

PREM 19/342

Confidential filing

The situation in Zimbabwe Rhodesia. The constitutional conference in London. The appointment of Lord Soames as Governor

RHODESIA

Part 1 May 1979

Part 12 December 1979

Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date
<del>31.12.79.</del>							
<del>2.1.80</del>							
<del>4.1.80</del>							
<del>8.1.80</del>							
<del>19.1.80</del>							
11.1.80							
- ENDS -							
PREM 19/342							

PART 12 ends:-

to Salisbury tel 121

11/1/80

PART 13 begins:-

UK Min N. York tel 97

12/1/80

RESTRICTED

Rhodesia

fg  
Pms

RESTRICTED

FM F.C.O. 111550Z JAN 80  
TO IMMEDIATE SALISBURY  
TELEGRAM NUMBER 121 OF 11 JANUARY

PERSONAL FOR GOVERNOR FROM PRIME MINISTER.

1. AT CABINET YESTERDAY OUR COLLEAGUES ASKED ME TO CONVEY TO YOU THEIR WARM CONGRATULATIONS ON THE REMARKABLE ACHIEVEMENTS OF YOUR FIRST FOUR WEEKS AS GOVERNOR. THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT THE GOING WILL GET EVEN TOUGHER BUT YOU HAVE OUR FULL SUPPORT AND CONFIDENCE. WE WISH YOU CONTINUING SUCCESS FOR THE COMING WEEKS.

CARRINGTON

FILES

RHOD D  
OADS  
NAD  
MED  
FUSD  
PLANNING STAFF  
ES & SD  
NEMAD  
CCD  
FRD  
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LEGAL ADVISERS  
(MR FREELAND)  
(MR FIFOOT)  
ECON D  
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NEWS D  
PS  
PS/SIR I GILMOUR  
PS/MR LUCE  
PS/MR RIDLEY  
PS/MR HURD  
PS/MR MARTEN  
PS/PUS  
SIR D MAITLAND  
  
MR HANNAY  
LORD N G LENNOX  
MISS BROWN  
MR DAY  
MR FERGUSSON  
MR ASPIN  
MR MILLS

ADDITIONAL DISTRIBUTION  
RHODESIA POLICY

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[RHODESIA: POLICY: ADVANCE COPIES]

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PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET - PM

PS/SIR I GILMOUR  
PS/MR LUCE  
PS/PUS  
SIR D MAITLAND  
MR DAY  
LORD N G LENNOX  
MR ASPIN

SIR R ARMSTRONG )  
MR R L WADE GERY )  
MR P M MAXEY ) CABINET  
MR GOULTY ) OFFICE  
MR P J FOWLER )  
DIO )

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HD/RHOD DEPT (4)  
HD/C AF D  
HD/S AF D  
HD/PUSD (2)  
HD/NEWS DEPT  
HD/WAD

MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A  
MR PIPOOT LEGAL ADVISER RM K164

GR 500  
CONFIDENTIAL

FM LUSAKA 111316Z  
TO IMMEDIATE SALISBURY  
TEL NO. 73 OF 11 JANUARY 1980  
AND TO IMMEDIATE FCO  
REPEATED TO IMMEDIATE MAPUTO

M.T.  
IMMEDIATE

PRIORITY GABORONE, LAGOS, LUANDA, UKMIS NEW YORK  
WASHINGTON.

RHODESIA.

1. MOOSE, ACCOMPANIED BY US AMBASSADOR WISNER, SAW NKOMO  
YESTERDAY AT THE LATTER'S REQUEST. THEY FOUND HIM IN EBULLIENT  
MOOD AND GENUINELY CONCERNED TO TAKE A RESPONSIBLE AND CONSTRUCT-  
IVE ATTITUDE ON CURRENT PROBLEMS.

2. AFTER REHEARSING HIS COMPLAINTS ABOUT THE USE OF THE RHODESIAN  
SECURITY FORCES AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN PERSONNEL AT BEITBRIDGE,  
NKOMO SAYS THAT HE FEARED THAT THE GOVERNOR AND HIS TEAM WERE  
BEING BADLY ADVISED BY THEIR RHODESIAN STAFF. IN PARTICULAR IT  
APPEARED THAT THE RHODESIANS WERE FEEDING THE GOVERNOR WITH  
MISLEADING INTELLIGENCE, AIMED AT JUSTIFYING THE USE OF THE  
SECURITY FORCES AGAINST THE P.F. THE TYPES OF ACTION INVOLVED  
IN ALLEGED PF CEASEFIRE VIOLATIONS WERE NOT CONSISTENT WITH THE  
PF'S USUAL TACTICS. NKOMO BELIEVED THAT MANY INCIDENTS WERE  
ENGINEERED BY THE AUXILIARIES SO THAT THE BLAME COULD BE PUT

ENGINEERED BY THE AUXILIARIES SO THAT THE BLAME COULD BE PUT ON THE PF. HE WAS SURE THAT MUZOREWA AIMED TO STAMPEDE THE GOVERNOR INTO BANNING ONE WING OF THE PF.

3. NKOMO SAID THAT HE WOULD BE AT PAINS AFTER HIS RETURN TO TAKE A RESPONSIBLE ATTITUDE AND NOT TO ATTACK THE BRITISH PUBLICLY. HE BELIEVED THAT THE PF COULD RESOLVE ITS PROBLEMS WITH THE OTHER PARTIES ONCE THEY WERE ALL ABLE TO SIT DOWN TOGETHER. ZAPU WOULD NOT ATTACK THE EXISTING INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK IN RHODESIA, BUT WOULD WORK THROUGH IT TO THE FULL AND IN THIS WAY TEST IT.

4. NKOMO SAID THAT HE WOULD SEEK AN EARLY MEETING WITH LORD SOAMES AND PRESS HIM VERY HARD TO MAKE AN IMMEDIATE START ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEW ZIMBABWE ARMY BY FORMING TWO OR THREE MIXED BRIGADES DRAWN FROM THE PF AND SECURITY FORCES. ZIPRA WAS READY TO EMBARK ON THIS IMMEDIATELY.

5. NKOMO SAID THAT IT WAS UNTHINKABLE THAT THE CEASEFIRE AND TRANSITION SHOULD BREAK DOWN. HIS PEOPLE WERE LOOKING TO ZAPU TO FIND A WAY OUT OF THE BLOODSHED AND OPPRESSION.

6. I HAVE PREVIOUSLY REFERRED TO THE RISKS OF ANY MOVTO DISQUALIFY WU IF, AT THE SAME TIME, WE WISH TO CONTINUE TO ENGAGE ZAPU. CONFIRMATION OF MY VIEWS WAS GIVEN WHEN NKOMO POINTEDLY REJECTED AN OPPORTUNITY TO CRITICISE ZANU. MOOSE REFERRED TO THE GOOD PERFORMANCE OF ZIPRA IN COMPLYING WITH THE CEASEFIRE, AND COMPAIRED THIS WITH ZANLA'S. NKOMO JUMPED IN QUICKLY TO STIFLE THIS LINE OF CONVERSATION BY SAYING THAT HE HAD NO INFORMATION ABOUT ZANLA'S ACTIVITIES. MOREOVER, WHILE THE VISITORS WERE WAITING TO SEE NKOMO, THEY WERE ABLE TO HAVE A WORD WITH CHINAMANO WHO CONFIRMED THAT ZAPU, WHILE NOT PARTICULARLY OPTIMISTIC, WERE STILL SEEKING AN ELECTORAL ALLIANCE WITH ZANU.

NEILSON.

IMMEDIATE

NNNN

[RHODESIA: POLICY: ADVANCE COPIES]

30 IMMEDIATE PM

PS/SIR I GILMOUR  
PS/LR LUCE  
PS/PUS  
SIR D MATTILAND  
MR DAY  
LORD N G LENNOX  
MR ASPIN

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

SIR R ARMSTRONG )  
MR R L WADE GERY )  
MR P M MAXEY ) CABINET  
MR GOULTY ) OFFICE  
MR P J FOWLER )  
DIO )

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HD/RHOD DEPT (4)

HD/C AF D

HD/S AF D

HD/PUSD (2)

HD/NEWS DEPT

HE/WAD

MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A

MR FEFOOT LEGAL ADVISER RM K164

GR 340

CONFIDENTIAL

FM LUSAKA 111425Z

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TEL NO. 41 OF 11 JANUARY 1980

AND TO IMMEDIATE SALISBURY

REPEATED PRIORITY TO GABORONE, MAPUTO, LUANDA, PRETORIS, DAR ES  
SALAAM, LAGOS, WASHINGTON.

MPIT.

1. THERE WAS PERHAPS LITTLE NEW IN THE PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT ABOUT OUR PERFIDY BUT THE FACT IS THAT HE HAS NOW GONE ON RECORD PUBLICLY AND IT WILL BE ALL THE MORE DIFFICULT FOR US TO ACHIEVE ANY MANINGFUL DIALOGUE WITH HIM AND HIS ADVISORS. IT WAS FOR THIS REASON THAT I WAS ANXIOUS THAT I SHOULD BE ABLE TO TELL THE ZAMBIANS ABOUT SIR A DUFF'S VISIT BEFORE HE SPOKE, BUT MY RECOMMENDATION RECEIVED NO RESPONSE IN TIME. I STILL BELIEVE THAT SUCH A VISIT BY SIR A DUFF OFFERS THE MOST HELPFUL PROSPECT WITH THE ZAMBIANS.

2. IT WAS ENCOURAGING THAT HE ONCE AGAIN IN EFFECT TOLD THE PATRIOTIC FRONT THAT AS LONG AS THERE WERE FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS THEY WOULD HAVE TO STAND ON THEIR OWN FEET BUT REGRETTABLE THAT HE SHOULD LAY SUCH EMPHASIS ON THE TIME MAGAZINE INTERVIEW. IN NORMAL CIRCUMSTANCES I WOULD ISSUE AN IMMEDIATE STATEMENT BASED ON YOUR TEL NO. 36 TO SALISBURY (TO CORRECT THE RECORD) BUT THIS WOULD CERTAINLY BRING ABOUT A CLAIM THAT I TRO

REGRETTABLE THAT HE SHOULD LAY SUCH EMPHASIS ON THE TIME MAGAZINE INTERVIEW. IN NORMAL CIRCUMSTANCES I WOULD ISSUE AN IMMEDIATE STATEMENT BASED ON YOUR TEL NO. 36 TO SALISBURY (TO CORRECT THE RECORD) BUT THIS WOULD CERTAINLY BRING ABOUT A CLAIM THAT I TOO LIKE SIR L. ALLINSON HAD INSULTED THE PRESIDENT BY DARING TO CONTRADICT HIM. I AM INCLINED TO THINK THAT ALTHOUGH HIS REMARKS MAY RECEIVE CONSIDERABLE PUBLICITY TOMORROW ON THE LINES OF "CARRINGTON A LIAR SAYS KK", IT IS UNLIKELY TO BE A MAJOR LONG-TERM FACTOR IN THE VIEW WHICH ZAMBIA TAKES OF BRITAIN. I DO NOT THINK THAT EVEN AFTER SOME DELAY I SHOULD MAKE ANY PUBLIC STATEMENT HERE ALTHOUGH OBVIOUSLY I WILL CORRECT THE RECORD WITH OFFICIALS AND OTHER MISSIONS. ON THE OTHER HAND IF YOU FEEL THAT THE RECORD SHOULD BE PUT STRAIGHT THEN NEWS DEPARTMENT SHOULD DO SO AS THIS WOULD REMOVE KAUNDA'S GROUNDS FOR COMPLAINT THAT HE WAS BEING CONTRADICTED AT AN UNFITTING LEVEL.

NEILSON.

NNNN

IMMEDIATE



FCO/Whi Dist.

[RHODESIA: POLICY: ADVANCE COPIES]

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PM

PS  
PS/SIR I GILMOUR  
PS/MR LUCE  
PS/PUS  
SIR D LAITLAND  
MR DAY  
LORD N G LENNOX  
MR ASPIN

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

SIR R ARMSTRONG )  
MR R L WADE GERY )  
MR P M MAXEY ) CABINET  
MR GOULTY ) OFFICE  
MR P J FOWLER )  
DIO )

*C. A. D.*

HD/RHOD DEPT (4)

~~HD/C AT D~~

HD/S AT D

HD/PUSD (2)

HD/NEWS DEPT

HE/WAD

MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A  
MR FIPOOT LEGAL ADVISER RM K164

*mt*

GR 900

UNCLASSIFIED

FM LUSAKA 111353Z

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TEL NO. 40 OF 11 JANUARY 1980

AND TO IMMEDIATE SALISBURY

REPEATED PRIORITY TO GABORONE, MAPUTO, LUANDA, PRETORIS, DAR ES SALAAM, LACOS, WASHINGTON.

IMMEDIATE

*mt*

KAUNDA'S SPEECH AT THE OPENING OF PARLIAMENT.

1. PRESIDENT KAUNDA MADE AN OPENING ADDRESS OF EIGHTY MINUTES THIS MORNING TO THE ZAMBIAN PARLIAMENT, FORTY OF WHICH WERE DEVOTED TO RHODESIA, AND THE MAJOR PART OF THAT TO CRITICISM OF HMG'S POLICIES.

2. THE PRESIDENT Began by referring to the front line states as the foundation of a transcontinental economic block which would be the cornerstone of Zambia's foreign policy in the future. The crisis in southern Africa had been the most important factor in Zambian foreign policy in the 1970s and as the eighties dawned the focus was now on Zimbabwe. Patriotic front victories in the field had been responsible for the Lancaster House agreement and were a clear victory for the Patriotic front which Zambia hailed. Zambia's task had been to help the Patriotic front remove fascist government in Rhodesia and with its removal Zambia's

MAILED. ZAMBIA'S TASK HAD BEEN TO HELP THE PATRIOTIC FRONT REMOVE  
FASCIST GOVERNMENT IN RHODESIA AND WITH ITS REMOVAL ZAMBIA'S  
MISSION WAS COMPLETE. THE REST LAY WITH THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE.  
IT WAS NOT ZAMBIA'S POLICY TO CHOOSE GOVERNMENTS FOR OTHER NATIONS.  
THIS LAST SENTIMENT WAS WARMLY RECEIVED BY PARLIAMENT.

3. NEVERTHELESS THERE WAS A WHOLE CATALOGUE OF EVENTS WHICH  
REVEALED THAT BRITISH POLICIES HAD CONTRIBUTED TO A VERY  
DANGEROUS SITUATION. SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS WERE PRESENT AT BEIT  
BRIDGE. SOUTH AFRICAN MERCENARIES WERE AT LARGE IN RHODESIA,  
THE SECURITY FORCES HAD BEEN EMPLOYED TO INTIMIDATE THE MASSES  
AND THE RETURN OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT LEADERS HAD BEEN DELAYED.  
AUXILIARIES WERE BEING USED POLITICALLY AND BRITISH POLICY WAS  
CLEARLY PARTISAN. ZAMBIA HAD BEEN AMONGST THOSE TO CALL FOR A  
UNITED NATIONS FORCE IN RHODESIA OR FAILING THAT A COMMONWEALTH  
FORCE. BRITAIN HAD REJECTED THIS ADVICE AND NOW THEY HAD A SMALL  
MILITARY FORCE INCAPABLE OF DEALING WITH THE SITUATION AND IT WAS  
FOR THIS REASON THAT THE RHODESIAN SECURITY FORCES HAD HAD TO BE  
DEPLOYED. IF THE SITUATION CONTINUED TO DETERIORATE IT WOULD  
QUICKLY BE TOTALLY OUT OF CONTROL AND IT WOULD BE HMG'S ENTIRE  
RESPONSIBILITY. "DECEIT IS THE MOST CONSISTENT PHENOMENON OF  
BRITISH POLICY IN RHODESIA SINCE THE LANCASTER HOUSE AGREEMENT".  
WE WERE ABROGATING THE RESPONSIBILITIES PLACED ON US AT LANCASTER  
HOUSE IN FAVOUR OF THE SO-CALLED SECOND CLASS OPTION. PRESIDENT  
KAUNDA WISHED TO WARN US AGAINST OUR POLICY AND CALLED FOR A  
TOTAL WITHDRAWAL FROM SOUTHERN RHODESIA OF ALL SOUTH AFRICAN  
FORCES. HE REGARDED THE ATTEMPT BY BRITISH SPOKESMEN TO LINK  
THE PRESENCE OF SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES AT BEIT BRIDGE WITH ZAMBIA'S  
WELFARE AS "MALICIOUS". IF THE FORCES LEGALLY IN RHODESIA COULD  
NOT LOOK AFTER THE BEIT BRIDGE THEN LET THE UNITED NATIONS OR THE  
COMMONWEALTH PROVIDE THE NECESSARY FORCES.

4. THE PRESIDENT THEN MADE PLAY WITH THE TIME MAGAZINE INTERVIEW  
OF 7 JANUARY AND CLEARLY HAD NOT BEEN ADVISED THAT THE PASSAGE  
IN SQUARE BRACKETS REFLECTED EDITORIAL OPINION AS OPPOSED TO THAT  
OF LORD CARRINGTON. HE HAD RECEIVED ASSURANCES FROM NYERERE AND  
MACHAL THAT NONE OF THEIR PEOPLE WERE IN RHODESIA AND AFFIRMED  
AS COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE ZAMBIAN FORCES THAT WITH THE  
EXCEPTION OF THEIR MONITORING TEAM THERE WERE NO ZAMBIAN FORCES  
IN RHODESIA. LORD CARRINGTON HAD THEREFORE BEEN GUILTY OF A  
BLATANT LIE (HE ONCE QUALIFIED THIS BY SAYING THAT THIS WOULD  
BE THE CASE IF THE SECRETARY OF STATE HAD BEEN QUOTED CORRECTLY  
BUT TWICE LET IT PASS WITHOUT QUALIFICATION).

5. THE ZIMBABWEAN RESPONSE TO BRITISH DECEIT SHOULD BE NATIONAL  
UNITY AND PARTICULARLY UNITY OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AGAINST

5. THE ZIMBABWEAN RESPONSE TO BRITISH DECEIT SHOULD BE NATIONAL UNITY AND PARTICULARLY UNITY OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AGAINST WHOM BRITAIN WERE CLEARLY WORKING. ZAMBIA SUPPORTED FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS, SO SHOULD BRITAIN AND SOUTH AFRICA.

6. THE PRESIDENT THEN DEALT WITH NAMIBIA WHERE HE THOUGHT THE SIGNS WERE ENCOURAGING DESPITE DELAYS INSTITUTED BY SOUTH AFRICA TO STRENGTHEN "PUBLIC ELEMENTS". THE INDEPENDENCE OF NAMIBIA WAS A TASK FOR THE EIGHTIES. IN AN ECONOMIC SECTION HE SPOKE ABOUT THE POOR PERFORMANCE OF SOME PARASTATALS AND SAID THAT GOVERNMENT SUPPORT AND SUBSIDY WOULD BE MUCH MORE SELECTIVELY GIVEN IN THE FUTURE. THERE MUST BE A MUCH HIGHER DEGREE OF ACCOUNTABILITY BY THE PARASTATALS WHOSE PRODUCTIVITY RECORD WAS ABYSMAL. AS TO PRIVATE CAPITAL HE AGAIN DENOUNCED THE ROLE OF "EXPLOITATIVE INTERNATIONAL CAPITAL" BUT SAID THAT NORMAL PRIVATE CAPITAL INVESTMENT WOULD BE WELCOME PROVIDED IT WAS IN CONFORMITY WITH ZAMBIA'S DESIRE TO SEE THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION. THE GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS TOO MUST BUCK UP THEIR IDEAS AND CONTRIBUTE TO ZAMBIAN DEVELOPMENT. THE ESSENTIAL THING IN THE FUTURE WAS THAT ZAMBIANS IN ALL WALKS OF LIFE SHOULD BE UNITED IN THEIR DETERMINATION TO BUILD A DECENT SOCIETY.

7. SEE MIFT.

IMMEDIATE

NEILSON.

NNNN

*no*

X-28

IMMEDIATE

[RHODESIA: POLICY: ADVANCE COPIES]

PS  
PS/SIR I GILMOUR  
PS/MR LUCE  
PS/PUS  
SIR D MAITLAND  
MR DAY  
LORD N G LENNOX  
MR ASPIN

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

SIR R ARMSTRONG )  
MR R L WADE GERY )  
MR P M MAXEY ) CABINET  
MR GOULTY ) OFFICE  
MR P J FOWLER )  
DIO )

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HD/RHOD DEPT (4)  
HD/C AF D  
HD/S AF D  
HD/PUED (2)  
HD/NEWS DEPT  
HD/WAD

MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A  
MR FIFOOT LEGAL ADVISER RM K164

~~RESIDENT CLERK~~

OO UKMIS NEW YORK

OO ADDIS ABABA

CR 160

CONFIDENTIAL

X DESKBY FCO 111330Z X

FM DAR ES SALAAM 111200Z JANUARY 80

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 39 OF 11 JANUARY

INFO IMMEDIATE SALISBURY, MAPUTO, GABORONE, LUSAKA, LUANDA,  
LAGOS, PRETORIA, WASHINGTON, UKMIS NEW YORK, ADDIS ABABA

MIPT: RHODESIA

1. PRESIDENT NYERERE WAS MORE EMOTIONALLY UPSET ON THIS OCCASION THAN I HAVE PREVIOUSLY SEEN HIM SINCE I HAVE BEEN IN DAR ES SALAAM. THE QUESTION OF SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES IS THE ONE THAT HAS MOST UPSET HIM. BUT HE HAS ALSO CONVINCED HIMSELF THAT WE ARE NOT CARRYING OUT THE AGREEMENT FAIRLY.
2. I RECOMMEND THAT WE GIVE TO THE TANZANIANS AS MUCH DETAILED INFORMATION AS WE CAN ABOUT SANU BREACHES OF THE AGREEMENT, BUT TO HAVE MAXIMUM EFFECT THIS INFORMATION SHOULD HAVE BEEN

*mg*

UPSET HIM. BUT HE HAS ALSO CONVINCED HIMSELF THAT WE ARE NOT CARRYING OUT THE AGREEMENT FAIRLY.

2. I RECOMMEND THAT WE GIVE TO THE TANZANIANS AS MUCH DETAILED INFORMATION AS WE CAN ABOUT SANU BREACHES OF THE AGREEMENT, BUT TO HAVE MAXIMUM EFFECT THIS INFORMATION SHOULD HAVE BEEN REPORTED TO THE CEASEFIRE COMMISSION AND WE SHOULD IF POSSIBLE BE ABLE TO POINT TO STEPS TAKEN BY THE MONITORING FORCE TO INVESTIGATE AND DEAL WITH THE BREACHES. MAY I PASS TO THE TANZANIANS THE LIST OF BREACHES IN SALISBURY TELNO 39 TO MAPUTO? IS IT POSSIBLE TO SAY THAT THESE WERE REPORTED TO THE CEASEFIRE COMMISSION AT THE TIME? I REALISE THAT THE MONITORING FORCE WAS DOUBTLESS MUCH TOO STRETCHED DURING THAT PERIOD TO DO ANY INVESTIGATION.

MOON

NNNN

X.28

**IMMEDIATE**

[RHODESIA: POLICY: ADVANCE COPIES]

PS  
PS/SIR I GILMOUR  
PS/MR LUCE  
PS/PUS  
SIR D MAITLAND  
MR DAY  
LORD N G LENNOX  
MR ASPIN  
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~~PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET~~  
SIR R ARMSTRONG )  
MR R L WADE GERY )  
MR P M MAXEY ) CABINET  
MR GOULTY ) OFFICE  
MR P J FOWLER )  
DIO )

HD/RHOD DEPT (4)  
HD/C AF D  
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HD/NEWS DEPT  
HE/WAD

MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A  
MR FIFOOT LEGAL ADVISER RM K164  
~~PRESIDENT CLERK~~

*mg*

GR 600

CONFIDENTIAL

FM DAR ES SALAAM 111200Z JANUARY 80

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 38 OF 11 JANUARY 80

INFO IMMEDIATE SALISBURY, MAPUTO, GABORONE, LUSAKA, LUANDA,  
LAGOS, PRETORIA, WASHINGTON, UKMIS NEW YORK, ADDIS ABABA

RHODESIA

1. PRESIDENT NYERERE SUMMONED ME THIS MORNING, 11 JANUARY. HE SAID THAT HE WAS SPEAKING ON BEHALF OF THE FRONT LINE STATES. HIS INSTRUCTIONS WERE TWO-FOLD: FIRST TO EXPRESS TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT THE FLS'S CONCERN AT THE WAY THINGS WERE GOING IN RHODESIA; AND SECONDLY TO EXPRESS THEIR CONCERN TO THE OAU THROUGH ITS CHAIRMAN, TO THE UN THROUGH THE SECRETARY GENERAL, AND TO THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT THROUGH ITS CHAIRMAN. HE SAID HE HAD NOT YET DECIDED JUST HOW HE WAS GOING TO CARRY OUT THE SECOND PART OF HIS INSTRUCTIONS. THE FACT THAT THEY WERE TAKING THIS UNUSUAL ACTION UNDERLINED THE SERIOUSNESS OF THEIR CONCERN. IN ADDITION TO SPEAKING TO ME HE SAID HE WOULD ALSO BE  
..... HE HOPED THAT MRS THATCHER WOULD

SECOND PART OF HIS INSTRUCTIONS. THE PRO-  
THIS UNUSUAL ACTION UNDERLINED THE SERIOUSNESS OF THEIR CONCERN.  
IN ADDITION TO SPEAKING TO ME HE SAID HE WOULD ALSO BE  
WRITING TO THE PRIME MINISTER. HE HOPED THAT MRS THATCHER WOULD  
UNDERSTAND THEIR CONCERN AND WOULD BE ABLE TO DO SOMETHING.

2. TURNING TO SUBSTANCE, NYERERE RAISED FIRST THE QUESTION OF THE  
PRESENCE OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS. BOTH THE FLS AND THE PF HAD  
MADE CLEAR IN THE COURSE OF THE CONFERENCE AT LANCASTER HOUSE  
THAT THEY WANTED THESE REMOVED, AND THEY BELIEVED THAT THEY HAD BEEN  
GIVEN ASSURANCES TO THAT EFFECT. BUT NOW THEY WERE TOLD THAT  
THERE WERE SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS AT BEITBRIDGE, AND THEY  
UNDERSTOOD THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT HAD NO INTENTION  
OF PULLING THEM OUT AND THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAD NO  
INTENTION OF ASKING FOR THEM TO BE PULLED OUT. INDEED, HE  
BELIEVED THE GOVERNOR HAD SAID THAT THEY WERE THERE WITH HIS  
PERMISSION.

3. NYERERE'S SECOND POINT WAS THE DEPLOYMENT BY THE GOVERNOR OF  
RHODESIAN FORCES. IT HAD BEEN UNDERSTOOD THAT LAW AND ORDER WOULD  
BE THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE POLICE (NYERERE HIMSELF HAD ACCEPTED  
THIS, THOUGH HE HAD BEEN CRITICISED BY THE PF FOR DOING SO).  
IT WAS RECOGNISED THAT IF THERE WERE SERIOUS BREACHES OF THE  
CEASEFIRE THE GOVERNOR COULD USE SUCH TROOPS AS WERE AT HIS  
DISPOSAL WHO WERE LAWFUL. HOWEVER THERE WERE BREACHES OF THE  
CEASEFIRE IT WAS FOR THE CEASEFIRE COMMISSION TO EXAMINE THEM  
AND MAKE A DETERMINATION. BUT THE GOVERNOR APPEARED TO BE  
ACTING INDEPENDENTLY AND SIMPLY DEPLOYING THE RHODESIAN TROOPS  
AT WILL. NYERERE SUGGESTED THAT IN SOME CASES THE RHODESIAN  
FORCES HAD NEVER GONE BACK TO BARRACKS AT ALL AND THE GOVERNOR WAS  
NOW LEGITIMISING THIS. ALSO THE RHODESIAN AUXILIARY FORCES  
WERE BEING USED TO OCCUPY AREAS VACATED BY THE PF.

4. NYERERE'S THIRD POINT WAS WITH REGARD TO THE NUMBER OF  
ASSEMBLY POINTS AND THE REFUSAL TO EXTEND THE DEADLINE FOR  
ASSEMBLY. HE SAID THAT THE BRITISH HAD UNDERESTIMATED  
THE NUMBERS OF PF FORCES ABOUT WHICH THE PF HAD BEEN VERY HONEST.  
DESPITE THIS UNDER-ESTIMATION THE PF HAD DONE THEIR BEST TO ASSEMBLE  
THEIR FORCES WITHIN THE DEADLINE. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES IT WAS  
UNREASONABLE TO HAVE REFUSED AN EXTENSION OF THE DEADLINE, AND TO  
TREAT THOSE COMING IN LATE AS BEING UNDER A KIND OF AMNESTY WAS  
AN INSULT. MOREOVER, THERE HAD BEEN DISCUSSION OF AN ADDITIONAL  
ASSEMBLY POINT IF THE NUMBERS EXCEEDED THOSE FORECAST. NOTHING  
MORE HAD BEEN HEARD ABOUT THIS.

5. FINALLY, NYERERE RAISED THE QUESTION OF THE DELAY IN THE  
RETURN OF THE PF LEADERS.

5. FINALLY, NYERERE RAISED THE QUESTION OF THE DELAY IN THE RETURN OF THE PF LEADERS. HE REFERRED PARTICULARLY TO THE REQUEST TO MR NKOMO TO PUT BACK THE DATE OF HIS RETURN BECAUSE OF ITS CLASH WITH BISHOP MUZOREWA'S MEETING. HE ALLEGED THAT THE PF LEADERS HAD NOW BEEN TOLD THAT THEY COULD NOT RETURN ON A SATURDAY OR SUNDAY. HE ASKED WHAT IN THE LANCASTER HOUSE AGREEMENT GAVE THE GOVERNOR POWERS TO DECIDE WHEN THE PF LEADERS SHOULD RETURN.

6. IN CONCLUDING NYERERE SAID THAT HE HAD EXPECTED THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN THE COURSE OF THE LANCASTER HOUSE CONFERENCE TO TRY TO WEIGHT THE ARRANGEMENTS AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE IN FAVOUR OF BISHOP MUZOREWA. HOWEVER, ONCE THE DOCUMENTS HAD BEEN SIGNED HE HAD BELIED THAT LORD CARRINGTON WOULD ENSURE THAT THEY WERE CARRIED OUT WITH SCRUPULOUS FAIRNESS. THIS WAS NOT HAPPENING.

7. I REPEATED WHAT HAS BEEN SAID FROM LONDON AND SALISBURY ON THE PRESENCE OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS BUT THIS WAS BRUSHED ASIDE ANGRILY. I STRESSED THAT A GREAT DEAL HAD BEEN ACHIEVED AND THE

SERIOUS DIFFICULTIES CONFRONTING THE GOVERNOR. THESE DIFFICULTIES STEMMED ESSENTIALLY FROM WIDESPREAD BREACHES OF THE AGREEMENT BY ZANU BOTH BY WAY OF BORDER CROSSINGS AND THEIR FORCES CONTINUING OPERATIONS. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES THE GOVERNOR HAD NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO USE THE RHODESIAN FORCES WHEN THE POLICE COULD NOT HANDLE THE SITUATION. (NYERERE ARGUED THAT THE GOVERNOR SHOULD USE PF FORCES TO DISCIPLINE THEIR OWN PEOPLE AND REPEATED THAT THE CEASEFIRE COMMISSION SHOULD BE PLAYING A MUCH MORE IMPORTANT ROLE). I SPOKE FROM THE PREVIOUS GUIDANCE ON THE QUESTION OF MR NKOMO'S RETURN. I DENIED ANY BIAS ON THE PART OF THE GOVERNOR AND HIS ADMINISTRATION.

8. NYERERE'S RESPONDED IMPATIENTLY TO WHAT I SAID. HE SAID THE WHOLE IMPRESSION GIVEN BY THE PRESENT SITUATION WAS ONE OF COMPLETELY ONE-SIDED BEHAVIOUR BY THE ADMINISTRATION. ALL THE DECISIONS ALWAYS SEEMED TO BE TO THE DISADVANTAGE OF THE PF (I REMINDED HIM OF THE EXCELLENT ARRANGEMENTS MADE FOR THE RETURN OF THE PF MILITARY LEADERSHIP). NYERERE CONCLUDED BY SAYING THAT THE FLS WOULD ENSURE THAT THEIR CLIENTS CARRIED OUT THEIR PART OF THE BARGAIN IF THE ELECTIONS WERE CONDUCTED IN A FAIR AND FREE MANNER. HE REPEATED TWICE, EMOTIONALLY, THAT "THE RESPONSIBILITY TO HUMANITY AND TO GOD WAS BRITAIN'S".

CCN: PARA 3 4TH SENTENCE: HOWEVER, IF THERE WERE BREACHES ETC



(x-26)  
PM

PS  
PS/MR I GILMOUR  
PS/MR LUCE  
PS/PUS  
~~SIR D WALKER~~  
MR DAY  
LORD N G LENNOX  
MR ASPIN

**IMMEDIATE**

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

SIR R ARMSTRONG )  
MR R L WADE GERY )  
MR P M MAXEY ) CABINET  
MR GOULTY ) OFFICE  
MR P J FOWLER )  
DIO )

HD/RHOD DEPT (4)

HD/C AF D

HD/S AF D

HD/PUSD (2)

HD/NEWS DEPT

HD/WAD

MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A  
MR FITCOOT LEGAL ADVISER RM K164

(2)

WZ

GPS 300A

UNCLASSIFIED

FM PRETORIA 111027Z JAN 80

TO IMMEDIATE FCO LONDON

TELEGRAM NUMBER 30 OF 11 JANUARY

INFO IMMEDIATE SALISBURY, CAPE TOWN AND MODUK (D14 AND DS 11)

MIPT

1. TODAY'S TRANSVAAL PRESS (BOTH AFRIKAANS AND ENGLISH) GIVES PROMINENCE TO REPORTS OF A BRIEFING OF LOCAL AND OVERSEAS JOURNALISTS WHO YESTERDAY VISITED BEIT BRIDGE. PHOTOGRAPHS ACCOMPANYING THE REPORTS SHOW SOUTH AFRICAN SOLDIER WITH RIFLES AND MACHINE GUNS IN DEFENSIVE POSITIONS ON AND BESIDE THE BRIDGE.

2. IN REPLY TO QUESTIONS BY JOURNALISTS THE SOUTH AFRICAN OFFICER IN COMMAND (COMMANDANT LOUW DE BEER) MADE THE FOLLOWING POINTS:-

(I) THE TROOPS GUARDING THE BRIDGE HAVE TO BE DEPLOYED ON THE RHODESIAN SIDE. "IF AN ATTACK DOES COME FROM RHODESIA, WE CANNOT BE CAUGHT SITTING ON TOP OF IT."

(II) THE ONLY ATTACK IN THE VICINITY HAD TAKEN PLACE LAST YEAR WHEN THE TOWN OF BEIT BRIDGE CAME UNDER ROCKET AND MORTAR ATTACK. THE LOCAL FUEL INSTALLATION, RATHER THAN THE BRIDGE, WAS BELIEVED TO HAVE BEEN THE TARGET.

(II) THE ONLY ATTACK IN THE VICINITY HAD TAKEN PLACE LAST YEAR WHEN THE TOWN OF BEIT BRIDGE CAME UNDER ROCKET AND MORTAR ATTACK. THE LOCAL FUEL INSTALLATION, RATHER THAN THE BRIDGE, WAS BELIEVED TO HAVE BEEN THE TARGET.

(III) THE SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES WERE IN TOUCH WITH THE RHODESIAN ARMY BUT NOT WITH THE COMMONWEALTH MONITORING FORCE. A PF ASSEMBLY POINT LAY SOME 60 KMS. TO THE NORTH EAST OF THE BRIDGE.

3. ANOTHER SOUTH AFRICAN OFFICER, COLONEL NORTJE, IS QUOTED AS SAYING "WE ONLY TOOK UP POSITION AFTER LORD SOAMES HAD GIVEN HIS APPROVAL." COLONEL NORTJE DECLINED TO SAY HOW FAR INTO RHODESIA THE SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS HAD PENETRATED, ADDING THE POINT IN PARA. 2(1) ABOVE.

4. REPORTS DESCRIBE MACHINE GUN BUNKERS AT EITHER END OF THE BRIDGE AND ON GIRDERS BELOW THE BRIDGE. TRANSVALER SAYS THAT THERE ARE APPARENTLY NO MORE THAN 30 SOLDIERS AT A TIME ON THE BRIDGE, THE MAIN TASK FORCE BEING ENCAMPED ON THE SOUTH AFRICAN SIDE A KILOMETER AND A HALF FROM THE BRIDGE.

LEAHY

NNNN

[RHODESIA: POLICY: ADVANCE COPIES]

X28

PS  
PS/SIR I GILMOUR  
PS/MR LUCE  
PS/PUS  
SIR D MAITLAND  
MR DAY  
LORD N G LENNOX  
MR ASPIN

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

SIR R ARMSTRONG )  
MR R L WADE GERY )  
MR P M MAXEY ) CABINET  
MR GOULTY ) OFFICE  
MR P J FOWLER )  
DIO )

.....  
HD/RHOD DEPT (4)

HD/C AF D  
HD/S AF D

HD/PUSD (2)

ADVANCE COPY

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HE/WAD

(FILES)

MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A  
MR FIFOOT LEGAL ADVISER RM K164  
RESIDENT CLERK

GR 400

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- DESKBY 120700Z (MUSCAT)
- DESKBY 120700Z (SALISBURY)
- DESKBY 120600Z (D.E.S.)
- DESKBY 120700Z (LUSAKA)
- DESKBY 120700Z (MAPUTO)
- DESKBY 120600Z (GABORONE)
- DESKBY 120700Z (PRETORIA)
- DESKBY 120900Z (LAGOS)

FM UKMIS NEW YORK 112150Z JAN 80

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 88 OF 11 JANUARY

INFO IMMEDIATE MUSCAT SALISBURY DAR ES SALAAM LUSAKA MAPUTO GABORONE  
PRETORIA LAGOS

INFO PRIORITY LUANDA WASHINGTON

LAGOS TELNO 49: SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS IN RHODESIA

1. I AM REPORTING SEPARATELY SOME VERY HOSTILE REMARKS BY CLARK  
(NIGERIA) IN HIS SPEECH ON AFGHANISTAN IN THE EMERGENCY SPECIAL  
SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY TODAY. TO JUDGE FROM THE LAGOS

1. I AM REPORTING SEPARATELY SOME VERY HOSTILE REMARKS BY CLARK (NIGERIA) IN HIS SPEECH ON AFGHANISTAN IN THE EMERGENCY SPECIAL SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY TODAY. TO JUDGE FROM THE LAGOS TELEGRAM UNDER REFERENCE, CLARK MAY WELL HAVE BEEN ACTING ON INSTRUCTIONS. THERE ARE STILL A NUMBER OF AFRICAN COUNTRIES DOWN TO SPEAK AND I AM KEEPING MY FINGERS CROSSED THAT CLARK'S REMARKS WILL NOT PROVOKE FURTHER INTERVENTIONS IN THE SAME VEIN.

2. BUT EVEN IF WE CLEAR THIS HURDLE, I NOTE FROM MAPUTO TELNO 36 THAT THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS DECIDED YESTERDAY TO CALL, IF NECESSARY, FOR AN URGENT MEETING OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL. I FEAR THAT THERE IS NOW A SERIOUS DANGER OF THIS HAPPENING. NOW THAT THEY ARE BACK FROM THEIR HOLIDAYS, THE AFRICANS ARE BECOMING RESTIVE THAT IRAN AND AFGHANISTAN HAVE DISTRACTED THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND THE UN MEMBERSHIP GENERALLY FROM THEIR NORMAL PREOCCUPATION WITH SOUTHERN AFRICAN PROBLEMS. THE PRESENCE OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS AT BEIT BRIDGE PROVIDES THEM WITH AN IDEAL ISSUE TO GET US ALL BACK INTO THE SECURITY COUNCIL. YOU WILL REMEMBER THE CONCERN OF THE AFRICANS, LED BY CLARK, WITH THE QUESTION OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS WHEN WE WERE NEGOTIATING THE TEXT OF SCR 460. I NEED NOT SPELL OUT HOW UNDESIRABLE IT WOULD BE IF WE WERE TO BE DRAWN INTO A SERIES OF WRANGLES IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD IN RHODESIA. THE WORST CASE WOULD BE IF WE HAD TO CAST ONE OR MORE VETOS IN THE COUNCIL AND THE AFRICANS RETALIATED BY TAKING US TO THE ASSEMBLY UNDER THE UNITING FOR PEACE PROCEDURE, FOLLOWING THE AFGHANISTAN PRECEDENT.

3. I DO NOT KNOW HOW MANY SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS THERE ARE AT BEIT BRIDGE NOR THE TERMS ON WHICH THEY ARE STATIONED THERE. BUT IF WE ARE TO KEEP OUT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL DURING THE NEXT FEW WEEKS, I STRONGLY SUPPORT THE RECOMMENDATION IN PARAGRAPH 4 OF THE LAGOS TELEGRAM NUMBER REFERENCE THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS SHOULD BE REMOVED TO THEIR SIDE OF THE BORDER. IF THAT WERE DONE, THE FRONT LINE STATES MIGHT STILL TRY TO MAKE TROUBLE FOR US OVER THE USE OF RHODESIAN SECURITY FORCES AGAINST THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AND OVER THE AUXILIARIES, BUT NEITHER OF THESE ISSUES HAS THE EMOTIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SOUTH AFRICANS' PRESENCE AT BEIT BRIDGE IN APPARENT CONTRAVENTION OF SCR 460.

PARSONS

IMMEDIATE

[RHODESIA: POLICY: ADVANCE COPIES]

PS +5.  
PS/SIR I GILMOUR  
PS/MR LUCE  
PS/PUS  
SIR D MAITLAND  
MR DAY  
LORD N G LENNOX  
MR ASPIN

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

SIR R ARMSTRONG )  
MR R L WADE GERY )  
MR P M MAXEY ) CABINET  
MR GOULTY ) OFFICE  
MR P J FOWLER )  
DIO )

+35

.....  
HD/RHOD DEPT (4)

HD/C AF D  
HD/S AF D

HD/PUSD (2)

HD/NEWS DEPT  
HE/WAD

MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A  
MR FIFOOT LEGAL ADVISER RM K164  
RESIDENT CLERK

GR 450

UNCLASSIFIED

FM GABORONE 111502Z JAN

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 16 OF 11 JANUARY 1980

INFO IMMEDIATE SALISBURY, LUSAKA, DAR ES SALAAM, MAPUTO, LUANDA.

M I P T : RHODESIA.

FRONT LINE PRESIDENT'S MEETING 10 JANUARY.

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF COMMUNIQUE:

THE PRESIDENTS OF THE PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA, UNITED  
REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA, REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA, THE PEOPLES REPUBLIC  
OF MOZAMBIQUE AND THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOTSWANA  
MET AT BEIRA ON THE 10TH JANUARY TOOIP TO REVIEW THE CURRENT  
SITUATION IN ZIMBABWE AND ITS REPERCUSSIONS IN THE REGION.  
THE MEETING WAS ALSO ATTENDED BY THE CO-PRESIDENT OF THE  
PATRIOTIC FRONT MR ROBERT MUGABE AND OTHER REPRESENTATIVES  
OF THE PF.

2. THE PRESIDENTS EXAMINED IN GREAT DETAIL THE IMPLEMENTATION  
OF THE LANCASTER HOUSE AGREEMENT ON ZIMBABWE. THEY NOTED  
THE EMPHASIS WHICH THE AGREEMENT PLACED ON THE NEED TO CREATE

THE EMPHASIS WHICH THE AGREEMENT PLACED ON THE NEED TO CREATE IN ZIMBABWE AN ATMOSPHERE CONDUCTIVE TO THE HOLDING OF FREE, FAIR, IMPARTIAL AND DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS.

3. IN THIS CONTEXT THE PRESIDENTS NOTED WITH GREAT SATISFACTION THAT THE PF HAVE SCRUPULOUSLY OBSERVED THE LETTER AND THE SPIRIT OF THE AGREEMENTS. ON THE OTHER HAND, THEY NOTED WITH DEEP CONCERN BRITISH AUTHORITIES' MANOEUVRES WHICH ARE INTENDED TO PREVENT THE FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AGREEMENTS.

4. THE PRESIDENTS ALSO CITED INTER ALIA AS THE MOST FLAGRANT VIOLATION OF THE AGREEMENTS THE FOLLOWING:

- (A) THE BRITISH INVITATION TO THE RACIST SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES TO REMAIN IN ZIMBABWE THEREBY ENDANGERING PEACE AND SECURITY IN ZIMBABWE AND IN THE REGION AS A WHOLE.
- (B) THE SYSTEMATIC DEPLOYMENT AND USE OF THE RHODESIAN CRIMINAL FORCES AND THE AUXILIARIES TO MAINTAIN LAW ORDER IN VIOLATION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF CONFINEMENT AND EQUITY OF STATUS OF THE FORCES.
- (C) THE SYSTEMATIC OCCUPATION AND PATROLLING OF THE BORDERS OF THE NEIGHBOURING FLS BY THESE CRIMINAL FORCES ONCE AGAIN ENDANGERING THE PEACE AND SECURITY OF THE REGION.
- (D) THE DELIBERATE OBSTACLES THAT HAVE BEEN PLACED IN THE WAY OF THE RETURN OF THE PF LEADERS AND CADRES AND INDEED EVEN THE REFUGEES, TO THEIR COUNTRY.

AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND, THE PRESIDENTS DECIDED THE FOLLOWING:

(1) TO MANDATE THE CHAIRMAN OF THE FLS TO

- (A) COORDINATE DIFFERENT ACTIONS AT THE INTERNATIONAL LEVEL AIMED AT ENSURING THE CREATION OF A GENUINE, FREE AND DEMOCRATIC ZIMBABWE;
- (B) CALL, IF NECESSARY, A MEETING OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO EXAMINE THE OBSERVANCES OF RELEVANT PARAGRAPHS OF RESOLUTION 460 (1979).

(2) REAFFIRM THAT IT IS ONLY WITH THE FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SPIRIT AND LETTER OF THE AGREEMENTS OF THE LANCASTER HOUSE THAT FREE, FAIR AND DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS

OF THE SPIRIT AND LETTER OF THE AGREEMENTS OF THE  
LANCASTER HOUSE THAT FREE, FAIR AND DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS  
CAN BE HELD LEADING TO THE GENUINE INDEPENDENCE OF ZIMBABWE.

(3) REAFFIRM THEIR UNFLINCHING SUPPORT FOR THE PF AND IN THIS  
REGARD THEY ENCOURAGED UNITY OF ACTION WITHIN PF.

THE PRESIDENTS PAID TRIBUTE TO ALL THE FIGHTERS AND POPULATION  
OF ZIMBABWE AND NEIGHBOURING STATES WHO GAVE THEIR LIVES SO THAT  
ZIMBABWE CAN BE FREE. THE PRESIDENTS OBSERVED ONE MINUTE OF  
SILENCE IN MEMORY OF THE LATE COMMANDER JOSIAH TONGARARA THE HERO  
OF ZIMBABWE. THE HEADS OF STATE REAFFIRMED THEIR COMMITMENT TO  
PROMOTE A POLICY OF PEACE, COOPERATION AND NEIGHBOURLINESS  
AMONG STATES OF THE REGION.

A L U T A   C O N T I N U A   (EXCLAM.)

COMMUNIQUE ENDS ....

TURNER

NNNN

IMMEDIATE

[RHODESIA: POLICY: ADVANCE COPIES]

PS/SIR I GILMOUR  
PS/MR LUCE  
PS/PUS  
SIR D MAITLAND  
MR DAY  
LORD N G LENNOX  
MR ASPIN

+35

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

SIR R ARMSTRONG )  
MR R L WADE GERY )  
MR P M MAXEY ) CABINET  
MR GOULTY ) OFFICE  
MR P J FOWLER )  
DIO )

.....  
HD/RHOD DEPT (4)

HD/C AF D  
HD/S AF D

HD/PUSD (2)

HD/NEWS DEPT  
HE/WAD

MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A  
MR FIFOOT LEGAL ADVISER RM K164

RESIDENT CLERK  
GR 680

CONFIDENTIAL

FM GABORONE 111501Z JAN

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 15 OF 11 JANUARY 1980

INFO IMMEDIATE SALISBURY, LUSAKA, DAR ES SALAAM, MAPUTO,  
LUANDA AND PRETORIA.

RHODESIA : FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS' MEETING 10 JANUARY.

1. I SAW MOGWE TODAY (11 JANUARY) IN RESPONSE TO MY REQUEST FOR A BRIEFING ON THE BEIRA MEETING. HE HAD BRIEFLY RETURNED FROM HOLIDAY TO ATTEND THE MEETING WITH THE VICE-PRESIDENT. MOGWE GAVE ME A COPY OF A COMMUNIQUE AND INVITED MY COMMENTS.

2. I SAID THAT PARAGRAPH 3 OF THE COMMUNIQUE, WHICH NOTED THAT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT HAVE SCRUPULOUSLY KEPT THE LETTER AND SPIRIT OF THE LANCASTER HOUSE AGREEMENT, WAS PATENTLY INCORRECT. I THEN SPOKE AS IN PARA 7(1) OF YOUR TELNO 010 TO LUSAKA SUPPLEMENTED BY THE INFORMATION IN SALISBURY TELNO 103. MOGWE SAID THAT NONE OF THESE FACTS HAD APPEARED AT THE F.L. MEETING. I COMMENTED THAT AT LEAST THE MOZAMBICANS SHOULD HAVE BEEN AWARE OF THE SITUATION HAVING BEEN BRIEFED BY OUR AMBASSADOR IN MAPUTO.

3. I THEN WENT ON TO DENY THAT THERE HAD BEEN ANY VIOLATION BY THE GOVERNOR OF THE LANCASTER HOUSE AGREEMENT AND DRAWING ON YOUR



3. I THEN WENT ON TO DENY THAT THERE HAD BEEN ANY VIOLATION BY THE GOVERNOR OF THE LANCASTER HOUSE AGREEMENT AND DRAWING ON YOUR TELNO 010 I TOOK THE OPPORTUNITY OF POINTING OUT THE PROGRESS WHICH HAD BEEN MADE. MOGWE SAID THAT NO DOUBT PRESIDENT NYERERE WOULD BE CALLING IN OUR HIGH COMMISSIONER IN DAR ES SALAAM AND GOING THROUGH THE COMMUNIQUE WITH HIM. THIS WOULD GIVE US AN OPPORTUNITY OF PUTTING THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS STRAIGHT BEFORE PRESIDENT NYERERE FOLLOWED HIS MANDATE IN THE FINAL PARAGRAPHS OF THE COMMUNIQUE. MOGWE COMMENTED THAT A REPLY FROM MRS THATCHER WOULD BE PARTICULARLY HELPFUL.

4. MOGWE SAID THAT THE BIGGEST CONTRIBUTION WHICH WE COULD MAKE TO REMOVE MISAPPREHENSIONS ABOUT OUR ADMINISTRATION OF THE CEASE-FIRE WOULD BE TO GET RID OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES AT BEIT BRIDGE. HE APPEARED TO ACCEPT MY ARGUMENT THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES WOULD HAVE NO IMPACT ON THE ELECTIONS BUT HE SAID THAT THE PRESENCE OF A SINGLE MEMBER OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES IN RHODESIA GAVE ZANU A WONDERFUL CHANCE OF MAKING TROUBLE. FOLLOWING THIS HE LISTED THE MATTERS ON WHICH THE FRONT LINE WOULD REQUIRE REASSURANCE: THE USE OF RHODESIAN FORCES FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF LAW AND ORDER (HE DREW A DISTINCTION BETWEEN MAINTENANCE OF LAW AND ORDER AND DEALING WITH BREACHES OF THE CEASEFIRE), THE MISBEHAVIOUR OF AUXILIARIES AND THE RETURN OF REFUGEES. HE SAID THAT THE LATTER WAS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT. THE FRONT LINE WOULD TAKE IT AS A BREACH OF THE SPIRIT OF THE LANCASTER HOUSE AGREEMENT AND WOULD PUT THE RESULT OF THE ELECTIONS IN DOUBT IF ALL REFUGEES OF VOTING AGE WERE NOT PERMITTED TO RETURN. HE THOUGHT THAT WE WOULD CLEARLY BE SUPPORTING MUZOREWA IF WE LIMITED THE RETURN OF REFUGEES TO 5,000 PER WEEK AS HAD BEEN ALLEGED IN BEIRA. I GAVE MOGWE THE USUAL ASSURANCE ABOUT OUR INTENTION TO ALLOW AS MANY AS POSSIBLE TO RETURN. HE SAID THAT WE OUGHT TO BE MORE LIBERAL ABOUT THOSE REFUGEES WHO HAD HOMES TO GO TO AND WOULD NOT NEED THE HELP OF THE SOCIAL SERVICES.

