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FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6541  
INFO AMEMBASSY PRETORIA  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY GABORONE  
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

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E. O. 11652:NA  
TAGS: PFOR, PDEV, UK, RH, US  
SUBJECT: PETER JENKINS ON GENEVA RHODESIA CONFERENCE

REF: LONDON 16343

FOLLOWING IS FULL TEXT OF COLUMN ENTITLED "GENEVA  
ADVANCE" BY PRESTIGIOUS COMMENTATOR PETER JENKINS  
IN OCTOBER 14 ISSUE OF THE GUARDIAN:

BEGIN TEXT: WHEN THE FOREIGN SECRETARY MADE HIS  
STATEMENT ON RHODESIA TO THE COMMONS ON TUESDAY THE  
OPPOSITION DEVOTED ALL OF ITS ENERGIES TO TRYING TO  
EXPOSE DR. HENRY KISSINGER AS A LIAR. THE EFFECT OF  
THEIR PETTY INTERVENTIONS, IF NOT THEIR INTENTION, WAS TO  
STRAIN THE ALREADY SLNDER BASIS OF UNDERSTANDING ON  
WHICH THE CHIEF PARTIES TO THE DISPUTE HAVE AGREED TO

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ATTEND THE CONFERENCE TO BE HELD IN GENEVA UNDER THE STURDY CHAIRMANSHIP OF MR. IVOR RICHARD, OUR AMBASSADOR TO THE UN. AT THE END OF THESE EXCHANGES MR. CROSLAND WAS ENTITLED TO POINT OUT THAT NOT A SINGLE CONSERVATIVE VOICE--WITH THE HONOURABLE EXCEPTION OF MR. REGINALD MAUDLING'S--HAD BEEN HEARD TO WISH THE CONFERENCE WELL.

THE CONSERVATIVES, HARPING ON THE DISCREPANCY BETWEEN MR. IAN SMITH'S VERSION OF THE STATUS OF

~~DR. KISSINGER'S SIX PROPOSALS AND EVERYBODY ELSE'S~~ VERSION, INCLUDING NOW DR. KISSINGER'S OWN, DID THEIR BEST TO EMBARRASS MR. CROSLAND BY TRYING TO GET HIM TO SAY WHAT HE COULD NOT POSSIBLY SAY. HIS TORMENTORS MUST HAVE BEEN WELL AWARE IN GENERAL TERMS, OF WHAT HAD HAPPENED, OF HOW DR. KISSINGER HAD PULLED OFF HIS GREAT PRETORIA COUP, AND OF WHY MR. CROSLAND, UNLESS HE WAS TO DISOWN DR. KISSINGER, WAS OBLIGED TO FUDGE WHAT WILL BE THE CHIEF ISSUE TO BE NEGOTIATED IN GENEVA--THE INTERIM SHARE-OUT OF POWER BETWEEN BLACK AND WHITE.

MR. SMITH ASSERTS THAT THE SIX POINTS WHICH HE ANNOUNCED ON TELEVISION ON SEPTEMBER 24, PURPORTEDLY READING FROM A DOCUMENT HE HAD RECEIVED FROM DR. KISSINGER, CONSTITUTED A "PACKAGE" OF MUTUALLY-DEPENDENT POINTS WHICH HAD BEEN PREVIOUSLY AGREED WITH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND THE "FRONT-LINE" AFRICAN PRESIDENTS. ACCORDING TO THE AFRICAN PRESIDENTS THEY HAD AGREED TO NOTHING IN ADVANCE BEYOND THE NECESSITY OF MR. SMITH ACCEPTING BLACK MAJORITY RULE WITHIN TWO YEARS AND ACCORDING, SUBSEQUENTLY, TO THE STATE DEPARTMENT THE SIX POINTS WERE INTENDED TO BE NEGOTIABLE HEADS OF AGENDA.

SOMEBODY WAS FOOLING SOMEBODY OR RATHER DR. KISSINGER WAS FOOLING EVERYBODY. HOWEVER TO PORTRAY HIS MISSION AS A WORTHLESS EXERCISE IN DECEPTION WOULD BE A TRAVESTY IN VIEW OF THE RESULT--UNIMAGINABLE SIX MONTHS AGO--WHICH IS THAT MR. SMITH, MR. NKOMO, MR. MUGABE, BISHOP MUZOREWA, AND--TO BE ADDED TO THE LIST--MR. SITHOLE ARE TO SIT DOWN AT THE SAME TABLE ON THE BASIS OF THE ACCEPTED PRINCIPLE OF A TRANSFER OF POWER TO THE MAJORITY WITHIN NOT LONGER THAN TWO YEARS.

