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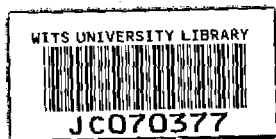
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THE SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT INITIATIVES

A. LANCASTER HOUSE AGREEMENTS

1. Independence Constitution for Zimbabwe: final British proposals of 3 October 1979

A. THE STATE

1. Zimbabwe will be a Sovereign Republic.
2. There will be a public seal of Zimbabwe which will be kept by the President.
3. The Constitution will be the supreme law of the Republic and will prevail over any other law to the extent that such other law is inconsistent with it.

B. CITIZENSHIP

1. Every person who was a citizen of Rhodesia immediately before independence will automatically become a citizen of Zimbabwe on independence (by birth, descent or registration, as the case may be, according to his former status). Every person who, immediately before independence, possessed such qualifications that the relevant authority would, upon application duly made, have registered him as a citizen of Rhodesia, will be entitled to make application in the prescribed manner at any time during the first 5 years after independence and it will be incumbent upon the competent authority to grant that application and cause him to be registered as a citizen of Zimbabwe.
2. Every person who is born in Zimbabwe after independence (other than the child of a diplomat accredited to Zimbabwe, of an enemy alien, of a person unlawfully in Zimbabwe or of a non-citizen not ordinarily resident in Zimbabwe) will become a citizen of Zimbabwe by birth. Every person who is born outside Zimbabwe after independence will become a citizen of Zimbabwe by birth if at the time of his birth his father (or if he is illegitimate, his mother) is a citizen of Zimbabwe but resident outside Zimbabwe in the service of the government and his birth is registered in Zimbabwe.
3. Every person who is born outside Zimbabwe after independence but whose father (or, if he is illegitimate, whose mother) is then a citizen of Zimbabwe by birth or registration will himself become a citizen of Zimbabwe by descent.
4. Any woman who is or has been married to a person who is or was at any time during the subsistence of the marriage a citizen of Zimbabwe (or would but for his death have automatically become a citizen of Zimbabwe at independence)

- will, on making application in the prescribed manner, be entitled to be registered as a citizen of Zimbabwe.
5. Any person one of whose parents is a citizen of Zimbabwe at the date of his application will be entitled on making application in the prescribed manner, to be registered as a citizen of Zimbabwe. If the person is a minor, the application may be made on his behalf by his parent or guardian. Provision will be made for adopted children.
 6. Parliament will be empowered to make provision:—
 - a. For conferring citizenship of Zimbabwe by registration on persons in cases other than those described above;
 - b. For taking away the citizenship of a person who has acquired it otherwise than by birth or descent, provided that the loss of his citizenship will not render him stateless;
 - c. For the renunciation by any person of his citizenship of Zimbabwe; and
 - d. For regulating the procedure relating to the acquisition and loss of citizenship of Zimbabwe.
 7. Provision will be included which permits citizens of Zimbabwe to retain their citizenship of other states.
 8. Provision will be made on independence for the resumption of citizenship by persons who have forfeited it or been deprived of it since 11 November 1965.

C. DECLARATION OF RIGHTS

1. The declaration of rights will set out provisions on the following lines dealing with the substantive rights concerned.
 - I. *The Right to Life.*
 - (1) It will be forbidden to deprive any person intentionally of his life save in execution of the lawful sentence of a court after conviction of a criminal offence.
 - (2) There will be an express exception for death caused by reasonably justifiable force in defence of person or property; or in order to effect a lawful arrest or to prevent the escape of a person in lawful custody; or to suppress riots etc; or to prevent the commission of a criminal offence; and there will also be an exception for death caused by a lawful act of war.
 - II. *The Right to Personal Liberty.*
 - (1) It will be forbidden to deprive any person of his personal liberty except as authorised by law in any of the following cases:—
 - a. Conviction on a criminal charge or unfitness to plead to such a charge;

- b. By order of a court or parliament for contempt;
 - c. By order of a court to secure the fulfilment of any legal obligations;
 - d. To bring the person concerned before a court or parliament in execution of the order of a court or parliament;
 - e. On reasonable suspicion of that person's commission or threatened commission of a criminal offence;
 - f. For the purpose of the education or welfare of a minor;
 - g. To prevent the spread of disease;
 - h. For the management of persons of unsound mind, drug addicts, alcoholics or vagrants in the interests of their own welfare or the protection of the community;
 - i. In connection with immigration control, extradition and deportation.
- (2) Any arrested or detained person will be entitled to be informed of the grounds upon which he is being held and to obtain and instruct a lawyer of his own choice. When the arrest or detention is for the purpose of bringing him before a court or is connected with his being suspected of a criminal offence, he will be entitled to be brought before a court without undue delay and, if not tried within a reasonable time, to be released on bail, subject only to reasonable conditions. Any person wrongfully arrested or detained will be entitled to compensation (although a public officer acting reasonably and in good faith will be protected from liability).

III. *Freedom from Slavery and Forced Labour.*

- (1) It will be forbidden to hold any person in slavery or to exact forced labour.
- (2) The term 'forced labour' will not include labour required in consequence of a sentence or order of a court; labour which a person in lawful custody may have to perform in the interests of hygiene, etc; labour required of a member of a military or similar force during, or required in-lieu of military service; or labour required in a public emergency where the requirement is reasonably justified for dealing with the emergency.

IV. *Freedom from Torture and Inhuman Treatment.*

- (1) It will be forbidden to inflict torture or inhuman or degrading punishment or treatment on any person.
- (2) Provision will be made that treatment which is reasonably justifiable to prevent the escape from custody of a person lawfully detained should not be regarded as degrading.

V. *Freedom from Deprivation of Property.*

- (1) Every person will be protected from having his property compulsorily acquired except when the acquisition is in the interests of defence, public safety, public order, public morality, public health, town and country planning, the development or utilisation of that or other property in such a manner as to promote the public benefit or, in the case of under-utilised land, settlement of land for agricultural purposes. When property is wanted for one of these purposes, its acquisition will be lawful only on condition that the law provides for the prompt payment of adequate compensation and, where the acquisition is contested, that a court order is obtained. A person whose property is so acquired will be guaranteed the right of access to the high court to determine the amount of the compensation.
- (2) Exception will be made for the taking of possession of property during a period of public emergency.
- (3) Compensation paid in respect of loss of land to anyone who is a citizen of or ordinarily resident in Zimbabwe (or to a company the majority of whose shareholders are such persons) will, within a reasonable time, be remittable to any country outside Zimbabwe, free from any deduction, tax or charge in respect of its remission, but subject always to:—
 - a. Its attachment, by order of a court, in connection with civil proceedings; and
 - b. Reasonable restrictions as to the manner in which the payment is to be remitted.
- (4) The Constitution will, on the same basis as in other declarations of rights, make clear that a number of transactions which might be considered to involve an element of compulsory acquisition will not be so regarded for the purposes of the declaration of rights.
- (5) It will be made clear, for the avoidance of doubt, that the property covered by this Constitutional guarantee includes rights, whether vested or contingent, of individuals to receive benefits under a law, contract or scheme relating to the payment of pension benefits.

VI. *Protection for Privacy of Home and Other Property.*

- (1) It will be forbidden, except with the consent of the person concerned, to subject anybody to the search of his person or property or to entry on his premises.
- (2) There will however be an exception for any law (and for any measures taken under it) which makes reasonable provision in the interests of defence, public safety, public order, public morality, public health, or town and country plan-

ning or which makes reasonable provision to protect the rights and freedom of others; or which authorises entry on a person's premises by a local government authority or of a public corporation in connection with any tax etc, or in order to carry out work connected with any property, situated on those premises, that belongs to that local government authority or body corporate; or which authorises entry or search in pursuance of a court order for the purpose of enforcing the judgment or order of a court in any proceedings. Any such law (and the measures taken under it) will be tested against the criterion of what would be reasonably justifiable in a democratic society.

VII. *The Right to Protection of the Law.*

- (1) Any person charged with a criminal offence will be entitled to a fair hearing within a reasonable time by an independent and impartial court. In connection with that hearing he will have the following specific rights:—
 - (a) To be presumed innocent until proved guilty;
 - (b) To be properly informed of what he is accused of;
 - (c) To be given adequate time and facilities to prepare his defence;
 - (d) To be permitted to defend himself either in person or at his own expense, by a legal representative whom he has chosen;
 - (e) To be able both to examine the witnesses for the prosecution and to call and examine his own witnesses on an equal footing with the prosecution witnesses;
 - (f) To refuse to give evidence himself (but without prejudice to the court's ability to draw inference from that refusal);
 - (g) To have an interpreter if he cannot understand the language used at the trial;
 - (h) To be present throughout the trial unless his own conduct renders this impracticable and the court has therefore ordered his removal; and
 - (i) To obtain a copy of any official record of the proceedings.
- (2) It will be forbidden to create criminal offences with retrospective effect or to provide for increased penalties with retrospective effect.
- (3) Except on the order of a superior court as a result of appeal or review proceedings, it will be forbidden to put a person on trial for a criminal offence for which he has already been tried or for which he has stood in jeopardy of conviction at an earlier trial or for which he has been pardoned.

- (4) Any court or other tribunal which is legally empowered to determine whether a person has a legal right or obligation or the extent of any such right or obligation will have to be established or recognised by law and to be independent and impartial; and any suit brought before any court or tribunal to obtain such a determination will have to be given a fair hearing within a reasonable time.
- (5) All proceedings in any court or tribunal, including the announcement of the decision, will, unless the parties agree otherwise, have to be held in public, subject to the right of the court or tribunal to exclude anybody other than the parties and their legal representatives:—
 - (a) When publicity would prejudice the interests of justice;
 - (b) In interlocutory proceedings or proceedings preliminary to trial;
 - (c) In the interests of defence, public safety, public order, public morality, the welfare of minors or the protection of the private lives of persons concerned in the proceedings; or
 - (d) When a minister certifies that the disclosure of certain information will not be in the public interest.

III. *Freedom of Conscience.*

- (1) It will be forbidden, except with the consent of the person concerned, to interfere with anybody's freedom of conscience. This freedom will be defined as including freedom of thought and of religion, freedom to change one's religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others, and both in public and in private, to manifest and propagate one's religion or belief in worship, teaching, practice and observance.
- (2) It will be forbidden to prevent any religious community from providing religious instruction for members of that community in the course of any education which it provides.
- (3) It will also be forbidden, except with the consent of the person concerned or his guardian, to require any person attending a place of education to receive religious instruction, or to take part in a religious observance, except when it relates to his own religion.
- (4) It will be forbidden to require anybody to take an oath which is contrary to his religion or belief or to take an oath in a manner which is contrary to his religion or belief.
- (5) There will be an exception to the foregoing for any law (or for any measures taken under it) which makes reasonable provision in the interests of defence, public safety, public

order, public morality or public health; or which makes reasonable provision for the purpose of protecting the rights and freedoms of others, including their freedom from unsolicited interference by persons of other religions or beliefs. Any such law (and the measures taken under it) will be tested against the criterion of what would be reasonably justifiable in a democratic society.

IX. *Freedom of Expression.*

- (1) It will be forbidden, except with the consent of the person concerned, to interfere with anybody's freedom of expression. This freedom will be defined as including freedom to hold opinions without interference, freedom to receive ideas and information without interference, freedom to communicate ideas and information without interference, and freedom from interference with one's correspondence.
- (2) It will be forbidden to prevent any person or group from establishing a school, or to prevent any person from sending a child to the school of his choice.
- (3) There will, however, be an exception for any law (and for any measures taken under it) which makes reasonable provision in the interests of defence, public safety, public order, public morality or public health, or which makes reasonable provision to protect the reputations, rights and freedoms of others or the private lives of persons concerned in legal proceedings, to prevent breach of confidence, to maintain the authority and independence of the courts or to regulate the administration or technical operation of telephones, telegraphs, posts, wireless broadcasting or television or to prevent the unlawful dispatch with correspondence of other matter: or which imposes restrictions on public officers. Any such law (and the measures taken under it) will be tested against the criterion of what would be reasonably justifiable in a democratic society.

X. *Freedom of Assembly and Association.*

- (1) It will be forbidden, except with the consent of the person concerned, to interfere with anybody's freedom of assembly and association. This freedom will be defined as the right of every person to assemble freely and associate with others and in particular to form or belong to political parties or to trade unions or other associations for the protection of his interests.
- (2) There will, however, be an exception for any law (and for any measures taken under it) which makes reasonable provision in the interests of defence, public safety, public order, public morality or public health; or which makes reasonable

provision to protect the rights and freedoms of others; or which imposes restrictions on public officers. Any such law (and the measures taken under it) will be tested against the criterion of what would be reasonably justifiable in a democratic society.