5. MOGWE THEN COMMENTED THAT HE HAD FOUND IT STRANGE THAT NKOMO HAD NOT ATTENDED THE BEIRA MEETING. MUGABE WAS THE ONLY PF LEADER OF ANY SIGNIFICANCE AND MOGWE DID NOT KNOW IF ANY ZAPU REPRESENTATIVES HAD ATTENDED. HE SAID THAT MUGABE, IN ADDRESSING THE PRESIDENT HAD MADE IT CLEAR THAT THE TWO WINGS OF THE PF WOULD FIGHT THE ELECTION SEPARATELY. IN EXPLAINING THE REASON FOR THIS MUGABE HAD SAID THAT TRIBALISM WAS STILL AN IMPORTANT FACTOR IN ELECTIONS. IF ZANU AGREED TO FIGHT THE ELECTIONS ON A COMMON PLATFORM WITH ZAPU IT WOULD BE ALLEGED THAT HE HAD SUBMITTED TO THE NDEBELE. EQUALLY IT WOULD BE ALLEGED THAT NKOMO HAD GIVEN IN TO THE SHONA. IT WAS THEREFORE BETTER THAT THE TWO WINGS FIGHT THE ELECTION SEPARATELY BUT NOT IN COOPERATION. MUGABE HAD

TO THE SHONA. IT WAS THEREFORE BETTER THAT THE TWO WINGS FIGHT THE ELECTION SEPARATELY BUT NOT IN OPPOSITION. MUGABE INTENDED TO MEET NKOMO SHORTLY TO WORK OUT SPHERES OF ACTIVITY AND UNITY OF ACTION.

6. MOGWE SEEMED SYMPATHETIC TO MY DESCRIPTION OF THE PROGRESS MADE IN SALISBURY AND TO BE SCEPTICAL OF THE CRITICISMS MADE OF THE GOVERNOR. HE COMMENTED THAT THE FRONT LINE NEVER PUBLICLY PRAISED BRITAIN WHEN SHE DID THE RIGHT THING. HIS FINAL COMMENTS WERE, HOWEVER, THAT WE HAD MADE AN APPALLING BLUNDER OVER THE SOUTH AFRICANS AT BEIT BRIDGE.

7. I IMAGINE THAT YOU HAVE ALREADY RECEIVED THE COMMUNIQUE OF THE BEIRA MEETING BUT TO BE ON THE SAFE SIDE M I F T CONTAINS THE TEXT OF THE COPY GIVEN TO ME BY MOGWE.

TURNER

NNNN



Telephone  
01-499 8600  
Cables  
JAMHICOM, LONDON, S.W.I.

JAMAICAN HIGH COMMISSION,  
50, ST. JAMES'S STREET,  
LONDON, SW1A 1JS.

305.1

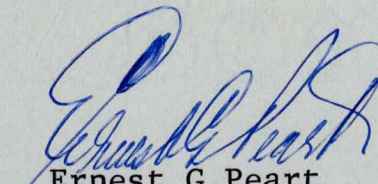
11 January 1980

Dear Prime Minister,

I have today received the enclosed envelope  
from my Prime Minister with a request that it be  
forwarded to you.

*message of 24/12*

Yours sincerely,

  
Ernest G Peart  
High Commissioner

The Rt. Honourable Margaret Thatcher, MP  
Prime Minister  
10 Downing Street  
London SW1

**RESTRICTED**

ds

11 January 1980

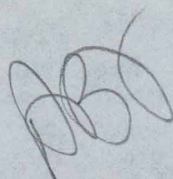
Rhodesia : Message to the Governor

As I have already informed Roderic Lyne, the Prime Minister has seen and approved the draft text of a message from her to Lord Soames enclosed with your letter to me of today's date.

MICHAEL ALEXANDER

M.J. Richardson, Esq.,  
Lord Privy Seal's Office.

**RESTRICTED**





Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

11 January 1980

Dear Michael

RHODESIA : MESSAGE TO THE GOVERNOR

I enclose, in accordance with Cabinet's invitation to the Lord Privy Seal yesterday, a draft message which the Lord Privy Seal suggests that the Prime Minister may like to send to Lord Soames in the form of a telegram which, if the Prime Minister agrees, we will despatch.

Yours own  
Michael

M J Richardson  
Private Secretary to the  
Lord Privy Seal

M O'D B Alexander  
10 Downing Street

100

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AA

11 JAN 1960



File No. ....  
Rhodesia Dept      **OUTWARD**  
Department .....  
Drafted by      **TELEGRAM**  
(Block Capitals) .....  
Tel. Extn. ....

Security Classification  
RESTRICTED  
Precedence  
IMMEDIATE  
DESKBY ..... Z

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(Time) ..... Z

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(Security Class.) .....  
(Codeword) .....      (Deskby) ..... Z

TO IMMEDIATE SALISBURY Tel. No. .... of .....  
(precedence) (post)

AND TO (precedence/post) .....  
.....

AND SAVING TO .....

REPEATED TO (for info) .....

SAVING TO (for info) .....

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Rhodesia Policy

Copies to:-

[TEXT]

PERSONAL FOR GOVERNOR FROM PRIME MINISTER

1. At Cabinet yesterday our colleagues asked me to convey to you their warm congratulations on the remarkable achievements of your first four weeks as Governor. There is no doubt that the going will get even tougher but you have our full support and confidence. We wish you continuing success for the coming weeks.

11 January 1980

Rhodesia : Message to Mr. Mugabe

As I have already told you on the telephone, the Prime Minister has approved, with minor amendments, the text of the message to Mr. Mugabe enclosed with your letter to me of 10 January. She has also approved the procedure proposed in that letter.

The amendments to the message were that:-

- a. the first sub-paragraph of the speaking notes should be deleted;
- b. that the words "Lancaster House" should be inserted before the first reference to the Conference in sub-paragraph 2 of the speaking notes; and
- c. the word "must" should be changed to "should" in sub-paragraph 7 of the speaking notes.

MICHAEL ALEXANDER

Roderic Lyne, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

GR



50

# COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT

CABLES: COMSEGEN LONDON SW1  
TELEX: 27678  
TELEPHONE: 01-839 3411 Ext:

MARLBOROUGH HOUSE,  
PALL MALL,  
LONDON, SW1Y 5HX

*fs. [Signature]*

Your ref:  
Our ref:

C.151/4/2

11 January 1980

CONFIDENTIAL

Commonwealth Committee on Southern Africa

Attached is a copy of the minutes of the  
Committee's meeting held on 8 January, 1980.

*M. Malhoutra*

Copies:

As per Circular No ②

M. Malhoutra  
Secretary  
Commonwealth Committee on  
Southern Africa

Encl.

116 JAN 1960



Group/Class..... PREM 19  
Piece..... 342

Commonwealth Committee  
document CSA(80) 1st Meeting,  
Minutes, 8 January 1980

Paper extracted and  
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review.  
(date)..... 20 July 2010  
(Signed)..... AWayland



T 7/80

**PRIME MINISTER'S  
PERSONAL MESSAGE**

EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA  
21 PRINCE'S GATE  
LONDON SW7 1QB

SERIAL No. T 7/80

TEL. 01-589 9405  
01-589 2264

27-3e-01-'80

11th January, 1980

Madame Prime Minister,

I have the honour to transcribe hereunder, text of a Telegram I have received today from President William R. Tolbert, Jr., current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity addressed to your goodself:

"I HAVE RECEIVED WITH GREAT CONCERN NEWS REPORT OF THE CONTINUED PRESENCE OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS IN ZIMBABWE STOP YOU WILL RECALL CMA MADAM PRIME MINISTER CMA THAT DURING THE LANCASTER HOUSE TALKS YOUR GOVERNMENT GAVE ASSURANCES THAT UPON THE ARRIVAL OF LORD SOAMES IN ZIMBABWE ALL FOREIGN TROOPS INCLUDING SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS WOULD BE IMMEDIATELY WITHDRAWN STOP WE CANNOT FORGET THAT THE QUESTION OF THE PRESENCE OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS IN ZIMBABWE WAS AN ISSUE OF GRAVE CONCERN DURING THE TALKS AND BECAUSE OF THE ASSURANCES GIVEN US BY YOUR GOVERNMENT WE IN TURN REASSURED THE LEADERS OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT THAT SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS IN ZIMBABWE WOULD BE WITHDRAWN IMMEDIATELY UPON THE ARRIVAL OF THE BRITISH GOVERNOR IN SALISBURY STOP I AM SURE YOU WILL AGREE WITH ME THAT REPORTS OF THE CONTINUED PRESENCE OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS IN ZIMBABWE CMA WOULD HAVE THE MOST UNFORTUNATE EFFECT OF ERODING CONFIDENCE IN THE LANCASTER HOUSE AGREEMENT AND WOULD ADVERSELY AFFECT THE PROCESS LEADING TO INDEPENDENCE WITH GENUINE MAJORITY RULE IN ZIMBABWE STOP I THEREFORE IMPILORE YOU CMA MADAM PRIME MINISTER CMA TO TAKE EFFECTIVE MEASURES AS WOULD ENSURE THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS FROM ZIMBABWE IN ORDER THAT THE AGREEMENT SO PAINSTAKINGLY NEGOTIATED AND CONCLUDED IN LONDON MIGHT BE SUCCESSFULLY IMPLEMENTED STOP IN CONVEYING OUR VERY BEST WISHES FOR A HAPPY AND PROSPEROUS NEW YEAR FOR YOU AND YOUR FAMILY CMA MADAM PRIME MINISTER CMA PLEASE ACCEPT THE RENEWED ASSURANCES OF MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATION AND ESTEEM SINCERELY W. R. TOLBERT JR PRESIDENT OF LIBERIA AND CURRENT CHAIRMAN OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY".

...../2..

The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher, MP  
Prime Minister,  
10 Downing Street,  
LONDON S.W. 1.

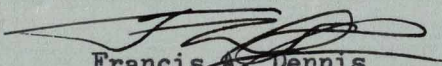


EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA  
21 PRINCE'S GATE  
LONDON SW7 1QB

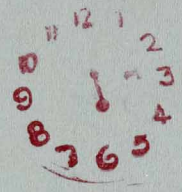
TEL. 01-589 9405  
01-589 2264

-2-

Be pleased to accept, Madam Prime Minister, the assurances  
of my highest esteem.

  
Francis A. Dennis  
AMBASSADOR

EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA  
27 FORTUNE GATE  
MONROVIA LIBERIA



11 JAN 1960

be placed in accordance with the instructions for the use of the



LIBERIA  
MONROVIA

PRIME MINISTER

PA  
MJS  
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RHODESIA ELECTIONS: PARLIAMENTARY OBSERVERS

Before the Recess David Winnick tabled a Question asking the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster if he would "arrange for a number of honourable Members to observe the pending elections in Rhodesia and to report back to the House."

After consultation with Lord Soames, the FCO recommend the following reply:

"The Government do not propose to recommend the formation of an all-party group to report on the elections on Rhodesia. But they are prepared to discuss through <sup>the usual</sup> ~~normal~~ channels arrangements for a certain number of Members of Parliament to observe the elections. The Governor has agreed to provide the appropriate assistance."

The Chancellor of the Duchy thought that he should clear this with you before giving the reply next week. I can see no great objection to it. The proposal is set out in more detail in the attached note from the Foreign Office.

Are you content?

Yes out

MJS

10 January 1980

RESTRICTED

Mr Powell

RHODESIAN ELECTIONS: PARLIAMENTARY OBSERVERS

- 1. At the Secretary of State's meeting with Ministers this morning it was decided that we should press ahead with plans to arrange for a number of UK Parliamentarians to observe the Rhodesian elections. The intention is that while HMG should pay the expenses of this group it should be made clear that they will not be expected to submit any report to Parliament (there should be no difficulty in impressing this point on the Conservative members of the group). Members of the group should be chosen by the Chief Whips and our sponsorship should be presented in terms of 'offering facilities for a certain number of Parliamentarians to observe the elections'.
- 2. It is intended that the group should comprise 3 Conservatives, 2 Labour and 1 Liberal plus 1 peer from the cross benches. At least one other member of the group should also be a member of the House of Lords.
- 3. Subject to your views I do not think that this proposal conflicts with the line agreed with the Governor on parliamentary observers. If you agree, there is probably no need to put the proposal to the Governor for the time being but we should get in touch with the Chief Whips before Parliament reassembles.

K Q F Manning  
PS/Mr Luce

4 January 1980

cc:

- PS
- PS/LPS ✓
- PS/PUS
- Mr Day



Covering RESTRICTED



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

4 January 1980



Dear John,

RHODESIA ELECTIONS: OBSERVERS FROM PARLIAMENT

In my letter of 20 December I said that we would have to consult the Governor on our proposed substantive reply to Mr Winnick's PQ on Parliamentary Observers for the elections in Rhodesia.

The following reply has been cleared with Lord Soames and may now, with your agreement, be published in the Official Report:

X/ " The Government do not propose to recommend the formation of an all-party group to report on the elections on Rhodesia. But they are prepared to discuss through normal channels arrangements for a certain number of Members of Parliament to observe the elections. The Governor has agreed to provide appropriate assistance." /X

For your own information I enclose a copy of an FCO minute recording our ministers' view of how this should be played.

I am copying this letter with enclosure to Murdo MacLean.

*Myles A. Wubst*

pp S J Gomersall  
PS/Lord Privy Seal

PS/Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster  
Privy Council Office  
Whitehall



Alastair

Could you please  
confirm that No.10  
is happy with attached.

with compliments

Keith Millar

10/1

CHANCELLOR OF THE DUCHY OF LANCASTER  
68 Whitehall London SW1A 2AS  
Telephone 01-233-7113



QUESTION FOR WRITTEN ANSWER

NO: 203

DATE: THURSDAY 20 DECEMBER 1979

---

MR DAVID WINNICK (Walsall North): To ask the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, if he will arrange for a number of honourable Members to observe the pending elections in Rhodesia, and to report back to the House.

CHANCELLOR OF THE DUCHY:

~~I am arranging for the Governor of Southern Rhodesia to be consulted and will give a further reply in due course.~~

*Suggested reply attached.*

CONFIDENTIAL



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London S.W.1

10 January 1980

*As heavily  
modified  
ml*

*Dear Michael,*

Rhodesia : Message to the Prime Minister from Mr Mugabe

Robert Mugabe has sent a message (text enclosed) to the Prime Minister protesting at the Governor's decision to allow a contingent of South African troops to be stationed at the Rhodesian end of Beitbridge and his use of Rhodesian security forces to deal with breaches of the cease-fire. The message also accuses Lord Soames of deliberately preventing the return of ZANU personnel to Rhodesia, and of failing to act impartially. The tone of the message is provocative, and Mugabe has released it to the press. This suggests that its primary purpose is propaganda. Mugabe appears to be going ahead with plans to return to Rhodesia, despite the charges he makes in the letter.

During the next two months there will inevitably be other occasions on which the various parties in Rhodesia will feel aggrieved at the Governor's decisions and accuse him and HMG of bad faith. Once Nkomo and Mugabe have returned to Salisbury they will be able to raise such points directly with the Governor, which is the appropriate way to deal with them. The Patriotic Front representatives on the Ceasefire Commission are already able to raise in that body any problems arising from the Ceasefire Agreement. We do not wish to encourage Nkomo and Mugabe to appeal over the Governor's head and would not recommend that the Prime Minister should reply personally to Mugabe's message. This would seem to attach more importance to his allegations than they warrant. We propose therefore that HM Ambassador in Maputo should be instructed to reply orally to the various points made, and at the same time to draw to Mugabe's attention the substantial evidence of continued infringements of the cease-fire by ZANLA. I enclose a draft telegram of instructions for which we are seeking Lord Carrington's approval. It takes account of views expressed by Lord Soames from Salisbury. I should be grateful to know whether the Prime Minister is content with this means of dealing with Mugabe's message.

In briefing the press we would propose to draw heavily on the instructions to the Ambassador and to stress the need for ZANU and ZANLA to comply strictly with the agreements reached at Lancaster House. We shall be instructing posts to speak in similar terms.

*yours ever  
Roderic Lyne*

(R M J Lyne)  
Private Secretary

M O'D B Alexander Esq  
10 Downing Street

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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London S.W. 1



11 JAN 1960



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FM MAPUTO 081215Z JANUARY 80

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 23 OF 08 JANUARY

AND TO IMMEDIATE SALISBURY

INFO PRIORITY LUSAKA WASHINGTON DAR ES SALAAM LAGOS

MY TELNO 39 TO SALISBURY (NOT TO ALL): RHODESIA: ZANU

FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF MUGABE'S LETTER DATED TODAY:

DEAR MRS THATCHER,

IT HAS BECOME NECESSARY FOR ME TO CONVEY TO YOU, ON BEHALF OF MY PARTY, THE FOLLOWING EXTREMELY GRAVE OBSERVATIONS.

YOU WILL RECALL THAT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AGREED TO THE CEASEFIRE ARRANGEMENTS ONLY AFTER CERTAIN ASSURANCES HAD BEEN MADE BY LORD CARRINGTON. WE HAD REPEATEDLY BEEN ASSURED THAT:--

1. SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS WOULD BE WITHDRAWN FROM SOUTHERN RHODESIA AS SOON AS THE GOVERNOR HAD ARRIVED IN SALISBURY. NOW GOVERNOR SOAMES INFORMS US THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS ARE THERE WITH HIS CONSENT. WHY WERE WE TOLD LIES IN THE FIRST INSTANCE? YOU WILL RECALL THAT ON THE DAY OF THE SIGNING OF THE LANCASTER HOUSE AGREEMENT WE RAISED THIS MATTER WITH YOU AND YOU AND LORD CARRINGTON ASSURED US THAT THE MATTER WAS UNDER CONTROL AND THAT YOU VIEWED IT WITH THE SAME DEGREE OF SERIOUSNESS AS OURSELVES. WE CANNOT AT ALL ACCEPT THE PRESENCE OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS IN OUR COUNTRY AS IT IS NOT ONLY AN ACT OF AGRESSION BUT ALSO A VIOLATION OF OUR AGREEMENT.

2. THAT THE MAINTENANCE OF LAW AND ORDER DURING THE INTERIM PERIOD WOULD BE THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE POLICE. YOU HAVE NOW AUTHORISED YOUR GOVERNOR TO DEPLOY GENERAL WALLS' ARMED FORCES THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY FOR OSTENSIBLY "LAW AND ORDER" PURPOSES. THIS IS A FRAGRANT VIOLATION OF THE LANCASTER HOUSE AGREEMENT AND AMOUNTS IN

/FACT

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FACT TO A MISAPPLICATION OF POWERS VESTED IN HIM. THE EFFECT OF DEPLOYING RHODESIAN TROOPS IS TO PLACE OUR OWN TROOPS IN A POSITION WHERE THEY ALONE ARE ASSEMBLED AND STATIONARY AND THUS FACED WITH THE THREAT OF ENCIRCLEMENT BY RHODESIAN TROOPS. WE CANNOT ALLOW OUR TROOPS TO BE PLACED IN THAT DANGER. IN ANY CASE, WHY SHOULD THE GOVERNOR CHOOSE TO RELY ON THE RHODESIAN TROOPS AND NOT ON OUR OWN?

3. A CRUCIAL ELEMENT IN THE CEASEFIRE SCHEME WAS AND REMAINS THE DISENGAGEMENT FORMULA. IT WAS AGREED AT LANCASTER THAT THE RHODESIAN FORCES WOULD DISENGAGE FIRST BY WITHDRAWING TO THEIR BASES. IT WAS EXPLAINED TO US THAT SELOUS SCOUTS AND THE VARIOUS COMPONENTS OF THE AUXILIARY FORCES WOULD BE EXPECTED TO GATHER AND REMAIN AT THEIR BASES. THERE IS ABSOLUTELY NO EVIDENCE THAT THE AUXILIARY FORCES OF BISHOP MUZOREWA HAVE DISENGAGED AND ARE ASSEMBLED AT ANY BASE. WHO, IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, IS BREACHING THE CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT? IT IS CLEAR THAT LORD SOAMES IS ALLOWING THE AUXILIARY FORCES TO REMAIN DEPLOYED AND DEPLOYING THE RHODESIAN FORCES IN ORDER DELIBERATELY TO UPSET THE BALANCE OF THE FORCES IN THEIR FAVOUR. WE HAVE EVIDENCE THAT ATTEMPTS AT OCCUPYING AREAS FROM WHICH OUR FORCES HAVE MOVED ARE BEING MADE IN A DEFINITE STRATEGIC PATTERN. YOU WILL RECALL THAT WE STATED PUBLICLY IN LONDON THAT WE ARE UNWILLING TO SURRENDER ANY OF OUR LIBERATED ZONES NOR ABANDON OUR BASES AND COMBAT POSITIONS IN THE CONTESTED AREAS UNLESS THE RHODESIAN FORCES PLUS THE AUXILIARY FORCES WERE PROPERLY TO DISENGAGE AND BE POSITIONED IN THEIR BARRACKS. THIS IS NOT WHAT HAS HAPPENED.

IN THE LIGHT OF THE ABOVE OBSERVATIONS, I FEEL COMPELLED TO DEMAND FROM YOU AND OTHER PARTIES CONCERNED THAT THESE VIOLATIONS OF THE LANCASTER HOUSE AGREEMENT MUST CEASE IMMEDIATELY. IF THEY CONTINUE, I SHALL REGARD MY SIDE AND ITS FORCES AS EQUALLY FREE TO DISHONOUR, IN A SIMILAR WAY, THE CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT. WE SHALL, HOWEVER, REFRAIN FROM TAKING HASTY ACTION ON THIS MATTER.

LET ME EMPHASIZE THAT IT IS FRAUDULENT OF THE LANCASTER HOUSE AGREEMENT FOR THE GOVERNOR TO USE RHODESIAN TROOPS FOR PURPOSES OF MAINTAINING LAW AND ORDER. IT IS MORE FRAUDULENT STILL FOR THE GOVERNOR TO USE THE PRETEXT OF MAINTAINING LAW AND ORDER IN ORDER TO GIVE A TACTICAL ADVANTAGE TO THE RHODESIAN FORCES

2

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OVER THE PATRIOTIC FRONT FORCES. IT IS EQUALLY FRAUDULENT AND DECEITFUL FOR THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO ACCEPT AND GIVE THEIR BLESSING TO THE PRESENCE OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS CONTRARY TO THE UNDERTAKING AT LANCASTER HOUSE. ARE WE DEALING WITH AN HONEST GOVERNMENT OR NOT? CAN WE EVER RELY ON THE WORD OF YOUR GOVERNMENT? WHERE IS THE GOVERNOR'S SENSE OF IMPARTIALITY THAT LORD CARRINGTON ASSURED US WE WOULD GET FROM LORD SOAMES?

YOU PROBABLY ARE AWARE THAT NONE OF MY PARTY MEN HAVE BEEN ALLOWED INTO RHODESIA. -FOR MORE THAN A WEEK NOW ANY CHARTERED PLANE WE HAVE HAD TO CARRY THEM HAS BEEN DENIED LANDING RIGHTS AND I HAVE BEEN PERSONALLY INFORMED FROM YOUR EMBASSY IN MAPUTO THAT NONE OF MY MEN WOULD BE ALLOWED ENTRY "BECAUSE MUZOREWA WAS HOLDING HIS RALLIES" AND BECAUSE A UNIT OF MY FORCES WERE RESISTING THE CEASEFIRE. WHAT CHICANERY IS THIS, MADAME PRIME MINISTER? MAY I ASK FOR YOUR PERSONAL INTERVENTION IN ALL THE MATTERS CONSTITUTING MY PARTY'S PRESENT GRIEVANCES.

WE AGREED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE FORTHCOMING ELECTIONS PROVIDED THEY ARE FREE AND FAIR. THE ABOVE ENUMERATED DEVELOPEMENTS IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA POSE A DANGEROUS THREAT TO FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS. WITH RESPECT, LET ME NOT FIND IT NECESSAREY TO LODGE ANOTHER PROTEST ON SIMILAR LINES IN THE FUTURE. (NEXT WORD UNDERLINED) BONA FIDES IS OF ESSENCE TO ALL SIDES, IF THE HOPES OF LANCASTER HOUSE ARE TO BE REALIZED.

PLEASE ACCEPT MY HIGHEST REGARDS.

YOURS SINCERELY

R.G. MUGABE PRESIDENT (ZANU)

PAPADOPOULOS

## FILES

RHOD D	OID
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NAD	PS
MED	PS/SIR I GILMOUR
PUSD	PS/MR LUCE
PLANNING STAFF	PS/MR RIDLEY
ES & SD	PS/MR HURD
NENAD	PS/MR MARTEN
CCD	PS/PUS
FRD	SIR D MAITLAND
EID (E)	
UND	MR HANNAY
LEGAL ADVISERS	LORD N G LENNOX
(MR FREELAND)	MISS BROWN
(MR FIFOOT)	MR DAY
ECON D	MR FERGUSSON
PCD	MR ASPIN
DEF D	MR MILLS

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RHODESIA POLICY

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OUT TELEGRAM

Classification and Caveats

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CONFIDENTIAL

FIRST CONTACT 11 JANUARY

FM FCO 101900Z JANUARY 1980

IMMEDIATE MUSCAT (FOR SECRETARY OF STATE'S PARTY)

TELEGRAM NO

AND TO IMMEDIATE SALISBURY

MIPT : PROPOSED INSTRUCTIONS TO MAPUTO

1. In the light of the relatively more moderate tone adopted by Mugabe in his talks with you (your telno 40 to Salisbury), we assume that the main purpose of his message to the Prime Minister is its propaganda effect. This is confirmed by his action in releasing it to the press well before its receipt here. From your further reports it is clear that there has been no change in ZANU's plans to return to Rhodesia.

2. The Prime Minister will not be replying personally to the message. We prefer to avoid a written reply altogether. You should however see Mugabe again and speak on the following lines, making clear that you are doing so on instructions. You may if you wish leave him a copy of your speaking notes.

NNNN ends telegram	BLANK	Catchword i.
File number	Dept Private Office	Distribution
Drafted by (Block capitals) R M J LYNE		Files Rhodesia Dept PS PS/LPS PS/Mr Luce PS/PUS PS/Mr Day
Telephone number 233 4641		
Authorised for despatch <i>Rmj 10/1</i>		
Comcen reference	Time of despatch	

OUT TELEGRAM (CONT)

Classification and Caveats  
CONFIDENTIAL

Page  
2

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1 <<<< hi  
 2 i. We regret the invective in his letter which is remi<sup>h</sup>scent of  
 3 some of the less helpful passages of the Lancaster House  
 4 Conference.  
 5 ii. Lord Carrington made clear during the <sup>Lancaster House</sup> conference that  
 6 there would be no question of intervention by external forces in  
 7 Rhodesia under the Governor. This remains our position. The  
 8 Governor's decision to allow a small South African force to  
 9 protect Beitbridge does not represent intervention. It has the  
 10 specific purpose of safeguarding a vital communications link.  
 11 This is necessary in the light of continuing breaches of the  
 12 cease-fire in the area. The force is in the immediate vicinity  
 13 of the bridge. We have always made clear that there would be  
 14 no purge of the Rhodesian or the Patriotic Front forces in this  
 15 period: both of them contain various nationalities.  
 16 iii. It is the responsibility of the police to maintain law and  
 17 order. The Governor has authorised the use of Rhodesian forces  
 18 only in support of the police and only where the latter have been  
 19 unable to cope with serious breaches of the cease-fire. Such  
 20 forces are monitored when used in this way. This is fully in  
 21 accord with the agreements. In almost all cases it has been  
 22 possible to resolve outstanding cases peacefully. But unless  
 23 ZANLA comply with the cease-fire, very dangerous situations will  
 24 arise.  
 25 iv. The great majority of these breaches have been caused by  
 26 ZANLA forces. In several areas ZANLA groups are refusing to  
 27 comply with the cease-fire arrangements and even with the orders  
 28 of their own commanders. There is also evidence of cross-border  
 29 movement on a considerable scale by ZANLA in contravention of  
 30 the cease-fire, as well as of persistent intimidation. The  
 31 Governor applied the cease-fire deadline flexibly and gave ZANLA

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NNNN ends telegram	BLANK	Catchword forces
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OUT TELEGRAM (CONT)

	Classification and Caveats <b>CONFIDENTIAL</b>	Page <b>3</b>
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1 <<<<  
2 forces every opportunity to assemble peacefully with their  
3 weapons. It is essential that ZANLA comply scrupulously with the  
4 the cease-fire provisions, otherwise the Governor will have no  
5 alternative but to take appropriate action. There is no question  
6 of the Governor authorising any action against Patriotic Front  
7 forces which are observing the cease-fire. You should draw  
8 further as appropriate on the information in Salisbury telnos  
9 38 and 39 to you.  
10 v. The auxiliary forces are under military command and the  
11 military commanders are responsible to the Governor for seeing  
12 that they observe the cease-fire. If there is a belief that  
13 they are not doing so the matter should be raised at the cease-  
14 fire commission and will be fully investigated and dealt with  
15 appropriately.  
16 vi. Such delay as has occurred in arranging the return of ZANU  
17 personnel has been caused by ZANU's failure to give us adequate  
18 notice of their plans. We are glad that the ZANU advance party  
19 has now arrived and that plans for Mugabe's own return are being  
20 discussed. This will enable matters such as those raised in his  
21 letter to be discussed directly between him and the Governor.  
22 vii. We wish to see early action by ZANU to release the  
23 detainees in Mozambique. There <sup>should</sup> ~~must~~ also be an end to the  
24 inflammatory broadcasts by "Voice of Zimbabwe".  
25 viii. We remain firmly committed to the conduct of free and fair  
26 elections. The Governor's administration will be impartial.  
27 A great deal has already been achieved, and we are not prepared  
28 to see this put at risk by behaviour<sup>r</sup> which is inconsistent with  
29 the agreements. The need for strict compliance with the  
30 Lancaster House agreements was made abundantly<sup>a</sup> clear at the time  
31 of signature: we shall insist on strict compliance with these  
32 agreements by all parties wishing to take part in the elections.  
33  
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NNNN ends telegram	BLANK	3. Catchword
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OUT TELEGRAM (CONT)

Classification and Caveats

CONFIDENTIAL

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3. In briefing the press we shall draw fully on the points above, and draw attention also to the ZANLA's continued breaches of the cease-fire. Salisbury should do like-wise. Other recipients of this telegram should take similar action with the governments concerned.

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CARRINGTON

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NNNN ends telegram

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Catchword



*copy to 5 persons*

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

10 January 1980

*Dear Michael,*

*Ken  
Ramsay 10/1*

Amir of Kuwait

We have just received replies (which I enclose) from the Amir of Kuwait, HH Jaber Al-Ahmed Al-Sabah, to two messages from the Prime Minister. The first reciprocates New Year's Greetings. The other is a reply to our request to Kuwait a few weeks ago asking them to influence the Patriotic Front to accept the Rhodesia settlement. We do not think that further action is required.

*message  
15/12*

*T169AA/295*

*filed on Pt II.*

*yours ever  
Rodney Lyne*

(R M J Lyne)  
Private Secretary

M O'D B Alexander Esq  
10 Downing Street

[RHODESIA: POLICY: ADVANCE COPIES]

PS  
PS/SIR I GILMOUR  
PS/MR LUCE  
PS/PUS  
SIR D MAITLAND  
MR DAY  
LORD H G LENNOX  
MR ASPIN

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

SIR R ARMSTRONG )  
MR R L WADE GERY )  
MR P M MAXEY ) CABINET  
MR GOULTY ) OFFICE  
MR P J FOWLER )  
DIO )

~~AD...NAB.....~~

HD/RHOD DEPT (4)

HD/C AF D

HD/S AF D

HD/PUSD (2)

HD/NEWS DEPT

HE/WAD

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MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A  
MR FIFOOT LEGAL ADVISER PM K164  
RESIDENT CLERK

GR 500

MS

CONFIDENTIAL

FM WASHINGTON 110012Z JAN 80

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 171 OF 10 JANUARY

AND TO IMMEDIATE LUSAKA NAIROBI MAPUTO GABORONE DAR ES SALAAM  
UKMIS NEW YORK LUANDA LAGOS AND PRETORIA.

YOUR TELEGRAM NO. 10 TO LUSAKA AND SALISBURY TELEGRAM NO. 108 TO YOU:  
RHODESIA

1. MORLAND WENT OVER THE GROUND WITH KEELEY, DEPUTY ASSISTANT  
SECRETARY, SOUTHERN AFRICA. KEELEY WAS GRATEFUL AND UNDERTOOK TO  
SEND THE GIST TO THEIR EMBASSIES IN FRONT LINE STATES WITH  
INSTRUCTIONS TO DRAW ON THESE ARGUMENTS IN RESPONSE TO ANY  
CRITICISMS OF THE GOVERNOR'S IMPARTIALITY.

2. KEELEY WAS ALSO PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN AND IMPRESSED BY  
THE LIST OF INCURSIONS INTO RHODESIA (SALISBURY TELEGRAM NO. 99  
TO MAPUTO).

HE SAID THAT REPORTS FROM THEIR MISSIONS IN FRONT LINE STATES

3. HE SAID THAT REPORTS FROM THEIR MISSIONS IN FRONT LINE STATES AND CONTACTS WITH PATRIOTIC FRONT LEADERS, PARTICULARLY NKOMO, LED HIM TO BELIEVE THAT WHAT THEY WERE REALLY WORRIED ABOUT WAS A REFUSAL BY SOUTH AFRICA TO ACCEPT THE RESULTS OF THE ELECTIONS. COMPLAINTS ABOUT THE SOUTH AFRICAN UNIT GUARDING BEIT BRIDGE AND OF OTHER UNSPECIFIED SOUTH AFRICAN UNITS ALLEGED TO BE IN RHODESIA WERE SYMPTOMATIC OF THIS FEAR OF SOUTH AFRICAN INTERVENTION. KEELEY BELIEVED THAT THE OTHER COMPLAINTS ABOUT BIAS AGAINST THE PATRIOTIC FRONT IN THE ELECTION PROCESS WERE LESS IMPORTANT. KEELEY ALSO ARGUED STRONGLY THAT THE SOONER MUGABE AND HIS PEOPLE ARRIVED IN SALISBURY THE BETTER THE CHANCE OF MINIMIZING MISUNDERSTANDINGS.

4. MORLAND SAID THAT HE HOPED THE AMERICANS WOULD CONSTANTLY BEAR IN MIND THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, AND IN PARTICULAR THE GOVERNOR, HAD ALL ALONG HAD AN EXTREMELY DIFFICULT BALANCE TO MAINTAIN TO BRING THE ELECTION PROCESS TO A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION. BUT THE COMPLAINTS WHICH THE AMERICANS WERE GETTING WERE BOUND TO BE UNBALANCED SINCE THEY WOULD VIRTUALLY ALL COME FROM GOVERNMENTS AND PEOPLE WHO FAVOURED THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. IT WOULD THEREFORE BE MOST USEFUL IF AMERICAN MISSIONS MADE VIGOROUS USE OF THE MATERIAL IN THE TELEGRAMS UNDER REFERENCE.

5. KEELEY ACCEPTED THIS BUT REVERTED TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN QUESTION ABOUT WHICH THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION WAS ALSO WORRIED. HE SAID THAT THEY WERE TRYING TO GET VANCE TO SEND A MESSAGE TO PIK BOTHA URGING HIM TO GIVE SOME KIND OF UNDERTAKING, PUBLIC OR PRIVATE, THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT WOULD RESPECT THE RESULTS OF THE ELECTION.

HENDERSON

NNNN

WONFO 01/11

CONFIDENTIAL

FM MAPUTO 101120Z JANUARY 80

TO IMMEDIATE SALISBURY

TELEGRAM NUMBER 58 OF 10 JANUARY

AND TO IMMEDIATE FCO

INFO IMMEDIATE LUSAKA DAR ES SALAAM WASHINGTON PRIORITY U

UKMIS NEW YORK GABORONE

YOUR TELNO 38: RHODESIA/ZANU

1. WITH MACHEL AND MOST OF HIS IMMEDIATE ADVISERS IN BEIRA (MY TELNO 27 NOT TO ALL) IT IS PROVING DIFFICULT FOR ME TO SPEAK TO ANYONE IN AUTHORITY. I HAD BEEN EXPECTING A CALL FROM THE PRESIDENT, BUT IN THE EVENT MY CONTACTS THIS WEEK HAVE ONLY BEEN WITH FERRAO AND GUEBUZA (WHO IS ALSO OUT OF TOWN, PRESUMABLY IN BEIRA). WE HAVE HAD TO FALL BACK ON KHAN. HE TOOK NOTES BUT, UNCHARACTERISTICALLY, HE WAS WORRIED AT THE WHOLE TURN OF EVENTS.

2. I AM EXTREMELY RELUCTANT TO KEEP PRESSING THE MOZAMBICANS TO DISCIPLINE ZANU OR TO LINK FURTHER PROGRESS TOWARDS NORMALIZING RELATIONS AND COMMUNICATIONS WITH RHODESIA TO AN IMPROVEMENT OF ZANU/ZANLA BEHAVIOUR. THE MOZAMBICANS WOULD BE GLAD TO BE RID OF ZANU AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AND I SUSPECT THAT THEY ARE IRRITATED AT WHAT THEY SEE AS PROCRASTINATION ON OUR PART. FERRAO'S VIEW ALREADY REPORTED, IS THAT WE SHOULD GET THE ZANU LEADERSHIP TO SALISBURY AND THERE MAKE THEM FACE UP TO THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES AND COMMITMENTS. I VERY MUCH FEAR THAT NO AMOUNT OF EXPLANATION OF OUR TACTICS SO FAR WILL CONVINCe PEOPLE THAT WE ARE NOT BEING DELIBERATELY OBSTRUCTIVE AND ON THE EVIDENCE SO FAR AVAILABLE MATCHED AGAINST CHARGES OF OUR PARTIALITY, I DO NOT SEE HOW WE COULD POSSIBLY GET AWAY WITH "ACTION WHICH WOULD AMOUNT TO EXCLUDING ZANU FROM THE ELECTIONS". IT IS NOT FOR ME TO PREDICT THE REACTION OF THE OTHER FLS AND INDEED OF OTHER AFRICAN STATES, (I WOULD IMAGINE THIS TO BE EXTREMELY HOSTILE); BUT I BELIEVE THAT THE MOZAMBICANS ALSO WOULD BE DISMAYED AND, MUCH AGAINST MACHEL'S NATURAL INCLINATIONS, THEY MIGHT BE FORCED TO COME OUT IN SUPPORT OF ZANU WITH ALL THAT THIS IMPLIES. MACHEL HAS SOLD THE LONDON AGREEMENTS TO FRELIMO AND THE GOVERNMENT, AS WELL AS THE PUBLIC, BECAUSE HE BELIEVES THAT WE WILL HONOUR OUR COMMITMENTS TO GIVE EVERYONE AN EQUAL CHANCE. THE FACT THAT NUMBERS OF ZANLA, PROBABLY NOT AMENABLE TO DISCIPLINE, ARE STILL OUT AND "POLITICISING" A FEW VILLAGES WOULD NOT BE ACCEPTED AS A VALID REASON FOR EXCLUDING ZANU FORM THE ELECTORAL PROCESS.



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3. I HAVE TO SAY THAT AT LEAST MOST OF THE INFORMATION WHICH YOU HAVE GIVEN ME ABOUT ZANLA MISDOINGS SOUNDS VAGUE AND INCOMPLETE. I HAVE HAD NO INDICATION THAT ANYTHING OTHER THAN A HANDFUL OF MUJIBAS HAVE ASSEMBLED: AND WE BADLY NEED TO COUNTER, WITH FACTS, MUGABE'S ALLEGATION THAT THE RHODESIAN FORCES, AND ESPECIALLY MUZOREWA'S AUXILIARIES, WERE THE FIRST TO BREAK THE CEASE-FIRE ARRANGEMENTS BY NOT DISENGAGING FIRST, THEREBY MAKING IT MILITARILY IMPOSSIBLE FOR ALL OF ZANLA TO COME OUT OF THE BUSH AND ASSEMBLE.

4. THE OFFICIAL CONFIRMATION OF THE PRESENCE OF SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES AT BEIT BRIDGE HAS PLAYED INTO MUGABE'S HAND. NOTHING THAT WE HAVE SAID SO FAR WILL CONVINCe ANYONE THAT THE PRESENCE OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS ON RHODESIAN SOIL IS NOT A BREACH OF THE SPIRIT IF NOT THE ACTUAL CAREFULLY CHOSEN WORDING OF OUR ASSURANCES THAT THERE WILL BE NO OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE.

5. I RECOMMEND VERY STRONGLY THAT, IF NECESSARY BY CUTTING CORNERS AND BUREAUCRACY, EG IN THE CASE OF THE IMPORTATION OF ZANU CARS, WE SHOULD ALLOW ZANU POLITICIANS TO REACH SALISBURY AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AND CONFRONT THEM THERE WITH THE EVIDENCE OF ZANLA'S CEASEFIRE BREACHES, PUBLICISING THE FACT THAT WE HAD DONE SO WIDELY. THIS SHOULD HELP DISTRACT ATTENTION FROM THE ISSUE OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS AT BEIT BRIDGE. I FIND IT EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO JUSTIFY THE GOVERNOR'S APPARENT INABILITY TO INSTRUCT, RATHER THAN SEEK TO PERSUADE, "THE RHODESIANS" - IF BY THIS WE MEAN THE CIVIL SERVANTS WHO HAVE AFTER ALL ACCEPTED THE GOVERNOR'S AUTHORITY.

PAPADOPOULOS

F I L E S

RHOD D	OID
OADS	NEWS D
NAD	PS
MED	PS/SIR I GILMOUR
PUSD	PS/MR LUCE
PLANNING STAFF	PS/MR RIDLEY
ES & SD	PS/MR HURD
NENAD	PS/MR MARTEN
CCD	PS/PUS
FRD	SIR D MAITLAND
EID (E)	
UND	MR HANNAY
LEGAL ADVISERS	LORD N G LENNOX
(MR FREELAND)	MISS BROWN
(MR FIFOOT)	MR DAY
ECON D	MR FERGUSSON
PCD	MR ASPIN
DEF D	MR MILLS
IPD	

ADDITIONAL DISTRIBUTION  
RHODESIA POLICY

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DESKBY FCO, SALISBURY, MAPUTO 100630Z

FM LUSAKA 100025Z

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TEL NO. 30 OF 10 JANUARY 1980

AND TO IMMEDIATE SALISBURY

REPEATED TO IMMEDIATE MAPUTO

PRIORITY WASHINGTON, PRETORIA.

*See*

YOUR TELS NO. 28 AND NO. 76 TO SALISBURY: VISIT OF MOOSE.

I HAVE JUST COMPLETED A LONG POST MIDNIGHT SESSION WITH MOOSE AND WISNER ON THEIR MEETING WITH KAUNDA AND ADVISERS.

2. KAUNDA LEAVES LATER THIS MORNING FOR A MEETING OF F.L.S. PRESIDENTS IN BEIRA.

3. MOOSE FULLY UNDERSTOOD CONFIDENTIALITY OF MATERIAL COVERED IN FIRST TUR AND "JUST HOPED THAT WHITE RABBIT WOULD NEVER COME OUT OF THE HAT".

4. KAUNDA HAD BEEN SINCERE AND PERSUADED. THERE WERE NO HISTRONICS. HE SEEMED GENUINELY CONCERNED TO SEE SETTLEMENT ACHIEVED BUT DEEPLY TROUBLED AT "MOUNTING EVIDENCE" OF COLLUSION BETWEEN U.K., WALLS AND SOUTH AFRICA. HE RESTATED FEARS OF SOUTH AFRICAN PRESENCE AT BEIT BRIDGE, DEPLOYMENT OF RHODESIAN FORCES WITHOUT REASON ACTIONS OF AUXILIARDAS WHO WERE UNCONTROLLED AND CLAIMED SOUTH AFRICANS WERE TRAINING ZAMBIAN DISSIDENTS IN BINDURA MINING AREA IN RHODESIA TO ASSIST IN DESTABILISING ZAMBIA IF THEY FOUND ELECTION OUTCOME UNACCEPTABLE. HE COULD NOT "UNDERSTAND WHAT BRITISH WERE UP TO". CHALLENGED BY MOON

KAUNDA ADMITTED THAT MUCH HAD GONE RIGHT, INDEED A "MIRACLE" WAS AT HAND - "THE HAND OF GOD WAS IN EVIDENCE" BUT THE WHOLE THING WAS IN THE BALANCE. IF THE ELECTION WAS SEEN TO BE FREE AND FAIR ZAMBIAN TERRITORY WOULD NOT BE USED FOR FURTHER STRUGGLE- IF IT WERE NOT THEN ZAMBIA WOULD RETURN TO ITS PRINCIPLES. THEY NEEDED A FULL ACCOUNTING FROM U.K. TO EXPLAIN LOGIC AND REASONING OF APPARENT DISTORTIONS OF AGREEMENT.

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/ 5. MOOSE SAID

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5. MOOSE SAID ON BASIS OF CONVERSATION HE WOULD ADVISE AGAINST CASTING ZAPU AS "GOODIES" AND ZANLA AS "BADDIES" WHATEVER THEIR RECORD ON CEASEFIRE. KAUNDA WAS INTERESTED IN A LASTING SETTLEMENT IN AREA. THIS WOULD NEED MUGABE'S INVOLVEMENT OR ACQUIESCENCE WHICH WOULD NOT (RPT NOT) BE ACHIEVED BY PILLORYING HIM. TO THIS EXTENT KAUNDA'S INTERESTS WERE NOT COINCIDENTAL WITH NKOMO'S.

6. TIMETABLE NOW IS - FLS MEETING TOMORROW: KAUNDA OPENS PARLIAMENT ON FRIDAY. I REGARD IT AS IMPORTANT THAT HE SHOULD NOT (RPT NOT) DIG HIMSELF INTO A HOLE ON FRIDAY (MOOSE HAS CAUTIONED AGAINST OVER REACTION AT BEIRA AND KAUNDA SEEMED TO ACCEPT THIS). THUS I THINK VERY DESIRABLE THAT BY TOMORROW AFTERNOON (LOCAL) I SHOULD BE ABLE TO TELL ZAMBIANS OF PROPOSED VISIT BY SIR A. DUFF. I BELIEVE DOORS WILL BE OPEN TO THIS INITIATIVE FROM SALISBURY. ZAMBIANS KNOW THEIR INFORMATION IS PARTIAL AND WOULD WELCOME COMMUNICATION OF THIS NATURE. MOOSE TOO IS KEEN TO SEE DUFF AND WOULD "LINGER" IN LUSAKA FOR THIS PURPOSE.

NEILSON.

FILES

RHOD D	OID
OADS	NEWS D
NAD	PS
MED	PS/SIR I GILMOUR
PUSD	PS/MR LUCE
PLANNING STAFF	PS/MR RIDLEY
ES & SD	PS/MR HURD
NENAD	PS/MR MARTEN
CCD	PS/PUS
FRD	SIR D MAITLAND
EID (E)	
UND	MR HANNAY
LEGAL ADVISERS	LORD N G LENNOX
(MR FREELAND)	MISS BROWN
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ECON D	MR FERGUSSON
PCD	MR ASPIN
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RHODESIA POLICY

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The following document, which was enclosed on this file, has been removed and destroyed. Such documents are the responsibility of the Cabinet Office. When released they are available in the appropriate **CAB (CABINET OFFICE) CLASSES**.

Reference: CC (80) 1st Meeting, Minute 2 (extract)

Date: 10 January 1980

Signed Wayland Date 20 July 2010

**PREM Records Team**

ZIMBABWE: POLICY:

ADVANCE COPIES]

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PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

PS  
PS/SIR I GILMOUR  
PS/MR LUCE  
PS/PUS  
~~SIR D MATTLAND~~  
MR DAY  
LORD N G LENNOX  
MR ASPIN

SIR R ARMSTRONG )  
MR R L WADE GERY )  
MR P M MAXEY ) CABINET  
MR GOULTY ) OFFICE  
MR P J FOWLER )  
DIO )

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HD/RHOD DEPT (4)

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HD/PUSD (2)

HD/NEWS DEPT  
HD/WAD

MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A  
MR FIFOOT LEGAL ADVISER RM K164

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FM MONROVIA 101530Z JAN 80.

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 4 OF 10 JANUARY

INFO IMMEDIATE SALISBURY

IMMEDIATE

FOLLOWING FOR PRIME MINISTER FROM PRESIDENT TOLBERT.

BEGINS

I HAVE RECEIVED WITH GREAT CONCERN NEWS REPORT OF THE CONTINUED PRESENCE OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS IN ZIMBABWE. YOU WILL RECALL, MADAM PRIME MINISTER, THAT DURING THE LANCASTER HOUSE TALKS YOUR GOVERNMENT GAVE ASSURANCES THAT UPON THE ARRIVAL OF LORD SOAMES IN ZIMBABWE ALL FOREIGN TROOPS INCLUDING SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS WOULD BE IMMEDIATELY WITHDRAWN. WE CANNOT FORGET THAT THE QUESTION OF THE PRESENCE OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS IN ZIMBABWE WAS AN ISSUE OF GRAVE CONCERN DURING THE TALKS AND BECAUSE OF THE ASSURANCES GIVEN US BY YOUR GOVERNMENT WE IN TURN REASSURED THE LEADERS OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT THAT SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS IN ZIMBABWE WOULD BE WITHDRAWN IMMEDIATELY UPON THE ARRIVAL OF THE BRITISH GOVERNOR IN SALISBURY.

FRONT THAT SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS IN ZIMBABWE WOULD BE WITHDRAWN IMMEDIATELY UPON THE ARRIVAL OF THE BRITISH GOVERNOR IN SALISBURY. I AM SURE YOU WILL AGREE WITH ME THAT REPORTS OF THE CONTINUED PRESENCE OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS IN ZIMBABWE, WOULD HAVE THE MOST UNFORTUNATE EFFECT OF ERODING CONFIDENCE IN THE LANCASTER HOUSE AGREEMENT AND WOULD ADVERSELY AFFECT THE PROCESS LEADING TO INDEPENDENCE WITH GENUINE MAJORITY RULE IN ZIMBABWE. I THEREFORE IMPLORE YOU, MADAM PRIME MINISTER, TO TAKE EFFECTIVE MEASURES AS WOULD ENSURE THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS FROM ZIMBABWE IN ORDER THAT THE AGREEMENT SO PAINSTAKINGLY NEGOTIATED AND CONCLUDED IN LONDON MIGHT BE SUCCESSFULLY IMPLEMENTED. IN CONVEYING OUR VERY BEST WISHES FOR A HAPPY AND PROSPEROUS NEW YEAR FOR YOU AND YOUR FAMILY, MADAM PRIME MINISTER, PLEASE ACCEPT THE RENEWED ASSURANCES OF MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATION AND ESTEEM.

SINCERELY

W R TOLBERT JR

PRESIDENT OF LIBERIA AND CURRENT  
CHAIRMAN OF THE ORGANISATION OF  
AFRICAN UNITY''

IMMEDIATE

ENDS

TELEGRAM NUMBER 010 OF 9 JANUARY

TO IMMEDIATE SALISBURY NAIROBI MAPUTO GABORONE DAR ES SALAAM  
NANDA LAGOS WASHINGTON PRETORIA ADDIS ABABA MONROVIA CANBERRA  
OTTAWA WELLINGTON PRIORITY PEKING MOSCOW PRAGUE DAKAR KINSHASA  
KHARTOUM TOKYO EEC POSTS KUWAIT KINGSTON BRIDGETOWN DACCA NEW DELHI  
SINGAPORE GEORGETOWN FREETOWN PORT LOUIS PORT OF SPAIN LILONGWE  
VALLETTA BANJUL COLOMBO ACCRA KUALA LUMPUR NICOSIA OSLO STOCKHOLM  
LISBON MADRID ATHENS MBABANE ABIDJAN  
INFO IMMEDIATE UKMIS NEW YORK  
INFO SAVING NASSAU MASERU CASTRIES SUVA PORT MORESBY HONIARA  
NUKUALOFA VICTORIA TARAWA UKDEL NATO SOFIA BUDAPEST BUCHAREST  
EAST BERLIN BELGRADE CAIRO ALGIERS TUNIS TRIPOLI RABAT TEHRAN

RHODESIA

1. YOU SHOULD TAKE EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO STRESS THE CONSIDERABLE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE GOVERNOR'S ADMINISTRATION IN RHODESIA SINCE LORD SOAMES ARRIVED FOUR WEEKS AGO, AND IN THE THREE WEEKS SINCE THE LANCASTER HOUSE AGREEMENT WAS SIGNED.
2. DEPLOYMENT OF THE MONITORING FORCE AND THE ASSEMBLY PROCESS HAVE GONE AHEAD REMARKABLY WELL AND SOME 20,000 MEMBERS OF THE PF FORCES HAVE ASSEMBLED (THOUGH ZANLA'S BEHAVIOUR CONTINUES TO CAUSE CONCERN: SEE BELOW). THE CEASE-FIRE COMMISSION IS FUNCTIONING WELL. EFFECTIVE CROSS-BORDER LIAISON HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED WITH MOZAMBIQUE, AND ZAMBIA AND TO A MORE LIMITED EXTENT, WITH BOTSWANA.
3. DATES HAVE BEEN SET FOR ELECTIONS (27-29 FEBRUARY) AND ARRANGEMENTS MADE FOR THE REGISTRATION OF PARTIES AND NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES. THE ELECTION COMMISSIONER AND HIS STAFF ARE SUPERVISING THE PREPARATIONS FOR THE ELECTIONS, AND WILL BE DEPLOYED ROUND THE COUNTRY BY THE END OF THE MONTH. THE BAN ON ZANU AND ZAPU WAS LIFTED IMMEDIATELY AFTER SIGNATURE OF THE LANCASTER HOUSE AGREEMENTS: THE PRINCIPAL MEMBERS OF BOTH PARTIES WILL BE RETURNING TO RHODESIA OVER THE NEXT FEW DAYS. OF THE PARTY LEADERS, NKOMO RETURNS ON 13 JANUARY: MUGABE HAS NOT YET INFORMED US OF HIS PLANS.
4. CONSIDERABLE PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE TOWARDS NORMALISING RHODESIA'S RELATIONS WITH ITS NEIGHBOURS. BOTH MOZAMBIQUE AND ZAMBIA HAVE ESTABLISHED LIAISON OFFICES IN SALISBURY AND ACTION HAS BEGUN ON THE REOPENING OF BORDER CROSSING POINTS AND THE RESUMPTION OF AIR SERVICES. MAIZE SHIPMENTS TO ZAMBIA RESUMED IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE GOVERNOR'S ARRIVAL. OTHER BILATERAL PROBLEMS ARE BEING DISCUSSED BY RHODESIAN OFFICIALS WITH THEIR COUNTERPARTS. A MEETING HAS BEEN HELD IN LONDON ATTENDED BY REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FRONT-LINE STATES, THE RHODESIAN AUTHORITIES, THE PF, UNHCR AND ICRC TO SETTLE THE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE RETURN OF REFUGEES. IT IS HOPED THAT A START WILL BE MADE IN THE SECOND HALF OF JANUARY. A NUMBER OF OTHER COUNTRIES, INCLUDING THE US, AUSTRALIA, FRANCE, GERMANY, ITALY, INDIA, GREECE AND PORTUGAL HAVE OPENED OR ARE CONTEMPLATING OPENING OFFICES IN SALISBURY SHORTLY.
5. WITHIN THE COUNTRY MOST CENSORSHIP PROVISIONS HAVE BEEN LIFTED. PERSONS LISTED AS PROHIBITED IMMIGRANTS BY THE FORMER REGIME ARE NOW FREE TO RE-APPLY FOR ENTRY AND THEIR CASES ARE BEING GIVEN SYMPATHETIC CONSIDERATION. RESTRICTIONS PREVIOUSLY IMPOSED ON THE ENTRY OF JOURNALISTS HAVE BEEN LIFTED. A GENERAL AMNESTY HAS BEEN DECLARED. THE GREAT MAJORITY OF PERSONS DETAINED UNDER EMERGENCY POWERS HAVE BEEN RELEASED AND THE CASES OF THE REMAINDER ARE BEING REVIEWED. THE NUMBER OF MARTIAL LAW DETAINEES IS BEING REDUCED. MARTIAL LAW COURTS HAVE BEEN SUSPENDED. MARTIAL LAW ITSELF WILL BE LIFTED IF THE CEASE-FIRE IS FULLY EFFECTIVE. ZRBC HAS UNDERTAKEN TO PROVIDE IMPARTIAL AND BALANCED COVERAGE OF POLITICAL ACTIVITIES DURING THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN AND TO GIVE ACCESS TO ALL PARTIES PARTICIPATING IN THE ELECTION. A SENIOR MEMBER OF THE BBC IS IN RHODESIA FOR DISCUSSIONS WITH ZRBC.
6. THIS IS A FORMIDABLE CATALOGUE OF CHANGE FOR A SHORT PERIOD. THERE ARE INEVITABLY STILL SOME PROBLEMS TO BE OVERCOME. BUT THEY SHOULD BE KEPT IN PROPORTION, AND CONSIDERED AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF WHAT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED. A BASIS FOR FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED. THE SITUATION NOW SHOULD BE CONTRASTED WITH THAT WHICH ALMOST CERTAINLY WOULD HAVE PREVAILED HAD THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE NOT SUCCEEDED.
7. IN DEALING WITH SPECIFIC CRITICISMS YOU SHOULD MAKE THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

(I) WHY HAS THE GOVERNOR USED RHODESIAN SECURITY FORCES IN SUPPORT OF THE POLICE?

