenders political power and authority to black majority immediately.

Point No. 2: That all persons at present in detention, under restriction, being held as political prisoners, in the so-called protected villages, be released and allowed to participate freely in the national referendum which we are calling for under the next point.

Point No. 3: That her Majesty's Government in Britain, taking her decolonisation role and urgently, and acting by herself or through the good offices of the United Nations and/or the Commonwealth, must do the following:

- 1 Ensure that there is free political activity throughout the country,
- 2 Repeating the precedent set over the Pearce Commission, organise and supervise a national referendum to elect a national leader to whom Mr Smith will hand over power.

Point No. 4: That facilities are provided for all Zimbabweans, wherever they may be and including nationalist guerrillas, to enable them to participate in the national referendum.

Point No. 5: That as soon as possible thereafter, the British Government convenes a full constitutional conference to work out and finalise the details of the independence constitution.

I sincerely believe that the implementation of this plan will result in a just and genuine majority rule and that this plan will satisfy those who have been genuinely fighting and suffering for majority rule.

Now Mr Chairman and countrymen, let me sound a warning, not a threat. And that is to say: failure to carry out this plan will only result in continued and unabating bloodshed. This country will have been condemned to further and tragic delays before the advent of peace and the onset of true representative democracy. We shall perhaps forever, have lost an opportunity to reconstruct a nation based on justice, fair play and the observance of human rights.

I also wish to declare before you all that I am more than prepared to discuss this plan with any interested party.

Before I sit down, I wish to touch on some other issues which have a bearing on our liberation struggle in Zimbabwe.

Now, every one of you without exception will agree that Dr K.H. Kaunda of Zambia was a good kind of God Father to our liberation struggle. This was very clear at the time when Zambia obtained her independence. We all loved him. We were all proud of him as a true son of Africa. Zimbabwe can never forget that Zambia has done a great deal for our struggle, to the extent of loss of life and economic problems. We want the Zambians to know that we appreciate this a great deal.

But I am sad to say that of late, Dr Kaunda as an individual has disappointed us. We categorically deny him and those who support him the undeserved and unwarranted right to dictate to us on the question of the inalienable right of the people of Zimbabwe to choose their own leadership.

I want Dr Kaunda to know that he has no right whatsoever to dictate to us on the question of the so-called "Internal Settlement" issue.

To be honest, I am beginning to believe this shouting is out of fear that Nkomo, being Kaunda's blue-eyed boy, might be left out of any such settlement as might be reached.

We painfully remember that it was Zambia which signed the Pretoria Agreement on our behalf and in our absence. We painfully remember that it was Dr Kaunda who accepted and agreed with the Kissinger Deal, again on our behalf and in our absence. We vividly remember that it was Dr Kaunda who gave Nkomo all the help and facilities when Nkomo was trying to reach a unilateral settlement with Mr Smith. Now what do we see? We see Dr Kaunda personally abandoning the development problems of his country and people to tour Africa on a campaign against myself and the UANC. We see the Zambian Head of State sending envoys in all directions accusing the UANC of trying to reach an internal settlement with Smith. We see the whole of the government controlled mass media machinery turned against the UANC because they are "talking with Smith".

Are we not right in reaching the conclusion that Dr Kaunda is now not seeking a genuine solution to the Zimbabwe issue? Are we not justified in telling Dr Kaunda that the only solution he wishes to see in Zimbabwe is one in which Nkomo is at the top?

I want to inform these people that Zimbabwe does not need their management and supervision in our search for a genuine solution to our problem in Zimbabwe. We have the right to seek solutions to our problems anywhere anytime and with whoever we wish. Dr Kaunda or his puppet Joshua Nkomo, will not deter us from seeking a settlement in our own way which produces a genuine independence for our country.

