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REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF
CEASE-FIRE ARRANGEMENTS IN RHODESIA AND ITS REPERCUSSIONS.



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MIGROFICHE

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF
CEASEFIRE ARRANGEMENTS IN RHODESIA AND ITS REPERCUSSIONS

Following the Lancaster House Constitutional Talks on Zimbabwe the cease-fire Agreement - an essential ingredient in the whole Constitutional Talks - came into effect on midnight 28 December, 1979.

2. Highlights of the provisions of the Agreement included the following:

- i) Cessation of all hostilities
- ii) Disengagement of forces
- iii) Movement of forces to Assembly Places
- iv) Establishment of Cease-fire Commission composed of equal numbers of both forces and under the Chairmanship of the Governor's Military Adviser
- v) Establishment of a Monitoring Force of 1,200 from specified Commonwealth countries to observe maintenance of cease-fire and to Monitor Border Crossing Points.

3. Provisions (ii) and (iii) above entailed the most delicate aspect of the whole operation. The duration of the process of disengagement of the Assembly Places was to be 14 days after Cease-fire. Thereafter all forces that had failed to check in at the specified Assembly Places were to be deemed "unlawful". There was however as a proviso that such forces could enjoy the benefit of an amnesty and therefore be deemed legal only when they surrendered their weapons to the Monitoring force.

4. By the end of the fourteen-day period, more than 18,000 troops belonging to the Patriotic Front had reported at the various Assembly Places, a figure substantially more than what Britain had estimated. Yet, it was clear that there were still more to come. As of 14th January, 1980, total number of Patriotic Front forces is put well above 21,000.

5. Both within and after the period of disengagement certain events and developments have taken place inside Zimbabwe which have given cause for grave concern to both the Patriotic Front and the Member States of the OAU. First, there were isolated reports of murder, arson and brigandage perpetrated by unknown persons. One of such armed attack was on the residence of the sister of Mr. Robert Mugabe, Co-Leader of the Patriotic Front. In the interim, the Patriotic Front Forces kept pouring into the Assembly Places in accordance with the Cease-fire Agreement. It was tempting for the enemies of Zimbabwe to blame the cease-fire violations on the Patriotic Front Forces. The opportunity they had been waiting for came when a few days after the disengagement period, report began to circulate, presumably hatched by same enemies, that there were bands of armed men roaming the countryside and terrorising the rural folk.

6. The response of the British Governor, Lord Soames was to order the Rhodesian Forces out of its confined bases to maintain law and order in addition to the Rhodesian Police which has been charged with that responsibility. This was done without consulting the Cease-fire Commission as required by the London Agreement when there is a serious breach of the cease-fire. Almost at the same time the Patriotic Front brought to the attention of the world the presence of South African troops in Zimbabwe and called on Britain to honour the terms of the Cease-fire Agreement as well as its promise during the constitutional talks, to ensure the withdrawal of the South African troops.

7. The release of the Rhodesian forces to maintain "law and order" was only a ploy to enable the Auxilliary Forces loyal to Bishop Muzorewa, the Gray Scouts etc. to move into those positions vacated by the Patriotic Front, and in some cases, even to surround the Patriotic Front Assembly points. The objective would seem to

be to intimidate the Patriotic Front supporters so that these innocent people could not exercise their inalienable right to vote, or at best, to ensure that the votes are cast in a particular direction. The atrocities being committed by the Auxilliary forces against the Patriotic Front is very well known. The least that can be said of the plight of the Patriotic Front forces in the Assembly Places is that their lives are in great danger.

8. These two ovents, the illegal redeployment of the Rhodesian Security and Auxilliary forces to the exclusion of the Patriotic Front forces in the maintenance of law and order and the presence of South African forces in Zimbabwe provoked an emergency meeting of the Frontline States. Having reviewed the explosive situation in Zimbabwe, the Frontline States accused Britain of violating the Cease-fire Agreement. They called for the immediate withdrawal of the South African forces and urged Britain to be scrupulously fair in the implementation of the Cease-fire Agreement. They further mandated their Chairman to initiate any course of international diplomatic and political action he deemed necessary to deal with the critical situation in Zimbabwe.

9. Similar condemnations and calls have come from the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, the President of Kenya, President Julius Nyerere of the Republic of Tanzania, the President of Zambia and the President of Cameroon etc. President Nyerere, apart from dispatching a special envoy to the Current OAU Chairman, Chairman of the Non-Aligned States, the UN and Commonwealth Secretary-General, is on record as having threatened to break off diplomatic relations with Britain unless Britain assumed its responsibilities with even handedness, fairness and absolute impartiality. He has also consulted with the heads of State of Commonwealth countries with monitoring forces and observers missions in Zimbabwe either directly or through their resident envoys. Several demonstrations have taken place in Nigeria, Ghana and Tanzania. President Daniel Arap Moi has threatened the withdrawal of the Kenyan contingent in the Monitoring Force, the only African troops in the force, unless the South African troops are withdrawn from Zimbabwe.

10. Another instance of bias against the Patriotic Front relates to the return of the Patriotic Front leaders to Southern Rhodesia.

