

SECRET

Confidential Filing

The Situation in Rhodesia

RHODESIA

PE 1 : May 1979

PE 16 : March 1980

Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date
3.3.80							
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11.3.80							
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14.3.80							
18.3.80							
19.3.80							
ends							

PREM 19/346

PART 16 ends:-

MODBA to FCO 19.3.80

PART 17 begins:-

FCO to MODBA 21.3.80

TO BE RETAINED AS TOP ENCLOSURE

Cabinet / Cabinet Committee Documents

Reference	Date
CC (80) 9 th Conclusions, Minute 2	6.3.80
CC (80) 10 th Conclusions, Minute 2	
CC (80) 11 th Conclusions, Minute 1	18.3.80

The documents listed above, which were enclosed on this file, have 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

Signed Wayland

Date 8 July 2010

PREM Records Team



10 DOWNING STREET

File 16
Rhodesia

From the Private Secretary

19 March 1980

Dear Rhodesia,

INDEPENDENCE GIFTS TO RHODESIA

The Prime Minister has seen your letter to me of 18 March on this subject. She has agreed the draft Question and Answer enclosed with your letter. We will arrange tabling.

As regards the gifts, the Prime Minister has commented that it will not be possible to purchase anything very grand for £2,000. She wonders, therefore, whether the sum available for the House of Commons gift could not be increased. If it were planned to present a Speaker's Chair, as has been done in the past, a good deal more would, of course, be required.

I am sending copies of this letter to Martin Hall (H.M. Treasury), David Edmonds (Department of the Environment), Colin Egerton (Privy Council Office), John Stevens (Office of the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster), Charles Gordon and Sir Noel Short (House of Commons) and to David Wright (Cabinet Office).

Yours ever

Nicholas Alexander

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

16



File

CC: FCO
Sent to FCO,
19/3
JH

10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

19 March 1980

You and those under your command in the Monitoring Force have received well-earned praise from many quarters for the magnificent way in which the difficult, and at times, perilous task has been carried out in Rhodesia. I should like to add my personal tribute.

That, after years of turmoil, Rhodesia now stands on the threshold of a peaceful and internationally recognised independence owes much to the initiative, perseverance and tact of the Monitoring Force. Their role was unique. The world has seen it as a shining example of the professionalism and resourcefulness of the British soldier and his Commonwealth colleagues.

The Government and the nation have every reason to be proud of you and all who served with you in Rhodesia.

(sgd) Margaret Thatcher

Major-General J. Acland, CBE.

BK



CALL BY THE GOVERNOR OF RHODESIA ON THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER
AT NO.11 DOWNING STREET AT 11.30 A.M. ON WEDNESDAY 19TH MARCH, 1980

Present:

Chancellor of the Exchequer
 Lord President of the Council and
 Governor of Rhodesia
 Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary
 Minister of State for Trade
 Financial Secretary to the Treasury
 Mr. Day (FCO)
 Mr. Lynch (ODA)
 Mr. Barratt)
 Mr. Widdup) HM Treasury
 Mr. Slater)
 Mr. M.A. Hall)

hs
Phunt
- 24/3

Lord Soames said that it was essential to reinforce the successful conduct of the Rhodesian Election by responding to the country's financial needs with imagination and style. It was of the utmost strategic importance to seize this opportunity to influence the course of events in Africa. The present allocation of £40 million spread over the financial years 1980-81 to 1982-83 was insufficient. Zimbabwe needed \$R700 (about £500) million over the three years. Britain must give enough to encourage other countries to contribute adequately. In his view, we should contribute one-seventh of this total - say £75 million over the three years. Additionally, he would like to be able to tell Mr. Mugabe on his return that evening to Rhodesia that \$R10 million of the UK contribution would be available immediately. He did not expect an immediate decision on the £75 million.

2. The Chancellor said he recognised the force of Lord Soames' arguments. But he was obliged to look at this substantial proposal in the light of the extremely tight financial position. The Central Contingency Reserve (as distinct from the Contingency Reserve within planned expenditure on the Aid programme) for 1980-81 was already looking inadequate before the year had started. Demands by



the nationalised industries alone could absorb it with ease. He and the Foreign Secretary had just attended a meeting of OD, which had deferred a decision on aid to Turkey - another substantial claimant, so that the two countries could be considered side by side.

3. The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary said that he understood that if the UK offered no more to Turkey than had already been allocated, an extra £10 million for Zimbabwe might be found in 1980-81 from the Aid Programme Contingencies Reserve. But there was a strong political case for doing more for Turkey, and he did not wish to pre-empt this possibility by committing this additional amount to Zimbabwe. Mr. Lynch commented that in terms of actual disbursement possibilities, considerably less might be needed for Zimbabwe during 1980-81. Moreover, in practice the disbursement total would probably be spread over some 4 to 5 years. Lord Soames doubted this; he thought the Zimbabwe administration, which was relatively efficient, would have no difficulty in spending the whole amount during the years in question. The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary remarked on the tiresome effects on planning the aid programme of sizeable roll-overs from one year to another. Mr. Barratt suggested that the amount of aid should be related to established need. Most of these would in time be met by credit from commercial banks. Government help was required for pump-priming. There was at present no clear feel in Whitehall for what Rhodesia's needs really were. This needed to be carefully studied, and it might be better to concentrate on what Lord Soames could say immediately on his return to Salisbury. Mr. Day confirmed that no figure for British Government aid had been given to the Rhodesians, but that the £40 million allocation had leaked to the press. Lord Soames said that the Rhodesian administration had already done some work on the country's requirements. An independent Zimbabwe would face the massive costs of post-war reconstruction and development of the economy.

4. It was agreed that Lord Soames should feel free to tell Mr. Mugabe on his return to Salisbury that \$R10 million would be provided



immediately, subject to suitable assurances about the purposes to which it would be put. On the £75 million over future years, as sought by Lord Soames, there remained a gap of £35 million over the £40 million which had already been allocated.

The Chancellor's view remained that if this was to be found it must come from the Aid Programme Contingencies Reserve. He did, however, have considerable sympathy for Lord Soames' case, and did not rule out some extra provision from the Central Contingency Reserve. Officials of the Treasury, FCO and ODA should discuss this further, and the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary would put the detailed case to him.

Rhodesian debts and export credit

5. The Chancellor said that a necessary pre-condition to making ECGD credit available to Zimbabwe was a formal commitment by Mr. Mugabe to honour pre-UDI Rhodesian Government debt. There were substantial outstanding obligations both to HMG and to private bondholders. A failure to give such an undertaking would seriously damage Zimbabwe's creditworthiness. Lord Soames said that Mr. Mugabe had already made a public statement indicating readiness to meet existing obligations, though he himself hoped that the debts to the British Government would be dealt with generously by HMG. Treasury officials said that it could not be expected that these debts be settled in very short order; there would have to be fairly complicated negotiations on the timing of repayments. But this would in no way inhibit a commitment in principle by Mr. Mugabe.

6. Mr. Parkinson said that ECGD would be willing initially to extend medium term credits of up to £30 million in total, consisting of separate credits of not more than £5 million, to individual enterprises. The risk would thus be well spread. Lord Soames said that there were three large projects in the offing - Wankie II, development of the railways, and of the telecommunications network. The total cost would be some \$R200 million over the next two years, of which, provided suitable credit arrangements



obtained, British industry might obtain some \$R60 million. Much the most promising from the British point of view was the railway project. Mr. Parkinson said that major projects would be looked at individually on their merits, outside the £30 million.

7. It was agreed that officials would provide Lord Soames with a formula on outstanding debt which he would put to Mr. Mugabe. Subject to suitable undertakings from Mr. Mugabe, ECGD credit on the scale outlined by Mr. Parkinson would be immediately in place. The ceiling on credit for Zimbabwe should however in no circumstances be revealed to the Zimbabwe Government.

Pensions

8. It was agreed that Lord Soames' proposals for guaranteeing the remittability of pensions for white public servants in Zimbabwe would need further study. Lord Soames said he had made it quite clear to Mr. Mugabe that there could be no question of HMG assuming the liability for continued payments of pensions to Rhodesian Government pensioners.

Mozambique

9. Lord Soames said that he had been invited to see President Machel. The Mozambique Government were making great efforts to emancipate themselves from Soviet influence. The only aid Mozambique was now receiving from the USSR was military. Strategically, this change of front was of great importance to the West, coupled as it was with developments in Zimbabwe. He would like to be both friendly and helpful. Two major projects in Mozambique would be of considerable benefit to Zimbabwe - the proposed Maputo-Salisbury railway, and the development of Beira port. It was noted that European Development Fund money should be available for the latter, and we were pressing Monsieur Cheysson on this.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'M.A. Hall'.

M.A. HALL

21 March 1980



Distribution:

PS/Prime Minister
PS/Foreign and Commonwealth
Secretary
PS/Lord President
PS/Secretary of State for Trade
PS/Mr. Parkinson

PS/Chief Secretary
PS/Financial Secretary
Sir Douglas Wass
Sir Kenneth Couzens
Sir Anthony Rawlinson
Mr. Barratt
Mr. Widdup
Mr. F.E.R. Butler
Mr. Unwin
Mr. Slater
Mr. Cowdy
Mr. St. Clair
Mr. Ridley
Mr. Cardona

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24 MAR 1960

copies done
SUBJECT
Prime Minister



T60B/80
PRIME MINISTER'S
STATE HOUSE,
PERSONAL MESSAGE
ZOMBA,
MALAWI
SERIAL No. 19th March, T60B/80

A reply to your letter of 14 Feb (sent by hand of the new High Commissioner & asking for Mr Banda's help in the run up to the elections. You did not get much!)

The Right Honourable Margaret Thatcher, M.P., P.C.
Prime Minister,
No. 10 Downing Street,
London,
ENGLAND.

Ph... - 26/3
mb.

Dear Prime Minister,

Pe 14

Deliberately, I delayed replying to your letter of February the 14th. In doing so, it was my intention to avoid making any promises on the question of intimidations or predictions on the outcome of the pending elections in Zimbabwe. But this does not mean that I did nothing privately or quietly.

I did my best quietly through those politicians in Zimbabwe that are well known to me, such as, Mr. Joshua Nkomo himself, Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole and even Bishop Muzorewa. I was, throughout, in contact with Rev. Sithole personally. He came to see me here. Both Mr. Nkomo and Bishop Muzorewa have people who pose as their representatives here in Malawi. I worked through these supposed representatives.

I can understand your disappointment, in particular, with members of the Organisation of African Unity. If the truth may be told, I do not think that even within the Organisation of African Unity, one can truthfully say that there was a solid agreement, one way or the other, on the question of Zimbabwe. The difficulty here is that there were some members of the Organisation of African Unity who were personally interested in certain leaders in Zimbabwe. Naturally, they wanted these leaders, in whom they were interested, to win the elections and become the rulers in Zimbabwe.

To be honest, I was interested in Rev. Sithole. But deep down in my heart, I knew that he could not win, in opposition to either Mr. Mugabe or even Bishop Muzorewa. Because, although he comes under the general term of Shona in Zimbabwe, he is neither Zezuru nor Karanga, according to my information. He is Manyika, a minor section of the Shona people.

Nkomo, I knew he would win some seats. And on the basis of his reputation as father of Zimbabwe politics, I expected him to do well. But I also knew or realised that he belonged to a minority tribal group, Ndebele, to be exact, an offshoot of the Zulu people of Natal, who left Natal in 1835 or thereabout, under the leadership of Mzilikazi.

That Mr. Mugabe would win, I had no doubt at all, because he belonged to the majority tribal group in Zimbabwe, Shona. And even more, he is said to belong to the Karanga section of the Shona people, which is the most active, forceful, even pushful tribe. But I did not expect him to win the elections with such a shattering victory as he, in the event, did. I had expected both Bishop Muzorewa and Rev. Sithole to do much better than they did. But, of course, that is how the game of politics, if one may borrow the late General Smuts' phrase, is.

We, in Malawi, definitely welcome the results of the elections in Zimbabwe. Though Mr. Mugabe and Rev. Sithole are running separate parties, at one time they worked together. As a result of that, Mr. Mugabe knows something about us here.

This is evidenced by his appointment in one of the most important departments in government, Finance. Mr. Enos Nkala, who according to reports has been appointed Minister of Finance, is well known to a number of Malawians. Because he was detained in 1959, when a number of the then Nyasas were detained in Rhodesia. Again, the appointment of a lady by the name of Mrs. Chitepo points in the same direction. The late Herbert Chitepo was my patient in London when he was a student.

And when I was detained in 1959, he was junior to the late Dingle-Foot as my counsel. Even the appointment of Mr. Nkomo as Home Secretary or Minister of Interior is most welcome to us. Mr. Nkomo and I have been working together since 1952.

For all these reasons, then, the new Government in Zimbabwe is most welcome to us. We congratulate you and all those concerned in your Government for everything you have done to make these elections in Zimbabwe possible and a success.

Prime Minister, I think this letter is far too long. I must cut it short now.

With warm personal
regards,

Yours sincerely

J. K. Kamezis Gubb

26 MAR 1960

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3

10 DOWNING STREET

Prinie Prunter

Follow up to earlier letters
Drafted by F.C.O.

Prunter



pl link + pa.

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

18 March 1980

Dear Michael,

Rhodesia: Thanks to General Acland

I understand that the Prime Minister would like to send a letter of thanks to Major-General Acland and those who served under him in the Monitoring Force in Rhodesia.

/ I attach a draft.

yours ever

Roderic Lyne

(R M J Lyne)
Private Secretary

M O' D B Alexander Esq
10 Downing Street
LONDON

Type for PM's signature

Registry No.

LETTER

DRAFT

Type 1 +

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

- Top Secret,
- Secret.
- Confidential.
- Restricted.
- Unclassified.

To:-

Major-General J Acland CBE

From

Prime Minister

Telephone No. Ext.

Department

PRIVACY MARKING

..... In Confidence

You and those under your command in the Monitoring Force have received well-earned praise from many quarters for the magnificent way in which the difficult, and at times, perilous task has been carried out in Rhodesia. I should like to add my personal tribute.

That, after years of turmoil, Rhodesia now stands on the threshold of a peaceful and internationally recognised independence owes much to the initiative, perseverance and tact of the Monitoring Force. Their role was unique. The world has seen it as a shining example of the professionalism and resourcefulness of the British soldier and his Commonwealth colleagues.

The Government and the nation have every reason to be proud of you and all who served with you in Rhodesia.

18 MAR 1980



2 PPS.



Prime Minister
Afce proposal at
A + texts at Flag B?

Foreign and Commonwealth Office
London SW1A 2AH

You want for much for
£2,000.

18/3
Dear Michael,
Order: Chair. A good one
will require more than
£2,000.

18 March 1980

Independence Gifts to Rhodesia

Rhodesia is expected to attain independence shortly, and has applied to become a full member of the Commonwealth. It is customary for these occasions to be marked by the presentation of gifts from the Government and from the House of Commons.

A. | The Financial Secretary to the Treasury has approved expenditure of up to £4,500 for the Government gift and up to £2,000 for the House of Commons gift to the House of Assembly. We shall be consulting the Government of Zimbabwe after independence about the forms these gifts might take.

/ We should be grateful if you would seek the Prime Minister's approval for the proposed presentations. Once this has been given, it is customary for an announcement to be made by means of an arranged Parliamentary Question, for written reply by the Prime Minister. This is sometimes tabled by the Leader of the Opposition personally. I enclose a suggested draft question, answer and background note. If these proposals are approved, we should be grateful if you could arrange for the PQ to be tabled and answered before the date of independence, now fixed for April 18. We would also wish to have early warning of the date of the PQ so that we may inform the Governor.

