

أعدها خليل توما، رودسيا: أملاً جديداً للقلعة القديمة "مادة بحثية" بيت جالا

الإنجليزية والتي وجدت تتضمن هذه الوثيقة المكتوبة بخط اليد باللغة مؤرخة في تسع ضمن مجموعة "خليل توما" الأرشيفية، مادة بحثية غير جديداً للقلعة القديمة؛ صفحات أعدها خليل توما وهي بعنوان "رودسيا: أملاً رودسيا والتي بحيث يقدم فيها توطئة تاريخية عن الوضع السياسي في الأسئلة البحثية ومنها تعرف حالياً بزيمايوي وذلك عبر طرح مجموعة من الجادة بالإضافة إلى كيف لرودسيا أن تكون على حافة هذه التغييرات الأمريكية الذي تمخض عنه تعجبه من تدخل بريطانيا والولايات المتحدة إنشاء مستعمرة بريطانية فيها آنذاك.

Khalif Touma

RHODESIA— A NEW LIGHT FOR THE OLD CASTLE

- The Country on the Threshold of Serious changes.
- Why are Britain and U.S.A. involved and interested in a Settlement: ??
- Why did Ian Smith Set for talks with the Africans?
- The Agreement with the "moderates" and its reactions
- The Patriotic Front owns the future.

History has always demonstrated the presence of justice at the right time. It taught generations after generations that there is no place for the racial movements. Under the Sun of Liberty, especially in our Century, which is considered the century of revolutions. The colonialists who ~~draped~~ Africa one day paid and will pay the price too high; now their very existence in the last strongholds of the continent is in danger and likely to fall down any day.



The Rhodesian ~~white~~ white regime, seems to be feeling the end coming soon, so it is striking madly every where; sending innocent people to jails and gallows, too many stories infiltrated from that big jail; one of them is sending the 27 years old activist to the gallows, because he called for volunteers for the guerrilla. It did not help him ^{who} being a member in Bishop Muzorewa's party. Hanging normally takes place on Tuesday morning, without informing the infected families or even allowing them to see their sons for the last time. Tuesday seems to be a special day in the colonialist mentality; the hanging of the three early Palestinian defendants also took place early morning of a Tuesday in 1929. The story of Elias Nyamadzayo, is another example for the brutality of the racists; the 48 years old man stood in the court room, barefooted, hand cuffed, to receive his 15 years hard labour sentence, just because he failed to report three visits by black guerrillas to the labourers compound. The regime does not hesitate to use the detentions without trial - which is known here as the Administrative Law - which means that people are guilty unless proved otherwise.

1, 2, 3, 4 John F. Burns "Rhodesian Black to third harshly,"
Herald Tribune Feb 14:78 p.5

Britain's colonialism is the legal father of this racial regime in Rhodesia, so it is not unexpected to be involved or interested in playing a role in the political movements to find an exit for the years Stunned Problem. The national movement insists that "the only forum capable of yielding a possible acceptable agreement is that between Britain as the colonial ruler and ourselves as the representatives of the people of Zimbabwe"⁵. We must carefully notice that the motive behind all the political scenes that Andrew Young and Owen are producing nowadays, is their fear from the victorious African national movement, which purified the sacred soil of Africa in many parts from adventurers and thieves, they clearly believe that they should take a major and main role in solving this problem, before the national patriotic front turns to the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries for help or follow the Angolan style, which will spread the "red color" on new African areas and thus threatens the imperialist's interests in the Virgin Continent. Andrew Young, the U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. who was appointed by the Administration to deal with the Rhodesian question, seemed to be clever enough to try to convince the Africanists that "the motives of the U.S. policy is not the danger of Communism, but the General welfare of the continent and finding African solutions for African problems"⁶. but it is clear enough that Young is like Kissinger who was supporting through the C.I.A. the pro-Western leaders and factions⁷. And to formulate a peace plan for Rhodesia⁸ would serve the Capitalist world and - they think - would pull the carpet from under the feet of the leftist movements and Communism in Africa. It is well noticed as a result that there is a struggle within the Carter Administration as to the response to growing Soviet and Cuban involvement in Africa⁹, one of these responses is Young's diplomatic game.