THERE HAVE UNFORTUNATELY BEEN A NUMBER OF BREACHES OF THE CEASE-FIRE MOSTLY BY ZANLA. THESE HAVE INCLUDED ILLEGAL CROSS-BORDER MOVEMENT, INTIMIDATION AND LAWLESSNESS. ZANLA FORCES EXPLOITED THE ASSEMBLY PROCESS TO POLITICIZE THE RURAL POPULATION AND EXERT MAXIMUM POLITICAL PRESSURE ON THEM. A PROPORTION OF ZANLA FORCES HAVE STILL NOT ASSEMBLED. PARAGRAPH 11 OF THE CEASE-FIRE AGREEMENT ENVISAGES THE GOVERNOR TAKING ACTION ON BREACHES OF THE CEASE-FIRE QUOTE WITH THE FORCES WHICH HAVE ACCEPTED HIS AUTHORITY UNQUOTE. IN PRACTICE, THE GOVERNOR HAS USED PF COMMANDERS TO ENCOURAGE ALL ELEMENTS OF THEIR FORCES TO ASSEMBLE. IN A NUMBER OF CASES SINCE THE END OF THE ASSEMBLY PROCESS IN WHICH THE POLICE HAVE BEEN UNABLE, ON THEIR OWN, TO DEAL WITH INCIDENTS, THE GOVERNOR HAS AUTHORISED THE SECURITY FORCES TO SUPPORT THEM. THEIR ORDERS HAVE, HOWEVER, BEEN WHERE POSSIBLE TO PERSUADE OR COMPEL THE GROUPS CONCERNED TO ASSEMBLE WITHOUT THEIR ARMS, AND TO USE FORCE ONLY IF THIS IS RESISTED. IF PRESSED ON WHY THE GOVERNOR HAS NOT USED PATRIOTIC FRONT FORCES IN SUCH INCIDENTS, YOU SHOULD SAY THAT THEIR USE IS NOT EXCLUDED UNDER THE CEASE-FIRE AGREEMENT, BUT THAT IT IS FOR THE GOVERNOR TO DECIDE IN EACH CASE WHAT ACTION IS MOST APPROPRIATE. THERE ARE OBVIOUS DIFFICULTIES IN TRYING TO DEPLOY PATRIOTIC FRONT FORCES OF ONE WING OR THE OTHER AGAINST RECALCITRANT GUERRILLAS.

(II) IS IT NOT THE CASE THAT THE RHODESIAN AUXILIARIES ARE IGNORING THE CEASE-FIRE?

THE AUXILIARIES COME UNDER THE COMMAND OF THE RHODESIAN MILITARY COMMANDERS WHO ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR ENSURING THAT THEY OBSERVE THE CEASE-FIRE. ANY REPORTS THAT THEY HAVE BREACHED THE CEASE-FIRE CAN BE RAISED BY THE PATRIOTIC FRONT'S REPRESENTATIVE ON THE CEASE-FIRE COMMISSION AND WILL BE INVESTIGATED AND DEALT WITH.

(III) WHY ARE SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES STILL PRESENT IN THE COUNTRY?

WE HAVE CONSISTENTLY MADE CLEAR THAT WE DO NOT ENVISAGE ANY EXTERNAL INTERVENTION IN RHODESIA UNDER THE GOVERNOR. THIS APPLIES TO ALL OUTSIDE FORCES. THE ONLY FORCES IN RHODESIA IN THIS PERIOD WILL BE THE RHODESIAN FORCES AND THE PATRIOTIC FRONT FORCES. HOWEVER, THE BRIDGE ACROSS THE RIVER AT BEITBRIDGE IS OF VITAL IMPORTANCE TO THE ECONOMIES OF RHODESIA AND NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES, INCLUDING VS AFRICA AND DAMAGE TO IT COULD HAVE VERY SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES. THERE HAVE BEEN CONTINUING BREACHES OF THE CEASE-FIRE IN THE AREA NEAR THE BRIDGE. THE GOVERNOR HAS AGREED THAT A SMALL SOUTH AFRICAN CONTINGENT SHOULD BE STATIONED AT THE RHODESIAN END OF THE BRIDGE. THE CONTINGENT IS PRESENT UNIQUELY FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE BRIDGE, AND WILL REMAIN IN ITS VICINITY.

THERE ARE INDEED SOUTH AFRICANS, AND OTHER NATIONALITIES, IN THE RHODESIAN FORCES, AS THERE ARE VARIOUS NATIONALITIES FIGHTING WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT'S FORCES. (PRESIDENT MACHEL HAS ADMITTED THAT THERE ARE 500 MOZAMBIKAN TROOPS WITH THE PF.) WE HAVE ALWAYS MADE CLEAR THAT THERE WILL BE NO QUOTE PURGE UNQUOTE OF THE FORCES OF EITHER SIDE DURING THE INTERIM PERIOD, AND THAT ALL THE ELEMENTS OF BOTH FORCES WILL BE RESPONSIBLE THROUGH THEIR COMMANDERS TO THE GOVERNOR FOR THE OBSERVANCE OF THE CEASE-FIRE. YOU SHOULD DRAW FURTHER AS APPROPRIATE ON SALISBURY TELNO 20 TO LUSAKA.

(IV) WHY HAS THE RETURN OF PF LEADERSHIP TO RHODESIA BEEN DELAYED?



THERE HAVE BEEN NO SIGNIFICANT DELAYS, BUT WE HAVE HAD TO ASK ZAPU AND ZANU TO GIVE US 48 HOURS NOTICE OF THE RETURN OF THE MEMBERS SO THAT APPROPRIATE ARRANGEMENTS COULD BE MADE FOR SECURITY, CROWD CONTROL ETC. NKOMO HIMSELF PROPOSED THE DATE OF 13 JANUARY FOR HIS OWN RETURN (AFTER WE HAD EXPLAINED THE 6 JANUARY COULD CAUSE PUBLIC ORDER PROBLEMS BECAUSE OF A RALLY ARRANGED BY BISHOP MUZOREWA. THE DELAY OF A WEEK WAS NKOMO'S OWN DECISION. ALMOST ALL ZAPU AND ZANU OFFICIALS WILL RETURN WITHIN THE NEXT FEW DAYS, THERE IS NO QUESTION OF OUR TRYING TO KEEP OUT, NEXT TWO WORDS UNDERLINED, BONA FIDE POLITICAL MEMBERS (THOUGH THE CEASE FIRE AGREEMENTS EXCLUDED MILITARY PERSONNEL). MUGABE HAS NOT TOLD THE GOVERNOR WHEN HE WISHES TO RETURN.  
(V) THE GOVERNOR/THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT ARE BIASED TOWARDS BISHOP MUZOREWA.

WE ARE COMMITTED TO ENSURING STRICT COMPLIANCE WITH THE AGREEMENTS SIGNED AT LANCASTER HOUSE. THE GOVERNOR'S DECISIONS ARE FULL IN ACCORDANCE WITH THOSE AGREEMENTS AND DO NOT FAVOUR ONE SIDE OR THE OTHER. (THERE HAVE BEEN EXAMPLES WHERE HE HAS GONE OUT OF HIS WAY TO HELP THE PATRIOTIC FRONT EG BY CHANGING THE LAW OR REGISTRATION OF PARTIES WHEN ZAPU FAILED TO REGISTER BY THE DEADLINE, AND BY BEING FLEXIBLE OVER THE PERIOD ALLOWED FOR THE ASSEMBLY OF PF FORCES.

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P S TO PRIME MINISTER  
10 DOWNING ST

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 109 OF 9/1/80

INFO IMMEDIATE MAPUTO LUSAKA WASHINGTON DAR ES SALAAM LAGOS.

*PM seen*

MAPUTO TELNO 23 TO YOU : MUGABE'S LETTER

1. IN DECIDING THE MANNER IN WHICH TO REPLY TO MUGABE'S LETTER, YOU WILL NO DOUBT WISH TO CONSIDER THE INFORMATION IN MY TELEGRAM NO 38 TO MAPUTO: AND TO BEAR IN MIND THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

(A) THE AGREEMENT AT LANCASTER HOUSE WAS THAT THERE WOULD BE NO INTERVENTION BY EXTERNAL FORCES IN RHODESIA: THE ANNOUNCEMENT CONCERNING SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES AT BEITBRIDGE IS RELATED SOLELY TO THE PROTECTION OF THE BRIDGE:

(B) THE MAINTENANCE OF LAW AND ORDER IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE POLICE. THE CEASE-FIRE AGREEMENT PROVIDES THAT DISENGAGEMENT SHOULD BE RECIPROCAL. IN THE EVENT OF PERSISTENT BREACHES OF THE CEASE-FIRE AGREEMENT, I HAVE TO DECIDE WHAT ACTION TO TAKE WITH THE FORCES WHICH HAVE ACCEPTED MY AUTHORITY.

(C) NO SIGNIFICANT PROBLEMS HAVE ARISEN WITH ZIPRA. BUT IN LARGE AREAS OF THE COUNTRY ZANLA FORCES ARE CONTINUING TO OPERATE IN BREACH OF THE CEASE-FIRE. THE POLICE CANNOT DEAL WITH THE RESULTING PROBLEMS WITHOUT SUPPORT, AND ARE BEING SUPPORTED WHERE NECESSARY BY RHODESIAN FORCES WHICH ARE BEING MONITORED. IN ALMOST ALL CASES SO FAR IT HAS BEEN POSSIBLE TO RESOLVE THE OUTSTANDING PROBLEMS PEACEFULLY. BUT UNLESS THERE IS MUCH STRICTER COMPLIANCE WITH THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE CEASE-FIRE AGREEMENT BY ZANLA FORCES, VERY DANGEROUS SITUATIONS WILL CONTINUE TO ARISE. IT IS NOT PRACTICABLE TO USE ZANLA FORCES AGAINST OTHER ZANLA FORCES.

(D) THE ZANU ADVANCE PARTY ARRIVED HERE TODAY. WE HOPE TO ARRANGE (SEE MY T U R TO MAPUTO) FOR THE ORDERLY RETURN OF OTHER ZANU LEADERS. WE WILL NOT BE ABLE TO LET IN PERSONNEL WHO CLEARLY BELONG TO ZANLA OR ARE NOT PROPERLY NOTIFIED AND IDENTIFIED IN ADVANCE OF THEIR ENTRY. WE SHALL BE INSISTING ON THE RELEASE OF ZANU DETAINEES IN MOZAMBIQUE AND (VIA THE MOZAMBIQUE GOVERNMENT) THAT ACTION IS TAKEN TO DEAL WITH INFLAMMATORY BROADCASTS BY THE "VOICE OF ZIMBABWE".

CONFIDENTIAL

/2.AGAINST

2. AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND I CONSIDER IT MOST IMPORTANT THAT A FIRM REPLY SHOULD BE SENT TO MUGABE, STATING THAT WE ARE CONCERNED ABOUT THE EXTENT OF CROSS-BORDER MOVEMENT BY ZANLA FORCES IN BREACH OF THE CEASE-FIRE AGREEMENT AND THE CONTINUING DIFFICULTIES WHICH ARE ARISING WITH SOME OF HIS FORCES. WE ARE ARRANGING FOR THE ORDERLY RETURN OF ZANU PERSONNEL. BUT THE POSITION CONCERNING COMPLIANCE WITH THE LANCASTER HOUSE AGREEMENTS WAS MADE CLEAR BY YOU AT THE SIGNATURE CEREMONY. WE MUST AND WILL INSIST ON STRICT COMPLIANCE WITH THOSE AGREEMENTS BY ALL PARTIES WISHING TO PARTICIPATE IN THE ELECTIONS.

FCO PASS ALL

SOAMES

[REPEATED AS REQUESTED]

FILES

RHOD D	OID
OADS	NEWS D
NAD	PS
MED	PS/SIR I GILMOUR
PUSD	PS/MR LUCE
PLANNING STAFF	PS/MR RIDLEY
ES & SD	PS/MR HURD
NENAD	PS/MR MARTEN
CCD	PS/PUS
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FM SALISBURY 091759Z JAN 80

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 108 OF 9 JANUARY

INFO IMMEDIATE LUSAKA NAIROBI MAPUTO GABORONE DAR ES SALAAM  
UKMIS NEW YORK LUANDA LAGOS WASHINGTON PRETORIA ADDIS ABABA MONROVIA  
CANBERRA OTTAWA WELLINGTON PRIORITY PEKING MOSCOW PRAGUE DAKAR  
KINSHASA KHARTOUM TOKYO EEC POSTS KUWAIT KINGSTON BRIDGETOWN DACCA  
NEW DELHI SINGAPORE GEORGETOWN FREETOWN PORT LOUIS PORT OF SPAIN  
LILONGWE VALLETTA BANJUL COLOMBO ACCRA KUALA LUMPUR NICOSIA OSLO  
STOCKHOLM LISBON MADRID ATHENS MBABANE ABIDJAN  
INFO SAVING NASSAU MASERU CASTRIES SUVA PORT MORESBY HONIARA  
NUKUALOFA VICTORIA TARAWA UKDEL NATO SOFIA BUDAPEST BUCHAREST  
EAST BERLIN BELGRADE CAIRO ALGIERS TUNIS TRIPOLI RABAT TEHRAN.

RHODESIA

1. IN RESPONSE TO CRITICISM FROM FRONT LINE GOVERNMENTS, POSTS MAY  
WISH TO HAVE FURTHER GUIDANCE ON THE LINE TO TAKE ABOUT THE  
OPERATION OF THE CEASEFIRE AND OTHER QUESTIONS.

POINTS TO MAKE

2. THE CEASEFIRE IS NOT FULLY EFFECTIVE BUT THERE HAS BEEN A VERY  
MARKED REDUCTION IN THE NUMBER OF INCIDENTS. THERE ARE HOWEVER A  
NUMBER OF UNSATISFACTORY FEATURES, AS TO WHICH SEE BELOW. THERE ARE

MARKED REDUCTION IN THE NUMBER OF INCIDENTS. THERE ARE HOWEVER A NUMBER OF UNSATISFACTORY FEATURES, AS TO WHICH SEE BELOW. THERE WERE NOW 20,300 PATRIOTIC FRONT PEOPLE IN THE ASSEMBLY PLACES WITH SOME MORE STILL COMING IN. THE DISENGAGEMENT AND ASSEMBLY PROCESS HAS THEREFORE ON THE FACE OF IT BEEN A REMARKABLY SUCCESSFUL ACHIEVEMENT. IT HAS BEEN POSSIBLE THROUGHOUT THIS PERIOD TO AVOID ANY SERIOUS CLASHES. THE PATRIOTIC FRONT MILITARY COMMANDERS AND LIAISON OFFICERS HAVE BEEN OPERATING WITH THE MONITORING FORCE. THE Z I P R A COMMANDERS IN PARTICULAR HAVE BEEN SHOWING A STRONG COMMITMENT TO MAKING THE CEASEFIRE WORK. Z I P R A FORCES HAVE BEEN RESPONSIBLE FOR VERY FEW INCIDENTS OVER THE LAST FEW DAYS. ALL QUOTE OUTSTANDING UNQUOTE Z I P R A FORCES ARE NOW IN OR MOVING TOWARDS ASSEMBLY CAMPS. THE DEADLINE FOR THE ASSEMBLY PROCESS HAS BEEN APPLIED FLEXIBLY: BUT THE NECESSITY FOR IMPOSING A DEADLINE WAS DEMONSTRATED BY THE FACT THAT IN THE FIRST SIX DAYS ONLY 5,000 MEN ASSEMBLED. 12,000 ASSEMBLED OR BEGAN TO ASSEMBLE IN THE LAST 24 HOURS OF THE FORMAL ASSEMBLY PERIOD.

3. THROUGHOUT THIS PERIOD THE RHODESIAN FORCES HAVE BEEN ACTING SENSIBLY. DURING THE ASSEMBLY PERIOD THEY DISENGAGED EFFECTIVELY FROM CONTACT WITH THE P F FORCES (WITH THE INEVITABLE RESULT THAT THE SECURITY SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY DETERIORATED). SINCE THE ASSEMBLY PERIOD ENDED ON 4 JANUARY THEY HAVE OF NECESSITY (SEE BELOW) BEEN DIRECTED BY THE GOVERNOR TO RE-DEPLOY IN VARIOUS AREAS, IN SUPPORT OF THE OVER-STRETCHED POLICE, TO RESTORE LAW AND ORDER. THIS HAS HAD A GOOD EFFECT ON THE GENERAL LEVEL OF SECURITY. ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS THEY HAVE BEEN REQUIRED TO SUPPORT THE POLICE IN BEING READY TO DEAL WITH RECALCITRANT GROUPS OF Z A N L A. IN SUCH CASES THEY HAVE BEHAVED WITH RESTRAINT AND THE PROBLEMS HAVE BEEN RESOLVED, SOMETIMES ONLY AFTER 48 HOURS, BY THE P F COMMANDERS, THE BRITISH MONITORS, AND THE POLICE WORKING TOGETHER.

4. THE UNSATISFACTORY FEATURES RELATE TO THE BEHAVIOUR OF Z A N L A. DESPITE THE LARGE NUMBER WHO HAVE COME INTO THE ASSEMBLY AREAS, Z A N L A ARMED GROUPS, LARGE AND SMALL, ARE STILL OPERATING. THIS HAS BEEN ACHIEVED BY LARGE SCALE INFILTRATION ACROSS THE MOZAMBIQUE BORDER (CONTRARY TO THE CEASEFIRE), AND BY SENDING INTO THE ASSEMBLY AREAS A NUMBER (AS YET UNASSESSED) OF YOUTHS FROM INSIDE RHODESIA WHO HAVE NOT BEEN MEMBERS OF Z A N L A AS SUCH. THE EVIDENCE IS THAT Z A N U (MUGABE) INTEND THAT THE QUOTE OUTSTANDING UNQUOTE Z A N L A FORCES SHOULD NOT (NOT) RESPOND TO THE CEASEFIRE. THE DANGER OF CONFLICT REMAINS HIGH.

FOR USE AS NECESSARY

USE OF RHODESIAN FORCES

5. THE CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT PROVIDES FOR RECIPROCAL DISENGAGEMENT AND THAT IN THE EVENT OF SUSTAINED BREACHES OF THE AGREEMENT THE GOVERNOR MUST USE THE FORCES WHICH HAVE ACCEPTED HIS AUTHORITY. IT IS NOT

MUST USE THE FORCES WHICH HAVE ACCEPTED HIS AUTHORITY. IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO USE ARMED P F GROUPS FROM THE ASSEMBLY AREAS TO DEAL WITH OTHER P F GROUPS. IT HAS THEREFORE BEEN NECESSARY FOR THE GOVERNOR TO MAKE USE OF THE RHODESIAN FORCES, IN SUPPORT OF THE POLICE, TO HELP CONTAIN THE GENERAL LEVEL OF VIOLENCE IN THE COUNTRY, ESPECIALLY IN THE EASTERN HALF, AND TO BE READY TO DEAL WITH PARTICULAR CASES OF RECALCITRANT GROUPS AS THEY HAVE ARISEN. WE CONTINUE TO MONITOR THE RHODESIAN FORCES IN THESE TASKS.

#### RETURN OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT LEADERS

6. THE RETURN OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT LEADERS HAS TO BE MANAGED IN A WAY WHICH REDUCES THE VERY SERIOUS PUBLIC ORDER PROBLEMS WHICH COULD ARISE IF IT WERE MISHANDLED. NKOMO HAS WELL UNDERSTOOD THIS AND HAS COOPERATED OVER THE DATE OF HIS OWN RETURN, AND OVER THE ARRIVAL OF THE VERY LARGE NUMBERS OF Z A P U POLITICAL WORKERS RETURNING WITH HIM. Z A P U LEADERS HAVE BEEN ARRIVING ON A LARGE SCALE ALL WEEK AND ALMOST ALL OF THEM ARE EXPECTED TO ARRIVE BY THE TIME NKOMO COMES HERE ON SUNDAY. THERE WILL BE A MAJOR Z A P U RALLY HELD IN SALISBURY ON SUNDAY. ANOTHER LARGE Z A P U RALLY WAS HELD IN BULAWAYO LAST WEEKEND. REINTERGRATION OF THE Z A P U LEADERS INTO THE POLITICAL LIFE OF THE COUNTRY IS WELL UNDER WAY. SO FAR AS Z A N U (MUGABE) ARE CONCERNED WE HAVE PROBLEMS. APART FROM THOSE RELATING, AS DESCRIBED ABOVE, TO THE CEASEFIRE, WHICH GIVE RISE TO ANXIETY AS TO WHETHER MUGABE SERIOUSLY MEANS TO HONOUR THE LANCASTER HOUSE AGREEMENT AND CONTEST THE ELECTION PEACABLY, Z A N U HAVE BEEN PROPOSING TO FLY IN LARGE BODIES OF MEN WITHOUT PROPER CLEARANCE OR ADEQUATE IDENTIFICATION. WE MUST BE SATISFIED THAT THESE ARE NOT Z A N L A PERSONNEL. AN ADVANCE PARTY OF Z A N U POLITICAL LEADERS ARRIVES IN SALISBURY TODAY. WE HAVE OFFERED TO MAKE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE RETURN OF TONGOGARA'S BODY AND HIS BURIAL AT SELUKWE. THE TIMING OF MUGABE'S RETURN WILL BE DECIDED IN CONSULTATION WITH HIM.

#### SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES

7. WE HAVE ANNOUNCED THAT SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES ARE INVOLVED WITH MY AGREEMENT IN THE PROTECTION OF BOTH ENDS OF BEITBRIDGE, WHICH IS A COMMUNICATIONS LINK OF ESSENTIAL IMPORTANCE TO RHODESIA AND SOUTH AFRICA (AS WELL AS TO ZAMBIA AND ZAIRE). THEY ARE PRESENT ON RHODESIAN TERRITORY FOR THE SOLE PURPOSE OF THE PROTECTION OF THE BRIDGE. THIS IS FULLY COMPATIBLE WITH THE UNDERSTANDING AT LANCASTER HOUSE THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO INTERVENTION BY EXTERNAL FORCES IN RHODESIA. THE FUTURE OF THE UNIT AT BEITBRIDGE WILL BE A MATTER FOR THE INDEPENDENCE GOVERNMENT TO DECIDE. THERE ARE NO OTHER SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES IN RHODESIA, THOUGH THERE ARE A NUMBER OF SOUTH AFRICANS AND OTHER NATIONALITIES IN THE RHODESIAN FORCES. WE HAVE STATED THROUGHOUT THE LANCASTER HOUSE CONFERENCE THAT WE DO NOT ENVISAGE A QUOTE PURGE UNQUOTE ON PERSONNEL IN THE

OTHER SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES IN RHODESIA, THOUGH THERE ARE A NUMBER  
OF SOUTH AFRICANS AND OTHER NATIONALITIES IN THE RHODESIAN FORCES.  
WE HAVE STATED THROUGHOUT THE LANCASTER HOUSE CONFERENCE THAT WE  
DO NOT ENVIAGE A QUOTE PURGE UNQUOTE ON PERSONNEL IN THE  
RHODESIAN ARMED FORCES OR THE PATRIOTIC FRONT FORCES. (THERE ARE  
500 FRELIMO PERSONNEL AS YET UNIDENTIFIED IN THE Z A N L A  
FORCES.)

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MR ASPIN

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MR R L WADE CERY )  
MR P M MAKEY ) CABINET  
MR GOULTY ) OFFICE  
MR P J FOWLER )  
DIO )

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HD/PUSD (2)  
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MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A  
MR FIFOOT LEGAL ADVISER RM K164  
RESIDENT CLERK

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FM SALISBURY 091930Z JAN 80

TO IMMEDIATE MAPUTO

TELNO 39 OF 9/1/80

INFO IMMEDIATE FCC LUSAKA DAR ES SALAAM WASHINGTON

PRIORITY GABORONE

MIPT: ZANU

1. FOLLOWING ARE REPORTED INCIDENTS OF CROSS-BORDER MOVEMENT  
SINCE 28 DECEMBER:

28 DECEMBER

FROM TETE TO NORTH-EASTERN FRONTIER: MOVEMENT OF 400 ZANLA PERSONNEL

BARAGEN TO MAPAI: MOVEMENT OF 186 ZANLA PERSONNEL

BARAGEN TO CHIMOIO: MOVEMENT OF 202 ZANLA PERSONNEL

FROM CHIMOIO: INFILTRATION OF 150 ZANLA PERSONNEL

THERE WAS ALSO LARGE-SCALE MOVEMENT BETWEEN MAPAI AND MACHAILA  
6-700 ZANLA PERSONNEL ENTERED THE MUTASA TTL (REPORTED TO THE  
MOZAMBICAN AUTHORITIES AT THE TIME).

29 DECEMBER:

INFILTRATION OF 65 ZANLA PERSONNEL FROM MAPAI

100 ZANLA PERSONNEL ENTERED THE MUTASA NORTH TTL

650 ZANLA PERSONNEL CROSSED THE BORDER NORTH OF UMTALI



6-700 ZANLA PERSONNEL ENTERED THE MUTASA TTL (REPORTED TO THE MOZAMBICAN AUTHORITIES AT THE TIME).

29 DECEMBER:

INFILTRATION OF 65 ZANLA PERSONNEL FROM MAPAI

100 ZANLA PERSONNEL ENTERED THE MUTASA NORTH TTL

650 ZANLA PERSONNEL CROSSED THE BORDER NORTH OF UNTALI

200 ZANLA PERSONNEL CROSSED THE BORDER IN THE RODA FARM AREA.

30 DECEMBER:

120 ZANLA PERSONNEL CROSSED THE BORDER AT CHIUMYADUMA

31 DECEMBER

90 ZANLA PERSONNEL CROSSED THE BORDER IN THE UNTALI AREA

NEARLY 1,000 ZANLA PERSONNEL CROSSED INTO THE HOLDENBY TTL

BETWEEN 26 DECEMBER AND 2 JANUARY:

200 ZANLA PERSONNEL CROSSED THE BORDER AT NGORIMA.

APPROXIMATELY 1,000 PERSONNEL CROSSED THE NORTH-EAST BORDER FROM TETE.

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FM SALISBURY 091900Z JAN 80

TO IMMEDIATE MAPUTO

TELNO 38 OF 9/1/80

INFO IMMEDIATE FCO LUSAKA DAR ES SALAAM WASHINGTON

PRIORITY UKMIS NEW YORK AND GABORONE

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RHODESIA: ZANU

1. WE ARE NOW BEGINNING MORE FULLY TO ASSESS THE EXTENT OF COMPLIANCE BY ZANLA WITH THE LANCASTER HOUSE AGREEMENTS. OUR GENERAL CONCLUSIONS ARE THAT:

(A) THERE HAS BEEN LARGE-SCALE CROSS-BORDER MOVEMENT FROM MOZAMBIQUE SINCE 21 DECEMBER (PROBABLY OF THE ORDER OF 3-4000 MEN):

(B) THERE IS A GOOD DEAL OF EVIDENCE THAT ZANLA HAVE INSTRUCTED A SIGNIFICANT PROPORTION OF THEIR FORCES TO REMAIN OUTSIDE THE CEASE-FIRE PROCESS FOR PURPOSES OF POLITICAL INTIMIDATION.

2. ZANU HAVE BEEN TRYING TO MAKE UP THE NUMBERS IN THE CAMPS BY BRINGING IN "MUJIBAS" (YOUTHS). IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT THEIR OBJECTIVE IS TO GET AS MANY AS POSSIBLE OF THEIR FORCES FROM MOZAMBIQUE INTO RHODESIA IRRESPECTIVE OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE CEASE-FIRE AGREEMENT: BUT TO ASSEMBLE LARGE ENOUGH NUMBERS (REPEAT NUMBERS) IN THE ASSEMBLY AREAS TO AVOID BEING EXCLUDED FROM THE ELECTIONS. MIPT GIVES DETAILS OF REPORTED ZANLA MOVEMENTS FROM MOZAMBIQUE.

3. UNLESS YOU SEE OBJECTION, GRATEFUL IF YOU WOULD NOW APPROACH THE MOZAMBIKAN AUTHORITIES AND EXPLAIN TO THEM THE BASIS FOR OUR CONCERN. I THINK YOU SHOULD TAKE THEM THROUGH ALL THE SPECIFIC INSTANCES OF CROSS-BORDER MOVEMENT INDICATED IN MIPT.

4. PLEASE EMPHASISE STRONGLY TO THE MOZAMBIKANS THAT IT IS MY DESIRE TO MOVE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO THE NORMALISATION OF RELATIONS WITH MOZAMBIQUE. THIS WILL BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT WHILE CROSS-BORDER MOVEMENT CONTINUES ON ANYTHING LIKE THIS SCALE. IT IS IN BOTH OUR INTERESTS TO OVERCOME THESE PROBLEMS. YOU SHOULD EMPHASISE THAT WE ARE ALSO CONCERNED ABOUT

(A) THE CONTINUING INFLAMMATORY TONE OF "VOICE OF ZIMBABWE" BROADCASTS, AND

(B) WE MUST SECURE THE RELEASE OF THE ZANU DETAINEES.

5. AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND, WE HOPE TO PERMIT THE GRADUAL, REPEAT GRADUAL, RETURN OF ZANU POLITICAL PERSONNEL WHEN WE

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RECEIVE ADEQUATE NOTIFICATION AND IDENTIFICATION. THIS WILL HAVE TO BE RELATED, HOWEVER, TO THE RESOLUTION OF THESE DIFFICULTIES.

6. FOR YOUR BACKGROUND INFORMATION, OUR WHOLE PURPOSE IS TO AVOID, REPEAT AVOID, HAVING TO TAKE ACTION WHICH WOULD AMOUNT TO EXCLUDING ZANU FROM THE ELECTIONS. BUT IT SIMPLY WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE TO SECURE THE CONTINUING COOPERATION OF THE RHODESIAN AUTHORITIES (OR OF THE OTHER POLITICAL PARTIES) IF ZANU AND ZANLA ARE PERMITTED TO GET AWAY WITH EXTENSIVE BREACHES OF THE CEASE-FIRE AGREEMENT AND WITH PLANS TO CONTINUE OVER THE NEXT FEW WEEKS TO EVADE THE OBLIGATIONS IMPOSED ON THEM BY IT. WE THEREFORE HAVE NO OPTION BUT TO ADOPT A STEP-BY-STEP APPROACH TO THE QUESTION OF THE RETURN OF ZANU POLITICAL PERSONNEL TO ENABLE US TO MAINTAIN PRESSURE ON ZANU TO COMPLY.

7. HONWANA IS BEING FULLY BRIEFED AND WE UNDERSTAND THAT HE WILL BE REPORTING TO PRESIDENT MACHEL.

8. ON THIS OCCASION, AND IN ANY FURTHER EXCHANGES ON THIS SUBJECT, PLEASE MAKE IT CLEAR THAT WE HAVE NO DOUBT THAT THE MOZAMBICANS ARE DOING THEIR BEST TO HELP, AS THEY DID THROUGHOUT THE LANCASTER HOUSE NEGOTIATIONS. WE HAVE A SHARED DESIRE TO GET THE BORDER OPENED AND NORMAL RELATIONS ESTABLISHED. BUT WE MUST LOOK TO THEM TO PUT MORE EFFECTIVE PRESSURE ON ZANU.

FCO PASS ALL

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[REPEATED AS REQUESTED]

**F I L E S**

RHOD D	OID
OADS	NEWS D
NAD	PS
MED	PS/SIR I GILMOUR
PUSD	PS/MR LUCE
PLANNING STAFF	PS/MR RIDLEY
ES & SD	PS/MR HURD
NENAD	PS/MR MARTEN
CCD	PS/PUS
FRD	SIR D MAITLAND
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DESKBY 091200Z TO LUSAKA

FROM SALISBURY 091100Z JAN 80

TO IMMEDIATE LUSAKA

TELEGRAM NUMBER 35 OF 9 JANUARY 1980

INFO IMMEDIATE FCO.

*M*  
*see*

MY TELNO 32: NKOMO'S RETURN.

1. PLEASE CONTACT NKOMO AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AND TELL HIM THAT WE AND THE BSAP ARE ANXIOUS TO ENSURE THAT THE ARRANGEMENTS FOR HIS RETURN ARE AS DIGNIFIED AS POSSIBLE AND THAT THEY PRESENT THE MINIMUM RISK OF DISCOMFORT OR WORSE FOR HIMSELF AND HIS SUPPORTERS. WE KNOW THAT A VERY LARGE CROWD WILL WISH TO GREET HIM AND THAT ZAPU ARE ORGANISING A MASS RALLY FOR THIS PURPOSE AT THE ZIMBABWE FOOTBALL GROUND IN HIGHFIELDS.
2. OUR MAIN CONCERN IS WITH THE ARRANGEMENTS AT THE AIRPORT AND FOR TRANSFERRING NKOMO BETWEEN THE AIRPORT AND HIGHFIELDS. THE AIRPORT ITSELF IS, AS NKOMO KNOWS, VERY BADLY LAID OUT FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF CROWD CONTROL. EVEN THE RELATIVELY SMALL CROWD (10,000 OR SO) WHO TURNED OUT TO MEET THE PF MILITARY LEADERS ON BOXING DAY PRESENTED THE POLICE WITH MAJOR PROBLEMS AND A GOOD DEAL OF DAMAGE WAS DONE. PASSENGERS TRYING TO GET TO AND FROM THE AIRPORT WERE SERIOUSLY INCONVENIENCED AND ALARMED AND A GOOD DEAL OF UNNECESSARY ILL-WILL WAS GENERATED.
3. THE TRANSIT OF THE PF MILITARY LEADERS BY ROAD INTO SALISBURY ALSO LED TO DIFFICULTIES. EVEN A GOOD-HUMOURED CROWD CAN MAKE PROGRESS OF A ROAD CONVOY VERY SLOW AND POSE OBVIOUS RISKS TO SECURITY. THERE IS A STRONG POSSIBILITY THAT CROWDS GATHERING AT

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THE AIRPORT WILL TRY TO ACCOMPANY NKOMO TO HIGHFIELDS IF HE TRAVELS THERE BY ROAD. HOW LONG THIS COULD TAKE IS ANYONE'S GUESS. THEY WILL INEVITABLY SEEK TO SLOW DOWN THE PROGRESS OF THE CONVOY AND IT WILL BE VERY DIFFICULT FOR THE POLICE TO CLEAR THE ROAD WITHOUT RESORTING TO MEASURES WHICH THEY WOULD PREFER NOT TO USE.

4. FOR ALL THESE REASONS WE WOULD WISH TO URGE ON NKOMO THAT HE CONSIDER THE POSSIBILITY OF TRANSFERRING FROM THE AIRPORT TO HIGHFIELDS BY HELICOPTER. THIS WOULD MEAN THAT THE ADVANCE PUBLICITY COULD FOCUS THE ATTENTION OF ZAPU SUPPORTERS ON THE ZIMBABWE FOOTBALL GROUND AND SEEK TO DISCOURAGE THEM AS FAR AS POSSIBLE FROM TURNING UP AT THE AIRPORT (THOUGH SOME WILL INEVITABLY DO SO IN ANY CASE). NKOMO WOULD BE ABLE TO MAKE HIS APPEARANCE AT HIGHFIELDS WITH THE MAXIMUM DRAMATIC EFFORT AND THE MINIMUM RISK EITHER OF DELAY OR OF SOME UNTOWARD INCIDENT. A SMALL PARTY OF ZAPU OFFICIALS (SAY 10 OR SO) COULD BE ON THE TARMAC TO GREET HIM AT THE AIRPORT AND HE COULD GIVE A PRESS CONFERENCE THERE IF HE WISHED TO DO SO BEFORE MOVING TO HIGHFIELDS.

5. WE HOPE HE WILL AGREE TO FOLLOW THIS COURSE AND TO CHARTER A COMMERCIAL HELICOPTER FOR THE PURPOSE. SUBJECT TO AVAILABILITY, WE COULD IN THE LAST RESORT CONSIDER OFFERING A MONITORING FORCE HELICOPTER FOR THE PURPOSE, BUT SHOULD PREFER TO AVOID THIS IF POSSIBLE. YOU SHOULD NOT RPT NOT VOLUNTEER THIS TO NKOMO.

6. THERE ARE TWO OTHER POINTS WE WISH TO MAKE IN THIS CONNECTION:-  
(A) A ZAPU SPOKESMAN IN SALISBURY HAS SAID THAT NKOMO WILL BE ACCOMPANIED BY 100 FEMALE GUERRILLAS. WE ASSUME THIS IS WRONG, AND SUGGEST THAT ZAPU ISSUE A DENIAL. WE HOPE IT IS UNDERSTOOD THAT ANY STAFF TRAVELLING WITH NKOMO MUST BE CIVILIANS AND THEY WILL HAVE TO GO THROUGH NORMAL IMMIGRATION PROCEDURES.

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(B) WE HAVE NOTED WITH SURPRISE THAT AARON MILNER IS LISTED ON THE ZAPU FLIGHT TODAY (NO 87 IN YOUR TELNO 51). IANA ARE REPORTING THAT THIS IS INDEED THE FORMER ZAMBIAN MINISTER OF THAT NAME AND THAT NKOMO HAS APPOINTED HIM HIS PUBLICITY SECRETARY. IF THIS IS TRUE, NKOMO SHOULD BEAR IN MIND THE GOVERNOR'S STATEMENT ON 6 JANUARY THAT NON-RHODESIANS WILL BE EXPECTED TO REFRAIN FROM POLITICAL ACTIVITY IN RHODESIA IN THIS PERIOD. WE SHALL HAVE TO CONSIDER HOW TO SQUARE THIS WITH WHATEVER STATUS NKOMO IS PROPOSING FOR MILNER .

7. GRATEFUL FOR REPLY DESKBY 100600Z IF POSSIBLE.

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## FILES

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FM FCO 091203Z JAN 80

TO IMMEDIATE LUSAKA

TELEGRAM NUMBER 010 OF 9 JANUARY

AND TO IMMEDIATE SLAISBURY NAIROBI MAPUTO GABORONE DAR ES SALAAM  
LUANDA LAGOS WASHINGTON PRETORIA ADDIS ABABA MONROVIA CANBERRA  
OTTAWA WELLINGTON PRIORITY PEKING MOSCOW PRAGUE DAKAR KINSHASA  
KHARTOUM TOKYO EEC POSTS KUWAIT KINGSTON BRIDGETOWN DACCA NEW DELHI  
SINGAPORE GEORGETOWN FREETOWN PORT LOUIS PORT OF SPAIN LILONGWE  
VALLETTA BANJUL COLOMBO ACCRA KUALA LUMPUR NICOSIA OSLO STOCKHOLM  
LISBON MADRIS ATHENS MBABANE ABIDJAN  
INFO IMMEDIATE UKMIS NEW YORK

INFO SAVING NASSAU MASERU CASTRIES SUVA PORT MORESBY HONIARA  
NUKUALOFA VICTORIA TARAWA UKDEL NATO SOFIA BUDAPEST BUCHAREST  
EAST BERLIN BELGRADE CAIRO ALGIERS TUNIS TRIPOLI RABAT TEHRAN

RHODESIA

1. YOU SHOULD TAKE EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO STRESS THE CONSIDERABLE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE GOVERNOR'S ADMINISTRATION IN RHODESIA SINCE LORD SOAMES ARRIVED FOUR WEEKS AGO, AND IN THE THREE WEEKS SINCE THE LANCASTER HOUSE AGREEMENT WAS SIGNED.
2. DEPLOYMENT OF THE MONITORING FORCE AND THE ASSEMBLY PROCESS HAVE GONE AHEAD REMARKABLY WELL AND SOME 20,000 MEMBERS OF THE PF FORCES HAVE ASSEMBLED (THOUGH ZANLA'S BEHAVIOUR CONTINUES TO CAUSE CONCERN: SEE BELOW). THE CEASE-FIRE COMMISSION IS FUNCTIONING WELL. EFFECTIVE CROSS-BORDER LIAISON HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED WITH MOZAMBIQUE, AND ZAMBIA AND TO A MORE LIMITED EXTENT, WITH BOTSWANA.
3. DATES HAVE BEEN SET FOR ELECTIONS (27-29 FEBRUARY) AND ARRANGEMENTS MADE FOR THE REGISTRATION OF PARTIES AND NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES. THE ELECTION COMMISSIONER AND HIS STAFF ARE SUPERVISING THE PREPARATIONS FOR THE ELECTIONS, AND WILL BE DEPLOYED ROUND THE COUNTRY BY THE END OF THE MONTH. THE BAN ON ZANU AND ZAPU WAS LIFTED IMMEDIATELY AFTER SIGNATURE OF THE LANCASTER HOUSE AGREEMENTS: THE PRINCIPAL MEMBERS OF BOTH PARTIES WILL BE RETURNING TO RHODESIA OVER THE NEXT FEW DAYS. OF THE PARTY LEADERS, NKOMO RETURNS ON 13 JANUARY: MUGABE HAS NOT YET INFORMED US OF HIS PLANS.

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4. CONSIDERABLE PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE TOWARDS NORMALISING RHODESIA'S RELATIONS WITH ITS NEIGHBOURS. BOTH MOZAMBIQUE AND ZAMBIA HAVE ESTABLISHED LIAISON OFFICES IN SALISBURY AND ACTION HAS BEGUN ON THE REOPENING OF BORDER CROSSING POINTS AND THE RESUMPTION OF AIR SERVICES. MAIZE SHIPMENTS TO ZAMBIA RESUMED IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE GOVERNOR'S ARRIVAL. OTHER BILATERAL PROBLEMS ARE BEING DISCUSSED BY RHODESIAN OFFICIALS WITH THEIR COUNTERPARTS. A MEETING HAS BEEN HELD IN LONDON ATTENDED BY REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FRONT-LINE STATES, THE RHODESIAN AUTHORITIES, THE PF, UNHCR AND ICRC TO SETTLE THE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE RETURN OF REFUGEES. IT IS HOPED THAT A START WILL BE MADE IN THE SECOND HALF OF JANUARY. A NUMBER OF OTHER COUNTRIES, INCLUDING THE US, AUSTRALIA, FRANCE, GERMANY, ITALY, INDIA, GREECE AND PORTUGAL HAVE OPENED OR ARE CONTEMPLATING OPENING OFFICES IN SALISBURY SHORTLY.

5. WITHIN THE COUNTRY MOST CENSORSHIP PROVISIONS HAVE BEEN LIFTED. PERSONS LISTED AS PROHIBITED IMMIGRANTS BY THE FORMER REGIME ARE NOW FREE TO RE-APPLY FOR ENTRY AND THEIR CASES ARE BEING GIVEN SYMPATHETIC CONSIDERATION. RESTRICTIONS PREVIOUSLY IMPOSED ON THE ENTRY OF JOURNALISTS HAVE BEEN LIFTED. A GENERAL AMNESTY HAS BEEN DECLARED. THE GREAT MAJORITY OF PERSONS DETAINED UNDER EMERGENCY POWERS HAVE BEEN RELEASED AND THE CASES OF THE REMAINDER ARE BEING REVIEWED. THE NUMBER OF MARTIAL LAW DETAINEES IS BEING REDUCED. MARTIAL LAW COURTS HAVE BEEN SUSPENDED. MARTIAL LAW ITSELF WILL BE LIFTED IF THE CEASE-FIRE IS FULLY EFFECTIVE. ZRBC HAS UNDERTAKEN TO PROVIDE IMPARTIAL AND BALANCED COVERAGE OF POLITICAL ACTIVITIES DURING THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN AND TO GIVE ACCESS TO ALL PARTIES PARTICIPATING IN THE ELECTION. A SENIOR MEMBER OF THE BBC IS IN RHODESIA FOR DISCUSSIONS WITH ZRBC.

6. THIS IS A FORMIDABLE CATALOGUE OF CHANGE FOR A SHORT PERIOD. THERE ARE INEVITABLY STILL SOME PROBLEMS TO BE OVERCOME. BUT THEY SHOULD BE KEPT IN PROPORTION, AND CONSIDERED AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF WHAT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED. A BASIS FOR FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED. THE SITUATION NOW SHOULD BE CONTRASTED WITH THAT WHICH ALMOST CERTAINLY WOULD HAVE PREVAILED HAD THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE NOT SUCCEEDED.

7. IN DEALING WITH SPECIFIC CRITICISMS YOU SHOULD MAKE THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

(1) WHY HAS THE GOVERNOR USED RHODESIAN SECURITY FORCES IN SUPPORT OF THE POLICE?



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THERE HAVE UNFORTUNATELY BEEN A NUMBER OF BREACHES OF THE CEASE-FIRE MOSTLY BY ZANLA. THESE HAVE INCLUDED ILLEGAL CROSS-BORDER MOVEMENT, INTIMIDATION AND LAWLESSNESS. ZANLA FORCES EXPLOITED THE ASSEMBLY PROCESS TO POLITICIZE THE RURAL POPULATION AND EXERT MAXIMUM POLITICAL PRESSURE ON THEM. A PROPORTION OF ZANLA FORCES HAVE STILL NOT ASSEMBLED. APARAGRAPH 11 OF THE CEASE-FIRE AGREEMENT ENVISAGES THE GOVERNOR TAKING ACTION ON BREACHES OF THE CEASE-FIRE QUOTE WITH THE FORCES WHICH HAVE ACCEPTED HIS AUTHORITY UNQUOTE. IN PRACTICE, THE GOVERNOR HAS USED PF COMMANDERS TO ENCOURAGE ALL ELEMENTS OF THEIR FORCES TO ASSEMBLE. IN A NUMBER OF CASES SINCE THE END OF THE ASSEMBLY PROCESS IN WHICH THE POLICE HAVE BEEN UNABLE, ON THEIR OWN, TO DEAL WITH INCIDENTS, THE GOVERNOR HAS AUTHORISED THE SECURITY FORCES TO SUPPORT THEM. THEIR ORDERS HAVE, HOWEVER, BEEN WHERE POSSIBLE TO PERSUADE OR COMPEL THE GROUPS CONCERNED TO ASSEMBLE WITHOUT THEIR ARMS, AND TO USE FORCE ONLY IF THIS IS RESISTED. IF PRESSED ON WHY THE GOVERNOR HAS NOT USED PATRIOTIC FRONT FORCES IN SUCH INCIDENTS, YOU SHOULD SAY THAT THEIR USE IS NOT EXCLUDED UNDER THE CEASE-FIRE AGREEMENT, BUT THAT IT IS FOR THE GOVERNOR TO DECIDE IN EACH CASE WHAT ACTION IS MOST APPROPRIATE. THERE ARE OBVIOUS DIFFICULTIES IN TRYING TO DEPLOY PATRIOTIC FRONT FORCES OF ONE WING OR THE OTHER AGAINST RECALCITRANT GUERRILLAS.

(II) IS IT NOT THE CASE THAT THE RHODESIAN AUXILIARIES ARE IGNORING THE CEASE-FIRE?

THE AUXILIARIES COME UNDER THE COMMAND OF THE RHODESIAN MILITARY COMMANDERS WHO ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR ENSURING THAT THEY OBSERVE THE CEASE-FIRE. ANY REPORTS THAT THEY HAVE BREACHED THE CEASE-FIRE CAN BE RAISED BY THE PATRIOTIC FRONT'S REPRESENTATIVE ON THE CEASE-FIRE COMMISSION AND WILL BE INVESTIGATED AND DEALT WITH.

(III) WHY ARE SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES STILL PRESENT IN THE COUNTRY?

WE HAVE CONSISTENTLY MADE CLEAR THAT WE DO NOT ENVISAGE ANY EXTERNAL INTERVENTION IN RHODESIA UNDER THE GOVERNOR. THIS APPLIES TO ALL OUTSIDE FORCES. THE ONLY FORCES IN RHODESIA IN THIS PERIOD WILL BE THE RHODESIAN FORCES AND THE PATRIOTIC FRONT FORCES. HOWEVER, THE BRIDGE ACROSS THE RIVER AT BEITBRIDGE IS OF VITAL IMPORTANCE

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/TO

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# CONFIDENTIAL

TO THE ECONOMIES OF RHODESIA AND NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES, INCLUDING VS AFRICA AND DAMAGE TO IT COULD HAVE VERY SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES. THERE HAVE BEEN CONTINUING BREACHES OF THE CEASE-FIRE IN THE AREA NEAR THE BRIDGE. THE GOVERNOR HAS AGREED THAT A SMALL SOUTH AFRICAN CONTINGENT SHOULD BE STATIONED AT THE RHODESIAN END OF THE BRIDGE. THE CONTINGENT IS PRESENT UNIQUELY FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE BRIDGE, AND WILL REMAIN IN ITS VICINITY.

THERE ARE INDEED SOUTH AFRICANS, AND OTHER NATIONALITIES, IN THE RHODESIAN FORCES, AS THERE ARE VARIOUS NATIONALITIES FIGHTING WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT'S FORCES. ( PRESIDENT MACHEL HAS ADMITTED THAT THERE ARE 500 MOZAMBICAN TROOPS WITH THE PF.) WE HAVE ALWAYS MADE CLEAR THAT THERE WILL BE NO QUOTE PURGE UNQUOTE OF THE FORCES OF EITHER SIDE DURING THE INTERIM PERIOD, AND THAT ALL THE ELEMENTS OF BOTH FORCES WILL BE RESPONSIBLE THROUGH THEIR COMMANDERS TO THE GOVERNOR FOR THE OBSERVANCE OF THE CEASE-FIRE. YOU SHOULD DRAW FURTHER AS APPROPRIATE ON SALISBURY TELNO 20 TO LUSAKA. (IV) WHY HAS THE RETURN OF PF LEADERSHIP TO RHODESIA BEEN DELAYED?

THERE HAVE BEEN NO SIGNIFICANT DELAYS, BUT WE HAVE HAD TO ASK ZAPU AND ZANU TO GIVE US 48 HOURS NOTICE OF THE RETURN OF THE MEMBERS SO THAT APPROPRIATE ARRANGEMENTS COULD BE MADE FOR SECURITY, CROWD CONTROL ETC. NKOMO HIMSELF PROPOSED THE DATE OF 13 JANUARY FOR HIS OWN RETURN (AFTER WE HAD EXPLAINED THE 6 JANUARY COULD CAUSE PUBLIC ORDER PROBLEMS BECAUSE OF A RALLY ARRANGED BY BISHOP MUZOREWA. THE DELAY OF A WEEK WAS NKOMO'S OWN DECISION. ALMOST ALL ZAPU AND ZANU OFFICIALS WILL RETURN WITHIN THE NEXT FEW DAYS, THERE IS NO QUESTION OF OUR TRYING TO KEEP OUT, NEXT TWO WORDS UNDERLINED, BONA FIDE POLITICAL MEMBERS (THOUGH THE CEASE FIRE AGREEMENTS EXCLUDED MILITARY PERSONNEL). MUGABE HAS NOT TOLD THE GOVERNOR WHEN HE WISHES TO RETURN.