XI. *Freedom of Movement.*

- (1) It will be forbidden to interfere with anybody's freedom of movement. This freedom will be defined as the right to move freely throughout Zimbabwe, the right to reside in any part of Zimbabwe, the right to enter Zimbabwe, the right to leave Zimbabwe and immunity from expulsion from Zimbabwe.
- (2) There will, however, be an exception for any law (and for any measures taken under it):—
 - a. Which imposes reasonable restrictions on the movement within Zimbabwe of persons generally or any class of persons, or on their rights to leave Zimbabwe, in the interests of defence, public safety, public order, public morality or public health;
 - b. Which imposes reasonable restrictions on the acquisition or use of land;
 - c. Which authorises a court to impose restrictions on any person's movement or residence within Zimbabwe or on his right to leave Zimbabwe, in consequence of his criminal conviction or to ensure his appearance before a court to stand trial for a criminal offence or to give evidence in criminal proceedings or to answer extradition or deportation proceedings;
 - d. Which imposes restrictions on the freedom of movement of anybody who is not a citizen of nor permanently resident in Zimbabwe;
 - e. Which authorises the extradition of a person from Zimbabwe in respect of a criminal offence or his removal to some other country to serve his sentence for such an offence;
 - f. Which imposes restrictions, in order to secure the fulfilment of any person's legal obligations, on his right to leave Zimbabwe; or
 - g. Which imposes, for the protection of tribespeople, restrictions on residence within tribal trust land for those who are not tribespeople.

In all these cases, save the restrictions relating to tribal trust land, any such law (and any measures taken under it) will be tested against the criterion of what would be reasonably justifiable in a democratic society.

XII. *Protection from Discrimination.*

- (1) It will be forbidden for any law to contain a provision which is discriminatory either of itself or in its effect or for any person who is exercising statutory powers or acting in the performance of the functions of any public office or public authority to treat anybody in a discriminatory manner. A law or an executive action of this kind will be regarded as discriminatory if it affords special advantages or imposes special disabilities upon persons by reason wholly or mainly of their race, tribe, place of origin, political opinions, colour or creed.
- (2) There will be an exception to the foregoing for any law (or for any measures taken under it which are authorised by it expressly or by necessary implications):—
 - a. Which places certain restrictions on persons who are neither citizens nor permanent residents of Zimbabwe;
 - b. Which makes provision with respect to matters of personal law such as adoption, marriage, divorce, burial and testamentary succession;
 - c. Which makes provision for the application of their customary law in the case of members of a particular race or tribe;
 - d. Which makes provision with respect to the standards or qualifications to be required of persons who are appointed to offices in the public service or in the service of a local government authority or of a public corporation, provided that these standards or qualifications do not themselves specifically relate to race, tribe, place of origin, political opinions, colour or creed;
 - e. Which confers special rights on tribespeople in relation to tribal trust land.

Savings

1. The Constitution will permit certain of the substantive rights described above to be derogated from, within specified limits, during periods of emergency.
2. Existing laws will not be held in contravention of the declaration for a period of 5 years, though such laws can be amended or repealed by Parliament at any time.

Enforcement.

The declaration of rights will contain provisions to ensure that the rights which it guarantees are fully justiciable. These provisions will declare that anybody who alleges that any of his rights under the declaration has been, is being or is likely to be

infringed — and in the case of a detained person, any other person on his behalf — will, without prejudice to any other remedy which he may have, have the right to apply to the court for redress and the court will have jurisdiction to hear and determine that application. The court will be empowered to issue such orders as it may consider appropriate to enforce, or to secure the enforcement of any of the provisions of the declaration of rights.

D. THE EXECUTIVE

I. *The President.*

- (1) The President will be Head of State and Commander-in-Chief of the defence forces.
- (2) The President will be elected by the members of Parliament. The qualifications for election as President will be the same as those required for election to the Senate.
- (3) The President will hold office until he resigns or until a period of 6 years has elapsed. Thereafter he will be eligible for re-election for one further period of office.
- (4) The President may be removed from office on the grounds of misconduct or inability to discharge efficiently the functions of his office. A motion for removal required to be supported by not less than two-thirds of all the members of Parliament.
- (5) Provision will be made for the discharge of the functions of the office of President during the President's absence or temporary incapacity.
- (6) The executive power of Zimbabwe will be vested in the President and unless otherwise provided will be exercised on the advice of the Executive Council or, if authorised by the Executive Council, the Prime Minister or other Minister. The limited circumstances in which the President will act on his own discretion in accordance with the Constitution, eg. appointment of the Prime Minister and dissolution of Parliament following a vote of confidence, will be specified in the Constitution. (References to the exercises of power by the President in this summary are references to the President acting on advice unless otherwise indicated.)
- (7) Provision will be made to keep the President informed of the general conduct of the Government.
- (8) The exercise of the prerogative of mercy will be vested in the President.
- (9) There will be vested in the President power to declare a state of public emergency, or the existence of a situation which, if allowed to continue, may lead to a state of public

emergency. Such a declaration will lapse unless it is approved within 14 days by the affirmative votes of more than one-half of the total membership of the House of Assembly. The declaration may not continue in effect for longer than 6 months unless it is renewed by a similar resolution.

II. *Executive Council and Ministers.*

- (1) The Executive Council will consist of the Prime Minister and other Ministers, appointed by the President on the advice of the Prime Minister.
- (2) The President will appoint as Prime Minister the person who, in his opinion, is best able to command the support of a majority of the members of the House of Assembly. He will appoint and dismiss Ministers and Deputy Ministers on the advice of the Prime Minister. In the absence of the Prime Minister, the President may authorise another Minister to perform the functions of the Prime Minister.
- (3) A Minister or Deputy Minister will be a member of the Senate or House of Assembly.
- (4) The Prime Minister may assign Ministers responsibility for the administration of a Government department. Where a Minister is charged with responsibility for a department of Government. Secretaries will have the supervision of departments subject to that general direction and control.

III. *The Public Service.*

- (1) There will be a Public Service Commission consisting of a chairman and not less than two and not more than four other members.
- (2) The members of the Public Service Commission will be appointed by the President acting on the advice of the Prime Minister. They will be chosen for their ability and experience in administration or their professional qualifications or their suitability otherwise for appointment as members. The chairman and at least one other member will have held senior rank in the public service.
- (3) Subject to the other provisions of the Constitution, the Public Service Commission will have vested in it the power to appoint persons to hold or act in public offices, to exercise disciplinary control over such persons and to remove them from office. The Public Service Commission will also have the power to make regulations for the administration and conditions of service of the public service. Its decisions will be reached by a majority vote.
- (4) When considering candidates for appointment to vacant posts in the public service and prison service, the commis-

sion will be required to give preference to the person who is in its opinion the most efficient and suitable for appointment. However, in making any decision the commission will be required to take account of any general policy directions given by the President which are designed to achieve a suitable representation of all groups of the population in the service of the State.

- (5) There will be an Attorney-General who will be a member of the public service. He will be appointed by the President on the advice of the Prime Minister. Before tendering his advice the Prime Minister will consider any recommendations by the Public Service Commission, which will in turn consult the Judicial Service Commission. If he departs from such recommendations Parliament will be informed. Once appointed the Attorney-General may be removed from office only on the recommendation of a tribunal.
- (6) Candidates for the office of Attorney-General must have the qualifications necessary for a judge or have served in the office of the Attorney-General for at least 6 years.
- (7) The Attorney-General will be responsible for criminal prosecutions. In the exercise of his powers in this capacity he shall not be subject to the direction or control of any person or authority.
- (8) Secretaries of ministries and the Secretary to the Executive Council shall be appointed by the President on the advice of the Prime Minister. Before tendering his advice the Prime Minister will consider any recommendations by the Public Service Commission. If he departs from such recommendations Parliament will be informed.
- (9) Heads of diplomatic missions shall be appointed by the President on the advice of the Prime Minister after consultation with the appropriate commission.

IV. *The Police Force.*

- (1) The police force will be under the command of the Commissioner of Police who will be appointed by the President on the advice of the Prime Minister. Before tendering his advice, the Prime Minister will consider any recommendations made by a specially constituted board. If he departs from such recommendations Parliament will be informed.
- (2) The power to relieve the Commissioner of his appointment will rest in the President acting on the advice of the Prime Minister. Before tendering such advice the Prime Minister will consult the Executive Council. Parliament will be informed.
- (3) Subject to such general directions of policy as may be given

to him by the Prime Minister (or other responsible Minister), the Commissioner of Police will be responsible for the administration and operations of the police force. Appointments to the police force will be made on the advice of or by the Commissioner of Police. When considering candidates for appointment to vacant posts the Commissioner of Police will be required to give preference to the person who, in his opinion, is the most efficient and suitable for appointment. However, in making any such decision the Commissioner of Police will be required to take account of any general policy directions given by the President which are designed to achieve a suitable representation of the various component groups of the population in the service of the State.

- (4) There will be a Police Service Commission which will consist of a chairman (who will be the chairman of the Public Service Commission) and not less than two and not more than four other members appointed by the President on the advice of the Prime Minister. The persons to be appointed as members of the Commission will be chosen for their ability and experience in administration or their professional qualifications or their suitability otherwise for appointment as members. At least one member will have held senior rank in the police service.
- (5) The functions of the Police Service Commission will be to consider grievances by members of the police force, to consider and, if it deems fit, to confirm any proposal to dismiss a member who has had more than two years' service and to make regulations for the general well-being, good administration and conditions of service of the police force.

E. PARLIAMENT

- (1) The legislature of Zimbabwe will consist of the President and Parliament, which will comprise a Senate and a House of Assembly.
- (2) An electoral law will make provision for the election of Senators and of members of the House of Assembly.
- (3) The registration of voters in elections to the House of Assembly and the conduct of these elections will be under the direction and supervision of an Electoral Supervisory Commission.
- (4) There will be provision for the establishment of a Delimitation Commission to delimit the common roll and white roll constituencies for general elections.
- (5) All citizens who are 18 years of age or over will be eligible to be enrolled as voters. There will be a common voters roll on

which will be enrolled all voters except white (including coloured and Asian) voters who, for so long as there is provision for separate minority representation in Parliament, will be enrolled on a white voters roll.

Senate.

- (6) There will be a Senate of 40 members chosen as follows:
 - a. Ten will be elected by an electoral college consisting of members of the House of Assembly elected on the white voters roll;
 - b. Fourteen will be elected by an electoral college consisting of members of the House of Assembly elected on the common voters roll;
 - c. Ten will be elected by the Council of Chiefs;
 - d. Six will be nominated by the President on the advice of the Prime Minister.
- (7) To be qualified for election or appointment as a Senator a person must be enrolled as a voter, have attained the age of 40 and have been ordinarily resident in Zimbabwe for not less than 10 years during the last 20 years. The residence qualification will not apply during an initial period.
- (8) The Senate will elect a President and a Deputy President of the Senate. A Minister or Deputy Minister will not be eligible for these posts. The President of the Senate will vacate his office on the dissolution of Parliament and may be removed from office by a resolution of the Senate supported by not less than two-thirds of all the members.
- (9) There shall be a Senate Legal Committee with powers of scrutiny over legislation.

House of Assembly.

- (10) The House of Assembly will consist of 100 members elected as follows:
 - a. Eighty members will be elected by voters on the common voters roll;
 - b. Twenty members will be elected by voters on the white voters roll.
- (11) To be qualified for election to the House of Assembly a person must be enrolled as a voter, have attained the age of 21 and have been ordinarily resident in Zimbabwe for not less than 5 years during the last 20 years. The residence qualification will not apply during an initial period.
- (12) The House of Assembly will elect a Speaker and a Deputy Speaker. A Minister or Deputy Minister will not be eligible for these posts. The Speaker will vacate his office on the dissolution of Parliament and may be removed at any time by a

resolution of the House of Assembly supported by not less than two-thirds of all the members.

- (13) A general election for members of the House of Assembly must be held within not more than 4 months of the dissolution of Parliament. Election of members of the Senate will follow within 28 days.

Procedure in Parliament

- (14) The President or the Deputy President of the Senate will usually preside over the deliberations of the Senate. The Speaker or Deputy Speaker will usually preside at sittings of the House of Assembly.
- (15) The quorum of the Senate will be one-third of all its members. The quorum of the House of Assembly will be one-fourth of all the members.
- (16) There will be a Secretary to Parliament. He and the members of his staff will be public officers.
- (17) There will be provision for the privileges and immunities of members of Parliament.
- (18) The President will have the right to address either House of Parliament or a joint meeting of both Houses.
- (19) A Minister or Deputy Minister will have the right to sit and speak both in the Senate and in the House of Assembly but will only have the right to vote in the House of which he is a member.
- (20) Subject to the provisions of the Constitution, the Senate and the House of Assembly will be empowered to regulate their own procedure.

Legislative powers of Parliament.

- (21) Subject to the provisions of the Constitution, Parliament will have full legislative powers for Zimbabwe.
- (22) The legislative powers of Parliament will be exercised through bills passed by the House of Assembly and (subject to the House of Assembly's power to override it after a period of delay) the Senate, and assented to by the President.
- (23) Parliament will not be entitled, except upon recommendation of the Prime Minister signified by him or by another Minister, to proceed upon a bill which imposes or increases taxation or imposes a charge on public funds or authorises expenditure from public funds or compounds or remits a debt due to the Government.
- (24) If the Senate does not approve within 90 days an ordinary bill (that is a bill not amending the Constitution and not a

money bill) which has been approved by the House of Assembly, the bill may be presented to the President for his assent. The Senate will not have the power to amend money bills, and in the case of such bills its power to delay will be limited to 8 sitting days.