The arrogant Sir Ian Smith, however, was obliged to bend the knee to the will of the African masses, though cunningly this time, he was forced to sit and talk with three moderate leaders, to discuss a settlement. Smith was indulging in his economical problems, his economy was actually deteriorating; Mr J. Randall⁹ The Herald Tribune reporter sent a very gloomy picture of the situation there:

- number of bankruptcies
- fall of production by 71% for the 3rd successive year.
- very acute unemployment
- white emigration increased to more than ten thousand last year.
- one million dollars is the cost of war against the Rhodesians daily.
- Worst tourist year since 1950³.

in addition, the business community confesses that Rhodesia is living on discreet South African financial support. I do agree with Mr Randall that the economical deterioration played a major role in accelerating Smith's agreement with the moderates, but we must see also the historical changes in the political map of Africa, which consists of advancing strength for the blacks, that presses on Smith and the similar rulers to think deeply and wisely in the coming days. The victorious national liberation movement has left no chance for guessing, it will achieve its goals sooner or later.

5- "Interviewed with Mugabe", Newsweek Mag, Mar 20:78

6- David O'Hanley, "African role tests opposing ideas", Herald Tribune Feb 14:78 p.1

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9- Jonathan Randall "Rhodesian economic bind seen as peace talks hurdle"
Herald Tribune Feb 16:78 p.2.

In his talks with the three moderate leaders: Bishop Muzorewa, Xosha Mabhanga Sithole, Tribal Chief Jeremiah Chimpeni, Mr Smith was able to come to good terms on February 15th, that would prolong the time of his regime's existence and would guarantee the white interests in the future. The very main points of the Agreement are: ¹⁰

- A bill of rights and protection against the nationalization or seizure of property and land.
- A free and competent judiciary
- An independent public service board, to administer affairs service
- Non political civil service, police, armed services and prison service
- Guarantees that pensions can be paid outside Rhodesia
- Permission for Rhodesians to maintain double citizenship.
- A 100 seat parliament with 28 seats reserved for whites as a blocking mechanism to assure their constitutional privileges for at least 10 years.
- Twenty whites to be elected on separate voting rolls and 8 of 16 candidates to be voted for, by black and whites on a common roll. ¹¹

As the Herald Tribune of Feb 16th 1978 noticed the majority of points were clearly intended to safeguard the economic privileges of the whites. Now the very main task in front of the interim leadership is to draw up a black majority rule constitution and to fix a date for the elections in addition to the matting up of the armed forces. ¹²

The above agreement attracted too many opposing reactions and stands. So while Mr Smith was showing his pleasure and describing the agreement as a victory for moderation, ¹³ some other whites had

12-13 "Victory for moderation seen", Herald Tribune, Feb 16:78 p.1

13- "political settlement agreed in Rhodesia" The Times Feb 16:78 p.1

other things to say; Sir Roy Welensky for example, who was the Prime Minister of old Central Africa Federation which included Rhodesia at the time, and collapsed in 1963 said: "So far so good," but like his Compatriots he said, "the agreement could prove fragile if the Patriotic Front nationalist alliance which took no part in the talks carries on the twenty years old Bush War".¹⁴ On the other hand the Rhodesian Action Party - Conservative White Group - which was crushed by Mr Smith in last year's elections described it as "a collection of paper guarantees which had proved a disaster elsewhere in Africa".¹⁵ Some blacks, however, inside Rhodesia felt that it would only increase their sufferings.¹⁶ But the most sincere and frank statement was said by Mr "Stanley Hende", an economist, who declared that: "all along, the conflict has been between the blacks and the whites. On this country now it appears that the whites have succeeded in pulling out of it and replacing him self with some blacks who will continue the quarrel with other blacks, the interim settlement can never end the war in Zimbabwe".¹⁷ Anyway the imperialistic circles did not hide their fears, that this agreement may very well be a first step towards a fierce fight against the Rhodesian interim Government, since the I.F. was exempted from the agreement; Mr A. Young expressed his fears that "the settlement could lead to another Angola type war, with up to 40,000 blacks guerrilla operating from Zambia and 40,000 from Zimbabwe and the West, unwilling to help defend the Government".¹⁸ In addition

¹⁴⁻¹⁵ "Guerrilla Leads in Rhodesia", Herald Tribune Feb 17: 78 p. 1, 2

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¹⁸ "Smith and three blacks agree", Herald Tribune, Feb 16: 78 p. 2.