(V) THE GOVERNOR/THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT ARE BIASED TOWARDS BISHOP MUZOREWA.

/WE

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WE ARE COMMITTED TO ENSURING STRICT COMPLIANCE WITH THE AGREEMENTS SIGNED AT LANCASTER HOUSE. THE GOVERNOR'S DECISIONS ARE FULL IN ACCORDANCE WITH THOSE AGREEMENTS AND DO NOT FAVOUR ONE SIDE OR THE OTHER. (THERE HAVE BEEN EXAMPLES WHERE HE HAS GONE OUT OF HIS WAY TO HELP THE PATRIOTIC FRONT EG BY CHANGING THE LAW OR REGISTRATION OF PARTIES WHEN ZAPU FAILED TO REGISTER BY THE DEADLINE, AND BY BEING FLEXIBLE OVER THE PERIOD ALLOWED FOR THE ASSEMBLY OF PF FORCES.

CARRINGTON

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PS/SIR I GILMOUR

PS/MR LUCE

PS/MR RIDLEY

PS/MR HURD

PS/MR MARTEN

PS/PUS

SIR D MAITLAND

MR HANNAY

LORD N G LENNOX

MISS BROWN

MR DAY

MR FERGUSSON

MR ASPIN

MR MILLS

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SIR R ARMSTRONG )  
MR R L WADE GERY )  
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MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A  
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UNCLASSIFIED

FM LUSAKA 091505Z

TO IMMEDIATE SALISBURY

TEL NO. 59 OF 9 JANUARY 1980

REPEATED TO PRIORITY FCO.

*Prime Minister* (2)

9.1.80

*mf*

YOUR TEL NO.33 (NOT TO FCO): SENATOR TSONGAS' LUSAKA PRESS CONFERENCE.

WE HAVE OBTAINED A TRANSCRIPT FROM U.S. EMBASSY. FOLLOWING ARE EXTRACTS DEALING WITH QUESTION OF COMMUNICATION:-

BEGINS.

I THINK THAT WE HAVE BEEN EXPOSED TO ALL THE MAJOR PARTIES IN THE ISSUE OF ZIMBABWE AND I MUST ADMIT THAT I AM QUITE CONCERNED ABOUT THE WAY THINGS ARE GOING. AS TIMING HAS BEEN GOING ON I THINK THERE'S BEEN A RAPID DETERIORATION OF THE SITUATION, NOTHING THAT CANNOT BE RESOLVED, BUT I AM DISTRESSED BY THE LACK OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE BRITISH GOVERNOR IN PARTICULAR, BUT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT GENERALLY, AND THE MAJOR PLAYERS IN THE RHODESIA-ZIMBABWE ISSUE NAMELY, THE POLITICAL PARTIES INCLUDING THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AND THE LEADERS OF THE FRONTLINE STATES. THERE HAVE BEEN A NUMBER OF ISSUES RECENTLY THAT CALL INTO QUESTION THE IMPARTIALITY OF THE BRITISH. NOW, THOSE EVENTS MAY WELL HAVE QUITE AN ADEQUATE EXPLANATION. BUT IF THAT IS THE CASE, IT IS ONLY THE BRITISH THAT KNOW WHAT THE EXPLANATION IS. AND I WOULD

ONLY THE BRITISH THAT KNOW WHAT THE EXPLANATION IS. AND I WOULD CALL UPON THE BRITISH TO UNDERTAKE A MASSIVE CAMPAIGN OF COMMUNICATION OF WHAT THEY ARE DOING, WHY THEY ARE DOING IT, WITH THE POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE LEADERS OF THE FRONTLINE STATES BECAUSE IN MY JUDGEMENT, AND I'VE COMMUNICATED THAT TO THE PRESIDENT TODAY, THAT UNLESS THIS CHANGE TAKES PLACE, THAT THE WHOLE FULFILMENT OF THE LANCASTER HOUSE SETTLEMENT IS IN JEOPARDY. WHICH I THINK WOULD BE PARTICULARLY TRAGIC BECAUSE I DO NOT THINK THAT ALL THE ELEMENTS ARE PRESENT IN RHODESIA FOR A TRANSITION TO ZIMBABWE THAT EVERYONE CAN LIVE WITH AND FEEL VERY GOOD ABOUT. I THINK ALL THE PARTIES INCLUDING THE BRITISH, WANT A FREE AND FAIR ELECTION AND IT CAN BE HANDLED. THE BRITISH PLANS FOR ELECTION DAY, I THINK ARE QUITE ADEQUATE, AND I THINK WILL HAVE THE FULL SUPPORT OF ALL THE OBSERVERS. THE CRITICAL POINT IS BETWEEN NOW AND ELECTION DAY AND I THINK THAT IS RESOLVABLE ONLY IF THERE IS CONSTANT, DAILY, EFFECTIVE COMMUNICATION BETWEEN ALL PARTIES AND SO FAR THAT IS NOT THE CASE.

QUESTION: ARE YOU QUESTIONING THE IMPARTIALITY OF LORD SOAMES IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF LANCASTER HOUSE AGREEMENT?

ANSWER: I AM NOT QUESTIONING THE IMPARTIALITY. I AM QUESTIONING THE CAPACITY TO PROJECT IMPARTIALITY. YOU DON'T MAKE DECISIONS INVOLVING, FOR EXAMPLE, DEPLOYMENT OF RHODESIAN FORCES AND NOT UNDERTAKE THE SIMPLE PROCESS OF CALLING UP JOSHUA NKOMO ON THE TELEPHONE AND TELLING HIM WHY YOU ARE DOING IT. YOU SEE, THEN YOU ARE OPENING YOURSELF TO A SITUATION IN WHICH JOSHUA NKOMO WILL SAY TO HIMSELF "WHY IS THIS HAPPENING?" IN THE TWO WEEKS THAT MR. NKOMO HAS BEEN HERE HE HAS NOT RECEIVED ONE CALL FROM THE GOVERNOR. AND I DON'T CARE WHETHER THEY ARE TALKING ABOUT A COUNTRY OR A SIMPLE POLITICAL SITUATION. IN STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS, LACK OF COMMUNICATION IS FATAL. ANY LOCAL POLITICIAN UNDERSTANDS THAT. AND I DON'T SEE WHY THE BRITISH GOVERNOR CANNOT FEEL THE SAME WAY. AND I HAVE ASKED MY GOVERNMENT TO COMMUNICATE THIS CONCERN TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND THAT TELEX WENT OUT THIS AFTERNOON. I DON'T SHARE THE VIEW THAT THE BRITISH ARE TRYING TO UNDERMINE THE ELECTION, BECAUSE I THINK THE BRITISH WANT TO DO THIS THING AND GET OUT. THEY DON'T WANT ANY PROTRACTED NORTHERN IRELAND KIND OF SITUATION. BUT THE INTENT AND MECHANICS ARE TWO DIFFERENT THINGS AND THE RECENT EVENTS THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE, I THINK NEED EXPLANATION TO ALL PARTIES, ESPECIALLY TO THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AND THE FRONT LINE STATES. WE MET WITH PRESIDENT MACHEL AND PRESIDENT NYERERE AND THE OFFICIALS HERE AND THE SUSPICION, AND DOUBT AND QUESTIONING IS CONSISTENT. AND I WOULD SAY THAT THE BRITISH HAVE ABOUT A WEEK TO STRAIGHTEN IT OUT OR IT IS GOING TO GET OUT OF HAND.

WEEK TO STRAIGHTEN IT OUT OR IT IS GOING TO GET OUT OF HAND.

QUESTION: DO YOU THINK IT'S JUST NATURAL, PART OF THE AGREEMENT THAT WAS REACHED, THE BIAS WAS INHERENT IN THE AGREEMENT THAT IS CAUSING THIS OR IS IT THE WAY IT'S BEING IMPLEMENTS BY THE BRITISH AUTHORITIES THERE?

ANSWER: I THINK THE AGREEMENT IS A GOOD ONE. IT'S NOT ONE THAT MAKES EVERYONE HAPPY BUT THAT'S WHAT MAKES IT GOOD. IF ANYBODY IS PARTICULARLY PLEASED WITH IT, THERE'S SOMETHING WRONG WITH IT. I THINK IT IS CLEARLY THE IMPLEMENTATION, AND IN A VERY SIMPLE PROCESS LIKE ASKING SIR ANTHONY DUFF, WHICH I BELIEVE HIS NAME IS, TO SIMPLY GET ON THE AIRPLANE AND COME AROUND AND MEET AND EXPLAIN WHY EXACTLY THINGS ARE BEING DONE THE WAY THEY HAVE BEEN DONE. EVERYONE OF THE ISSUES THAT ARE OF CONCERN MAY WELL HAVE A PERFECT EXPLANATION. THEY'VE BEEN SITTING IN THE HEAD OF THE BRITISH AND NOT COMMUNICATED TO OTHER PARTIES YOU MIGHT AS WELL NOT HAVE AN EXPLANATION. AND AS SOMEONE WHO IS VERY, YOU KNOW, VERY ENCOURAGED AND ENTHUSIASTIC AND OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THE WILLINGNESS OF ALL PARTIES TO ACTUALLY SEE THIS THING THROUGH, TO HAVE IT FALTER ON SOMETHING INCIDENTAL AS COMMUNICATION WOULD BE A TRAGIC FOOTNOTE.

EXTRACT ENDS.

2. TSONGAS ALSO ANSWERED QUESTIONS ON PF UNITY IN THE ELECTIONS, THE POSSIBILITY OF CIVIL WAR AFTER THE ELECTIONS (WHICH HE THOUGHT QUITE LIKELY IF MATTERS CONTINUED AS AT PRESENT, SINCE THE DEFEATED PARTIES WOULD HAVE PERFECT EXCUSES NOT/NOT TO ACCEPT THE ELECTION RESULT), THE POSSIBILITY OF RUSSIAN INTERVENTION, THE ROLE OF SOUTH AFRICA AND UNITED STATES POLICY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. WE WILL SEND ANY OR ALL OF THESE ON REQUEST.

NEILSON.

NNNN

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PS/MR LUCE  
PS/PUS  
SIR D MAITLAND  
MR DAY  
LORD N G LENNOX  
MR ASPIN

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MR R L WADE GERY )  
MR P M MAXEY ) CABINET  
MR GOULTY ) OFFICE  
MR P J FOWLER )  
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MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A  
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IMMEDIATE

GRS 348

*MS*

*Prime Minister* (2)

9.1.80

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FROM LAGOS 091410Z

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 37 OF 9 JANUARY 1980.

RFI IMMEDIATE SALISBURY

PRIORITY GABORONE, MAPUTU, LUSAKA, DAR ES SALAAM, LUANDA, PRETORIA,  
WASHINGTON AND UKMIS NEW YORK.

RHODESIAN RELATIONS WITH NIGERIAN MEDIA.

1. THE PRESS HERE HAVE BEEN RELATIVELY RESTRAINED IN REPORTING THE PRESENCE OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS AT BEIT BRIDGE AND THE STUDENT DEMONSTRATION ON THE SUBJECT (MY TELNO 30 TO FCO RFI SALISBURY). HOWEVER THERE ARE SIGNS THAT THEY ARE RETURNING TO THE ATTACK. THE EDITORIAL IN TODAY'S "PUNCH" (THE MORE SERIOUS OF THE INDEPENDENT PAPERS) DOUBTED "THE GOODWILL AND HONESTY OF PURPOSE OF THE BRITISH TO FULFIL THE OBLIGATIONS IN SPIRIT AND IN DETAILS OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL AND CEASEFIRE AGREEMENTS THAT CONCLUDED THE LONDON TALKS". IT ARGUED THAT THE DECISION TO ALLOW SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS IN THE COUNTRY "IN SPITE OF EARLIER ASSURANCES, THE USE OF THE SMITH/MUZOREWA REBEL FORCES AND THE RESTRICTION OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT FORCES, ARE DESIGNED TO INCAPACITATE THE PATRIOTIC

LONDON TALKS... IT ARGUED THAT THE DEPLOYMENT OF  
TROOPS IN THE COUNTRY "IN SPITE OF EARLIER ASSURANCES, THE USE  
OF THE SMITH/MUZOREWA REBEL FORCES AND THE RESTRICTION OF THE  
PATRIOTIC FRONT FORCES, ARE DESIGNED TO INCAPACITATE THE PATRIOTIC  
FRONT AND SHUGGLE INTO POWER A USELESS, SOLD-OUT, PURPORTED BLACK  
MAJORITY GOVERNMENT". IT CONCLUDED, "ONCE OUR OFFICIAL  
OBSERVERS TO ZIMBABWE CONFIRM THAT IN FACT THE BRITISH ARE TRYING  
TO INSTALL A PUPPET GOVERNMENT, THEN NIGERIA SHOULD WITHDRAW HER  
OBSERVER TEAM AND CANVAS STRONGLY THAT ALL PROGRESSIVE PEOPLE  
OF THE WORLD SHOULD REJECT THE ELECTIONS UNLESS THEY BE HELD UNDER  
U N SUPERVISION".

2. THERE WAS ALSO A LONG ARTICLE IN THE "DAILY TIMES" BY THE  
FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT. IT, UNUSUALLY, DID NOT USE PARTICULARLY  
INFLAMMATORY OR INSULTING LANGUAGE BUT ARGUED THAT LORD CARRINGTON  
HAD GIVEN A SPECIFIC UNDERTAKING THAT SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS WOULD BE  
WITHDRAWN AND WE WERE NOW GOING BACK ON THIS. IT URGED THE  
NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT TO TAKE A STAND NOW ON THE PRESENCE OF SOUTH  
AFRICAN TROOPS, ON THE USE OF BISHOP MUZOREWA'S FORCES AND ON THE  
NEED TO INCREASE THE COMMONWEALTH MONITORING FORCE. IT ENDED  
BY SAYING THAT IF THIS HAD NO EFFECT NIGERIA MUST ACCEPT THE NEED  
FOR MILITARY INVOLVEMENT.

3. WE EXPECT FURTHER CRITICAL EDITORIALS AND REPORTS IN THE  
NIGERIAN MEDIA. IT WOULD HELP IN COMBATTING THESE IF WE COULD  
RECEIVE A REGULAR SUPPLY OF INFORMATION ON THE PROGRESS OF THE  
CEASEFIRE IN A FORM WHICH WE COULD USE WITH THE NIGERIAN MEDIA.  
MAJOR SPEECHES AND INTERVIEWS WOULD ALSO BE USEFUL.

WE WOULD BE PARTICULARLY GRATEFUL FOR AN EARLY TEXT OF THE  
GOVERNOR'S BROADCAST OF 6 JANUARY, EXTRACTS OF WHICH HAVE BEEN  
REPORTED IN THE NIGERIAN PRESS.

BROWN

NNNN



**IMMEDIATE**

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PS/MR LUCE  
PS/PUS  
SIR D MAITLAND  
MR DAY  
LORD N G LENNOX  
MR ASPIN

~~PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET~~

SIR R ARMSTRONG )  
MR R L WADE GERY )  
MR P M MAXEY ) CABINET  
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HD/PUSD (2)

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MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A

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RESIDENT CLERK

*Prime Minister* (2)  
9.1.80  
*[Signature]*

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FM SALISBURY 091716Z JAN 80

TO FLASH MAPUTO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 37 OF 9 JANUARY

INFO IMMEDIATE FCO PRIORITY LUSAKA DAR ES SALAAM GABORONE LAGOS

UKMIS NEW YORK WASHINGTON

YOUR TELNO 52: RHODESIA: Z A N U

1. WE WISH TO DISCUSS WITH MUNUNGAGWA TOMORROW THE QUESTION OF  
THE TIMING OF MUGABE'S RETURN AND THAT OF THE OTHER MAIN Z A N U  
POLITICAL LEADERS IN THE LIGHT OF THE PROBLEMS WE ARE EXPERIENCING  
WITH OUTSTANDING Z A N L A FORCES AND THE INCREASING EVIDENCE  
(ABOUT WHICH WE ARE TELEGRAPHING SEPARATELY) OF LARGE SCALE CROSS  
BORDER MOVEMENT BY Z A N L A IN BREACH OF THE CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT.  
WE SHALL ALSO WISH TO RAISE

(A) RELEASE OF THE DETAINEES IN MAPUTO

(B) THE VOICE OF ZIMBABWE BROADCASTS

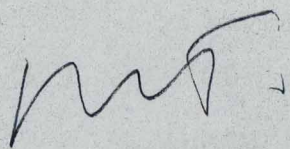
2. YOU WILL BE RECEIVING FURTHER REQUEST TO SPEAK TO THE  
MOZAMBIKAN AUTHORITIES ABOUT THESE PROBLEMS AND TO URGE THEM

2. YOU WILL BE RECEIVING FURTHER REQUEST TO SPEAK TO THE MOZAMBICAN AUTHORITIES ABOUT THESE PROBLEMS AND TO URGE THEM TO EXERT MORE EFFECTIVE PRESSURE ON Z A N U IF THEY WISH (AS WE DO) TO SECURE THE EARLY RETURN OF THE Z A N U POLITICAL LEADERSHIP.

3. PENDING THE DISCUSSION WITH MUNUNGAGWA IT WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE TO BRING IN LARGE NUMBERS OF Z A N U PERSONNEL TOMORROW. WE SHALL BE SENDING YOU ADVICE TOMORROW ABOUT THE TIMING OF THE ARRIVAL OF THE Z A N U PARTY DESCRIBED IN YOUR TELNO 36. WE HAVE OFFERED, TO RECEIVE BEFORE THE WEEKEND TONGOGARA'S BODY AND MEMBERS OF HIS FAMILY. BUT THE TIMING OF THE RETURN OF SENIOR MEMBERS OF THE Z A N U POLITICAL LEADERSHIP (INCLUDING MUZENDA, TEKERE ETC) MUST BE SETTLED IN RELATION TO THE RESOLUTION OF SOME OF THE SERIOUS PROBLEMS WE ARE EXPERIENCING OVER Z A N L A'S COMPLIANCE WITH THE CEASEFIRE AGREEMENTS. OUR OBJECTIVE IS TO RESOLVE THESE IN SUCH A WAY AS TO PERMIT THE RETURN OF THE Z A N U POLITICAL LEADERSHIP NEXT WEEK.

FCO PASS ALL

SOAMES



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Rhodesia

JAH/JS

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10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

9 January 1980

Dear Rodnie,

Derek Day pointed out to me the other day that you had never been sent any account of the Prime Minister's meetings with Bishop Muzorewa and with Messrs Mugabe and Nkomo on the morning of 21 December. This lapse occurred partly because of the onset the same evening of the holiday season and partly because the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary said at one stage in the course of the second meeting that no record would be made.

Clearly you should have some account of both meetings for your records. This seems the more desirable since Mr. Mugabe has referred to his meeting in his letter to the Prime Minister of 8 January. I am therefore enclosing brief notes, in the shape of letters to you, on each meeting.

Yours ever

Richard Alexander

R.M.J. Lyne, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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JS

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see Master Set, HS



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

9 January 1980

Dear Rhodesia,

CALL BY MESSRS. MUGABE AND NKOMO

Mr. Joshua Nkomo and Mr. Robert Mugabe called on the Prime Minister here on the morning of Friday 21 December. The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary and the Lord Privy Seal also attended the meeting.

After congratulations had been exchanged on the successful outcome of the Lancaster House Conference, Mr. Mugabe said that he and Mr. Nkomo had two major issues on their minds. These related to their personal security after their return to Rhodesia and to the presence of South African forces in that country. The Prime Minister and the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary said that they well understood Mr. Mugabe's and Mr. Nkomo's concern about security. Both men could rest assured that this problem would be taken care of. As regards the presence of members of the South African armed forces in Rhodesia, the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary repeated the assurance he had given earlier that the Governor would ensure that no external forces were involved in Rhodesia. However, it would be difficult to purge the Rhodesian armed forces of individuals. The Prime Minister, endorsing what the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary had said, reminded Mr. Mugabe of her public assurances that there would be no external interference in Rhodesia.

Mr. Mugabe repeated that he was concerned about the presence both of volunteers from South Africa and of units of the South African Army. The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary said that so far as he knew there were no South African units in Rhodesia but he would have this checked. As regards volunteers, the Governor would look into this. Mr. Nkomo pointed out that the South African Prime Minister had said that there were South African troops in Rhodesia and that they were looking after South African interests there.

Mr. Mugabe then referred to the remarks which General Walls had made the previous day about the likelihood of a civil war breaking out if the Patriotic Front won the election. He said

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that if there were to be peace in Rhodesia both sides would have to play their part. He wondered whether General Walls was prepared to do so. The Lord Privy Seal commented that General Walls' remarks had not been helpful. When Mr. Nkomo repeated Mr. Mugabe's question, the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary said that he would be making some remarks on the general question at the conclusion of the signature ceremony that morning. Mr. Nkomo expressed the hope that the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary would be impartial.

*Yours ever*

*Michael Alexander*

R.M.J. Lyne, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

9 January 1980

*exhausted JPH/JS*

*Dear Rosene,*

CALL BY BISHOP MUZOREWA

Bishop Muzorewa and Dr. Mundawarara called on the Prime Minister on the morning of Friday 21 December. The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary and the Lord Privy Seal attended the meeting.

After exchanging congratulations on the Agreement due to be signed later in the morning, the Prime Minister asked about the situation in Salisbury. Dr. Mundawarara said that the morale of the people was very good. There had been a tremendous improvement as a result of the lifting of sanctions. Bishop Muzorewa agreed with his colleague and said that the return of Rhodesia to the international community was of great importance.

In the ensuing discussion of the forthcoming election, the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary said that it was essential that Bishop Muzorewa and his party should take credit for everything achieved at Lancaster House. Sanctions had been lifted, a ceasefire achieved and a settlement negotiated. The Bishop should make it clear that he was largely responsible for this success. Bishop Muzorewa said that much of the credit was, of course, due to the Prime Minister and Lord Carrington. But he undertook to bear in mind what they had said and promised that he would win the election. He said that, nonetheless, he anticipated that the election would be easy. There would be a physical problem in that the rainy season would be at its height and all the signs were that the rains in 1980 would be very good, i.e. very heavy. There would be a security problem in that the other side would undoubtedly engage in large-scale intimidation and gangsterism. And, finally, there was a political problem in that he had been in power for six months and thus risked being accused by the electorate of not having delivered enough in that time. The Prime Minister encouraged him to take credit for the disappearance of the discrimination laws and for the progress towards black majority rule which had been achieved since the previous election.

/The Foreign and

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*JS*

The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary asked the Bishop about Mr. Chikerema's prospects. Bishop Muzorewa said he had no support. He could be ignored. However, the Bishop commented that someone had given Mr. Chikerema a great deal of financial support. He mentioned the names of Mr. Connie Mulder and Mr. Tiny Rowlands in this connection. Bishop Muzorewa also referred to Mr. Sithole and said that he would be lucky to win five seats. He hinted, however, that he would, if necessary, be prepared to collaborate with Mr. Sithole in defeating the Patriotic Front.

Commenting on the white politicians, Bishop Muzorewa said that he expected Mr. Smith to play "his usual divide-and-rule game". He said that Messrs. Kronje and David Smith were, on the other hand, very constructive people.

Yours ever

Michael Alexander

R.M.J. Lyne, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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[RHODESIA: POLICY: ADVANCE COPIES]

PS  
PS/SIR I GILMOUR  
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SIR D MATTLAND  
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HD/PUSD (2)

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*Criss*

*Prime Minister* (2)

9.1.80

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FM SALISBURY 082000Z JAN 80

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 96 OF 8/1/80

INFO IMMEDIATE MAPUTO LUSAKA DAR ES SALAAM LAGOS WASHINGTON

UKMIS NEW YORK MODUK (DMO: DS11)

RHODESIA: ZANU

1. SINCE WE UNDERSTAND FROM PRESS REPORTS THAT MUGABE IS WRITING TO COMPLAIN ABOUT ALLEGED BREACHES OF THE LANCASTER HOUSE AGREEMENT, YOU WILL WISH TO BE AWARE OF THE PRESENT MILITARY SITUATION.

2. THE LARGE ZANLA GROUP NEAR INYANGA WAS EVENTUALLY PERSUADED THIS AFTERNOON TO MOVE TO THE ASSEMBLY AREA, ENTRUSTING THEIR ARMS TO THE MONITORING FORCE. BUT IN SEVERAL OTHER AREAS (NEAR WEST NICHOLSON, SINOIA AND IN THE EASTERN AREAS) ZANLA GROUPS ARE STILL REFUSING TO COMPLY WITH THE CEASE-FIRE ARRANGEMENTS AND, IN SOME CASES WITH THE ORDERS OF THEIR OWN COMMANDERS. IT WILL BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO DE-FUSE MANY MORE OF THESE INCIDENTS.

2. THE POSITION HAS BEEN FULLY EXPLAINED TO HONWANA, WHO SEEMS TO ACCEPT THAT ZANLA COMPLIANCE WITH THE CEASE-FIRE AGREEMENT HAS BEEN MUCH LESS EFFECTIVE THAN THAT OF ZIPRA. WE ALSO RAISED WITH HIM THE PROBLEM OF CROSS-BORDER MOVEMENT. HE IS DISPOSED TO BE



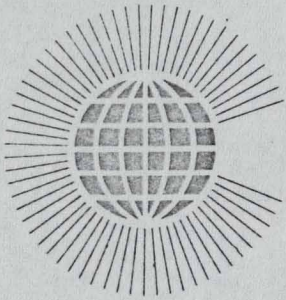
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FCO PASS ALL

SOAMES

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# Commonwealth Information

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NEWS RELEASE  
80/5

8 January 1980

EMBARGO  
Not for release  
until  
1600 hrs. GMT

## COMMONWEALTH OBSERVER GROUP FOR RHODESIAN ELECTIONS

AG  
PWS

*Copies: as before*

The Commonwealth Secretary-General, Mr Shridath Ramphal, announced today to the Commonwealth Southern Africa Committee the composition of the Commonwealth Observer Group, under the chairmanship of Ambassador Rajeshwar Dayal of India, which is to report to Heads of Government on the elections in Rhodesia.

Its members will be:

Bangladesh	Mr Justice K.M. Nurul Islam Chief Election Commissioner
Barbados	Sir Carlisle Burton Permanent Secretary to the Prime Minister and Head of the Civil Service
Canada	Mr Robert Gordon Fairweather First Chief Commissioner of the Canadian Human Rights Commission, and before that a Member of the House of Commons for 15 years
Ghana	Mr Justice V.C.R.A.C. Crabbe Appeal Court Judge and a former Electoral Commissioner
India	Ambassador Rajeshwar Dayal (Chairman) Former Foreign Secretary, and Special Representative of the UN Secretary- General and Head of the UN Mission in the Congo 1960-61. Held a number of senior ambassadorial appointments and was the first Chairman of the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.
Jamaica	Mr Ivo De Souza Former High Commissioner in Trinidad and Tobago, Ambassador to Venezuela and Deputy High Commissioner in Britain.

COMMONWEALTH  
SECRETARIAT

Marlborough House  
London SW1Y 5HX  
01-839 3411

Nigeria	Mr S.G. Ikoku Executive Member of the People's Redemption Party of Nigeria and Senior Lecturer, Lagos University
Papua New Guinea	The Hon Oscar Tammur MP Minister of Education, Science and Culture
Sierra Leone	The Hon Justice Sheku M.F. Kutubu Appeal Court Judge
Sri Lanka	Mr J.W. Subasinghe Former Registrar, Supreme Court, Senior Crown Counsel and Chairman of presidential committees.
Australia	Name to be notified.

The following are extracts from Mr Ramphal's statement to the Committee:

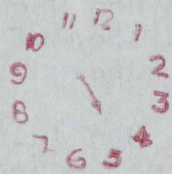
"Each of the Observers will have two assistants with him and they will be supported by a small team of administrative and professional staff. They will be augmented by a limited number of additional assistants drawn from Commonwealth countries over the period of polling itself."

"The response from Commonwealth Governments has confirmed the importance which the Committee has attached to this collective Commonwealth role in fulfilment of the Lusaka Accord and the implementation of the Lancaster House agreements. The task of the Group will not be easy and its responsibilities will be onerous. I am confident, however, that the success that has characterised the Commonwealth's recent efforts in bringing Zimbabwe to independence will attend this further contribution also."

"I am conscious that many governments and people the world over - within the Commonwealth and beyond it - place great store by the work of the Commonwealth Observer Group. That work will, of course, require the co-operation of the British authorities in Rhodesia and the overall support of Commonwealth Governments - both of which I am sure will be forthcoming."

"Much has been accomplished; much still remains to be done. And there are obligations on all sides. I remind you again - as the evidence of the commencement of the ceasefire itself confirms - that not everyone views success with satisfaction. There will be need therefore for continuing vigilance throughout the entire process of transition from Southern Rhodesia to Zimbabwe. The Commonwealth Observer Group is a major response to that need. Through its presence and its mandate it will be making a critical contribution to Zimbabwe's future."

- 9 JAN 1980



[Faint, illegible text covering the majority of the page, likely bleed-through from the reverse side.]

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GPS 800

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FM MAPUTO 081215Z JANUARY 80

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 23 OF 08 JANUARY

AND TO IMMEDIATE SALISBURY

INFO PRIORITY LUSAKA WASHINGTON DAR ES SALAAM LAGOS

MY TELNO 39 TO SALISBURY (NOT TO ALL): RHODESIA: ZANU

FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF MUGABE'S LETTER DATED TODAY:

DEAR MRS THATCHER,

IT HAS BECOME NECESSARY FOR ME TO CONVEY TO YOU, ON BEHALF OF MY PARTY, THE FOLLOWING EXTREMELY GRAVE OBSERVATIONS.

YOU WILL RECALL THAT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AGREED TO THE CEASEFIRE ARRANGEMENTS ONLY AFTER CERTAIN ASSURANCES HAD BEEN MADE BY LORD CARRINGTON. WE HAD REPEATEDLY BEEN ASSURED THAT:-

1. SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS WOULD BE WITHDRAWN FROM SOUTHERN RHODESIA AS SOON AS THE GOVERNOR HAD ARRIVED IN SALISBURY. NOW GOVERNOR SOAMES INFORMS US THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS ARE THERE WITH HIS CONSENT. WHY WERE WE TOLD LIES IN THE FIRST INSTANCE? YOU WILL RECALL THAT ON THE DAY OF THE SIGNING OF THE LANCASTER HOUSE AGREEMENT WE RAISED THIS MATTER WITH YOU AND YOU AND LORD CARRINGTON ASSURED US THAT THE MATTER WAS UNDER CONTROL AND THAT YOU VIEWED IT WITH THE SAME DEGREE OF SERIOUSNESS AS OURSELVES. WE CANNOT AT ALL ACCEPT THE PRESENCE OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS IN OUR COUNTRY AS IT IS NOT ONLY AN ACT OF AGRESSION BUT ALSO A VIOLATION OF OUR AGREEMENT.

2. THAT THE MAINTENANCE OF LAW AND ORDER DURING THE INTERIM PERIOD WOULD BE THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE POLICE. YOU HAVE NOW AUTHORISED YOUR GOVERNOR TO DEPLOY GENERAL WALLS' ARMED FORCES THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY FOR OSTENSIBLY "LAW AND ORDER" PURPOSES. THIS IS A FRAGRANT VIOLATION OF THE LANCASTER HOUSE AGREEMENT AND AMOUNTS IN

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FACT TO A MISAPPLICATION OF POWERS VESTED IN HIM. THE EFFECT OF DEPLOYING RHODESIAN TROOPS IS TO PLACE OUR OWN TROOPS IN A POSITION WHERE THEY ALONE ARE ASSEMBLED AND STATIONARY AND THUS FACED WITH THE THREAT OF ENCIRCLEMENT BY RHODESIAN TROOPS. WE CANNOT ALLOW OUR TROOPS TO BE PLACED IN THAT DANGER. IN ANY CASE, WHY SHOULD THE GOVERNOR CHOOSE TO RELY ON THE RHODESIAN TROOPS AND NOT ON OUR OWN?

3. A CRUCIAL ELEMENT IN THE CEASEFIRE SCHEME WAS AND REMAINS THE DISENGAGEMENT FORMULA. IT WAS AGREED AT LANCASTER THAT THE RHODESIAN FORCES WOULD DISENGAGE FIRST BY WITHDRAWING TO THEIR BASES. IT WAS EXPLAINED TO US THAT SELOUS SCOUTS AND THE VARIOUS COMPONENTS OF THE AUXILIARY FORCES WOULD BE EXPECTED TO GATHER AND REMAIN AT THEIR BASES. THERE IS ABSOLUTELY NO EVIDENCE THAT THE AUXILIARY FORCES OF BISHOP MUZOREWA HAVE DISENGAGED AND ARE ASSEMBLED AT ANY BASE. WHO, IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, IS BREACHING THE CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT? IT IS CLEAR THAT LORD SOAMES IS ALLOWING THE AUXILIARY FORCES TO REMAIN DEPLOYED AND DEPLOYING THE RHODESIAN FORCES IN ORDER DELIBERATELY TO UPSET THE BALANCE OF THE FORCES IN THEIR FAVOUR. WE HAVE EVIDENCE THAT ATTEMPTS AT OCCUPYING AREAS FROM WHICH OUR FORCES HAVE MOVED ARE BEING MADE IN A DEFINITE STRATEGIC PATTERN. YOU WILL RECALL THAT WE STATED PUBLICLY IN LONDON THAT WE ARE UNWILLING TO SURRENDER ANY OF OUR LIBERATED ZONES NOR ABANDON OUR BASES AND COMBAT POSITIONS IN THE CONTESTED AREAS UNLESS THE RHODESIAN FORCES PLUS THE AUXILIARY FORCES WERE PROPERLY TO DISENGAGE AND BE POSITIONED IN THEIR BARRACKS. THIS IS NOT WHAT HAS HAPPENED.

IN THE LIGHT OF THE ABOVE OBSERVATIONS, I FEEL COMPELLED TO DEMAND FROM YOU AND OTHER PARTIES CONCERNED THAT THESE VIOLATIONS OF THE LANCASTER HOUSE AGREEMENT MUST CEASE IMMEDIATELY. IF THEY CONTINUE, I SHALL REGARD MY SIDE AND ITS FORCES AS EQUALLY FREE TO DISHONOUR, IN A SIMILAR WAY, THE CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT. WE SHALL, HOWEVER, REFRAIN FROM TAKING HASTY ACTION ON THIS MATTER.

LET ME EMPHASIZE THAT IT IS FRAUDULENT OF THE LANCASTER HOUSE AGREEMENT FOR THE GOVERNOR TO USE RHODESIAN TROOPS FOR PURPOSES OF MAINTAINING LAW AND ORDER. IT IS MORE FRAUDULENT STILL FOR THE GOVERNOR TO USE THE PRETEXT OF MAINTAINING LAW AND ORDER IN ORDER TO GIVE A TACTICAL ADVANTAGE TO THE RHODESIAN FORCES

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OVER THE PATRIOTIC FRONT FORCES. IT IS EQUALLY FRAUDULENT AND DECEITFUL FOR THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO ACCEPT AND GIVE THEIR BLESSING TO THE PRESENCE OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS CONTRARY TO THE UNDERTAKING AT LANCASTER HOUSE. ARE WE DEALING WITH AN HONEST GOVERNMENT OR NOT? CAN WE EVER RELY ON THE WORD OF YOUR GOVERNMENT? WHERE IS THE GOVERNOR'S SENSE OF IMPARTIALITY THAT LORD CARRINGTON ASSURED US WE WOULD GET FROM LORD SOAMES?

YOU PROBABLY ARE AWARE THAT NONE OF MY PARTY MEN HAVE BEEN ALLOWED INTO RHODESIA. FOR MORE THAN A WEEK NOW ANY CHARTERED PLANE WE HAVE HAD TO CARRY THEM HAS BEEN DENIED LANDING RIGHTS AND I HAVE BEEN PERSONALLY INFORMED FROM YOUR EMBASSY IN MAPUTO THAT NONE OF MY MEN WOULD BE ALLOWED ENTRY "BECAUSE MUZOREWA WAS HOLDING HIS RALLIES" AND BECAUSE A UNIT OF MY FORCES WERE RESISTING THE CEASEFIRE. WHAT CHICANERY IS THIS, MADAME PRIME MINISTER? MAY I ASK FOR YOUR PERSONAL INTERVENTION IN ALL THE MATTERS CONSTITUTING MY PARTY'S PRESENT GRIEVANCES.

WE AGREED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE FORTHCOMING ELECTIONS PROVIDED THEY ARE FREE AND FAIR. THE ABOVE ENUMERATED DEVELOPEMENTS IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA POSE A DANGEROUS THREAT TO FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS. WITH RESPECT, LET ME NOT FIND IT NECESSAREY TO LODGE ANOTHER PROTEST ON SIMILAR LINES IN THE FUTURE. (NEXT WORD UNDERLINED) BONA FIDES IS OF ESSENCE TO ALL SIDES, IF THE HOPES OF LANCASTER HOUSE ARE TO BE REALIZED.

PLEASE ACCEPT MY HIGHEST REGARDS.

YOURS SINCERELY

R.G. MUGABE PRESIDENT (ZANU)

PAPADOPOULOS

## FILES

RHOD D	OID
OADS	NEWS D
NAD	PS
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PUSD	PS/MR LUCE
PLANNING STAFF	PS/MR RIDLEY
ES & SD	PS/MR HURD
NENAD	PS/MR MARTEN
CCD	PS/PUS
FRD	SIR D MAITLAND
EID (E)	
UND	MR HANNAY
LEGAL ADVISERS	LORD N G LENNOX
(MR FREELAND)	MISS BROWN
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TO IMMEDIATE SALISBURY

TEL NO 040 OF 8 JANUARY

AND TO IMMEDIATE FCO

INFO PRIORITY LUSAKA WASHINGTON DAR ES SALAAM LAGOS

MIPT : RHODESIA:ZANU

1. MUGABE SAID THAT HE WAS EXTREMELY ANXIOUS OVER THE GOVERNOR'S INTENTIONS AND THE REAL PURPOSE BEHIND HIS ACTIONS WHICH HAD SO FAR PREVENTED ZANU FROM RETURNING HOME. HE WOULD SHORTLY DELIVER TO ME A LETTER FOR THE PRIME MINISTER (IT ARRIVED ABOUT TWO HOURS LATER. FULL TEXT IN MY TEL NO 23 AND ORIGINAL BY BAG TO FCO). IN OUR HOUR-LONG TALK MUGABE SPOKE MUCH ON THE LINES OF THE TEXT THOUGH IN SOMEWHAT MORE MODERATE TERMS.

2. I EXPLAINED THE SITUATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS STRESSING THAT THEY WERE AT REPEAT AT BEIT BRIDGE. MUGABE INSISTED THAT IF THEY STRADDLED THE FRONTIER, AND HIS INFORMATION WAS THAT THEY DID, THEIR PRESENCE THERE WAS A VIOLATION OF THE LONDON AGREEMENTS. I REPEATED THAT THE ASSURANCES SOLEMNLY GIVEN IN LONDON WERE IN TERMS WHICH DID NOT AMOUNT TO A PROMISE TO EXPEL FOREIGN TROOPS BUT THAT THEY WOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO INTERFERE INSIDE RHODESIA.

3. AS REGARDS HIS SECOND POINT I SAID THAT IT HAD BEEN MADE CLEAR ALL ALONG THAT THE GOVERNOR COULD CALL ON FORCES WHICH HAD ACCEPTED HIS AUTHORITY IF THIS WERE NECESSARY FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF THE CEASEFIRE AND LAW AND ORDER. I THEN DREW ON YOUR TELEGRAMS 29 AND 31 INSTANCING SPECIFIC CASES OF CROSS BORDER ACTIVITY AND STRESSING THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE SITUATION CREATED BY ZANLA BEHAVIOUR AND THEIR APPARENT REFUSAL TO TAKE PART IN THE ASSEMBLY PROCESS. IT WAS NOT TRUE THAT RHODESIAN FORCES HAD BEEN DEPLOYED ALL OVER THE COUNTRY THOUGH SOME UNITS HAD BEEN DETAILED TO BACK UP THE POLICE IN DEALING WITH UNLAWFUL ZANLA MOVEMENTS. IT WAS EXTREMELY FORTUNATE THAT SO FAR THERE HAD BEEN NO ARMED CLASH BUT UNLESS SUCH

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UNITS BEHAVED IN AN ORDERLY AND UNPROVOCATIVE MANNER A VERY DANGEROUS SITUATION COULD ARISE. I THEN GAVE HIM THE TEXT OF THE ANNOUNCEMENT IN PARA 1 OF YOUR TEL NO 54 TO FCO. MUGABE SAID THAT THIS WAS CONTRARY TO THE AGREEMENT THAT THE PF COULD RETAIN THEIR ARMS AND HE HIMSELF HAD REPEATEDLY INSTRUCTED HIS MEN NOT TO ALLOW THEMSELVES TO BE DISARMED. WHEN I POINTED OUT THAT THIS DID NOT APPLY AFTER MID-NIGHT ON 4 JANUARY AND THE RENDEZVOUS POINTS HAD CLOSED MUGABE SAID THAT IF ZANLA UNITS HAD TO BE DISARMED THEIR ARMS SHOULD BE RETURNED TO THEM AFTER THEY HAD BEEN TAKEN TO THE ASSEMBLY POINTS. (I WONDER IF THIS MIGHT BE AN ACCEPTABLE WAY OUT OF THE IMPASSE). IN ANY CASE HE TRUSTED THAT THE GOVERNOR WOULD FIRST CALL ON ZANLA COMMANDERS TO DEAL WITH OUTSTANDING UNITS. HE ADDED THAT ZANU WANTED AN EFFECTIVE CEASEFIRE AND DENIED THAT MUJIBAS, WHOSE AGES WERE BETWEEN 11 AND 16, HAD BEEN INSTRUCTED TO ASSEMBLE INSTEAD OF TRAINED ZANLA PERSONNEL. HE QUOTED ONE RADIO REPORT FROM SALISBURY AS SAYING THAT ONLY 60 MUJIBAS HAD TURNED UP AT THE ASSEMBLY POINTS.

4. AS REGARDS THE RETURN OF ZANU LEADERSHIP AND PARTY PERSONNEL TO SALISBURY I EXPLAINED THAT YOUR INABILITY TO ACCEPT A ZANU CONTINGENT LAST WEEKEND WAS ENTIRELY DUE TO SECURITY REASONS AND NOT TO FAVOURITISM OF THE UANC. THE LATTER HAD HAD A PERMIT TO HOLD THE RALLY FOR SOME TIME AND THE POLICE WOULD HAVE BEEN FACED WITH A VERY SERIOUS PROBLEM IF ZANU SUPPORTERS WELCOMING THEIR LEADERS WERE TO STAGE A SIMULTANEOUS COUNTER DEMONSTRATION. AS FOR THE REFUSAL OF PERMISSION OF ZANU TO FLY IN A GROUP ON THE MORNING OF 5 JANUARY I REMINDED HIM THAT HE HAD GIVEN US BARELY 11 HOURS NOTICE OF THIS INTENTION. MUGABE INDICATED THAT HE ACCEPTED AS VALID BOTH THESE EXPLANATIONS BUT HE INSISTED ON THE NEED FOR HIS PARTY TO RETURN TO SALISBURY AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. ONCE THERE THEY WOULD BE QUITE PREPARED TO ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE BEHAVIOUR OF ZANLA FORCES. BUT IT WAS INIQUITOUS TO LINK THE RETURN OF ZANU TO REMAINING PROBLEMS WITH ZANLA.

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5. EVETTS, WHO ACCOMPANIED ME, TOOK THE OPPORTUNITY TO RAISE THE PROBLEM OF CHIMURENGA NAMES ASKING THAT PROPER "HOME NAMES" BE PRODUCED FOR ALL PERSONNEL TRAVELLING. MUGABE TOOK NOTE BUT SAID THAT CHIMURENGA NAMES HAD BEEN ADOPTED TO PROTECT THE FAMILIES OF ZANU MEMBERS WHO MIGHT BE DETAINED BY THE RHODESIAN POLICE. HE ASSURED US THAT FLIGHTS CARRYING ZANU POLITICAL PERSONNEL WOULD NOT BE USED TO INFILTRATE ZANLA OR UNACCEPTABLY LARGE NUMBERS OF SECURITY PERSONNEL.

6. I TOLD MUGABE THAT I WAS, ON INSTRUCTIONS, ABOUT TO SPEAK TO THE MOZAMBICAN AUTHORITIES ESPECIALLY ABOUT ILLEGAL BORDER CROSSINGS BY ZANLA.

7. THE WHOLE CONVERSATION WAS CONDUCTED IN A REASONED AND FRIENDLY MANNER THOUGH NO PUNCHES WERE PULLED BY EITHER SIDE.

PAPADOPOULOS

## FILES

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**Private Secretary to  
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MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A  
MR FIFOOT LEGAL ADVISER RM K164

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DESKBY 080700Z MAPUTO  
FROM SALISBURY 080600Z JAN 80  
TO IMMEDIATE MAPUTO  
TELEGRAM NUMBER 31 OF 8 JANUARY 1980  
INFO IMMEDIATE FCO, LUSAKA AND WASHINGTON.

**IMMEDIATE**

YOUR TELEGRAM NUMBER 37: RHODESIA: ZANU.

1. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO GIVE DETAILED NUMBERS OF ZANLA FORCES WHO HAVE CROSSED THE BORDER SINCE AGREEMENT CONCERNING CESSATION CAME INTO EFFECT AT MIDNIGHT ON 20 DECEMBER. BUT A ROUGH ESTIMATE OF FIGURES MAY BE 3000 TO 4000.
2. THE ZANLA UNITS WHO HAVE COME INTO CONTACT WITH POLICE IN THE SINGIA, MOUNT DARWIN, INYANGA AND CASHEL AREAS HAVE CONFIRMED THAT THEY CROSSED FROM MOZAMBIQUE.
3. SERIOUS PROBLEMS HAVE ARISEN THROUGHOUT THIS PERIOD WITH LARGE ZANLA GROUPS TERRORISING THE INYANGA/PENHALONGA AREA NORTH OF UNTALI. A ZANLA GROUP WHICH MURDERED A WHITE FARMER IN THE AREA CAME FROM AND CROSSED BACK INTO MOZAMBIQUE. THERE HAVE BEEN SEVERAL REPORTS OF CROSS BORDER MOVEMENT IN THE AREA OF THE VUMBA MOUNTAINS AND TO THE SOUTH OF THEM.

THE POINT TO EMPHASISE IS THAT ZANLA BEHAVIOUR DURING THE

VUMBA MOUNTAINS AND TO THE SOUTH OF THEM.

4. THE POINT TO EMPHASISE IS THAT ZANLA BEHAVIOUR DURING THE CEASEFIRE IS IN SHARP CONTRAST TO THAT OF ZIPRA. THE LATTER HAVE BEEN DOING THEIR UTMOST TO COMPLY. OF THE INCIDENTS OF VIOLENCE AND LAWLESSNESS ACROSS THE COUNTRY DURING THIS PERIOD AND CONFRONTATIONS WITH THE POLICE THE GREAT MAJORITY HAVE BEEN ATTRIBUTABLE TO ZANLA. THERE IS EVIDENCE THAT ZANLA HAVE BEEN GIVEN INSTRUCTIONS TO EXPLOIT THE ASSEMBLY PROCESS AND ITS AFTERMATH TO EXERT MAXIMUM PRESSURE ON THE POPULATION TO SUPPORT ZANU AND EVIDENCE ALSO OF SOME ZANLA SECTIONS BEING INSTRUCTED TO REMAIN IN THE FIELD.

5. WE REALISE THAT THE MOZAMBICANS CANNOT ACHIEVE COMPLETE SUCCESS IN STOPPING CROSS BORDER MOVEMENT. BUT THEY CAN ACHIEVE MORE EFFECTIVE CONTROL OVER ZANLA AND PRESSURE ON ZANU TO COMPLY. AMONG OTHER THINGS WE ARE CONCERNED BY THE CONTINUANCE OF INFLAMMATORY BROADCASTS BY "VOICE OF ZIMBABWE" AND BY THE CONTINUED FAILURE BY ZANU TO RELEASE THE POLITICAL DETAINEES. BUT IT IS THE CONDUCT OF ZANLA FORCES WHICH IS CAUSING MOST CONCERN. WE HAVE SO FAR BEEN ABLE TO AVOID MILITARY CONFRONTATIONS, BUT THIS HAS BEEN EXTREMELY DIFFICULT IN RELATION TO ZANLA. WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO DEFUSE THE SPECIFIC PROBLEM WHICH AROSE NEAR THE HONDE VALLEY.

6. YOUR MAIN APPROACH SHOULD BE TO THE MOZAMBICANS, ALTHOUGH YOU WILL ALSO WISH TO DISCUSS THESE PROBLEMS WITH ZANU. AS YOU KNOW WE ARE ANXIOUS TO GET INTO A POSITION WHEREBY ZANU POLITICAL (RPT POLITICAL) FIGURES CAN RETURN FOR THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN BUT IT WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN POSSIBLE TO AGREE THIS DURING THE CONFRONTATION WHICH WAS TAKING PLACE YESTERDAY AND WE WILL HAVE TO ASSESS HOW THE OUTSTANDING ZANLA FORCES CONDUCT THEMSELVES IN THE NEXT DAY OR TWO.

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MR DAY  
LORD N G LENNOX  
MR ASPIN

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

SIR R. ARMSTRONG )  
MR R L WADE GERY )  
MR P M MAXEY ) CABINET  
MR GOULTY ) OFFICE  
MR P J FOWLER )  
DIO )

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HD/RHOD DEPT (4)  
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HD/NEWS DEPT  
HD/WAD

MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A  
MR FIFOOT LEGAL ADVISER RM K164  
~~RESIDENT CLERK~~

RESTRICTED  
FM LUSAKA 081022Z  
TO IMMEDIATE SALISBURY  
TEL NO. 44  
OF 8 JANUARY 1980  
AND TO IMMEDIATE FCO  
REPEATED TO PRIORITY GABORONE, DAR ES SALAAM, PRETORIA, LUANDA,  
LAGOS, UKMIS NEW YORK  
SAVING TO MAPUTO.

MY TEL NO. 39: ZAMBIA/RHODESIA.

1. ZAMBIAN SUSPICIONS CONTINUE TO MOUNT. TODAY'S TIMES OF ZAMBIA  
LEADS WITH A REPORT FROM PATU SIMOKO, THEIR CORRESPONDENT IN  
SALISBURY, WHO CLAIMS THAT RHODESIA IS "ON THE BRINK OF WAR"  
BETWEEN THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AND THE SECURITY FORCES FOLLOWING  
YOUR DECISION TO "SET THE SECURITY FORCES LOOSE FROM THEIR  
RESTRICTED BASES". PF LEADERS IN SALISBURY ARE QUOTED AS  
THREATENING IN TURN TO SET LOOSE THEIR FOLLOWERS FROM THE  
ASSEMBLY POINTS AND ARE SAID TO BE PLANNING TO REFER TO NKOMO  
AND MUGABE, THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL AND THE INTERNATIONAL COURT  
OF JUSTICE ALLEGED BREACHES BY YOU OF THE LANCASTER HOUSE  
AGREEMENT.

AGREEMENT.

2. THE REPORT GOES ON TO STATE THAT ZAPU ARE SEEKING AN URGENT MEETING WITH YOU TO ASK

(A) WHY MUZOREWA'S AUXILIARIES HAVE NOT BEEN DISBANDED;

(B) WHY SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS HAVE BEEN PERMITTED TO REMAIN IN RHODESIA (E.G. AT BEIT BRIDGE) IN CONTRAVENTION OF THE AGREEMENT;

(C) WHY MUZOREWA IS CONTINUING AS PRIME MINISTER;

(D) WHY ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS HAVE NOT BEEN RELEASED.

3. IN ITS EDITORIAL, THE TIMES EXPRESSES CONCERN OVER WHAT IT SEES AS "THE BRITISH PROTECTIVE ATTITUDE" TOWARDS MUZOREWA. ACCORDING TO THE TIMES, MUZOREWA TOLD HIS RALLY ON SUNDAY THAT CIVIL WAR WOULD FOLLOW A PATRIOTIC FRONT VICTORY IN THE ELECTIONS. THE TIMES SAYS THIS IS TANTAMOUNT TO A DECLARATION THAT MUZOREWA WILL REFUSE TO ACCEPT THE VERDICT OF THE ELECTORATE AND THAT HE WILL IF NECESSARY RESORT TO WARFARE. THE EDITORIAL ASKS WHY YOU HAVE REMAINED SILENT IN THE FACE OF THIS INCITEMENT TO VIOLENCE WHICH AMOUNTS, IN THE TIMES' VIEW, TO SEDITION. FAILURE TO TAKE ACTION AGAINST MUZOREWA IS SEEN AS IN KEEPING WITH THE DECISION TO ASK SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES TO STAY IN RHODESIA AT BEIT BRIDGE.

4. THE TIMES CONCLUDES THAT UNLESS THE BRITISH STOP PROTECTING MUZOREWA, IT WILL BE BELIEVED THAT THE ELECTION WILL BE RIGGED. "WE SHALL ALL THEN BE BACK TO SQUARE ONE", IT WARNS.

5. GIVEN THE FRIGID STATE OF OUR RELATIONS AND LACK OF ACCESS THERE IS LITTLE WE CAN DO LOCALLY TO COUNTER THIS ZAMBIAN LINE OF THINKING UNTIL THERE IS SOME CONCRETE ACT OR STATEMENT IN SALISBURY WHICH WE CAN USE AS A PEG. IT MAY HOWEVER BE USEFUL IF FENN COULD FIND TIME TO GIVE PATU SIMOKO A POSITIVE BRIEFING.