During my recent tour of West Africa, I was shocked to hear the filth and false propaganda being spread by Zambia about the UANC. Some of this filth is too low, too dirty to be repeated before such a dignified Assembly like this consultative meeting. Some of the rubbish Dr Kaunda is spreading all over Africa is that it was Nkomo who formed the ANC. Nkomo should therefore lead Zimbabwe. Now, you tell me, fellow freedom fighters, did Nkomo form the ANC? Back in 1975, this lie was pushed at a meeting in Dar es Salaam and both Dr Edson Sithole and Mr Josiah Chinamano refuted it in front of 28 Zimbabweans including Nkomo's ZAPU.

Another lie being spread is that recognition should go exclusively to the so-called Patriotic Front because they are doing the fighting. Brothers and sisters in the struggle, can you tell me that Nkomo and Mugabe are doing any fighting? The only fighting they are doing is fighting for personal undeserved power and fighting amongst themselves. They never touched an arrow, let alone a gun. And everybody knows, anyway that the much vaunted Patriotic Front is an unhappy marriage of two lonely and power-hungry individuals.

What we do know, brothers and sisters, is that Zimbabweans of all tribes, all regions, all races are fighting against the racist system of Ian Smith. Our sons and daughters are the ones who are doing the fighting and the dying and not those two individuals who have caused untold suffering because of their divisive activities.

I am glad to report that I found a great deal of understanding amongst the Heads of State I met. I was fortunate. It is easy to fight against lies and untruths. The results of all this is that the United ANC still remains the only Zimbabwean liberation movement recognised by the OAU.

Mr Chairman,

Sons and Daughters of Zimbabwe, you will have heard that Mr Joshua Nkomo, mimicking his master's voice, has made pronouncements about what he would try to do if he does not become the ruler of Zimbabwe. His hollow outbursts only serve to confirm what we already knew, that he is spending all his energy, time and the people's money to prepare for a civil war in Zimbabwe. His whole aim now is to create more terror, more violence, more bloodshed on a much larger scale than his ZAPU did in the 1960s. I want to disclose here and now, that Nkomo is being aided and abetted by Dr Kaunda, building up an army, not to fight Smith, but to fight the people of Zimbabwe when Zimbabwe is free without his leadership. I find it difficult to understand that anyone claiming to be a nationalist leader can be so rapidly power hungry and so bloodthirsty as to threaten a people who have been fighting for over ninety years. I find it crude that he has no sense of shame about announcing his evil intentions to the whole wide world. Let me warn this gentleman and his friends that their evil machinations are doomed to failure. Zimbabwe stands united and will resist any attempt to rape her independence with the same intensity with which we have resisted white imperialism. Mr Nkomo will be shocked to see every male and female Zimbabwean over the age of 14 with guns in hand defending their sovereignty and government elected through one man one vote. I want Mr Joshua Nkomo to know this hard fact: that 99 per cent of the guerillas he claims to be his are prepared to join a settlement we reach, and Nkomo knows that I never tell lies.

Since the collapse of the Geneva Conference, we have heard a great deal about an "internal settlement" in this country. Now, nobody has ever told me what kind of animal this is, what this "internal settlement" really means. But let me say this, if it means some kind of chicken play to cover the perpetuation of minority rule, then we reject it. If it means talks about talks while Mr Smith and the Rhodesian Front tries to buy time, then we reject it. If it means that the majority are to be treated like some Bantustan or like the Turnhalle puppet show, then we reject it. If it is an attempt to have us associated with ZUPO, that stillborn and unacceptable brainchild of the R.F. then we totally reject it. Until somebody convincingly explains this internal settlement thing, we shall continue to reject it.

What Zimbabwe needs now is integrity, statesmanship, and a genuine feeling for the suffering of the people on the part of those in positions of leadership. We do not need an "internal settlement" to entrench the Smith regime, neither do we need an external settlement staged and managed by President Kaunda and masterminded by forces of imperialism of all sorts of blocks beyond his control. The suffering people of Zimbabwe need a genuine settlement which guarantees their progress and assures peace and stability, democracy and fair play for the people of all races. That is the settlement we all must work towards. Call it what you want to fit your taste and bias.