I am sending copies of this letter, without enclosures, to Martin Hall (Treasury), David Edmonds (Dept of the Environment), Colin Egerton (Privy Council Office), John Stevens (PS/Leader of the House), David Wright (Cabinet Office), and to C A S S Gordon and Sir Noel Short (House of Commons).

yours ever
Roderic Lyne

(R M J Lyne)
Private Secretary

M O D B Alexander Esq
10 Downing Street
LONDON

* 0 5 7 8 11



BACKGROUND NOTE

INDEPENDENCE GIFTS TO RHODESIA

1. It is the practice for Her Majesty's Government and for the House of Commons to present gifts to Governments and Legislatures respectively to mark the attainment of independence, provided those countries are becoming members of the Commonwealth.
2. It is to be hoped that the Prime Minister will approve the presentation of such gifts to Zimbabwe. The Treasury have sanctioned expenditure of up to £4,500 on the gift from Her Majesty's Government and up to £2,000 on the gift from the House of Commons.
3. If approval is given, the Zimbabwean authorities will be consulted about the forms that the Government and House of Commons gifts might take.
4. The announcement about the gifts, in the form of a written Answer to a Parliamentary Question, should be made before Independence Day.

18 MAR 1960





AUSTRALIAN HIGH COMMISSION • LONDON

Rodene

FROM THE DEPUTY HIGH COMMISSIONER

18 March 1980

kg.
Phnt
- 18/3

Dear Mr Alexander,

I refer to my letter of 10 March 1980, enclosing the text of a letter from my Prime Minister, the Rt Hon. Malcolm Fraser, to your Prime Minister, the Rt Hon. Margaret Thatcher.

I now enclose the original of Mr Fraser's letter. - see T 51/80 of 7.3.80

Yours sincerely,

R. Fernandez

(R.R. Fernandez)

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

CONFIDENTIAL



ms.
Prime Minister

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

La. V. Hunt
18/3

*You have already seen the attached
lts. Lord Soames is v. ambitious!*

17 March 1980

Dear Michael, *Hunt 17/3*

Rhodesia: Aid

You may find it helpful, before Lord Soames sees the Prime Minister tomorrow, to have a brief account of the discussion between the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary and Lord Soames this morning on future relations with Zimbabwe. As background you will have seen Salisbury telegrams nos 1056, 1057 & 1068 (copies enclosed for ease of reference) which convey the Governor's proposals for future assistance.

Lord Soames made a case for a considerable increase in the aid which is currently earmarked for Zimbabwe (£40 million over three years). He saw such aid as an important contribution to stability in Southern Africa which would serve our long-term interests. A moderate and successful government in Zimbabwe would reassure the South Africans and help the prospects of a settlement in Namibia. If we were ready to help on a substantial scale, there would be no need for Mr Mugabe to turn to the Soviet Union. It would be in our interest to help Mr Mugabe satisfy the aspirations of the Africans in Rhodesia; and our statements at Lancaster House - even though we had avoided specific figures - had given the new government grounds to expect substantial assistance. Moreover aid to Zimbabwe would not be a long-term burden. The economy could be got back on its feet within three to five years. The quality of the administration would ensure that aid was well spent.

To secure these goals Lord Soames suggested that a total aid package closer to £90 million over three years (which might also embrace modest additional help for Mozambique in the light of their helpful role during the negotiations) would be more appropriate. This would enable us to give Zimbabwe a good start and would at the same time ensure that we were on strong grounds in pressing other developed countries to contribute in a major way to Zimbabwe's development (action on this is already in hand). Of this, £5 million would be a contribution to the immediate problem of reconstruction in the wake of the war and would be announced immediately. A major part of the remainder would be needed as our contribution towards land settlement and agricultural development on which we made a particular commitment to help at Lancaster House, and to which Mr Mugabe attaches the highest priority.

Lord Soames also laid particular stress upon the need for Britain to establish itself in what is likely to be a very

/substantial

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CONFIDENTIAL



substantial and profitable market. It was essential that medium term credit cover should be made available to British industry very quickly to enable it to catch up with the French and Germans who have already started to do substantial business. (A proposal by ECGD to extend £30 million of medium term cover is being considered by the Treasury.) A proportion of our aid should be devoted to promoting trade.

Lord Soames thought that help for Rhodesia would be necessary over government debts from the pre-UDI period, some of them dating back to the Central African Federation era and totalling £53 million. Remission of at least some of them should be considered when we got into negotiations with the new government. He also recommended that we should help the new government reassure white civil servants that they would receive their full pension entitlement if they remained at their posts. He has submitted detailed proposals for this which are being examined.

Lord Soames and Lord Carrington will be seeing the Chancellor of the Exchequer on Wednesday to discuss these policies further.

yours ever

Roderic Lyne

(R M J Lyne)
Private Secretary

M O'D B Alexander Esq
10 Downing Street
LONDON

[RHODESIA: POLICY: ADVANCE COPIES]

IMMEDIATE

PS
PS/SIR I GILMOUR
PS/MR LUCE
PS/PUS
SIR D MAITLAND
MR DAY
SIR L ALMONSON
~~MR ASPIN~~

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

SIR R ARMSTRONG)
MR R L WADE GERY)
MR P M MAXEY) CABINET
MR GOULTY) OFFICE
MR W N WENBAN SMITH)
DIO)

.....
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HD/NEWS DEPT
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PS/SIR I SINCLAIR
MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A
MR FIFOOT

CONFIDENTIAL

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IMMEDIATE

IMMEDIATE

TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 1058 OF 14 MARCH 1980
INFO PRIORITY CAPE TOWN

MY TELNO 1056: RHODESIA: FUTURE POLICY

1. IN MY TELEGRAM UNDER REFERENCE I DESCRIBED THE MAIN AREAS IN WHICH WE SHOULD URGENTLY CONSIDER ASSISTANCE TO ZIMBABWE OVER THE NEXT TWO TO THREE YEARS IF WE ARE TO:

A. ROUND OFF OUR TASK HERE AND HELP TO GIVE THE NEW COUNTRY THE CHANCE OF A REASONABLE START, WITH A PROSPECT OF A STABLE FUTURE:

B. CONTRIBUTE TO AN ORDERLY EVOLUTION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA (INCLUDING THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF ESSENTIAL CHANGES IN SOUTH AFRICA ITSELF):

C. HELP TO SUSTAIN WESTERN INFLUENCE IN THE REGION AND HOLD BACK THE EXTENSION OF SOVIET INFLUENCE.

2. I AM WELL AWARE THAT ANY PROPOSALS FOR EXPENDITURE AT THIS TIME WILL BE HIGHLY UNWELCOME. WHAT I AM PROPOSING, HOWEVER, IS ESSENTIALLY THE GIVING OF A HIGH PRIORITY IN THE SHORT TERM TO ZIMBABWE WITHIN THE EXISTING OVER-ALL AID PROGRAMME SO FAR AS THIS IS POSSIBLE. THERE IS A CHANCE OF AVOIDING THIS COUNTRY TAKING AN EARLY DOWNWARD PATH AND SLIDING TOWARDS CONFRONTATION WITH SOUTH AFRICA. THERE ARE ABOUT 80,000 UK CITIZENS HERE AND ANOTHER 70,000 WHO WOULD BE ELIGIBLE AS DEPENDANTS FOR ADMISSION TO THE UNITED

KINGDOM. IF THERE IS A MASSIVE WHITE EXODUS AND RAPID ECONOMIC DECLINE, WE SHALL HAVE TO FACE CONSIDERABLE CRITICISM BOTH AT HOME AND ABROAD. IT IS IN MY VIEW OPEN TO US TO AVOID THIS BY ADOPTING AN IMAGINATIVE ATTITUDE TO ASSISTANCE IN THE SHORT TERM. IF THE NEW GOVERNMENT SETS ZIMBABWE ON A ROAD WE DISLIKE, WE CAN AND SHOULD DISENGAGE. BUT WE HAVE A GREAT CHANCE TO INFLUENCE EVENTS IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE. IF WE TAKE THE LEAD IN A GENEROUS MANNER, AND PROMPTLY, WE SHALL BE ABLE TO PERSUADE OTHERS TO FOLLOW AND THE COST WILL BE SHARED. WE HAVE FOR ONCE THE OPPORTUNITY TO INVEST IN SUCCESS. AFTER THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE LAST SEVEN MONTHS, IT WOULD BE A TRAGEDY TO THROW AWAY THAT OPPORTUNITY.

3. IT WILL SIMPLY NOT BE ADEQUATE FOR THESE PURPOSES TO THINK IN TERMS OF AID OF THE ORDER OF £400 MILLION FOR ZIMBABWE OVER THE NEXT THREE YEARS. AS I UNDERSTAND THAT IN 1978 WE SPENT £175 MILLION ON AID TO AFRICA AND WE SEEM TO BE SPENDING £200 MILLION A YEAR ON AID TO TANZANIA ALONE. THE AID WE DISBURSE HERE IS LIKELY TO HAVE A CONSIDERABLE EFFECT IN A COUNTRY WHICH WILL REMAIN PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT TO US FOR SOME TIME. WE SHOULD BE PREPARED TO COMMIT AT ANY RATE £300M A YEAR FOR THE NEXT THREE YEARS TO INCLUDE:

THE IMMEDIATE £50M FOR RECONSTRUCTION AID:

DEVELOPMENT AID:

THE VARIOUS FORMS OF MILITARY AND OTHER TRAINING ASSISTANCE:
SOME CONTRIBUTION TO HELP DEAL WITH THE IMMEDIATE SHORT TERM PROBLEM OF A MASS EXODUS FROM THE PUBLIC SERVICE.

4. I DON'T WANT YOU TO THINK I HAVE GONE NATIVE BECAUSE I HAVEN'T, BUT WHAT I AM PROPOSING IS THAT IN THE SHORT TERM WE GIVE A HIGH PRIORITY TO ZIMBABWE. THERE IS NO NEED TO REGARD THIS AS AN OPEN-ENDED COMMITMENT. WE CAN THEREFORE REVIEW THE SITUATION IN RELATION TO THE SIZE OF THE REMAINING BRITISH COMMUNITY AND THE GENERAL ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DIRECTION THE COUNTRY HAS TAKEN. BUT WE HAVE A REAL CHANCE TO INFLUENCE EVENTS IN A COUNTRY IN WHICH, IN THE SHORT TERM AT LEAST, VERY CONSIDERABLE BRITISH INTERESTS AND THE FUTURE OF A LARGE NUMBER OF BRITISH CITIZENS WILL BE AT STAKE. LET US DO IT WITH SOME STYLE, AND UNGRUDGINGLY.

FCO PASS CAPE TOWN

SOAMES

IMMEDIATE

NI:NN

(x28)

[RHODESIA: POLICY: ADVANCE COPIES]

PS
PS/SIR I GILMOUR
PS/MR LUCE
PS/PUS
SIR D MAITLAND
MR DAY
SIR L ALLISON
~~MR ASPIN~~

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

SIR R ARMSTRONG)
MR R L WADE GERY)
MR P M MAXEY) CABINET
MR GOULTY) OFFICE
MR W N WENBAN SMITH)
DIO)

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HD/PUSD (2)

HD/NEWS DEPT

~~HE/WAD~~
PS/SIR I SINCLAIR
MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A
MR FIFOOT

RESIDENT CLERK

V

CONFIDENTIAL
DESKBY 140700Z
FM SALISBURY 131900Z MAR 80

TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 1056 OF 13 MARCH 1980
INFO PRIORITY CAPE TOWN

RHODESIA: FUTURE POLICY

1. THE FOLLOWING IS INTENDED AS A BASIS FOR OUR DISCUSSION ON 17 MARCH. I SHALL BE SENDING YOU SOME FURTHER THOUGHTS TOMORROW.
2. I UNDERSTAND THE CONCERN FELT IN LONDON THAT WE SHOULD BE CAUTIOUS ABOUT GETTING INVOLVED IN THE ENORMOUS PROBLEMS WHICH WILL CONFRONT THE NEW GOVERNMENT HERE. BUT, IN THE LIGHT OF OUR INTERESTS IN ZIMBABWE, AND IN THE CONTEXT OF THE GENERAL PROBLEMS CONFRONTING SOUTHERN AFRICA OVER THE NEXT FEW YEARS, IT IS GOING TO BE OF GREAT IMPORTANCE TO ESTABLISH THE BEST RELATIONSHIP WE CAN WITH THE NEW GOVERNMENT OF ZIMBABWE: TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE OPPORTUNITY AT PRESENT OFFERED TO INFLUENCE ITS POLICIES: TO TRY TO STEER IT AWAY FROM ACTIONS LIKELY TO UPSET THE APPLE CART IN THE SHORT TERM IN RHODESIA (EG BY PROVOKING A MASSIVE WHITE EXODUS): AND TO ENCOURAGE IT TOWARDS ESTABLISHING A WORKING RELATIONSHIP WITH SOUTH AFRICA RATHER THAN IN EARLY CONFRONTATION (WHICH

WITH SOUTH AFRICA RATHER THAN AN EARLY CONFRONTATION (WHICH WOULD ALSO HAVE SERIOUS IMPLICATIONS FOR OUR INTERESTS).

MILITARY ASSISTANCE

3. MR MUGABE HAS MADE IT CLEAR THAT HE WISHES MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO COME FROM BRITAIN RATHER THAN ELSEWHERE AND FOR THE ZIMBABWAN ARMY TO BE ORGANISED ON THE BRITISH PATTERN. DURING HIS RECENT VISIT GENERAL PERKINS IDENTIFIED A NUMBER OF AREAS IN WHICH BRITAIN COULD GIVE MILITARY ASSISTANCE: PARTICULARLY THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A BRITISH MILITARY TRAINING TEAM IN ZIMBABWE AND THE OFFER OF TRAINING COURSES IN THE UK. IF WE DO NOT PROVIDE ASSISTANCE TO THE FUTURE NATIONAL ARMY OTHERS WILL DO SO - AND THIS COULD LEAD QUITE QUICKLY TO SERIOUS DIFFICULTIES IN THE REGION. IF ENCOURAGEMENT IS NOT GIVEN FOR THE USE OF NATO WEAPONS, THE NEW ARMY WILL INEVITABLY TURN FOR ITS SUPPLIES TO EASTERN EUROPE. THE MOD MAY FIND IT DIFFICULT TO FIND PLACES ON MILITARY TRAINING SCHEMES FOR ZIMBABWE AT SHORT NOTICE. BUT IT IS OF GREAT IMPORTANCE THAT SUCH PLACES SHOULD BE FOUND, PARTICULARLY SO FAR AS OFFICER TRAINING IS CONCERNED. IF NECESSARY SPECIAL PROGRAMMES SHOULD BE ARRANGED, WITHOUT THE USUAL ADMIXTURE OF BRITISH STUDENTS (THOUGH THIS WOULD BE A PITY).

4. THE DEMOBILISATION ON LARGE NUMBERS OF ARMED MEN, AND THE AMALGAMATION OF THE THREE ARMIES WILL IMPOSE A SERIOUS FINANCIAL BURDEN OVER THE NEXT FEW MONTHS. THERE IS FURTHERMORE THE RISK AT THE END OF APRIL OF AN EXODUS OF RHODESIAN OFFICERS ON A SCALE WHICH WOULD INCREASE THE DIFFICULTIES OF TRAINING THE NEW ARMY (AND SERIOUSLY UNDERMINE CONFIDENCE THROUGHOUT THE WHITE COMMUNITY). APART FROM THE NEED (SEE PARA 9 BELOW) TO NEGATE THE EFFECT OF THE ILL-ADVISED SPECIAL INCENTIVE SCHEME, IT WOULD GREATLY HELP TO CONTAIN THIS RISK IF WE COULD MAKE THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE OFFER OF A PROGRAMME OF EXCHANGES FOR JUNIOR OFFICERS BETWEEN THE BRITISH AND ZIMBABWEAN FORCES (THEREBY ALSO BROADENING THE EXPERIENCE OF THE OFFICERS CONCERNED).