- (25) Save as is otherwise specifically provided in the Constitution the House of Assembly will decide all questions by a simple majority of the votes of the members present and voting. The speaker or other member presiding will have neither an original vote nor a casting vote: if the votes are equally divided on any question, the motion will be lost.
- (26) Parliament will be able to amend any of the provisions of the Constitution. Any bill to that effect must be published in the *Gazette* at least 30 days before first reading in the Senate or House of Assembly.
- (27) The Senate will have the power to delay any bill to amend the Constitution for 180 days, but at the end of that period it can be sent to the President for his assent, even if it has not passed the Senate.
- (28) Except as provided in paragraphs 29 and 30, a bill to amend the provisions of the Constitution will require the votes of not less than 70 per cent of the members of the House of Assembly and, subject to paragraph 27, the votes of not less than two-thirds of the members of the Senate.
- (29) The provisions of the Constitution relating to the separate representation of the white minority in Parliament will for a period of 7 years be amendable only by unanimous vote of the House of Assembly and, subject to paragraph 27, not less than two-thirds of the members of the Senate. At the end of 7 years, these provisions shall be capable of amendment as in paragraph 28 above.
- (30) The protective provisions of the Declaration of Rights will for a period of 10 years be amendable only by the unanimous vote of the House of Assembly and, subject to paragraph 27, the votes of not less than two-thirds of the members of the Senate. But a bill which amends the Declaration of Rights in such a way as to reduce the qualifications or exceptions to those provisions will be subject to the procedure in paragraph 28 above.

Summoning, Prorogation and Dissolution of Parliament.

- (31) Each session of Parliament will be held at such place and will begin at such time as the President may determine but not more than 6 months will be permitted to elapse between the end of one session and the beginning of the next.

- (32) The President will be able to prorogue or dissolve Parliament at any time on the advice of the Prime Minister.
- (33) If the House of Assembly at any time passes a motion of no confidence in the Government and the Prime Minister does not within 3 days resign or ask for a dissolution, the President will be required to dissolve Parliament.
- (34) Unless it is already dissolved, Parliament will stand dissolved automatically at the end of 5 years from the date of the first sitting of the House of Assembly after the previous dissolution. There will be provision for limited extensions of Parliament's life if Zimbabwe is at war or in periods of emergency.

F. THE JUDICATURE

- (1) There will be a High Court of Zimbabwe, consisting of an Appellate Division and a General Division. It will have unlimited original jurisdiction in both civil and criminal matters and such other jurisdiction as may be conferred on it by the Constitution or any other law. Appeals will lie from decisions of the General Division to the Appellate Division.
- (2) There shall be a Chief Justice and other judges of the High Court.
- (3) The Chief Justice will be appointed by the President, acting on the advice of the Prime Minister. Before tendering his advice the Prime Minister will consider any recommendations from the Judicial Service Commission. If he departs from any such recommendations Parliament will be informed before the appointment is made.
- (4) The other judges of the High Court will be appointed by the President, acting on the advice of the Judicial Service Commission.
- (5) A person will not be qualified to be appointed as a judge of the High Court unless:—
 - a. He is or has been a judge of a superior court in a country in which the common law is Roman-Dutch or English and English is an official language; or
 - b. He is, and has been for not less than 7 years, qualified to practise as an advocate in Zimbabwe or in a country in which the common law is Roman-Dutch or English and in any such case English is an official language. Experience in a country where the common law is English will count only in the case of citizens of Zimbabwe.
- (6) If the office of Chief Justice is vacant or the Chief Justice is temporarily unable to perform the functions of his office, the President will be able to designate one of the other

judges of the High Court to act in his place.

- (7) A judge of the High Court will not be removable from office before reaching retiring age except for physical or mental incapacity or for misconduct. If the President considers that the question of removing a judge on one of these grounds ought to be investigated, he will appoint a tribunal consisting of a chairman and two other legally qualified members. When that tribunal has enquired into the matter, it will report to the President and advise him whether to refer the question of the judge's removal to the Judicial Service Commission. If the Commission recommends that the President should remove the judge from office, the President will do so. When the case of the judge is being investigated by the tribunal, the President may suspend him from performing the functions of his office.
- (8) There will be a Judicial Service Commission, consisting of the Chief Justice as the chairman, the chairman of the Public Service Commission, a legally qualified person appointed by the President and a member appointed by the President, in each case acting on the advice of the Prime Minister. The Judicial Service Commission will advise the President on the appointment of judges of the High Court and of judicial officers presiding over certain courts exercising specified functions.
- (9) In carrying out its functions the Judicial Service Commission will not be subject to direction or control by any other person or authority.
- (10) The power to appoint, exercise disciplinary control over and remove from office magistrates and certain other officers, eg. registrars, connected with the High Court will rest with the Public Service Commission.

G. THE DEFENCE FORCES

- (1) All armed forces will be regulated by law. The defence forces will consist of the army, the air force and any other branch established by law.
- (2) There will be a commander of each branch. Each commander will be appointed by the President, acting on the advice of the Prime Minister. Before tendering his advice the Prime Minister will consider any recommendations made by a specially appointed board. If he departs from such recommendations Parliament will be informed.
- (3) The power to relieve a commander of his appointment will vest in the President acting on the advice of the Prime Minister. Before tendering his advice the Prime Minister

will consult the Executive Council. Parliament will be informed.

- (4) The commander of a branch of the defence forces will be responsible for that branch subject to any general directions of policy which may be given to him by the Prime Minister (or other responsible Minister) for the operations or administration of the branch concerned. Appointments within a branch will be made on the advice of or by the commander, who will be required to give preference to the person who in his opinion is the most efficient and suitable for appointment. However, in making any decision the Commander will be required to take account of any general policy directions given by the President which are designed to achieve a suitable representation of the various component groups of the population in the service of the State.
- (5) There will be a Defence Forces Service Commission which will consist of a chairman (who will be the chairman of the Public Service Commission) and not less than two and not more than four other members appointed by the President acting on the advice of the Prime Minister. The persons appointed to be members of the Commission will be chosen for their ability and experience in administration or their professional qualifications or their suitability otherwise for appointment as members. At least one member will have held senior rank in the defence forces.
- (6) The functions of the Defence Forces Service Commission will be to consider grievances by members of the defence forces, to consider and, if it deems fit, to confirm any proposal to dismiss a member who has had more than 2 years service, and to make regulations for the general well-being, good administration and conditions of service of the defence forces.

H. FINANCE

- (1) There will be a consolidated revenue fund into which all Government revenues will be paid unless they are payable by law into some other fund established for a specific purpose or are revenues that may, by law, be retained by the authority that received them for the purpose of defraying its own expenses.
- (2) No monies will be withdrawn from the consolidated revenue fund except to meet expenditure charged on that fund by the Constitution or another law; or where the withdrawal has been authorised by an appropriation act or a supplementary or additional estimate approved by or under an act

of Parliament.

- (3) No monies will be withdrawn from any public funds of Zimbabwe other than the consolidated revenue fund unless authorised by or under a law.
- (4) The Minister for Finance will be required to lay before the House of Assembly estimates of the revenues and expenditure of Zimbabwe for the next financial year. The expenditure included in those estimates (other than expenditure charged on the consolidated revenue fund) will then have to be authorised by an Appropriation Act.
- (5) Provision will be made for supplementary or additional estimates to be laid before the House of Assembly for expenditure not covered by the Appropriation Act or if unauthorised expenditure has taken place.
- (6) There will be provision under which, if the Appropriation Act for any financial year has not come into operation by the beginning of that year, the President will be permitted to authorise the withdrawal of monies from the consolidated revenue fund for the purpose of meeting necessary expenditure until the end of the first 4 months of the financial year or until the Appropriation Act comes into operation, whichever is the earlier.
- (7) The public debt of Zimbabwe, i.e. all debt charges for which the Government of Zimbabwe is liable, will be charged on the consolidated revenue fund.
- (8) There will be a Comptroller and Auditor-General who will be appointed by the President on the recommendation of the Public Service Commission. It will be his duty:—
 - a. To satisfy himself that any proposed withdrawal from the consolidated revenue fund is legally authorised and, if so satisfied, to approve it;
 - b. To satisfy himself that all disbursements and expenditure from public funds are covered by proper authority; and
 - c. At least once a year to audit all Government accounts, including the accounts of all courts which are paid for out of Government funds and the accounts of any Commission established by the Constitution, and to report on that audit to the House of Assembly through the Minister of Finance.For this purpose he will be entitled to have access to all relevant books and documents. In the exercise of his constitutional functions, he will not be subject to the direction or control of any other person or authority.
- (9) The Comptroller and Auditor-General will be removed

from office only by the affirmative vote of an absolute majority of the House of Assembly.

Pension rights of public officers.

- (1) The Constitution will contain provisions relating to pensions payable in respect of service of a public officer.
- (2) The pension benefits to be paid to a public officer will be those applicable at the time he began his service or those provided under any subsequent law not less favourable to him.
- (3) All pensions benefits payable by the State will be a charge on the consolidated revenue fund.
- (4) Any person who is entitled to receive pension benefits may, if he is ordinarily resident outside Zimbabwe, have them remitted to him outside Zimbabwe free of any deduction, charge or tax in respect of its remission.

I. OMBUDSMAN

- (1) There will be an Ombudsman, who will be appointed by the President on the advice of the Judicial Service Commission.
- (2) The duty of the Ombudsman will be to investigate complaints against action taken by any employee of the Government, other than a member of the defence forces or police force, or by any employee of a local authority, where no legal redress or right of appeal to a court exists.

Text supplied by British Information Services, Johannesburg

2. Pre-independence arrangements for implementing the Constitution

(1) British proposals of 22 October 1979

1. The British Government puts forward the following proposals for implementing the Independence Constitution.
2. The Independence Constitution ensures that the future Government will have the power to carry out the policies on the basis of which it is elected and that the services of the State will be at its disposal in doing so.
3. The elected Government will be chosen by the people in fair elections, in which all the parties will be free to participate. Until it takes office, nothing should be done which prejudices or pre-empt the freedom of choice of the people of Zimbabwe.

4. The election of the House of Assembly, which is the first step in the implementation of the Independence Constitution, will take place under the following conditions:
 - a. The administration of the election will be scrupulously fair and impartial as between all the political parties;
 - b. Peaceful political activity will be freely conducted by all the parties to the election; and
 - c. All the parties will have free and uncensored access to all the public media.
5. It will be the constitutional responsibility of the British Government, as recognised in the Lusaka communique,¹ to ensure that these requirements are met.
6. To fulfil this responsibility, the British Government are prepared to appoint a Governor, who will be British. The Governor would have executive and legislative authority. All political leaders will commit themselves to the election campaign.
7. To supervise the elections, there will be an Election Commissioner, with supporting staff, appointed by the British Government. His task will be to supervise all aspects of the organisation and conduct of the elections.
8. Commonwealth observers will be present to witness the elections.
9. To enable the parties to satisfy themselves that the elections are fair and impartial, there will be an Election Council. The Council will be chaired by the Election Commissioner and parties taking part in the election will be represented on it. The Council and its individual members will be able to make representations to the Commissioner and to the Governor on any matter concerning the elections.
10. The Governor's instructions will require him to do all things necessary to secure compliance with the conditions for free and fair elections. The commanders of the security forces will be responsible to him.
11. The Governor will assume authority over the civil police. They will be responsible, under his supervision, for the maintenance of law and order.
12. There will be agreement between the opposing forces regarding a ceasefire and disengagement of their respective forces.
13. As soon as the election results have been declared and a Government has been formed, Zimbabwe will become independent.

1. See *Southern Africa Record* no. 18, December 1979, p. 35

(ii) British proposals of 2 November 1979

1. The British Government puts forward the following proposals for implementing the Independence Constitution in amplification of those tabled on 22 October.
2. Rhodesia continues to be part of Her Majesty's dominions. The Government and Parliament of the United Kingdom have responsibility and jurisdiction for and in respect of it. It is for the British Parliament to grant legal independence to Rhodesia.
3. An Independence Constitution has been agreed by the parties subject to agreement on the arrangements for implementing it. The Constitution gives full effect to the principle of genuine majority rule and will give the Government of independent Zimbabwe the powers it needs to carry out the policies on the basis of which it is elected.
4. The question of majority rule, which gave rise to the war has therefore been resolved. The question now at issue is who is to form the future independence Government. The British Government's position is that this must be decided by the people of Zimbabwe, in free and fair elections in which all parties will be able to take part on equal terms. The British Government will transfer power to whatever leaders are chosen by the people of Rhodesia in elections held under these conditions and supervised under the British Government's authority. The British Government will not be prepared to transfer power to any party which has not won it in elections. The elections will be held on the basis of the Independence Constitution and all parties will be expected to abide by it. All parties taking part in the elections will also be expected to commit themselves to abide by the outcome. Such a commitment will be essential if Zimbabwe is to come to independence in peace and with a prospect of stability and prosperity for all its people.
5. The proposals put to the conference by the Salisbury Delegation and the Patriotic Front showed that there was a wide divergence on views on how to create the conditions in which fair elections can be held.
6. The Salisbury Delegation maintained that they had been elected to govern Rhodesia, that most of their members had nothing to do with the illegal Declaration of Independence, that they had a mandate to govern Rhodesia, and that they should do so during the interim period. Elections should be supervised by the British Government, but they would continue to administer the country.