And now a word to the British, Zimbabwe has been let down by the British very sadly all these years especially since UDI. The history of Zimbabwe, is in fact the history of how our people were let down by the British. They have tried to sell us down the river several times and they have failed. Now they are sending Dr Owen to Southern Africa. Dr Owen is coming on a mission to consult the so-called Frontline States. It frightens us that the British are not learning from their past mistakes. My word to the British is this. Listen to the masses of Zimbabwe. The masses of Zimbabwe want a referendum to choose a national leader on the basis of one man one vote and nothing less will satisfy them. Organise and supervise this referendum now and help to stop the needless bloodshed and suffering of our people. This is the way to create a new, free Zimbabwe, that is all we ask of them.

It would be wrong of us not to spell out how the white people feature in all these plans. To start with, the referendum we are talking about must needs include people of all races. We are talking of all men and women of over 18 years of age regardless of race. And when we talk of the transfer of power from the minority to majority, we are including white people in that majority. We have whites in Zimbabwe who are citizens, we have whites who have become part and parcel of Zimbabwe, we have whites who will choose to throw in their lot with independent Zimbabwe. I want to emphasise that all these genuine whites are more than welcome to live in Zimbabwe, to participate in her progress and to contribute to the national welfare in all the various capacities. I want the white people of this country to know they have nothing to fear from us, that all we are insisting upon is the democratic principle that the majority must rule. What we need to do, all of us, is to try and forget the past. The time is long overdue that we should all, black and white, join hands together and move forward to create a truly non-racial society.

Which sincere person should be afraid of living under the Zimbabwe we wish to create? Who in Zimbabwe today will doubt us when we say that we of the United African National Council are the only body capable of ushering a new era of stability, peace and progress? It is only the fence sitter, the individual or group waiting for the main chance, who lacks the courage to face and accept inevitable change. We are not asking the white people to do the impossible. All we ask is that they join us in our fight against injustice, against an evil system. That is all. Injustice and evil are universal sicknesses, whether they are perpetrated by black people or white people. Let us together fight these evils.

Finally, dear fellow freedom fighters, as we deliberate on the many issues facing this country, I beg you to think of the whole of our nation. We have people abroad, people who have given their whole lives to the struggle. They are not here but you are here to represent them, let us do so like statesmen and women. This is my final word.

Thank you. God Bless you All.

PAMBERI!

SALISBURY RHODESIA

UNITED AFRICAN NATIONAL COUNCIL — ZIMBABWE

PRESIDENT: BISHOP A. T. MUZOREWA

INTERIM GOVERNMENT

ELECTORAL PROCEDURES

- 1 The election, conducted in the form of a referendum, could be held within a period of not more than fourteen days.
- 2 No electoral roll is required. There are other methods of identification which are immediately available.
- 3 Those qualified to vote shall be:
 - (a) Europeans, Asians, Coloureds and Africans already on the existing voters rolls.
 - (b) All adult males over the age of eighteen who possess an indigenous identification certificate or any other certification.
 - (c) Bonafide indigenous adult woman who have:
 - (i) Identification certificates
 - (ii) Marriage certificates
 - (iii) Certificates of employment
 - (iv) Education or qualification certificates or any other written evidence of identification
 - (v) Been identified by Headman or husband or any other person in authority.

SAFEGUARDS AGAINST DOUBLE VOTING

Each voter shall be required to dip his thumb into indelible ink and each identification document produced shall be marked with an appropriate stamp.

ELECTION ADMINISTRATION

The whole country shall be treated as a single constituency and the election shall be conducted in the form of a referendum. The whole of Rhodesia is divided into District Commissioner areas. Many Tribal Trust Lands have District Councils. In each District area polling booths shall be installed at schools, churches, dipping tank centres, or any other convenient locations. There is, therefore, already an established administrative machinery for carrying out an election which can be put into immediate effect.

CONDUCT OF ELECTION

The conduct and supervision of the election is the responsibility of this Conference. It is proposed that the Chairman of this Conference, Mr Ivor Richard, Q.C. shall be Chairman of the Electoral Commission and further that this Conference adjourns for the period of the elections and that the Conference reassembles in Geneva to install the Transitional Government.