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WHAT HAPPENED WAS THAT, ARMED WITH A BUNDLE OF WORKING PAPERS WHICH HAD BEEN JOINTLY DRAWN UP IN LONDON, AND WHICH WERE THE BASIS OF DR. KISSINGER'S CALCULATED SOUNDINGS IN THE BLACK CAPITALS, HE--SEEING HIS CHANCE AND SEIZING IT--PUT TO MR. SMITH IN PRETORIA A VERSION OF THESE PROPOSALS WHICH HE JUDGED WOULD CLINCH THE RHODESIANS' READINESS TO CONCEDE THE PRINCIPLE OF MAJORITY RULE. NOT ONLY HAD THE "SIX POINTS" IN THAT FORM BEEN AGREED WITH NO ONE IN ADVANCE BUT POINT THREE (ALTHOUGH VAGUER THAN MR. SMITH MAKES OUT) WENT FURSHER THAN ANYONE WOULD HAVE AGREED IN ENCOURAGING HIM TO BELIEVE THAT THE WHITE POWER STRUCTURE COULD REMAIN IN ESSENTIAL CONTROL DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD. HE SAW SMITH'S ACCEPTANCE OF THE MAJORITY PRINCIPLE AS THE OBJECTIVE OVERRIDING ALL ELSE. HE TOOK A GAMBLE TO OBTAIN IT, NOT WORRYING TOO MUCH ABOUT WHAT HE CALLS THE "NUTS AND BOLTS."

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MR. SMITH'S HISTORIC ACCEPTANCE OF THE PRINCIPLE OF MAJORITY RULE WITHIN TWO YEARS MADE IT INEVITABLE THAT BRITAIN WOULD HAVE TO AGREE TO PLAY A ROLE IN BRINGING ABOUT THE TRANSITION. IT ALSO OBLIGED THE FOREIGN SECRETARY AND HIS ADVISERS TO SWALLOW THEIR MISGIVINGS ABOUT SOME OF THE "NUTS AND BOLTS" WHICH DR. KISSINGER NOW PROPOSED TO DUMP IN THEIR LAPS. MR. CROSLAND EXPERIENCED SOME DIFFICULTY IN CONVINCING HIS CABINET COLLEAGUES THAT THE RISKS OF "RESPONSIBILITY WITHOUT POWER" WERE NO LONGER AVOIDABLE AND IT WAS NOT UNTIL SEPTEMBER 29, WHEN THE CONFERENCE WAS SUGGESTED, THAT IT WAS CERTAIN THAT THE FOREIGN SECRETARY HAD THE FULL BACKING OF THE PRIME MINISTER.

MINISTERS DO NOT DISPUTE THAT DR. KISSINGER HAS  
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LANDED THEM IN THE MIRE. BUT THEY RECOGNIZE AND  
RIGHTLY, THAT IT WOULD HAVE BEEN THE MOST CRAVEN  
ABDICATION HAD BRITAIN, AS THE RESIDUALLY RESPONSIBLE  
POWER, REFUSED TO PLAY A PART IN ASSISTING THE  
TRANSFER OF POWER ONCE THE SITUATION IN RHODESIA HAD  
BEEN TRANSFORMED BY MR. SMITH'S ACCEPTANCE OF THE  
MAJORITY PRINCIPLE.

WHATEVER PEOPLE MAY SAY FOR PUBLIC CONSUMPTION,  
EVERYTHING CONCERNING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE INTERIM  
BLACK GOVERNMENT IS NEGOTIABLE IN GENEVA. THE FACT  
THAT EVERYBODY HAS AGREED TO SHOW UP INDICATES A  
WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE. IT COULD WELL BE MR. SMITH'S  
INTENTION TO PLAY UPON AFRICAN DISUNITY AND CLING  
TO POWER IN THE INTERIM BUT IT IS NOT LIKELY THAT  
HE CAN DRAW BACK FROM HIS COMMITMENT.

THE REALITIES WHICH CAUSED HIM TO ENTER IT REMAIN  
IN FORCE. THE MENTAL LEAP REQUIRED OF HIM WAS NOT OF  
THE KIND TO BE MADE IN REVERSE. HE HAS CONFERRED A  
LEGITIMACY UPON BLACK NATIONALISM WHICH CANNOT BE  
WITHDRAWN AND WHICH WILL HELP TO ENSURE THAT POWER  
WILL BE THEIRS BEFORE LONG BY ONE MEANS OR ANOTHER.  
MR. SMITH IS LEFT WITH THE PRACTICAL OBJECTIVE OF  
FACILITATING A MODERATE AFRICAN GOVERNMENT IN PREFERENCE  
TO A MILITARY (SIC - POSSIBLY "MILITANT") ONE.

PLAINLY THE PROBLEMS REMAIN FORMIDABLE AND MOST  
FORMIDABLE OF ALL THE PROBLEMS OF ACHIEVING A  
SUFFICIENT UNITY AMONG THE NATIONALISTS TO ENABLE ANY  
KIND OF FUNCTIONING ADMINISTRATION TO BE ESTABLISHED.  
BUT THIS PLETHORA OF PROBLEMS SHOULD NOT OBSCURE  
FROM US THE HISTORIC CHANGE WHICH HAS ALREADY TAKEN  
PLACE AND TRANSFORMED THE SITUATION IN SOUTHERN  
AFRICA. END TEXT.  
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