7. The Patriotic Front's position was set out in the paper on transitional arrangements which they circulated early in the course of this conference and later amplified. Their proposals called for complex power-sharing arrangements in the interim and restructuring of the police and security forces in advance of the election.
8. Against this background, the British Government has reached certain conclusions. In the first place, the purpose of the pre-independence arrangements is to allow the parties to put their case to the people under fair conditions. The pre-independence period should not be concerned with the remodelling of the institutions of government. This will be a matter for the independence Government elected by the people of Rhodesia. The essential requirement is that all parties should be free to put their policies to the people and should commit themselves to abide by the people's choice. The purpose of the interim period should be *peaceful competition for power*.
9. Secondly, the British Government proposes that the administration of Rhodesia during the election should be entrusted to the authority of the British Government, while the leaders of all parties explain their case to the people.
10. Thirdly, the British Government has concluded that, against the background of a war and the certain difficulties of a cease-fire, an interim period must not be excessively protracted, but must allow all the political parties adequate time to put their case to the people of Rhodesia. The longer the interim period lasts before the people of Rhodesia are given the chance to decide their political future for themselves, the greater will be the period of political uncertainty and the greater the risk of a break-down of the cease-fire. It is in the interests of the people of Zimbabwe that they should be enabled to choose their future leaders as soon as is reasonably possible.
11. Finally, it is clear to the British Government that whatever arrangements are proposed for the interim will be effective only if there is a genuine commitment by both sides to make them work. It is in the interests of all parties to this conference that there should be an end to the fighting and free and fair elections. The British Government is prepared to ensure the conditions under which those objectives can be achieved, but it can do so only if both sides accept its authority and its determination to ensure the impartiality of the election process.

THE MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT

12. The British Government believes that it is only through a direct British involvement that conditions for elections, acceptable to both sides, can be created. To set in train the process which will enable free and fair elections to be supervised under its authority, as was agreed at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting at Lusaka, the British Government will appoint a Governor for Rhodesia, who will be British. The Governor's instructions will require him to do all things necessary to secure compliance with the conditions for free and fair elections.
13. The Governor will be established under an order in council which will confer on him executive and legislative authority. He will act according to the instructions given to him, for the fulfilment of his tasks, by the British Government. The Governor will have power to make laws by ordinance for the peace, order and good governance of the country. Legislative authority will not be exercised by any other body. Executive authority will be vested in the Governor and all public officers and authorities in Rhodesia, including the civil service, the police and the defence forces, will be required to comply with the Governor's directions.
14. There will be a Deputy Governor, who will be British. The Governor will also have a military adviser, police adviser, legal adviser and political adviser and such other supporting staff as the British Government may decide are necessary to enable him to discharge his functions effectively, all of whom will be British. In the day-to-day administration of the country, the Governor will, however, work through the existing public service. The British Government see no practical alternative to this. It will be for the Governor to ensure that his authority is effectively and impartially exercised.
15. The order in council providing for the establishment of the office of Governor will serve as the Interim Constitution of Rhodesia. Provision will be made to carry forward existing laws. It will be for the Parliament chosen in free elections to decide which laws shall be continued and which shall be changed. It will be the Governor's duty to ensure that powers conferred by existing laws on public officers and authorities are not used in an arbitrary manner, or in such a way as to affect the conditions for free and fair elections. Allegations of improper activity by any public authority or any political party or its representative in the election campaign may be brought to the attention of the Governor or

- his deputy who will cause them to be dealt with.
16. All persons detained arbitrarily and on political grounds by any party will be released. The Governor will order a review of any such cases within his jurisdiction. The British Government will require to be satisfied that similar procedures will apply in the case of persons detained outside Rhodesia.
 17. Once the Governor has arrived and his authority has been accepted in Rhodesia, Rhodesia will have returned to lawful government as a part of Her Majesty's dominions.
 18. The Governor will proceed to Rhodesia as soon as possible after the conclusion of the constitutional conference. He will assume responsibility for the government of Rhodesia. All the political leaders will commit themselves to the election campaign. Bishop Muzorewa and his colleagues will not exercise ministerial functions during this period. The Governor will be responsible for the administration of the country on a caretaker basis. Heads of ministries will report to him.

THE RETURN OF CITIZENS LIVING OUTSIDE RHODESIA

19. Many thousand of Rhodesian citizens are at present living outside the country. Most of them wish to return and it will be desirable that as many as possible should do so in order to vote in the election. The return of all refugees will be a task requiring careful organisation, but a start should be made in enabling the refugees to return to their homes as soon as possible; and the British Government will be ready to assist with the process. The task of effecting the return of all refugees will need to be completed by the independence Government in co-operation with the Governments of the neighbouring countries.

LAW AND ORDER

20. In the event of an effective cease-fire the necessity for martial law will disappear. The task of maintaining law and order in the pre-independence period will be the responsibility of the civil police. The police will act under the Governor's supervision, exercised through the police adviser and other British police officers. Special arrangements will be made by the Governor in consultation with the parties to ensure the protection of the political leaders in this period.

DEFENCE

21. The negotiation of a cease-fire will be the next task of the

conference as soon as there is agreement on the arrangements for holding elections and on the administration of the country in the interim period. Subject to this, the role of the military forces of both sides in the interim period will be to maintain the cease-fire. The commanders on both sides will be responsible to the Governor for this. The British Government proposes to establish machinery on which the military commanders on both sides will be represented, to ensure compliance with the terms of the cease-fire. The success of the arrangements proposed for the administration of Rhodesia in the period before independence will require all parties to commit themselves to accept the Governor's authority.

LEGISLATIVE PROCEDURES

22. The authority of the United Kingdom Parliament will be sought for the appointment of the Governor, the making of the independence constitution and the holding of elections under it. Legislation will be submitted to Parliament as a matter of urgency so that the Governor may, without loss of time after his arrival, take the steps necessary to allow elections to be held.
23. A bill will subsequently be introduced to provide for Rhodesia to become independent, following the holding of elections supervised by the British Government and held under the British Government's authority, and the establishment of a Government of Zimbabwe on the basis of the independence constitution.

THE ELECTIONS

24. The administrative arrangements described in this paper will be implemented in such a manner as to ensure that the elections will be held under the following conditions:—
 - the administration of the elections will be fair and impartial as between all the political parties taking part;
 - peaceful political activity will be freely conducted by all the parties to the election;
 - there will be freedom of movement, assembly and expression during the election campaign;
 - all parties will conduct their political activities within the law;
 - all the parties will have free and uncensored access to the public media to put their case to the people of Rhodesia, and there will be freedom to advertise and to publish political views in the press;

- appropriate measures will be taken to ensure the security of all parties taking part in the election campaign.
- 25. There will be an Election Council, chaired by the Election Commissioner or his nominated deputy, who will be British. The Election Commissioner will invite each party taking part in the elections to be represented on the Council. The Council will have a general consultative function. Its individual members will be able to make representations to the Election Commissioner on any matter concerning the elections. The Election Commissioner and his staff will ensure that allegations of unfair practices are properly investigated and remedied.
- 26. Commonwealth Governments will be invited to send observers to the elections. Their role will be to observe that the elections are genuinely free and fair and that the British Government is carrying out its responsibility to supervise them. No restrictions will be placed upon their movements and every effort will be made to facilitate their task.
- 27. All political parties which register for elections will be free to take part in the elections. Any order banning or restricting a political party will be revoked.
- 28. The election will be held on dates to be decided by the Governor as soon as possible after he takes up office and his authority is accepted. Three consecutive days will be set aside for polling to take place.
- 29. The British Government will take the legislative action necessary to bring into force those parts of the Independence Constitution required for elections to be held and for Parliament to be constituted in the terms of the Independence Constitution. Relevant provisions of the electoral law currently adopted in Rhodesia will be applied at the Governor's discretion.
- 30. The Governor will be responsible for all aspects of the conduct of the elections. There will be an Election Commissioner with appropriate staff appointed by the British Government who will be responsible for supervising the elections to the full extent necessary to ensure that they are free and fair as between the parties participating in them. He and his assistants will keep themselves fully informed of all matters relating to the elections and will enquire as necessary into any aspect of the conduct of the elections.
- 31. Elections for the common roll seats will be held on a party list basis. The most practical procedure may be to divide the country into districts, each of which could be allocated a number of seats in proportion to its population. The elec-

- tions on the white roll will take place on the basis of existing constituencies.
32. The Governor will fix a date not less than four and not more than six weeks before the elections on which political parties wishing to contest the elections should apply for registration, name each electoral district for which they wish to be registered and provide a list of the candidates whom they wish to nominate for each electoral district.
 33. The qualifications for voters and for candidates for election as senators and members of the House of Assembly will be as provided in the Independence Constitution, except that, in view of the special circumstances prevailing at present, residence qualifications will not apply.
 34. Registration of voters will not be required, but voters will be required as necessary to produce evidence of identity and eligibility to vote. Steps will be taken to prevent fraudulent and multiple voting.
 35. The Election Commissioner will supervise the printing and distribution of ballot papers.
 36. There will be freedom to campaign, hold political meetings and carry out canvassing. Appropriate measures will be taken by the Governor in consultation with the parties to ensure the physical security of all political leaders during the campaign.
 37. Appropriate provision will be made for the conduct of the poll, the counting of votes and the declaration of results. Every voter will be free to cast his vote for the party of his choice.
 38. Each party presenting candidates will be entitled to have one representative at each polling station in the district concerned to observe the polling. The Election Commissioner and his staff will make simple checks on polling stations throughout the country.
 39. It will be the responsibility of the Governor to ensure adequate security at polling stations and the security of the ballot boxes.
 40. The Governor, on the advice of the Election Commissioner will take appropriate steps regarding disclosure of election expenses, the definition of corrupt and illegal practices and election petitions.

CONCLUSION

41. The British Government is confident that if these arrangements are accepted by the parties, it will be possible for them to resolve their differences by political means, thereby

enabling the people of Zimbabwe to decide for themselves their future Government and enabling them and the people of the neighbouring countries to live at peace.

The British Government urges parties to take this opportunity to achieve these aims.

Text supplied by the British Information Services, Johannesburg

3. Cease-fire Agreement signed at Lancaster House on 21 December 1979

The parties to this Cease-fire Agreement have agreed as follows:

1. With effect from 2400 hours on 21 December, 1979, all movement by personnel of the Patriotic Front armed forces into Rhodesia and all cross-border military activity by the Rhodesian forces will cease. This agreement will take effect on a basis of strict reciprocity. The British Government will request the Governments of countries bordering on Rhodesia to make arrangements to ensure that externally-based forces do not enter Rhodesia. Provision will be made to permit the return of civilian personnel to Rhodesia in order to vote or engage in other peaceful political activity. Border-crossing points will be established, under the supervision of the monitoring force, for this purpose.
2. With effect from 2400 hours on 28th December, 1979, all hostilities in Rhodesia will cease. The Commanders will issue instructions to the forces under their command to ensure that all contact between the respective forces is avoided. A Cease-fire Commission will be established in Salisbury. The Chairman of the Commission will be the Governor's Military Adviser. The Commission will consist of equal numbers of the representatives of the Military Commanders of both sides. The Commission will meet as required throughout the cease-fire. Its functions will include:—
 - (a) ensuring compliance with agreed arrangements for the security and activities of the forces;
 - (b) the investigation of actual or threatened breaches of the cease-fire; and
 - (c) such other tasks as may be assigned to it by the Governor in the interests of maintaining the cease-fire.

The Commission will be independent of existing command structures and the Governor may at his discretion communicate direct with the Commanders of the Rhodesian

forces and the Patriotic Front forces concerning the exercise of their respective functions. Any member of the Commission may invite it to discuss any question which appears to him to be relevant to its functions.