PARTICIPATION OF GUERRILLAS IN THE ELECTION

Notwithstanding the fact that there shall be no cessation of hostilities until a Transitional Government is installed in Zimbabwe, the guerrillas shall participate in the election of the Prime Minister. The election shall be conducted under the auspices of the Liberation Committee of the Organisation of African Unity in co-operation with the Front Line States.

STATISTICS

As at the 30th June, 1976, there were 6,220,000 Africans. Approximately 3,000,000 were above the age of 18. It is these who qualify for the franchise on a one man one vote basis. There were 277,000 Europeans, 10,100 Asians and 21,400 Coloureds. Of the 3,000,000 Africans approximately 1,009,000 live in the urban areas and 2,100,000 live in the Tribal Trust Land.



U.A.N.C.

**at
GENEVA
and in
FUTURE**

THE UNITED AFRICAN NATIONAL COUNCIL
AT GENEVA AND IN FUTURE
(ANC Occasional Paper No 4)

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**THE UNITED AFRICAN NATIONAL COUNCIL
AT GENEVA AND IN FUTURE**

PART 1

A. THE ANC WENT TO GENEVA:

1. TO WREST power from the white minority to the majority;
2. TO DEMAND an Interim Government elected through One Man One Vote;
3. TO DEMAND that our independence date should be within 12 months;
4. TO ENSURE that Zimbabwe elects her first Prime Minister by ONE MAN ONE VOTE;
5. TO SAFEGUARD democracy in Zimbabwe by advocating elections before independence on the basis of One Man One Vote;
6. TO CREATE peace in Zimbabwe by calling for the establishment of a National Security Council responsible for national security, the creation of a national army, etc.;
7. TO SEEK national unity by urging that the Interim Government include all political groups attending the Geneva Conference provided they win a certain percentage of votes during the referendum election;
8. TO INSIST on an immediate amnesty which will stop all political hangings, halt oppressive trials, free detainees, allow all exiles to return to Zimbabwe, and release all those in "protected villages".
9. TO END curfews and removal of villagers from their traditional homes;
10. TO ABOLISH fear in Zimbabwe and eliminate suspicion between the races, AND THUS
11. TO REASSURE the entire populace that we can build a non-racial society that respects all human rights and freedoms of: speech, association, worship, and political activities.

B. AT GENEVA, THE ANC HAS:

1. USED the setting of the Conference to make the whole world aware that Zimbabwe's independence is long overdue and must be granted NOW;
2. PROVED that Zimbabwe's people are well-equipped and politically well educated to rule themselves and run a modern democratic state NOW. It is therefore an insult to suggest that we will need "political education" in order to be able to vote for and elect a Prime Minister.
3. ARGUED INCONTROVERTIBLY that the Interim Government must, and can, be elected in no more than 14 days once Britain agrees to provide the necessary peaceful conditions;
4. PERSISTENTLY defended the right of the people of Zimbabwe to elect a government of their choice through One Man, One Vote: AND
5. SOUGHT to achieve a common front with other African delegations in fighting for the inalienable democratic rights of the Zimbabwe people.

C. ON THE WHY AND NEED FOR ELECTION THE ANC HAS DECLARED:

1. THAT it is a fundamental right of all people to elect their political leader. We do not subscribe to the view that the present circumstances in Zimbabwe are so unusual as to entitle the Geneva conference to abuse this fundamental right.
2. THAT an elected government ensures stability whereas a nominated government creates instability. The legitimacy of an elected government would be conducive to the unity of all the people of Zimbabwe.
3. THAT an elected government has the confidence of the people whereas a nominated government does not enjoy this confidence.
4. THAT guerrilla and other forces are more likely to acknowledge the legitimacy of an elected government than a nominated and self imposed leadership.

