



# Four who led their people to accord

The signatories were the Prime Minister, Mr. Ian Smith, and three Nationalist leaders — Bishop Abel Muzorewa, United African National Council; the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, African National Council (Sithole); and Senator Chief Jeremiah Chirau, Zimbabwe United People's Organisation.

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After the signing of the agreement, Mr. Smith said he hoped Britain would acknowledge the "sincere and genuine effort" which all parties had put into the exercise and realise that "we are trying to bring about a situation where we can establish a new democratic system of government in Rhodesla."

Bishop Muzorewa said: "I am delighted". He was flying to London to ask for immediate recognition of the agreement.

The Rev. Sithole said the agreement marked the "greatest watershed" in the history of Rhodesla.

A call for the terrorists to stop fighting was made by Chief Chirau. He said: "Anyone who continues initiating acts of aggression will obviously be doing so for reasons different to the objective of black majority rule."

The four men had done what many International observers had said would be impossible and what the British and American governments had failed to do. These are their backgrounds:

# MR. IAN DOUGLAS SMITH was born on April 8, 1919, at Selukwe. He

first went to school in Selukwe and later attended Chaplin School, Gwelo, where he had a fine sporting record. In 1937 he was head prefect and captain of rugby, cricket and tennis.

He went to Rhodes University in South Africa but interrupted his studies to join the Southern Rhodesia Air Force in 1941. He survived two crashes and extensive plastic surgery



MR IAN SMITH

to his face before being demobbed in 1946.

After the war he resumed his studies at Rhodes University, gained a Bachelor of Commerce degree and started farming at Selukwe.

He was first elected to the Southern Rhodesian Legislative Assembly in 1948 as a member of the Rhodesia Party. He was elected to Federal Parliament in 1953 as a member of the United Federal Party Government under Sir Godfrey Huggins, and became Chief Government Whip in 1958 under Sir Roy Welensky.

In 1961 he came to the forefront of the party congress when he condemned the constitutional proposals for Southern Rhodesia as contrary to the principles and policy which the UFP had put to the electorate.

Ian Smith resigned from the UFP and formed the Rhodesian Front in the following year with Winston Field (then leader of the Dominion Party).

In 1962 the RF swept to power and Ian Smith became Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance under Winston Field.

He became Prime Minister on April 14, 1964, and declared Rhodesia independent on November 11, 1965. In 1970 Ian Smith led the RF to an election victory which won every European Roll seat.

On September 24, 1976, Mr. Smith announced that the Government had accepted the proposals put forward by US Foreign Secretary Dr. Kissinger for majority rule in two years.

In October, 1976, Mr. Smith attended the Geneva Conference along with delegations led by Joshua Nkomo, Bishop Muzorewa, the Rev. Sithole and Robert Mugabe but the talks failed because of Nationalist insistence on majority rule in 12 months.

Mr. Smith made a second visit to Geneva but again talks were adjourned. In March 1977 emphasis had fallen on an internal settlement and Mr. Smith met ZUPO to discuss the matter, but not until after the return of the Rev. Sithole and after Mr. Smith had a mandate from the European electorate did internal settlement talks get off the ground in November.

**BISHOP ABEL MUZOREWA** was

born on April 14, 1925, at Old Umtall Mission, in the Eastern Districts of Rhodesia. In 1953 he was ordained a minister of the United Methodist Church at Hartzell Theological Seminary and later became a Pastor of the Chiduku circuit in the Rusape area.

In 1958 he was awarded a scholarship to study for a theological degree at the Central Methodist College, Fayette, Missouri, where he obtained a B.A. degree, and at Scarrit College, Nashville University, Tennessee where he gained his Master's degree in 1963.

He was consecrated a Bishop of the United Methodist Church in Rhodesia on August 28, 1968, the first black member of his church to receive such a distinction.

He was pitchforked into active politics in November 1971, when he was approached by four representatives of the old Zimbabwe African People's Union, and the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) nationalist factions to lead a united effort to



**BISHOP MUZOREWA** 

oppose the Smith/Home constitutional proposals, in a new body called the African National Council.