On numerous occasions, the dates for the return of the Patriotic Front leaders were put off by the Salisbury Administration on grounds of security. The intension here is obvious; to afford the Patriotic Front leaders little room to conduct their campaigns. There are other subtle methods being employed to the disadvantage of the Patriotic Front. Motor firms and other hardware companies are refusing to sell cars, landrovers etc, or any equipment necessary for campaign purposes to the Patriotic Front on the pretext that they are "sold". Vehicles and other equipment from friendly countries meant for the Patriotic Front are also usually blocked at the borders.

11. A further instance of British bias relates to the return of Refugees. It is estimated that there are well over 250,000 refugees wishing to return home to exercise their rights in the impending elections. But according to Britain, only 10,000 refugees a week will be allowed into Rhodesia. This means that only a little over 60,000 would have been allowed by the time the elections are held.

12. In the face of all the violations and biases, the question to exercise the mind is whether, given the prevailing conditions, the impending elections could be free and fair.

13. One significant development in this period was the arrivals in Salisbury of Mr. Joshua Nkomo, Co-leader of the Patriotic Front on Sunday, January 13, 1980, in the face of persistent rumours of assassination attempt on his life. He was reported to have made a conciliatory statement at the welcoming rally on his arrival in Rhodesia. After many delaying tactics by the Salisbury Administration, Mr. Robert Mugabe, Co-leader of the Patriotic Front was allowed to return to Salisbury on Sunday, 27 January, 1980 to a rousing welcome of his supporters.

14. The two components of the Patriotic Front have decided to contest the elections in their separate identities. This is unfortunate as the OAU would have liked to see ZANU and ZAPU fight the elections under the banner of the Patriotic Front.

15. As a result of the pressures, denunciations and condemnations of the British handling of the Cease-fire Agreement, Britain and South Africa issued an ambiguous joint statement on January 27, 1980 announcing the decision of the South African Government to withdraw its troops from the Beit Bridge as soon as "satisfactory substitute arrangements can be made by the Rhodesian Security Forces". The text of the Joint Press Statement is attached. Nothing has been said however of the 3,000 to 6,000 South Africans in the Rhodesian Security forces and other nationals who are serving as mercenaries in the Rhodesian armed forces.

POSITION OF THE FRONTLINE STATES

16. The Frontline States concerned about the situation in Rhodesia as regards the process of implementing the Lancaster House Agreement on Rhodesia at their meeting in Beira, Mozambique on 10 January, 1980 came to the conclusion that Britain was not honouring the terms of the Agreement and that the British have committed breaches of the Agreement in the following manner:-

(a) SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS:

Under the Agreement, Britain had undertaken to have all foreign troops out of Rhodesia and particularly South African troops but South African troops still remain in Rhodesia.

It has been confirmed by Britain that South African troops are in Rhodesia to guard the Beit Bridge leading to South Africa from Rhodesia.

This could be under two grounds:-

- i) That South African troops have refused to move out and Britain has failed to get them out - in which case one would question British Authority in Zimbabwe. OR
- ii) That South Africans have been invited by Britain - which would be a breach of the Agreement.

(b) EQUALITY OF FORCES:

It was agreed that during the disengagement of forces, the rebel troops would first move from operational areas into their barracks and stay there where they will be monitored. The Patriotic Front forces would come out of their hideouts to collection points and be moved into 15 Assembly Places from where they would be monitored.

There is now evidence that the Rhodesian Forces are at large. They are not in barracks. It is actually doubtful if they ever moved into barracks at all. But if they were and the Governor called them out - either case is a breach of the London Agreement.

The Governor has tried to justify their being out by saying that they had been called to help in the maintenance of law and order. This again is outside the Lancaster House Agreement. For the Agreement provides that maintenance of law and order would be carried out by the existing Rhodesian Police. The Agreement also provides the Ceasefire Commission to deal with acts of breach of Cease-fire.

ASSEMBLY PLACES FOR PATRIOTIC FRONT:

17. Patriotic Front had requested for 32 Assembly Places for their forces whom they estimated to be between 30,000 and 35,000. Britain provided for only fifteen on their belief that Patriotic Front had no more than 16,000 men. Now more than 20,000 men of Patriotic Front have come out and Britain has kept quiet.

As Patriotic Front Forces leave their operational areas and liberated zones into Assembly Places, there is evidence that Auxilliary forces, Gray Scouts etc. who have been left at large are moving into those positions vacated by Patriotic Front - and in some cases sort of surround Patriotic Front Assembly Places. The Auxilliary forces belong to Bishop Abel Muzorewa.

POLITICAL:

18. The Governor is using every excuse to delay the return of Patriotic Front Leaders back in Zimbabwe. This is against the spirit of the Agreement.

DECISION

19. Frontline States have decided to bring these observations to the attention of the British Government and have mandated President Nyerere to do so. They have also asked him to brief the Current Chairman of the OAU, the Secretary-General of the UN and the Current Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement. He has already called in the British High Commissioner.

The Frontline States have reiterated their commitment to honour the outcome of the elections, if those elections are going to be free and fair.