STATISTICS

As at the 30th of June, 1976, there were 6,220,000 Africans. Approximately 3,000,000 were above the age of 18. It is these who qualify for the franchise on a one man one vote basis. There were 277,000 Europeans, 10,000 Asians and 21,400 Coloureds. Of the 3,000,000 Africans approximately 1,009,000 live in the urban areas and 2,100,000 live in the Tribal Trust Land.

THE 10% MINIMUM

Both for reasons of politics, reasons of fairness and inclusiveness this could probably be reduced for purposes of the election of the Prime Minister or whatever head of transitional government. It should not appear that any group or party has been excluded deliberately as a political tactic even though this has never been intended. This percentage is negotiable.

E. PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

Because the United African National Council believes very much in democratic rule, we have designed a scheme for the election of the leader of the transitional government. The strength of their representation will be determined by the percentage they get. This gives a place for every meaningful party to be included in the transitional government. Then at the independence election, the party that gets majority becomes the ruling party and the others become opposition parties.

F. Many years ago only a privileged few voted or had anything to do with elections for a national leader and government. Now that people have fought and died for exercising their democratic right to vote on the basis of one man one vote, it is immoral to prevent people from doing it and it could mean that our sons and daughters died in vain.

PART II

LOOKING TO THE FUTURE WITH UANC

A. UANC BELIEVES THAT RHODESIA (ZIMBABWE) CAN BE TURNED INTO A HEAVEN ON EARTH — A TRULY PEACEFUL AND STABLE COUNTRY

There are good reasons why we believe we have the ability to build a peaceful and stable Zimbabwe.

1. It has been observed that we people of Zimbabwe are essentially a peace loving people; that given the right kind of government i.e. a democratic government we would never have taken to arms.
2. Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) has only two distinct tribes: the Shona form more than 80% of our population and the Ndebele who form part of the other percentage. Moreover there has been so much intermarriage that the tribal friction has been reduced tremendously. So, were it not for the fact that we have some people who thrive on tribalism and regionalism there should not be any threat of civil war in Zimbabwe.
3. There are about 20% committed and 30% nominal Christians forming about 50% of our population who are Christians who have been taught to love other people through the Christian doctrine of the fatherhood of God and brotherhood of men.
4. The most popular political party in this country believes honestly in people and will try everything possible to uplift all our people.

B. THE UANC BELIEVES IN DEMOCRACY AND NOT DICTATORSHIP

We have been crying for years and years for the day when we can exercise the freedoms that a truly free society should enjoy. We want to see that day dawn in our country. We aim to establish, defend and consolidate these freedoms.

1. FREEDOM OF FREE POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

We believe that people should be free to choose their own political parties. People must exercise their right to oppose the policies and practices of the government of the day.

2. FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

People, we believe, must be free to discuss verbally and in writing national issues in public, in private, through the mass media, without fear of Big Brother watching them and pouncing on them. Zimbabweans, we feel, must actively participate in constructive criticism of their society, their government their leader and their policies and practices.

3. FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLY AND ASSOCIATION

Together with the freedom of political activity and speech, our people need to organise themselves into mutual gatherings including Trade Unions, clubs and societies and political meetings.

4. FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

The press, we believe, is an important instrument in nation-building and given the freedom, will exercise it responsibly. A free society is almost always reflected in its press. We believe, therefore, that the mass media should be left free to act as a vehicle for a society which enjoys freedom of expression.

5. FREEDOM OF WORSHIP

We sincerely believe that a person's conscience cannot be controlled or muzzled. Zimbabweans need to join religious organisations as dictated by their consciences. Without this basic freedom there cannot exist the true spiritual and mental independence which we value.

C. NON-RACIAL SOCIETY

We have lived in a country where people have been judged by the colour of their skin and kept in racial compartments. The future under the UANC, will instantly have no place for legislation and practices such as the Land Tenure Act. We will build a positive social structure which will permit

the three main racial groupings which form the 7 million people of Zimbabwe to live freely as one people. We shall look to a situation which will allow us to live in peace, harmony and co-operation with one another, despite the diversity of interests amongst us, a diversity which we recognise and respect.