At the first ANC congress in March, 1974, the Bishop emerged, undisputed, as the Council's leader and in June, 1974, it became apparent that an agreement between Ian Smith and Bishop Muzorewa was imminent. The proposed settlement was, however, rejected by the ANC Executive.

By the end of August, 1975, ANC unity broke down over the unsuccessful conclusion of the talks with lan Smith and the issue of "diplomatic Immunity" for certain of the Bishop's lieutenants if talks were to be continued inside Rhodesia. The leadership of the ZIC (the military wing of the ANC) was assumed by the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, James Chikerema and George Nyandoro and the ANC reorganised into two factions — the "Muzorewa ANC" and the "Nkomo ANC".

On October 8, the Bishop published an open letter appealing for unity between the different tribes and races of Rhodesia and the Muzorewa ANC became the United African National Council, under whose aegis Bishop Muzorewa attended the unsuccessful Geneva Conference in October, 1976, and entered the internal settlement talks in Salisbury in November, 1977.

THE REV. NDABANINGI SIT-HOLE was born in July 1920, at Nyamandhlovu, north of Bulawayo, of an Ndau father and an Ndebele mother.

His move into politics came through the African Teachers Association, of which he was elected president in 1959, the same year in which he joined the multi-racial Central African Party.

He did not stay long in the CAP, however, joining the National Democratic Party in 1960. He was elected treasurer soon after his admission and in December, 1960, was one of the NDP delegation at the Federal review conference in London. When ZAPU (which had replaced

the NDP) was banned in September, 1962, he flew to Dar-es-Salaam, whence he broadcast propaganda to Rhodesia. Following a ZAPU executive meeting in Dar-es-Salaam, differences between the two leaders, Mr. Sithole and Mr. Nkomo, came to a head and Mr. Sithole left ZAPU at the

end of June. Polarisation led to a



THE REV. SITHOLE

bitter struggle for the support of the African masses, the banning of ZANU in August 1964 and the arrest of the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole.

During 1970 a struggle for the leadership of ZANU emerged among the detainees of Que Que Prison, resulting in the deposition of Mr. Sithole and the appointment of Robert Mugabe in his place.

He was released in late 1974 to sign the Lusaka Declaration.

In March, 1975, he was arrested again after calling for 'African majority rule now'. Despite the finding of a tribunal that his detention was fully warranted, he was released at the instigation of the South African Government and flown to Dar-es-Salaam to attend a meeting of the OAU Foreign Ministers.

Towards the end of 1975 Mr. Sithole moved into close political alliance with Bishop Muzorewa and announced



SENATOR CHIEF CHIRAU

the formation of an external wing of the ANC called the Zimbabwe Liberation Council.

In September a split appeared in the ANC between members of the former ZANU and ZAPU and two rival factions appeared, one of them led by the Rev. Sithole, who was invited to attend the internal settlement talks in Salisbury, in his capacity as president of the ANC (Sithole).

SENATOR CHIEF JEREMIAH CHIRAU was born in the Lomagundi district, north of Salisbury, in June, 1923. In 1961 he was appointed Acting Chief of the district and five years

later was elected to the first Council of Chiefs. In 1970 he was elected to the Senate and awarded the Independence Commemorative Decoration. He was a member of the BSAP before being appointed to the acting chieftainship.

His appointment as substantive Chief took place in 1971 and in 1973 he became president of the third Council of Chiefs.

The target of petrol bomb attacks by his political opponents in the mid 1960s, Chief Chirau is politically conservative. His party, the Zimbabwe United People's Organisation, was formed in December, 1976, when he said his aim was "to lead a new black political party, whose goal is early and peaceful majority rule and an end to terrorism".

In April, 1976, Chief Chirau was appointed to the Cabinet in the post of Minister of Development, Mashonaland West and Central. He resigned from this post in December, 1976, to lead the newly-formed ZUPO.

# THE DOCUMENT THAT WILL CHANGE A NATION

An agreement which will give Rhodesia a one-man-one-vote majority rule government by the end of 1978 was signed in Salisbury on Friday, March 3.

The full text of the agreement reads : Whereas the present constitutional situation in Rhodesia has led to the imposition of economic and other sanctions by the international community against Rhodesia and to armed conflict within Rhodesia and from neighbouring territories.