3. The British Government will be responsible for the establishment of a monitoring force under the command of the Governor's Military Adviser. This force will assess and monitor impartially all stages of the inception and maintenance of the cease-fire by the forces and assist the Cease-fire Commission in its tasks. The Commanders of the Rhodesian forces and of the Patriotic Front forces undertake to cooperate fully with the monitoring force and to provide it with whatever facilities are necessary to assist it to discharge its functions.
4. Elements of the monitoring force will be assigned:—
 - (a) to maintain contact with the command structures of the Rhodesian forces and Patriotic Front forces throughout Rhodesia;
 - (b) to monitor and observe the maintenance of the cease-fire by the respective forces; and
 - (c) to monitor agreed border-crossing points and the use made of them in accordance with such arrangements as may be agreed in the context of the cease-fire.
5. Members of the monitoring force will carry weapons for their personal protection only and will be provided with vehicles and aircraft carrying a distinctive marking. The force will be equipped with an independent radio communications network.
6. The parties recognize that disengagement of the forces will be essential to an effective cease-fire and the deployment of the monitoring force. At 2400 hours on 28th December, 1979, the Rhodesian armed forces, under the directions of the Governor, will therefore disengage to enable the Patriotic Front forces inside Rhodesia to begin the process of assembly. Elements of the monitoring force will be deployed to the command structure and bases of the Rhodesian forces and to assembly places and rendezvous positions designated for the Patriotic Front forces.
7. The Patriotic Front forces at present in Rhodesia will report with their arms and equipment to rendezvous positions (RPs) and will proceed thereafter to assembly places as indicated in the Appendix to this agreement. ¹ The process of assembly will take place under the direction of the Commanders of the Patriotic Front forces and under the auspices of the monitoring force.

8. Movement to assembly places will be completed by 2400 hours on 4th January, 1980. The process of assembly will take place with the assistance of the monitoring force. Arrangements will be made for the accommodation, security and other agreed requirements of the Patriotic Front forces.
9. The Rhodesian armed forces will comply with the directions of the Governor. There will be reciprocal disengagement by the Rhodesian forces, in relation to the successful accomplishment of the assembly process by the Patriotic Front forces.
10. With effect from cease-fire day, all forces will comply with the cease-fire and with the directions of the Governor. Any forces which fail to comply with the cease-fire or with the directions of the Governor will be deemed to be acting unlawfully.
11. The primary responsibility for dealing with breaches of the cease-fire will rest with the Commanders of the forces through the mechanism of the Cease-fire Commission and with the assistance of liaison officers of the monitoring force. The Commanders will ensure, with the assistance of the monitoring force, that breaches of the cease-fire are contained and dealt with. In the event of more general or sustained breaches of the cease-fire the Governor will decide what action to take to deal with them with the forces which have accepted his authority.
12. The parties undertake to issue clear and precise instructions to all units and personnel under their command to comply scrupulously with the arrangements for bringing the cease-fire into effect. They will make announcements, immediately following the conclusion of this Agreement, which will be broadcast regularly through all appropriate channels to assist in ensuring that instructions to maintain the cease-fire reach all the forces under their command and are understood by the public in general.
13. The parties to this Agreement renounce the use of force for political objectives. They undertake to accept the outcome of the elections, to comply with the directions of the Governor and to resolve peacefully any questions relating to the future composition of the armed forces and the training and resettlement of military and civilian personnel.

1. With reference to Appendix and attachments to Cease-fire Agreement, see White Paper, *Cmd. R.Z.R. 18 — 1979. Zimbabwe Rhodesia: Proposals for Independence*, from which the above text was taken

B. STATEMENTS RELATING TO THE LANCASTER HOUSE CONFERENCE
1. Statement by the Zimbabwe Rhodesian Prime Minister,
Bishop Abel Muzorewa, on 29 October 1979

Mr Chairman, during the fifteenth plenary session at this Conference I said that I and my delegation were giving very serious consideration to the document circulated by the British Government on 22 October, which set out proposals for the implementation of the independence constitution. We raised a number of important questions with your delegation and have now given further careful consideration to both the proposals and the subsequent clarification we received.

Although we have certain reservations concerning whether all your proposals can be successfully implemented in regard to free and fair elections, my delegation and I are prepared to accept the broad principles of your proposed interim arrangements for bringing the independence constitution into effect. Our acceptance is however contingent upon agreement being reached on the definitive details, together with suitable and satisfactory arrangements for implementing these.

When I first addressed this Conference on 11 September, I declared that neither I nor my delegation would be found lacking in our efforts to seek a realistic solution to our problems; one which would enable our country and all our people to progress in peace to prosperity. This has been foremost in our minds and in our hearts throughout the whole course of our deliberations. We have, from the very beginning of this Conference, displayed the most positive, pragmatic and constructive approach to our negotiations.

We have been completely open-minded and have clearly demonstrated a sincere willingness in keeping with our democratic principles and commitment to compromise as a means of reaching a fair, honest and just solution beneficial to all our people and providing for genuine majority rule. This has always been our sole objective and to achieve it we have placed our country and our nation before any self interest.

It was within this spirit, that I and my delegation accepted the general principles of the British Government's constitutional proposals on 21 September and the proposed independence constitution on 5 October. We did so because we believe they represent a fair and reasonable approach towards resolving our difficulties. Furthermore we believe that it provides for the creation of a sound and democratic government in our independent Zimbabwe. We accepted the constitution because, in our opinion, it presents an opportunity for all our people and our country to make further substantial progress in all spheres of human

endeavour. We have maintained that same spirit through our acceptance of the broad principles for the implementation of that constitution.

We have agreed to the holding of a new election under the supervision of the British Government's authority in keeping with the requirements of the Commonwealth leaders as embodied in the Lusaka accord. This was done with resigned reluctance on our part in compliance with your request, Mr Chairman. Our acceptance was despite the fact that we consider another election superfluous and unfair since, as recently as April, our electorate was engaged in our first universal adult suffrage election. Despite potentially lethal conditions, that election was conducted freely and fairly under a completely democratic process. I must reiterate, Mr Chairman, that we have accepted the British proposals irrespective of the fact that the new election now called for is merely to accommodate those who did not participate previously purely and simply because they themselves chose not to do so. We accepted because of our supreme confidence in the wisdom of our voters to reaffirm their earnest desire for and total commitment to genuine democracy as they so clearly indicated at the previous election.

Finally, Mr Chairman, I and my delegation accept your proposals because of the understanding we received from you during the plenary session on 25 October in answer to a question raised by us that the British Government will lift sanctions as soon as our country is returned to legality. We are told that this will come about when Britain has re-established a presence in Zimbabwe Rhodesia. Our aim is identical with yours that agreement should be reached at this Conference which will allow this to happen as soon as possible. I must, however, make the point that it is our belief that sanctions should have been removed at the time we accepted the constitution. We, in fact, are of the opinion that they should be lifted immediately. Nevertheless, I and my delegation are convinced that the interests of all our people and our country will best be served through the British proposals in that the arrangements for the implementation of the new constitution will herald the fulfilment of all we are seeking — the removal of sanctions — the granting of international recognition — the reconciliation, rehabilitation and unification of our nation — the progress of our people and our country to stability and prosperity in peace.

I and my delegation firmly believe that the stage has now been reached where it is possible to move decisively forward towards a speedy and satisfactory conclusion to this Conference. We urge further progress in this regard.

2. Address to the nation by Bishop Abel Muzorewa, on 30 October 1979

As you are aware I and my delegation from your Government of National Unity accepted, on 25 September, the British Government's proposals for an independent constitution for our country.

On 29 October, we accepted the broad principles of interim arrangements proposed by the British Government for the bringing of that constitution into effect. What now remains is for us to negotiate with the British Government the definitive details of the latter proposals which would mean reaching suitable and satisfactory arrangements for their implementation.

You are, no doubt, wondering what the proposals by the British Government for implementing our independent constitution mean to you and our country. In that case let me begin to answer this by posing a number of questions. First, what are the greatest needs of our country today? In other words, what is it that we must do in the best interests of our country? How best can these needs and requirements be achieved? I am quite sure that you all know that the most important need in terms of our relationship with the world community is the restoration of international recognition we were deprived of following UDI in 1965. Fortunately, we now know that the recognition we desperately need is guaranteed under the British Government's proposals in which case the presence in Zimbabwe Rhodesia of an Executive Governor appointed by Her Majesty's Government for a period of only two months as the means of restoring international recognition is something we must all welcome; welcoming the Queen's representative in our country for a short time is a price worth paying. If there are some people who would allow personal pride and ambition to rule their hearts and their minds, this they must swallow for the sake of our country and our nation. With international recognition restored it will be possible for us to re-establish viable diplomatic, cultural and economic links with the rest of the world.

Second, we need to see sanctions lifted so that we can get on with the most important task of rehabilitating our people and rebuilding our land. The removal of sanctions will enable us to restore and revitalize our economy. It will enable us to embark on many national development projects. It will provide us with stability and prosperity and in so doing will create many, many more thousands of employment opportunities for those of you who have been thrown out of work because of recession caused

by the imposition of sanctions. Also, job opportunities will be available to our young people who have over the years, not only been forced to leave school and their homes, but have also been unable to secure employment. The lifting of sanctions, moreover, will give us enormous opportunity to improve the livelihood and standard of living our people in so many different and varied ways. It will bring the commodities to our country that we have been denied for so many years. It will enable us to work out better wages for our people. The British proposals for the arrangements for implementing the independence constitution guarantee that the sanctions imposed against our country will be removed concurrently with the establishment of a British presence through the arrival of their Governor in Zimbabwe Rhodesia.

Third, and of paramount importance, you all know very well that the country needs peace. This, of course, is catered for in the British Government's plans. You may ask, "How?" Let me tell you. Under Her Majesty's Government's plans no party, group or individual will be allowed to wage a terrorist war upon our people and our recognized country and government. This is because all parties who wish to participate in free and fair elections will be expected to do so through a completely peaceful and democratic process. It is only when they can satisfy these requirements that they will be allowed to place themselves before our electorate which will decide through the ballot box the type of government they wish to govern them and to conduct the affairs of state on their behalf.

Following such an election, all the countries of the Commonwealth who agree with the British Government to restore Zimbabwe Rhodesia to acceptability by the international community will be obliged to accept and recognize the new Government of Zimbabwe which will have been democratically elected by our people. Thus the British Government's constitutional and interim proposals mean that the Zimbabwe Government which will be formed following these elections will automatically be assured of recognition by both the British Government and the international community.

We also expect and are convinced that world opinion and international pressure will prohibit support of any who desire to resort to force as a means of attempting to subvert or overthrow the legitimate Government of Zimbabwe, popularly elected by the people in an election supervised under the authority of the British Government and observed by representatives from Commonwealth countries.

In the past few days, since our acceptance of the British Government's proposals for the interim arrangements the most persistent question put to me is; "How can you accept the British Government's proposals which are tantamount to surrendering the power given to you and your Government democratically elected by 64.8 percent of the Zimbabwe Rhodesian electorate?" My answer, with which other members of my delegation concur, is simple, it is this: as a means of achieving all the objectives I have indicated for which we have all fought over many years, the plan of the British Government requires that they have a physical presence in Zimbabwe Rhodesia for only eight weeks. We in the Government have always put national interests first and our own last. In the name of all our people, our country and our nation this is what we must do. In my opinion the British Government's proposals represent a unique challenge to all of us in that they provide opportunity for us to put into practice what I have always subscribed to in my heart and said to be the ultimate goal; that is that the interests of our people, our country and our nation have always and always will come first with my personal interest last. I would ask you, might a person, a political party or a government stand in the way of national interest merely because they are said to look foolish, humiliated, or treated unfairly? This is why we have accepted the proposals put forward by the British Government. I repeat — the country first and I and my delegation's interests last. I challenge each and everyone of you to feel and do the same.

There is another reason why I think the interim arrangements proposed by the British Government are acceptable in principle. Whenever there is a new election in any democratic country it is a normal practice of the incumbent government to suspend its activities until that election has been completed and a new government has been formed. We as the Government, therefore, accept, welcome and subscribe to this procedure. It is partly in this context that we are prepared to allow the British Governor to administer the affairs of our country and supervise elections so as to enable us to concentrate our efforts on the election campaign. The Governor will, so to speak, be directly in a most important political context so as to avoid any accusations being levelled at me as Prime Minister or any other Ministers of Government as being capable of involvement in what could be alleged as gross irregularities.

While I consider it unfair to ask the voters to participate in another election so soon after that held in April, which was democratically conducted in a free and fair manner, it is necessary that you do so to satisfy the requirements of the British

Government's proposals. This, I am convinced, will bring about all the things I have spoken about previously. I am convinced, will bring about all the things I have spoken about previously. I am convinced that you, our voters, will reaffirm your earnest desire for a total commitment to genuine democracy as you so clearly demonstrated during the last election. Because you and I have long since fought and fought for our democratic objective, I (believe) we can together once more undertake elections with self confidence, determination and an undaunted spirit.

Let me emphasis what I have said earlier, that certain of the British Government's proposals for the interim arrangements will meand that we shall achieve what we have all striven for and what we all need — the removal of sanctions, international recognition, peace for our land and our people, reconciliation, unification of the nation, the rehabilitation of our population and the establishment of a truly non-racial society.

I thank you for remaining calm while I and my delegation have been away. I say to you, continue to be of good heart; remain united, be courageous, place your trust in me and my delegation, exercise patience just a little longer; the long road is nearing its end. Our destination is in sight. Our belief that we have all been on the Lord's side will soon be apparent. Thank you for listening to me. May God bless each and everyone of you. Goodnight.