FCC PSE PASS SAYING TO MAPUTO.

NEILSON.

0550

CONFIDENTIAL

P S TO PRIME MINISTER  
10 DOWNING ST

CONFIDENTIAL

DESKBY SALISBURY 080930Z

FM LUSAKA 080745Z

TO IMMEDIATE SALISBURY

TEL NO. 39 OF 8 JANUARY 1980

AND TO IMMEDIATE FCO

REPEATED TO PRIORITY GABORONE, DAR ES SALAAM, PRETORIA, LUANDA,  
LAGOS, UKMIS NEW YORK  
SAVING TO MAPUTO.

MY TELS NOS 34 AND 35: RHODESIA.

1. US SENATOR TSONGAS HAD OVER AN HOUR YESTERDAY WITH MARK CHONA (POLITICAL ADVISER TO PRESIDENT KAUNDA). CHONA DWELT AT LENGTH ON ZAMBIAN CONCERN ABOUT "THE PHENOMENON OF BRITISH DECEIT NOW APPARENT IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE LANCASTER HOUSE AGREEMENT". ZAMBIA WAS "DEEPLY DISTURBED BY THE CLEAR EVIDENCE OF OUR BIAS" AND FELT THAT IF IT CONTINUED THE WHOLE AGREEMENT COULD COLLAPSE. THIS, HE CLAIMED, WAS A FEAR SHARED IN MAPUTO (WHICH MAY THROW LIGHT ON THE VISIT HERE OF MOZAMBIQUE HOME AFFAIRS MINISTER, MY TEL NO. 2 TO MAPUTO ONLY) AND DAR ES SALAAM. TSONGAS AND US AMBASSADOR WERE ASKED TO CONVEY THIS CONCERN TO PRESIDENT CARTER AND TSONGAS IS DOING SO, ALBEIT IN A LESS CATAclySMIC TONE.

2. SPECIFIC EXAMPLES OF BIAS WERE: THE DEPLOYMENT OF RHODESIAN MILITARY AGAINST THE PF ON THE BASIS OF INTELLIGENCE SUPPLIED BY THE RHODESIAN FORCES, THE LEGITIMISATION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY PRESENCE, DELAYS IN THE RETURN OF NKOMO'S CADRES, THE TAKE OVER OF AREAS VACATED BY THE PF BY MUZOREWA'S AUXILIARIES WHICH SEEMED TO BE REGARDED AS PART OF THE RHODESIAN MILITARY BUT WHICH IN REALITY WERE POLITICAL FORCES AND THE "CONTINUED PRESENCE OF MERCENARIES".

3. CHONA'S THEME IS SIMILAR TO THAT OF PUNABANTU TO WILKIN BUT WHEREAS THE LATTER MAY BE CONSTRUED AS A FRIENDLY WARNING CHONA HAS CLEARLY GONE ONTO THE OFFENSIVE. TSONGAS REPLIED ROBUSTLY TO CHONA ON THE LINES THAT PROBLEMS THERE WERE BUT THAT THEY WERE NOT OF A POLITICAL NATURE BUT CLEARLY FEELS THAT THERE IS A COMMUNICATIONS GAP WITH THE PF WHICH IS NOT BRIDGED BY MESSAGES THROUGH THIRD PARTIES. COULD NOT HE ARGUES THE GOVERNOR TELEPHONE

CONFIDENTIAL

/NKOMO



CONFIDENTIAL

NKOMO AND MUGABE FOR A CHAT FROM TIME TO TIME TO AVOID SUSPICIONS? TSONGAS MADE THIS CRITICISM PUBLIC AT A DEPARTURE PRESS CONFERENCE.

4. IT MAY WELL BE THAT THE ZAMBIANS ARE ONCE AGAIN PROSECUTING THEIR CASE IN ADVANCE OF THE PF BUT THAT IS THE NATURE OF THE ANIMAL. I BELIEVE THAT CHONA'S DEMARCHE STRENGTHENS THE CASE FOR THE COURSE OF ACTION RECOMMENDED IN MY TUR TIRE SOME THOUGH IT MAY SEEM. I QUITE REALISE THAT TO RECOMMEND MESSAGES FROM THE PRIME MINISTER (WHICH HAVE IN THE PAST BEEN TREATED WITH A LACK OF RESPECT) AND THE DIVERSION OF SIR A DUFF FROM PRESSING DUTIES IS UNWELCOME BUT I JUDGE IT NEVERTHELESS TO BE THE BEST WAY TO KEEP THE ZAMBIANS ONSIDE. OTHERWISE I FEAR WE ARE HEADED FOR ANOTHER SLIDE DOWN THE SNAKE IN OUR RELATIONS WITH ZAMBIA.

5. AN ADDITIONAL GRIEVANCE VOICED BY CHONA WAS THAT KAUNDA WAS SAID TO BE "FURIOUS" BY BRITISH AND SOUTH AFRICAN ASSERTIONS THAT ONE REASON FOR THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRESENCE AT BEIT BRIDGE WAS THE NEED TO DEFEND A LINK VITAL INTER ALIA TO ZAMBIA. THERE IS NO DOUBT OF COURSE ABOUT THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS LINK TO ZAMBIA BUT IT IS WORTH BEARING IN MIND THAT IN PUBLIC AT LEAST THE ZAMBIANS DO NOT LIKE TO BE REMINDED ABOUT IT.

FCO PSE PASS SAVING TO MAPUTO.

NEILSON.

[REPEATED AS REQUESTED]

FILES

RHOD D	OID
OADS	NEWS D
NAD	PS
MED	PS/SIR I GILMOUR
FUSD	PS/MR LUCE
PLANNING STAFF	PS/MR RIDLEY
ES & SD	PS/MR HURD
NENAD	PS/MR MARTEN
CCD	PS/PUS
FRD	SIR D MAITLAND
EID (E)	--
UND	MR HANNAY
LEGAL ADVISERS	LORD N G LENNOX
(MR FREELAND)	MISS BROWN
(MR FIFOOT)	MR DAY
ECON D	MR FERGUSSON
PCD	MR ASPIN
DEF D	MR MILLS

ADDITIONAL DISTRIBUTION  
RHODESIA POLICY

Rhodesia

file

DS



10 DOWNING STREET

*From the Private Secretary*

8 January 1980

Rhodesia: Messages to the Prime Minister

I enclose two further messages to the Prime Minister about the conclusion of the Lancaster House Conference. These are from the President of Liberia and the Prime Minister of Barbados. Subject to your views I do not think that any further action is required on either of them.

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

Roderic Lyne, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

JVZ

# COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT

CABLES: COMSEGEN LONDON SW1  
TELEX: 27678  
TELEPHONE: 01-839 3411 Ext:

MARLBOROUGH HOUSE,  
PALL MALL,  
LONDON, SW1Y 5HX

Your ref:  
Our ref:

Circular Letter No. 2/80

7 January, 1980

Rhodesia Elections: Commonwealth Observer Group  
Meeting of the Finance Committee

In consultation with the Senior Commonwealth High Commissioner in London as Chairman of the Finance Committee, it is proposed that, immediately after the meeting of the Commonwealth Committee on Southern Africa on 8 January 1980, a meeting of the Finance Committee should be convened to consider and approve, under Regulation 6 of the Financial Regulations, the financial estimates for the Commonwealth Observer Group.

Financial estimates on the subject are attached.

This letter is addressed to all High Commissions and to the Representative of the British Government.

*Copies as per  
previous corresp.*

D.J. Barry  
Acting Secretary

Enc.

RHODESIA ELECTIONS - COMMONWEALTH OBSERVER GROUP

FINANCIAL ESTIMATES

TRAVEL

	£
(a) Observers - 11 First Class (via London)	26,610
(b) Assistants - 22 Economy Class (via London)	35,310
(c) Headquarters Unit - 12 Economy Class	11,080
(d) Poll supporting staff - 96 Economy Class (average figures used)	86,400
10% Contingencies	( 8,640)
(e) Secretariat reconnaissance and planning visits, including internal travel	8,000
(f) Chairman's visit to London - First Class	1,500
	<hr/>
	177,540
	=====

SUBSISTENCE

(a) Chairman - 1 x 55 days x £50	2,750
(b) Observers - 10 x 55 days x £40	22,000
(c) Assistants - 22 x 55 days x £30	36,300
(d) Headquarters Unit - 12 x 55 days x £30	19,800
(e) Poll supporting staff - 96 x 15 days x £30	43,200
(f) Secretariat reconnaissance and planning visits - 8 x 7 days x £30	1,680
(g) Assembly in London and transit on return for 11 Observers and 22 Assistants; and transit halts, inwards & outwards, for 96 Poll supporting staff	21,400
	<hr/>
10% Contingencies	147,130
	14,710
	<hr/>
	161,840
	=====

INSURANCE

15,000  
=====

OTHER EXPENSES

	£
(a) Local staff - 6 x 8 weeks x £50	2,400
(b) Interpreters - 10 x 8 weeks x £50	4,000
(c) Supplies: flags, car pennants and armbands £ 1,000	
office supplies £ 2,000	
	<u>3,000</u>
(d) Air freight	3,000
(e) Overseas telephones, telegrams	5,000
(f) Remunerations, where necessary, of non-governmental staff	12,000
(g) Sundry expenses	4,000
(h) Contingencies	5,000
	<u>38,400</u>
	=====

TOTAL

	£
Travel	177,540
Subsistence	161,840
Insurance	15,000
Other expenses	38,400
	<u>392,780</u>
	=====

SUPPLEMENTARY

LOCAL EXPENSES

Cost of facilities which will need to be met, if not made available by the local authorities

	£
(a) Internal air travel in Rhodesia by commercial flights and chartering of light aircraft	35,000
(b) Hire of local transport	40,000
(c) Renting, furnishing and equipping of office accommodation in Salisbury and upto six other centres outside	10,000
(d) Local telephones, telexes, telegrams etc.	5,000
	<hr/>
	90,000
10% Contingencies	9,000
	<hr/>
	99,000
	=====

GRAND TOTAL

	£
Travel, subsistence, Insurance and other expenses	392,780
Supplementary local expenses	99,000
	<hr/>
	491,780
say	492,000
	=====



- 8 JAN 1980



Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster

PRIVY COUNCIL OFFICE  
WHITEHALL LONDON SW1A 2AT

*Rhodesia*  
✓  
MS

7 January 1980

*Dear Gifford*

LANCASTER HOUSE CONFERENCE

You copied to John Stevens your letter of 2 January to Nick Sanders about the publication of the White Paper on the Rhodesia Constitutional Conference.

We see no objection to you publishing the White Paper on 11 January, but in view of recent exchanges in the House, I shall be grateful if you would make certain that sufficient copies are available in the Vote Office as soon as the White Paper is published.

I am copying this letter to Nick Sanders (No 10) and to Peter Moore (Chief Whip's Office).

*Yours sincerely*  
*Petra Laidlaw*

MISS PETRA LAIDLAW  
Private Secretary

A G Harrison Esq  
Assistant Parliamentary Clerk  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office  
Whitehall



1-8 JAN 19 1980



PS  
PS/SIR I GILMOUR  
MR LUCE  
PS/PUS  
SIR D MAITLAND  
MR DAY  
LORD N G LENNOX  
MR ASPIN

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET  
SIR R ARMSTRONG )  
MR R L WADE GERY )  
MR P M MAXEY ) CABINET  
MR GOULTY ) OFFICE  
MR P J FOWLER )  
DIO )

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HD/RHOD DEPT (4)  
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HD/NEWS DEPT  
HD/WAD

MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A  
MR BEECH LEGAL ADVISER RM K164

**IMMEDIATE**

CONFIDENTIAL  
FM SALISBURY 071447Z JAN 80

TO IMMEDIATE FCO  
TELNO 76 OF 7/1/80

RHODESIA: CEASEFIRE

1. AS YOU WILL HAVE SEEN FROM MY TELNO 28 TO MAPUTO, THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT HAS BEEN REMARKABLY SUCCESSFUL ON THE ZIPRA SIDE. WE HAVE COME TO AN ARRANGEMENT WITH DABENGWA AND WALLS WHICH SHOULD NOT (REPEAT NOT) BE PUBLICISED WHEREBY THE 800 ZIPRA FORCES DABENGWA BELIEVES TO BE "OUTSTANDING" WILL BE ALLOWED TO MARCH TO THE ASSEMBLY PLACES WITH THEIR ARMS. DABENGWA IS PREPARED TO TELL ANY OTHER ZIPRA FORCES TO LAY DOWN THEIR ARMS (WHICH WILL BE ENTRUSTED TO THE MONITORING FORCE).
2. WE ARE ENCOUNTERING MUCH MORE SERIOUS DIFFICULTIES WITH ZANLA. THERE IS A SUBSTANTIAL BODY OF EVIDENCE OF SYSTEMATIC INTIMIDATION BY ZANLA DURING THE ASSEMBLY PROCESS. THERE HAVE BEEN A LARGE NUMBER OF INCIDENTS IN THE EASTERN PART OF THE COUNTRY AND THIS IS NOT PARRALLELED BY WHAT HAS BEEN HAPPENING IN THE ZIPRA AREAS. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES WE MUST EXERT FURTHER PRESSURE ON ZANU TO COMPLY IF WE ARE TO AVOID A SITUATION IN WHICH THE RHODESIANS DEMAND (WITH A GOOD DEAL OF EVIDENCE TO SUPPORT THEM) THE IMMEDIATE EXCLUSION OF ZANU FROM THE ELECTIONS. THIS IS THE PURPOSE OF THE APPROACH TO MACHEL REQUESTED IN MY TELEGRAM UNDER REFERENCE.

SOAMES

**IMMEDIATE.**

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

PS  
PS/SIR I GILMOUR  
PS/MR LUCE  
PS/PUS  
SIR D MAITLAND  
MR DAY  
LORD N G LENNOX  
MR ASPIN

SIR R ARMSTRONG )  
MR R L WADE GERY )  
MR P M MAXEY ) CABINET  
MR GOULTY ) OFFICE  
MR P J FOWLER )  
DIO )

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HD/RHOD DEPT (4)

HD/C AF D

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HD/PUSD (2)

HD/NEWS DEPT

HD/WAD

MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A

MR FIFCOT LEGAL ADVISER RM K164

RESIDENT CLERK

K

CONFIDENTIAL

FM SALISBURY 071445Z JAN 80

TO FLASH MAPUTO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 29 OF 7 JANUARY

INFO IMMEDIATE FCO LUSAKA WASHINGTON

RHODESIA: Z A N U

1. PLEASE TELL THE MOZAMBICAN AUTHORITIES IMMEDIATELY THAT, WHEREAS THE CEASEFIRE ARRANGEMENTS HAVE BEEN FULLY COMPLIED WITH BY Z I P R A, THE ASSEMBLY PROCESS AND THE PERIOD SINCE THE FORMAL ASSEMBLY DEADLINE EXPIRED ON 4 JANUARY HAVE BEEN MARKED BY SERIOUS BREACHES OF THE CEASE-FIRE AGREEMENT BY Z A N L A FORCES, THESE HAVE BEEN TERRORISING THE COUNTRYSIDE, INTIMIDATING THE LOCAL POPULATION AND CROSSING THE BORDER IN LARGE NUMBERS IN PARTICULAR IN THE AREAS NORTH OF UMTALI (INYANGA) AND SOUTH OF UMTALI IN THE MELSETTER AREA.
2. YOU SHOULD MAKE CLEAR THAT I AM MOST ANXIOUS TO MOVE QUICKLY TO A SITUATION IN WHICH RHODESIA IS ABLE TO NORMALISE ITS RELATCONS WITH MOZAMBIQUE AND WE ARE ABLE TO OVEN THE ROAD AND RAIL LINKS. AS YOU KNOW, WE ARE ON PRESENT PLANS HOPING TO OPEN THE FORBES CROSSING AT UMTALI TO COMMERCIAL TRAFFIC ON 12 JANUARY. THIS NORMALISATION OF RELATIONS WHICH WE BOTH WANT WILL BE ENDANGERED IF THE MOZAMBICAN AUTHORITIES ARE UNABLE  
(A) TO PUT AN END TO LARGE-SCALE CROSS-BORDER MOVEMENT BY Z A N L A:  
AND

(A) TO PUT AN END TO LARGE-SCALE CROSS-BORDER MOVEMENT BY Z A N L A AND

(B) TO PUT PRESSURE ON Z A N U AND Z A N L A TO COMPLY MUCH MORE EFFECTIVELY WITH THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT.

3. THERE IS EVIDENCE THAT Z A N L A FORCES HAVE BEEN INSTRUCTED TO STAY OUT OF THE ASSEMBLY AREAS FOR AS LONG AS POSSIBLE IN ORDER TO QUOTE POLITICISE UNQUOTE THE LOCAL POPULATION, AND THAT OTHER ELEMENTS HAVE BEEN INSTRUCTED NOT TO ASSEMBLE BUT TO REMAIN IN THE COUNTRYSIDE FOR THE SAME PURPOSE. ALTHOUGH VERY CONSIDERABLE NUMBERS OF Z A N L A HAVE ASSEMBLED, A SUBSTANTIAL PROPORTION OF THESE HAS, WE BELIEVE, CROSSED THE BORDER: SINCE THE SIGNATURE OF CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT AND A FURTHER PROPORTION ARE QUOTE MUJIBAS UNQUOTE SENT IN LIEU OF TRAINED Z A N L A PERSONNEL.

4. YOU SHOULD EXPLAIN TO THE MOZAMBICANS AND AS NECESSARY TO Z A N U THAT THERE IS AT PRESENT A POTENTIALLY DANGEROUS MILITARY SITUATION IN THE INYANGA AREA WHERE Z A N U FORCES ARE CONFRONTING POLICE, WHO HAVE NOW BEEN SUPPORTED BY RHODESIAN FORCES. WE HOPE THIS IS NOW BEING DEFUSED. BUT UNTIL THE MILITARY SITUATION IN THE EASTERN PART OF THE COUNTRY IS CLEARER, IT WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE TO PERMIT LARGE SCALE ARRIVALS OF Z A N U IN SALISBURY. THE SMALL GROUP PLANNING TO COME TOMORROW WILL HAVE TO BE DEFERRED FOR 24 TO 48 HOURS WHILE THE SITUATION IS CLARIFIED. WE HOPE THAT IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO ADMIT THEM BEFORE LONG AND WCLL BE IN TOUCH ABOUT THIS.

FCO PASS ALL

SOAMES

NNNN

PS/SIR I GILMOUR  
PS/MR LUCE  
PS/PUS  
SIR D MAITLAND  
MR DAY  
LORD N G LENNOX  
MR ASPIN

428

SIR R ARMSTRONG )  
MR R L WADE GERY )  
MR P M MAXEY ) CABINET  
MR GOULTY ) OFFICE  
MR P J FOWLER )  
DIO )

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HD/RHOD DEPT (4)

HD/C AF D

HD/S AF D

HD/PUSD (2)

HD/NEWS DEPT

HD/WAD

MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A

MR FIFOOT LEGAL ADVISER RM K164

RESIDENT CLERK

CONFIDENTIAL

FM LUSAKA 071337Z

TO IMMEDIATE SALISBURY

TEL NO. 35 OF 7 JANUARY 1980.

AND TO IMMEDIATE FCO

REPEATED PRIORITY TO MAPUTO, GABORONE, DAR ES SALAAM, LUANDA,  
LAGOS, WASHINGTON, UKMIS NEW YORK.

MIPT

*Not yet received*

1. WE HAVE TWO SPECIFIC INDICATIONS OF HIGH LEVEL POLITICAL AND OFFICIAL DISQUIET ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF BIAS IN FAVOUR OF MUZOREWA.
2. US AMBASSADOR WISNER HAS TOLD ME THAT THIS MORNING MAINZA CHONA (SECRETARY GENERAL OF UNIP AND THE SECOND RANKING ZAMBIAN) HAD TELEPHONED HIM IN AN AGITATED FASHION TO EXPRESS CONCERN ABOUT "GROWING SIGNS OF A LACK OF EVEN-HANDEDNESS". THE WHOLE TONE OF HIS COMMENTS WERE THAT "PERFIDIUS ALBION WAS UP TO ITS TRICKS AGAIN".
3. PUNABANTU, SPECIAL ADVISOR TO THE PRESIDENT (PRESS) TELEPHONED MY FIRST SECRETARY INFORMATION THIS MORNING IN ORDER TO EXPLAIN THE ZAMBIANS "APPREHENSION" AT VARIOUS ASPECTS OF OUR ACTIONS IN RHODESIA DURING THE LAST FEW DAYS. PUNABANTU SAID THAT HE WAS MAKING USE OF THE UNOFFICIAL AND USEFUL CHANNEL THAT EXISTED BETWEEN HIM AND THE INFORMATION OFFICER IN ORDER NOT TO BE AGGRESSIVE, BUT MERELY TO SEEK CLARIFICATION ON ISSUES THAT WERE WORRYING THE ZAMBIANS. AS YOU MAY KNOW PUNABANTU IS CLOSE TO THE PRESIDENT AND IN THIS INSTANCE HIS CONCERN MAY BE ANTICIPATED

WORRYING THE ZAMBIANS. AS YOU MAY KNOW PUNABANTU IS CLOSE TO THE PRESIDENT AND, IN THIS INSTANCE, HIS CONCERN MAY BE INTERPRETED AS A GENUINE REFLECTION OF PRESIDENT KAUNDA'S OWN THINKING.

4. THE ZAMBIANS ARE CONCERNED THAT AFTER WHAT THEY CONSIDERED A GOOD START BY OUR ADMINISTRATION THINGS SEEM TO BE GOING WRONG. THEY Began TO WONDER WHETHER WE ARE NOT TAKING TOO MUCH NOTICE OF THE WISHES OF THE MUZOREWA GROUP TO THE DISADVANTAGE OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. PUNABANTU SOUGHT REASSURANCE THAT THE ZAMBIANS WERE IN FACT MISTAKEN IN THEIR BELIEFS. 3 POINTS IN PARTICULAR WERE WORRYING THE ZAMBIANS:

- A. THE DELAYS TO THE RETURN OF PATRIOTIC FRONT POLITICAL PERSONNEL. THE ZAMBIANS CAN ONLY INTERPRET OUR ACTION AS BEING MOTIVATED BY A WISH TO INTERRUPT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT ELECTION PREPARATIONS.
- B. THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE USE OF RHODESIAN FORCES TO MAINTAIN LAW AND ORDER.
- C. THE ADMISSION OF THE PRESENCE OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS AT BEIT BRIDGE (THESE LATTER 2 POINTS, PUNABANTU SAID, ILLUSTRATED THE VALIDITY OF EARLIER ARGUMENTS IN FAVOUR OF A COMMONWEALTH PEACE KEEPING FORCE.

WILKIN REPLIED IN APPROPRIATE TERMS.

5. I THINK WE MUST REGARD THESE TWO MESSAGES AS RELATED AND REFLECTING CONCERN AT THE HIGHEST POLITICAL LEVEL IN ZAMBIA. THEIR INFORMATION IS LIKELY TO BE SCANTY AND DISTORTED, BUT NEVERTHELESS WILL FIT IN WITH MANY OF THEIR PRECONCEPTIONS AND THEY WILL BE ALL TOO READY TO BELIEVE IT. I THINK THAT THERE WOULD BE EVERY ADVANTAGE IN TAKING PREEMPTIVE ACTION TO HEAD OFF THIS INCREASINGLY CRITICAL MOOD AND SUGGEST THAT THIS MIGHT BEST BE DONE BY EXPLAINING FRANKLY TO THE ZAMBIANS WHERE WE HAVE GOT TO AND WHAT PROBLEMS WE CONTINUE TO FACE. FOR THIS TO BE EFFECTIVE I BELIEVE THE MESSAGE MUST GO INTO SOME DETAIL AND MUST COME AT AN AUTHORITATIVE LEVEL WHICH WOULD ENSURE ITS PASSAGE UNDISTORTED TO THE PRESIDENT. I WOULD THEREFORE RECOMMEND THAT SUCH A MESSAGE EITHER BE SENT FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO PRESIDENT KAUNDA OR IF THIS IS CONSIDERED INAPPROPRIATE WE MIGHT EXPLORE WITH THE ZAMBIANS THE IDEA THAT SIR A DUFF COME TO LUSAKA TO BRIEF CHONA AND OTHERS. I REALISE THE PRESSURES ON SIR A DUFF'S TIME AT THIS MOMENT BUT BELIEVE THAT SUCH A VISIT WOULD BE AN ALTERNATIVE METHOD OF ENSURING THAT THE ZAMBIANS STAY ON SIDE. IDEALLY OF COURSE THE PRIME MINISTER'S MESSAGE MIGHT INCLUDE THE

OTHERS AND OTHERS I BELIEVE THE PRESSURE ON SIR A DUFF'S VISIT  
AT THIS MOMENT BUT BELIEVE THAT SUCH A VISIT WOULD BE AN ALTER-  
NATIVE METHOD OF ENSURING THAT THE ZAMBIANS STAY ON SIDE. IDEALLY  
OF COURSE THE PRIME MINISTER'S MESSAGE MIGHT INCLUDE THE  
SUGGESTION OF SIR A DUFF'S VISIT.

NEILSON.

NNNN

PS/SIR I GILMOUR  
PS/MR LUCE  
PS/PUS  
MR D MAITLAND  
MR DAY  
LORD N G LENNOX  
MR ASPIN

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

SIR R ARMSTRONG )  
MR R L WADE GERY )  
MR P M MAXEY ) CABINET  
MR GOULTY ) OFFICE  
MR P J FOWLER )  
DIO )

428

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HD/RHOD DEPT (4)

HD/C AF D

HD/S AF D

HD/PUSD (2)

HD/NEWS DEPT

HD/WAD

MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A

MR FIFOOT LEGAL ADVISER RM K164

RESIDENT CLERK

*Handwritten signature*

CONFIDENTIAL

FM LUSAKA 071315Z

TO IMMEDIATE SALISBURY

TEL NO. 34 OF 7 JANUARY 1980.

AND TO IMMEDIATE FCO

REPEATED PRIORITY TO MAPUTO, GABORONE, DAR ES SALAAM, LUANDA,  
LAGOS, WASHINGTON, UKMIS NEW YORK.

RETURN OF ZAPU.

1. OVER THE LAST FEW DAYS THE ZAMBIAN PRESS HAS BEEN QUICK TO  
IMPUTE BIAS BY YOU AND YOUR ADMINISTRATION IN FAVOUR OF MUZOREWA.  
WE ARE ALSO RECEIVING EVIDENCE OF OFFICIAL AND POLITICAL  
DISQUIET (SEE MIFT). ON 5 JANUARY THE ZAMBIA DAILY MAIL, WHICH  
IS CONSTANTLY THE LESS BALANCED OF ZAMBIA'S DAILIES, PRINTED A  
LONG LEADER CLAIMING THAT BY PREVAILING ON NKOMO TO POSTPONE  
HIS ARRIVAL IN SALISBURY, WE HAD SERIOUSLY DISADVANTAGED HIS  
ELECTION CAMPAIGN. ON 6 JANUARY THE SUNDAY TIMES OF ZAMBIA  
STATED THAT IN THE ELECTION, "UNLESS HE CHEATS MUZOREWA HAS NO  
CHANCE" AND EXPRESSED THE FEAR THAT YOU MIGHT BE "AIDING AND  
ABETTING HIM".

2. I APPRECIATE THE VERY REAL ADMINISTRATIVE AND SECURITY  
PROBLEMS AT YOUR END. HOWEVER, ZAMBIAN SUSPICIONS HAVE BEEN  
NURTURED BY THE INCIDENT ON 6 JANUARY (MY TEL NO. 30) IN WHICH  
CLEARANCE WAS REFUSED FOR THE AIRCRAFT CARRYING THE FIRST  
CONTINGENT OF ZAPU ELECTION WORKERS.



CLEARANCE WAS REFUSED FOR THE AIRCRAFT CARRYING THE FIRST CONTINGENT OF ZAPU ELECTION WORKERS. WHILE THE TIMES OF ZAMBIA PRESENTS GENERALLY A BALANCED REPORT QUOTING A BHC SPOKESMAN AS SAYING THAT THE FLIGHT HAD NOT BEEN SLEARED BECAUSE INSUFFICIENT NOTIFICATION WAS GIVEN, THE DAILY MAIL GOES TO TOWN QUOTING THE NORMALLY MILD CHINAMANO AS CLAIMING THAT "THE BRITISH ARE AGAIN TRYING TO SABOTAGE THE TR  
O AS THEY DID TO PRESIDENT NKOMO'S".

MSIKA IS SAID TO HAVE QUESTIONED THE NEUTRALITY OF BRITISH AUTHORITY IN RHODESIA. THE BHC SPOKESMAN'S REBUTTAL IS AGAIN QUOTED, BUT LESS PROMINENTLY THAN THE PF CLAIMS.

3. INCIDENTALLY NKOMO, WHO WAS ASLEEP WHEN THE MESSAGE IN YOUR TEL 22 ARRIVED, WAS INFORMED OF ITS CONTENTS AT 0630 YESTERDAY MORNING. BUT, AS PREDICTED IN MY TEL 030, HE INSISTED ON MAKING HIS GESTURE.

4. THIS EPISODE HAS ALSO MADE OUR RELATIONS WITH NKOMO, AT LEAST TEMPORARILY, RATHER FRAUGHT. UNTIL NOW HE HAS BEEN MODERATE IN HIS STATEMENTS-- FOR EXAMPLE, QUESTIONED ON ZAMBIA TELEVISION'S "SUNDAY INTERVIEW" ON 6 JANUARY ABOUT THE POSTPONEMENT OF HIS OWN RETURN TO SALISBURY, HE POINTEDLY DECLINED TO TAKE UP THE INTERVIEWER'S SUGGESTION OF BIAS AGAINST HIM. HE EXPLAINED THAT HE HAD GIVEN THREE DAYS NOTICE OF HIS PLANS, WHEREAS MUZOREWA HAD GIVEN THREE WEEKS NOTICE OF THE UNAC RALLY AND THAT HE, NKOMO, HAD ACCORDINGLY AGREED TO GIVE WAY. BUT THIS INTERVIEW WAS RECORDED BEFORE NKOMO KNEW OF YESTERDAY'S CLEARANCE INCIDENT AND, ALTHOUGH WE HAVE DONE OUR BEST TO ENCOURAGE HIM NOT/NOT TO OVER REACT, WE CANNOT COUNT FOR THE MOMENT ON HIS PUBLIC UTTERANCES CONTINUING TO BE OF SUCH STUDIED MODERATION.

5. NKOMO HAS ALSO BEEN AT PAINS TO STRESS THE NEED FOR PATRIOTIC FRONT UNITY BOTH BEFORE AND AFTER THE ELECTION, IF ZIMBABWE IS TO ACHIEVE PEACE AND STABILITY. THIS WAS A THEME IN HIS SUNDAY TELEVISION INTERVIEW. ACCORDINGLY ANY ATTEMPT TO DIFFERENTIATE BETWEEN ZAPU AND ZANU COULD POSSIBLY BACKFIRE. UNTIL HE JUDGED THAT WE WERE BEING "OBSTRUCTIVE" OVER HIS CHARTER FLIGHT, NKOMO HAD NOT REACTED AT ALL ADVERSELY TO SUGGESTIONS THAT YOU WOULD HAVE TO TAKE APPROPRIATE ACTION AGAINST ZANU AND ZANLA. IN HIS PRESENT MOOD HE MAY CHANGE TACK AND FEEL HE SHOULD SHOW SOLIDARITY WITH MUGABE IN RESISTING WHAT HE NOW PROFESSES TO SEE AS DISCRIMINATION IN FAVOUR OF MUZOREWA AGAINST THE PF AS A WHOLE. THUS, FOR EXAMPLE, IF IT WAS ADJUDGED THAT ZIPRA HAD COMPLIED WITH THE CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT BUT THAT ZANLA HAD NOT, NKOMO WOULD BE PLACED IN A VERY DIFFICULT POSITION.



AUSTRALIAN HIGH COMMISSION · LONDON

THE HIGH COMMISSIONER

The Hon. Sir Gordon Freeth, KBE

*fg*  
*Ph...*

7 January 1980

Dear Mr Alexander,

I refer to my letter of 24 December 1979 which enclosed the text of a letter from my Prime Minister, the Rt. Hon. Malcolm Fraser, to your Prime Minister, the Rt. Hon. Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

I now enclose the original of Mr Fraser's letter.

Yours sincerely,

(Gordon Freeth)

Mr Michael Alexander,  
Private Secretary (Overseas Affairs)  
to the Prime Minister,  
Prime Minister's Office,  
10 Downing Street,  
LONDON, SW1.



T176/79T

PRIME MINISTER

CANBERRA

24 DEC 1979

*Margaret*  
My dear Prime Minister,

It is with great pleasure that I am writing to congratulate you on the considerable triumph for British foreign policy you have just achieved in reaching an all party settlement at the Lancaster House Conference. The problem of Rhodesia was one which affected each and every country of the Commonwealth in some degree. Indeed, as we were all so painfully aware before the Lusaka meeting, it carried risks for the future of the Commonwealth itself. Australia, like every other Commonwealth member and indeed other members of the world community, is grateful to Britain for what it has been able to do so successfully under most difficult circumstances.

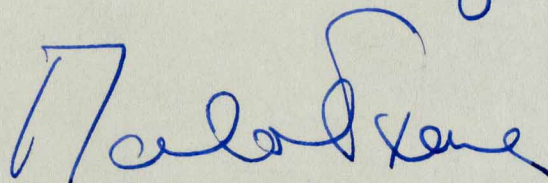
Your success at the Conference owes much to the determination and diplomatic skill exhibited by Peter Carrington throughout the last fourteen weeks. There were times when patience must have been strained, but in retrospect I consider it remarkable not that the talks went on so long, but that you managed to bring together onto common ground parties who in such recent memory were so far apart.

The process of bringing Rhodesia to independence as the new nation of Zimbabwe is by no means over. Australia has already made commitments to assist in the implementation of the Lancaster House settlement. We will continue to do what we can to help reach the final goal. Our two Governments will of course remain in close touch in regard to developments in Rhodesia. This will be facilitated by our establishment of a Liaison Office in Salisbury.

.../2

Allow me to say in conclusion that what has been achieved so far promises to have an enormous impact on the troubled region of southern Africa. Your Government is actively involved in working for other peaceful solutions to other problems that beset that region. You may count on my Government to do all it can to support you in these tasks.

*My warmest personal regards*



(Malcolm Fraser)

The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher, M.P.,  
Prime Minister of Great Britain,  
10 Downing Street,  
LONDON  
UNITED KINGDOM



7 JAN 1980

(Illegible text)

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover  
Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D.C.

Rhodesia

(2)



10 DOWNING STREET

Prime Minister

These letters have all  
been acknowledged.

Ant

4.1.80

Ant

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GRPS 783

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FM SALISBURY 061552Z JAN 80

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 65 OF 6 JANUARY

INFO IMMEDIATE LUSAKA NAIROBI MAPUTO GABORONE DAR ES SALAAM  
UKMIS NEW YORK LUANDA LAGOS WASHINGTON PRETORIA ADDIS ABABA MONROVIA  
CANBERRA OTTAWA WELLINGTON PRIORITY PEKING MOSCOW PRAGUE DAKAR  
KINSHASA KHARTOUM TOKYO EEC POSTS KUWAIT KINGSTON BRIDGETOWN  
DACCA NEW DELHI SINGAPORE GEORGETOWN FREETOWN PORT LOUIS PORT OF  
SPAIN LILONGWE VALLETTA BANJUL COLOMBO ACCRA KUALA LUMPUR NICOSIA  
OSLO STOCKHOLM LISBON MADRID ATHENS MBABANE ABIDJAN  
INFO SAVING NASSAU MASERU CASTRIES SUVA PORT MORESBY HONIARA  
NUKUALOFA VICTORIA TARAWA UKDEL NATO SOFIA BUDAPEST BUCHAREST  
EAST BERLIN BELGRADE CAIRO ALGIERS TUNIS TRIPOLI RABAT TEHRAN,  
RHODESIA: CEASEFIRE

The total of PF 'members' is now  
New 20,000.  
Pant - 7/1

1. IT IS STILL NOT POSSIBLE TO MAKE A FINAL ESTIMATE OF THE NUMBER OF PATRIOTIC FRONT FORCES WHICH HAVE ASSEMBLED. THERE ARE STILL SOME FORCES COMING IN. OUR PRESENT ESTIMATE IS IN THE REGION OF 18,000.

2. IT IS WELL NIGH IMPOSSIBLE TO FORM AN ACCURATE ESTIMATE AT THIS STAGE OF THE EXTENT OF CROSS-BORDER MOVEMENT. BUT THIS MAY HAVE BEEN ON THE SCALE SINCE 20 NOVEMBER OF ABOUT 1000 FROM ZAMBIA AND UP TO 3-4,000 FROM MOZAMBIQUE.

3. THE RHODESIAN MILITARY COMMANDERS ARE VERY EXERCISED ABOUT THE BEHAVIOUR OF Z A N L A THROUGHOUT THE ASSEMBLY PROCESS AND OF Z A N L A GROUPS SINCE IT HAS ENDED, AS WELL AS BY THE EXTENT OF CROSS BORDER MOVEMENT THEY BELIEVE TO HAVE TAKEN PLACE.

4. OVER 5,000 Z I P R A HAVE ASSEMBLED AND THIS CLEARLY IS A HIGH PROPORTION OF THE Z I P R A FORCES. THROUGHOUT THE ASSEMBLY PROCESS Z I P R A HAVE BEEN RESPONSIBLE FOR FAR FEWER INCIDENTS THAN Z A N L A. THEIR CONTROL AND DISCIPLINE IS BETTER AND THEY ARE MUCH MORE CLEARLY COMMITTED TO MAKING THE OPERATION A SUCCESS. MUGABE'S ATTITUDE (SEE MAPUTO TELNO 29 TO YOU - NOT TO ALL) IS REFLECTED IN THAT OF SOME OF THE Z A N L A COMMANDERS, WITH WHOM RELATIONS ARE MORE DIFFICULT.

5. TODAY THERE HAVE BEEN A NUMBER OF INCIDENTS IN WHICH OUTSTANDING Z A N L A GROUPS HAVE BEEN PERSUADED TO LAY DOWN THEIR ARMS AND JOIN THE ASSEMBLY PROCESS. THE RHODESIAN FORCES HAVE BEEN ACTING WITH RESTRAINT. WE SHALL HENCEFORTH BE OPERATING ON THE

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/ BASIS THAT

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BASIS THAT LATE COMERS CANNOT AS A GENERAL RULE PROCEED TO THE ASSEMBLY PLACES WITH THEIR ARMS (WITH THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE MONITORING TEAMS FROM THE RENDEZVOUS POINTS THIS WOULD BE TOO DIFFICULT AND POTENTIALLY DANGEROUS TO ORGANISE).

6. I SHALL BE MAKING A BROADCAST THIS EVENING TO THANK THE COMMONWEALTH MONITORING FORCE, THE POLICE, THE RHODESIAN FORCES AND THE PATRIOTIC FRONT COMMANDERS FOR THEIR CONDUCT DURING THIS DIFFICULT AND DANGEROUS OPERATION. THAT OF THE MONITORING FORCE HAS BEEN BEYOND PRAISE.

7. WE SHALL NOT REPEAT NOT FOR THE NEXT FEW DAYS BE MAKING A FINAL JUDGEMENT OF THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE ASSEMBLY OF THE FORCES CONSTITUTES FULFILMENT OF THE CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT. THIS WILL DEPEND ON THE EXTENT OF CROSS BORDER MOVEMENT: THE CONDUCT OF FORCES WHICH HAVE NOT ASSEMBLED: AND WHETHER THE LARGE NUMBERS WHICH HAVE ASSEMBLED REMAIN IN THE IN THE CAMPS. IT IS CLEAR HOWEVER, THAT THE COMMANDERS ON BOTH SIDES HAVE MADE A REAL EFFORT AND THAT THIS HAS BEEN ACCOMPANIED ON THE Z I P R A SIDE BY A REAL POLITICAL WILL TO MAKE THE OPERATION A SUCCESS.

FCO PASS ALL AND SAVING ALL

SOAMES

[REPEATED AS REQUESTED]

F I L E S

RHOD D	OID
OADS	NEWS D
NAD	PS
MED	PS/SIR I GILMOUR
PUSD	PS/MR LUCE
PLANNING STAFF	PS/MR RIDLEY
ES & SD	PS/MR HURD
NENAD	PS/MR MARTEN
CCD	PS/PUS
FRD	SIR D MAITLAND
EID (E)	
UND	MR HANNAY
LEGAL ADVISERS	LORD N G LENNOX
(MR FREELAND)	MISS BROWN
(MR FIFOOT)	MR DAY
ECON D	MR FERGUSSON
FOC	MR ASPIN
DEF D	MR MILLS

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FCO 041810Z JAN 80

TO IMMEDIATE SALISBURY

TELEGRAM NUMBER 37 OF 4 JANUARY

INFO CANBERRA OTTAWA WELLINGTON WASHINGTON UKMIS NEW YORK DELHI

YOUR TELNO 24: COMMONWEALTH OBSERVERS.

1. RAMPHAL CALLED ON ME THIS MORNING. HE SAID THAT HIS PRESENT PLAN WAS TO SEND HIS 11 OBSERVERS AND 22 ASSISTANTS TO SALISBURY ARRIVING ON 24 JANUARY. THEY WOULD BE ASSEMBLING IN LONDON A FEW DAYS BEFORE THIS. THEY WERE A DISTINGUISHED GROUP, INCLUDING THREE APPEAL COURT JUDGES. MANY HAD HAD ELECTION EXPERIENCE IN THEIR OWN COUNTRIES.

2. I EXPLAINED THE DIFFICULTIES ABOUT THIS TIMING. DRAWING ON YOUR TELEGRAM UNDER REFERENCE, I SAID THAT IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO AGREE TO ANY FIRM DATES UNTIL THE SITUATION BECAME CLEARER AND THAT I WOULD CONSULT YOU FURTHER ABOUT THIS, KEEPING IN TOUCH WITH RAMPHAL. I MADE CLEAR THAT YOU WOULD BE UNABLE TO PLACE APPROPRIATE FACILITIES AT THE DISPOSAL OF THE OBSERVERS UNTIL ABOUT 7 FEBRUARY. RAMPHAL SAID THIS WOULD CAUSE HIM SOME DIFFICULTY. HE HAD TO GIVE FIRM DATES TO THE OBSERVERS IN ORDER TO GET THEM ASSEMBLED IN TIME. HE ASKED WHETHER THEY COULD GO TO SALISBURY BEFORE PROPER FACILITIES WERE ESTABLISHED TO SETTLE IN AND START MAKING CONTACTS. THE SECRETARIAT HAD ALREADY BOOKED HOTEL ACCOMMODATION. I REPEATED THAT WE COULD NOT AGREE FIRM DATES AT THIS STAGE, THOUGH THE SECRETARIAT COULD PROCEED WITH THEIR PLANNING. I ASKED WHETHER THE CHAIRMAN AND ONE OR TWO OTHER OBSERVERS MIGHT GO OUT ON 24 JANUARY AS AN ADVANCE PARTY, WITH THE REST TO FOLLOW LATER. RAMPHAL SAID IT WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT TO DIVIDE UP HIS GROUP IN THIS WAY. HE ALSO SAID THAT HE WISHED TO SEND UP TO 85 FURTHER STAFF TO HELP OBSERVE THE ACTUAL POLLING. I SAID I WAS SURE WE COULD NOT COPE WITH THIS SORT OF OPERATION AT ALL.

3. ON FACILITIES, I EXPLAINED TO RAMPHAL THAT PROTECTED VEHICLES COULD NOT BE ALLOCATED SPECIFICALLY TO PARTICULAR OBSERVERS. IT WAS LIKELY THAT A POOL WOULD BE ESTABLISHED WHICH WOULD BE DRAWN UPON UNDER ARRANGEMENTS MADE BY YOU. EVEN OUR SUPERVISORS

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/WOULD

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WOULD NOT HAVE PROTECTED VEHICLES OF THEIR OWN. RAMPHAL ASKED WHETHER THE COMMONWEALTH OBSERVERS WOULD HAVE PRIORITY IN THE USE OF THE FACILITIES AVAILABLE . I ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THEY HAD A CERTAIN STATUS UNDER THE LUSAKA AGREEMENT AND THAT WE WOULD DO WHAT WE COULD TO FACILITATE THEIR TASK. RAMPHAL ASKED WHETHER WE COULD HELP IN FINDING OFFICE ACCOMMODATION. I MADE NO COMMITMENT. GRATEFUL FOR ADVICE ON THIS.

4. I WELL UNDERSTAND YOUR CONCERN AND I HAVE MADE NO DEFINITE COMMITMENTS TO RAMPHAL ABOUT THE SIZE OF THE COMMONWEALTH GROUP OR THE DATE OF ITS ARRIVAL. I BELIEVE THAT I HAVE MADE SOME HEADWAY TOWARDS CONVINCING HIM OF THE DIFFICULTIES YOU FACE. HE, FOR HIS PART, REGARDS THE OFFER TO DEFER THE GROUP'S ARRIVAL UNTIL 24 JANUARY AS A CONCESSION (IT IS A MOVE IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION) AND ACCEPTS THAT IF OBSERVERS ARRIVE BEFORE 6 FEBRUARY THEY CANNOT EXPECT ANY SPECIAL FACILITIES TO BE AVAILABLE. WE SHALL KEEP IN TOUCH WITH HIM, MAKING CLEAR THAT WE MUST HAVE YOUR ADVICE BEFORE AGREEING THAT THE GROUP SHOULD DEPART FROM LONDON.

5. BUT I AM BOUND TO SAY THAT, IN THE LIGHT OF THE COMMITMENTS I MADE AT THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE TO ALLOW OBSERVERS TO WITNESS THE WHOLE ELECTORAL PROCESS, IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO DELAY THEIR ARRIVAL BEYOND THE END OF THE MONTH, THOUGH WE WILL TRY TO PERSUADE RAMPHAL TO DEFER THE GROUP'S DEPARTURE INTO THE WEEK BEGINNING 28 JANUARY. NOR DO I THINK WE SHALL IN THE END BE ABLE TO HOLD THE GROUP BELOW 40, THAT IS THE 11 OBSERVERS WITH TWO ASSISTANCE EACH AND HALF A DOZEN SUPPORTING STAFF, THOUGH WE SHALL MAKE SURE THEY REALISE THE STRAIN THIS WILL PUT ON YOUR RESOURCES AND YOUR ABILITY TO PROVIDE FACILITIES. I HOPE MYSELF TO MEET THE GROUP ON 22 JANUARY WHEN THEY ARE ASSEMBLING IN LONDON AND WILL MAKE QUITE CLEAR MY VIEW OF THEIR ROLE AS WELL AS THE CONSTRAINTS ON YOUR ABILITY TO HELP THEM. THIS IS REALLY THE BEST I CAN DO FOR THE MOMENT: NOTHING IS FINALLY DECIDED BUT I MAY WELL HAVE TO ASK YOU TO ACCEPT MORE OF THEM, AND ARRIVING RATHER EARLIER, THAN YOU WANT. I HOPE THAT YOU WILL ALSO UNDERSTAND MY DIFFICULTIES.

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6. THE QUESTION OF IMMUNITY WAS NOT RAISED. BUT WE SHALL TAKE AN OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE CLEAR TO THE SECRETARIAT THAT THE PRECEDENTS ARE AGAINST THEM AND THAT THE OBSERVERS WILL IN ANY CASE BE UNDER YOUR PROTECTION.

CARRINGTON

## FILES

RHOD D	OID
OADS	NEWS D
NAD	PS
MED	PS/SIR I GILMOUR
PUSD	PS/MR LUCE
PLANNING STAFF	PS/MR RIDLEY
ES & SD	PS/MR HURD
NENAD	PS/MR MARTEN
CCD	PS/PUS
FRD	SIR D MAITLAND
EID (E)	
UND	MR HANNAY
LEGAL ADVISERS	LORD N G LENNOX
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(MR FIFOOT)	MR DAY
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PCD	MR ASPIN
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PS/PUS  
SIR D MAITLAND  
MR DAY  
LORD N G LENNOX  
MR ASPIN

PS/NO ~~10~~ DOWNING STREET

SIR R ARMSTRONG )  
MR R L WADE GERY )  
MR P M MAXEY ) CABINET  
MR GOULTY ) OFFICE  
MR P J FOWLER )  
DIO )

+32

HD/RHOD DEPT (4)

HD/C AF D  
HD/S AF D

HD/PUSD (2)

HD/NEWS DEPT  
HD/WAD

MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A  
MR FIFOOT LEGAL ADVISER RM K164

*Prime Minister* *Mr*  
*Honwana is the young*  
*man from Mozambique whom*  
*you met at Lancaster House.*  
*Your country then continues to pay*  
*dividends*  
*Phu*

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FROM SALISBURY 041205Z JAN 80  
TO PRIORITY FCO  
TELEGRAM NUMBER 41 OF 4 JANUARY 1980.  
INFO PRIORITY MAPUTO MODUK (DMO DS11) AND LUSAKA.

MAPUTO TELNO 10 TO ME: MOZAMBIQUE/ RHODESIA.

1. HONWANA AND HIS PARTY ATTENDED TWO MEETINGS AT GOVERNMENT HOUSE ON 3 JANUARY AT WHICH THE MONITORING FORCE HEADQUARTERS WERE ALSO REPRESENTED. THE ATMOSPHERE WAS CORDIAL THROUGHOUT. HONWANA BEGAN BY ASSURING US OF HIS GOVERNMENT'S FULL SUPPORT FOR THE LANCASTER HOUSE AGREEMENTS AND FOR THEIR DETERMINATION TO HELP US IN SEEING THEM FULLY IMPLEMENTED. HE POINTED OUT THAT SINCE MOZAMBIQUE ENJOYS FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH BOTH HMG AND THE PF HIS DELEGATION WAS WELL PLACED TO ASSIST IN MAKING A SUCCESS OF THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD AND THEY STOOD READY TO DO THIS. HE SAID THAT THE COMAG AIRCRAFT WHICH IS STANDING BY TO FLY BETWEEN SALISBURY AND MAPUTO WAS AT OUR DISPOSAL.

2. HONWANA MADE NO REFERENCE TO THE CHISSANO MEMORANDUM BUT RAISED THE FOLLOWING POINTS WITH US (OUR FULLER COMMENTS ON MOZAMBIKAN FORCES WITH THE PF AND THE VOICE OF FREE AFRICA ARE IN MIFT):-

(1) MOZAMBIKAN "MERCENARIES" WITH THE RHODESIAN SECURITY FORCES. HE ALLEGED THAT A LARGE NUMBER HAD ALREADY SURRENDERED IN MOZAMBIQUE. HE ASKED THAT THE REMAINDER SHOULD BE "CONTAINED" AND SUPPORT FOR THEM FROM RHODESIA SHOULD BE TERMINATED. WE POINTED OUT THAT THE

- THEM FROM RHODESIA SHOULD BE TERMINATED. WE POINTED OUT THAT THE ACTIVITIES OF ALL THE RHODESIAN SECURITY FORCES WERE BEING MONITORED BY THE CEASEFIRE MONITORING FORCES. HONWANA DID NOT ASK THAT THE "MERCENARIES" SHOULD BE RETURNED TO MOZAMBIQUE.
- (2) BORDER CROSSING. HONWANA REFERRED TO AN INCIDENT ON 27 DECEMBER WHEN RHODESIAN HELICOPTERS CROSSED THE BORDER INTO MOZAMBIQUE APPARENTLY IN PURSUIT OF A PF UNIT. WE UNDERTOOK TO INVESTIGATE.
- (3) PROPAGANDA BROADCASTS. HONWANA SAID BROADCASTS FROM "RADIO FREE AFRICA" BEAMED AT MOZAMBIQUE WERE CONTINUING AND WERE PARTICULARLY UNHELPFUL. WE UNDERTOOK TO MAKE FURTHER ENQUIRIES.
- (4) MOZAMBIKAN FORCES IN RHODESIA. GPRM WISH TO MAKE IMMEDIATE CONTACT WITH THE 500 ODD MOZAMBIKAN TROOPS WHO HAD BEEN FIGHTING ALONGSIDE THE PF AND WOULD NOW IN MANY CASES BE REPORTING TO ASSEMBLY POINTS. WE SAID NO MOZAMBIKANS HAD IDENTIFIED THEMSELVES TO US AS YET AND THAT WE WOULD PREFER TO WAIT UNTIL THE CEASEFIRE AND ASSEMBLY PROCESS HAD SETTLED DOWN BEFORE THIRD PARTIES VISITED THE CAMPS.
- (5) VISAS FOR JOURNALISTS. HONWANA ARGUED THAT THE PRESENCE OF MOZAMBIKAN JOURNALISTS WOULD HELP TO PERSUADE DOMESTIC OPINION IN MOZAMBIQUE OF THE ADVANTAGES OF THE NEW POLICY OF COOPERATION. WE PROMISED TO DO WHAT WE COULD TO SPEED UP THEIR VISA APPLICATIONS.
- (6) POWS. HONWANA RAISED THE CASES OF TWO MOZAMBIKAN PRISONERS OF WAR ALLEGEDLY CAPTURED IN AUGUST. WE UNDERTOOK TO FOLLOW THIS UP WITH THE RHODESIAN SECURITY FORCES.