And whereas it is necessary in the Interests of our country that an agreement should be reached that would lead to the termination of such sanctions and the cessation of the armed conflict.

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

#### Now therefore:

- A. It is hereby agreed that a Constitution will be drafted and enacted which will provide for majority rule on the basis of universal adult suffrage on the following terms:
  - 1. There will be a Legislative Assembly consisting of one hundred members and the following provisions will apply thereto:
    - (a) There will be a common voters' roll with all citizens eighteen years and over being eligible for registration as voters, subject to certain recognized disqualifications.
    - (b) Seventy-two of the seats in the Legislative Assembly will be reserved for blacks who will be elected by voters who are enrolled on the common roll.

(c) Twenty-eight of the seats In the Legislative Assembly will be reserved for whites (i.e. Europeans as defined In the 1969 Constitution) who will be elected as follows:

- (i) Twenty will be elected on a preferential voting system by white voters who are enrolled on the common roll.
- (ii) Eight will be elected by voters who are enrolled on the common roll from sixteen candidates who will be nominated, in the case of the first Parliament, by an electoral college composed of the white members of the present House of Assembly and, in the case of any subsequent Parliament, by an electoral college composed of the twenty-eight whites who are members of the Parliament dissolved immediately prior to the general election.
- (d) The reserved seats referred to in (c) above shall be retained for a period of at least ten years or two Parliaments, whichever is the longer, and shall be reviewed at the expiration of that period, at which time a Commission shall be appointed, the chairman of which shall be a judge of the High Court, to undertake this review. If that Commission recommends that the arrangements regarding the said reserved seats should be changed:

- (vi) to nominate 16 Whites for election by voters on the common roll to eight of the seats reserved for Whites.
- (b) The work of the various Select Committees and of the Senate Legal Committee will proceed as normal.
- E. It is also hereby agreed that Independence Day shall be the list December, 1978.

staned at Solisbury this third day of March, 1978.

SHODESIA GOVERNMENT

at Pilluger R. W. UNITED AFRICAN NATIONAL COUNCIL

- (i) An amendment to the Constitution to effect such change may be made by a Bill which receives the affirmative votes of not less than fifty-one members. (ii) The said Bill shall also
- provide that the seventy-two seats referred to in (b) above shall not be reserved for blacks.
- (e) The members filling the seats referred to in (c) above will be prohibited from forming a coalition with any single minority party for the purpose of forming a Government.
- 2. There will be a justiciable Declaration of Rights which will protect the rights and freedoms of individuals and, inter alia, will provide for protection from deprivation of property unless adequate compensation is paid promptly, and for protection of pension rights of persons who are members of pension funds.
- 3. The independence and qualifications of the Judiciary will be

than seventy-eight members. B. It is hereby also agreed that,

affirmative votes of not less

- following the agreement set out above, the next step will be the setting up of a Transitional Government. The prime function of the Transitional Government will be:
  - (a) To bring about a ceasefire. (b) To deal with related matters such as:
    - (i) The composition of the future military forces, including those members of the nationalist forces who wish to take up a military career, and the rehabilitation of others. (ii) The rehabilitation of those affected by the war.
- C. It is also hereby agreed that it will be the duty of the Transitional Government to determine and deal with the following matters:
  - (a) The release of detainees.
  - (b) The review of sentences for offences of a political character.
- (c) The further removal of discrimination.
- (d) The creation of a climate conducive to the holding of free and democratic elections.
- (e) The drafting of the new Constitution in terms of this Agreement.
- (f) Procedures for registration of voters with a view to the holding of a general election at the earliest possible date. D. It is also hereby agreed that the Transitional Government will comprise an Executive Council and a Ministerial Council and the following provisions will apply thereto:
  - **1. Executive Council** 
    - (a) Composition The Executive Council will be composed of the Prime Minister and three black Ministers, being the heads of those delegations engaged in the negotiations. The members will take

that Council may determine. Decisions of the Executive Council will be by concensus.

It was 10.20 a.m. when the four leaders started to sign the agreement in a small room at the red brick Government Training Centre in Salisbury.