Text supplied by the Zimbabwe Rhodesian Department of Information, Salisbury

3. Answers by Sir Ian Gilmour, the Lord Privy Seal, on 31 October 1979, to questions put forward by the Patriotic Front

At this morning's session, the Patriotic Front put forward a number of questions which I now propose to answer.

(i) *What will be the status of the Patriotic Front's forces in the interim period? Why is it that the defence forces of the regime are made responsible to the Governor but not those of the Patriotic Front?*

You would be the first to complain, Mr Nkomo and Mr Mugabe, if the Rhodesian defence forces were not made responsible to the Governor. The Governor must assume authority over all aspects of the administration of the country. When it comes to the role of military forces in this period the position will be that the Patriotic Front's forces will be responsible to the Governor, as will the Rhodesian security forces, for the maintenance of the cease-fire. No-one is talking of excluding the forces of either side. The responsibility for the maintenance of law and order in the period before the election will rest with the police.

(ii) *How can we reconcile the statement that the Rhodesian defence forces will be responsible to the Governor with the observance of a cease-fire?*

I would have thought the two elements were inextricably inter-linked. The Patriotic Front forces will also be responsible to the Governor for the maintenance of the cease-fire. The maintenance of law and order will be a matter for the police acting under the Governor's authority.

(iii) *Why will the Governor rely on the existing police?*

The responsibility for the maintenance of law and order will rest with the police. There is no practicable alternative to this. The police will act under the Governor's supervision and authority.

(iv) *Why is it not possible to have a new electoral law?*

We are talking about holding elections as soon as possible. The essential requirement is that the entire adult population should be enabled to vote; and that there should be full adequate safeguards against multiple voting and other malpractices. It will be for the Governor and the Electoral Commissioner, having consulted the parties, to assure themselves that this (* is so.)

(v) *Why can there not be an Electoral Commission as proposed by the Patriotic Front?*

The tasks proposed for the Electoral Commission in the Patriotic Front's paper were to carry out registration of voters, the delimitation of constituencies, the appointment of registering officers and to conduct the pre-independence elections. We have already explained why we do not regard the first two as feasible. The task of supervising the election is one for the British Government, and will be carried out by the Election Commissioner and his staff. We cannot have two bodies performing the same function. But our proposals do provide for an Election Council on which all parties will be represented and which will have a general consultative function.

(vi) *Why can there not be a Governing Council?*

I went into this question at considerable length this morning. It will not be the task of the political leaders in the interim period to try to conduct the administration of the country. Their tasks will be to explain their policies to the people of Rhodesia and it will be for the people to decide whom they wish to form their future government. The Governor will hold the government in trust on behalf of the people while the election campaign is fought.

(vii) *Why cannot there be registration of voters?*

We have been into this question several times already. We do not believe that the task could be completed in the conditions prevailing in Rhodesia for many months. Even in peaceful conditions a full registration would be an immense task. In the

immediate aftermath of a war, with all the consequent disruption it is simply not feasible. Registration will be a priority task for the government elected in these elections.

(viii) *Why should there be only one representative of each party at polling stations?*

This is an entirely practical question. The role of such representatives will be to assure themselves that the polling is conducted fairly. One representative is enough, although there could be rotation. Larger numbers could give grounds for accusations of intimidation or other unacceptable activities.

(ix) *Would it be the role of Commonwealth observers merely to look at the polling or would they have a part in the (*entire) electoral process? Why should there be any restriction on numbers?*

Commonwealth Governments will be invited to send observers to observe the electoral process. This does not mean that they will be present only on polling day. But it must be clear that the supervision of the elections and the administration of the country during the campaign is our responsibility. The question of limiting numbers is purely a practical one. We are not proposing at this stage a specific figure, but clearly the numbers cannot be limitless.

(x) *How will the Governor ensure that powers carried over under existing laws will not be abused? What will the Governor's powers be? Will the Conference see the order in council appointing the Governor?*

The Governor will have authority over the civil service and the police and, with the help of his advisers, will be able to supervise the activities of these bodies. If there are complaints about them, the Election Commissioner or the Governor will have to look into them. As our proposals say, the Governor will have full executive and legislative powers. I do not think that one can usefully add to that. The order in council will be published after it is made. It will state the position as I have described it, only in legal language.

(xi) *What will be the position of members of the present Government in Salisbury?*

Bishop Muzorewa and his colleagues have agreed that the British Governor will exercise executive power and conduct the day-to-day administration of the country. Bishop Muzorewa and his colleagues have agreed not to exercise their ministerial functions. It will be for the people of Rhodesia to decide who shall be their future Prime Minister and Ministers.

(xii) *What will happen to the present Parliament?*

Legislative authority will be exercised by the Governor. It will not be exercised by any other body.

(xiii) *Why are there so many references to security in the proposals?*

Obviously free and fair elections require adequate security. The cease-fire will be an essential element in this. The police, acting under the Governor's authority, will ensure law and order. Arrangements will be made for the security of political leaders campaigning; and for the security of polling booths and ballot boxes.

(xiv) *What certainty will there be that powers under existing laws would not be abused?*

The Governor's principal task will be to ensure the conditions for free and fair elections. Obviously this would be impossible if powers are abused. We hope that conditions during the elections would be as near normal as possible. If there is a cease-fire, there should be no need for martial law.

(xv) *What guarantees will there be against fraud in elections without registration?*

There are various means of ensuring that people do not vote twice. The British Election Commissioner and his staff will need to satisfy themselves that whatever methods are adopted are fully adequate for the purpose. The parties will be represented at the polling stations. It will be up to officers conducting the poll to check the eligibility of those wishing to vote. The Election Commissioner and his staff will provide supervision and there will also be Commonwealth observers.

(xvi) *Would those in detention be allowed to vote?*

We have appealed to both sides to release all persons detained arbitrarily so that they can take part in normal political activity.

(xvii) *What will be the position of auxiliaries?*

Any forces which breached the cease-fire would be answerable to the Governor.

* This may not represent the original text.

Text supplied by the British Information Services, Johannesburg

4. Extracts from a broadcast to the nation by the Zimbabwe Rhodesian Prime Minister, Bishop Abel Muzorewa, on 26 November 1979

Now I wish to observe that in addition to securing the removal of sanctions and restoring international recognition to our country, which will definitely take effect upon the arrival of the British Governor, the greatest achievement of the Lancaster House Conference was our agreement on an independence constitution. Thus I must point out what I believe are its real qualities and how viable — in my informed opinion — this document is.

First, I have been reliably informed that this British - proposed constitution is perhaps the best that the British Government has ever granted to any of her former colonies at the time of decolonisation.

Second, this independence constitution which we accepted is a just constitution for several reasons:

It is free from obnoxious elements of entrenched privileges for one section of our multiracial society;

This independence constitution makes it the best for our country because it is a firm basis for the establishment of a genuinely democratic government — it guarantees real personal freedom by its entrenchment of the basic civil liberties under the judicial Bill of Rights, and fundamentally provides for the essential democratic processes of electing the government of the day;

It provides for parliamentary representation for the minority groups (at least during the initial years of independence). It gives time to former minority rulers and the privileged to adapt themselves to the new realities of majority rule, and yet it also gives such minorities pride in participating in the building of a truly non-racial society.

Above all, it takes seriously and it fully appreciates the presence of racial minorities and goes on to provide adequate security for them. The proposed independence constitution is a great improvement on our 1979 constitution in this one important regard, that it gives adequate power to the government of the day to implement its election pledges to the nation without petty and unnecessary impediments thrown in its (government's) way by unreasonable parliamentary minority opposition. Yet, at the same time this document does not leave the citizens of this country, black, white and brown, to the tyrannical whims of ruthless and wanton dictators.

Above all, I look upon this independence constitution as a sure guarantee of true and meaningful self-determination under majority rule.

To a few racists, who are very much in the minority, the constitution which we accepted is regarded by them as a betrayal of white interests. But, thankfully, the majority of our black, white and brown people who are true humanitarians and who genuinely believe in, and are committed to, a united non-racial society, understand and appreciate that the arrangements we arrived at were the most satisfactory under existing circumstances.

It is worth noting that the kind of statements being made and the rumours being circulated, which tend to spread gloom and despondency, are coming from the same kind of persons who, not so long ago, said they would introduce a scorched-earth policy and threatened to leave the country if the majority should ever rule. I hope those whites who are not racists will not be influenced or misled by such people.

.....
Another important part of our Lancaster Conference result is the necessity to hold fresh elections. Traditionally there are two ways of testing the acceptability of a newly proposed constitution and political order: by referendum or by a general election.

It has been necessary, therefore, that a general election be chosen in our case, as the way to introduce our legal independence constitution as proposed by the British Government. Although the present majority party in Government was elected overwhelmingly by an unprecedented poll of 65 per cent it is even more important for the future governing party to receive a fresh mandate from the electorate.

When the British Governor comes to our country, preparations to hold elections will be put into gear immediately — whether the Patriotic Front chooses to participate or not and whether there is a cease-fire or not. Our preference as a Government of National Unity, is that all parties be free to participate and that these elections are better conducted under cease-fire conditions. Therefore, election campaigning will soon be with us as a prelude to the day when we shall be charged with the responsibility of selecting our next Government.

Text supplied by the Zimbabwe Rhodesian Department of Information, Salisbury

5. Statement on the appointment of a British Governor for Rhodesia, by Sir Ian Gilmour, the Lord Privy Seal, in the House of Commons on 7 December 1979

I told the House on 5 December that we were making plans to send a Governor to Salisbury in the next few days. I can now inform the House that HM the Queen has been pleased to approve the appointment of my Rt Hon. and noble friend, Lord Soames, as her Governor of Rhodesia during the interim period. Lord Soames will arrive in Salisbury in the course of the next week. In view of the exacting nature of the tasks which the Governor will have to fulfil during this period, the Government thought it right to recommend the appointment of a senior member of the cabinet with wide ministerial experience.

The Deputy Governor will be Sir Antony Duff, Deputy to the Permanent Under Secretary of State of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

The Government are thus demonstrating the great importance that they attach to the fulfilment of their responsibility to provide the conditions in which free and fair elections can be held, as the means of bringing Rhodesia to independence on the basis of genuine majority rule. When the Governor arrives in Salisbury and his authority is accepted, Rhodesia will return to legality.

It was later announced that Sir John Boynton, former Chief Executive of Cheshire County Council, would be the Election Commissioner during the interim period; that Mr J.A. Vumber would be the deputy Election Commissioner; that Major General John Acland would be the Governor's Military Adviser combining with this post the roles of Cease-fire Commissioner and Commander of the Commonwealth Cease-fire monitoring group; and that Sir James Haughton would be the Governor's Police Adviser.

Text supplied by the British Information Services, Johannesburg

6. Extracts from a joint press conference given by Lord Soames and Lord Carrington, British Foreign Secretary, on 7 December 1979

Lord Soames, the Patriotic Front have said that you would be fair game if you wandered into their operational area before the cease-fire. Could you give us your comment on that please?

Lord Soames: Well that's a hypothetical situation, but I'm sure that good arrangements will be made to look after me when I get there in all circumstances. But I'm not going there in a defiant attitude. I'm going there to try and help.

Isn't it rather premature to be sending the Governor out since the crucial parts in the small print are very far from being settled yet?

Lord Carrington: As you know, on Wednesday we agreed on the ceasefire proposals and we have left some details to be settled. As Mr Mugabe said on that occasion at the Plenary Conference, there were some details that wanted clarifying. I think there are obviously important details, and I think what we have got to do, as quickly as we possibly can and we are doing it now, is to reassure both sides — because both sides need reassuring — that the details of the plan that we have put forward are reasonable and are fair to everybody. In my judgment this is so. We shall over the weekend be working hard at this and I have no doubt whatever we shall succeed. As I said on the last occasion that I spoke to you, there really is an urgency about this: I'm quite certain that this has got to be done quickly and I'm quite certain that it is possible to do it quickly. I'm sure it's right that we should announce the appointment of Lord Soames and that we should have said that he will be there in the course of the next week, because I'm quite certain that we can tie all this up.

May I ask whether Lord Soames will go irrespective of whether the agreement is finalised before he is due to go?

Lord Carrington: We've got agreement to our ceasefire proposals, but I think that will depend on the circumstances at the time. There are certainly details to be tied up this end, but there are also preparations to be made the other end so we must play the thing as we go along.

.....
Lord Soames, have you a timetable for your role here? Will there come a point, say in March or even after that when you feel you ought to come home?

Lord Soames: When the elections are over and a government has been formed and independence granted. But it's not a particular date, it's a particular circumstance.

I wonder if Lord Soames can say what his attitude would be to the guerillas if, as the governing authority in Rhodesia, the war is still going on for some time yet?

Lord Soames: Lord Carrington as Chairman of this Conference has got it on a long way. This isn't the first time that difficulties have been foreseen and been got over. It's got a long way now and I see no reason why with goodwill the ceasefire should not be arrived at.