3. WE EXPRESSED GRATITUDE FOR THE COOPERATION WHICH WE WERE RECEIVING FROM THE MOZAMBIKAN GOVERNMENT AND OUR SATISFACTION THAT CONTACT HAD NOW BEEN MADE AT 3 OF THE 5 BORDER CROSSING POINTS. WE LOOKED TO THE MOZAMBIKAN GOVERNMENT TO PREVENT ILLEGAL BORDER CROSSINGS. THE INCIDENT AT MACHIPANDA INVOLVING MOZAMBIKAN RAILWAY WORKERS HAD BEEN, WE PRESUMED, THE RESULT OF A MISUNDERSTANDING.

4. WE RAISED WITH HONAWANA THE QUESTION OF DETAINEES BEING HELD BY ZANU AND ASKED THAT THE MOZAMBIKAN AUTHORITIES SHOULD DO WHAT THEY COULD TO SECURE THEIR EARLY RELEASE. HONWANA SAID THAT THE MOZAMBIKAN GOVERNMENT WAS ALREADY PRESSING ZANU TO RELEASE THE DETAINEES AND UNDERSTOOD THAT THEY WOULD BE FREED IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

5. WE ARRANGED TO HAVE A FURTHER MEETING WITH HONWANA EARLY NEXT WEEK. WE ALSO OFFERED HIS ASSISTANCE WITH COMMUNICATIONS TO MAPUTO AND WITH RENTING A HOUSE FOR THE DELEGATION'S HEADQUARTERS DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD. ALL IN ALL A PROMISING START.  
SEE M I F T.

FCO PSE PASS TO ALL

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Rhodesia

GR 530

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DESKBY SALISBURY 040930Z

DESKBY FCO 041000Z

FM LUSAKA 040825Z

TO IMMEDIATE SALISBURY

TEL NO. 18 OF 4 JANUARY 1980

REPEATED TO IMMEDIATE FCO, MAPUTO, GABORONE.

*mb*

ZAPU'S PLANS TO RETURN HOME.

1. JOSHUA NKOMO CONTACTED US THIS MORNING. HE SAID THAT HE HAD NOW CONSIDERED THE FULL IMPLICATIONS OF WHAT WAS REQUIRED DURING THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN AHEAD. ZAPU HAD BEEN BANNED UNTIL 2 WEEKS AGO WITH NEARLY ALL ITS TOP LEADERS EITHER DETAINED OR IN EXILE. IF HE WAS GOING TO PUT UP A CREDIBLE PERFORMANCE IN THE ELECTION IT WAS NOW URGENTLY NECESSARY FOR HIM TO SEND BACK PARTY WORKERS ON A LARGE SCALE.

2. HE PLANNED TO CHARTER AIRCRAFT AT ZAPU'S EXPENSE. HE HOPED TO RETURN SOME 200 OF THE MOST IMPORTANT PARTY WORKERS IN THE NEXT 2/3 DAYS. IN THE PERIOD 10-15 JANUARY HE AIMED TO SEND IN ANOTHER 3,000 (RPT 3,000) BY AIR. IN ADDITION TO CHARTERING THE AIRCRAFT REQUIRED ZAPU WOULD ALSO BE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE COST AND FOR THE RECEPTION/DISPERSAL ARRANGEMENTS IN SALISBURY. NONE OF THESE PEOPLE WOULD BE A BURDEN ON THE COLONY. THEY WOULD ALL HAVE HOMES AND WORK TO GO TO. THIS PARTY AIRLIFT WOULD INCIDENTALLY REDUCE THE OVERALL RETURNEE TOTAL BUT WAS NOT TO BE SEEN AS PART OF THE INTERNATIONAL REFUGEE PLAN. THE MAJORITY OF THE 3,000 WOULD BE WOMEN. NKOMO WOULD BE GIVING INSTRUCTIONS TO CHAMBATI LATER TODAY.

3. NKOMO SAID THAT HIS IMMEDIATE PURPOSE IN CONTACTING US WAS TO INFORM THE GOVERNOR AS A MATTER OF COURTESY WHAT HE HAD IN MIND. IF THERE WERE ANY FORMALITIES REQUIRED, HE WOULD WANT TO ABIDE BY THEM. AIR TRAFFIC CLEARANCES WOULD BE SOUGHT IN THE NORMAL WAY. HE ASSUMED THERE WOULD BE NO DIFFICULTY IN PRINCIPLE BECAUSE WE SHARED THE WISH THAT PEOPLE SHOULD GO HOME. THERE WAS IN FACT ONE TECHNICAL PROBLEM IN THAT FEW OF HIS PEOPLE HAD PASSPORTS. HE

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|SUGGESTED

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SUGGESTED THAT EACH RETURNING PASSENGER SHOULD BE ISSUED WITH A ZAPU IDENTITY CARD. THOSE WHO DID HOLD PASSPORTS OR RHODESIAN SITUPAS WOULD CARRY THOSE AS WELL OR INSTEAD. HE WOULD SUPPLY ALL NAMES IN ADVANCE.

4. NKOMO CONFIRMED THAT THERE WAS NO QUESTION OF ANY OF THESE PEOPLE CARRYING WEAPONS OR ENGAGING IN ANYTHING OTHER THAN POLITICAL OR ADMINISTRATIVE WORK. HE DESCRIBED THEM AS ZAPU'S ELECTION STAFF. IN THIS CONTEXT NKOMO SAID THAT WHILE HE HAD TRIED TO RESPOND HELPFULLY TO THE GOVERNOR'S REQUEST THAT HE DELAY HIS RETURN BY A WEEK (REALIZING THAT WE HAD A GENUINE PROBLEM ON OUR HANDS), IT WAS NEVERTHELESS THE CASE THAT THE DELAY WOULD SET BACK HIS ELECTION PLANS, PARTICULARLY AS HE WOULD NOT NOW BE ABLE TO CONFER WITH POLITICAL LEADERS OF OTHER, INTERNAL, PARTIES BEFORE 14 JANUARY (BY WHICH TIME IMPORTANT DECISIONS WERE REQUIRED ON POSSIBLE POLITICAL ALLIANCES, ETC.).

5. NKOMO SOUGHT OUR URGENT ASSISTANCE IN SUPPLYING HIM WITH CHAMBATI'S TELEPHONE NUMBER IN SALISBURY.

6. HE ALSO SAID THAT IF WE HAD ANY ADVICE OR COMMENTS WHICH WOULD AFFECT THESE PLANS HE WOULD BE GLAD TO HEAR IT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE SO THAT HIS STAFF COULD TAKE IT INTO ACCOUNT.

NEILSON.

## FILES

RHOD D	OID
OADS	NEWS D
NAD	PS
MED	PS/SIR I GILMOUR
PUSD	PS/MR LUCE
PLANNING STAFF	PS/MR RIDLEY
ES & SD	PS/MR HURD
NENAD	PS/MR MARTEN
CCD	PS/PUS
FRD	SIR D MAITLAND
EID (E)	MR BULLARD
UND	MR HANNAY
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RHODESIA POLICY

2  
CONFIDENTIAL



10 DOWNING STREET

*From the Private Secretary*

4 January 1979

Rhodesia: Messages from the Presidents of  
Tunisia and Bangladesh

Thank you for your letter of 3 January enclosing messages to the Prime Minister from the Presidents of Tunisia and Bangladesh. I agree that you should proceed as you propose.

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

Roderic Lyne, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

Sl.



File

BK.



10 DOWNING STREET

*From the Private Secretary*

4 January 1979

Thank you for your letter of 2 January enclosing a message to the Prime Minister from the Prime Minister of India.

I have, as requested, brought Mr. Singh's message to the Prime Minister's immediate attention.

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

Sl.

Mr. I.P. Singh

File

BK



10 DOWNING STREET

*From the Private Secretary*

4 January 1979

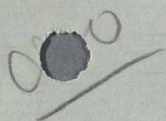
I enclose a copy of a message to the Prime Minister from the Indian Prime Minister.

I have acknowledged receipt of Mr. Charan Singh's message. I do not think that any further action is required.

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

SL

Roderic Lyne, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office



# COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT

CABLES: COMSEGEN LONDON SW1  
TELEX: 27678  
TELEPHONE: 01-839 3411 Ext:

MARLBOROUGH HOUSE,  
PALL MALL,  
LONDON, SW1Y 5HX

Your ref:  
Our ref:

C. 151/4/5

4 January 1980

## Commonwealth Committee on Southern Africa

### Notice of Meeting

A meeting of the Committee will be held on Tuesday, 8 January 1980, at 3.00 p.m. in Marlborough House.

The purpose of the meeting will be to review preparations and arrangements for the Commonwealth Observer Group that will be going to Rhodesia for the elections in that country.

Distribution:

As per previous correspondence

M. Malhoutra  
Committee Secretary



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# Commonwealth Information

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NEWS RELEASE  
80/2

3 January 1980

## COMMONWEALTH OBSERVER GROUP FOR RHODESIAN ELECTION

The Commonwealth Secretary-General, Mr. Shridath Ramphal, announced today the constitution of an eleven-member Commonwealth Observer Group to report on all aspects of the Rhodesian election. Its appointment was envisaged in the agreement reached by Commonwealth leaders in Lusaka last August.

The Chairman of the Group will be Mr. Rajeshwar Dayal, the Indian diplomat who came to international prominence during the crisis in the Congo where he served as UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold's Special Representative in 1960 - 61.

Other members of the Group will be drawn from Australia, Bangladesh, Barbados, Canada, Ghana, Jamaica, Nigeria, Papua New Guinea, Sierra Leone and Sri Lanka. Their names will be announced shortly.

The Team of observers will report to Commonwealth Heads of Government through the Secretary-General. Members serve in their individual capacities, not as representatives of their governments.

The Group is expected to observe all aspects of the electoral campaign and the elections themselves, and to report to Commonwealth governments in the context of the Lusaka and Lancaster House agreements for free and fair elections.

The eleven observers, with two supporting staff each, are expected to arrive in Rhodesia around the middle of January. Additional staff will join them about ten days before polling in February.

COMMONWEALTH  
SECRETARIAT  
Marlborough House  
London SW1Y 5HX  
01-839 3411

Copies:

As per 79/37

Chairman: Mr. Rajeshwar Dayal combines a distinguished diplomatic career with earlier experience in provincial administration in India as a district magistrate and collector and as Home Secretary in the then United Provinces Government.

As India's Permanent Representative to the United Nations 1952-54, he served on the Security Council as well as on the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, and the Human Rights Commission, and was Chairman of the Committee on Disarmament. In 1958 he was a member of the UN Observation Group in the Lebanon. In 1969 he became the first Chairman of the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. Mr. Dayal has been India's Ambassador in Belgrade and Paris and High Commissioner in Pakistan, and served as Foreign Secretary 1967-68.

After retiring from the diplomatic service, he has held several academic appointments; he has been a Fellow of St. Antony's College, Oxford, and of the Woodrow Wilson International Centre for Scholars, Washington, and Scholar in Residence at the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies.

He has been a member of the Governing Council of the International Institute for Environment and Development founded by Barbara Ward and of the governing body of the Indian Institute for International Studies and a Trustee of the Dag Hammarskjold Foundation in Uppsala, Sweden. His book on the Congo, Mission for Hammarskjold, is to be followed soon by A Martyred Country on the civil war in the Lebanon.

Ends

[RHODESIA: POLICY: ADVANCE COPIES]

PS  
PS/SIR I GILMOUR  
PS/MR LUCE  
PS/PUS  
SIR D MAITLAND  
MR DAY  
LORD N G LENNOX  
MR ASPIN

PS/NO 10 ~~DOWNING~~ STREET

SIR R ARMSTRONG )  
MR R L WADE GERY )  
MR P M MAXEY ) CABINET  
MR GOULTY ) OFFICE  
MR P J FOWLER )  
DIO )

.....

HD/RHOD DEPT (4)

HD/C AF D  
HD/S AF D

HD/PUSD (2)

HD/NEWS DEPT  
HD/WAD

MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A  
MR FIFOOT LEGAL ADVISER RM K164

*ms*

CONFIDENTIAL

FM MAPUTO 031420Z

TO IMMEDIATE SALISBURY

TELEGRAM NUMBER 18 OF 3 JANUARY

INFO TO PRIORITY FCO LUSAKA

MY TELNO 15 : RETURN OF ZANU

1. I HAVE SEEN MUGABE BRIEFLY. HE HIMSELF HAS NO PLANS FOR RETURNING TO SALISBURY IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE: AND IN ANY CASE HE AGREES THAT WE SHOULD HAVE PLENTY OF NOTICE AND AGREE ARRANGEMENTS.

2. I TOLD HIM THAT A PLANE-LOAD ON SATURDAY 5 JANUARY, WITH OR WITHOUT TONGOGARA'S BODY WAS OUT OF THE QUESTION, AND THAT IF ANYTHING COULD BE PLANNED IN TIME FOR A FLIGHT TOMORROW, I MUST BE TOLD ABOUT IT TONIGHT. OTHERWISE, THE EARLIEST DATE FOR ANY ARRIVALS IN SALISBURY WILL HAVE TO BE MONDAY 7 JANUARY. BUT I AGAIN STRESSED THE NEED FOR EARLY NOTICE AND FULL DETAILS.

3. MUGABE TOOK NOTE. HE THEN TURNED TO THE SITUATION INSIDE RHODESIA WHICH, HE SAID, IS CAUSING HIM SERIOUS CONCERN. ACCORDING TO HIS INFORMATION, THE RHODESIAN FORCES ARE NOT KEEPING THEIR SIDE OF THE BARGAIN AND THEY ARE ATTACKING PF ON THEIR WAY TO RV AND AS EMBLY POINTS. THEY HAD TO STOP AT VILLAGES FOR FOOD AND WATER BECAUSE THEY CARRY NO RATIONS. THIS SHOULD NOT BE USED AS AN EXCUSE TO ATTACK THEM. HE FOUND IT HARD TO BELIEVE THAT YOU WOULD USE RHODESIAN FORCES WHICH INCLUDED SOUTH AFRICANS AND OTHER MERCENTARIES; BUT HE HAD HEARD THAT THIS IS WHAT HAS BEEN HAPPENING, ESPECIALLY ALONG THE MOZAMBICAN BORDER. IN ANY CASE.

USE RHODESIAN FORCES WHICH INCLUDED SOUTH AFRICANS AND OTHER MERCENTARIES; BUT HE HAD HEARD THAT THIS IS WHAT HAS BEEN HAPPENING, ESPECIALLY ALONG THE MOZAMBIKAN BORDER. IN ANY CASE, ALLOWANCES MUST BE MADE FOR THE DIFFICULTIES CAUSED BY TONGOGARA'S DEATH BEFORE HE COULD TRANSMIT DETAILED INSTRUCTIONS TO COMMANDERS IN THE FIELD THROUGH CHIMOIO.

4. I TOLD MUGABE THAT I WOULD CONVEY HIS REMARKS TO YOU. BUT I HAD TO POINT OUT THAT STEPS SHOULD HAVE BEEN TAKEN IN TIME TO MAKE GOOD THE LOSS OF TONGOGARA AS A MEDIUM FOR ORDERS, THAT SOME ZANLA GROUPS APPEARED TO BE POLITICISING THE COUNTRYSIDE AS THEY MOVED ALONG TOWARDS THE RV AND ASSEMBLY POINTS, AND THAT INCIDENTS WERE INEVITABLE IF THE PF COMMANDERS HAD NOT TAKEN ACTION IN GOOD TIME TO BRIEF THEIR MEN IN THE FIELD. I SUGGESTED THAT ANOTHER BROADCAST BY HIMSELF ON THIS EVE OF THE END OF THE ASSEMBLY PROCESS MIGHT HELP; BUT ALTHOUGH HE PROMISED TO CONSIDER IT, HE FELT RELUCTANT TO SAY ANYTHING ON THE RADIO WHICH MIGHT IN FACT LEAD HIS MEN TO EXPOSE THEMSELVES TO THE FIRE OF TRIGGER-HAPPY RHODESIANS WHO WOULD BE WAITING FOR THEM.

5. I SAID THAT, IF HIS INFORMATION CAME FROM SALISBURY (HE NODDED) ZANU SHOULD REPORT ANY SUCH BREACHES TO THE CEASEFIRE COMMISSION WHERE THEY WOULD BE PROPERLY DEALT WITH, I ADDED THAT, ACCORDING TO A SPOKESMAN, GUERRILLAS WHO PROCEEDED TO RVS AND APS IN ORDERLY FASHION, WITHOUT POLITICISING THE POPULATION EN ROUTE, WOULD CONTINUE TO BE DEALT WITH AFTER 4 JANUARY WITH COMMONSENSE AND UNDERSTANDING.

6. IT WOULD HELP ME, IN DEALING WITH MUGABE, TO HAVE A GENERAL IDEA OF THE SORT OF INCIDENTS IN WHICH PEOPLE ARE BEING KILLED. I SHOULD ALSO LIKE TO BE ABLE TO DENY THAT RHODESIAN FORCES ARE DEPLOYED AND ACTIVELY ENGAGED ALONG THE FRONTIER.

PAPADOPOULOS

NNNNN



10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

3 January 1980

Dear Mr. Paisley,

Your letter of 6 November, in which you enclosed a letter from the Reverend Arthur Lewis, unfortunately reached me only on 18 December.

Mr. Lewis's letter was written while the Lancaster House talks were in progress. I hope that now they are concluded and agreement signed, he may be less unhappy about the Government's approach. All the parties to the Conference have accepted an Independence Constitution which provides for genuine majority rule at the same time as safeguarding minority interests, and arrangements for the pre-independence period which will provide the conditions for free and fair elections in which all can compete on an equal basis; and have signed a ceasefire agreement. With Lord Soames' arrival as Governor, Rhodesia was restored to legality, and the international community is now following our lead in lifting sanctions. No one should pretend that the months ahead will be free of problems; it is bound to take time to repair the bitterness and suffering of recent years. But the framework agreed at Lancaster House provides the basis on which the peace and stability of the future Zimbabwe can be built.

To turn to some of Mr. Lewis's specific points, I do not accept that the Lancaster House agreements favour any of the parties. All the parties have undoubtedly made sacrifices and concessions. They have done so in good faith in order to end the war and to enable Rhodesia to take up its rightful place in the international community. The British Government's stated willingness to help, with other governments and international bodies, with a land development programme undertaken by the new independent

/government

RH



government, does not pre-suppose a plan for nationalisation. Indeed, the Declaration of Rights in the Independence Constitution includes protection against compulsory acquisition of property, though there is a derogation allowing under-utilised land to be acquired for agricultural settlement, subject to the prompt payment of adequate compensation; and, if the acquisition is contested, a court order must be obtained. Lastly, Mr. Lewis will be aware that the Independence Constitution was accepted by the Zimbabwe Rhodesia Parliament, voting 90 in favour to none against, before the arrival of the Governor.

I hope that you will pass my comments on to Mr. Lewis.

Yours sincerely

Raymond Indaba

---

PS  
PS/SIR I GILMOUR  
PS/MR LUCE  
PS/PUS  
SIR D MAITLAND  
MR DAY  
LORD N G LENNOX  
MR ASPIN

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

SIR R ARMSTRONG )  
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MR P J FOWLER )  
DIO )

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HD/PUSD (2)

HD/NEWS DEPT  
HE/WAD

MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A  
MR FIFOOT LEGAL ADVISER RM K164

RESIDENT CLERK

CONFIDENTIAL

DESKBY PRETORIA 040630Z

FM SALISBURY 031715Z JAN 80

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 31 OF 3/1/80

INFO IMMEDIATE LUSAKA NAIROBI MAPUTO GABORONE DAR ES SALAAM  
UKMIS NEW YORK LUANDA LAGOS WASHINGTON PRETORIA ADDIS ABABA  
MONROVIA CANBERRA OTTAWA WELLINGTON

PRIORITY PEKING MOSCOW PRAGUE DAKAR KINSHASA KHARTOUM  
TOKYO EEC POSTS KUWAIT KINGSTON BRIDGETOWN DACCA NEW DELHI  
SINGAPORE GEORGETOWN FREETOWN PORT LOUIS PORT OF SPAIN LILONGWE  
VALLETTA BANJUL COLOMBO ACCRA KUALA LUMPUR NICOSIA OSLO STOCKHOLM  
LISBON MADRID ATHENS MBABANE ABIDJAN

INFO SAVING NASSAU MASERU CASTRIES SUVA PORT MORESBY HONIARA  
NUKUALOFA VICTORIA TARAWA UKDEL NATO SOFIA BUDAPEST BUCHAREST  
EAST BERLIN BELGRADE CAIRO ALGIERS TUNIS TRIPOLI RABAT TEHRAN.

RHODESIA

1. 5,000 PATRIOTIC FRONT MILITARY PERSONNEL HAVE NOW ASSEMBLED WITH THEIR ARMS IN THE RENDEZVOUS AND ASSEMBLY POINTS. THE PROCESS HAS BEEN ACCOMPANIED BY WIDESPREAD VIOLATIONS OF THE CEASE-FIRE AGREEMENT BY ZANLA FORCES, WHO HAVE ATTEMPTED TO EXPLOIT THE DISENGAGEMENT OF THE RHODESIAN FORCES BY ORGANISING "VICTORY MARCHES" AND INTIMIDATION, (INSTEAD OF MOVING TO THE ASSEMBLY PLACES), IN ADDITION TO A CONSIDERABLE NUMBER OF INCIDENTS IN WHICH SHOOTING HAS OCCURRED. THERE HAS ALSO BEEN CROSS-BORDER MOVEMENT ON A SIGNIFICANT SCALE BY ZANLA (THOUGH THE MOZAMBIKAN AUTHORITIES

*mb*

SHOOTING HAS OCCURRED. THERE HAS ALSO BEEN CROSS-BORDER MOVEMENT ON A SIGNIFICANT SCALE BY ZANLA (THOUGH THE MOZAMBIKAN AUTHORITIES APPEAR TO HAVE WARNED THEM AGAINST THIS). THE CEASE-FIRE HAS NOT, THEREFORE, BEEN FULLY EFFECTIVE THOUGH THE CASUALTY FIGURES ARE CONSIDERABLY LOWER THAN BEFORE 28 DECEMBER.

2. DESPITE STATEMENTS BY NKOMO IN LUSAKA AND NKALA (MUGABE) IN SALISBURY THAT ZANU AND ZAPU WANTED AN EXTENSION OF THE ASSEMBLY PERIOD, THE PATRIOTIC FRONT MILITARY COMMANDERS ARE FULLY AWARE OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE CEASE-FIRE AGREEMENT AND I HAVE MADE IT CLEAR THAT THERE CAN BE NO EXTENSION TO THE PERIOD AGREED AT LANCASTER HOUSE. WE HAVE, HOWEVER, WORKED OUT WITH THE RHODESIAN SECURITY FORCES AND POLICE THE ARRANGEMENTS TO ALLOW MOVEMENT FROM THE RENDEZVOUS POINTS TO THE ASSEMBLY PLACES TO TAKE PLACE IN SECURE CONDITIONS ON SATURDAY 5 JANUARY. THIS IS NOT (NOT) BEING PUBLICLY ANNOUNCED (AS THIS WOULD REDUCE PRESSURE ON THE PATRIOTIC FRONT FORCES TO ASSEMBLE ON TIME).

3. IT IS UNLIKELY THAT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WILL HAVE ASSEMBLED MORE THAN A FRACTION OF THEIR FORCES. THEIR FORCE LEVELS AS DECLARED TO US BY THEM AT LANCASTER HOUSE WERE 21,000 FOR ZANLA AND 14,000 FOR ZIPRA. A MORE REALISTIC ESTIMATE WOULD BE IN THE VICINITY OF 17-18,000 FOR BOTH WINGS WITHIN THE COUNTRY AT THE PRESENT TIME.

4. MUCH WILL NOW DEPEND ON THE CONDUCT OF THE FORCES WHICH HAVE NOT ASSEMBLED. ALTHOUGH A CONSIDERABLE PROPORTION OF ZIPRA FORCES HAVE NOT ASSEMBLED, APART FROM ISOLATED INCIDENTS ZIPRA HAVE BEEN OBSERVING THE CEASE-FIRE. SINCE THE ASSEMBLY PROCESS REQUIRED THE RHODESIAN DEFENCE FORCES TO WITHDRAW FROM CONTACT TO THE VICINITY OF THEIR COMPANY BASES, THIS PERIOD HAS RESULTED IN A MARKED LOSS OF CONTROL OVER THE RURAL AREAS OF RHODESIA AND A GREAT DEAL OF GENERAL DISTURBANCE HAS TAKEN PLACE THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY. ARMED BANDS HAVE BEEN ABLE TO OPERATE, WHETHER FOR BANDITRY OR POLITICAL ENDS, WITH GREATER IMPUNITY.

5. THE CEASE-FIRE AGREEMENT PROVIDED

(A) THAT THE DISENGAGEMENT SHOULD BE RECIPROCAL AS BETWEEN THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AND THE RHODESIAN FORCES:

(B) THAT FORCES REMAINING IN THE FIELD WITH THEIR ARMS AFTER MIDNIGHT ON 4 JANUARY WILL BE UNLAWFUL:

(C) THAT THE POLICE AND, AS NECESSARY, THE OTHER FORCES UNDER MY AUTHORITY WILL BE USED TO DEAL WITH ANY FORCES WHICH HAVE NOT COMPLIED WITH THE CEASE-FIRE AGREEMENT.

6. ALTHOUGH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT FORCES "OUTSTANDING" AFTER 4 JANUARY WILL BE UNLAWFUL, WE WILL BE SEEKING TO USE THE PATRIOTIC FRONT MILITARY COMMANDERS TO PERSUADE THEM TO COME IN TO THE EXTENT THAT IS POSSIBLE TO DO SO. BUT NUMEROUS GROUPS, PARTICULARLY ZANLA, HAVE ALREADY DECLARED THEIR INTENTION OF NOT OBSERVING THE CEASE-FIRE.

THAT IS IS POSSIBLE TO DO SO. BUT NUMEROUS GROUPS, PARTICULARLY ZANLA, HAVE ALREADY DECLARED THEIR INTENTION OF NOT OBSERVING THE CEASE-FIRE.

7. GOOD CROSS-BORDER CONTACT HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED BOTH WITH MOZAMBIQUE AND WITH ZAMBIA ON MILITARY LIAISON. WE ARE AIMING TO OPEN THE ROAD CROSSING TO MOZAMBIQUE NEAR UMTALI ON 12 JANUARY: AND THE ROAD CROSSING INTO ZAMBIA AT CHIRUNDU (AS SOON AS THE BRIDGE HAS BEEN REPAIRED) ON 15 JANUARY. THESE CROSSINGS WILL BE OPENED IN THE FIRST INSTANCE TO COMMERCIAL TRAFFIC ONLY. IT WILL BE ESSENTIAL TO ENSURE THAT FULLY ADEQUATE ARRANGEMENTS ARE MADE FOR THE RECEPTION OF CIVILIAN REFUGEES BEFORE ANY MOVEMENT OF REFUGEES CAN BEGIN (AND THIS WILL IN TURN DEPEND ON THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE CEASE-FIRE.

8. MUZOREWA IS PLANNING TO HOLD A LARGE UANC RALLY IN SALISBURY ON 6 JANUARY. THIS WAS ARRANGED SOME TIME AGO. NKOMO HAS BEEN COOPERATIVE IN AGREEING TO DELAY HIS RETURN TO THE FOLLOWING SUNDAY (13 JANUARY) AND A LARGE CROWD IS ALSO EXPECTED. THE DATE FOR MUGABE'S RETURN WILL HAVE TO BE DECIDED IN CONSULTATION WITH ME AND IN RELATION TO THE PUBLIC ORDER PROBLEMS WHICH WOULD ARISE IF HE SOUGHT TO RETURN AT THE SAME TIME AS THE MUZOREWA MEETING OR THE RETURN OF NKOMO.

9. THE PRESENT INDICATIONS REMAIN THAT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT INTEND TO CONTEST THE ELECTIONS AS TWO SEPARATE PARTIES. ZAPU WOULD STILL PREFER A UNITED FRONT, BUT ZANU HAVE MADE IT CLEAR THAT THEY WILL NOT AGREE TO THIS.

FCO PASS TO ALL

SOAMES

NNNN

PA has seen

1/2 hrs

MESSAGE FROM MINISTRY OF DEFENCE

This is expected to become public knowledge around 9pm We should refer callers to Ministry of Defence.

The position is that two soldiers are missing in Rhodesia. They are two NCOs who left their assembly point in a Landrover to pick up water supplies.

The Landrover has been found some 30 miles North of where they were expected to be. Nearby was a dead ZIPRA black soldier.

No sign of the two NCOs.

Landrover on its side.

NOT FOR USE: Acland has very little hope of the men being seen again.

Likely that Rhodesian Forces will be sent out to investigate..

RESTRICTED



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

3 January 1980

*Dear Michael,*

Rhodesia: Messages from the Presidents of Tunisia  
and Bangladesh

/ I enclose two messages of congratulations to the Prime Minister from the Presidents of Tunisia and Bangladesh. As both have been sent in reply to earlier messages from Mrs Thatcher, we do not consider that a further response from the Prime Minister is required.

/ With your agreement, we would therefore propose to ask the Ambassador at Tunis and the High Commissioner at Dacca to thank the Presidents for their messages, on the lines of the attached telegrams.

*yours ever  
Roderic Lyne*

(R M J Lyne)  
Private Secretary

M O'D B Alexander Esq  
10 Downing Street

RESTRICTED

5 JAN 1980



File No. ....  
 Department RHODESIA .....  
 Drafted by A GODSON .....  
 (Block Capitals) .....  
 Tel. Extn. 233 3459 .....

OUTWARD  
 TELEGRAM

Security Classification RESTRICTED
Precedence PRIORITY
DESKBY .....Z

FOR  
 COMMS. DEPT.  
 USE

Despatched (Date) .....  
 (Time) .....Z

POSTBY .....Z

PREAMBLE

(Time of Origin) .....Z(G.M.T.) (Restrictive Prefix).....  
 (Security Class.) RESTRICTED (Caveat/Privacy Marking).....  
 (Codeword) ..... (Deskby).....Z

TO PRIORITY TUNIS Tel. No. .... of .....  
 (precedence) (post)

AND TO (precedence/post).....

**SUBJECT**

AND SAVING TO.....

REPEATED TO (for info).....

**PRIME MINISTER'S  
 PERSONAL MESSAGE  
 SERIAL NO. T4/80**

SAVING TO (for info).....

Distribution:-  
 Rhodesia Dept  
 Files  
 NENAD  
 Mr Day

[TEXT]  
 RHODESIA  
 1. Following is text of a message from President Bourguiba to the Prime Minister.  
 [A - B below]

Copies to:-

2. Please thank the President on the Prime Minister's behalf and say how grateful she is for his kind message. Please also give him the Prime Minister's best wishes for the New Year.



File No. ....

Department ..... RHODESIA .....

Drafted by (Block Capitals) A GODSON .....

Tel. Extn..... 233 3459 .....

OUTWARD

TELEGRAM

Security Classification  
RESTRICTED

Precedence  
PRIORITY

DESKBY ..... Z

FOR  
COMMS. DEPT.  
USE

Despatched

(Date) .....  
(Time) ..... Z

POSTBY.....

PREAMBLE

(Time of Origin) ..... Z(G.M.T.)

(Restrictive Prefix).....

(Security Class.) RESTRICTED .....

(Caveat/  
Privacy Marking).....

(Codeword) .....

(Deskby)..... Z

PRIORITY DACCA

TO..... (precedence) (post) Tel. No. .... of .....

AND TO (precedence/post).....

*SUBJECT.*

AND SAVING TO.....

REPEATED TO (for info).....

PRIME MINISTER'S  
PERSONAL MESSAGE  
SERIAL NO. 15/80

SAVING TO (for info).....

Distribution:-

Rhodesia Dept  
Files  
SAD  
Mr Day

[TEXT]

RHODESIA

1. Following is text of a message from President Zia to the Prime Minister.

[A - B below]

2. Please thank the President on the Prime Minister's behalf and say how grateful she is for his kind message. Please also give him the Prime Minister's best wishes for the New Year.

Copies to:-

[RHODESIA: POLICY: ADVANCE COPIES]

29

PS  
PS/SIR I GILMOUR  
PS/MR LUCE  
PS/PUS  
SIR D MAITLAND  
MR DAY  
LORD N G LENNOX  
MR ASPIN

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

SIR R ARMSTRONG )  
MR R L WADE GERY )  
MR P M MAXEY ) CABINET  
MR GOULTY ) OFFICE  
MR P J FOWLER )  
DIO )

.....

HD/RHOD DEPT (4)

HD/C AF D

HD/S AF D

HD/PUSD (2)

HD/NEWS DEPT

HD/WAD

MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A  
MR FIFOOT LEGAL ADVISER RM K164

CONFIDENTIAL

FM MAPUTO 031010Z JANUARY 80  
TO FLASH SALISBURY  
TELEGRAM NUMBER 13 OF 03 JANUARY  
INFO FCO LUSAKA

MY TELNO 12: RETURN OF ZANU PF LEADERS

1. WE HAVE JUST MANAGED TO TRACK DOWN TEKERE WHO CLAIMS TO HAVE NO KNOWLEDGE OF ANY PLANS FOR FLIGHTS TODAY. A PARTY OF ZANU POLITICIANS MAY REPEAT MAY FLY TO SALISBURY ON SATURDAY 5 JANUARY TAKING TONGOGARA'S BODY WITH THEM. TEKERE PROMISED A LIST BEFORE TAKE-OFF.

2. HE SAID THAT NOTHING HAS AS YET BEEN PLANNED FOR MUGABE'S RETURN WHICH IS STILL SOME WAY OFF.

PAPADOPOULOS

# CONFIDENTIAL

GRS 130  
CONFIDENTIAL  
DESKBY FCO 031000Z  
FM LUSAKA 030952Z JAN 80  
TO FLASH SALISBURY  
TELEGRAM NUMBER 013 OF 3 JANUARY  
INFO IMMEDIATE FCO

YOUR TEL TO LUSAKA N 9: NKOMO'S ARRIVAL

1. I SAW NKOMO THIS MORNING AND PUT TO HIM THE SITUATION DESCRIBED IN YOUR TUR. NKOMO HAD CLEARLY BEEN PRE-WARNED BY HIS PEOPLE IN SALISBURY AND SAID THAT HE UNDERSTOOD OUR DIFFICULTY TO BE A GENUINE ONE AND THAT IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES HE WOULD DELAY HIS ARRIVAL IN SALISBURY UNTIL SUNDAY 13 JANUARY ON RECEIPT FROM US OF AN ASSURANCE THAT HE WOULD NOT BE DELAYED FURTHER ON THE GROUNDS OF OTHER CONFLICTING RALLIES. I HAVE UNDERTAKEN TO LET HIM HAVE AN ASSURANCE ON THIS POINT AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE MOMENT AND WOULD BE GRATEFUL FOR CLEARANCE TO GIVE IT.
2. NKOMO MADE IT CLEAR THAT HE WOULD NOT WISH TO ARRIVE ON A WEEKDAY OR A SATURDAY.

NEILSON

## FILES

RHOD D	OID
OADS	NEWS D
NAD	PS
MED	PS/SIR I GILMOUR
PUSD	PS/MR LUCE
PLANNING STAFF	PS/MR RIDLEY
ES & SD	PS/MR HURD
NENAD	PS/MR MARTEN
CCD	PS/PUS
FRD	SIR D MAITLAND
EID (E)	MR BULLARD
UND	MR HANNAY
LEGAL ADVISERS	LORD N G LENNOX
(MR FREELAND)	MISS BROWN
(MR FIFOOT)	MR DAY
ECON D	MR FERGUSSON
PCD	MR ASPIN
DEF D	MR MILLS

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RHODESIA POLICY

# CONFIDENTIAL

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MR ASPIN

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

SIR R ARMSTRONG )  
MR R L WADE GERY )  
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MR GOULTY ) OFFICE  
MR P J FOWLER )  
DIO )

.....  
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HD/C AF D  
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HD/PUSD (2)

HD/NEWS DEPT  
HE/WAD

MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A  
MR FIFOOT LEGAL ADVISER RM K164  
RESIDENT CLERK

CONFIDENTIAL

FM SALISBURY 021646Z JAN 80

[021820Z]

IMMEDIATE

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 22 OF 2/1/80

AND TO IMMEDIATE MODUK (DS11)

INFO PRIORITY LUSAKA GABORONE MAPUTO DAR ES SALAAM LAGOS PRETORIA  
WASHINGTON AND UKMIS NEW YORK.

RHODESIA CEASEFIRE

1. THE MOVEMENT OF PF FORCES INTO THE RV'S AND ASSEMBLY POINTS IS GATHERING SOME MOMENTUM. BY THIS EVENING THERE WERE A TOTAL OF 4203 PF PERSONNEL AT RV'S AND ASSEMBLY POINTS OR BEING TRANSPORTED BETWEEN THEM. THE ASSEMBLY POINT WITH THE LARGEST NUMBER (1,020) WAS PAPA (RUKOPERCHI NORTH EAST OF THE KARIBA DAM). HOWEVER A NUMBER OF RV'S AND ASSEMBLY PLACES STILL HAVE NO PF PERSONNEL IN THEM.
2. NKALA, (ACTING PRESIDENT, ZANU(PF)) TOLD A PRESS CONFERENCE TODAY THAT THE PF DEMANDED THAT THE ASSEMBLY PERIOD BE EXTENDED. THE PF HAVE SO FAR MADE NO FORMAL REQUEST TO THIS EFFECT. BUT WE ARE TELLING THE PRESS THAT THERE IS NO QUESTION OF AN EXTENSION, BECAUSE THE LENGTH OF THE PERIOD IS PART OF THE LANCASTER HOUSE AGREEMENT.
3. THE PATTERN OF INCIDENTS CONTINUES AT APPROXIMATELY THE SAME LEVEL AS DURING THE LAST FEW DAYS. IN THE LAST 24 HOURS THERE WERE A TOTAL OF 10 CONTACTS IN WHICH FIRE WAS EXCHANGED BETWEEN SECURITY FORCES AND PF PERSONNEL. FIVE MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY

LEVEL AS DURING THE LAST FEW DAYS. IN THE LAST 24 HOURS THERE  
WERE A TOTAL OF 10 CONTACTS IN WHICH FIRE WAS EXCHANGED BETWEEN  
SECURITY FORCES AND PF PERSONNEL. FIVE MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY  
FORCES WERE KILLED AND TEN PF. SOME OF THE INCIDENTS WERE CLEARLY  
POLITICALLY MOTIVATED BUT MANY OTHERS, PARTICULARLY IN THE ZANLA AREA  
AREAS, SEEM TO HAVE BEEN STRAIGHTFORWARD BANDITORY.

4. CROSS BORDER MILITARY LIAISON WITH MOZAMBIQUE WAS TODAY  
ESTABLISHED AT NYAMAPANDA AND FORBES BRIDGE AND WITH ZAMBIA  
AT KARIBA.

SOAMES

NNNN

SENT/RECD 021735Z MSJ/FC

PS  
PS/SIR I GILMOUR  
PS/MR LUCE  
PS/PUS  
SIR D MAITLAND  
MR DAY  
LORD N G LENNOX  
MR ASPIN

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

SIR R ARMSTRONG )  
MR R L WADE GERY )  
MR P M MAXEY ) CABINET  
MR GOULTY ) OFFICE  
MR P J FOWLER )  
DIO )

.....  
HD/RHOD DEPT (4)

HD/C AF D  
HD/S AF D

HD/PUSD (2)

HD/NEWS DEPT  
HD/WAD

MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A  
MR FIFOOT LEGAL ADVISER RM K164

RESIDENT CLERK

RESTRICTED

FROM SALISBURY 021810Z JAN 80  
TO IMMEDIATE MAPUTO  
TELEGRAM NUMBER 8 OF 2 JANUARY 1980.

RETURN OF PF LEADERS.

1. ENOS NKALA (ACTING PRESIDENT ZANU (PF)) ANNOUNCED AT A PRESS CONFERENCE TODAY THAT MUGABE AND THE ENTIRE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF ZANU WOULD BE RETURNING TO SALISBURY ON SATURDAY 5 JANUARY.
2. YOU SHOULD MAKE CLEAR TO ZANU IN MAPUTO, AS WE WILL BE DOING TO NKALA HERE, THAT THE TIMING OF MUGABE'S RETURN WILL HAVE TO BE AGREED BY ME. ZANU SUPPORTERS WILL WANT TO GREET MUGABE IN LARGE NUMBERS AT THE AIRPORT. THE POLICE WILL HAVE TO MAKE ADEQUATE ARRANGEMENTS. I WOULD, THEREFORE, LIKE TO KNOW WHAT MUGABES PLANS ARE. IT WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE AT THIS NOTICE TO MAKE PLANS FOR HIS RETURN BEFORE THE WEEK BEGINNING MODNAY 7 JANUARY. OTHER PARTIES ARE ALREADY HOLDING VERY LARGE RALLIES IN SALISBURY THIS WEEKEND AND UNMANAGEABLE PUBLIC ORDER PROBLEMS WOULD BE CREATED UNLESS MUGABES RETURN IS CAREFULLY PREPARED.
3. WE ALSO NEED TO KNOW WHAT PRECISELY IS MEANT BY THE "ENTIRE CENTRAL COMMITTEE". NO ZANU MILITARY LEADERS WILL BE ADMITTED EXCEPT IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE CEASE-FIRE COMMISSION.

FCO PSE PASS

PS  
SIR I GILMOUR  
PS/MR LUCE  
PS/PUS  
SIR D MAITLAND  
MR DAY  
LORD N G LENNOX  
MR ASPIN

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

SIR R ARMSTRONG )  
MR R L WADE GERY )  
MR P M MAXEY ) CABINET  
MR GOULTY ) OFFICE  
MR P J FOWLER )  
DIO )

.....

HD/RHOD DEPT (4)

HD/C AF D  
HD/S AF D

HD/PUSD (2)

HD/NEWS DEPT  
HD/WAD

MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A  
MR FIFOOT LEGAL ADVISER RM K164

RESIDENT CLERK

CONFIDENTIAL

FM SALISBURY 021745Z JAN 80  
TO IMMEDIATE LUSAKA  
TELNO 9 OF 2/1/80  
INFO IMMEDIATE FCO

NKOMO'S ARRIVAL

1. WE HAVE NOW HAD A FULL DISCUSSION WITH THE POLICE AUTHORITIES ABOUT NKOMO'S RETURN. IT IS CLEAR THAT IT WOULD NOT REPEAT NOT BE POSSIBLE FOR THE POLICE TO DEAL WITH THE SITUATION WHICH WOULD ARISE IN SALISBURY IF NKOMO WERE TO RETURN ON THE SAME DAY AS THE MAIN UANC POLITICAL RALLY HERE. PERMISSION FOR THE UANC RALLY WAS GRANTED SEVERAL DAYS AGO. BOTH PARTIES WILL "BUS" THEIR SUPPORTERS INTO SALISBURY. POLICE ESTIMATE THAT THE TOTAL CROWDS INVOLVED IN THE TWO RALLIES TOGETHER COULD BE 150 TO 200,000. THE SUPPORTERS OF BOTH SIDES WILL END UP IN THE TOWNSHIPS IN THE EVENING AND THERE WILL INEVITABLY BE TROUBLE BETWEEN THEM. THIS WOULD BE THE WORST POSSIBLE START.

2. WE HAVE EXPLAINED THE POSITION TO ZAPU HERE. EMPHASIZING THAT WE HAVE NO WISH TO LESSEN THE IMPACT OF NKOMO'S RETURN. WE WISH TO ENSURE THAT FULLY ADEQUATE ARRANGEMENTS ARE MADE FOR NKOMO'S RECEPTION. WE HOPE THAT HE WILL COOPERATE WITH US IN ENSURING THAT THIS IS MANAGED IN A WAY WHICH ALLOWS FULL EXPRESSION TO HIS POLITICAL SUPPORT, BUT AHOIDS THE DANGER OF CLASHES BETWEEN THE SUPPORTERS OF DIFFERENT POLITICAL PARTIES. IT SIMPLY IS NOT POSSIBLE IN PUBLIC ORDER TERMS TO DEAL WITH A SIMULTANEOUS UANC RALLY AND HIS RETURN ON SUNDAY. WE MUST THEREFORE

CLASHES BETWEEN THE SUPPORTERS OF DIFFERENT POLITICAL PARTIES.  
IT SIMPLY IS NOT POSSIBLE IN PUBLIC ORDER TERMS TO DEAL WITH A  
SIMULTANEOUS UANC RALLY AND HIS RETURN ON SUNDAY. WE MUST THEREFO  
ASK THAT NKOMO RETURNS TO SALISBURY EITHER ON SATURDAY MORNING  
OR ON WHATEVER DAY SUITS HIM BEST IN THE FOLLOWING WEEK.

FCO PASS

SOAMES

NNNN

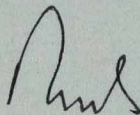


060

# COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT

CABLES: COMSECGEN LONDON SW1  
TELEX: 27678  
TELEPHONE: 01-839 3411 Ext:

MARLBOROUGH HOUSE,  
PALL MALL,  
LONDON, SW1Y 5HX



Your ref:  
Our ref:

C. 151/4/5

2 January 1980

Commonwealth Committee on Southern Africa  
Rhodesia Elections : Commonwealth Observer Group

Pursuant to the Lusaka accord and the recent deliberations of the Committee, the Secretary-General has now constituted the Commonwealth Observer Group from the following countries:

Australia  
Bangladesh  
Barbados  
Canada  
Ghana  
India  
Jamaica  
Nigeria  
Papua New Guinea  
Sierra Leone  
Sri Lanka

The Secretary-General has invited Mr. Rajeshwar Dayal (India) to be the Chairman of the Group. His curriculum vitae is attached. The names of the other members will be communicated as soon as consultations with the concerned Governments are completed.

We are planning that the Group be in Salisbury by about the middle of January.

Copies To:

PS / No. 10 ✓

Mr. Fowler, Cabinet office

PS

PS / LPS

PS / Mr. Blaker

PS / Mr. Huce

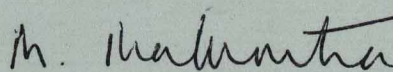
PS / PUS

Enc.

Mr. Stratton

Mr. Day

Governor, Salisbury



M. Malhoutra  
Committee Secretary

RAJESHWAR DAYAL

Born: 12.8.1909 at Naini Tal, U.P., India

Educated: School - P.S. College, Naini Tal  
University - Allahabad University, U.P., India  
- New College, Oxford

1931 Entered Indian Civil Service

1939-48 District Magistrate and Collector in various districts of the then United Provinces, and Home Secretary, U.P., from 1946-48

1948-50 Minister-Counsellor and Chargé d'Affaires, Embassy of India, Moscow

1950 Government of India's Special Commissioner in Assam

1950-51 Alternate Representative of India to Security Council, U.N.

1952-54 Permanent Representative of India to United Nations: Member, Security Council, Economic & Social Council, Trusteeship Council, Committee for the Relief and Rehabilitation of Korea, Human Rights Commission, Chairman, Committee on Disarmament, etc.

1954-58 Ambassador to Yugoslavia, concurrently Ambassador to Rumania, Bulgaria and Greece

1958 Member, U.N. Observation Group in Lebanon

1958-62 High Commissioner in Pakistan

1960-61 Special Representative of U.N. Secretary General and Head of U.N. Mission in the Congo

1962-65 Special and Commonwealth Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India

1965-67 Ambassador to France

1967-68 Foreign Secretary

1969-79 First Chairman and Member, U.N. Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination

1969-70 Visiting Professor and Fellow, Woodrow Wilson School for International Studies, Princeton

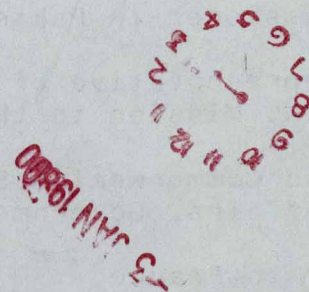
1971-72 and  
1973-74 Fellow, Woodrow Wilson International Centre for Scholars, Smithsonian Institute, Washington

- 1973 Scholar in Residence, Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies
- 1970 Member, Governing Council, International Institute for Environment and Development, London
- 1969-75 Member, Governing Council, Indian Institute for International Studies
- Member, Governing Council, Indian Council for Cultural Relations
- 1975- Trustee, Dag Hammarskjold Foundation, Uppsala, Sweden
- 1976-79 Fellow, St. Antony's College, Oxford

Publications: Mission for Hammarskjold  
(The Congo Crisis) Oxford & Princeton U.  
Presses

A Martyred Country  
(Civil War in Lebanon) under print (Oxford)

Numerous articles to learned journals, etc.





Dr. I.P. Singh  
Acting High Commissioner

INDIA HOUSE  
ALDWYCH - LONDON WC2

No.13-AHC/80

2 January 1980

Dear Mr. Alexander,

Letter dated  
26.12.79  
(T180AA/797)

I have the honour to enclose herewith  
- a letter from Prime Minister Shri Charan Singh in  
reply to letters of 10th November and 11th  
December, 1979, from Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher,  
Prime Minister of the U.K., on the Rhodesia  
Conference in London.

We would appreciate if you kindly  
bring it to the notice of ~~the~~ Prime Minister as  
early as possible.

With warm regards,

Yours sincerely,

(I.P. Singh)

Mr. M.O.B. Alexander  
Private Secretary to the  
Prime Minister  
10 Downing Street  
London SW1

Encl: 1.



ca PRESS 19

Rhodesia

10 DOWNING STREET

*From the Private Secretary*

2 January, 1980.

Lancaster House Conference

Thank you for your letter of 2 January about the publication of the Final Report of the Rhodesia Constitutional Conference. We have no objection to the timetable you propose.

I am sending copies of this letter to John Stevens (Office of the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster) and Peter Moore (Chief Whip's Office).

N. J. SANDERS

SP

A.G. Harrison, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

020

cc PRESS.



**Foreign and Commonwealth Office**  
London SW1A 2AH

Telephone 01-

N Sanders Esq  
10 Downing Street  
London  
SW1

Your reference

Our reference

Date

2 January 1980

*Dear Sanders,*

LANCASTER HOUSE CONFERENCE

We propose to publish as a White Paper on 11 January the Final Report of the Rhodesia Constitutional Conference, incorporating 5 Annexes, held at Lancaster House October-December 1979. This is the factual record of the proceedings of the Conference giving the details of the agreements reached.

I should be grateful if you and those to whom I am copying this letter, would kindly confirm that there is no objection to publication.

*Yours ever,*

A G Harrison  
Assistant Parliamentary Clerk

cc: J Stevens Esq  
Office of the Chancellor of  
the Duchy of Lancaster  
68 Whitehall  
SW1

P Moore Esq  
Chief Whip's Office  
12 Downing Street  
SW1

FILE

VCS

2 January 1980

I enclose a copy of a message to the Prime Minister from the Prime Minister of the Central African Republic.

I do not think that Mr. Ayandoh's message requires any formal reply from the Prime Minister but you may wish to arrange for Mr. Glasby to acknowledge it at some stage.

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

SL

R. M. J. Lyne, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

FILE

WS

2 January 1980

I enclose a copy of a message to the Prime Minister from the Chairman of the O.A.U. . You have already received this message through diplomatic channels. I should be grateful if you would arrange for Mr. Doubleday to acknowledge the message in Monrovia.