They sat at a long baizecovered table before a tightlypacked crowd of international journalists, photographers and television teams. On the wall behind the signatories hung a portrait of Rhodesia's founder, Cecil John Rhodes. When the leaders had

signed several copies of the document, Bishop Muzorewa, called : "Three Cheers".

There was some restrained clapping, the African leaders waved, and then the signatories shook hands. The historic moment was over.

# (b) Functions

(I) The Executive Council will be responsible for ensuring that the functions given to. and the duties imposed on, the Transitional Government by the constitutional agreement are dealt with as expeditiously as possible. It will take policy decisions in connection with the preparation and drafting of the new Constitution and the other matters set out in Sections B and C of this agreement and with any other matters which may arise.

(II) The Executive Council

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turns in presiding as chairman of the Executive Council in such sequence and for such period as

AFRICAN NATIONAL COUNCIL (SITHOLE)

ZIMBABWE UNITED PEOPLES ORGANTSATTON

> entrenched and judges will have security of tenure.

desians Worldwide, There will be an independent Public Services Board, the members of which will have security of tenure. The Board will be responsible for appointments to, promotions in, and discharges from, the Public

- Force, Defence Forces and Prison Service will be maintained in a high state of efficiency and free from political
- 6. Pensions which are payable from the Consolidated Revenue Fund will be guaranteed and charged on the Consolidated Revenue Fund and will be remittable outside the country.
- entitled to dual citizenship will not be deprived of their present
- 8. The above mentioned provisions will be set out or provided for in the Constitution and will be regarded as specially entrenched provisions which may only be amended by a Bill which receives the

- Service. 5. The Public Service, Police
- interference.
- - 7. Citizens who at present are
    - entitlement.

In 1888, following reports from hunters and explorers that the land beyond the Limpopo was fertile and rich in gold, Cecil Rhodes sent representatives to the king of the Matabele, Lobengula, to obtain a mineral concession for the territory.

After the granting of the Rudd Concession, as it became known, Rhodes formed the British South Africa Company and in 1889 obtained a Royal Charter for the company to administer the country, although ownership still remained with Lobengula.

Rhodes Immediately organised a ploneer column to occupy Mashonaland. It left Kimberley on May 6, 1890, and consisted of 180 men from the Cape and Natal, who were to provide the nucleus of a settler population, and a force of 500 men — the British South Africa Company's Police — to protect the column.

The column reached its destination at the foot of Harari Hill (Salisbury Kopje) on September 12, 1890, and the pioneers spread out to begin mining and farming.

# Extended

The British South Africa Company's Charter, originally granted for a 25-year period, was reviewed in 1914, and was extended for a further 10 years. After the end of World War One, the settlers began to press for an end to the company's control, quoting the steady increase of their influence in the running of the country.

In a referendum in 1922, Rhodesians chose self-rule over union with South Africa and a year later Rhodesia became a self-governing colony of Great Britain. The British Government paid the Company £3 750 000 in settlement of all claims in respect of Southern and Northern Rhodesia. The Southern Rhodesian Government then paid £2 000 000 to the British Government for title to all unalienated land and public buildings from the British Government.

The new Constitution provided for a Governor and a Legislature of 30 elected members. Britain had control only in matters concerning the Constitution, external affairs and "discriminatory laws".

It was established by a written convention that Britain would not legislate for Rhodesla on those matters within the competence of the Rhodeslan Legislative Assembly, unless asked to do so.

In 1953, Rhodesians decided by referendum to become part of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Economically, the Federation was an enormous success for all member countries. Commercial undertakings, industrial development and projects like the Kariba Dam were achieved.

Politically, however, the Federation was not a success. This was largely due to the fact that Rhodeslans were used to running their own affairs, whereas Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland (Malawi) were inexperienced. This was compounded by the British Government's change of heart over its African politics and the Monckton Commission report on the Federation's future.

#### Conference

With the impending dissolution of the Federation, a constitutional conference was held towards the end of 1960. It was attended by the Rhodesian and British Governments, by representatives of the African Nationalists and by the Parliamentary opposition party. All but the opposition agreed to terms for a new Constitution, although the Nationalists later withdrew their consent.

The new terms were set out in two British White Papers and it was these terms which the electorate ratified in a referendum.