Would either Lord Carrington or Lord Soames actively encourage a pre-electoral coalition?

Lord Carrington: Well I would have thought that that is a matter for the parties concerned. It does not seem to me to be the job of the British Governor to tell the people of Rhodesia before or after an election how they should run their affairs.

The whole object of this Conference and the whole object of the British Government's policy has been to enable the people of Rhodesia to vote in a free and fair election and to make up their own minds what they want. If they want a coalition so be it; if they don't so be it. But I don't believe it's our business to either discourage or encourage them.

.....
Do you think it is fair to confine the Patriotic Front forces to fifteen assembly points while the Rhodesian forces will have more than fifteen bases, if not sixty or one hundred at their disposal? The second question is — my apologies in advance to Lord Carrington — we've got information to the effect that you have investments in Rhodesia. Does this or doesn't it influence your attitude to this Conference?

Lord Carrington: If I can answer the second question first, I haven't got a penny worth of investments in Rhodesia I assure you of that. With regard to your first question, these of course are the details which are being talked about now, and I wouldn't want to go into detail. I think probably all of you know what the British proposals are. We think that they are fair. What we are suggesting is that since you have two armies which are rather different in character — we don't know yet because the Patriotic Front have not yet told us what numbers of forces they have in the country or where they are, and of course if they are going to be monitored they must be assembled. What we have required is that the Rhodesian forces should be the first to disengage, then we expect that there will be an assembly by the Patriotic Front forces in 15 areas or so, and there will be no Rhodesian forces or Rhodesian police anywhere near there, there will be monitors. We know exactly where the Rhodesian forces are and they will have monitors with them too, and I see as that process goes on a reciprocal disengagement, certainly we shall, and are, trying to reassure both sides. Both sides have their doubts about this and we are trying to reassure them that this is the right way to do it.

Could I ask Lord Soames if, as a senior member of Cabinet as well as being Governor of Rhodesia, he is prepared to go out without agreement from the Patriotic Front on a ceasefire, in the context of the threat mentioned earlier?

Lord Soames: Well there is already, to very large extent, agreement and it is my hope that in the next few days we will see full agreement. I'm not contemplating anything else at the moment.

You realise that on the day of independence you have two separate armies fully armed awaiting the election result. Don't you think it will be dangerous for you or for anybody around in such a situation?

Lord Soames: Well a lot of things are dangerous in this life, but

I sincerely hope and believe that after the people of Rhodesia have been through the experience of an election, and they have accepted that this Conference has been successful and they have accepted the new Constitution and interim arrangements and ceasefire, there will be so much relief. I'm certainly not expecting them to move from the ballot box and reach for the rifle again.

Do you intend to disarm any side?

Lord Soames: I certainly do not think that Rhodesia is condemned always to war, and I think the best chance of getting away from that is to turn to the ballot box and have elections. The purpose of these sort of elections is to find what is the majority will of the country and for the country as a whole to abide by that will.

Have you met personally with Mr Nkomo and Mr Mugabe in the past few days or are you expecting to before you go to Salisbury?

Lord Soames: No I haven't but I would very much like to.

You hope to meet with them here in London for a talk before you go?

Lord Soames: I would very much like to.

There is considerable anxiety on the part of the Patriotic Front on the presence of South African military personnel in Rhodesia. How can you allay these fears and how will you be able to get rid of South African military personnel as the Governor?

Lord Carrington: There will be no external involvement after the Governor arrives. All the governments concerned know that.

Text supplied by the British Information Services, Johannesburg

7. Television address to the Rhodesian people by the Governor, Lord Soames, on 12 December 1979

It is a great honour for me to come to your country, and it is a heavy responsibility.

On this, my first day, I want to explain to all of you, to all Rhodesians, why I have come to serve here for the period which is necessary to enable elections to be held and for your country to achieve its rightful place in the international community, the prize of wide international recognition for your country will depend crucially on these elections being seen to be free and fair.

There are some things I would like to make clear from the beginning.

My aim is to work with you for a better and more peaceful future for all the people of this country: and my task is to hold the government of the country in trust while the political leaders put their case to you and seek your votes.

When you have made your choice, I shall hand over my powers to the government which you elect. Your country will then become legally independent. This is an irreversible process. My task will then be complete and I shall return to London.

My arrival here has been made possible by the achievements of all the parties at the Constitutional Conference in London. The Conference has agreed on the independence constitution, which has already been enacted by the British Government. The constitution guarantees majority rule. At the same time it provides safeguards for the minority communities. I believe that under that constitution all the people of this country will come to feel that after independence they have a secure future, under a freely elected government. The Conference is now working out the detailed application of the cease-fire plan that Britain has put forward and which we all devoutly hope will bring an end to the war. This is of greatest importance to Rhodesia.

During my brief stay here I shall be responsible for the administration of the country, working through your public service. But it will be no part of my job to take decisions or make changes except insofar as these are necessary to enable me to carry out the immediate task and to ensure that government services continue to operate effectively. Matters affecting the future of your country will be for the new government to decide when it is formed after the elections.

This will not be an easy period for any of us. In emerging from a long and bitter war, there will be many difficulties. But together we must overcome them, looking to the future rather than to the past. For a war-weary country, the prize is great.

My arrival in Salisbury marks the first step in your country's return to a normal relationship with the rest of the international community, enabling it to take its proper place in the world. The British Government has today removed sanctions against Rhodesia and looks to others to do the same.

I pledge myself to serve the interests of all of you.

I want you to understand that the next few weeks will be of crucial importance to your country — for peace, stability and progress — and I ask all the people of Rhodesia to help me in working to this end.

Text supplied by the British Information Services, Johannesburg

C. POST-CONFERENCE PERIOD

1. Resolution 463 (1980) adopted by the UN Security Council on 2 February 1980

The Security Council,

Having considered the latest developments in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe),

Recalling Security Council resolutions on the situation in Southern Rhodesia, and in particular resolution 460 (1979),

Noting that the Lancaster House Conference in London has produced agreement on the Constitution for a free and independent Zimbabwe providing for genuine majority rule, on arrangements for bringing that Constitution into effect and on a cease-fire,

Noting also that the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, having resumed its responsibility as the Administering Power, is committed to decolonize Southern Rhodesia on the basis of free and democratic elections, which will lead Southern Rhodesia to genuine independence acceptable to the international community in accordance with the objectives of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV),

Concerned at the numerous violations of the terms of the Lancaster House Agreement,

Reaffirming the need for strict compliance with the terms of paragraph 7 of Security Council resolution 460 (1979), which called upon the Administering Power to ensure that no South African or other external forces, regular or mercenary, would remain in or enter Southern Rhodesia, except those forces provided for under the Lancaster House Agreement,

1. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination, freedom, and independence, as enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, and in conformity with the objectives of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV);

2. Calls upon all parties to comply with the Lancaster House Agreement;

3. Calls upon the Administering Power to ensure the full and impartial implementation of the letter and spirit of the Lancaster House Agreement;

4. Calls upon the British Government, while noting its announcement that the South African troops have been withdrawn from the Beit Bridge, to ensure the immediate, complete and unconditional withdrawal of any other South African forces, regular or mercenary, from Southern Rhodesia;

5. Calls upon the British Government to take all necessary steps in order to ensure that eligible Zimbabwe nationals freely

participate in the forthcoming electoral process including:

- (i) The speedy and unimpeded return of Zimbabwe exiles and refugees in conformity with the Lancaster House Agreement;
- (ii) The release of all political prisoners;
- (iii) The strict compliance by all the forces with the terms of the Lancaster House Agreement and the confinement forthwith of the Rhodesian and auxiliary forces to their bases in conformity with that Agreement;
- (iv) The according of equal treatment to all parties to the Agreement; and
- (v) The rescinding of all emergency measures and regulations inconsistent with the conduct of free and fair elections;

6. Calls upon the British Government also to create conditions in Southern Rhodesia which will ensure a free and fair election and thereby avert the danger of the collapse of the Lancaster House Agreement, which could have serious consequences for international peace and security;

7. Calls upon the British Government to release any South African political prisoners, including captured freedom fighters in Southern Rhodesia, and to ensure their safe passage to any country of their choice;

8. Strongly condemns the racist régime in South Africa for interference in the internal affairs of Southern Rhodesia;

9. Calls upon all Member States of the United Nations to respect only the free and fair choice of the people of Zimbabwe;

10. Decides to keep the situation in Southern Rhodesia under review until the Territory attains full independence under genuine majority rule.

2. Statement by the Governor, Lord Soames, to the Election Council, on 5 February 1980

As you all know, the parties to the Lancaster House Conference solemnly undertook, when they signed the final conference documents on 21 December, to campaign peacefully and without intimidation, to renounce the use of force for political ends, and to accept the outcome of the elections and instruct any forces under their authority to do the same.

It is my task as Governor to do everything in my power to establish and maintain the conditions in which a free, fair and peaceful election can take place. I intend to carry out that responsibility and to take now whatever additional powers are necessary for that purpose. But there is a heavy responsibility also on all

the parties themselves to play their part in ensuring that their followers and supporters comply with the spirit and the letter of the Lancaster House agreement.

I regret to say that there is mounting evidence of widespread and even systematic disregard of these aspects of the Lancaster House agreement. Almost daily there are reports of attacks on party officials and their homes, of intimidatory statements at the meetings of certain parties, of meetings not being allowed to be held in certain areas and of attacks on members of the public which show every sign of being politically motivated. People have been told that if they do not vote according to the wishes of a party, the war will continue or they will be killed. The horrifying attacks on buses which took place last weekend are being investigated by the police. But they cannot be explained as incidents of mere banditry.

I also have to consider what the parties themselves can do to help reverse this trend towards increasing political violence and the use of threats for political purposes. I naturally expect every party to have issued the strictest instructions to its officials and supporters to campaign peacefully. But if this has been done, it has in some cases clearly not been effective.

I believe that the time has now come when it is essential for each party to give the clearest and most public lead it can to all its followers, and to the public at large, in order to dissociate itself from political violence and intimidation. This is one of the onerous responsibilities which lies on the shoulders of party leaders. That is why I am asking you, the members of the Election Council, to agree today to recommend to your party leaders that each of them should sign the document which has been distributed to you, and which will constitute a solemn rededication to the undertakings entered into at Lancaster House. For those parties which were not represented at the Conference, this will be an opportunity for them to accept those undertakings directly, which I am sure they will be glad to take.

But the signing of this document can only be one step. It must be followed by action, and quickly, if the people are to be reassured and if we are to achieve an election free of recrimination and dispute. I am calling on all of you today to fulfil your responsibilities in this respect, as I intend to fulfil mine.

It is of the utmost importance that this wave of violence and of intimidation should be turned back. It would be intolerable for any party to be allowed to derive electoral advantage from the use of such tactics. I would remind you all of what Lord Carrington said in this regard in his closing speech at the Lancaster House Conference. The people have a right to the protection of

the law, and a right also to make up their minds about their political future without fear of consequences, however they may choose to cast their votes. All of us who have power to influence events have a duty to see that the hopes which were raised by the Lancaster House Conference and the conclusion of the ceasefire agreement are not disappointed.

Text supplied by Southern Rhodesian Department of Information, Salisbury

3. Statement in the UN Security Council by Mr Donald McHenry, United States Ambassador to the UN, on 5 February 1980; following the Council's adoption of Security Council Resolution 463 (1980)

We meet here today to discuss difficulties which have arisen in the implementation of the Lancaster House Agreements in Rhodesia. We should do so with perspective. The Lancaster House Agreement represents a great achievement, an extraordinarily significant and hopeful step in the long search for peace in Southern Rhodesia and in Southern Africa.

A year ago, despite years of diplomatic activity and consultation, efforts to find a settlement had reached a stalemate. The parties could not be brought together at a single conference to discuss ways in which the question of true independence for Rhodesia might be achieved. Efforts by the Smith regime to further consolidate an "internal settlement" were going ahead at full speed.

Concurrently the war and killing were escalating. Today, a different picture is before us. The parties at Lancaster House — in an historic display of diplomacy, compromise and dedication to peace — negotiated a framework for an internationally accepted transition to independence in Rhodesia. Credit for this achievement goes to all the participants — to the United Kingdom, under whose aegis the negotiations took place, to the Patriotic Front which combined statesmanship and compromise, to the African front line states without whose support there could have been no agreement, and to the former Muzorewa Administration and white citizens for accepting the uncertainties inherent in the settlement, and for their recognition that change in Rhodesia was inevitable and that they should participate peacefully in the process of change. The parties decided to compromise in the interest of a settlement; it was a decision to lay aside the gun and trust in the ballot box.

None of us expected that the process of implementation would be without difficulty. It could not be otherwise. Hostilities

were in progress; years of distrust have to be overcome. Moreover, the provisions of the Lancaster House Agreement are not self-enforcing. In most cases it is not a question of violations of the agreements. Differences which were sure to arise are subject to differing interpretations and judgments; the parties view difficult decisions from different perspectives and interests.