AID

5. I CAN UNDERSTAND THE VIEW THAT THERE IS NOT MUCH POINT IN GETTING INVOLVED IN DETAILED DISCUSSION OF AID PROGRAMMES UNTIL THE NEW GOVERNMENT HAS HAD TIME TO PLAY ITSELF IN. BUT GIVEN THE DELAYS INVOLVED IN GETTING AID COMMITMENTS AGREED AND THEN DISBURSE, IT IS ESSENTIAL IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES CONFRONTING THIS COUNTRY TO MOVE AT A LESS DELIBERATE PACE. I AM TELEGRAPHING SEPARATELY ABOUT THE MAIN SECTORS TO WHICH THE NEW GOVERNMENT IS LIKELY TO GIVE PRIORITY IN ITS REQUESTS FOR DEVELOPMENT AID. BUT THERE IS A GREAT DEAL THAT COULD BE DONE WITH AID FUNDS IN THE SHORT TERM IN RE-SETTLEMENT AND RE-CONSTRUCTION. THE NEW GOVERNMENT

SHORT TERM IN RE-SETTLEMENT AND RE-CONSTRUCTION. THE NEW GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE TO EMBARK ON A MASSIVE PROGRAMME TO RE-BUILD AND RE-ESTABLISH SCHOOLS, CLINICS, CATTLE-DIPS ETC, AND TO RE-SETTLE REFUGEES FROM THE RURAL AREAS. I REALLY THINK IT INDISPENSIBLE THAT

WE SHOULD MAKE AN IMMEDIATE GESTURE BEFORE, BUT RELATED TO INDEPENDENCE. IN MY VIEW THIS SHOULD BE AN IMMEDIATE GRANT OF £5 MILLION FOR RE-CONSTRUCTION.

6. SO FAR AS ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IS CONCERNED, THE SOONER AN AID TEAM COMES HERE AND BEGINS TALKING WITH THE NEW GOVERNMENT THE BETTER. I UNDERSTAND THAT WE ARE AT PRESENT THINKING IN TERMS OF A £40 MILLION PROGRAMME OVER THE NEXT THREE YEARS. WE MUST TRY TO DO BETTER THAN THIS (EVEN IF THIS HAS TO BE AT THE EXPENSE OF SOME OTHER PROGRAMMES). ZIMBABWE SHOULD BE A MUCH EASIER COUNTRY TO HELP THAN MOST OTHER AID RECIPIENTS. THERE IS AN EFFECTIVE ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINE, A WELL-DEVELOPED PRIVATE SECTOR, AND AN IMPRESSIVE AMOUNT OF PLANNING DOCUMENTATION ALREADY PREPARED WHICH ONLY NEEDS TO BE BROUGHT TOGETHER IN A FRAMEWORK REFLECTING THE POLITICAL PRIORITIES OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT.

7. WE SHOULD ALSO CONSIDER LOOKING AGAIN AT THE POSSIBILITY OF WRITING OFF THE OLD FEDERATION ERA DEBT (OF WHICH THERE IS SOME £56 MILLION OUTSTANDING), OR AT THE LEAST A LARGE PART OF IT. THIS WOULD NOT AFFECT THE UK PSBR: IT WOULD AVOID AN UNPLEASANT WRANGLE AT A MOMENT WHEN WE SHALL BE TRYING TO PERSUADE OTHERS TO BE GENEROUS: AND, WITH THE INCREASE IN AID SUGGESTED, WOULD ENABLE US TO APPEAR GENEROUS OURSELVES.

INTERNATIONAL AID

8. WE MUST SURELY BEGIN FORTHWITH TO SET IN TRAIN A PUBLIC INTERNATIONAL APPEAL FOR AID TO THE NEW STATE. SUCH AN APPEAL FOR BOTH IMMEDIATE RECONSTRUCTION, AND FOR DEVELOPMENT AID, SHOULD BE LAUNCHED IMMEDIATELY. A DONOR'S CONFERENCE WILL REQUIRE PREPARATION. BUT IT IS NO USE THINKING IN TERMS OF SUCH A CONFERENCE IN THE AUTUMN. THIS WOULD BE MUCH TOO LATE IN THE DAY. WE MUST SURELY SEEK TO EXPLOIT THE PRESENT ADVANTAGEOUS POLITICAL CLIMATE TO APPEAL TO THE AMERICAN, EUROPEAN, SCANDINAVIAN AND OLD COMMONWEALTH GOVERNMENTS TO COMMIT SIGNIFICANT AID FUNDS TO ZIMBABWE QUICKLY. WE SHOULD AIM FOR A DONORS' CONFERENCE TO BE HELD (IN SALISBURY IF THAT SEEMS PSYCHOLOGICALLY THE BEST CHOICE) BEFORE THE SUMMER BREAK. WE SHOULD ALSO ENCOURAGE THE NEW GOVERNMENT TO APPLY AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO JOIN THE LOME CONVENTION: AND M CHEYSSON TO PAY AN EARLY VISIT HERE.

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

9. THE NEW GOVERNMENT FACES NOT ONLY AN ACUTE SHORTAGE OF FOREIGN

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

9. THE NEW GOVERNMENT FACES NOT ONLY AN ACUTE SHORTAGE OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE BUT ALSO AN IMMEDIATE BUDGETARY CRISIS. THE FORECAST NET DEFICIT, AFTER TAKING INTO ACCOUNT OIL RESOURCES AND LOCAL BORROWING, FOR THE NEXT FINANCIAL YEAR IS OF THE ORDER OF 400 MILLION RHODESIAN DOLLARS - AND THIS IS WITHOUT MAKING ANY PROVISION FOR THE COST OF RECONSTRUCTION. AT PRESENT THE ONLY REAL SOURCE OF SHORT-TERM FINANCE IS SOUTH AFRICA AND IN THE EARLY DAYS THE NEW GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE TO COME TO TERMS WITH THAT - IF THE SOUTH AFRICANS WILL COOPERATE. THE SOUTH AFRICANS HAVE STOPPED, FOR THE TIME BEING, RHODESIANS DRAWINGS FROM THE SOFT LOAN FUNDS AVAILABLE. THIS WILL LEAVE THE RHODESIAN TREASURY SHORT OF 80 MILLION RAND DUE TO BE DRAWN DOWN IN MARCH AND MAY, AND ANOTHER 35 MILLION RAND TO BE NEGOTIATED. UNLESS THESE BORROWINGS ARE RESTORED (AND THERE ARE INDICATIONS THAT MUGABE WOULD BE PREPARED TO DO SO FOR HIS PART) THE BUDGETARY SITUATION WILL BE EVEN WORSE. BUT THERE WILL IN ANY CASE BE AN URGENT NEED TO ASCERTAIN TO WHAT EXTENT IT IS POSSIBLE TO ATTRACT FINANCE FOR FOREIGN EXCHANGE PURPOSES THROUGH MULTILATERAL INSTITUTIONS. THIS IS AN AREA WHICH WE MUST DO ALL WE CAN TO HELP WITH ADVICE. FURTHERMORE, ECOD SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED TO GRANT MEDIUM TERM COVER AS SOON AS POSSIBLE (THEREBY ENCOURAGING OTHERS TO DO SO).

REMITTABILITY OF PENSIONS

10. I HAVE TELEGRAPHED SEPARATELY (MY TELNO 1013) ABOUT THE POTENTIALLY SERIOUS PROBLEM POSED BY THE LIKELIHOOD OF A MAJOR EXODUS OF ARMY OFFICERS, POLICE OFFICERS AND CIVIL SERVANTS FEELING THAT THEY MUST TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE ABILITY TO COMMUTE AND REMIT THEIR PENSIONS AT THE END OF APRIL. THEIR FEAR IS THAT IF THEY DO NOT DO SO THEN, THEY MAY NOT SUBSEQUENTLY BE ABLE TO REMIT THEIR PENSIONS AT ALL. I FULLY APPRECIATE THE DIFFICULTIES THAT WOULD BE POSED BY OUR DIRECT INVOLVEMENT IN A SCHEME TO GUARANTEE THE REMITTABILITY OF PENSIONS. I HOPE THAT NEVERTHELESS WE SHOULD BE ABLE TO OFFER SOMETHING OF THE SORT. IF WE CANNOT, THERE MAY BE ALTERNATIVES. WHAT IS REQUIRED AS A MINIMUM IS VERY URGENT ASSISTANCE IN WORKING OUT WITH THE NEW GOVERNMENT A WAY OF ASSURING PEOPLE IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE WHO ARE PREPARED TO STAY THAT THEY WILL NOT BE PREJUDICING THEIR FINANCIAL FUTURE. PERHAPS FINANCIAL EXPERTS COULD WORK OUT A PLAN FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A FUND TO WHICH AMOUNTS COULD PROGRESSIVELY BE REMITTED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF ZIMBABWE AND WHICH COULD BE HELD IN TRUST FOR PERSONS PREPARED TO SERVE ON FOR SOME TIME. SINCE THE SETTING UP OF SUCH A FUND WILL IMPOSE A FOREIGN EXCHANGE BURDEN, WE SHOULD NOT EXCLUDE THE POSSIBILITY OF OUR MAKING A LOAN OF SAY £10 MILLION TO COVER PART OF THE INITIAL COSTS - BUT AS A "ONCE ONLY" OPERATION, AND AS A CONTRIBUTION WHICH SHOULD BE SET AGAIN OUR GENERAL PROGRAMME OF

CONTRIBUTION WHICH SHOULD BE SET AGAIN OUR GENERAL PROGRAMME OF ASSISTANCE TO THE NEW GOVERNMENT.

11. IF NOTHING IS DONE, THE NEW GOVERNMENT MAY BE FACED BY A MASSIVE EXODUS OF THOSE COVERED BY THE "INCENTIVE" SCHEME AND THE CONSEQUENT NEED TO PAY OUT LARGE AMOUNTS IN FOREIGN EXCHANGE (THE NOTIONAL POSSIBLE TOTAL IF EVERYONE LEFT ON 30 APRIL, WOULD BE RHODESIAN DOLLARS 91 MILLION).

OTHER AREAS

12. THERE ARE OTHER AREAS IN WHICH WE CAN USEFULLY HELP - AND BY DOING SO QUICKLY CAN TRY TO LIMIT INTERFERENCE BY GOVERNMENTS WHOSE INTERVENTION WOULD BE UNWELCOME TO US. THESE INCLUDE THE PROVISION OF POLICE TRAINING COURSES IN THE UNITED KINGDOM; ADVICE TO THE ZRBC AND ON THE ORGANISATION OF THE CIVIL SERVICE; ASSISTANCE TO THE NEW FOREIGN MINISTRY AND IN THE GENERAL FIELD OF SECURITY. PLANS FOR ASSISTANCE IN THESE FIELDS ARE ALREADY IN HAND.

GENERAL

13. IF IT IS POSSIBLE TO GET A FAIRLY RAPID START MADE WITH A GENEROUS MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAMME; WITH AID PROGRAMMES WHICH YIELD SOME EARLY RESULTS (ESPECIALLY RECONSTRUCTION) AND DO NOT INVOLVE VERY LONG DELAYS BEFORE ANYTHING COMES TO FRUITION; WITH A DONORS' CONFERENCE AT WHICH WE CAN SEEK TO ATTRACT FINANCIAL SUPPORT FROM OTHER COUNTRIES; AND WITH A SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF SHORT TERM FINANCE FOR THIS COUNTRY, THE RISKS OF IT TAKING A DOWNWARD PATH AND OF AN EARLY CONFRONTATION WITH SOUTH AFRICA WILL BE GREATLY REDUCED. THERE IS THEREFORE A LOT AT STAKE IN THE SHORT TERM. WE SHOULD NOT COMMIT OURSELVES TO MASSIVE PROGRAMMES OF INDEFINITE DURATION FOR ZIMBABWE. THE COUNTRY OUGHT TO BE ABLE TO STAND ON ITS OWN FEET IN A FEW YEARS TIME. BUT WE OUGHT TO COMPLETE THE TASK WE UNDERTOOK LAST YEAR BY DOING AS MUCH AS WE CAN IN THE AREAS INDICATED ABOVE AND IF NECESSARY AT THE EXPENSE OF SOME OTHER PROGRAMMES, OVER THE CRUCIAL PERIOD OF THE NEXT TWO YEARS.

FCO PASS CAPE TOWN

SCAMES

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[RHODESIA: POLICY: ADVANCE COPIES]

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PS/SIR I GILMOUR
PS/MR LUCE
PS/PUS
SIR D MAITLAND
MR DAY
SIR L ALINSON
~~MR ASPIN~~

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

SIR R ARMSTRONG)
MR R L WADE GERY)
MR P M MAXEY) CABINET
MR GOULTY) OFFICE
MR W N WENBAN SMITH)
DIO)

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~~HD/FRD~~

HD/NEWS DEPT

HD/WAD

PS/SIR I SINCLAIR

MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A

MR FIFOOT

RESIDENT CLERK

CONFIDENTIAL
DESKBY 140700Z

FM SALISBURY 131855Z MAR 80

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 1057 OF 13 MARCH

INFO PRIORITY CAPE TOWN

IMMEDIATELY PROCEEDING TELEGRAM: RHODESIA: FUTURE POLICY: AID
1. RHODESIA'S REQUIREMENT FOR LARGE SCALE FOREIGN AID SHOULD BE ESSENTIALLY SHORT TERM. THE UNDERLYING ECONOMIC POTENTIAL OF THIS COUNTRY IS CONSIDERABLE AND PROVIDED THAT THE GOVERNMENT PURSUES REASONABLE POLICIES (AND IN PARTICULAR DOES NOT SCARE OFF THE WHITES) THIS POTENTIAL SHOULD BEGIN TO BE REALISED WITHIN A FEW YEARS. BUT THE INFRASTRUCTURE AND THE ECONOMY HAS BEEN SERIOUSLY DAMAGED BY THE WAR. THE WAR HAS ALSO CREATED MASSIVE SOCIAL PROBLEMS, BOTH ACTUAL AND POTENTIAL, WHOSE SOLUTION WILL REQUIRE OUTSIDE HELP. FURTHERMORE THE GOVERNMENT IS COMMITTED TO POLICIES AIMED AT IMPROVING THE WELFARE AND OPPORTUNITIES OF THE BLACK MAJORITY.

IMPROVING THE WELFARE AND OPPORTUNITIES OF THE BLACK MAJORITY.

2. AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND THE FOLLOWING SEEM LIKELY TO BE THE GOVERNMENT'S AID PRIORITIES.

(A) RECONSTRUCTION. THE RURAL AREAS AND PARTICULARLY THE TRIBAL TRUST LANDS HAVE BEEN DEVASTATED BY THE WAR. THE TASK OF RECONSTRUCTION INVOLVES THE REBUILDING OF SCHOOLS, HOSPITALS, CLINICS, CATTLE DIPS AND DAMS, THE REESTABLISHMENT OF PEST CONTROL PROGRAMMES AND THE FINANCING OF AFRICAN TRADESMEN AND ARTISANS WHOSE WORK PLACES HAVE BEEN DESTROYED. THE PROBLEM OF RURAL RECONSTRUCTION WILL BE COMPOUNDED BY THE NEED TO RESETTLE THOUSANDS OF RETURNING REFUGEES (BOTH THOSE WHO FLED OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY AND THOSE WHO LEFT THE RURAL AREAS FOR THE COMPARATIVE SAFETY OF THE TOWNS), TOGETHER WITH THOSE MEMBERS OF THE P F FORCES AND THE SECURITY FORCE AUXILIARIES WHOM IT WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE TO ABSORB INTO THE ARMED FORCES OF THE NEW ZIMBABWE. ALL OF THIS WILL CALL FOR ASSISTANCE, BOTH FINANCIAL AND TECHNICAL, FROM OUTSIDE.

(B) LAND RE-SETTLEMENT. THE GOVERNMENT IS COMMITTED TO A POLICY OF RESETTLING AFRICANS ON UNUSED OR UNDER-UTILISED LAND. I UNDERSTAND THAT A PROPORTION OF OUR PROPOSED AID HAS ALREADY BEEN EARMARKED FOR THIS PURPOSE; WE MAY ALSO BE ABLE TO ASSIST WITH ADVICE BASED ON EXPERIENCE IN THIS FIELD GAINED ELSEWHERE, POSSIBLY IN KENYA.