D. NON-TRIBAL SOCIETY

Tribalism is one of Africa's main enemies. Divisive and backward looking, tribalism is easily exploited by external enemies of Africa and of Zimbabwe.

As has already been pointed out our country has fewer tribes than most countries of Africa. We have a 95% chance of avoiding tribal civil war. As already pointed out, at the time of writing it is only problems of sectionalism and regionalism which we face, being deliberately masterminded and fanned by the CIA. Otherwise, we in Zimbabwe should not in any way worry about tribalism.

The UANC believes in non-tribalism and non-regionalism. We demonstrated this practically during the Pearce Commission visit in 1971. Our campaign was proportionately carried out amongst the tribes and regions. We moved together and enjoyed self respect, peace and harmony amongst ourselves at work, in the rural areas, and in our townships. This was close to the ideal society which we wish to create.

E. ECONOMIC SYSTEM – BASIC GUIDELINES

People of Zimbabwe, of all shades of colour, have learned to work hard and have achieved a great deal.

Except for misery and suffering inflicted on the majority of our people under the rule of the Rhodesia Front, this country relatively enjoys a certain degree of economic prosperity. We do have a basic infrastructure on which to expand our economic activities.

Many people ask whether we shall establish a capitalist economic system or a socialist one, whether we shall have a policy of nationalisation or not.

One cannot give categorical answers to such questions. It is obvious that our economic philosophy will be reflected by our political system. And we have already briefly discussed the latter.

Again, obviously, we shall want to examine and re-examine this question carefully. Our main objective will be to extract the very best out of capitalism and the very best out of socialism in order to create a hybrid. This, we feel, will serve all our people regardless of colour or creed. We shall encourage individual initiative and fulfilment but without exploitation of each other.

F. EDUCATION

Our people are hungry and thirsty for education of all types: academic, professional, technical, or vocational. The present system is terribly biased against the majority of the people. There will certainly be a need for a different system which will give more opportunities for learning than we now have. To enable this, free education to a particular level needs to be extended. The majority of our people have been denied technical and professional education and the provision of this will be a priority.

We believe that the nation's major natural resources are its citizens and the objective of our educational system will be to develop the obvious and latent potential to meet national needs.

PART III

GENERAL INFORMATION

A. A WORD ABOUT NATIONALIST ARMED FORCES

We need to clarify the situation regarding the nationalist forces. The fighting men and women engaged in the struggle have dedicated themselves and are dying not for certain individuals but the liberation of Zimbabwe.

It is both callous and treacherous for anyone to claim ownership of the men and women who have so selflessly given their very lives for the sake of everybody and the country.

The fighting men and women and the people of Zimbabwe are one and the same people fighting for the total and unconditional liberation of their beloved mother country.

The suffering that the whole country is undergoing is shared by all. It must only be a person intoxicated with power, who dreams that he has the proprietorship of all people who went to give their blood for Zimbabwe. It must also be a pathological liar who thinks and says that all the fighting men and women follow Nkomo and Mugabe.

Zimbabwe women ask: "Where are all our children who went out? Did the Patriotic Front kill them all?" It is an accepted maxim that the Party commands the gun and not the gun the Party. Therefore, any party which will come to power will need soldiers. When the day is ripe to call our people, some people will be shocked.

B. THE PATRIOTIC FRONT IS A ZAMBIAN PLOT TO INSTALL NKOMO AS LEADER OF ZIMBABWE WITH MUGABE BEING USED AS AN INSTRUMENT

Since the now defunct Federation there has existed a Zambian plot to impose Joshua Nkomo as leader of Zimbabwe. There is irrefutable evidence to demonstrate this.

When ZANU, for instance threatened to frustrate the nefarious Zambian plot, Zambia took strong action against that organisation.

During the 1974 Unity talks the Zambian plan was to make Joshua Nkomo President of the ANC. We frustrated this.

Another attempt was made at the Victoria Falls Bridge talks but this failed because of the collapse of the talks.