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

G. G. H. Walden, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

GG



Subject

NNNN

ZCZC CLF977 LBJ571 FLB5369 LBF788 KA

GBLH CY ECBA 187

BANGUITLX 187/172 1ER/1 0542 CELB9150 PLA702 ECF956

PRIME MINISTER'S  
PERSONAL MESSAGE  
SERIAL NO 150480 T2/80

ETAT

LFS 236

A SON EXCELLENCE MADAME TATCHER PREMIER MINISTRE  
DE LA GRANDE BRETAGNE  
LONDONSW1

P.O. INTERNATIONAL  
TELEGRAPHS LONDON  
1 JAN 1980  
EC3/SW1 AREA OFFICE  
ST BOTOLPHS  
ENQUIRIES DIAL 01-836  
1222 Ext 2033

NO 033/79/PR/PG

J AI L HONNEUR ET LE PLAISIR AU SEUIL DE CETTE NOUVELLE  
ANNEE DE VOUS ADRESSER AINSI QU A VOTRE FAMILLE ET AU GOUVERNEMENT  
QUE VOUS DIRIGEZ MES MEILLEURS VOEUX DE SANTE ET DE BONHEUR

COL ETAT 033/79/PR/PG

170 ETAT PAGE2/50

JE SAIS CETTE OCCASION POUR VOUS EXPRIMER LA GRANDE  
SATISFACTION QUE LE GOUVERNEMENT LE PEUPLE CENTRAFRICAINE  
ET MOI MEME EPROUVONS A LA SUITE DE L ACCORD INTERVENU ENTRE  
LES PARTIES INTERESSEES AU REGLEMENT DU PROBLEME  
SIMBABWZ MAIS LA ACCORD DE LONDRED N ETANT QU UNE ETAPE DANS  
CETTE LONGUE MARCHE

COL CKD

170 ETAT PAGE3/50

QUI DOIT NECESSAIREMENT CONDUIRE LE PEUPLE DU ZIMBABWZ  
A L AUTODETERMINATION ET A L INDEPENDANCE  
NOUS OSONS ESPERER QUE LES  
EFFORTS JUSQU ICI DEPLOYES PAR VOTRE  
GOUVERNEMENT SERONT COURONNES DE SUCCES A LA SATISFACTION GENERALE  
DES PEUPLES ET ETATS INDEPENDANTS MEMBRES BDE L ONU ET DE L OUA  
VEUILLEZ AGGREGES

COL CKD

170 ETAT PAGE4/22

MADAME L HOMMAGE DE MA HAUTE ET RESPECTUEUSE  
CONSIDERATION

BERNARD CRHISTIAN AYANDOH  
PREMIER MINISTRE CHEF DU GOUVERNEMENT  
DE LA REPUBLIQUE CENTRAFRICAINE BANGUI

COL BERNARD AYANDOH

010  
SUBJECT

PRIME MINISTER'S  
PERSONAL MESSAGE  
SERIAL No. TI/80

JAN 1 22 53 '80

NNNN

ZCZC CLF120 LBE054 ELB8994 GWB6126 LYU106 1231 1849

GBLH CO LIMV 144

LFS 267

MONROVIA (144) 31 9:PM

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MARGARET THATCHER PRIME MINISTER OF GREAT  
BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND 10 DOWNING STREET ENGLAND  
LONDONSW1

MADAM PRIME MINISTER COLON WE HAVE LEARNED WITH GREAT SHOCK THE  
DISTRESSING NEWS THAT THREE MEMERES OF THE COMMONWELTH MONITR  
ING FORCE HAVE BEEN KILLED IN HELICOPTER CRASH AS THEY UNDERTOOK  
~~TO UNDERTOOK~~ TO DISCHARGE THEIR DUTIES IN HELPING TO BRING  
INDEPENDENCE WITH MAJORITY RULE TO ZIMBAWE STOP THE GOVERNMENT  
AND PEOPLE OF LIBERIA JOIN ME IN EXTENDING PRFOUND SYMPATHY  
AND CONDOLENCES TO YOU AND THROUGH YOU TO THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE  
AS WELL AS MEMBERS OF THE BEREAVED FAMILIES FOR THE TRAGIC  
LOSS SUSTAINED STOP WE PRAY THAT TROUGH THE PADONING FRACES OF  
ALMIGHTY GOD SOULS OF THE DEPARTED WILL REST IN ETERNAL PEACE  
STOP WITH RENEWED ASSURANCES AND ESTEEM CMA SINCERELY

WR TOLBERT JR PRESIDENT OF LIBERIA AND CURRENT CHAIRMAN  
OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY

COL 10

PHONE CARD INTERNATIONAL POST OFFICE TELEGRAPHS  
To send Telegrams — CONSULT TELEPHONE DIRECTORY OR TELEX DIALLING CARD

HS  
To send Telegrams — CONSULT TELEPHONE DIRECTORY OR TELEX DIALLING CARD  
INTERNATIONAL POST OFFICE TELEGRAPHS  
To send Telegrams — CONSULT TELEPHONE DIRECTORY OR TELEX DIALLING CARD  
INT

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

FROM SALISBURY 311905Z DEC 79  
TO IMMEDIATE FCO  
TELEGRAM NUMBER 1363 OF 31 DECEMBER 1979

*Prime Minister 2.*

AND TO IMMEDIATE MODUK (DMO DS11)

INFO IMMEDIATE LUSAKA GABORONE MAPUTO DAR ES SALAAM LAGOS  
PRETORIA WASHINGTON AND UKMIS NEW YORK.

MY TELNO 1344: RHODESIA: CEASE-FIRE.

1. THE SECOND DAY OF THE CEASE-FIRE WAS MARKED BY TWO POTENTIALLY DANGEROUS DEVELOPMENTS, NEITHER OF WHICH HAS YET BEEN FINALLY RESOLVED, BUT BOTH OF WHICH WERE DEFUSED LARGELY OWING TO PROMPT ACTION BY THE MONITORING FORCE. THE FIRST CONCERNED A CONCENTRATION OF ZANLA PERSONNEL NOT MOVING TO THE RENDEZVOUS POINTS IN THE AREA NORTH OF UMTALI (IN WHICH THERE IS A STRONG PRESUMPTION OF ZANLA TROOPS CROSSING THE BORDER IN SIGNIFICANT NUMBERS). THE SECOND CONCERNED A REFUSAL BY ZANLA FORCES TO MOVE TOWARDS AN ASSEMBLY POINT IN THE BINDURA AREA NORTH OF SALISBURY. THE REFUSAL OF ZANLA FORCES TO MOVE TO THE RENDEZ-VOUS POINT IS STILL CAUSING A POTENTIALLY DANGEROUS SITUATION AT BINDURA.
2. THESE AND SOME OTHER INCIDENTS INDICATE THAT ZANLA ARE TRYING TO FORM LARGE ARMED GROUPS DURING THE ASSEMBLY PROCESS SOME OF THESE ARE NOT MOVING DIRECT TO THE RENDEZVOUS POINTS AND THEY ARE TRYING TO "POLITICISE" THE LOCAL POPULATION. RETALIATION BY THE RHODESIAN SECURITY FORCES HAS NARROWLY BEEN AVOIDED.
3. BY THIS AFTERNOON APPROXIMATELY 1,000 PATRIOTIC FRONT PERSONNEL WERE IN THE RENDEZVOUS POINTS AND ACSEMBLY PLACES A FURTHER THOUSAND ARE IN CLOSE PROXIMITY TO THEM THERE HAVE BEEN FEW PROBLEMS WITH ZIPRA, WHOSE COMMANDERS CLEARLY ARE DISPOSED TO DO WHAT THEY CAN TO MAKE THE ASSEMBLY PROCESS WORK.
4. CROSS-BORDER MILITARY LIAISON WITH MOZAMBIQUE WAS INITIATED THIS MORNING AT UMTALI. WE HOPE THAT LIAISON WILL BE ESTABLISHED AT ONE OR TWO FURTHER POINTS ON THE MOZAMBICAN BORDER TOMORROW AND THAT CROSS-BORDER LIAISON WITH ZAMBIA WILL BE ESTABLISHED AT THE LATEST BY WEDNESDAY 2 JANUARY.

CONFIDENTIAL

*/s.*

# CONFIDENTIAL

5. IT IS HOPED THAT THE CHIRUNDU ROAD BRIDGE WITH ZAMBIA WILL BE OPEN TO COMMERCIAL TRAFFIC LATER IN THE WEEK. THE OPENING OF THE ROAD ROUTE TO MOZAMBIQUE EAST OF UMTALI IS UNDER CONSIDERATION. REFUGEES WILL NOT BE PERMITTED TO CROSS AT THESE POINTS UNTIL ADEQUATE ARRANGEMENTS HAVE BEEN MADE FOR THEIR RECEPTION (AND THIS WILL TAKE TIME).

FCO PSE PASS TO ALL

SOAMES

(REPEATED AS REQUESTED)

## FILES

RHOD D  
OADS  
NAD  
MED  
PUSD  
PLANNING STAFF  
ES & SD  
NENAD  
CCD  
FRD  
EID (E)  
UND  
LEGAL ADVISERS  
(MR FREELAND)  
(MR FIFOOT)  
ECON D  
PCD

DEF D  
OID  
NEWS D  
PS  
PS/LPS  
PS/MR LUCE  
PS/MR RIDLEY  
PS/MR HURD  
PS/MR MARTEN  
PS/PUS  
SIR A DUFF  
MR BULLARD  
MR HANNAY  
LORD N G LENNOX  
MISS BROWN  
MR DAY  
MR ASPIN  
MR MILLS  
MR FERGUSSON  
SIR D MAITLAND

ADDITIONAL DISTRIBUTION  
RHODESIA POLICY

*Rhodessa*

JS



10 DOWNING STREET

31 December 1979

*From the Private Secretary*

I am replying on the Prime Minister's behalf to your letter to her of 24 December containing a message to her from the President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan about the successful outcome of the Lancaster House Conference. The Prime Minister was most grateful to General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq for writing in such generous terms.

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

Mr. Amir Usman

*cc with enclosure HMT.*

*DSG*



10 DOWNING STREET

*From the Private Secretary*

31 December 1979

I enclose copies of a number of congratulatory messages received by the Prime Minister from other Heads of Government over the Christmas period about the outcome of the Lancaster House Conference. I have acknowledged all those which were forwarded to No. 10 by missions in London. I should be grateful if you could arrange for acknowledgements of the other messages to be delivered in the capitals concerned. You will recall that we have also had a message from King Hussein of Jordan (Amman telegram No. 153 of 23 December refers).

If you consider that some of the messages delivered in London require a substantive reply, you will no doubt let me know.

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

G.G.H. Walden, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

JS

572



10 DOWNING STREET

*From the Private Secretary*

31 December 1979

I am replying on the Prime Minister's behalf to your letter to her of 27 December containing a message to her from the Prime Minister of Canada about the successful outcome of the Lancaster House Conference. The Prime Minister was most grateful to Mr. Clark for writing in such generous terms.

**M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER**

Mr. H.W. Richardson





10 DOWNING STREET

*From the Private Secretary*

31 December 1979

I am writing on the Prime Minister's behalf to your letter to her of 22 December containing a message to her from the Prime Minister of Singapore about the successful outcome of the Lancaster House Conference. The Prime Minister was most grateful to Mr. Lee Kuan Yew for writing in such generous terms.

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

His Excellency Mr. Yek Yeun Thong



10 DOWNING STREET

*From the Private Secretary*

31 December 1979

I am replying on the Prime Minister's behalf to your letter to her of 24 December containing a message to her from the Prime Minister of Australia about the successful outcome of the Lancaster House Conference. The Prime Minister was most grateful to Mr. Fraser for writing in such generous terms.

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

His Excellency the Hon. Sir Gordon Freeth, KBE.

JS

DSG

[RHODESIA: POLICY: ADVANCE COPIES]

(x-31)

PS  
PS/SIR I GILMOUR  
PS/MR LUCE  
PS/PUS

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

MR R L WADE-GERY  
MR P M MAXEY  
MR GOULTY  
MR P J FOWLER  
DIO

CABINET  
OFFICE

MR DAY  
LORD N G LENNOX  
MR ASPIR

Sir D. Taitland

**IMMEDIATE**

HD/RHOD DEPT (4)

HD/C AF D  
HD/S AF D

HD/PUSD (2)

HD/NEWS DEPT  
HD/HAD

MR PFCOT LEGAL ADVISER RM K164  
RESIDENT CLERK

(File)

Referred to Cheques  
29/12

CONFIDENTIAL

FM SALISBURY 291650Z DEC 79

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 1344 OF 29 DECEMBER

AND TO IMMEDIATE MODUK (DMO DS11)

INFO LUSAKA GABORONE MAPUTO DAR ES SALAAM LAGOS PRETORIA

WASHINGTON UKMIS NEW YORK

RHODESIA: CEASEFIRE

1. THE FIRST DAY OF THE CEASEFIRE HAS BEEN MARKED BY THE SUCCESSFUL DEPLOYMENT, OFTEN IN EXTREMELY DIFFICULT CONDITIONS, OF THE MONITORING TEAMS. THIS HAS BEEN A REMARKABLE ACHIEVEMENT BY THE MONITORING FORCE.
2. IN THE COURSE OF THE DAY A MODEST NUMBER OF P F PERSONNEL HAVE ASSEMBLED WITH THEIR ARMS. IN OTHER CASES GROUPS, HAVING MADE CONTACT WITH THE MONITORING TEAMS AND THE PATRIOTIC FRONT LIAISON OFFICERS, HAVE GONE BACK AGAIN INTO THE COUNTRYSIDE TO BRING IN LARGER PATRIOTIC FRONT GROUPS. AT PRESENT THERE IS PROBABLY AN AVERAGE OF 30-40 P F PERSONNEL AT EACH R V AND ASSEMBLY PLACE, BUT NUMBERS ARE FLUCTUATING RAPIDLY. THERE ARE PRELIMINARY INDICATIONS OF WHAT MAY BE MOVEMENT ON A SIGNIFICANT SCALE BY Z A N L A OUT OF MOZAMBIQUE, BUT REPORTS ARE SO FAR

SCALE BY Z A N L A OUT OF MOZAMBIQUE, BUT REPORTS ARE SO FAR UNCONFIRMED.

3. PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE OVER THE CROSS BORDER LIAISON ARRANGEMENTS. WE ARE HOPING TO ESTABLISH THE FIRST CROSS-BORDER CONTACTS WITH MOZAMBIQUE NEAR UMTALI ON 31 DECEMBER; AND LIAISON AT THE VICTORIA FALLS, KARIBA AND CHIRUNDU CROSSING POINTS WITH ZAMBIA ON 1 JANUARY.

4. IT WILL BE OUR OBJECTIVE OVER THE NEXT FEW DAYS TO SECURE THE OPENING TO COMMERCIAL TRAFFIC OF THE ROAD ROUTE TO MOZAMBIQUE THROUGH UMTALI; AND OF AT LEAST ONE OF THE THREE ROAD ROUTES TO ZAMBIA (PROBABLY IN THE FIRST INSTANCE KARIBA).

5. THE FIRST MEETING OF THE CEASEFIRE COMMISSION TOOK PLACE TODAY. LOOKOUT MASUKU AND REX NHONGO ATTENDED ON THE P F SIDE.

6. THREE OR FOUR INCIDENTS WHICH COULD BE DESCRIBED AS BREACHES OF THE CEASEFIRE ARE SO FAR KNOWN TO HAVE TAKEN PLACE TODAY. OF THESE ONE, A CONFRONTATION BETWEEN RHODESIAN FORCES AND Z A N L A IN A PROTECTED VILLAGE NEAR R V POINT F4, IS POTENTIALLY SERIOUS BUT MAY BE CAPABLE OF RESOLUTION. EFFORTS ARE BEING MADE TO GET A P F LIAISON OFFICER TO THE SITE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

FCO PASS ALL

SOAMES

NNNN

36

PS  
PS/SIR I GILMOUR  
PS/MR LUCE  
PS/PUS

*SR J. MATTIAS*

MR DAY  
LORD N G LENNOX  
MR ASPIN

PS/HO 10 ~~DOWNING STREET~~

MR R L WADE-GERY  
MR P M MAXEY  
MR GOULTY  
MR P J FOWLER  
DIO

CABINET  
OFFICE

.....  
HD/RHOD DEPT (4)

**IMMEDIATE**

HD/C AF D  
HD/S AF D

HD/PUSD (2)

HD/NEWS DEPT  
HD/WAD

*Michael K200h*  
MR PIFCOF LEGAL ADVISER RM K164  
RESIDENT CLERK

CONFIDENTIAL UK COMMS ONLY

SPE

GR 170

CONFIDENTIAL

DESKBY SALISBURY 291215Z

FM LUSAKA 281105Z

TO IMMEDIATE SALISBURY

TEL NO. 36 OF 29 DECEMBER 1979.

REPEATED TO IMMEDIATE GABORONE, FCO, MAPUTO, MODUK (DMO, DS11).

MY TEL 35: CROSS-BORDER LIAISON.

*Mufaxed to Cheyres  
29/12*

1. WE HAVE NOW SPOKEN TO PHIRI. HE CONVEYED THE GOOD NEWS THAT KAUNDA HAD NOW APPROVED THE PLAN DESCRIBED IN JY TEL 33. HE HAD INTENDED TO AVOID TROUBLING THE ZNDF BORDER UNITS OVER THE WEEKEND, BUT IN THE LIGHT OF OUR MESSAGE SAID THAT HE WOULD NOW GET THE ORDERS OUT SOONER. HE WOULD AIM TO HAVE THE ZNDF READY FOR CROSS-BORDER LIAISON ON THE MORNING OF 1 JANUARY 1980.

2. ON IMPLEMENTATION (PARTICULARLY THE INITIAL CONTACT) PHIRI SAID IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO KNOW THE NAMES OF THE TEAM LEADERS OF THE THREE MONITORING GROUPS CONCERNED, AND HE WOULD HOPE TO BE ABLE TO TELL US THEIR ZAMBIAN OPPOSITE NUMBERS - BOTH ON MONDAY.

ON MONDAY.

3. THE ABOVE REINFORCES MY REQUEST THAT BALDANIE SHOULD BE HERE ON MONDAY TO TAKE UP THE BALL WITH THE ZAMBIAN MINISTRY OF DEFENCE.

NEILSON.

IMMEDIATE

NNNN

[RHODESIA: POLICY: ADVANCE COPIES]

32

PS  
PS/SIR I GILMOUR  
PS/MR LUCE  
PS/PUS

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

MR R L WADE-GERY  
MR P M MAXEY  
MR GOULTY  
MR P J FOWLER  
DIO

CABINET  
OFFICE

MR DAY  
LORD N G LENNOX  
MR ASPIN

.....  
HD/RHOD DEPT (4)

HD/C AF D  
HD/S AF D

HD/PUSD (2)

HD/NEWS DEPT  
HD/WAD

*to Michael K2004.*  
MR PIFCOT LEGAL ADVISER RM K164  
RESIDENT CLERK

*referred to Cheyres  
29/12*

CONFIDENTIAL

DESKBY SALISBURY 291200Z

FM LUSAKA 291000Z

TO IMMEDIATE SALISBURY

TEL NO 35 OF 29 DECEMBER 1979

REPEATED TO IMMEDIATE GABORONE, FCO, MAPUTO, MODUK (DMO, DS11).

YOUR TEL NO. 42: BROSS-BORDER LIAISON.

**IMMEDIATE**

1. YOUR TUR CROSSED WITH MY TEL 33. PHIRI IS NOT IMMEDIATELY AVAILABLE, BUT WE HOPE TO SPEAK TO HIM LATER TODAY. WE WILL THEN PASS HIM THE MESSAGE IN YOUR PARA 1.

2. I AM SURE IT IS IMPORTANT FOR BALDANIE TO REACH LUSAKA BEFORE THE CROSS-BORDER CONTACTS COMMENCE AND I HOPE HE WILL BE ABLE TO ARRIVE ON MONDAY.

3. YOUR PARA 2. PHIRI IS WELL-AWARE OF THESE POINTS AND WE ARE CONFIDENT HE HAS BEEN IMPRESSING THEM ON OTHER RELEVANT PARTS OF THE ZAMBIAN GOVERNMENT MACHINE (EG MINISTRY OF DEFENCE AND MFA). BUT, AS I SAID IN MY TEL 33, HE HAS INDICATED THE VIEW THAT IMPLEMENTATION WOULD BE EXPEDITED IF OUR MLO WAS HERE TO TIE UP THE

BUT, AS I SAID IN MY TEL 33, HE HAS INDICATED THE VIEW THAT IMPLEMENTATION WOULD BE EXPEDITED IF OUR MLO WAS HERE TO TIE UP THE PRACTICAL DETAILS OF ACTION REQUIRED ON THE GROUND.

**IMMEDIATE**

NEILSON.  
BT

NNNN

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[RHODESIA: POLICY: ADVANCE COPIES]

34

PS

PS/SIR I GILMOUR

PS/MR LUCE

PS/PUS

MR DAY

~~LORD N G LENNOX~~

MR ASPIN

*Mr Figg*

HD/RHOD DEPT (4)

HD/C AF D

HD/S AF D

HD/PUSD (2)

HD/NEWS DEPT

HD/WAD

*Mr Graham K200*

MR PIFCOT LEGAL ADVISER RM K164

CR 89

RESTRICTED

FM LUSAKA 290905Z

TO PRIORITY SALISBURY

TEL NO. 34 OF 29 DECEMBER 1979.

AND TO PRIORITY FCO

ZAMBIA/RHODESIA BORDER.

MIDDLE LEVEL EXPATRIATE OFFICIAL WHO HAD FORMED PART OF ZAMBIAN PWD TEAM VISITING BORDER BRIDGES TOLD ME LAST NIGHT THAT THEY HAD HAD VERY FRIENDLY AND USEFUL EXCHANGES ON SITE WITH RHODESIAN COUNTERPARTS. ZAMBIANS INTENDED TO OPEN CHIRUNDU TO NORMAL TRAFFIC ON 2 JANUARY AND VICTORIA FALLS KAZANGULA AND KARIBA AS SOON THEREAFTER AS POSSIBLE.

NEILSON.

NNNN

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

MR R L WADE-GERY

MR P M MAXEY

MR GOULTY

MR P J FOWLER

DIO

CABINET OFFICE

*Referred to Aegres  
29/12*

[RHODESIA: POLICY: ADVANCE COPIES]

4.29

PS  
PS/SIA I GILGUR  
PS/MR LUGS  
PS/PUS

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

MR R L WADE-GERY  
MR P H WAXEY  
MR GOULTY  
MR P J FOWLER  
DIO

CABINET  
OFFICE

~~MR DAY~~  
~~LORD N O HENKOK~~  
MR ASPIN  
*S. D. Hand*

HD/PHOD DEPT (4)

HD/C AF D  
HD/S AF D

HD/FUSD (2)

HD/NEES DEPT  
HD/NEAD

*Hand K200*  
MR PHCOT LEGAL ADVISER RM K164

RESIDENT CLERK

IMMEDIATE  
ADVANCE COPY

SIC

GR 870

CONFIDENTIAL

F: LUSAKA 292817Z

TO IMMEDIATE SALISBURY

TEL NO. 33 OF 29 DECEMBER 1979.

REPEATED TO IMMEDIATE FCO, IMMEDIATE MODUK (DHO, DS11)  
ROUTINE TO MAPUTO, GABORONE.

YOUR TEL 37: RHODESIA - CROSS-BORDER MONITORING.

1. IN ABSENCE OF A REPLY TO NYTEL 26, FIRST SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS WAS POSTPONED UNTIL FRIDAY EVENING. PHIRI WAS GRATEFUL FOR THE ANSWERS IN YOUR TUR. HE HAD NOT REALISED MFA HAD SAID BALDANIE SHOULD WEAR CIVILIAN CLOTHES AND HE MAY LATER PROPOSE THAT HE AND THE ZAMBIAN TEAM WEAR UNIFORM AFTER ALL.

2. POSITION HERE IS THAT PHIRI, HAVING TAKEN OVER THE REINS, HAS EXERTED PRESSURE ON MOD TO PRODUCE A PROPER PLAN, THIS PLAN

2. POSITION HERE IS THAT PHIRI, HAVING TAKEN OVER THE REINS, HAS EXERTED PRESSURE ON MOD TO PRODUCE A PROPER PLAN. THIS PLAN IS NOW READY AND ONLY AWAITS THE PRESIDENT'S APPROVAL. PHIRI EXPECTS THIS TO BE FORTHCOMING EARLY NEXT WEEK.

3. THE ZAMBIAN PLAN IS BASED ON THE PREMISE THAT ZAMBIA WISHES TO SEE NO VIOLATIONS OF THE CEASEFIRE AND SHOULD GIVE MAXIMUM CO-OPERATION. ON LOCAL CROSS-BORDER MONITORING, PHIRI READ OUT FOLLOWING SENTENCE IN THE INSTRUCTIONS WHICH WILL GO TO THE ZNDF BORDER UNITS: "(COMMANDERS) SHOULD MEET MEMBERS OF THE BRITISH MONITORING TEAM AS FREQUENTLY AS THE SITUATION DEMANDS, AT YOUR INITIATIVE OR THEIRS". IN FURTHER DISCUSSION IT APPEARED WE HAVE NO REASON TO SUPPOSE THAT ANY MEASURES YOU HAVE IN MIND WILL NOT BE AGREEABLE TO, OR RENDERED WORKABLE BY, THE ZAMBIANS.

4. ZNDF WILL NOT BE DEPLOYING QUOTE SPECIAL LIAISON TEAMS UNQUOTE. RATHER THEY WILL BE NORMAL UNITS WHICH HAVE BEEN SPECIALLY BRIEFED. BRIEFING WILL COMMENCE AS SOON AS THE PRESIDENT HAS APPROVED THE PLAN.

5. DISCUSSION THEN TURNED TO DETAILS - EG SHOULD WE, IN CONSULTATION WITH YOU, AGREE A DEFINITE TIME ON A DEFINITE DAY WHEN THE INITIAL CONTACT WOULD TAKE PLACE? WHAT COMMUNICATIONS SHOULD BE SET UP? PHIRI PROPOSED THAT, HAVING AGREED THE FRAMEWORK, WE SHOULD NOW LEAVE IT TO BALDANIE TO WORK OUT THE DETAILS WITH THE ZAMBIAN MOD. ON BEING TOLD (CONTRARY TO YOURTEL 35) THAT BALDANIE HAD NOT YET ARRIVED, PHIRI DISPLAYED SIGNS OF ASTONISHMENT AND SOME IRRITATION. HE POINTED OUT THAT FIRST SECRETARY HAD BEEN CHASING HIM THROUGHOUT LAST WEEKEND AND OVER CHRISTMAS, AND HE IN TURN HAD BEEN EXERCISING MAXIMUM PRESSURE ON OUR BEHALF TO OBTAIN ZAMBIAN GOVERNMENT AGREEMENT TO MLO'S ARRIVAL. WE HAD SAID WE WANTED THIS AGREEMENT MOST URGENTLY. HE HAD ASSUMED WE WOULD TAKE ADVANTAGE OR IT STRAIGHT-WAY. HE HAD JUST DESPACHED VARIOUS DOCUMENTS TO THE PRESIDENT AND OTHER ADDRESSEES PRESSING HARD FOR DECISIONS ON THE NEXT STAGE (THE PLAN MENTIONED ABOVE) AND HAD USED THE PRESENCE OF OUR MLO IN LUSAKA AS A LEVER.

6. HOWEVER THAT MAY BE, PHIRI SUGGESTED THAT IMPLEMENTATION OF THE MONITORING OPERATION ON THE GROUND WOULD BE EXPEDITED IF MLO WAS HERE TO DISCUSS DETAILS AS SOON AS THE ZAMBIAN PROPOSALS HAD BEEN APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT. I CONSIDER PHIRI'S RECOMMENDATION VERY SENSIBLE AND I THINK WE SHOULD INDEED AIM

IF MLD WAS HERE TO DISCUSS DETAILS AS SOON AS THE ZAMBIAN PROPOSALS HAD BEEN APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT. I CONSIDER PHIRI'S RECOMMENDATION VERY SENSIBLE AND I THINK WE SHOULD INDEED AIM TO GET BALDANIE HERE VERY EARLY NEXT WEEK. IF YOU AGREE WOULD YOU LET US KNOW WHEN HE COULD TRAVEL SO THAT WE CAN SET THE AIR CLEARANCE PROCEDURE IN TRAIN. IT IS TRUE THE ZAMBIANS HAVE NOT YET DECIDED WHEN THEY SHOULD SEND THEIR TEAM TO SALISBURY - BUT PRESUMABLY THAT IS OF LITTLE IMPORTANCE TO US IN MAKING THE MONITORING EFFECTIVE.

7. PHIRI QUESTIONED THE ABSENCE OF KARIBA IN YOUR LATEST TELEFRAM, COMPARED WITH OUR EARLIER REQUEST FOR MONITORING THERE (FCO TEL 1772 TO LUSAKA). BUT THERE WOULD BE NO PROBLEM ABOUT ADDING KARIBA LATER IF WE WISH.

8. PHIRI ALSO DISCUSSED ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE ZAMBIAN TEAM WHICH WILL COME TO SALISBURY. HE MADE THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

- A. HE HOPED THEY COULD BE MET ON ARRIVAL (FIRST SECRETARY ASSURED HIM A MEMBER OF THE MILITARY ADVISER'S STAFF WOULD BE AT THE AIRPORT).
- B. HE EXPECTED THE ZAMBIAN TEAM LEADER TO BE OPEN TO OUR ADVICE ON HOW HE SHOULD BEST PROCEED WITH HIS JOB - AND INDEED THE ZAMBIANS WOULD BE MOST GRATEFUL FOR ANY ASSISTANCE WE COULD RENDER.
- C. HAVING NO HIGH COMMISSION IN SALISBURY, THE TEAM WOULD BE SELF-ADMINISTERING. ZAMBIANS HAD ALREADY IDENTIFIED THE NEED FOR THE LEADER TO BE ACCOMPANIED BY AN ADVISER, A DRIVER, A TYPIST AND A COMMUNICATOR. PHIRI DID NOT SEEM WHOLLY CONFIDENT THAT THIS LIST WAS EXHAUSTIVE.

9. ON THE BASIS OF THE ABOVE, I RECOMMEND WE PLAN ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT CROSS-BORDER MONITORING, INCLUDING THE CONTACT REQUESTED IN PARA 3 OF YOUR TUR, WILL BE IN OPERATION DURING NEXT WEEK. THE TYING-UP OF MILITARY DETAILS IS BEST DONE BY BALDANIE WHO WILL HAVE THE CLEARST IDEA OF THE PRACTICAL DETAILS AND PROBLEMS INVOLVED.

NEILSON.

MINN

[RHODESIA: POLICY: ADVANCE COPIES]

+ 29

PS  
PS/SIR I GILGOUR  
PS/MR LUCE  
PS/PUS

PS/10 10 DOWNING STREET

MR R L WADE-GERY  
MR P M MAYBY  
MR GOULTY  
MR P J FOLLER  
DIO

CABINET  
OFFICE

~~MR DAY~~  
~~LORD H G LESTER~~  
MR ASPIN  
Sir J. N. Hand

HD/ECOD DEPT (4)

HD/C AF D  
HD/S AF D

HD/FUSD (2)

HD/NEWS DEPT  
HD/EAD

Mr. Hand K. 2000  
MR FICOF LEGAL ADVISER BY K164

DOCUMENT CEREK

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FM SALISBURY 291033Z DEC 79

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 1335 OF 29/12/79

INFO IMMEDIATE PARIS BONN ROME ATHENS BERNE LISBON WELLINGTON  
CANBERRA AND WASHINGTON,

NY TELNO 1727 1272

RHODESIA: FOREIGN REPRESENTATION BEFORE INDEPENDENCE

1. IT IS IN OUR INTERESTS TO ENCOURAGE FRIENDLY GOVERNMENTS TO BEGIN TO NORMALISE THEIR RELATIONS WITH RHODESIA BEFORE THE ELECTIONS ARE HELD. AS YOU KNOW, WE SHALL WISH IF POSSIBLE TO AVOID EXCESSIVE FORMALITY, E G THE ISSUE OF EXEQUATORS ETC. BUT WE HAVE NO OBJECTION TO THE ESTABLISHMENT BY THE FRENCH, GERMANS AND OTHERS WITH LOCAL COMMUNITIES HERE OF CONSULAR OFFICES: AND INDEED WE WISH TO ENCOURAGE THIS. THE SWISS ARE ALREADY TAKING ACTION. THE PORTUGUESE HAVE A RESIDUAL CONSULAR OFFICE HERE. THE AUSTRALIANS AND AMERICANS ALREADY HAVE LIAISON OFFICES.
2. UNLESS YOU SEE OBJECTION, WE SHOULD BE GRATEFUL IF THE OTHER POSTS TO WHOM THIS TELEGRAM IS REPEATED WOULD LET THE GOVERNMENTS CONCERNED KNOW THAT IT IS NOW OPEN TO THEM TO ESTABLISH OFFICES IN SALISBURY: AND THAT WE HOPE THAT GOVERNMENTS WHO HAVE NATIONALS IN RHODESIA WILL MOVE TO DO SO.

ADVANCE COPY

IMMEDIATE

Pennie Minister

*me*



10 DOWNING STREET

*From the Private Secretary*

28 December 1979

Dear Paul,

I enclose a copy of a message received by the Prime Minister from Herr Schmidt about the outcome of the Lancaster House Conference. I have acknowledged the message.

Yours ever

Michael Alexander

Paul Lever, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.



10 DOWNING STREET

*From the Private Secretary*

28 December 1979

*My Dear Ambassador,*

The Prime Minister has asked me to thank you for your letter to her of 21 December enclosing a message of congratulations to her from the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany about the outcome of the Lancaster House Conference. The Prime Minister would be grateful if you could inform Herr Schmidt that she greatly appreciated his courtesy in sending a message.

*Yours sincerely*

*Michael Alexander*

His Excellency Herr Hans Hellmuth Ruete, G.C.V.O.

FLASH

X-2

PS  
PS/SIR I GILMOUR  
PS/MR LUCE  
PS/PUS

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

MR R L WADE-GERY  
MR P M MAXEY  
MR GOULTY  
MR P J FOWLER  
DIO

CABINET  
OFFICE

MR DAY  
LORD N G LENNOX  
MR ASPIN

.....  
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HD/WAD

*Michael K200h*  
MR FIFCOF LEGAL ADVISER RM K164

~~RESIDENT CLERK~~

CONFIDENTIAL

FM SALISBURY 270840Z DEC 79

TO FLASH MAPUTO

TELNO 16 OF 27/12/79

INFO IMMEDIATE FCO LUSAKA

FIRING ON MONITORING FORCE AIRCRAFT

1. THERE HAS BEEN ONE, AND POSSIBLY TWO INCIDENTS THIS MORNING IN WHICH AIRCRAFT OF THE MONITORING FORCE, CLEARLY MARKED WITH WHITE CROSSES, HAVE COME UNDER FIRE IN THE ZANLA AREA OF OPERATIONS.
2. AN RAF HERCULES LANDING AT BUFFALO RANGE, UMTALI, WAS SUBJECTED TO RIFLE FIRE: ONLY SUPERFICIAL DAMAGE, NO CASUALTIES. AN RAF PUMA HELICOPTER CARRYING EQUIPMENT FOR ASSEMBLY POINT C AT MARY MOUNT MISSION CRASHED IN THE MTKO AREA: ALL THREE RAF OCCUPANTS KILLED, HELICOPTER WRITTEN OFF. WE CANNOT YET VERIFY CONTRADICTORY REPORTS THAT THE HELICOPTER WAS FIRED ON EITHER BEFORE OR AFTER THE CRASH, WHICH MAY HAVE BEEN DUE TO ENGINE FAILURE.
3. BUT IT IS CLEAR FROM THE HERCULES INCIDENT THAT INSTRUCTIONS HAVE NOT REACHED ZANLA PERSONNEL ON THE GROUND, OR ARE NOT BEING OBEYED, TO REFRAIN FROM FIRING ON AIRCRAFT AND VEHICLES MARKED WITH WHITE CROSSES.
4. WE SHALL BE SPEAKING TO NHONGO HERE ABOUT THIS, BUT HE APPEARS



4. WE SHALL BE SPEAKING TO NHONGO HERE ABOUT THIS, BUT HE APPEARS TO LACK AUTHORITY. PLEASE SEEK OUT MUGABE AND TONGOGARA URGENTLY AND IMPRESS UPON THEM THAT THE WHOLE DEPLOYMENT OF THE MONITORING FORCE TO ASSEMBLY AND RENDEZVOUS POINTS PRIOR TO CEASEFIRE DAY WILL BE IMPERILLED IF SUCH INCIDENTS CONTINUE AND URGE THEM TO ENSURE THAT APPROPRIATE INSTRUCTIONS ARE BROADCAST AT ONCE.

SOAMES

NNNN

SENT/RECD 270845Z MSJ/JW

GPS 430

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FM MAPUTO 271600Z DEC 79

TO IMMEDIATE FCC

TEL NO 517 OF 27 DECEMBER

INFO IMMEDIATE SALISBURY MOD (DMO DS11)

PRIORITY GABORONE LUSAKA DAR ES SALAAM WASHINGTON  
PRETORIA

YOUR TEL NO 191 : TONGOGARA

1. I DELIVERED THE MESSAGE OF CONDOLENCE AS IN YOUR PARA 1 AND ONE FROM LORD SCAMES TO MUGABE.
  
2. I STRESSED THAT THE NEED WAS NOW EVEN GREATER FOR EFFORTS TO BE REDOUBLED TO ENSURE THE OBSERVANCE OF THE CEASE-FIRE AND MENTIONED THE INCIDENTS REPORTED IN SALISBURY TEL NO 16 TO ME. HE SAID THAT HE HAD RECEIVED MY NOTE ABOUT THEM. IF HIS PEOPLE WERE RESPONSIBLE HE WOULD ADMIT IT. "EVEN WORKING 48 HRS A DAY, INCIDENTS WILL OCCUR" HE SAID UNTIL WORD REACHED THE MEN IN THE FIELD. HIS MESSAGE (WE ARE TRYING TO GET THE TEXT) WAS BEING BROADCAST (I THINK IN SINDEBELE AND SHONA AS WELL AS ENGLISH) ON 25 AND 31 METRE BANDS: AND AS FROM TONIGHT IT WOULD ALSO GO OUT ON THE WIDELY LISTENED TO VOZ PROGRAMME.
  
3. MUGABE PROMISED TO DO HIS BEST TO ENSURE THAT THE ZANLA PARTY WHICH WAS TO HAVE BEEN LED BY TONGOGARA ON 31 DECEMBER WOULD BE READY IN TIME: BUT MUCH DEPENDED ON THE CONDITION OF THE OTHERS INJURED IN THE ACCIDENT.
  
4. EARLIER I HAD SEEN CHISSANO WHO WANTED TO INFORM ME OFFICIALLY AND SHOW ME THE BRIEF OFFICIAL COMMUNIQUE WHICH IS BEING ISSUED ABOUT NOW. IT SAYS THAT TONGOGARA DIED IN A TRAFFIC ACCIDENT 25KMS FROM MANHICA. CHISSANO DID NOT HAVE THE DETAILS: BUT IT APPEARED THAT THE ACCIDENT HAPPENED WHEN TONGOGARA'S VEHICLE RAN INTO THE BACK OF A LORRY WHICH IT WAS TRYING TO OVERTAKE. TONGOGARA SAT NEXT TO THE DRIVER AND GOT THE FULL IMPACT.

---

5. CHISSANO SAID THAT THE LONDON AGREEMENT WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN POSSIBLE WITHOUT TONGOGARA. ALTHOUGH HE HAD HIS ENEMIES HE ENJOYED THE CONFIDENCE NOT ONLY OF THE ZANU LEADERSHIP BUT ALSO OF ZAPU. HE WOULD BE VERY HARD TO REPLACE.

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16

# CONFIDENTIAL

6. I TOLD CHISSANO TOO ABOUT THE INCIDENTS REPORTED IN SALISBURY T U R. CHISSANO SAID THAT FACILITIES HAD BEEN GIVEN TO ZANU FOR MUGABE'S MESSAGE TO BE REPEATED AT REGULAR INTERVALS. IT WOULD ALSO HELP, HE SAID, IF WE COULD GIVE EARLY CLEARANCE FOR THE MOZAMBICAN LIAISON TEAM TO GO TO SALISBURY AS SOON AS POSSIBLE (MY TEL NO 23 TO SALISBURY REFERS). HOWEVER, HE FELT BOUND TO ADD THAT SHOOTING INCIDENTS WILL OCCUR FROM TIME TO TIME. THIS WAS BECAUSE SOME ZANLA MEN IN THE FIELD ARE AGAINST THE LONDON AGREEMENTS OUT OF CONVICTION, WHILE OTHERS DO NOT ACCEPT THE AUTHORITY OF THE PARTY LEADERSHIP.

7. THE PRESIDENT HAS JUST SENT FOR ME.

PAPADOPOULOS

## FILES

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(MR FREELAND)  
(MR FIFOOT)  
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PS/MR LUCE  
PS/MR RIDLEY  
PS/MR HURD  
PS/MR MARTEN  
PS/PUS  
SIR A DUFF  
MR BULLARD  
MR HANNAY  
LORD N G LENNOX  
MISS BROWN  
MR DAY  
MR ASPIN  
MR MILLS  
MR FERGUSON 2

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1 GROSVENOR SQUARE,  
LONDON, W1X 0AB.



CANADIAN HIGH COMMISSION,  
MACDONALD HOUSE,  
1 GROSVENOR SQUARE,  
LONDON, W1X 0AB.

2

27 December 1979

Dear Mr. Whitmore,

Prime Minister.

He will answer  
the file about a reply  
to Mr. Clark.

HWR

27xii

...

I have been asked to convey the attached message  
from Prime Minister Clark to Prime Minister Thatcher.

Yours sincerely,  
Henry Richardson

H.W. Richardson,  
Counsellor

Mr. C.A. Whitmore,  
Principal Private Secretary  
to the Prime Minister,  
Prime Minister's Office,  
10 Downing Street,  
London SW1

~~SUBJECT~~

TEXT OF A MESSAGE

FROM PRIME MINISTER CLARK TO PRIME MINISTER THATCHER

**PRIME MINISTER'S  
PERSONAL MESSAGE  
SERIAL No. T180/79T**

Ottawa, 24 December 1979

T180/79T

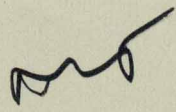
"Dear Prime Minister Thatcher,

The final agreement on Rhodesia is a splendid achievement for which your Government deserves the fullest praise. After fourteen years of agony, the final steps have begun in bringing Rhodesia to legal independence on the basis of full majority rule through a process in which all groups have now agreed to participate peacefully. Although the parties involved and the neighbouring African States wished to see an end to the conflict, it was clearly your determination to resolve the issue that brought the negotiations to a successful conclusion.

Canada will of course lend its full support to the implementation of the settlement. Among other measures, we are taking immediate steps to remove Canadian sanctions against Rhodesia.

As Canada looks forward to welcoming an independent Zimbabwe into the Commonwealth and the international community, I hope and trust that this success will add impetus to the peaceful resolution of other world problems, not the least of which of course is Namibia.

With all good wishes.



Joe Clark"

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GR 150

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FM SALISBURY 271000Z DEC 79

TO FLASH MAPUTO

TELNO 17 OF 27/12/79

INFO FLASH FCO IMMEDIATE LUSAKA GABORONE DAR ES SALAAM WASHINGTON.

YOUR TELNO 19 : TONGOGARA

1. THIS IS INDEED UNTIMELY NEWS. PLEASE GIVE MUGABE MY SYMPATHY.
2. NHONGO, WHOM I MET BRIEFLY THIS MORNING, IS ALREADY AT WORK HERE AND HAS ESTABLISHED USEFUL CONTACT WITH GENERAL ACLAND. AS SEEN FROM HERE, IT WOULD ADD TO THE COMPLICATIONS IF HE HAD TO BE RECALLED AT THIS STAGE. PLEASE URGE STRONGLY UPON MUGABE THAT NHONGO SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO REMAIN IN SALISBURY AT LEAST UNTIL THE CRUCIAL ASSEMBLY PROCESS IS COMPLETED.
3. YOU SHOULD AVOID GIVING ANY INDICATION THAT WE MIGHT BE ABLE TO DELAY THE CEASEFIRE TIMETABLE.

SOAMES

FILES

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NAD  
MED  
PUSD  
PLANNING STAFF  
ES & SD  
NENAD  
CCD  
FRD  
EID (E)  
UND  
LEGAL ADVISERS  
(MR FREELAND)  
(MR FIFOOT)  
ECON D  
PCD

DEF D  
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PS/LPS  
PS/MR LUCE  
PS/MR RIDLEY  
PS/MR HURD  
PS/MR MARTEN  
PS/PUS  
SIR A DUFF  
MR BULLARD  
MR HANNAY  
LORD N G LENNOX  
MISS BROWN  
MR DAY  
MR ASPIN  
MR MILLS

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PS  
PS/SIR I GILMOUR  
PS/MR LUCE  
PS/PUS

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

MR R L WADE-GERY  
MR P M MAXEY  
MR GOULTY  
MR P J FOWLER  
DIO

CABINET  
OFFICE

MR DAY  
LORD N G LENNOX  
MR ASPIN

.....  
HD/RHOD DEPT (4)

HD/C AF D  
HD/S AF D

HD/PUSD (2)

HD/NEWS DEPT  
HD/EAD

*to Federal k200.*  
MR FIFCOFF LEGAL ADVISER RM K164  
RESIDENT CLERK

GPS 170

CONFIDENTIAL

FM MAPUTO 270820Z DECEMBER 79

TO FLASH SALISBURY

TELEGRAM NUMBER 19 OF 27 DECEMBER

AND TO FLASH FCO

INFO IMMEDIATE LUSAKA GABORONE DAR ES SALAAM WASHINGTON

TONGOGARA

1. MUGABE HAS JUST TOLD ME THAT JOSIAH TONGOGARA DIED IN A ROAD ACCIDENT SOME 70 KMS NORTH OF MAPUTO IN THE EARLY HOURS OF YESTERDAY 26 DECEMBER. HE WAS TO HAVE DRIVEN THROUGH THE NIGHT TO HIS OPERATIONAL HQ NEAR CHIMOIO WITH DETAILED INSTRUCTIONS TO HIS SUBORDINATES FOR THE CEASEFIRE.

2. MUGABE SAID THAT, ON THE BASIS OF INFORMATION SUPPLIED BY A SURVIVOR OF TONGOGARA'S PARTY (THREE OTHERS WERE INJURED) AND BY THE MOZAMBICAN AUTHORITIES HE IS SATISFIED THAT THERE WAS NO FOUL PLAY. THE NEWS IS BEING WITHHELD PENDING CONFIRMATION THAT TONGOGARA'S

THE NEWS IS BEING WITHHELD PENDING CONFIRMATION THAT TONGOGARA'S NEXT-OF-KIN HAVE BEEN INFORMED. MUGABE EXPECTS TO MAKE AN ANNOUNCEMENT WITHIN THE NEXT COUPLE OF HOURS.

3. MUGABE FEARED THAT THE DEATH OF THIS KEYMAN WOULD COMPLICATE AND DELAY THE CEASEFIRE PROCESS. HE AND HIS COLLEAGUES WOULD BE DECIDING LATER TODAY ON HOW TO FILL THE GAP. ONE POSSIBILITY WOULD BE THE RECALL OF NYONGO. TUNGAMIRAI, WHO WAS WITH TONGOGARA IN LONDON AND WAS ACCOMPANYING HIM, HAS SURVIVED.

4. MUGABE BROADCAST HIS CEASE FIRE MESSAGE LAST NIGHT AND IT IS BEING RE-BROADCAST TODAY. MEANTIME HE ASKED FOR PATIENCE AND UNDERSTANDING.

PAPADOPOULOS

NNNN

SENT/RECD AT 270840Z AR/JW



[RHODESIA: POLICY: ADVANCE COPIES]

PS (6)  
PS/SIR I GILMOUR  
PS/MR LUCE  
PS/PUS

PS/NO 10 DOWNING ~~STREET~~

MR R L WADE-GERY  
MR P M MAXEY  
MR GOULTY  
MR P J FOWLER  
DIO

CABINET  
OFFICE

SIR R ARMSTRONG

MR DAY  
LORD N G LENNOX  
MR ASPIN

.....  
HD/RHOD DEPT (4)

HD/C AF D  
HD/S AF D

HD/PUSD (2)

HD/NEWS DEPT  
HD/WAD

*Richard K200*  
MR PIFCOF LEGAL ADVISER RM K164  
RESIDENT CLERK

TO PRIORITY FCO

TEL NO 513 OF 26 DECEMBER

INFO PRIORITY SALISBURY

ROUTINE PRETORIA GABORONE LUSAKA DAR ES SALAAM WASHINGTON

MUGABE

1. MUGABE RETURNED TO MAPUTO ON 25 DECEMBER AND GAVE A PRESS CONFERENCE THAT EVENING, MAKING THE FOLLOWING POINTS.
2. HE SAID IT WOULD BE MAYBE TWO OR THREE WEEKS BEFORE HE WOULD BE ABLE TO RETURN TO RHODESIA, AS IT MIGHT NOT BE POSSIBLE FOR THE CEASEFIRE TO BE MADE EFFECTIVE EARLIER THAN THAT. HE WOULD RETURN AS SOON AS IT WAS EFFECTIVE AND WHEN HE HAD WOUND UP HIS AFFAIRS HERE.
3. HE EVADED QUESTIONS AS TO WHETHER ZANU AND ZAPU WOULD FIGHT THE ELECTIONS TOGETHER OR NOT. MANY POSSIBILITIES EXISTED: THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE HAD YET TO DECIDE. (VOICE OF ZIMBABWE QUOTED HIM AS HAVING SAID IN DAR "IF WE FEEL THAT WE CAN WIN BETTER BY FIGHTING AS TWO PARTIES WE WILL DO PRECISELY THAT; BUT WHICHEVER WAY WE CONTEST, WE WILL WIN").

AS TWO PARTIES WE WILL DO PRECISELY THAT; BUT WHICHEVER WAY WE CONTEST, WE WILL WIN'').

4. FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS WERE ENDANGERED BY POSSIBLE RIGGING - THE PF WOULD HAVE PREFERRED UN SUPERVISION - BY POSSIBLE INTERFERENCE BY RHODESIAN AND SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES, AND BY LEGISLATION SUCH AS THE LAW AND ORDER MAINTENANCE ACT; THE GOVERNOR'S AMENDMENTS TO SUCH LEGISLATION HAD NOT YET BEEN COMPREHENSIVE ENOUGH.

5. HE WARMLY COMMENDED THE HELP OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, SAYING THAT THE ALLIANCE IN THE WAR COULD BE TRANSFORMED INTO AN ALLIANCE TO ''TRANSFORM OUR COUNTRY'', TO REBUILD THE ECONOMY AND GIVE IT THE MEANS TO DEFEND ITSELF; HE HASTILY ADDED THAT HE HOPED ALSO FOR A SIMILAR RELATIONSHIP WITH ''PROGRESSIVE FORCES IN WESTERN COUNTRIES'' AND INDEED WITH ERSTWHILE ENEMIES, IF THEY REALISED THE ERROR OF THEIR WAYS.

PAPADOPOULOS

NNNN

SENT AT/RCVD AT 260956Z RT/RM

[RHODESIA: POLICY: ADVANCE COPIES]

x 30

PS 5  
PS/SIR I GILMOUR  
PS/MR LUCE  
PS/PUS

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

MR R L WADE-GERY  
MR P M MAXLEY  
MR GOULTY  
MR P J FOWLER  
DIO

CABINET  
OFFICE

MR DAY  
LORD N G LENNOX  
MR ASPIN

.....

HD/RHOD DEPT (4)

HD/C AF D  
HD/S AF D

HD/PUSD (2)

HD/NEWS DEPT  
HD/WAD

*to Michael K2004*  
MR FIFCOOT LEGAL ADVISER RM K164

RESIDENT CLERK

IMMEDIATE

ADVANCE COPY

*ms*

GR 658

CONFIDENTIAL

DESKBY 2789007

FM SALISBURY 261445Z DEC 79

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 1293 OF 26/12/79

INFO MAPUTO LUSAKA GABORONE PRETORIA

*DESKBY*

*copy taken by  
Mr Powell, Rh Dept*

MAPUTO TELEGRAM NO 11 TO ME : RETURN OF ZANU

1. THERE ARE COMPLICATIONS AHEAD.
2. FIRST, REPORTS IN SALISBURY REPEAT THE RUMOUR THAT MUGABE'S INTENTION (WHENEVER HE DOES COME) IS TO CROSS THE MOZAMBIQUE BORDER AND "MARCH ON SALISBURY", GATHERING SUPPORT AS HE GOES. ON PUBLIC ORDER GROUNDS I CERTAINLY COULD NOT PERMIT THIS DURING THE ASSEMBLY PERIOD, NOR IMMEDIATELY THEREAFTER; AND IT SEEMS HIGHLY UNLIKELY THAT I SHALL BE ABLE TO PERMIT IT AT ANY TIME. IT WOULD BE REGARDED AS HIGHLY PROVOCATIVE BY ALL WHITES AND MANY BLACKS ALONG THE ROUTE AND WOULD CERTAINLY LEAD TO VERY GRAVE TROUBLE. YOU SHOULD KNOW IN ADDITION THAT, ALTHOUGH AUTHORITY FOR PUBLIC MEETINGS WILL NOW BE GIVEN WHEREVER AND WHENEVER POSSIBLE WITHIN THE LIMITATIONS OF THE POLICE

ALTHOUGH AUTHORITY FOR PUBLIC MEETINGS WILL NOW BE GIVEN WHEREVER AND WHENEVER POSSIBLE, WITHIN THE LIMITATIONS OF THE POLICE CAPABILITY TO MAINTAIN ORDER, I AM MAINTAINING THE BAN ON "PROCESSIONS".

3. IN DISCUSSION WITH BOTH NKOMO AND MUGABE IN LONDON LAST WEEK, ALLUM TOOK THE LINE (RIGHTLY IN MY VIEW) THAT THE LEADERS WOULD BE EXPECTED TO ARRIVE AT SALISBURY BY AIR, THAT NO DOUBT LARGE CROWDS WOULD GATHER, AND "SPONTANEOUS" PROCESSIONS WOULD PROBABLY TAKE PLACE. THE POLICE WOULD NOT INTERFERE EXCEPT INSOFAR AS WAS NECESSARY TO KEEP THE PEACE, BUT THEIR MAIN TASK WOULD BE TO ASSURE THE SECURITY OF THE LEADERS AND THEY WOULD FIND IT VERY DIFFICULT TO DO THIS IF ARRIVAL WERE BY ANY OTHER METHOD; AND THE TWO LEADERS SHOULD COME ON SEPARATE DAYS.

4. SECOND, IS THE QUESTION AS TO WHICH MEMBERS OF ZAPU AND ZANU MAY RETURN TO RHODESIA, AND WHICH, UNDER THE TERMS OF THE CEASEFIRE SHOULD (AS MEMBERS OF ZIPRA AND ZANLA) NOT (NOT) BE ALLOWED IN. OBVIOUSLY FLEXIBILITY WILL BE REQUIRED. AS A START, IT IS OBVIOUSLY NECESSARY AND ALREADY AGREED THAT A NUMBER OF PF COMMANDERS ARE COMING IN TO HELP ADMINISTER THE CEASEFIRE. FURTHERMORE, ANY MILITARY LEADER WHO WILL BE STANDING FOR ELECTION SHOULD BE ALLOWED IN. BUT THOSE CATEGORIES APART, I SEE A NEED FOR CONSIDERABLE CAUTION.

5. ALLUM TELLS ME THAT HE AGREED WITH MUGABE IN LONDON ON THE PROTECTION ARRANGEMENTS FOR "FOUR PRINCIPALS", WHOM HE UNDERSTOOD TO BE MUGABE, MUZENDA, TEKERE AND MUNUNGAGWA. HE HAD AGREED ON CLOSE PROTECTION FOR ALL FOUR (WHETHER POLICE, OR ZANU SECURITY MEN, OR A MIXTURE) PLUS MIXED PROTECTION FOR MUGABE'S HOUSE, PLUS CERTAIN ZANU TECHNICAL SECURITY MEN WITHIN THE HOUSE - A TOTAL OF 45 IN ADDITION TO THE POLICE. HE HAD UNDERSTOOD THAT MUNUNGAGWA WOULD ARRIVE FIRST, TO TOUR THE COUNTRY AND PREPARE FOR MUGABE'S RETURN, BUT THIS IS PROBABLY OVERTAKEN BY INFORMATION IN MAPUTO T U R.