(C) RE-EQUIPMENT OF INDUSTRY AND CAPITAL INVESTMENT. A CONSIDERABLE PROPORTION OF RHODESIA'S INDUSTRIAL CAPITAL EQUIPMENT IS OUTDATED, BUT IT COULD NOT HITHERTO BE REPLACED BECAUSE OF SANCTIONS. IF INDUSTRY IS TO REALISE ITS FULL POTENTIAL THIS EQUIPMENT MUST NOW BE REPLACED. IF WE ARE TO GET OUR SHARE OF THIS POTENTIAL MARKET IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT E C G D SHOULD GRANT MEDIUM TERM CREDIT. IN ADDITION THE ALREADY EXISTING 5-YEAR PLAN FORESEES A NUMBER OF MAJOR CAPITAL INVESTMENT PROJECTS: FOR ENERGY (THE THERMAL POWER STATION WANKIE II), TRANSPORTATION (RAILWAY ELECTRIFICATION) AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS. WE ASSUME THAT THE NEW GOVERNMENT WILL WISH TO PURSUE THESE PROJECTS, WHICH ARE IMPORTANT FOR THE COUNTRY'S INFRASTRUCTURE. THESE PROJECTS WILL CALL FOR SPECIAL LOAN FACILITIES.

INFRASTRUCTURE. THESE PROJECTS WILL CALL FOR SPECIAL LOAN FACILITIES.

(D) DEBT RELIEF. RHODESIA AT PRESENT OWES THE UNITED KINGDOM DEBTS TALLING APPROXIMATELY POUNDS STERLING 56 MILLION. ALL OF THESE DEBTS DATE BACK TO THE FEDERATION PERIOD AND SOME OF THEM - EG FOR THE SALE OF JET FIGHTERS - ARE POLITICALLY CONTENTIOUS. MUGABE HAS ALREADY TOLD THE TREASURY SECRETARY THAT HE HOPES THAT WE WILL NOT PRESS FOR THE REPAYMENT OF THESE DEBTS. ANY ATTEMPT BY US TO RECOVER THESE LONG STANDING DEBTS WOULD LEAD TO POLITICAL FRICTION AND MIGHT NOT BE SUCCESSFUL.

(E) EDUCATION: AS A RESULT OF THE WAR THE EDUCATION SYSTEM IN MANY RURAL AREAS IS VIRTUALLY NON-EXISTENT. THE GOVERNMENT IS COMMITTED TO IMPROVING EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES IN BOTH URBAN AND RURAL AREAS.

(F) PUBLIC HEALTH AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT. IT FOLLOWS FROM THE NEW GOVERNMENT'S COMMITMENT TO IMPROVING THE CONDITIONS OF THE AFRICAN MAJORITY THAT THEY WILL WISH TO GIVE INCREASED EMPHASIS TO PUBLIC HEALTH AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT. A MAJOR PRIORITY IN THE PUBLIC HEALTH FIELD, AND ONE IN WHICH FOREIGN ASSISTANCE COULD BE VALUABLE IS BIRTH CONTROL. THE RATE OF POPULATION GROWTH IN THIS COUNTRY (3.6 PER CENT) IS AMONG THE HIGHEST IN THE WORLD.

3. THE ABOVE LIST ILLUSTRATES THE MAGNITUDE OF THE TASK WHICH FACES THE NEW GOVERNMENT, CLEARLY A MAJOR INTERNATIONAL EFFORT WILL BE REQUIRED: BUT IT MUST BE FOR US TO GIVE A LEAD.

FCO PASS CAPE TOWN

SOAMES

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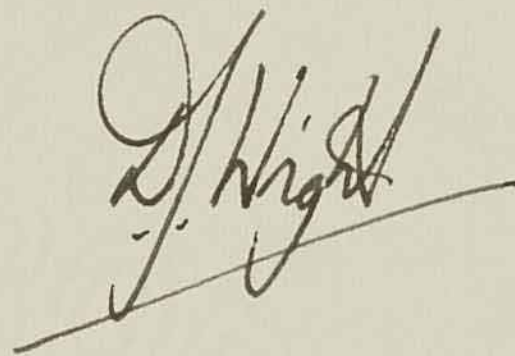
17 MAR 1980

Ref: A01731

PRIME MINISTER

Rhodesia

As tomorrow's Cabinet is not a regular Thursday Cabinet, Foreign Affairs will not be on the agenda. But the Lord President will be there and will not be there on Thursday when Foreign Affairs will be on the agenda. I wonder therefore whether you might like to start the meeting by congratulating him on the way in which he has handled the situation in Rhodesia, and inviting him to say how he sees it going from here on.



(Robert Armstrong)

(dictated by Sir R. Armstrong
and signed in his absence)

17th March 1980

SUBJECT.

54/SF. 1



REPUBLIC OF GHANA

THE CASTLE
OSU, ACCRA

17th March, 1980.

PRIME MINISTER'S

PERSONAL MESSAGE

SERIAL No. T 59A/80.

cc. master sex
ogf

Dear Prime Minister,

On the eve of the return of Rhodesia to legal independence I write to express once again my appreciation of the role which you and your Government played in making this possible.

Only a year ago the prospects for a peaceful transition from the long years of destructive and fratricidal war to legality and reconciliation looked bleak indeed. It is to the credit of your Government and those of other Commonwealth countries that we brought our collective influence to bear on this problem which had long seemed intractable. They have undoubtedly helped to find a solution acceptable to all.

We are encouraged by the initial steps towards national reconciliation and unity which the Government-elect has taken. This gives us confidence that Zimbabwe will evolve into a stable and prosperous nation and become an example of racial harmony in the troubled region of Southern Africa.

May I wish you all the best and continued strength and fortitude.

Yours sincerely,


HILLA LIMANN
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF GHANA

HER EXCELLENCY THE RT. HON.
MRS. MARGARET THATCHER,
PRIME MINISTER OF GREAT BRITAIN
AND NORTHERN IRELAND,
10 DOWNING STREET,
LONDON, S.W. 1.

[RHODESIA: POLICY: ADVANCE COPIES]

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PS/SIR I GILMOUR

PS/MR LUCE

PS/PUS

SIR D MAITLAND

MR DAY

SIR L ALLINSON

~~MR ASPIN~~

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

SIR R ARMSTRONG)

MR R L WADE GERY)

MR P M MAXEY)

MR GOULTY)

MR W N WENBAN SMITH)

DIO)

CABINET OFFICE

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HD/RHOD DEPT (4)

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HD/UND

HD/PUSD (2)

HD/NEWS DEPT

HD/WAD

PS/SIR I SINCLAIR

MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A

MR FIFOOT

RESIDENT CLERK

ADVANCE COPY
IMMEDIATE

FM SALISBURY 151155Z MAR 80

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 1082 OF 15 MARCH

NKOMO

1. AN INDIGNANT NKOMO TELEPHONED DUFF THIS MORNING. IT WAS MONSTROUS, HE SAID, THAT HE HAD BEEN LEFT TO LEARN OF THE INDEPENDENCE DATE FROM THE RADIO AND NEWSPAPER (PUBLISHED THIS MORNING). HE HAD FOUGHT FOR INDEPENDENCE FOR YEARS. WAS THIS THE WAY TO REWARD HIM? HE WOULD NOT ACCEPT IT. HE WOULD COME TO SEE DUFF ON 17 MARCH.

2. I FEAR THIS IS A REFLECTION OF NKOMO'S CURRENT FRUSTRATION. HE IS DISAPPOINTED AT OBTAINING ONLY A SMALL SHARE IN GOVERNMENT, AND THIS IS COMPOUNDED BY HIS REALISATION THAT HIS OWN MINISTRY, HOME AFFAIRS, IS TO BE DENUDED OF CERTAIN IMPORTANT FUNCTION. I SHALL BE TALKING TO MUGABE TOMORROW ABOUT HIS RELATIONSHIP WITH NKOMO. ALTHOUGH IT IS OBVIOUSLY A DELICATE MATTER, WE MUST DO WHAT WE CAN TO KEEP HIM IN THE GOVERNMENT.

3. IT MIGHT HELP SMOOTH THE RUFFLED FEATHERS AND ANYHOW BE AN AGREEABLE GESTURE IF YOU WOULD SEND HIM A PRIVATE MESSAGE. I SUGGEST SOMETHING ON THE FOLLOWING LINES

BEGINS QUOTE
I SHOULD LIKE TO TAKE THE OPPORTUNITY OF THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE DATE OF INDEPENDENCE OF ZIMBABWE TO OFFER YOU MY WARMEST CONGRATULATIONS AND SINCERE GOOD WISHES ON THE SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF YOUR LONG STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM. YOUR DETERMINATION AND COURAGE HAVE EARNED THE ADMIRATION OF THE WORLD. YOUR ROLE IN THE CAMPAIGN

HAVE EARNED THE ADMIRATION OF THE WORLD. YOUR ROLE IN THE CAMPAIGN FOR MAJORITY RULE IN ZIMBABWE HAS BEEN LONG AND DISTINGUISHED, AND IT IS FITTING THAT YOU WILL BE TAKING A LEADING PART IN THE INDEPENDENCE GOVERNMENT. WE ARE READY TO DO ALL WE CAN TO HELP THE GOVERNMENT OF ZIMBABWE TO SECURE A HAPPY AND PROSPEROUS FUTURE FOR THE PEOPLE OF THE COUNTRY, AND LOOK FORWARD TO COOPERATING WITH YOU IN THIS.

UNQUOTE ENDS

4. IF YOU APPROVE, COULD WE POSSIBLY HAVE IT BY MONDAY?

SOAMES

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GRS 700

CONFIDENTIAL

FM CAPE TOWN EMBASSY 150950Z MARCH 1980

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELGRAM NUMBER 235 OF 15 MARCH

INFO PRIORITY SALISBURY

SALISBURY TELEGRAMS NOS 1056 AND 1066 RHODESIA: FUTURE POLICY

1. THE SOUTH AFRICAN ATTITUDE WILL OBVIOUSLY BE VERY IMPORTANT. AFTER THE INITIAL SHOCK OF MUGABE'S VICTORY MINISTERS HERE APPEAR TO HAVE REGAINED THEIR POISE. AT A FUNCTION LAST NIGHT THE STATE PRESIDENT WENT SO FAR AS TO OFFER ME HIS CONGRATULATIONS ON OUR HANDLING OF THE RHODESIA PROBLEM. THE AFRICAANS PRESS HAS EXPRESSED PLEASURABLE SUPRISE AT MUGABE'S FIRST STEPS. BUT THE SAG REMAIN WARY AND CONCERNED THAT BEFORE LONG HE WILL BE OBLIGED TO DO THINGS WHICH ADVERSELY AFFECT SOUTH AFRICA'S INTERESTS.
2. THE DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND NO DOUBT THE GOVERNMENT IN GENERAL ARE CURRENTLY ENGAGED IN A THOROUGH POST-MORTEM AND CONSIDERATION OF FUTURE IMPLICATIONS. THE CONCLUSIONS THEY COME TO BOTH FOR NAMIBIA AND THEIR INTERNAL POLICIES HERE WILL BE OF GREAT IMPORTANCE TO US AND WE MUST SEEK TO INFLUENCE THEM IN ANY WAY WE CAN.
3. IN THE SHORT RUN THE SAG'S ATTITUDE TO ZIMBABWE AND TO THE POSSIBILITIES OF COOPERATING WITH IT WILL BE GREATLY INFLUENCED BY THREE THINGS IN DESCENDING ORDER OF IMPORTANCE: FIRST THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE NEW GOVERNMENT OFFERS SUCCOUR TO ANC GUERILLAS OPERATING INTO SOUTH AFRICA: SECONDLY THE HONOURING OF DEBTS: THIRDLY THE STATE OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS.
4. MUGABE HAS APPARENTLY MADE REASSURING NOISES ABOUT THE FIRST AND THE SAG WILL BE CONTENT TO WAIT AND SEE HOW THINGS TURN OUT, WHILE MAKING CONTINGENCY PLANS TO ATTACK ANY ANC BASES THAT MIGHT MATERIALISE. THE SECOND IS OF PERSONAL IMPORTANCE TO THE PRIME MINISTER SINCE IN THE LIGHT OF HIS CHAMPIONING OF HONEST ADMINISTRATION AFTER THE INFORMATION SCANDAL HE WOULD BE VULNERABLE TO ATTACK IN PARLIAMENT IF PUBLIC MONEY WHICH HAD BEEN COVERTLY COMMITTED TO RHODESIA WERE FORFEIT. IT IS NOT SO MUCH THE AMOUNT AS THE PRINCIPLE. ON THE THIRD POINT THE SAG MIGHT BE WILLING TO SHOW SOME FLEXIBILITY, EG TO HAVE A TRADE OR LIAISON OFFICE INSTEAD OF AN EMBASSY. BUT THEY WOULD TAKE IT BADLY IF MUGABE SEVERED ALL OFFICIAL CONTACTS.

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CONFIDENTIAL

5. WHETHER THE SAG COULD BE BROUGHT TO SHOW GENEROSITY OVER IMMEDIATE FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE (PARAGRAPH 9 OF SALISBURY TELEGRAM NO 1056) WILL DEPEND ON THE ANSWERS TO THESE QUESTIONS, PARTICULARLY THE SECOND. I CANNOT SEE THE SAG SHELLING OUT MORE MONEY IF THE NEW ZIMBABWE GOVERNMENT DOES NOT GIVE AN UNDERTAKING TO HONOUR THE PREVIOUS DEBTS. THIS NEED NOT OF COURSE EXCLUDE THE POSSIBILITY OF SOME RESCHEDULING. PIK BOTHA APPARENTLY MENTIONED THE REGULAR FUNDINGS FROM THE SCFT LOANS IN SPEAKING TO MY GERMAN COLLEAGUE THE OTHER DAY AND SUGGESTED THAT THE BRITISH AND OTHER GOVERNMENTS WOULD NOW HAVE TO TAKE OVER THE RESPONSIBILITY. IT WOULD NOT TAKE THIS AS THE SAG'S LAST WORD, BUT IF MUGABE WANTS THEIR HELP HE WILL HAVE TO TAKE THE INITIATIVE AND SHOW HIMSELF WILLING TO MEET THEM MORE THAN HALF WAY.

6. SINCE WRITING THE ABOVE I HAVE SEEN SALISBURY TELEGRAM NO 1075. THE PENULTIMATE SENTENCE OF PARAGRAPH 8 IS ENCOURAGING, THOUGH I AM NOT CLEAR ABOUT THE IMPORT OF THE LAST SENTENCE.