Zambia gave full backing to Nkomo during his abortive "Congress". When that attempt was frustrated by the unity of the masses Zambia sponsored Nkomo's sell-out talks with Smith.

Zambia has even transported Nkomo at night to Mozambique to try and impose him as leader of the fighters there but they turned him down.

Today, Zambia is still trying desperately to further its plot — hence the Lusaka statement over the week-end of January 10, 1977.

This so-called Patriotic Front is in reality a front for the Zambian plot to impose Nkomo on Zimbabwe. Mugabe is a mere pawn and bait being used to promote Nkomo. Similarly the Front Line States, wittingly or unwittingly are being used as a cover for the same dirty plot under the stage-management of Zambia. Someone said even the people from Mashonaland on Nkomo's Executive are only "worms on the hook". Let's hope that all who love to support Mugabe will advise him to refuse to be used like a tool.

SOME POWER HUNGRY PEOPLE HAVE BEEN SPREADING LIES ABOUT THE ANC AND ITS LEADERSHIP. THIS HAS BEEN DONE AS MUDSLINGING AND DIRT SMEARING

A. DIRTY LIES ABOUT TRIBALISM

It is a naked lie that the UANC is organised and run on a tribal basis. When the UANC was formed in 1971 to fight Smith and when the Pearce Commission came to Rhodesia, ALL tribes were included and were fairly, adequately and proportionately represented. This remains the pattern for the ANC is a national unity movement. Some individuals, we repeat, individuals left the ANC because they wanted to organise support for themselves on a tribal basis. That was their own individual narrow-minded choice. But the ANC remains a solid national organisation commanding the support of the vast majority of the people in the rural areas, in the towns and cities, from East to West and from North to South.

The people of this country must be told loudly, and vigorously, frankly and honestly, that when they see people who come to their areas preaching tribalism and organising their little parties on a tribal or regional basis, they must reject them as agents of imperialism. They are enemies who want to divide and rule. The enemies of Africa, of Zimbabwe, know that they can only divide Africans in a number of ways:

1. By buying and bribing people in order to cause confusion, to stage coups and counter coups.

2. By dividing people on tribal and regional lines, telling such lies as are spread these days that Bishop Muzorewa is supported on a tribal basis, when even a bat can see that it is a lie.
3. By ill advising people and exploiting the hunger for power in individuals to start parties within parties. People who are used in this way, wittingly or unwittingly, create chaos, hostility, fighting amongst our peace loving people. Watch out for these apostles of confusion.

B. DIRTY LIES ABOUT FORMER PARTIES IN THE ANC

A stupid rumour aimed at discrediting the ANC is that the ANC is run by former FROLIZI and that the President is led by former FROLIZI people. The truth always relegates such lies into the dustbin of history.

1. The ANC is made up of people from the former ZAPU, ZANU, FROLIZI — the original ANC PLUS people who never belonged to any former parties e.g. youths who are now 18-22 who form more than half of the 6 million people of Zimbabwe. Most of the youth in the bush, at home and abroad never belonged to any other parties except the present United ANC.
2. The offices held by the people in our External missions were chosen by election and posts were distributed amongst former organisations evenly. The Chairmanships of committees in the External Wing (ZLC) were filled by election. It is therefore an absolute lie that FROLIZI controls our External Wing.
3. Decisions of any substance have always been taken by the group. There is no significant or drastic decision the President ever took with the former FROLIZI people alone. Any such major decisions have always been taken in consultation with the whole of the External Wing or the National Executive. Next time you hear this particular lie, know that it is no more than what it is, a dirty lie.