It was only when the actual Constitution was promulgated by the British Government that the Rhodesian Government discovered that an additional section, not mentioned in the White Papers, had been included. This gave the British Government unlimited power to intervene in the internal affairs of Rhodesia by means of Order-in-Council.

The British Government tried to explain away the inclusion of the extra section as being of theoretical importance only, but in fact it was a written authority for any British Government to interfere in Rhodesla's internal affairs.

# Ended

Federation officially ended on December 31. Independence was granted to Zambia and Malawi, but not Rhodesia, a territory which had been self-governing for more than 40 years, while the other territories had never governed themselves. Mr. Ian Smith, former Minister of the Treasury, became Prime Minister of Rhodesia in April, 1964, after the resignation of Mr. Winston Field.

On November 5, an independence referendum was held. There were 58 176 votes in favour of independence, 6 101 against. The overall percentage poll was 61,6 per cent, of which 89,1 per cent were in favour.

The British Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Gledwyn Hughes, arrived for talks in July, but subsequent negotiations broke down in London, in October, because the British Government would not agree to Independence based on the 1961 Constitution.

#### Patience

The patience of the Rhodesian Government was exhausted. They had made repeated efforts to negotiate but each time a settlement seemed near the British Government made more stringent demands. The Unilateral Declaration of Independence of November 11, 1965, was the only alternative.

Recognition of the *de facto* and then the *de jure* status of the Rhodesian Government was contained in judgments handed down by the judiciary. As a result of Britain's approach to

the United Nations, comprehensive



Talks solved Rhodesia's problems in earlier days too. Here Cecil Rhodes talks to Matabele leaders, resulting in the end of the Matabele Rebellion.

mandatory sanctions were imposed on Rhodesia on May 30, 1968.

Proposals for a new Constitution were announced by the Rhodesian Prime Minister on May 19, 1969. The subsequent referendum showed that the majority of Rhodesian voters were In favour of It, and of the country becoming a republic. The Constitution came into effect on March 2, 1970, and the same day Rhodesia became a republic.

#### Visits

The Conservative Party came to power in Britain in June, 1970. In accordance with their party election manifesto, another attempt at settlement was launched. Lord Goodman, as Britain's special envoy, visited Rhodesia in June and September. He was followed by Sir Alec Douglas-Home, with whom the Prime Minister signed an agreement setting out proposals, on November 24.

A British Commission, headed by Lord Pearce, arrived in January, 1972, to test the acceptability of the settlement to the people of Rhodesia as a whole. The Commissioners made inquiries in seven provinces over a three-month period.

Their published report revealed that out of just over 100 000 Europeans, 98 per cent said "Yes", and of the Asian population, 96 per cent were of similar mind. In respect of the African population, the report stated the Commissioners were able to contact only 6 per cent of African adults, mainly through mass meetings. It was on this basis that the Commission found the proposals were not acceptable to the people of Rhodesla.

The Prime Minister visited South Africa on August 9, 1975, and signed the Pretoria Agreement with the South African Prime Minister and a representative of the ANC under which the Rhodesian Government and the ANC agreed to meet on the Victoria Falls bridge to publicly express their genuine desire to negotiate an acceptable settlement.

### Deadlock

The meeting, on August 25, was attended by Mr. Vorster and Dr. Kaunda. It became deadlocked almost Immediately when the ANC failed to abide by the Pretoria Agreement terms. The ANC split into two rival factions in September.

On September 13 Mr. Smith met Mr. Vorster for talks in Pretoria. Six days later he returned for talks with Dr. Kissinger.

# Accepted

In a broadcast to the nation, on September 24, 1976, Mr. Smith said the Government had accepted the Kissinger proposals for majority rule in two years, conditional on the dropping of sanctions and the end of terrorism. The Geneva Conference opened on

October 28. The chairman was Mr. Ivor Richard, Britain's permanent representative at the United Nations. and the delegations were headed by the Prime Minister, Joshua Nkomo, Bishop Muzorewa, the Rev. Sithole and Robert Mugabe. It bogged down almost immediately because of Nationalist insistence on majority rule in twelve months.

The formation of a moderate political party, the Zimbabwe United People's Organization (ZUPO) was announced by two African Senator Ministers, after they resigned their posts, on December 29.