6. IN THE LIGHT OF THE ABOVE, I SHOULD BE GRATEFUL IF MAPUTO AND LUSAKA WOULD

(A) CONTINUE TO KEEP IN TOUCH WITH ZANU AND ZAPU ABOUT THEIR RETURN ARRANGEMENTS, INSISTING WHERE NECESSARY THAT TRAVEL SHOULD BE BY AIR.

(B) CONSIDER THE LISTS OF KNOWN ZANU/ZANLA AND ZAPU/ZIPRA PERSONNEL AND ADVISE ME URGENTLY WHICH OF THEM MIGHT BE REGARDED AS MILITARY AND KEPT OUT, AND WHICH ARE POLITICAL AND SHOULD BE LET IN.

(C) IN ANY DISCUSSION WITH THE PARTIES ON RETURN ARRANGEMENTS, ADOPT FOR THE TIME BEING A VERY STIFF TONE IN REGARD TO ANY SUGGESTION THAT MILITARY MEN MIGHT RETURN DURING THE CEASEFIRE.

7. THE CHIEF CARD IN OUR HANDS IS THAT WE ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR BOTH THE SAFETY OF PERSONS AND THE MAINTENANCE OF LAW AND ORDER. WE

7. THE CHIEF CARD IN OUR HANDS IS THAT WE ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR BOTH THE SAFETY OF PERSONS AND THE MAINTENANCE OF LAW AND ORDER. WE MUST INSIST THAT ARRIVAL ARRANGEMENTS ARE NOT SUCH AS TO COMPLICATE OUR TASK, AND THAT WE KNOW IN ADVANCE WHAT THEY ARE SO THAT WE CAN MAKE THE NECESSARY DISPOSITIONS.

8. IN DISCUSSION WITH ZANU WOULD MAPUTO (UNLESS THEY SEE OBJECTION) CONTINUE TO ENQUIRE ABOUT THE ZANU DETAINEES (HAMAD-ZIRIPI ET AL) AND THE WHITE "ABDUCTEES". ALLUM GAVE MUGABE A LIST OF THE LATTER. AS REGARDS THE FORMER, WE NEED ADVANCE WARNING OF THEIR RELEASE AND RETURN SO AS TO BE ABLE TO MAKE PROPER ARRANGEMENTS FOR THEIR SAFETY ON ENTRY.

SOAMES

NNNN



SENT/RECD 004-007 INCL AT 261735Z JW/MJC

SUBJECT.



PRIME MINISTER'S  
PERSONAL MESSAGE

PRIME MINISTER'S SERIAL No. T180 AA/79 T.

NEW DELHI - 110011  
December 26, 1979

Dear Prime Minister,

I have read with great interest your letters of 10th November and 11th December on the Rhodesia Conference in London.

We have just heard that the leaders of the Patriotic Front have accepted the arrangements for the ceasefire, putting the coping stone on the structure so patiently pieced together at the historic Lancaster House Conference. We are greatly relieved by the happy culmination of the process which was initiated with the full backing of the Commonwealth at Lusaka last August. If I may say so, you and Lord Carrington have thereby shown a statesmanship which will significantly reinforce Commonwealth ideals and the cause of democratic decolonisation. The Patriotic Front have endured great privations and sacrifices in their long struggle. It was not easy for them to accept arrangements which they plainly considered to be disadvantageous. That they have done so now is a measure of trust which, we hope, will be reciprocally strengthened under Lord Soames as Governor.

We wish the Governor all success in completing the work which has been so propitiously begun under your stewardship.

Yours sincerely,

(CHARAN SINGH)

The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher,  
Prime Minister of the United Kingdom,  
L O N D O N

-33 JAN 1950

87634  
W 234

# CONFIDENTIAL

R 460

CONFIDENTIAL

FM LUSAKA 251055Z

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TEL NO. 1459 OF 25 DECEMBER 1979

AND TO IMMEDIATE SALISBURY

REPEATED TO PRIORITY MAPUTO, PRETORIA.

MIPT: NKOMO.

FROM STEPHENSON.

1. DURING MY DISCUSSION WITH DABENGWA I COULD SEE AND FAINTLY HEAR NKOMO ADDRESSING A LARGE GATHERING OF ZAPU MILITARY AND CIVILIAN PERSONNEL IN THE COURTYARD OF ZIMBABWE HOUSE.
2. NKOMO PRAISED HIS PEOPLE FOR THEIR STRUGGLE AND DETERMINATION, ASKED THEM TO OBSERVE THE CEASE-FIRE AND KEEP TO APPOINTED AREAS ALTHOUGH HE WARNED THEM TO BE VIGILANT AND "WATCH OUT FOR MADMEN". HE SAID THAT THE P.F. WOULD FIGHT THE ELECTION AS ONE UNIT. I WAS TOO FAR AWAY TO HEAR THE ENTIRE SPEECH BUT THE GENERAL TONE WAS VERY MUCH OF NOW IS THE TIME FOR PEACE, "YOU DESERVE PEACE" HE TOLD THE CROWD.
3. WHEN NKOMO HAD FINISHED HE CAME INTO DABENGWA'S OFFICE AND I WAS INTRODUCED. HE GREETED ME VERY WARMLY, THANKED ME FOR THE HELP WE WERE GIVING AND ASKED IF HE COULD HAVE A WORD IN PRIVATE. WE SPOKE A LITTLE ABOUT TOMORROW'S FLIGHT AND HE THEN ASKED IF WE COULD ARRANGE TRANSPORTATION TO TAKE HIM TO SALISBURY ALSO. I ASKED IF HE HAD DECIDED WHEN TO LEAVE LUSAKA BUT HE SAID THAT HE HAD MUCH TO DO BEFORE LEAVING ZAMBIA AND THAT HE WOULD CONTACT US FURTHER ONCE HE HAD DECIDED (I MADE NO COMMITMENT SIMPLY SAYING THAT I WOULD BE REPORTING TO LONDON LATER TODAY). DABENGWA LATER SAID THAT HE THOUGHT NKOMO WOULD LEAVE FOR SALISBURY IN EARLY JANUARY.
4. I THEN ASKED NKOMO IF A DECISION HAD BEEN TAKEN ON HOW ZAPU AND ZANU WOULD CONTEST THE ELECTIONS. HE SAID THAT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WOULD FIGHT THE ELECTIONS AS ONE UNIT AND IT WAS

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/MORE



# CONFIDENTIAL

MORE IMPORTANT THAN ANY FACTION OR PERSON. DABENGWA TOLD ME LATER HOWEVER THAT NKOMO WANTS ZAPU AND ZANU TO JOIN TOGETHER DURING THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN BUT ZANU HAVE NOT YET RESPONDED TO HIS PROPOSAL.

5. I ALSO DISCUSSED THE CONTENT OF SALISBURY TEL NO. 34 (NOT TO PRETORIA) ABOUT THE REGISTRATION DATE FOR ELECTIONS. I FOUND NKOMO AND DABENGWA ILL-INFORMED ON THIS SUBJECT BUT THEY WERE BOTH RELIEVED THAT A FINAL DECISION NEED NOT BE TAKEN UNTIL 14 JANUARY. I THINK IT WOULD BE WISE HOWEVER TO MAKE SURE THAT ZAPU OFFICIALS IN SALISBURY ARE COMPLETELY IN THE PICTURE AS I HAD THE CLEAR IMPRESSION THAT THE P.F. BADLY NEED THE ADDITIONAL FOURTEEN DAYS. NKOMO ASKED IF I HAD THE NECESSARY FORMS NEEDED FOR REGISTRATION ON 31 DECEMBER. I SAID THAT THESE WOULD BE PROVIDED IN SALISBURY SO GRATEFUL IF SALISBURY COULD MAKE SURE THAT ZAPU KNOW WHERE TO OBTAIN THEM: HE THEN ASKED ME IF WE HAD A LIST OF ELECTORAL DISTRICTS IN ZIMBABWE. I SHOULD BE GRATEFUL IF SALISBURY COULD LET US HAVE DETAILS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. NKOMO, IN ENDING, QUIPPED "WHO NEEDS ELECTORAL DISTRICTS, IT IS ZIMBABWE WE ARE AFTER".

6. NKOMO LOOKED VERY TIRED BUT HE STILL MANAGED TO CREATE AN ELECTRIC ATMOSPHERE AMONGST THE CROWD. AS I WAS LEAVING HE WEARILY AGREED TO SEE THE TASS CORRESPONDENT.

NEILSON.

FILES

RHOD D

OADS

NAD

*PUSD*

PLANNING STAFF

*CCD*

UND

LEGAL ADVISERS

(MR FREELAND)

(MR FIFOOT)

PCD

DEF D

OID

NEWS D

PS

PS/LPS

PS/MR LUCE

PS/MR RIDLEY

PS/MR HURD

PS/MR MARTEN

PS/PUS

SIR A DUFF

MR BULLARD

MR HANNAY

LORD N G LENNOX

MR DAY

MR ASPIN

MR MILLS

ADDITIONAL DISTRIBUTION

RHODESIA POLICY

2  
CONFIDENTIAL

TELEPHONE CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE PRIME MINISTER AND LORD SOAMES  
TUESDAY 25 DECEMBER 1979

---

PM: We rang to wish to all a very happy Christmas, you and Mary and to say thank you yet again.

Lord Soames: What a kind thought.

PM: Not at all. We heard on the radio this morning that the soldiers are arriving and they had had more offers for Christmas than there are soldiers.

Lord Soames: There are indeed and I have just been asked to see them.

PM: Is all well, Christopher?

Lord Soames: It is all well so far, you know. We have got a number of difficulties but that is what we are hear for.

PM: Yes, but it is rather exciting, isn't it?

Lord Soames: It is very exciting. I am a bit more optimistic than I was two days ago I must say.

PM: Well it looked a bit ugly then didn't it?

Lord Soames: Yes it did. You know, it comes and goes but I just pray we can pull it off.

PM: Well, you can.

Lord Soames: It won't be for want of trying anyway

PM: Well I know, nor for want of flair nor for want of brilliance and just the right touch.

Lord Soames: You are kind and will you give our love to Denis too.

PM: Yes and lots of love to Mary and we are just spending Christmas reading her book about her mother.

Lord Soames: Oh yes, how nice. Tell me is the weather awful with you?

PM: The weather this morning is bright sunshine, a hard frost and it looks perfect. You couldn't have a more perfect Christmas Day.

Lord Soames: Well we are just going to have a swim.

PM: How marvellous. Well lots of love to you all and to Mary and would you give our very kind regards to Tony Duff as well.

Lord Soames: Yes of course I will and thank you a thousand times for your kind thought in ringing.

PM: Bless you Christopher and happy Christmas and good New Year

Lord Soames: And we will be in touch. Everything going all right your end?

PM: Everything is going all right. We are helping America with Iran at the moment.

Lord Soames: Your visit to America was a glowing success.

PM: Well all that helps with Rhodesia, you know.

Lord Soames: Well absolutely.

PM: It all came at the right time.

Lord Soames: How does Europe look?

PM: All right Christopher. Bye bye. Much love.



HIGH COMMISSION FOR THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH

28 Queen's Gate, London SW7 5JA

Phones: 01-584 0081 (4 Lines)

01-589 4842 (3 Lines)

Grams: BANGLADOOT LONDON SW7

Telex: 918016

PRIME MINISTER'S  
PERSONAL MESSAGE

SERIAL No. T 176A/797.  
24th December, 1979.

No. Pol.VI/1/78

The High Commission for the People's Republic of Bangladesh presents its compliments to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and has the honour to forward the following message from the Hon'ble President of the People's Republic of Bangladesh addressed to the Hon'ble Prime Minister of the United Kingdom:

Message begins.

Dear Prime Minister,

Thank you for your letter dated December 11, 1979. It was, indeed, most thoughtful of you to inform me about the progress of the talks on Zimbabwe-Rhodesia and your continuing efforts in resolving the problem. Subsequently I was pleased to learn about the agreement finally reached.

Please accept my heartiest felicitations on laying the foundation for the peaceful transfer of power and the establishment of a genuine majority rule in Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia). The peace loving people of the Commonwealth and indeed throughout the world appreciate your admirable far-sight and statesmanship which made this remarkable achievement possible.

We are confident that the spirit of fairness with which your government conducted the negotiations would also be reflected in the implementation of the agreement reached in London to ensure the peaceful transfer of power and the establishment of a genuine majority rule in Zimbabwe.

I wish you continued good health and success.

Ziaur Rahman

Message ends.

The High Commission would be grateful if the above message is forwarded to its highest destination.

The High Commission for Bangladesh avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office the assurances of its highest consideration.

Foreign and Commonwealth Office,  
Downing Street,  
LONDON SW 1





HIGH COMMISSION FOR THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH

28 Queen's Gate, London SW7 5JA

Phones: 01-584 0081 (4 Lines)

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Foreign and Commonwealth Office,  
Downing Street,  
LONDON SW 1

Prime Minister

cc FCO



AUSTRALIAN HIGH COMMISSION · LONDON

THE HIGH COMMISSIONER

The Hon. Sir Gordon Freeth, KBE

T 176 / 79T

mf

24 December 1979

Dear Prime Minister

I enclose the text of a letter to you from Prime Minister Fraser on the subject of Rhodesia. I will let you have the signed original as soon as it arrives.

Yours sincerely

Gordon Freeth

(Gordon Freeth)

The Rt Hon. Margaret Thatcher, MP  
Prime Minister of Great Britain  
10 Downing Street  
LONDON SW1

# SUBJECT

TEXT OF LETTER FROM THE PRIME MINISTER OF AUSTRALIA,  
THE RT HON. MALCOLM FRASER, CH MP, TO  
THE PRIME MINISTER OF THE UNITED KINGDOM,  
THE RT HON. MARGARET THATCHER, MP.

**PRIME MINISTER'S**

**PERSONAL MESSAGE**

My dear Prime Minister,

**SERIAL No. T176/79T**

It is with great pleasure that I am writing to congratulate you on the considerable triumph for British foreign policy you have just achieved in reaching an all party settlement at the Lancaster House conference. The problem of Rhodesia was one which affected each and every country of the Commonwealth in some degree. Indeed, as we were all so painfully aware before the Lusaka meeting, it carried risks for the future of the Commonwealth itself. Australia, like every other Commonwealth member and indeed other members of the world community, is grateful to Britain for what it has been able to do so successfully under most difficult circumstances.

Your success at the conference owes much to the determination and diplomatic skill exhibited by Peter Carrington throughout the last fourteen weeks. There were times when patience must have been strained, but in retrospect I consider it remarkable not that the talks went on so long, but that you managed to bring together onto common ground parties who in such recent memory were so far apart.

The process of bringing Rhodesia to independence as the new nation of Zimbabwe is by no means over. Australia has already made commitments to assist in the implementation of the Lancaster House settlement. We will continue to do what we can to help reach the final goal. Our two governments will of course remain in close touch in regard to developments in Rhodesia. This will be facilitated by our establishment of a liaison office in Salisbury.

Allow me to say in conclusion that what has been achieved so far promises to have enormous impact on the troubled region of Southern Africa. Your government is actively involved in working for other peaceful solutions to other problems that beset that region. You may count on my government to do all it can to support you in these tasks.

My warmest personal regards.

(Malcolm Fraser)

T175 A/79T



JAMAICA HOUSE  
KINGSTON, JAMAICA

PRIME MINISTER'S  
PERSONAL MESSAGE  
SERIAL No. T175 A/79T

24th December, 1979

*My dear Prime Minister,*

Many thanks for your letter of 11th December in which you brought me up to date on the Lancaster House Conference on Rhodesia and, in particular, on the matter of the cease-fire arrangements which were still outstanding when you wrote.

I have been very pleased to learn since that time that you have indeed been able to reach agreement with the Patriotic Front on the arrangements for the cease-fire, and that it has been possible to achieve a final signing.

I hope it will now be possible, in fact, to bring the long war to an end in that unhappy country, and that the detailed agreements, which have been patiently worked out, can be implemented as envisaged.

Please be assured that you can count on my continued support.

Yours sincerely,

A large, stylized handwritten signature in blue ink, which appears to be "Manley".

Michael Manley.

The Rt. Honourable Mrs. Margaret Thatcher,  
Prime Minister,  
10 Downing Street,  
LONDON.



AMERICAN  
ASSOCIATION



JAN 1968

Many thanks for your letter of 11th December  
in which you propose to be based on the  
Lomas Conference on Rhodesia and in particular on the  
factor of the cross-line arrangements which were still  
contaminating when you wrote.

I have been very pleased to learn since that  
time that you have indeed been able to reach agreement  
with the Rhodesian Government on the arrangements for the  
cessation, and that it is a relief to achieve a  
final solution.

I have to admit a possible failure to  
bring the issue to an end in that country,  
and that the detailed arrangements which have been  
tentatively worked out, are being put into effect.

Please be assured that you can count on my  
continued support.

Yours sincerely,

*[Faint signature and name]*

The Rt. Hon. Lord  
11th Avenue  
10 Downing Street  
London



IN REPLY PLEASE QUOTE

Prime Minister  
**SUBJECT**  
Subject on Rhodesia Pt 12  
Situation / Conference  
T177/79T

EMBASSY OF PAKISTAN

CHANCERY DIVISION

35 LOWNDES SQUARE,  
LONDON, SW1X 9JN

TELEPHONE NO: 01-235 2044 EXT. ....

No. POL-2/20/78

December 24, 1979

Dear Prime Minister,

**PRIME MINISTER'S  
PERSONAL MESSAGE  
SERIAL No. T177/79T**

I have the honour to convey the following message from General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq, the President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan:-

Begins:

I would like to thank you for your message of December 11, informing me of the progress of the conference on Rhodesia and the efforts of your Government to conclude an agreement which would ensure a peaceful transfer of power to the people of Zimbabwe.

The signing of the agreement in London on December 21, is a significant development in the process of decolonization in Southern Africa and it is a measure of your sagacious leadership and the outstanding diplomatic skill of Lord Carrington that such a complex issue has been resolved peacefully through negotiations. This development is welcomed universally and in particular by the countries of the Third World.

In accepting responsibility as the administering power in Rhodesia, the British Government has provisions of the agreement to hold fair and free elections which would lead to the emergence of an independent sovereign Zimbabwe.

I am confident that we will soon see a culmination of your efforts to bring about a new era of peace, tranquility and progress in Zimbabwe.

General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq

Ends.

I take this opportunity to convey the assurances of my highest consideration.

( Amir Usman )  
Charge d'Affaires, a.i.,

The Rt. Hon. Mrs. Margaret Thatcher,  
Prime Minister of the United Kingdom  
of Great Britain and Northern Ireland,  
10 Downing Street,  
LONDON, SW1A 2AL

# CONFIDENTIAL

GPS 410

CONFIDENTIAL

FM MAPUTO 241843Z DEC 79

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TEL NO 511 OF 24 DECEMBER

AND TO IMMEDIATE SALISBURY.

INFO PRIORITY LUSAKA PRETORIA GABORONE WASHINGTON

UKMIS NEW YORK

NY TEL NO 009 TO SALISBURY (NOT TO ALL): MOZAMBIQUE/RHODESIA

1. I SAW THE PRESIDENT THIS EVENING AND SPOKE AS INSTRUCTED IN YOUR TEL NO 187. HE ASKED ME TO THANK YOU AND THE PRIME MINISTER MOST WARMLY. HE EXPRESSED HIS ADMIRATION FOR THE PRIME MINISTER'S COURAGE IN NOT HESITATING TO ASSUME THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF A COLONIAL POWER IN ORDER TO DECOLONISE IN A FIT MANNER. MOZAMBIQUE HAD NO ULTERIOR MOTIVES IN RHODESIA. IT HAD HELPED THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE ILLEGAL REGIME ONLY BECAUSE IT WANTED TO SEE A FREE, STABLE, UNITED, NON-RACIST AND PEACEFUL ZIMBABWE UNDER A GOVERNMENT FREELY ELECTED THROUGH DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES. THAT ALL THIS WAS AGREED IN LONDON WAS A VICTORY FOR ALL. PROGRESS TOWARDS NORMALISATION AND PEACE AND DEMOCRACY WAS NOW IRREVERSIBLE. IT OPENED THE WAY FOR CLOSE COLLABORATION BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES.

2. WITH SANCTIONS GONE MOZAMBIQUE WAS NOW READY TO COOPERATE FULLY WITH US. HE AGREED TO CROSS-BORDER MONITORING LIAISON AT ALL FIVE POINTS SUGGESTED BY US: AND WAS READY TO SEND PEOPLE TO SALISBURY. I INTERRUPTED TO SAY THAT THE PROPOSALS PUT TO GURDON AND BROAD YESTERDAY WERE FAR IN EXCESS OF WHAT WE HAD BEEN TALKING ABOUT BUT MACHEL INDICATED THAT THIS WAS NOT HIS POINT. HE QUITE UNDERSTOOD THAT THE GOVERNOR WOULD NEED TIME TO CONSIDER THE PROPOSAL AND PERHAPS CONSULT LONDON. THE REAL POINT HE WISHED TO MAKE WAS THE NEED FOR THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF COMMUNICATIONS WHICH BOTH MOZAMBIQUE AND RHODESIA BADLY NEEDED. FOR THIS MOZAMBIQUE REQUIRED URGENT ASSISTANCE FROM THE "INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY" AND HE HANDED ME A NOTE (COPIES BY BAG TO YOU AND SALISBURY) WHICH LISTS THE PRIORITIES AS

CONFIDENTIAL

/A.

# CONFIDENTIAL

- A. REPAIRS TO RAILWAYS, LOCOMOTIVES AND RAIL AND ROAD BRIDGES OPENING UP IN THE FIRST INSTANCE THE CROSSINGS AT MUCUMBURA, CUCHAMANO, MANICA, ESPUNGABERA AND CHICUALACUALA:
- B. PORT EQUIPMENT INCLUDING ARTICULATED OIL PIPES AND FORK LIFTS:
- C. RADIO EQUIPMENT FOR BEIRA AIRPORT:
- D. TELELINKS BETWEEN BEIRA AND SALISBURY AND BEIRA AND BLANTYRE AND BETWEEN MAPUTO AND SALISBURY.

I PROMISED TO REPORT.

3. THIS SEEMS TO CONFIRM THE VIEW IN SALISBURY TEL NO 8 TO MAPUTO THAT GUEBUZA'S LIAISON PROPOSALS WERE A TRY ON: BUT I HOPE THAT I CAN GIVE THE MOZAMBICANS OUR CONSIDERED RIPOSTE ON LIAISON AS SOON AS POSSIBLE WITH DETAILS OF OUR OWN MILITARY LIAISON OFFICER/UNIT AND HIS/THEIR LIKELY DATE OF ARRIVAL IN MAPUTO.

PAPADOPOULOS

## FILES

RHOD D  
OADS  
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(MR FIFOOT)  
  
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PS/MR LUCE  
PS/MR RIDLEY  
PS/MR HURD  
PS/MR MARTEN  
PS/PUS  
SIR A DUFF  
MR BULLARD  
MR HANNAY  
LORD N G LENNOX  
  
MR DAY  
MR ASPIN  
MR MILLS

ADDITIONAL DISTRIBUTION  
RHODESIA POLICY

2  
CONFIDENTIAL

SUBJECT.

*I must reply*

*Prime Minister*

②

*I shall arrange for HMA in Amman to acknowledge, if you agree.*

*P.D. apcs.*



THE ROYAL PALACE,  
Amman, Jordan,

*Amn*

December 23, 1979.

**PRIME MINISTER'S  
PERSONAL MESSAGE**

**SERIAL No. T 175/79T**

*Dear Prime Minister,*

We were deeply gratified to hear of the remarkable breakthrough in the peace talks on the Zimbabwe-Rhodesia problem.

Your perseverance, remarkable statesmanship, and deep commitment to a peaceful solution to the problem were decisive factors in bringing about a successful conclusion to the negotiations.

We sincerely hope the parties concerned would adhere to the conditions of the cease-fire to enable a peaceful transition to legality and eventual independence which the people of Zimbabwe - Rhodesia could accept.

We also hope your energies would continue in the same spirit to help bring about peace to other troubled areas of the world especially in the Middle East where a comprehensive, just, and peaceful settlement of the conflict is badly needed not only by the people of the area but the world over.

With my best wishes and regards.

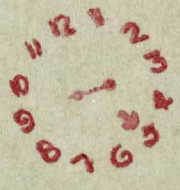
*Most Sincerely  
Your friend,  
Hussein I.*

The Rt. Hon. Mrs. Margaret Thatcher  
Prime Minister  
London  
Great Britain.

- 4 JAN 1960



- 4 JAN 1960



Prime Minister.

SUBJECT

PRIME MINISTER'S  
PERSONAL MESSAGE  
SERIAL No. 1175/79T

ADVANCE COPY

DWF G 039/23

LDL NR 315/23

OO FCO

GRS 185  
RESTRICTED  
FM AMMAN 231140Z DEC 79  
TO IMMEDIATE FCO  
TELNO 513 OF 23 DEC 79

NO DISTRIBUTION  
1175/79T

FOR RESIDENT CLERK

1. THE HEAD OF THE ROYAL COURT TODAY GAVE ME THE FOLLOWING  
PERSONAL MESSAGE FROM KING HUSSEIN TO THE PRIME MINISTER.

BEGINS

DEAR PRIME MINISTER

WE WERE DEEPLY GRATIFIED TO HEAR OF THE REMARKABLE BREAKTHROUGH  
IN THE PEACE TALKS ON THE ZIMBABWE-RHODESIA PROBLEM.

YOUR PERSISTENCE, REMARKABLE STATESMANSHIP, AND  
DEEP COMMITMENT TO A PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM WERE  
DECISIVE FACTORS IN BRINGING ABOUT A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION  
TO THE NEGOTIATIONS.

WE SINCERELY HOPE THE PARTIES CONCERNED WOULD  
ADHERE TO THE CONDITIONS OF THE CEASE-FIRE TO ENABLE A  
PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO LEGALITY AND EVENTUAL INDEPENDENCE  
WHICH THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE-RHODESIA COULD ACCEPT.

WE ALSO HOPE YOUR ENERGIES WOULD CONTINUE IN THE  
SAME SPIRIT TO HELP BRING ABOUT PEACE TO OTHER TROUBLED  
AREAS OF THE WORLD ESPECIALLY IN THE MIDDLE EAST WHERE A  
COMPREHENSIVE, JUST, AND PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE  
CONFLICT IS BOLDLY NEEDED NOT ONLY BY THE PEOPLE OF THE  
AREA BUT THE WORLD OVER.

WITH MY BEST WISHES AND REGARDS.

MOST SINCERELY

YOUR FRIEND

HUSSEIN I.

2. ORIGINAL FOLLOWS BY NEXT BAG.

URWICK

NNNN

SUBJECT

Prime Minister

T174A179T

NNNN

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GOVERNMENT (PRIORITY) Dd.456628 5/76

ETATPRIORITE

THE RT HONOURABLE MARGARET THATCHER PRIME MINISTER OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND 10 DOWNING STREET LONDONS W1

PRIME MINISTER'S PERSONAL MESSAGE SERIAL No. T174A179T

MADAM PRIME MINISTER COLON I HAVE JUST RECEIVED THE HEARTENING NEWS THAT A FINAL AGREEMENT HAS BEEN REACHED ON THE RHODESIAN CONSTITUTIONAL TALKS IN LONDON WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT ACCEPTING THE TERMS

COL 10

*ant*

P.O. INTERNATIONAL TELEGRAPHS, LONDON 22 DEC 1979 EC3/SW1 AREA OFFICE ST BOTOLPHS ENQUIRIES DIAL 01-838 1222 Ext 2068

LBJ500 PAGE2/

OF THE CEASEFIRE PROPOSALS STOP I AM PROFOUNDLY PLEASED TO CONVEY TO YOU CMA ON BEHALF OF THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF LIBERIA AND IN MY OWN NAME CMA SINCERE CONGRATULATIONS FOR THIS GREAT STEP FORWARD IN BRINGING INDEPENDENCE WITH MAJORITY RULE TO ZIMBABWE STOP MAY YOUR GREAT NATION WHICH

COL NIL

LBJ500 PAGE3/

UPHOLDS THE PRINCIPLES OF FREEDOM AND LIBERTY CONTINUE TO ADVANCE THE CAUSE OF SOCIAL JUSTICE CMA INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY SO THAT PEOPLES EVERYWHERE IN OUR ONE WORLD WILL COME TO ENJOY A FULLER LIFE WITH DIGNITY STOP WE LAUD THE EFFORTS OF YOUR GOVERNMENT IN THE SEARCH FOR PEACE

COL NIL

LBJ500 PAGE4/

IN ZIMBABWE AS WELL AS ITS POLICY OF CLOSER IDENTIFICATION WITH AND SUPPORT FOR THE LEGITIMATE ASPIRATIONS OF ALL AFRICAN PEOPLES STOP MAY THESE ENDEAVOURS UNDER YOUR DYNAMIC LEADERSHIP BE CROWNED WITH ABUNDANT SUCCESS STOP WITH RENEWED ASSURANCES OF MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATION AND ESTEEM SINCERELY

WR TOLBERT JR PRESIDENT OF LIBERIA AND CURRENT CHAIRMAN OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY



Prime Minister

SUBJECT

F A 100—W 5689



HIGH COMMISSIONER  
OF THE  
REPUBLIC OF SINGAPORE

22 December 1979

The Rt Hon Margaret Thatcher, MP  
Prime Minister  
10, Downing Street  
London SW1

T 174/79T  
PRIME MINISTER'S  
PERSONAL MESSAGE  
SERIAL No. T 174/79T

Dear Prime Minister

I am instructed by my Prime Minister, Mr Lee Kuan Yew  
to forward you a message which reads as follows:-

"The Rt Hon Margaret Thatcher  
Prime Minister  
Great Britain

Dear Prime Minister

Thank you for your message.

The agreement is a triumph to all who brought it  
about under Lord Carrington's chairmanship. If, perchance,  
it were unable to prevent a subsequent resort to violence,  
no blame attaches to those who tried so arduously and  
honourably to bring peace through so sensible and eminently  
fair a solution.

Yours sincerely  
LEE KUAN YEW"

Yours sincerely

(JEK YEUN THONG)



10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

22 December, 1979.

Dear Mr. Ramphal,

Thank you for your kind letter of 19 December about the outcome of the Lancaster House Conference. I appreciate your letter the more in that it comes from someone whose own contribution to the success of the Conference was significant. As you say, the period ahead promises to be no less testing than that which we have just come through. Like you, I hope that the Commonwealth will have a substantial role to play in the effort to achieve the final success.

Yours sincerely,

(SGD) MT

His Excellency Mr. Shridath S. Ramphal Kt CMG QC



File with MODBA

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

21 December 1979

Dear Michael,

Message from the Prime Minister of Fiji : Rhodesia

With his letter of 17 December to me, Nick Sanders enclosed the text of a message from the Prime Minister of Fiji.

As the Prime Minister was replying to a message from Mrs Thatcher, we do not consider that a further message to Sir Ratu Mara is required. However, subject to your agreement, we would propose to ask the British High Commissioner at Suva to thank Sir Ratu Mara for his message, on behalf of the Prime Minister.

yours ever  
Roderic Lyne

(R M J Lyne)  
Private Secretary

M O'D B Alexander Esq  
10 Downing Street

Post Office

11/11/1919

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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

21 December 1979

*By Jean Ambarada*

*LS  
Rus*

I should be grateful if you could thank Mr Nguza Karl-i-Bond for his kind message about Rhodesia, which was transmitted under cover of your Embassy's note of 10 December. The Prime Minister has also asked me if I could pass on her appreciation to President Mobutu for his message on the same subject.

We have been very grateful for the active support of your President and Foreign Minister during the Lancaster House Conference. With the signing of the final Conference Report and of the Ceasefire Agreement, Rhodesia will stand firmly on the path to legal independence on the basis of genuine majority rule. This is, of course, the result for which we have striven for so long.

There are bound to be difficulties ahead. In particular, I regard it as vital that the parties should comply scrupulously with the terms of the Ceasefire Agreement, and that a genuine spirit of reconciliation should be developed. However I am confident that, with the continuing assistance of our friends, such further difficulties as may arise can be overcome.

*J. Carrington*  
*Sincerely,*  
*Carrington*  
(CARRINGTON)

His Excellency  
Mr Matungulu N'Kuman Tavun

STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE

*h.s. Smith 21/11*

As Chairman of the Lancaster House Conference I would like to make a few concluding remarks.

With the signature of this Final Report we complete together fourteen weeks of concerted and concentrated effort. I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate all the participants in this Conference, and in particular the leaders of the delegations who sit beside me, on the successful outcome of our endeavours. The documents that we have just signed are of the greatest significance to the people of Rhodesia and of the neighbouring States.

In opening this Conference I expressed the hope that we would be able to lay the foundations for a free, independent and democratic society in which all the people of Rhodesia irrespective of their race or political beliefs would be able to live in security and at peace with each other and with their neighbours. That hope has now been realised. The people of Rhodesia will now be able to settle their future by peaceful means.

/As Lord Soames

As Lord Soames said on his arrival in Salisbury last week, for a war weary country the prize is great.

What is that prize? It is the end of war and enmity. It is the opportunity for all Rhodesians to devote their energies to peaceful activities. It is a chance for the country to renew and strengthen its relations with its neighbours and with the wider international community. It is, in brief, the opportunity for a more normal and settled existence. That is what I believe the people of Rhodesia sought from this Conference.

In signing these documents today we have together pledged ourselves to certain solemn undertakings.

For our part, the British Government intend faithfully to discharge the heavy responsibilities we have undertaken during the period leading to elections and the transfer of sovereignty to the new Government of Zimbabwe. We have already taken the legislative action which is necessary to bring your country to legal independence following the holding of elections.

/We have

We have no wish to prolong our role. Our task is to give the people of your country the chance to decide for themselves their own future and to establish a new relationship between Rhodesia and the rest of the world.

I am glad to say that this process has already started, so that you will be able to take your rightful place in the international community.

The British Government is prepared to help Rhodesia to overcome the difficulties of the past; to carry out its responsibilities; and to do its utmost to offer you the prospect of a more peaceful future. The rest depends on your cooperation.

It is essential to the success of the enterprise on which we are now engaged that all the parties should realise that what have been signed at the conclusion of this Conference are solemn and binding agreements. It will be for the Governor to see that the parties act in accordance with these commitments.

For the people of Rhodesia and of the neighbouring States, today's

/signature



signature heralds the end of a war which has caused immense hardship and suffering. From midnight tonight the first phase of the ceasefire will come into operation.

The parties have pledged to cease any cross-border movement by their forces. It is essential to the preservation of the cease-fire that this agreement should be complied with.

The moment, however, for which the people of Rhodesia have been waiting will come at midnight on Friday 28 December. At that time all hostilities within Rhodesia must cease and the process of dis-engagement and assembly will begin. This will be a difficult period. It is essential that the forces on both sides should comply scrupulously, under the direction of their Commanders, with the requirements of the cease-fire agreement.

This provides that the forces must dis-engage, must move rapidly to the nearest rendez-vous point, and must thereafter move on to the assembly places designated in the

cease-fire agreement. The successful accomplishment of the dis-engagement and assembly process will be of crucial importance to the future effectiveness of the cease-fire.

The subsequent commitments concerning the observance of the cease-fire and the pursuit of the political campaign by peaceful means are of no less importance. The Governor could not undertake his task without the powers and authority which are necessary to enable him to accomplish it. These include the power to take whatever action is necessary to ensure compliance with the agreements entered into today.

Our commitment is to fair elections. Having committed themselves to campaign peacefully and to comply with the cease-fire agreement, no party or group could expect to take part in elections if it continued the war or systematically to break the cease-fire and to practise widespread intimidation.

I make no apology for emphasising the importance of our commitments in the period ahead.

/I have

I have done so because I feel strongly the sense of hope which goes with having achieved so much; for in accepting them, you have given the people of Rhodesia and of the neighbouring countries new hope for the future.

The British Government has sought to create the conditions in which you can settle your differences by peaceful means. The agreements which you have signed give you the opportunity to do so; and will create among the people of Rhodesia the hope that at the end of a bitter conflict lies the prospect of national reconciliation.

We have a shared responsibility now to do our utmost to ensure that Zimbabwe comes to independence in conditions of peace. With your cooperation and that of the neighbouring countries, we can hope together to achieve that objective.

We stand at the end of a difficult decade in the history of Southern Africa. With the conclusion today of the agreement the prospects are immeasurably improved.

But the significance of today's signature goes far wider than that.

The progress of the Lancaster House Conference has been watched with keen attention from many countries. If, as a result of a negotiated settlement, wounds so deep can be healed in Rhodesia - as I pray they shall be during the months ahead - then the people of that country will have set an example and given hope to others throughout the world.

In particular, they will have given new heart to those who have been patiently working for a peaceful settlement in Namibia. And they will have encouraged those who wish to resolve the issues which now divide South Africa from the other countries of the Continent.

We have succeeded - not always easily - in maintaining over weeks the spirit of compromise and determination that was born at the Lusaka Conference. We have done so with the help and support of other Commonwealth countries, and of much of Africa.

As I formally bring the Constitutional Conference to a close,

/therefore

therefore, I would thank both delegations for reminding the world, at a time when it is very much in need of it, that there is a genuine alternative to conflict. You have earned our deep and sincere gratitude. In the testing days ahead we shall give you all possible support in developing a spirit of reconciliation throughout Zimbabwe and Southern Africa, and in ensuring that the next decade there will be one of peace and prosperity.

END



00  
Rhodesia file with MDDSA

DER BOTSCHAFTER  
DER BUNDESREPUBLIK DEUTSCHLAND

London, 21 December 1979

Rennie Ruster <sup>(2)</sup>  
Rust

Dear Prime Minister,

I have the honour to transmit to you the enclosed telegramme from Herr Helmut Schmidt, Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany.

A courtesy translation is also attached.

May I add my own sincere congratulations on this remarkable achievement.

yours sincerely,

H. Ruete

Hans H. Ruete

We must send  
a letter of  
thanks  
me

The Rt.Hon. Margaret Thatcher, MP  
Her Majesty's Prime Minister  
and First Lord of the Treasury  
L o n d o n

SUBJECT

PRIME MINISTER'S

Telegramm PERSONAL MESSAGE

SERIAL No. 1173/79T

von Herrn Helmut Schmidt, Bundeskanzler der Bundesrepublik  
Deutschland

an The Rt.Hon. Margaret Thatcher, MP, Prime Minister

Frau Premierminister,  
Liebe, verehrte Frau Thatcher,

Zu der Unterzeichnung der Schlussakte der Lancaster-House-Konferenz und dem damit verbundenen Erfolg Ihrer Rhodesienpolitik spreche ich Ihnen meine herzlichen Glückwünsche aus.

Es ist Ihrer Regierung gelungen, die Konfliktparteien von der Notwendigkeit des politischen Kompromisses zu überzeugen, um Rhodesien einen friedlichen und international anerkannten Weg in die Unabhängigkeit zu ermöglichen. Die von Ihrer Regierung erreichte aktive Mitwirkung der Frontstaaten bei der Lösung der Rhodesienfrage gibt ein ermutigendes Beispiel für die Überwindung der noch bestehenden afrikanischen Konflikte.

Meine Regierung wird auch weiterhin nach Kräften dazu beitragen, dass der von Ihnen gewiesene Weg zum Frieden in Rhodesien und darüber hinaus zu einer Stabilisierung im südlichen Afrika führt.

Mit freundlichen Grüßen

Helmut Schmidt

Bundeskanzler der Bundesrepublik Deutschland



**SUBJECT**

Courtesy Translation

T e l e g r a m m e

T 173/79T

From Herr Helmut Schmidt, Chancellor of the  
Federal Republic of Germany  
To The Rt.Hon. Margaret Thatcher, MP  
Prime Minister

**PRIME MINISTER'S**

**PERSONAL MESSAGE**

**SERIAL No. T 173/79T**

Dear Prime Minister,  
Dear Mrs. Thatcher,

I should like to congratulate you on the signing of the Final Report of the Lancaster House Conference and on the success of your Rhodesia policy.

Your Government have been able to convince the Parties to the conflict of the necessity of political compromise as the only way to bring Rhodesia to peace, independence and international recognition. By obtaining the active cooperation of the Frontline States in finding a solution to the Rhodesian problem, you have given an encouraging example how still existing conflicts in Africa might be overcome.

My Government will continue to contribute everything in their power that the way shown by you will lead to peace in Rhodesia and to stability in Southern Africa.

With best regards,

Helmut Schmidt

ZEITUNG  
MATTPOST



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

21 December 1979

*Dear Michael,*

*H. M. Lyne*

Rhodesia: Message from the Ghanaian President

I enclose a letter from the Ghanaian High Commissioner to the Prime Minister conveying a message of congratulations from Dr Limann about Rhodesia. The letter was handed to Lord Carrington at Lancaster House this morning.

With your agreement, we would propose to ask the British High Commissioner at Accra to thank the President for his message.

*yours ever  
Roderic Lyne*

(R M J Lyne)  
Private Secretary

M O'D B Alexander Esq  
10 Downing Street

21 DEC 1979



SUBJECT

Telephone: 01-235 4142-5.

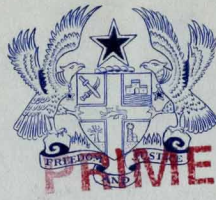
Telegrams: G HANACOM, KNIGHTS, LONDON, S.W.1.

C HANACOM, LONDON, S.W.1.

Telex: 28827.

My Ref: LON/PE.24/1

Your Ref.



OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GHANA,

13, BELGRAVE SQUARE,

LONDON, SW1X 8PR

ENGLAND.

T173A/79T  
PRIME MINISTER'S  
PERSONAL MESSAGE

21st December, 1979.

SERIAL No. T173A/79T

Madam Prime Minister,

I am instructed by His Excellency the President of Ghana, Dr. Hilla Limann, to submit the following message to you on the occasion of the signing of the agreement for a settlement on Rhodesia:-

"ON THE OCCASION OF THE SIGNING OF THE AGREEMENT FOR A SETTLEMENT ON RHODESIA, I SHOULD LIKE TO CONVEY TO YOU MY WARMEST CONGRATULATIONS ON THE SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF THE LANCASTER HOUSE TALKS STOP BRITAIN, UNDER YOUR LEADERSHIP DESERVES SINCERE COMMENDATION FOR FORBEARANCE AND STATESMANSHIP AT THE CONFERENCE AS WELL AS FOR THE ASSUMPTION OF ITS RESPONSIBILITIES STOP WE PRAY THAT AN ATMOSPHERE OF PEACE AND JUSTICE WILL NOW PREVAIL IN WHICH RHODESIA WILL SOON BE BROUGHT TO INDEPENDENCE IN A NEW ZIMBABWE STOP BEST WISHES STOP

HILLA LIMANN  
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF GHANA."

E.M. DEBRAH  
HIGH COMMISSIONER

THE Rt. HON. MARGARET THATCHER, M.P.,  
PRIME MINISTER,  
OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER,  
10 DOWNING STREET,  
LONDON, S.W.1



10 DOWNING STREET

*From the Private Secretary*

21 December 1979

I enclose two messages to the Prime Minister from the President of Ghana. I doubt whether either requires any formal response but you may like to arrange for the High Commissioner to express the Prime Minister's thanks orally.

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

R.M.J. Lyne, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

CONFIDENTIAL



*Agreed out.*

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London S.W.1

*Cleared with Content  
Desk by phone  
50/11/79*

21 December 1979

*21.12.79.*

*Dear Michael,*

Rhodesia: Message to African Presidents

The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary would like to instruct our posts in the Front Line States, Nigeria and Liberia, to convey an oral message on behalf of the Prime Minister and himself as soon as possible after the signature of the Rhodesian Agreements. I enclose a draft telegram to the posts concerned. As you will see, the object of the instructions is both to thank the Presidents of these countries for their help during the negotiations and to enlist their support in ensuring that the Patriotic Front comply with the terms of the ceasefire.

Lord Carrington would also like to send parallel instructions to HM Ambassador at Pretoria. These are contained in the second of the enclosed telegrams. As you may have seen from Pretoria telno 1018 (copy enclosed) the Prime Minister's references to South Africa in her speech in New York have been very well received by the South African Government and press. South African Ministers have recently been restrained in their public statements about Rhodesia; and we believe they have made helpful interventions with the Salisbury Delegation. We would like the South Africans to continue to impress on the White Rhodesians and Bishop Muzorewa that it is essential to carry through the ceasefire and electoral procedures fairly. A warm personal message to the South African Prime Minister and Foreign Minister conveyed by Mr Leahy could encourage the South Africans to co-operate with us over Rhodesia and Southern African generally.

*He has  
informed  
so.*

*(Lord Carrington has not yet seen the text of the telegram to Pretoria, which I shall show him at the earliest opportunity).*

*yours ever*

*Roderic Lyne*

(R M J Lyne)  
Private Secretary

M O'D B Alexander Esq  
10 Downing Street  
LONDON

CONFIDENTIAL

Design and Technology Office

London S.W.1

21 DEC 1979

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OUT TELEGRAM

	Classification and Caveats <b>CONFIDENTIAL</b>	Precedence/Deskby <b>IMMEDIATE DESBY 211400Z</b>
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ZCZC	1	ZCZC
GRS	2	GRS
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DESKBY	5	DESKBY 211400Z
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	17	REPEATED FOR INFO CANBERRA
	18	REPEATED FOR INFO WELLINGTON
	19	REPEATED FOR INFO NAROBI
	20	RHODESIA
	21	1. Please seek an appointment to convey, directly or at
///	22	the highest appropriate level, our thanks to the President
//	23	of the country to which you are accredited for helping
/	24	us to bring about a Rhodesian settlement. You should make
	25	it clear that you are speaking on behalf of - and on

NNNN ends telegram	BLANK	Catchword <b>personal</b>
File number	Dept <b>S/S OFFICE</b>	Distribution <b>Rhodesian Policy</b>
Drafted by (Block capitals) <b>R M J LYNE</b>		
Telephone number <b>233 4651</b>		
Authorised for despatch		
Comcen reference	Time of despatch	



OUT TELEGRAM (CONT)

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1 <<<<  
 2 personal instructions from - the Prime Minister and myself.  
 3 2. You should say that we are deeply appreciative of  
 4 the sustained and determined efforts made by the Presidents  
 5 of the Front Line States, and of Nigeria, and by the  
 6 Chairman of the OAU, in support of a negotiated settle-  
 7 ment. As we have publicly acknowledged, the settlement  
 8 could not have been achieved without, first, the breakthrough  
 9 made by the Commonwealth at Lusaka in establishing a basis  
 10 for negotiations, and, subsequently the strong backing  
 11 for a peaceful settlement given by the governments concerned  
 12 during the Lancaster House Conference.  
 13 3. During the Conference we found it particularly helpful  
 14 to have the advice of the personal representatives sent  
 15 by the Presidents concerned to London.  
 16 4. You should draw attention to my concluding statement  
 17 at the Conference today (~~text in MIFT~~) and should draw  
 18 as fully as possible on the following points:  
 19 A. With the signing today of the final Conference  
 20 Report and of the ceasefire agreement, Rhodesia  
 21 has been set firmly on the path to legal independence  
 22 on the basis of genuine majority rule. The Governor  
 23 will now set the date for elections. All political  
 24 parties will be free to put their policies to the  
 25 people who will decide on the government which will  
 26 lead them to independence. This is the result for  
 27 which we have all striven for so long.  
 28 B. The first phase of the ceasefire comes into  
 29 effect at midnight tonight with the cessation of all  
 30 cross border movement. The monitoring force has  
 31 already begun to deploy to Rhodesia. The ceasefire  
 32 inside Rhodesia will come into effect at midnight on  
 33 28 December. The Rhodesian forces will disengage  
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2 and the process of assembling the Patriotic Front's  
 3 forces will take place over the next seven days.  
 4 C. We are sure the Presidents will appreciate  
 5 the vital importance of full compliance with the  
 6 terms of the ceasefire agreement. This will engender  
 7 confidence in the country, and between the parties,  
 8 that the agreement as a whole will be observed  
 9 and that elections will take place free from  
 10 intimidation and violence. We know that we can  
 11 count on their assistance in this, in particular  
 12 in helping to ensure the complete cessation of all  
 13 cross border movement by any of the forces concerned.  
 14 D. In signing the final Conference Report all  
 15 parties have undertaken to accept the authority of  
 16 the Governor, to abide by the Independence Constitution,  
 17 to campaign peacefully and without intimidation,  
 18 to renounce the use of force for political ends and  
 19 to accept the outcome of the elections and  
 20 instruct any forces under their authority to do the  
 21 same. These are binding commitments and we shall  
 22 be looking to all parties to observe them scrupulously.  
 23 We have undertaken to see that the elections will  
 24 be fair. We can only do so if the parties themselves  
 25 honour the obligations which they have accepted.  
 26 E. One of the Governor's main tasks in the next few weeks  
 27 will be to begin immediately the process of normalising  
 28 Rhodesia's relations with her neighbours. There are  
 29 many problems to be solved, not least that of the  
 30 refugees, and these will take time. But we look  
 31 forward to co-operating with the governments concerned  
 32 over this and in other fields.  
 33 F. There are bound to be difficulties ahead but  
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2 we are confident that, by continuing to work together,  
3 these can be overcome.

4 5. If you are not able to put these points across orally  
5 today or tomorrow, you have discretion to convey a suitable  
6 message in writing, which ideally would be followed by a  
7 full oral presentation when you have an opportunity.

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9 CARRINGTON

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# OUT TELEGRAM

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ZCZC  
GRS  
CLASS  
CAVEATS  
DESKBY  
FM FCO  
PRE/ADD  
TEL NO

1	ZCZC
2	GRS
3	CONFIDENTIAL
4	
5	211400Z
6	FM FCO 210940Z DECEMBER 79
7	IMMEDIATE PRETORIA
8	TELEGRAM NO
9	REPEATED FOR INFO SALISBURY
10	My telno to Maputo : RHODESIA
11	1. I know that most South African Ministers are now on holiday
12	and will be difficult to track down. Nevertheless I hope you
13	will be able to convey to PW Botha and Pik Botha our thanks
14	to them for their help over Rhodesia. I think this would best
15	be done orally: but you should say that you have been
16	specifically requested by the Prime Minister and me to express
17	our appreciation.
18	2. As Pik Botha noted in his statement on 19 December (your
19	telno 1018), the Prime Minister has this week publicly welcomed
20	encouraging developments in South Africa. We in turn hope
21	that the South Africans will be encouraged by the achievements
22	of the Lancaster House Conference. We of course have no illusions
23	about the difficulties which lie ahead, and are fully prepared
24	to take firm action to meet them. However, by sticking
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NNNN ends telegram	BLANK	Catchword  to
File number	Dept Private Office	Distribution
Drafted by (Block capitals) R M J LYNE		FILES MR BARDER, SAD RHODESIA DEPT MR BRIGHT, NEWS DEPT
Telephone number 233 4641		PS PS/LPS
Authorised for despatch		PS/MR LUCE PS/PUS
Comcen reference	Time of despatch	MR DAY MR ASPIN

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2 to the end to the difficult and often thankless task of  
3 pursuing a negotiated settlement, we have brought about the early  
4 lifting of sanctions by Western nations (~~shortly to be endorsed,~~  
5 ~~we hope, at the UN~~) and have attracted a wide degree of  
6 support to those in Rhodesia who stand by their commitments  
7 under the settlement. Negotiation, as opposed to confrontation,  
8 has been demonstrated to provide a possible way forward in  
9 Southern Africa. The sharp <sup>international</sup> polarisation caused by the Rhodesian  
10 dispute has ended. Any attempts to revive the war will be most  
11 unwelcome to the Front Line States, and will receive little  
12 support internationally so long as we, and all of those in  
13 Rhodesia who accept the Governor's authority, abide  
14 scrupulously by our undertakings.  
15 3. In spelling out these undertakings, you should draw as  
16 necessary on my two IPTs.  
17 4. You should say that it is our strong hope that the South  
18 Africans will continue to support us in seeing the settlement  
19 through in the best possible order to independence. From  
20 the outset we recognised the strong case of the internal  
21 parties, following the April election in Rhodesia: and  
22 we certainly do not consider that the settlement has put them  
23 at a disadvantage. However we know that they have felt  
24 themselves to be under considerable pressure, and are grateful  
25 for what the South Africans have done and can continue to do  
26 to reinforce them in the view - which we hold strongly - that  
27 the present course is not only in Rhodesia's best interests  
28 but indeed represents the only sensible way forward.  
29 5. Could you also make the point that we feel that the much  
30 better understanding developed between our two governments  
31 over the past few months - due in large measure to the personal  
32 efforts of PW Botha and Pik Botha - will stand us in good stead  
33 in tackling other problems in the years ahead.  
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2 6. Finally, please pass on our best wishes for a peaceful  
3 Christmas and New Year.

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Catchword



10 DOWNING STREET

*From the Private Secretary*

21 December 1979

MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER OF FIJI

I agree that, as proposed in your letter to me of 21 December, the High Commissioner at Suva should thank Sir Ratu Mara on the Prime Minister's behalf for his message.

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

R.M.J. Lyne, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

PART 11 ends:-

PMTD FCS 21.12.79 M 19/79T

PART 12 begins:-

MODBA TO FCO 21.12.79