LEAHY

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RHOD DEPT
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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 D MAITLAND
SIR A ACLAND

LORD N G LENNOX
SIR L ALLINSON
MR DAY
MR FERGUSSON
MR MILLS
CPO

ADDITIONAL DIST.
RHODESIA POLICY

CONFIDENTIAL

GPS 530'

CONFIDENTIAL

FM MAPUTO 140930Z MARCH 80

TO PRIORITY FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 158 OF 14 MARCH

INFO PRIORITY SALISBURY UKMIS NEW YORK MOSCOW CAPE TOWN

RHODESIA/MOZAMBIQUE/UK

1. I HAD A LONG TALK WITH PRESIDENT MACHEL YESTERDAY, WHEN I CONVEYED THE MESSAGE ABOUT THE GOVERNOR'S VISIT (HIS TELNO 153 NOT TO OTHERS). HE PROMISED ME A REPLY TODAY.
2. THE PRESIDENT WENT OVER FAMILIAR GROUND EXPRESSING SATISFACTION OVER OUR WHOLE HANDLING OF THE RHODESIA PROBLEM AND THE WAY THINGS ARE NOW DEVELOPING. HE EMPHASISED HIS CONCERN THAT THE WHITES SHOULD BE REASSURED AND THAT THEY SHOULD AT THE SAME TIME BE STRONGLY DISSUADED FROM VIOLENT ACTION TO FRUSTRATE THE PEOPLE'S VERDICT. IT WAS FOR THESE REASONS THAT THE MOZAMBIicans HAD FRANK TALKS WITH PEOPLE LIKE WALLS AND FLOWER AS WELL AS WITH OTHERS IN THE RHODESIAN ADMINISTRATION.
3. THE PRESIDENT THEN ASKED WHAT THE DIPLOMATIC COMMUNITY WAS THINKING AND SAYING ABOUT THE RHODESIA SETTLEMENT. I SAID THAT ALL THE COLLEAGUES WITH WHOM I AM IN REGULAR TOUCH HAD BEEN GENEROUS WITH THEIR PRAISE FOR BRITAIN AND GRATIFIED THAT AN AGREED PEACEFUL SOLUTION HAD BEEN ACHIEVED. THEY ALSO RECOGNISED THE CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE PLAYED BY MOZAMBIQUE THROUGHOUT THE WHOLE EXERCISE. HOWEVER, THAT ONLY WENT FOR ABOUT 90 PERCENT OF MY COLLEAGUES AS, FOR A VARIETY OF REASONS (WHICH I DID NOT SPECIFY), I HAVE NOT HAD RECENT CONTACT WITH THE REST. ENCOURAGED TO GIVE HIM MY PERSONAL VIEW OF THE ATTITUDE OF THIS MINORITY I TOLD THE PRESIDENT THAT THE COUNTRIES CONCERNED (WE AGREED THAT THEY SHOULD REMAIN ANONYMOUS BUT IT WAS CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD THAT WE MEANT THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS CLOSEST ALLIES) HAD FROM THE START BEEN HOSTILE TO THE BRITISH INITIATIVE. IT WAS SIGNIFICANT THAT, IN DEFIANCE OF THE GENERAL MOOD IN WHICH THE SECURITY COUNCIL ENDORSED OUR AFFIRMATION THAT RHODESIA HAD RETURNED TO LEGALITY AND THE LIFTING OF SANCTIONS, TWO MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL ABSTAINED. I RECALLED THAT, AS I HAD PREDICTED TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF HIS FOREIGN MINISTRY SHORTLY BEFORE THE SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING ON

CONFIDENTIAL

/ 2 FEBRUARY,

CONFIDENTIAL

2 FEBRUARY, THE MOST EXTREMIST AND UNHELPFUL STATEMENTS IN THE COUNCIL WERE MADE BY COUNTRIES NOT DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN THE ISSUE AND WITH LITTLE TO LOSE. IT WAS THEREFORE NOT SURPRISING THAT THESE COUNTRIES SEEMED DISAPPOINTED THAT AN AGREED END TO THE WAR SHOULD HAVE BEEN ACHIEVED.

4. THE PRESIDENT, WHO HAD BEEN NODDING ASSENT AND UNDERSTANDING, WANTED TO KNOW WHY THE COUNTRIES IN QUESTION HAD REACTED IN SUCH A NEGATIVE FASHION. I SAID THAT, FOR ONE THING, THEY WERE DISAPPOINTED THAT THE HORSE THEY WERE BACKING HAD NOT WON. I THOUGHT IT WAS SYMPTOMATIC THAT, AT A TIME WHEN THE WORLD HAD BEEN CONGRATULATING MUGABE ON HIS OVERWHELMING ELECTORAL SUCCESS A CERTAIN COUNTRY POINTEDLY ADDRESSED ITS CONGRATULATORY MESSAGE TO BOTH ZAPU AND ZANU (PF) (THE PRESIDENT SAID THAT HE HAD INDEED NOTICED THIS). THAN MAYBE SOME PEOPLE REALLY WANTED THAT "A LUTA CONTINUA" LITERALLY AT OTHER PEOPLES' EXPENSE. THE PRESIDENT LAUGHED AND SAID THERE IS NO QUESTION OF MORE WAR. POLITICAL AND DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITY - YES. IN ANSWER TO MY QUESTION HE CONFIRMED THAT HE WAS STILL OF THE VIEW, WHICH HE EXPRESSED TO ME LAST NOVEMBER, THAT THE PROCESS TOWARD PEACE WAS IRREVERSIBLE.

5. THE PRESIDENT LEFT ME WITH THE IMPRESSION THE NOTHING THAT I SAID SURPRISED HIM. AS TO HIS MOTIVES FOR THIS LINE OF QUESTIONING I CAN ONLY GUESS THAT HE MAY BE CONCERNED LEST SOME COUNTRIES, ENCOURAGED BY THE SOVIET UNION TRY TO KEEP THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN POT SIMMERING. A PLIANT MOZAMBIQUE WOULD BE AN ESSENTIAL AGENT IN ANY SUCH SCHEME - AND MACHEL CLEARLY REMAINS DETERMINED TO BE NOTHING OF THE KIND.

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LEGAL ADVISERS

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PS/MR LUCE

PS/MR RIDLEY

PS/MR HURD

PS/MR MARTEN

PS/PUS

SIR D MAITLAND

SIR A ACLAND

LORD N G LENNOX

SIR L ALLINSON

MR DAY

ADDITIONAL DIST.

RHODESIA POLICY

RHODESIA

General

I. The Government has scored a major success in achieving a peaceful solution to the Rhodesia problem which has defeated efforts of successive Governments over the last 15 years. Independence day to be 18 April - Prince Charles will represent the Queen at celebrations in Salisbury - prospects seem good that we shall achieve a smooth and peaceful transition to independence for the new Republic of Zimbabwe within the Commonwealth.

Recent developments

2. The landslide election victory for Mr Robert Mugabe was not perhaps what some sections of British opinion would have wanted, but we committed ourselves to holding free and fair elections, seeing whom the people of Rhodesia wished to lead them, and handing over power to those people. Mr Mugabe has spoken in a statesmanlike and moderate way of working within the Constitution agreed at Lancaster House (which provides adequate safeguards for the white minority, existing civil service, armed forces and so on). Given his overall majority in the new House of Assembly, encouraging that Mr Mugabe has included Nkomo and some of his people, as well as two white Ministers in his Government. Presence of Mr David Smith (former Minister of Finance) and Mr Dennis Norman (former President of Farmers' Union) in Government will help reassure the white community in Rhodesia, encourage them to stay and contribute to the country's economic welfare.

Soviet influence

3. Mugabe owes no political debts to the Soviet Union: his support during the guerrilla war came from China and such countries as Yugoslavia and Romania. He is no supporter of the Soviet system. The achievement of peace in Rhodesia represents a major defeat for the Russians in that it reduces the opportunities for them to interfere.

Aid

4. We are urgently considering what we can do to help the new government in its tasks of reconciliation, reconstruction and development: immediate technical assistance will be given in the fields of military and police training, broadcasting and the machinery of government. Longer-term capital aid will also be given - decisions on this will be taken after independence, when the new government has established its priorities.

Wider implications

5. Peaceful settlement of the Rhodesia problem will give impetus to efforts to achieve peaceful solution to other problems in Southern Africa and the wider world. It will also greatly enhance Britain's prestige with our friends among Western and non-aligned countries.

Paymaster General's Office
Privy Council Office
68 Whitehall
SW1

14 March 1980

SUBJECT.

Rhodesia

C. Carter ack
js

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T 58/80

GR 280
UNCLASSIFIED
FM SALISBURY 141643Z MAR 80
TO PRIORITY FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 1076 OF 14 MARCH
RHODESIA: PRIME MINISTER'S MESSAGE
I SHOULD BE GRATEFUL IF YOU WOULD PASS TO THE PRIME MINISTER THE
FOLLOWING MESSAGE, DELIVERED TO ME TODAY, FROM MR MUGABE:
BEGINS

DEAR PRIME MINISTER,
I WISH TO THANK YOU FOR YOUR MESSAGE OF CONGRATULATIONS CONVEYED
TO ME BY THE GOVERNOR, LORD SOAMES. I AGREE WITH YOU THAT THE
THE ROAD FROM LUSAKA VIA LANCASTER HOUSE TO SALISBURY HAS BEEN
AN ARDUOUS ONE. LIKE YOU, I FEEL EXTREMELY DELIGHTED THAT DEMOCRATIC
ELECTIONS WERE FINALLY HELD AND THAT THE RESULT WAS IN OUR FAVOUR.

SINCE THE ELECTIONS, LORD SOAMES AND I HAVE BEEN WORKING VERY
HARMONIOUSLY TOGETHER TO CONSTITUTE OUR GOVERNMENT AND GET THE
MINISTERS TO FAMILIARISE THEMSELVES WITH THEIR FUNCTION. GENERALLY,
THE SECURITY SITUATION HAS IMPROVED AND PEACE AND CALM HAVE RETURNED
TO THE COUNTRY.

I HAVE DISCUSSED WITH LORD SOAMES THE NEED WE FEEL FOR ASSISTANCE
IN REORGANISING AND RESTRUCTURING THE NATIONAL ARMY, POLICE FORCE,
CIVIL SERVICE AND THE RADIO AND TELEVISION SERVICE, AS WELL AS
PROVIDING SOME OF OUR PEOPLE WITH INSTRUCTION IN THESE FIELDS. I
AM GLAD THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT HAS AGREED TO RENDER US THE ASSISTANCE
WE HAVE REQUESTED AND THAT, OVERALLY, THERE IS PROMISE OF FINANCIAL
ASSISTANCE FOR OUR LAND RESETTLEMENT PROGRAMME AND SCHEMES FOR THE
RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF SCHOOLS, HOSPITALS AND CLINICS DESTROYED OR
CLOSED DURING THE WAR.

WE NOW LOOK FORWARD TO OUR COUNTRY BECOMING INDEPENDENT ON 18TH APRIL
AND JOINING THE COMMONWEALTH. MAY I THANK YOU AND YOUR GOVERNMENT
FOR ALL THE STEPS YOU TOOK TO EFFECT THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS WHICH
HAS FINALLY LED TO OUR INDEPENDENCE.

KINDEST REGARDS.

YOURS SINCERELY,

R.G. MUGABE.
PRIME MINISTER.

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PS/MR HURD
PS/MR MARTEN
PS/PUS

SIR D MAITLAND
SIR A ACLAND
LORD N G LENNOX
SIR L ALLINSON
MR DAY
MR FERGUSSON

ADDITIONAL DISTN.
RHODESIA POLICY

Prime Minister

T58/80

RGR TKSVM OM

for [unclear] (3)

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~~No 10 Downing St~~

SALFO 28/14

PP FCO

[Files + Rhodesia Blog]

Hd Rhodesia Dg

GR 280
UNCLASSIFIED
FM SALISBURY 141643Z MAR 80
TO PRIORITY FCO

RC

ADVANCE COPY

TELEGRAM NUMBER 1076 OF 14 MARCH
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KINDEST REGARDS.

YOURS SINCERELY,

R.G. MUGABE,
PRIME MINISTER.

ENDS

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[RHODESIA: POLICY: ADVANCE COPIES]

IMMEDIATE

PS
FC/SIR I GILMOUR
FC/MR LUCE
PS/PUS
SIR D MAITLAND
MR DAY
SIR L ALLINSON
~~MR ASPEN~~

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

SIR R ARMSTRONG)
MR R L WADE GERY)
MR P M MAXEY) CABINET
MR GOULTY) OFFICE
MR W N WENBAN SMITH)
DIO)

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HD/RHOD DEPT (4)

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HD/PUSD (2)

HD/NEWS DEPT

~~HD/WAD~~

PS/SIR I SINCLAIR

MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A

MR FIFOOT

CONFIDENTIAL

~~DESKEY 141300Z~~

~~FM SALISBURY 141100Z MAR 80~~

IMMEDIATE

IMMEDIATE

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 1368 OF 14 MARCH 1980

INFO PRIORITY CAPE TOWN

MY TELNO 1356: RHODESIA: FUTURE POLICY

1. IN MY TELEGRAM UNDER REFERENCE I DESCRIBED THE MAIN AREAS IN WHICH WE SHOULD URGENTLY CONSIDER ASSISTANCE TO ZIMBABWE OVER THE NEXT TWO TO THREE YEARS IF WE ARE TO:

A. ROUND OFF OUR TASK HERE AND HELP TO GIVE THE NEW COUNTRY THE CHANCE OF A REASONABLE START, WITH A PROSPECT OF A STABLE FUTURE:

B. CONTRIBUTE TO AN ORDERLY EVOLUTION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA (INCLUDING THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF ESSENTIAL CHANGES IN SOUTH AFRICA ITSELF):

C. HELP TO SUSTAIN WESTERN INFLUENCE IN THE REGION AND HOLD BACK THE EXTENSION OF SOVIET INFLUENCE.

2. I AM WELL AWARE THAT ANY PROPOSALS FOR EXPENDITURE AT THIS TIME WILL BE HIGHLY UNWELCOME. WHAT I AM PROPOSING, HOWEVER, IS ESSENTIALLY THE GIVING OF A HIGH PRIORITY IN THE SHORT TERM TO ZIMBABWE WITHIN THE EXISTING OVER-ALL AID PROGRAMME SO FAR AS THIS IS POSSIBLE.

THERE IS A CHANCE OF AVOIDING THIS COUNTRY TAKING AN EARLY DOWNWARD PATH AND SLIDING TOWARDS CONFRONTATION WITH SOUTH AFRICA. THERE ARE ABOUT 80,000 UK CITIZENS HERE AND ANOTHER 70,000 WHO WOULD BE ELIGIBLE AS DEPENDANTS FOR ADMISSION TO THE UNITED

WOULD BE ELIGIBLE AS DEPENDANTS FOR ADMISSION TO THE UNITED KINGDOM. IF THERE IS A MASSIVE WHITE EXODUS AND RAPID ECONOMIC DECLINE, WE SHALL HAVE TO FACE CONSIDERABLE CRITICISM BOTH AT HOME AND ABROAD. IT IS IN MY VIEW OPEN TO US TO AVOID THIS BY ADOPTING AN IMAGINATIVE ATTITUDE TO ASSISTANCE IN THE SHORT TERM. IF THE NEW GOVERNMENT SETS ZIMBABWE ON A ROAD WE DISLIKE, WE CAN AND SHOULD DISENGAGE. BUT WE HAVE A GREAT CHANCE TO INFLUENCE EVENTS IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE. IF WE TAKE THE LEAD IN A GENEROUS MANNER, AND PROMPTLY, WE SHALL BE ABLE TO PERSUADE OTHERS TO FOLLOW AND THE COST WILL BE SHARED. WE HAVE FOR ONCE THE OPPORTUNITY TO INVEST IN SUCCESS. AFTER THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE LAST SEVEN MONTHS, IT WOULD BE A TRAGEDY TO THROW AWAY THAT OPPORTUNITY.

3. IT WILL SIMPLY NOT BE ADEQUATE FOR THESE PURPOSES TO THINK IN TERMS OF AID OF THE ORDER OF £400 MILLION FOR ZIMBABWE OVER THE NEXT THREE YEARS. AS I UNDERSTAND THAT IN 1978 WE SPENT £175 MILLION ON AID TO AFRICA AND WE SEEM TO BE SPENDING £200 MILLION A YEAR ON AID TO TANZANIA ALONE. THE AID WE DISBURSE HERE IS LIKELY TO HAVE A CONSIDERABLE EFFECT IN A COUNTRY WHICH WILL REMAIN PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT TO US FOR SOME TIME. WE SHOULD BE PREPARED TO COMMIT AT ANY RATE £300M A YEAR FOR THE NEXT THREE YEARS TO INCLUDE:

THE IMMEDIATE £5M FOR RECONSTRUCTION AID;

DEVELOPMENT AID;

THE VARIOUS FORMS OF MILITARY AND OTHER TRAINING ASSISTANCE;

SOME CONTRIBUTION TO HELP DEAL WITH THE IMMEDIATE SHORT TERM PROBLEM OF A MASS EXODUS FROM THE PUBLIC SERVICE.

4. I DON'T WANT YOU TO THINK I HAVE GONE NATIVE BECAUSE I HAVEN'T, BUT WHAT I AM PROPOSING IS THAT IN THE SHORT TERM WE GIVE A HIGH PRIORITY TO ZIMBABWE. THERE IS NO NEED TO REGARD THIS AS AN OPEN-ENDED COMMITMENT. WE CAN THEREFORE REVIEW THE SITUATION IN RELATION TO THE SIZE OF THE REMAINING BRITISH COMMUNITY AND THE GENERAL ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DIRECTION THE COUNTRY HAS TAKEN. BUT WE HAVE A REAL CHANCE TO INFLUENCE EVENTS IN A COUNTRY IN WHICH, IN THE SHORT TERM AT LEAST, VERY CONSIDERABLE BRITISH INTERESTS AND THE FUTURE OF A LARGE NUMBER OF BRITISH CITIZENS WILL BE AT STAKE. LET US DO IT WITH SOME STYLE, AND UNGRUDGINGLY.