What has occurred in the short time since the Lancaster House Agreement was concluded? A ceasefire is in place. The principal leaders of the Patriotic Front have returned back to their country: they returned to enormous welcome and are now engaged in active campaigning. Zimbabwe national exiles are returning in large numbers. The security situation is improving. Even the discordant note which was the principal reason for the Council's current consideration — the presence of a South African force at Beit Bridge — has been removed.

All parties should seek to build on these achievements and, indeed, try to maintain and enlarge the confidence and trust necessary to carry the transition to a successful conclusion.

It is clear that violations of the ceasefire are not monopolized by any one party. Some of the violations and allegations of breaches of the ceasefire have undoubtedly been due to misunderstandings; some seem deliberate. We know that the task of Lord Soames is difficult. At times it must be thankless, as his efforts to demonstrate sensitivity to the concerns of one party inevitably result in suspicions from others. We believe that Lord Soames is trying to ensure that the process of transition will be fair to all participants. All parties should adhere to the terms of the Lancaster House Agreement. Force should be used as a last resort only after other methods to ensure compliance have failed, and even then in such a way as to reduce suspicions of bias. We believe it is essential that all parties co-operate in taking steps beforehand to ensure that force is not required to achieve compliance. We hope that the achievements made thus far will continue to be expanded, that violence will continue to decline, and in fact will end.

Those of us who are not parties to this difficult Agreement should exhibit forbearance in our criticism. In particular, we doubt that the British need a lecture on the conduct of free and fair elections from some who obviously have no experience with such elections. The United States supported the resolution before us today; in doing so we wish to make it clear that we do not accept the charges of British violations of the Lancaster House Agreement. We do not view the present resolution as in any way affecting or interpreting the provisions of the Lancaster House Agreement.

We do not presume to put ourselves in the difficult position of making those daily judgments which can only be made by those with responsibility. We view the resolution as calling upon the British Government and the parties to do those things which the British Government is already trying to do and which it could accomplish with greater certainty if only the parties would increase their co-operation.

Mr President, the objective of this council is not merely the passage of a resolution, nor is it the holding of an election. Rather it is the conduct of free and fair elections which lead to that level of political consensus which provides the basis for democratic government. That is our goal for Southern Rhodesia.

Text from Washington Viewpoint, no. 7

4. Extracts from ZANU (PF) Election Manifesto*

I. INTRODUCTION: WHY ZANU IS FIGHTING THE COMING ELECTIONS

Since its inception in 1963, ZANU has always been a revolutionary Party championing the cause of the people of Zimbabwe not by mere words of appeal to the British Government or to the United Nations but by action, action and consistently more action. ZANU has thus always been an action Party for that is what any revolutionary Party should be. Through its armed struggle ZANU alone has been responsible for the constitutional change that moved first, the racist settler regime, and secondly, the settler puppet regime. It was ZANU's revolutionary programme and the sacrifices of its leadership, ZANLA Forces, and the revolutionary broad masses that brought about the Lancaster House Conference. Without the blood of ZANU fighters and ZANU supporters, U.D.I. would have easily succeeded and oppressive settler rule continued. ZANU's Liberation War will be remembered by our future generations for hundreds, indeed, thousands of years to come. ZANU is history itself, for ZANU has created a revolutionary history for the people of Zimbabwe. How has ZANU achieved this?

- a. ZANU was the first nationalist Party to have chosen armed struggle as the principal means of removing colonial oppression and achieving People's Power.
- b. ZANU was, therefore, the first nationalist Party to launch armed struggle in Zimbabwe.
- c. ZANU was the first nationalist Party to become a truly revolutionary Party with a definite programme to mobilise the unite the broad masses of Zimbabwe behind armed struggle aimed at their liberation.

- d. ZANU was the only Party to have succeeded in destorying the enemy's strength and creating liberated zones in vast areas of the country, while the extent of its operations covered up to 90 per cent of the total land area.
- e. ZANU was the only revolutionary Party which won the support and admiration of the Zimbabwean masses because of the deeds of its daring, dauntless, and valiant ZANLA Forces which destoryed the enemy's military, political and economic power.
- f. ZANU is the only revolutionary Party responsible for bringing about the Lancaster House Conference and the resultant Constitutional settlement, because without armed struggle that settlement would never have occurred.
- g. ZANU is the only Party whose action programme really overthrew the settler-puppet regime.
- h. ZANU is the only Party which has any revolutionary standing, does what it says, acts more and talks less, makes promises and fulfils them.
- i. ZANU is the only Party whose leadership is revolutionary clear, honest, brave, courageous, selfless, people-loving and people-oriented.
- j. ZANU is the only Party which loves the People and which all the People love; ZANU is indeed the People's Party — a Party based on People's wishes, and a Party determined to achieve People's Power.

II. PARTY POLICY

A. Aims and Objects

When ZANU was formed, it stated its main objective in the preamble to its Constitution as the Liberation of Zimbabwe from bondage and the establishment of a nationalist, socialist pan-Africanist and democratic Republic of Zimbabwe. Indeed, in Part II of the Constitution which states the aims of objects of the Party, the following are clearly stated:—

1. To wage a relentless struggle against the undemocratic settler regime in Zimbabwe.
2. To establish a democratic state in Zimbabwe in which the government shall be created through ONE-MAN-ONE-VOTE and remain at all times responsible to the people.
3. To promote national consciousness and the unity of all of our people in pursuance of aims and objectives.
4. To strive for the promotion of the social educational and cultural welfare of the African people.
5. To construct Zimbabwe's economy and evolve a socialist

pattern in which the country's resources are fully tapped for the common benefit of all the people of Zimbabwe in close collaboration with the rest of the African continent.

6. To co-operate with other progressive organisations within Zimbabwe whose policies, aims and objectives are not in conflict with those of the Party.
7. To engage fully in the Pan-African struggle for the complete liquidation of settlerism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism in Africa, and to realise the complete unification of the African continent.
8. To co-operate with all nationalist movements in Africa and elsewhere whose aims, objects and policies are not in conflict with those of the Party.
9. To pursue the policy of positive non-alignment in our external relations.

ZANU has, since 1963, worked hard towards the fulfilment of these aims and objects. Its record of the struggle for a democratic society is a clear, proud and incontestable one. We give a brief interesting history of ZANU and the national struggle, below. We also briefly describe below, under appropriate headings, the positive work done by ZANU in establishing ties of friendship and solidarity with socialist and other progressive international forces, as well as with Liberation Movements in Africa.

General Statement of Policy

Since 1964, ZANU has issued a series of statements of its policy showing a progressive development from the early days of its existence to the present days of a more mature Party with rich revolutionary experience. Thus the Policy Statement adopted at the Gwelo Congress in 1964 was later followed by Mwenje No. 1 and Mwenje No. 2 which were later complemented by enunciated statements of the Central Committee as it met in Mocambique. The statements show a historical development in ZANU's thought resulting in the transformation of a Party with no military experience to one with a wealth of armed revolutionary experience. Our thinking accordingly reflects the growth we alone have had from a nationalist political party to a revolutionary vanguard movement with a large and ever growing Army - ZANLA - spearheading the revolution. It is no other instrument than CHIMURENGA which has transformed ZANU and, through ZANU, the People of Zimbabwe.

ZANU's Twelve Beliefs

The main principles of ZANU Policy which govern the National Programmes of ZANU are the following Beliefs:—

1. ZANU as a *People's Party*, believes that the People as a whole must come before individuals. This means that ZANU considers the common interest of the People before it considers the interest of individuals or of groups. Zanu is a People oriented Party.
2. ZANU believes that power must vest in the People both in respect of the Party and in respect of the Government of the country. This is why ZANU wants democracy in Zimbabwe, requiring that there should be democratic elections based on adult suffrage to enable the People to choose their own Government.
3. ZANU believes that the *People's Power* must not only be realised in respect of Parliament and the Government, but also in respect of the institutions of Government -the *Public Service*, the *Army*, the *Police Force* and the *Judiciary*. Those who run and control these service of the State must be men who hold their positions on the wishes of the People as reflected through their chosen Government.
4. ZANU believes that in as much as the country belongs to the *whole of our People* or to our *People as a whole*, the resources of our country such as land, the rivers, the minerals, the forests, the mountains, the beasts, the birds, and even insects, are ours together. They are given us together by Nature or by God and should thus belong to the *People as a whole*.
5. ZANU believes that the common interests of the People are paramount in all efforts to exploit the country's resources, that the productive processes must involve them as full participants, in both the decision-making process, management and control of the industries concerned, whether primary or secondary, and in the sharing of benefits in accordance with their contribution of inputs of labour.
6. ZANU believes that educational, health and other social services must aim at the general development and sustenance of the People as a whole in relation to their intellectual, physical, and emotional capacities.
7. ZANU believes that the principle of the paramouncy of the People demands that the national concept and the sense of national belonging be made a dogma that should submerge and destory tribal, regionalistic, and racial animosity. The People as a Nation cannot necessarily be homogeneous in respect of their cultural or racial backgrounds, but this diversity of background should become more a source of our cultural wealth than a cause of divi-

sion and mistaken notions of groupist superiority philosophy.

8. ZANU believes that it will be in the interest of the People as a whole to establish friendly relations and maintain a policy of co-existence and non-aggression with its neighbours and establish solid ties of friendship on a reciprocal basis with friendly countries of the World, such friendly relations being on economic and cultural bases.
9. ZANU believes that it would be in accordance with its Pan-Africanist Policy for Zimbabwe to become a member of the Organisation of African Unity and be associated with the States of Africa in their common aspirations - political, economic and cultural - and thus play her part in consolidating the unity of Africa
10. ZANU believes that it would benefit the People of Zimbabwe internationally if they were as a Nation to join the forum of the United Nations and demonstrate their love for international peace and security alongside other Nations. Accordingly, under the United Nations, Zimbabwe would become a member of United Nations agencies and benefit from their aid programmes.
11. ZANU believes that the People of Zimbabwe must as a Nation be non-aligned and that the Republic of Zimbabwe should emphasize their neutrality as between the two World blocs by becoming a member of the Non-Aligned Movement of which (as the Patriotic Front) we are already a member.
12. ZANU believes that the People of Zimbabwe must, in order to develop their national culture and sport, interact with the peoples of other countries and exchange with cultural and sporting visits.

VI. CONCLUSION

ZANU realises that the tasks lying ahead of it, as the prospective Government, are immense. ZANU, however, derives its inspiration and confidence from the experience it has had in armed struggle. If it has fought such a hard, bitter and bloody war and succeeded, there is absolutely no reason why it must fail in governing the country in accordance with People's wishes. It was ZANU and the *People* who fought the war and won. It will be ZANU and the *People* who will govern and succeed. The *People's Power* can never fail. ZANU will always win.

ZANU wishes to give the fullest assurance to the white community, the Asian and coloured communities that a ZANU Government can never in principle or in social or governmental

practice, discriminate against them. Racism, whether practised by whites or blacks, is anathema to the humanitarian philosophy of ZANU. It is as primitive a dogma as is tribalism or regionalism. Zimbabwe cannot just be a country of blacks. It is and should remain our country, all of us together. Let us thus work together and build a nation, united and strong.

* In addition to the three sections reproduced here, the Manifesto included sections on a history of ZANU and the national struggle, on national programmes for Zimbabwe and on human rights.

5. Election Results

The British-supervised elections were held in Rhodesia in two stages. Firstly, on 14 February, 1980, elections were held for the 20 seats reserved for Whites in the 100-member House of Assembly. All 20 seats were won by the Rhodesian Front led by Mr Ian Smith.

Secondly, the Common Roll elections for the 80 seats were held over a three-day period, 27 to 29 February, 1980. Nine parties participated and a poll of over 90% was reported. The results, in which only three parties gained seats, were announced on 4 March, 1980, as follows:

Patriotic Front — led by Mr Joshua Nkomo	20 seats
UANC — led by Bishop Abel Muzorewa	3 seats
ZANU (PF) — led by Mr Robert Mugabe	57 seats

The country was divided into eight electoral districts for the elections and the results in each of these districts were as follows:

Manicaland	ZANU (PF)	11 seats
Mashonaland Central	ZANU (PF)	6 seats
Mashonaland East	UANC	2 seats
	ZANU (PF)	14 seats
Mashonaland West	Patriotic Front	1 seat
	UANC	1 seat
	ZANU (PF)	6 seats
Matabeleland North	Patriotic Front	9 seats
	ZANU (PF)	1 seat
Matabeleland South	Patriotic Front	6 seats
Midlands	Patriotic Front	4 seats
	ZANU (PF)	8 seats
Victoria	ZANU (PF)	11 seats

The legislature of Zimbabwe, in terms of the new Constitution, consists of the President and Parliament, which includes a Senate and the House of Assembly. The 40 members of the Senate were chosen after the elections for the House of Assembly, in 4 categories: (a) 10 elected by the 20 white members of the Assembly; (b) 14 elected by the other 80 members of the Assembly; (c) 10 elected by the Council of Chiefs; and (d) 6 nominated by the President on the advice of the Prime Minister.

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