They however observed that if the trends enumerated above continue, they can not see how WAR will end in that country and how anyone can be expected to accept such results.

20. Present at the Frontline States meeting were:-

1. Angola - President Jose Eduardo dos Santos
2. Botswana - Vice President Quett Marire
3. Mozambique - President Samora M. Machel
4. Tanzania - President Julius K. Nyerere
5. Zambia - President Kenneth D. Kaunda
6. Patriotic Front - Comrade Robert Mugabe.

CONCLUSION:

21. Cease-fire operations anywhere in the world, be it in the Middle East, Cyprus or Korea, have always been a delicate and thorny exercise. Deep seated antagonism in the forces being disengaged is mutual. And the hallmark of every successful cease-fire operation

has always been a display of unique sense of impartiality and fairness on the part of the administering authority. Even then, breaches of the Agreement do occur every now and then. And in the unique case of Zimbabwe where contact with the freedom fighters took a great deal of time to be established, such breaches were to be anticipated as inevitable, on the part of the Patriotic Front troops. Such breaches however have been few and the Patriotic Front troops have behaved themselves in a commendable manner.

22. The conduct of the British Governor in as far as these violations are concerned is to say the least, very reprehensible. By resorting to the Rhodesian forces including the auxiliary troops owing allegiance to Bishop Muzorewa to allegedly maintain law and order, the British Governor has clearly established bias in favour of the Rhodesian forces. And since the Rhodesian forces are now supposed to be maintaining law and order, they cannot be expected to honour the provisions of the cease-fire Agreement. In effect therefore it is the Patriotic Front forces who are the only side observing the cease-fire. Under a situation such as this, if the Patriotic Front forces decide to ignore the cease-fire, they will be acting within their rights. The best thing would have been for the Governor to draw contingents from the two "lawful forces" after consultation with the cease-fire Commission, if indeed a security situation existed. But as it were the Governor has exercised a biased political judgement designed to foster the interests of those to whom Britain is favourably disposed.

23. South African presence in Rhodesia is the greatest insult of all. The argument that they are to protect the Beit Bridge against cross border movements does not hold water since the Monitoring Force is also responsible for cross border movements. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that the South African presence is part of an intricate web of conspiracies being hatched to ensure that the elections produce pre-determined results. And to add yet more insult to the injured feeling of Africa, the state of emergency imposed by the rebel administration has just been extended for a

further 6 months. For as Africa had observed over the so-called Muzorewa fraud or force of elections, how could there be free and fair election when there is in existence a state of emergency?

24. These developments must serve as sufficient eye-opener to Africa. If Africa does not take a definitive stand now and demand the strict observance of the Cease-fire Agreement by the two parties and the immediate withdrawal of the South African forces, no free and fair elections can be held. And if Member States of the OAU should wait until they have been presented with a "fait accompli" of such magnitude, it would result in Africa's loss of its initiative on Zimbabwe. In sum the following among others would be the price for inaction:

- i) If after the elections the Patriotic Front tries to remedy the situation by resumption of military action it would already have suffered a crippling blow, both politically and militarily.
- ii) South Africa would have been endowed with a buffer State over which she has control.
- iii) South African intransigence on Namibia would have received an added boost.

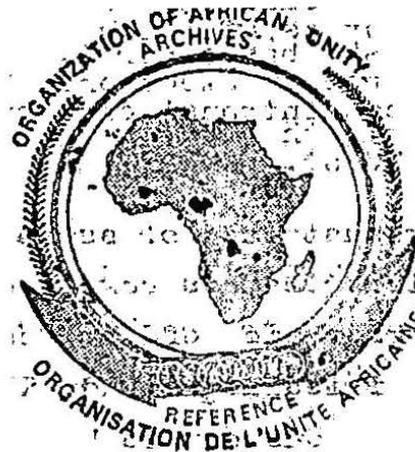
25. If however sustained pressure is exerted on Britain just as a number of African leaders have been doing, Britain cannot ignore these pressures. If need be, Member States can seek support of Commonwealth countries as well as Third World countries in this diplomatic offensive.

26. The events seem to warrant concerted action on the part of the OAU, Commonwealth and Non-Aligned countries to put an end to the manoeuvres of Great Britain. Some of the action that could be envisaged should include diplomatic and economic measures. The Council of Ministers is therefore invited to examine all possible measures, in addition to those recommended by the Liberation Committee, designed to ensure a free and fair elections as well as a set of measures to be taken against Britain in the event of the elections not being free and fair.

TEXT OF JOINT PRESS STATEMENT ISSUED BY THE BRITISH AND
SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS ON 27 JANUARY, 1980.

As a result of the political exploitation of the South African military presence on the Rhodesian side at Beit Bridge, the South African Government has decided to withdraw its troops from that side of the Bridge as soon as satisfactory substitute arrangements can be made by the Rhodesian security forces to safeguard the Bridge.

The British Government has expressed its appreciation of the constructive contribution of the South African Government not only as regards the Rhodesian settlement as a whole, but also as regards the protection of this vital communications link.



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