FCO PASS CAPE TOWN

SOAMES

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FM SALISBURY 131855Z MAR 80

P S TO PRIME MINISTER
10 DOWNING ST

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 1057 OF 13 MARCH

INFO PRIORITY CAPE TOWN

My IMMEDIATELY PROCEEDING TELEGRAM: RHODESIA: FUTURE POLICY: AID

1. RHODESIA'S REQUIREMENT FOR LARGE SCALE FOREIGN AID SHOULD BE ESSENTIALLY SHORT TERM. THE UNDERLYING ECONOMIC POTENTIAL OF THIS COUNTRY IS CONSIDERABLE AND PROVIDED THAT THE GOVERNMENT PURSUES REASONABLE POLICIES (AND IN PARTICULAR DOES NOT SCARE OFF THE WHITES) THIS POTENTIAL SHOULD BEGIN TO BE REALISED WITHIN A FEW YEARS. BUT THE INFRASTRUCTURE AND THE ECONOMY HAS BEEN SERIOUSLY DAMAGED BY THE WAR. THE WAR HAS ALSO CREATED MASSIVE SOCIAL PROBLEMS, BOTH ACTUAL AND POTENTIAL, WHOSE SOLUTION WILL REQUIRE OUTSIDE HELP. FURTHERMORE THE GOVERNMENT IS COMMITTED TO POLICIES AIMED AT IMPROVING THE WELFARE AND OPPORTUNITIES OF THE BLACK MAJORITY.
2. AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND THE FOLLOWING SEEM LIKELY TO BE THE GOVERNMENT'S AID PRIORITIES.

(A) RECONSTRUCTION. THE RURAL AREAS AND PARTICULARLY THE TRIBAL TRUST LANDS HAVE BEEN DEVASTATED BY THE WAR. THE TASK OF RECONSTRUCTION INVOLVES THE REBUILDING OF SCHOOLS, HOSPITALS, CLINICS, CATTLE DIPS AND DAMS, THE REESTABLISHMENT OF PEST CONTROL PROGRAMMES AND THE FINANCING OF AFRICAN TRADESMEN AND ARTISANS WHOSE WORK PLACES HAVE BEEN DESTROYED. THE PROBLEM OF RURAL RECONSTRUCTION WILL BE COMPOUNDED BY THE NEED TO RESETTLE THOUSANDS OF RETURNING REFUGEES (BOTH THOSE WHO FLED OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY AND THOSE WHO LEFT THE RURAL AREAS FOR THE COMPARATIVE SAFETY OF THE TOWNS), TOGETHER WITH THOSE MEMBERS OF THE P F FORCES AND THE SECURITY FORCE AUXILIARIES WHOM IT WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE TO ABSORB INTO THE ARMED FORCES OF THE NEW ZIMBABWE. ALL OF THIS WILL CALL FOR ASSISTANCE, BOTH FINANCIAL AND TECHNICAL, FROM OUTSIDE.

(B) LAND RE-SETTLEMENT. THE GOVERNMENT IS COMMITTED TO A POLICY OF RESETTLING AFRICANS ON UNUSED OR UNDER-UTILISED LAND. I UNDERSTAND THAT A PROPORTION OF OUR PROPOSED AID HAS ALREADY BEEN EAR-MARKED FOR THIS PURPOSE: WE MAY ALSO BE ABLE TO ASSIST WITH ADVICE BASED ON EXPERIENCE IN THIS FIELD GAINED ELSEWHERE, POSSIBLY IN KENYA.

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(C) RE-EQUIPMENT OF INDUSTRY AND CAPITAL INVESTMENT. A CONSIDERABLE PROPORTION OF RHODESIA'S INDUSTRIAL CAPITAL EQUIPMENT IS OUTDATED, BUT IT COULD NOT HITERTO BE REPLACED BECAUSE OF SANTIONS. IF INDUSTRY IS TO REALISE ITS FULL POTENTIAL THIS EQUIPMENT MUST NOW BE REPLACED. IF WE ARE TO GET OUR SHARE OF THIS POTENTIAL MARKET IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT E C G D SHOULD GRANT MEDIUM TERM CREDIT. IN ADDITION THE ALREADY EXISTING 5-YEAR PLAN FORESEES A NUMBER OF MAJOR CAPITAL INVESTMENT PROJECTS: FOR ENERGY (THE THERMAL POWER STATION WANKIE II), TRANSPORTATION (RAILWAY ELECTRIFICATION) AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS. WE ASSUME THAT THE NEW GOVERNMENT WILL WISH TO PURSUE THESE PROJECTS, WHICH ARE IMPORTANT FOR THE COUNTRY'S INFRASTRUCTURE. THESE PROJECTS WILL CALL FOR SPECIAL LOAN FACILITIES.

(D) DEBT RELIEF. RHODESIA AT PRESENT OWES THE UNITED KINGDON DEBTS TOTALLING APPROXIMATELY POUNDS STERLING 56 MILLION. ALL OF THESE DEBTS DATE BACK TO THE FEDERATION PERIOD AND SOME OF THEM - EG FOR THE SALE OF JET FIGHTERS - ARE POLITICALLY CONTENTIOUS. MUGABE HAS ALREADY TOLD THE TREASURY SECRETARY THAT HE HOPES THAT WE WILL NOT PRESS FOR THE REPAYMENT OF THESE DEBTS. ANY ATTEMPT BY US TO RECOVER THESE LONG STANDING DEBTS WOULD LEAD TO POLITICAL FRICTION AND MIGHT NOT BE SUCCESSFUL.

(E) EDUCATION: AS A RESULT OF THE WAR THE EDUCATION SYSTEM IN MANY RURAL AREAS IS VIRTUALLY NON-EXISTENT. THE GOVERNMENT IS COMMITTED TO IMPROVING EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES IN BOTH URBAN AND RURAL AREAS.

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(F) PUBLIC HEALTH AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT. IT FOLLOWS FROM THE NEW GOVERNMENT'S COMMITMENT TO IMPROVING THE CONDITIONS OF THE AFRICAN MAJORITY THAT THEY WILL WISH TO GIVE INCREASED EMPHASIS TO PUBLIC HEALTH AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT. A MAJOR PRIORITY IN THE PUBLIC HEALTH FIELD, AND ONE IN WHICH FOREIGN ASSISTANCE COULD BE VALUABLE IS BIRTH CONTROL. THE RATE OF POPULATION GROWTH IN THIS CCOUNTRY (3.6 PER CENT) IS AMONG THE HIGHEST IN THE WORLD.

3. THE ABOVE LIST ILLUSTRATES THE MAGNITUDE OF THE TASK WHICH FACES THE NEW GOVERNMENT, CLEARLY A MAJOR INTERNATIONAL EFFORT WILL BE REQUIRED: BUT IT MUST BE FOR US TO GIVE A LEAD.

FCO PASS CAPE TOWN

SOAMES

(REPEATED AS REQUESTED)

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PS/MR MARTEN
PS/PUS

SIR D MAITLAND
SIR A ACLAND
LORD N G LENNOX
SIR L ALLINSON
MR DAY
MR FERGUSSON
MR MILLS
CPO

ADDITIONAL DISTN.
RHODESIA POLICY

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[RHODESIA: POLICY: ADVANCE COPIES]

PS/SIR I GILMOUR
PS/MR LUCE
PS/PUS
SIR D MAITLAND
MR DAY
SIR L ALINSON
~~MR ASPEN~~

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

SIR R ARMSTRONG)
MR R L WADE GERY)
MR P M MAXEY) CABINET
MR GOULTY) OFFICE
MR W N WENBAN SMITH)
DIO)

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HD/S AF D
~~HD/UND~~
HD/PUSD (2)

HD/NEWS DEPT
HE/WAD
PS/SIR I SINCLAIR
MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A
MR FIFOOT
RESIDENT CLERK

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CONFIDENTIAL
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FM SALISBURY 131900Z MAR 80

*3 ltr on policy towards
Rhodesia: Read in full*

TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 1056 OF 13 MARCH 1980
INFO PRIORITY CAPE TOWN

RHODESIA: FUTURE POLICY

1. THE FOLLOWING IS INTENDED AS A BASIS FOR OUR DISCUSSION ON 17 MARCH. I SHALL BE SENDING YOU SOME FURTHER THOUGHTS TOMORROW.
2. I UNDERSTAND THE CONCERN FELT IN LONDON THAT WE SHOULD BE CAUTIOUS ABOUT GETTING INVOLVED IN THE ENORMOUS PROBLEMS WHICH WILL CONFRONT THE NEW GOVERNMENT HERE. BUT, IN THE LIGHT OF OUR INTERESTS IN ZIMBABWE, AND IN THE CONTEXT OF THE GENERAL PROBLEMS CONFRONTING SOUTHERN AFRICA OVER THE NEXT FEW YEARS, IT IS GOING TO BE OF GREAT IMPORTANCE TO ESTABLISH THE BEST RELATIONSHIP WE CAN WITH THE NEW GOVERNMENT OF ZIMBABWE: TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE OPPORTUNITY AT PRESENT OFFERED TO INFLUENCE ITS POLICIES: TO TRY TO STEER IT AWAY FROM ACTIONS LIKELY TO UPSET THE APPLE CART IN THE SHORT TERM IN RHODESIA (EG BY PROVOKING A MASSIVE WHITE EXODUS): AND TO ENCOURAGE IT TOWARDS ESTABLISHING A WORKING RELATIONSHIP WITH SOUTH AFRICA RATHER THAN AN EARLY CONFRONTATION (WHICH

AND TO ENCOURAGE IT TOWARDS ESTABLISHING A WORKING RELATIONSHIP WITH SOUTH AFRICA RATHER THAN AN EARLY CONFRONTATION (WHICH WOULD ALSO HAVE SERIOUS IMPLICATIONS FOR OUR INTERESTS).

MILITARY ASSISTANCE

3. MR MUGABE HAS MADE IT CLEAR THAT HE WISHES MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO COME FROM BRITAIN RATHER THAN ELSEWHERE AND FOR THE ZIMBABWAN ARMY TO BE ORGANISED ON THE BRITISH PATTERN. DURING HIS RECENT VISIT GENERAL PERKINS IDENTIFIED A NUMBER OF AREAS IN WHICH BRITAIN COULD GIVE MILITARY ASSISTANCE: PARTICULARLY THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A BRITISH MILITARY TRAINING TEAM IN ZIMBABWE AND THE OFFER OF TRAINING COURSES IN THE UK. IF WE DO NOT PROVIDE ASSISTANCE TO THE FUTURE NATIONAL ARMY OTHERS WILL DO SO - AND THIS COULD LEAD QUITE QUICKLY TO SERIOUS DIFFICULTIES IN THE REGION. IF ENCOURAGEMENT IS NOT GIVEN FOR THE USE OF NATO WEAPONS, THE NEW ARMY WILL INEVITABLY TURN FOR ITS SUPPLIES TO EASTERN EUROPE. THE MOD MAY FIND IT DIFFICULT TO FIND PLACES ON MILITARY TRAINING SCHEMES FOR ZIMBABWE AT SHORT NOTICE. BUT IT IS OF GREAT IMPORTANCE THAT SUCH PLACES SHOULD BE FOUND, PARTICULARLY SO FAR AS OFFICER TRAINING IS CONCERNED. IF NECESSARY SPECIAL PROGRAMMES SHOULD BE ARRANGED, WITHOUT THE USUAL ADMIXTURE OF BRITISH STUDENTS (THOUGH THIS WOULD BE A PITY).

4. THE DEMOBILISATION ON LARGE NUMBERS OF ARMED MEN, AND THE AMALGAMATION OF THE THREE ARMIES WILL IMPOSE A SERIOUS FINANCIAL BURDEN OVER THE NEXT FEW MONTHS. THERE IS FURTHERMORE THE RISK AT THE END OF APRIL OF AN EXODUS OF RHODESIAN OFFICERS ON A SCALE WHICH WOULD INCREASE THE DIFFICULTIES OF TRAINING THE NEW ARMY (AND SERIOUSLY UNDERMINE CONFIDENCE THROUGHOUT THE WHITE COMMUNITY). APART FROM THE NEED (SEE PARA 9 BELOW) TO NEGATE THE EFFECT OF THE ILL-ADVISED SPECIAL INCENTIVE SCHEME, IT WOULD GREATLY HELP TO CONTAIN THIS RISK IF WE COULD MAKE THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE OFFER OF A PROGRAMME OF EXCHANGES FOR JUNIOR OFFICERS BETWEEN THE BRITISH AND ZIMBABWEAN FORCES (THEREBY ALSO BROADENING THE EXPERIENCE OF THE OFFICERS CONCERNED).

AID

5. I CAN UNDERSTAND THE VIEW THAT THERE IS NOT MUCH POINT IN GETTING INVOLVED IN DETAILED DISCUSSION OF AID PROGRAMMES UNTIL THE NEW GOVERNMENT HAS HAD TIME TO PLAY ITSELF IN. BUT GIVEN THE DELAYS INVOLVED IN GETTING AID COMMITMENTS AGREED AND THEN DISBURSE, IT IS ESSENTIAL IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES CONFRONTING THIS COUNTRY TO MOVE AT A LESS DELIBERATE PACE. I AM TELEGRAPHING SEPARATELY ABOUT THE MAIN SECTORS TO WHICH THE NEW GOVERNMENT IS LIKELY TO GIVE PRIORITY IN ITS REQUESTS FOR DEVELOPMENT AID. BUT THERE IS A GREAT DEAL THAT COULD BE DONE WITH AID FUNDS IN THE SHORT TERM IN RE-SETTLEMENT AND RE-CONSTRUCTION. THE NEW GOVERNMENT

SHORT TERM IN RE-SETTLEMENT AND RE-CONSTRUCTION. THE NEW GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE TO EMBARK ON A MASSIVE PROGRAMME TO RE-BUILD AND RE-ESTABLISH SCHOOLS, CLINICS, CATTLE-DIPS ETC, AND TO RE-SETTLE REFUGEES FROM THE RURAL AREAS. I REALLY THINK IT INDISPENSIBLE THAT

WE SHOULD MAKE AN IMMEDIATE GESTURE BEFORE, BUT RELATED TO INDEPENDENCE. IN MY VIEW THIS SHOULD BE AN IMMEDIATE GRANT OF £5 MILLION FOR RE-CONSTRUCTION.

6. SO FAR AS ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IS CONCERNED, THE SOONER AN AID TEAM COMES HERE AND BEGINS TALKING WITH THE NEW GOVERNMENT THE BETTER. I UNDERSTAND THAT WE ARE AT PRESENT THINKING IN TERMS OF A £40 MILLION PROGRAMME OVER THE NEXT THREE YEARS. WE MUST TRY TO DO BETTER THAN THIS (EVEN IF THIS HAS TO BE AT THE EXPENSE OF SOME OTHER PROGRAMMES). ZIMBABWE SHOULD BE A MUCH EASIER COUNTRY TO HELP THAN MOST OTHER AID RECIPIENTS. THERE IS AN EFFECTIVE ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINE, A WELL-DEVELOPED PRIVATE SECTOR, AND AN IMPRESSIVE AMOUNT OF PLANNING DOCUMENTATION ALREADY PREPARED WHICH ONLY NEEDS TO BE BROUGHT TOGETHER IN A FRAMEWORK REFLECTING THE POLITICAL PRIORITIES OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT.

7. WE SHOULD ALSO CONSIDER LOOKING AGAIN AT THE POSSIBILITY OF WRITING OFF THE OLD FEDERATION ERA DEBT (OF WHICH THERE IS SOME £56 MILLION OUTSTANDING), OR AT THE LEAST A LARGE PART OF IT. THIS WOULD NOT AFFECT THE UK PSBR: IT WOULD AVOID AN UNPLEASANT WRANGLE AT A MOMENT WHEN WE SHALL BE TRYING TO PERSUADE OTHERS TO BE GENEROUS: AND, WITH THE INCREASE IN AID SUGGESTED, WOULD ENABLE US TO APPEAR GENEROUS OURSELVES.