A new Anglo-American settlement initiative was commenced, aided by the South African Government. Discussions were held in South Africa, Britain, and the United States. Dr., David Owen, the new British Foreign Secretary, made a visit to Rhodesia from April 15 to 17, to sound out Rhodesian opinion.

#### Changes

The Land Tenure Amendment Bill was passed in Parliament on March 4, allowing blacks to purchase land in white farming areas, and opening African Purchase Lands to whites, as well as making changes in the industrial and commercial areas.

On September 1, Dr. David Owen and the American Ambassador to the United Nations, Mr. Andrew Young, arrived in Salisbury to present the Anglo - American settlement proposals. The proposals called for the surrender of the Smith government, 8

and a six-month transition period, during which time Rhodesia would be administered by a Resident Commissioner appointed by the British Government, backed by a United Nations peacekeeping force. At the end of the six-month period, a general election would be called on the basis of one man, one vote. The proposals stated that on the day agreed for the transfer of power to the transitional administration, a ceasefire would come into effect and measures would be taken to lift sanctions. A new Zimbabwe National Army would be formed. During the transition period law and order would be the responsi-

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may refer the matters set out in Sections B and C of this agreement, or any other matter, to the Ministerial Council for examination and recommendation.

(iii) The Executive Council will review decisions or recommendations Ministerial of the Council and may confirm such decisions or recommendations or refer them back to the Ministerial Council for further consideration.

# 2. Ministerial Council

(a) Composition The Ministerial Council will be composed of equal numbers of black and white Ministers. The black Ministers will be nominated in equal proportions by the heads of those delegations engaged in negotiations. the The white Ministers will be nominated by the Prime Minister. The chairmanship of the Ministerial Council will alternate between black and white Ministers. The Prime Minister will nominate which white Minister shall take the chair and the heads of those delegations engaged in the negobility of the police force, who would be commanded by a Commissioner of Police appointed by the Resident Commissioner.

# Memorandum

Prime Minister agreed to The examine the proposals thoroughly, but said that some of the main proposals were "insane". Two weeks later he sent a memorandum and representations to the British Government concerning the proposals, but five weeks afterwards he had still received no reply. In a television Interview the Prime Minister said that he might accept the 'one man one

> tiations will nominate which of the black Ministers shall take the chair in the sequence and for the period determined by the Ministerial Council.

- (b) Functions (i) The Ministerial Council will operate on the Cabinet system. For each portfolio, or group of portfollos, there will be a black and a white Minister who will share responsibility.
  - (II) The Ministerial Council will be responsible for Initiating legislation and for supervising the preparation of such legislation as may be directed by the Executive Council.
  - (iii) The Ministerial Council will make recommendations to the Executive Council on all matters referred to it by the Executive Council and on any other matter it thinks fit.
  - (iv) Decisions of the Ministerial Council will be by majority vote and subject to review by the Executive Council.
- 3. Parliament
  - (a) Parliament will continue to function during the life of the Transitional

vote' aspect of the proposals, provided that standards were maintained.

At a Press conference on November 23, 1977, Mr. Smith announced his intention to enter into constitutional talks with the internal African Nationalist parties in Rhodesia. The parties involved were led by Bishop Abel Muzorewa, the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole and Senator Chief Jeremiah Chirau.

After three sometimes stormy months of negotiations, these leaders were the ones who signed the document which constitutes the internal settlement under which each of them now has equal power.

> Government and will meet for the following purposes as and when the Executive Council considers it should be summoned:

- (I) To pass a Constitution Amendment Act. enabling Ministers who have not been elected to Parliament to serve for periods in excess of four months.
- (ii) To pass legislation for the registration of voters.
- (iii) To pass the 1978/79 Budget.
- (iv) To enact any legislation or deal with any other matter brought forward by the Transitional Government (e.g. for the further removal of discrimination).
- (v) To enact the new Constitution.
- (vi) To nominate 16 whites for election by voters on the common roll to eight of the seats reserved for whites.
- (b) The work of the various Select Committees and of the Senate Legal Committee will proceed as normal.
- E. It is also hereby agreed that Independence Day shall be the 31st December, 1978.

Signed at Salisbury this third day of March, 1978.

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