The U.S. Administration voiced reservation in an initial assessment, and said "that the pact seemed only partially to answer the problems facing the country".¹⁹

Mr. Owen, however, said he hoped this would not stop the Anglo American plan for a settlement. Sources in London believed that this agreement "will create a dilemma for Dr. Brown - the foreign minister, whose efforts at finding inter-acceptable basis for an independent Zimbabwe have centered on the inclusion of all nationalist elements including the P.F."²¹. But while the British Government did not approve the agreement, the Conservative Party was very much in favour of it. Margaret Thatcher demanded the Government to approve the agreement because "it is the best hope for peace for a long time".^{21, 22}

The U.S. and U.K. seem to be saying something and doing something else. The "Economist" notices that ~~somehow~~ although they attacked the agreement they are still refusing to make any firm pronouncement. Their balancing act is trying to keep the P.F. leaders in a talking mood.²² But ~~for~~ noticing that Britain was edging towards accepting the agreement, declared "what are they going to do, run away and leave us with 30 years of trouble, the way they did in Palestine in 1948."²³ But even the two powers are split somewhat on tactics, they are agree that this agreement would prolong the Rhodesian war since the Juicilla of the P.F. did not join it.²⁴

19. "Political Settlement Agreed", The Times, Feb 16:78 P. 1
 20. "Smith, the blacks agree", Herald Tribune, Feb 16:78 P. 2.
 21. "Political Settlement Agreed", The Times, Feb 16:78 P. 1
 21-B. "A Rhodesia schism", Newswatch Mag, March 20:78 P. 24
 22. "Rhodesia", Economist, APR. 1-78 P. 55
 23-24. "A Rhodesia schism" Newswatch, March 20:78 P. 24, 23.

Bishop Muzorewa attacked P.F. as people who are dead scared of the ballot box, but ²⁵his "brave bishop" was denied the floor when he dared to make a case for the P.F. before the U.N. Security Council, the African nations were able to ²⁶provisionally to speak in the name of the people of Zimbabwe.

We do notice that the P.F. is paid the attention of all the parties involved in the problem: friends and enemies, so, it is very important to spot the lights on its points of view concerning the agreement of Feb 15th. Mr Nkomo, co-leader of the black nationalist Guechilla Alliance, the patriotic front, made it very clear that "he has no intentions of splitting any political deal with Mr Smith and returning to Salisbury to enter the multiracial interim government being established under the internal settlement plan". ²⁷ He described the blacks who signed the agreement with Smith as "puppets and stooges" and said that "nothing of which has happened in those talks will deviate the masses from their cherished goal which is the unfettered total and complete transfer of power from minority to majority". ²⁸

Mugabe, another P.F. leader said that P.F. would fight to create a marxist one party state, he insisted in an interview that "Smith must go". ²⁹ This leader who seems to be proud of his marxism indicates that he will surely ask the help of the progressive forces to give their him assistance by way of arms or humanitarian and he also revealed the human nature of the revolution when he said: "the Zimbabwean future will be non racial and so there will be not minority and majority communities, because he said: "if you create little communities based on race, then you are creating trouble for the future". ³⁰

^{25, 26} "Rhodesia schism", Newswatch mag, March 20:78 p. 23, 24
^{27, 28} "Smith, the blacks", Herald Tribune Feb 12:78 p. 1

Mr Edgar Mayo Analyses in the "New African" the response of the P.F. toward the Surreal Questions of the present and the future in the following points:

- The P.F. condemn the unilateral Settlement but not because Mugabe and Nkomo feel they have been upstaged.
- The Settlement have been held under the auspices of South Africa's racial regime.
- The P.F. is worried about the danger of the future usage of Zimbabwe and turn it to a progressive country, the Settlement failed to all adopt.
- The P.F. is worried about the prisoners, while the moderate blacks do not seem to worry about them.
- The P.F. rejects the intent in the agreement concerning the payment of pensions out side, which means paying for the ex-mercenaries.
- rejects the intent that forbids nationalizing the land.
- rejects keeping away of liberals whites and indians and of Europeans from joining the parliament.
- They believe that the government must stop depending on South African regime and must start strengthening its relations with other countries.

We must come to the conclusion of all this talk and say that no solution, what so ever, can end the Rhodesian problem and bring the country to the shores of peace and safety without the participating of the P.F. because it is the true representative of the people of Zimbabwe and all attempts to keep the P.F. away will not succeed.

29, 30 "interview with Mugabe" Independent Mag. March 20: 78 P. 24

The New African Edgar Mayo

31- "How the Patriotic Front views" New Africa Mag., April 78 P. 34