INTERNATIONAL AID

8. WE MUST SURELY BEGIN FORTHWITH TO SET IN TRAIN A PUBLIC INTERNATIONAL APPEAL FOR AID TO THE NEW STATE. SUCH AN APPEAL FOR BOTH IMMEDIATE RECONSTRUCTION, AND FOR DEVELOPMENT AID, SHOULD BE LAUNCHED IMMEDIATELY. A DONOR'S CONFERENCE WILL REQUIRE PREPARATION. BUT IT IS NO USE THINKING IN TERMS OF SUCH A CONFERENCE IN THE AUTUMN. THIS WOULD BE MUCH TOO LATE IN THE DAY. WE MUST SURELY SEEK TO EXPLOIT THE PRESENT ADVANTAGEOUS POLITICAL CLIMATE TO APPEAL TO THE AMERICAN, EUROPEAN, SCANDINAVIAN AND OLD COMMONWEALTH GOVERNMENTS TO COMMIT SIGNIFICANT AID FUNDS TO ZIMBABWE QUICKLY. WE SHOULD AIM FOR A DONORS' CONFERENCE TO BE HELD (IN SALISBURY IF THAT SEEMS PSYCHOLOGICALLY THE BEST CHOICE) BEFORE THE SUMMER BREAK. WE SHOULD ALSO ENCOURAGE THE NEW GOVERNMENT TO APPLY AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO JOIN THE LOME CONVENTION: AND M CHEYSSON TO PAY AN EARLY VISIT HERE.

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

9. THE NEW GOVERNMENT FACES NOT ONLY AN ACUTE SHORTAGE OF FOREIGN

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

9. THE NEW GOVERNMENT FACES NOT ONLY AN ACUTE SHORTAGE OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE BUT ALSO AN IMMEDIATE BUDGETARY CRISIS. THE FORECAST NET DEFICIT, AFTER TAKING INTO ACCOUNT OIL RESOURCES AND LOCAL BORROWING, FOR THE NEXT FINANCIAL YEAR IS OF THE ORDER OF 400 MILLION RHODESIAN DOLLARS - AND THIS IS WITHOUT MAKING ANY PROVISION FOR THE COST OF RECONSTRUCTION. AT PRESENT THE ONLY REAL SOURCE OF SHORT-TERM FINANCE IS SOUTH AFRICA AND IN THE EARLY DAYS THE NEW GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE TO COME TO TERMS WITH THAT - IF THE SOUTH AFRICANS WILL COOPERATE. THE SOUTH AFRICANS HAVE STOPPED, FOR THE TIME BEING, RHODESIANS DRAWINGS FROM THE SOFT LOAN FUNDS AVAILABLE. THIS WILL LEAVE THE RHODESIAN TREASURY SHORT OF 80 MILLION RAND DUE TO BE DRAWN DOWN IN MARCH AND MAY, AND ANOTHER 85 MILLION RAND TO BE NEGOTIATED. UNLESS THESE BORROWINGS ARE RESTORED (AND THERE ARE INDICATIONS THAT MUGABE WOULD BE PREPARED TO DO SO FOR HIS PART) THE BUDGETARY SITUATION WILL BE EVEN WORSE. BUT THERE WILL IN ANY CASE BE AN URGENT NEED TO ASCERTAIN TO WHAT EXTENT IT IS POSSIBLE TO ATTRACT FINANCE FOR FOREIGN EXCHANGE PURPOSES THROUGH MULTILATERAL INSTITUTIONS. THIS IS AN AREA WHICH WE MUST DO ALL WE CAN TO HELP WITH ADVICE. FURTHERMORE, ECOD SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED TO GRANT MEDIUM TERM COVER AS SOON AS POSSIBLE (THEREBY ENCOURAGING OTHERS TO DO SO).

REMITTABILITY OF PENSIONS

10. I HAVE TELEGRAPHED SEPARATELY (MY TELNO 1013) ABOUT THE POTENTIALLY SERIOUS PROBLEM POSED BY THE LIKELIHOOD OF A MAJOR EXODUS OF ARMY OFFICERS, POLICE OFFICERS AND CIVIL SERVANTS FEELING THAT THEY MUST TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE ABILITY TO COMMUTE AND REMIT THEIR PENSIONS AT THE END OF APRIL. THEIR FEAR IS THAT IF THEY DO NOT DO SO THEN, THEY MAY NOT SUBSEQUENTLY BE ABLE TO REMIT THEIR PENSIONS AT ALL. I FULLY APPRECIATE THE DIFFICULTIES THAT WOULD BE POSED BY OUR DIRECT INVOLVEMENT IN A SCHEME TO GUARANTEE THE REMITTABILITY OF PENSIONS. I HOPE THAT NEVERTHELESS WE SHOULD BE ABLE TO OFFER SOMETHING OF THE SORT. IF WE CANNOT, THERE MAY BE ALTERNATIVES. WHAT IS REQUIRED AS A MINIMUM IS VERY URGENT ASSISTANCE IN WORKING OUT WITH THE NEW GOVERNMENT A WAY OF ASSURING PEOPLE IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE WHO ARE PREPARED TO STAY THAT THEY WILL NOT BE PREJUDICING THEIR FINANCIAL FUTURE. PERHAPS FINANCIAL EXPERTS COULD WORK OUT A PLAN FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A FUND TO WHICH AMOUNTS COULD PROGRESSIVELY BE REMITTED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF ZIMBABWE AND WHICH COULD BE HELD IN TRUST FOR PERSONS PREPARED TO SERVE ON FOR SOME TIME. SINCE THE SETTING UP OF SUCH A FUND WILL IMPOSE A FOREIGN EXCHANGE BURDEN, WE SHOULD NOT EXCLUDE THE POSSIBILITY OF OUR MAKING A LOAN OF SAY £10 MILLION TO COVER PART OF THE INITIAL COSTS - BUT AS A "ONCE ONLY" OPERATION, AND AS A CONTRIBUTION WHICH SHOULD BE SET AGAIN OUR GENERAL PROGRAMME OF

CONTRIBUTION WHICH SHOULD BE SET AGAIN OUR GENERAL PROGRAMME OF ASSISTANCE TO THE NEW GOVERNMENT.

11. IF NOTHING IS DONE, THE NEW GOVERNMENT MAY BE FACED BY A MASSIVE EXODUS OF THOSE COVERED BY THE "INCENTIVE" SCHEME AND THE CONSEQUENT NEED TO PAY OUT LARGE AMOUNTS IN FOREIGN EXCHANGE (THE NOTIONAL POSSIBLE TOTAL IF EVERYONE LEFT ON 30 APRIL, WOULD BE RHODESIAN DOLLARS 91 MILLION).

OTHER AREAS

12. THERE ARE OTHER AREAS IN WHICH WE CAN USEFULLY HELP - AND BY DOING SO QUICKLY CAN TRY TO LIMIT INTERFERENCE BY GOVERNMENTS WHOSE INTERVENTION WOULD BE UNWELCOME TO US. THESE INCLUDE THE PROVISION OF POLICE TRAINING COURSES IN THE UNITED KINGDOM; ADVICE TO THE ZRBC AND ON THE ORGANISATION OF THE CIVIL SERVICE; ASSISTANCE TO THE NEW FOREIGN MINISTRY AND IN THE GENERAL FIELD OF SECURITY. PLANS FOR ASSISTANCE IN THESE FIELDS ARE ALREADY IN HAND.

GENERAL

13. IF IT IS POSSIBLE TO GET A FAIRLY RAPID START MADE WITH A GENEROUS MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAMME; WITH AID PROGRAMMES WHICH YIELD SOME EARLY RESULTS (ESPECIALLY RECONSTRUCTION) AND DO NOT INVOLVE VERY LONG DELAYS BEFORE ANYTHING COMES TO FRUITION; WITH A DONORS' CONFERENCE AT WHICH WE CAN SEEK TO ATTRACT FINANCIAL SUPPORT FROM OTHER COUNTRIES; AND WITH A SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF SHORT TERM FINANCE FOR THIS COUNTRY, THE RISKS OF IT TAKING A DOWNWARD PATH AND OF AN EARLY CONFRONTATION WITH SOUTH AFRICA WILL BE GREATLY REDUCED. THERE IS THEREFORE A LOT AT STAKE IN THE SHORT TERM. WE SHOULD NOT COMMIT OURSELVES TO MASSIVE PROGRAMMES OF INDEFINITE DURATION FOR ZIMBABWE. THE COUNTRY OUGHT TO BE ABLE TO STAND ON ITS OWN FEET IN A FEW YEARS TIME. BUT WE OUGHT TO COMPLETE THE TASK WE UNDERTOOK LAST YEAR BY DOING AS MUCH AS WE CAN IN THE AREAS INDICATED ABOVE AND IF NECESSARY AT THE EXPENSE OF SOME OTHER PROGRAMMES, OVER THE CRUCIAL PERIOD OF THE NEXT TWO YEARS.

FCO PASS CAPE TOWN

SOAMES

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CONFIDENTIAL

PA
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GAS 280

CONFIDENTIAL

DESKBY 121900Z (BUCHAREST)

FM FCO 121750Z MAR 80

TO FLASH CAPE TOWN

TELEGRAM NUMBER 137 OF 12 MARCH

AND TO SALISBURY

INFO IMMEDIATE BUCHAREST, WASHINGTON, UKMIS NEW YORK, LUSAKA, MAPUTO, GABORONE, DAR ES SALAAM, LAGOS, NAIROBI, KINSHASA, ACCRA, ADDIS ABABA, CANBERRA, WELLINGTON, OTTAWA, EC POSTS.

RHODESIA/SOUTH AFRICA

1. THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT HAVE PUT OUT A STATEMENT ON THIS SUBJECT IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRIME MINISTERS NAME. AFTER REFERRING TO REPORTS OF THE WITHDRAWAL OF SOUTH AFRICAN MEN AND EQUIPMENT FROM RHODESIA, THE OPERATIVE PART READS: QUOTE THE BRITISH AUTHORITIES WERE AWARE OF THE PRESENCE OF SOUTH AFRICAN MEN AND EQUIPMENT WITH THE RHODESIAN FORCES, PARTICULARLY WITH A VIEW TO FACILITATING THE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE HOLDING OF ORDERLY ELECTIONS. IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE ELECTION I ANNOUNCED THAT THIS ASSISTANCE WAS BEING WITHDRAWN. UNQUOTE

2. NEWS DEPARTMENT WILL TAKE THE FOLLOWING LINE IN ANSWER TO QUESTIONS:

QUOTE THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAVE ALWAYS MADE IT CLEAR THAT THERE WERE SOUTH AFRICANS SERVING WITH THE RHODESIAN FORCES AND THAT IT WAS NOT THEIR PURPOSE TO PURGE THESE FORCES OF SOUTH AFRICANS OR OTHER FOREIGNERS.

THE RHODESIAN FORCES HAVE FOR MANY YEARS OBTAINED MUCH OF THEIR EQUIPMENT FROM SOUTH AFRICA.

IN ADDITION

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W.A.
Paul May

CONFIDENTIAL

IN ADDITION THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT, AT BRITAIN'S REQUEST,
PROVIDED SOME 90 MINE-PROTECTED VEHICLES FOR THE USE OF THE
ELECTIONS DIRECTORATE, THE ELECTION COMMISSION AND FOREIGN
OBSERVERS DURING THE ELECTION PERIOD. THESE VEHICLES WERE
RETURNED TO SOUTH AFRICA ON 4 MARCH. UNQUOTE.
CARRINGTON

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OADS
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PLANNING STAFF
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LEGAL ADVS.
(MR FREELAND)
(MR FIFOOT)

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NEWS D
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PS/LPS
PS/MR LUCE
PS/MR RIDLEY
PS/MR HURD
PS/MR MARTEN
PS/PUS

SIR D MAITLAND
SIR A ACLAND
LORD N G LENNOX
SIR L ALLINSON
MR DAY
MR FERGUSSON
MR MILLS
CPO

ADDITIONAL DISTN.
RHODESIA POLICY

2

CONFIDENTIAL

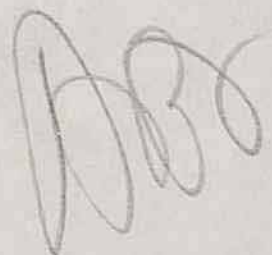
Rhodesia

12 March 1980

I enclose a message from the Prime Minister to your Secretary of State which we have discussed on the telephone.

MICHAEL ALEXANDER

Godfrey Robson, Esq.,
Scottish Office.





10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

12 March 1980

Mr George.

I have written to Lord Soames asking him to convey to all those concerned with the organisation of the recent elections the Government's thanks and appreciation for their work. I should like, through you, to thank in particular the members of British police forces who helped to supervise the elections.

It is quite clear from all reports, including those of the various international observers, that the conduct of the elections met the highest standards. The elections have been accepted universally as a valid expression of the wishes of the people; there was wide understanding of the secrecy of the vote; and the high level of turnout was virtually unprecedented. All served to put the results of the elections beyond any doubt and thus to secure for Rhodesia, soon to be Zimbabwe, a most convincing start to its new life as an independent state and accepted member of the international community. I know that this result was achieved only by devoted work, often under difficult and dangerous conditions, and in the full glare of publicity. On behalf of the Government, I wish to express admiration and gratitude to all those who contributed to this splendid achievement.

Yours sincerely
Margaret Thatcher

The Rt. Hon. George Younger, M.P.



The National Archives

LETTERCODE/SERIES <i>PREM 19</i>	Date and sign
PIECE/ITEM <i>346</i> (one piece/item number)	
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RHODESIA: POLICY: ADVANCE COPIES]

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PS/SIR I GILMOUR

PS/MR LUCE

PS/PUS

SIR D MAITLAND

MR DAY

SIR L ALLINSON

~~MR ASPIN~~

SIR R ARMSTRONG)

MR R L WADE GERY)

MR P M MAXEY)

MR GOULTY)

MR W N WENBAN SMITH)

DIO)

CABINET

OFFICE

.....

HD/RHOD DEPT (4)

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HD/S AF D

HD/UND

HD/PUSD (2)

HD/NEWS DEPT

HE/WAD

PS/SIR I SINCLAIR

MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A

MR FIFOOT

RESIDENT CLERK

CONFIDENTIAL

FM SALISBURY 111915Z MAR 80

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 1025 OF 11 MARCH 1980

INFO IMMEDIATE LUSAKA MAPUTO GABORONE CAPE TOWN WASHINGTON UKHIS
NEW YORK LAGOS DAR ES SALAAM NAIROBI UKHIS GENEVA ADDIS ABABA AND
LUANDA.

RHODESIA: FORMATION OF THE GOVERNMENT

1. I HAD SOME DISCUSSION BY TELEPHONE THIS MORNING WITH MUGABE ABOUT
THE COMPOSITION OF HIS GOVERNMENT. I EXPLAINED THAT KAMBA SAID THAT
HE DID NOT WANT TO SERVE AS MINISTER OF JUSTICE. THIS POSED A
PROBLEM AS THE ALTERNATIVE CANDIDATE WAS ZVOBGO (WHICH WOULD HAVE
CAUSED A GOOD DEAL OF ALARM HERE). WE AGREED TO DISCUSS THE MATTER
LATER IN THE DAY.

2. WHEN MUGABE CAME TO SEE ME THIS AFTERNOON, I ASKED HIM FORMALLY
TO BECOME PRIME MINISTER, WHICH HE ACCEPTED. I GAVE HIM THE PRIME
MINISTER'S MESSAGE FOR WHICH HE WAS GRATEFUL.