4. **People who know that the legendary James Chikerema and George Nyandoro are next to Burombo as the real fathers of African nationalism in Zimbabwe are so jealous of them that they want to discredit them and the ANC with lies.**

C. DIRTY LIES TO DISCREDIT THE PRESIDENT OF THE ANC

There have been all sorts of attempts at character assassination aimed at destroying the integrity and popularity of Bishop Muzorewa. Some of these lies were started as far back as 1971. We give examples of these attempts at character assassination:

1. Only five months after the birth of the ANC, our enemies circulated a pamphlet alleging that Bishop Muzorewa had 50,000 dollars in the bank and that only 5,000 was left. This writer with poisonous pen was not only a liar but also a coward; he did not have the guts to sign his name. He could not face questions because he had no answer. The lie vanished as all lies eventually do.
2. In 1973 came another one, that Bishop Muzorewa had been given a 30,000 dollar ranch by the British in order that he supports the idea of a settlement. Everybody who has the truth knows that the Bishop has a small African type farm at Dowa obtained on a loan he is still meeting by bank stop order every month for the next five years. These people should ask his bank manager.
3. Then came an evil and cheap lie spread by Chitepo's murderers to the effect that the Bishop was behind Chitepo's death. We only give this example to show how desperately ridiculous our enemies can be.
4. The Bishop's car was also a subject of more lies. The story was that it had been bought from ANC and yet all who care for the truth know that the Bishop bought the same car, a Chevrolet Impala in 1968 and the ANC was formed in 1971.

5. The Bishop's Marimba Park residence was also thrown into the fabric of lies. It was stated that the Bishop owns the house. Yet the truth, there for all to find out, is that the house belongs to the United Methodist Church and the Bishop is mere tenant. He owns no house.
6. Another lie was also fabricated that the Bishop owns a house, a hotel, a bank account in Malawi and Mozambique, etc. The leaders of these countries will be the first to laugh off these fabrications.
7. In 1975, the Netherlands Government promised the ANC a donation of 1 million dollars. To date, the ANC has not received a cent of this donation. Yet the story became current in the world press that we have received these funds. Why not ask the Netherlands Government?
8. While in Geneva, it was claimed that our President was a CIA agent. The ironic part of this lie is that it was spread by groups which themselves are infested with CIA agents. This is now an open secret.

We ask the people of Zimbabwe to be on guard against people who are trying to do everything possible to smear dirt on their leadership. More lies will be manufactured and spread. But the integrity and straight forwardness of our leadership remains and will remain untouched. Our people have attained a high degree of political maturity and consciousness that all lies will fall on deaf ears.

For his part, our President wants any of our people who have questions to ask about these rumours to come up and ask. The clean truth is always available. Those with any more stories to tell about the ANC should have the guts to sign their names so that we can confront them with facts.

D. THE LATEST LIE: THAT THE UANC HAS BEEN HAVING TALKS WITH THE R.F. AND ZUPO

This latest lie exposes the callousness of our detractors and enemies. We have people in restriction, we have people under sentence of death, our Dr. Edson Sithole is still missing and we have contacted Smith, the British Government and any other authority who might help about these cases of life and death. We will contact the devil himself if it will help our people. Eight UANC men have just been executed but we made numerous contacts with Smith to try and get their death sentence commuted. We have approached the Smith Government about the deaths and bombings of our people. This has already been in the press.

As for ZUPO, we have never even smelt a ZUPO person. We have seen their lavish advertisement in the press and have totally dismissed them as an attempt to create a black Rhodesian Front. That is what ZUPO will remain.

While on this, we must make it absolutely clear that we have no obligation to seek permission from any body except the masses when we wish to make any contact with any person or organisation. We of the UANC get our mandate from the majority of the people of Zimbabwe. If the people so instruct, we will contact anyone: black, white, coloured, Asian. We have an organisation to run and we will not run it so as to please Banana or anybody else. We serve the people's interests and only we know how best to do so.

FINALLY

OUR DEMAND OF ONE MAN ONE VOTE IS SURE
PROOF OF OUR SINCERE STAND ON THE EFFECTIVE
TRANSFER OF POWER ANYONE WHO TELLS PEOPLE
THAT OUR STAND IS A SELL OUT OUGHT TO BE
COMMITTED TO A MENTAL HOME. THAT IS WHERE
HE BELONGS.



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