3. HE THEN SHOWED ME THE LIST OF HIS GOVERNMENT. THIS INCLUDED DAVID SMITH AS MINISTER OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY, AS WE HAD AGREED. I SECURED MUGABE'S AGREEMENT TO THE APPOINTMENT OF DENIS NORMAN, PRESIDENT OF THE FARMERS' UNION, AS MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE. WE HAD SOME DISCUSSION OF THE POSITION OF ZVOBGO. I SUGGESTED THAT IT WOULD BE BETTER TO GIVE THE IMPORTANT JUSTICE PORTFOLIO TO THE MORE MODERATE MUBAKO. MUGABE, WHO HIMSELF HAS RESERVATIONS ABOUT ZVOBGO, READILY AGREED TO MAKE HIM MINISTER FOR LOCAL GOVERNMENT INSTEAD.

4. I TOLD MUGABE THAT WE WOULD MAKE THE NECESSARY LEGISLATIVE PROVISION TO ENABLE HIM TO CREATE DEPUTY MINISTERS. I ASKED HIM TO BE READY BY FRIDAY 14 MARCH WITH HIS LIST OF CANDIDATES FOR THE SENATE, SO THAT THE ELECTIONS TO THE SENATE COULD PROCEED ON 19 MARCH. HE AGREED.

5. HE HAD ASKED ME AT OUR PREVIOUS MEETING WHAT COULD BE DONE ABOUT SOME OF HIS PEOPLE WHO HAD COMMITTED OFFENCES IN THE YEARS LEADING UP TO UDI AND WHO WERE UNABLE TO COME BACK TO THE COUNTRY FOR FEAR OF BEING ARRESTED. I TOLD HIM THAT WE WERE WORKING ON A FURTHER AMNESTY WHICH WOULD EXTEND TO ALL OFFENCES COMMITTED WITH A POLITICAL MOTIVE EVEN BEFORE UDI (AND WHICH COULD ALSO COVER CERTAIN OFFENCES COMMITTED DURING THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN). WE WILL BE TELEGRAPHING DETAILS.

6. MUGABE ALSO AGREED THAT THE CHIEF JUSTICE AND THE TWO JUDGE OF APPEAL COULD STAY ON UNTIL THEIR RETIREMENT DATES. THIS MEANS THAT THE CHIEF JUSTICE WILL STAND DOWN IN APRIL; THE SECOND APPEAL COURT JUDGE (LEWIS) WILL STAY ON FOR A COUPLE OF YEARS.

7. THE GOVERNMENT IS, I THINK, AS WELL BALANCED AS WE COULD HAVE HOPED FOR IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES. IN ADDITION TO NKOMO AS HOME AFFAIRS MINISTER, THE PATRIOTIC FRONT ARE REPRESENTED BY MSIKA, SILUNDIKA AND MUCHACHI AND BY TWO DEPUTY MINISTERS. THE APPOINTMENTS OF DAVID SMITH AND NORMAN WILL GIVE REAL ASSURANCE TO THE WHITE COMMUNITY AND A CONSIDERABLE BOOST TO CONFIDENCE. IT IS AS WELL THAT MUZENDA (RATHER THAN TEKERE) HAS BEEN CHOSEN AS MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. THE NEAREST LINK IS THE APPOINTMENT OF NKALA AS FINANCE MINISTER. MUGABE HAS HOWEVER PERSUADED BERNARD CHIDZERO (AT PRESENT WITH THE U.N. IN GENEVA) TO RETURN AS MINISTER OF

FINANCE MINISTER. MUGABE HAS HOWEVER PERSUADED BERNARD CHIDZERO (AT PRESENT WITH THE U.N. IN GENEVA) TO RETURN AS MINISTER OF ECONOMIC PLANNING. HE IS CLEARING THIS WITH WALDHEIM. THIS WILL GREATLY STRENGTHEN MUGABE'S WEAK ECONOMIC TEAM.

8. ALL IN ALL THIS IS A MUCH MORE MODERATE AND BALANCED TEAM THAN ANYONE WOULD HAVE THOUGHT LIKELY TEN DAYS AGO. AND MUGABE HAS BEEN READY BOTH TO LOOK FOR ADVICE AND TO EXERT HIS OWN INCREASED AUTHORITY WITHIN THE ZANU CENTRAL COMMITTEE TO ACHIEVE THIS RESULT.

FCO PASS ALL

SOAMES

NNNN

[RHODESIA: POLICY: ADVANCE COPIES]

PS
PS/SIR I GILMOUR
PS/MR LUCE
PS/JS
S D MAITLAND
MR DAY
Sir L Allison
MR ASPIN

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

SIR R ARMSTRONG)
MR R L WADE GERY)
MR P M MAXEY) CABINET
MR COULTY) OFFICE
MR W N WENBAN SMITH)
DIO)

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HD/RHOD DEPT (4)

IMMEDIATE

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HD/NEWS DEPT
HD/WAD
PS/SIR I SINCLAIR
MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A
MR FIFOOT

(File)

RESIDENT CLERK

OR 450
UNCLASSIFIED
FM LUSAKA 111522Z
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TEL NO. 260 OF 11 MARCH 1980
REPEATED TO ROUTINE SALISBURY.

M.I.P.T.

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF CHONA'S MESSAGE: BEGINS

DEAR MADAM PRIME MINISTER,

YOU MET SO MANY PEOPLE WHEN YOU CAME TO ZAMBIA LAST AUGUST AND I DON'T THEREFORE, EXPECT YOU TO REMEMBER ME.

ALL THE SAME MAY I FIRST OF ALL CONGRATULATE YOU FOR THE HAPPY END OF THE RHODESIAN PROBLEM. IT FELL ON YOU TO MAKE HARD DECISIONS AND TO DISCUSS AND EXCHANGE VIEWS WITH OTHER WORLD LEADERS IN ORDER TO CONVINCED THEM OF YOUR BONA FIDES. THIS WAS NOT EASY.

AS AN AFRICAN I SHOULD NOT HIDE THAT OUR GENERAL BUT DYING FEELINGS ARE STILL THAT ALL WAS DONE TO PREVENT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT ALLIANCE FROM WINNING SEMICOLON WHILE ALL WAS SECRETLY AND OPENLY DONE TO GIVE UANC OF BISHOP MUZOREWA ALL ADVANTAGE. WE FEEL SOUTH AFRICA WAS GIVING ORDERS TO BRITAIN DESIGNED TO HAVE

WE FEEL SOUTH AFRICA WAS GIVING ORDERS TO DIFFERENT DESTINIES TO HAVE
A SORT OF BANTUSTAN IN ZIMBABWE.

HOWEVER, WHAT IS SIGNIFICANT IS THAT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT ALLIANCE WON MASSIVELY IN SPITE OF ALL THE ODDS AGAINST THEM. TRUE THEY WERE POPULAR BUT CREDIT IS ALSO DUE NOT SO MUCH TO THE INTERIM "ADMINISTRATION" (AFRICANS ARGUE THAT IT WAS INEFFECTIVE), BUT IT IS DUE TO ELECTORAL TEAM FROM BRITAIN WHICH COUNTENANCED NO KIND OF CORRUPT PRACTICES OF ANY KIND WHATSOEVER. THEY NEVER ATTEMPTED (AND WE WHO ARE FAMILIAR WITH BRITISH STANDARDS IN THESE MATTERS KNEW THAT THEY WOULD NOT ATTEMPT) TO TAMPER WITH THE BALLOT.

THESE OFFICIALS SHARE THE CREDIT WITH YOU AND THE OTHER COMMONWEALTH LEADERS LIKE OUR PRESIDENT DR. KENNETH KAUNDA WHO KNOCKED OUT THE LUSAKA ACCORD.

MY SECOND POINT FOR WRITING TO YOU IS TO REMIND YOU OF WHAT YOU KEPT EMPHASIZING IN LUSAKA. YOU SAID YOU WERE FOR THE BALLOT AND NOT FOR THE BULLET IN RHODESIA. IN THE INTERCONTINENTAL HOTEL, DURING THE KENYAN RECEPTION, MY COLLEAGUES AND I HAD OPPORTUNITY TO INFORM YOU THAT, IN FACT, IT WAS IAN SMITH WHO WAS AGAINST THE BALLOT AND WHO HAD BEEN RULING THROUGH THE BULLET. WE ADDED THAT, THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WERE REALLY FOR THE BALLOT AND NOT THE BULLET.

I AM AGAINST THE "I TOLD YOU" PEOPLE. HOWEVER, I AM ASHAMED THAT, ON THIS OCCASION, I CAN NOT RESIST JOINING THE PEOPLE I DESPISE BY CLAIMING THAT THE VICTORY OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT HAS PROVED OUR POINT THAT THESE DEDICATED AND DEVOTED PATRIOTS, THESE LOVERS OF PEACE, THESE HUMANISTS HAVE ALWAYS BEEN FOR NOTHING BUT THE BALLOT. THEY ARE LEADERS OF AFRICANS WHO ARE PEACE-LOVING AND MOST OF WHOM ARE STILL AS INNOCENT AS A CHILD -- THOUGH I FOUND THIS TO BE TRUE OF ENGLISH PEOPLE IN THE COUNTRY AS WELL.

I HOPE ALL WILL CONTINUE TO BE WELL IN ZIMBABWE. THINGS ARE VERY PROMISING AND BRITAIN IS OUT. YOU HAVE DONE SOMETHING TO BE PROUD OF AND WHICH SEEMED VIRTUALLY IMPOSSIBLE SIX MONTHS AGO. YOU WILL BE REMEMBERED BY THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE, THOSE OF NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES AND OF THE ENTIRE AFRICAN CONTINENT. AND BY HISTORY.

YOURS SINCERELY,

M. MAINZA CHONA

[RHODESIA: POLICY: ADVANCE COPIES]

X-29

PS
PS/SIR I. GILMOUR
PS/R LUCE
PS/PUS
SIR D MATTLAND
MR DAY
SIR L ALLISON
MR ASPIN

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

SIR R ARMSTRONG)
MR R L WADE GERY)
MR P M MAXEY) CABINET
MR GOULTY) OFFICE
MR W N WENBAN SMITH)
DIO)

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HD/RHOD DEPT (4)

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HD/PUSD (2)

HD/NEWS DEPT
HD/WAD
PS/SIR I SINCLAIR
MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A
MR FINCOE

RESIDENT CLERK

RESTRICTED

FM LUSAKA 111515Z
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TEL NO. 259 OF 11 MARCH 1980
REPEATED TO ROUTINE SALISBURY.

U.K./ZAMBIA/RHODESIA.

M.I.F.T. CONTAINS MESSAGE FOR THE PRIME MINISTER FROM PARTY
SECRETARY-GENERAL MAINZA CHONA. ALTHOUGH DATED 10 MARCH I HAVE
ONLY JUST RECEIVED IT.

2. ALTHOUGH UNHAPPILY AND UNGENEROUSLY PHRASED IN PARTS I THINK
THE MESSAGE SHOULD BE REGARDED AS A GENUINE EXPRESSION OF THANKS
AND ADMIRATION FROM A MAN WHO IS FREQUENTLY MORE VOLUBLE THAN
LUCID.

3. I WOULD EXPECT KAUNDA'S HAND TO LIE BEHIND THE MESSAGE AND IT
SEEMS LIKELY TO HAVE BEEN SPARKED BY NEWS OF MACHEL'S EMISSARY.
COLLATERAL FOR THIS IS PROVIDED BY FACT THAT MY INFORMATION
OFFICER HAS JUST RECEIVED A TELEPHONED MESSAGE OF CONGRATULATIONS
FROM PUNABANTU, KAUNDA'S PRESS ADVISER.

4. RELATIONS WITH ZAMBIAN OFFICIALS HAVE BEEN MARKEDLY CORDIAL
OVER RECENT DAYS AND THERE SEEMS LITTLE DOUBT THAT THE ZAMBIANS
NOW WISH TO MEND FENCES.
NEILSON.

(Zils)

IMMEDIATE

Very! out

A rather extraordinary message!
Pres. Kaunda evidently finds it
difficult to be funny!

Rhodesia

HS

11 March 1980

Message from Mr. Fraser

I enclose a copy of a letter to the Prime Minister from the Prime Minister of Australia.

I have sent a letter of acknowledgement to the Acting Australian High Commissioner. Subject to your views, I doubt whether any further action is required.

MICHAEL ALEXANDER

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

Ge



File 110

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

11 March 1980

RHODESIA: ELECTION STAFF: MESSAGE
FROM THE PRIME MINISTER

Your letter to me of 7 March enclosed the draft of a message which the Prime Minister might send to the Governor of Rhodesia and, suitably amended, to the Home Secretary and Sir John Boynton. I enclose herewith the signed texts of the messages to Lord Soames and Sir John Boynton.

I am sending a copy of this letter, together with the signed text of the message to the Home Secretary, to John Chilcot (Home Office).

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

Paul Lever, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

AB

11 March 1980

Thank you for your letter of 10 March,
enclosing a letter to the Prime Minister from
the Prime Minister of Australia. I have of
course brought Mr. Fraser's letter to the Prime
Minister's immediate attention.

MICHAEL ALEXANDER

His Excellency Mr. R.R. Fernandez

re

PS
PS/SIR I GILMOUR
P MR LUCE
PS/PUS
SIR D MAITLAND
MR DAY
SIR L ALLISON
~~MR ASPIN~~

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

SIR R ARMSTRONG)
MR R L WADE GERY)
MR P M MAXEY) CABINET
MR GOULTY) OFFICE
MR W N WENBAN SMITH)
DIO)

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

HD/C AF D
HD/S AF D
~~HD/UND~~
HD/PUSD (2)

HD/NEWS DEPT

~~HD/WAD~~
PS/SIR I SINCLAIR
MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A
MR FIFOOT

IMMEDIATE

CONFIDENTIAL
FROM SALISBURY 101030Z MAR 80
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 1013 OF 10 MARCH 1980.

PUBLIC SERVICE PENSIONS.

1. AS YOU KNOW ONLY TOO WELL WE HAVE BEEN FACED OVER THE YEARS WITH A REQUEST FROM THE RHODESIAN PUBLIC SERVICE TO GUARANTEE THEIR PENSION RIGHTS AFTER INDEPENDENCE. WE HAVE ALWAYS RESISTED THIS ON THE GROUNDS THAT THE RHODESIAN PUBLIC SERVICE IS NOT AN EXPATRIATE SERVICE LIKE THAT OF OTHER EX-COLONIES AND THAT THEY MUST TAKE THEIR CHANCE WITH THE INDEPENDENCE GOVERNMENT.
2. I SEE THE FORCE OF THIS ARGUMENT AND HAVE HITHERTO SUBSCRIBED TO IT AS BEING VALID FOR ANY FORSEEABLE SITUATION. BUT WE ARE NOW IN AN EXTRAORDINARY SITUATION. WE HAVE ACHIEVED AN END TO THE WAR, AN ELECTION RECOGNISED BY THE WORLD, AND THE POSSIBILITY OF A GOVERNMENT EMERGING WHOSE POLICIES WILL NOT, INITIALLY AT LEAST, BE SO RADICAL AS WE FEARED. BUT THAT GOVERNMENT, ENTIRELY UNEXPECTEDLY, IS TO BE FORMED BY THE MAN WHOM THE WHITES HAVE HITHERTO REGARDED AS THE ARCH ENEMY, IF NOT THE DEVIL INCARNATE. AND CONSOLIDATION OF A SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME TO OUR ENDEAVOURS NOW DEPENDS CRUCIALLY ON THE WHITES NOT (NOT) LEAVING - YET; AND THE BIGGEST SINGLE ENCOURAGEMENT TO THEM TO REMAIN WILL BE THE CONTINUED PRESENCE OF POLICE AND SECURITY FORCES, AND A PUBLIC SERVICE, THEY FEEL THEY CAN TRUST. I NOW BELIEVE THEREFORE THAT IT WOULD BE IN OUR VERY REAL INTEREST TO TRY TO DEVISE SOME FORM OF GUARANTEE OF LIMITED SCOPE AND DURATION.
3. WHAT WE HAVE TO DO IS TO NEGATE THE LIKELY EFFECTS OF THE SPECIAL INCENTIVE SCHEME WHICH WAS INTRODUCED BY THE SMITH GOVERNMENT (AGAINST THE ADVICE OF TREASURY OFFICIALS) AND WHICH WAS DESIGNED TO INDUCE PUBLIC SERVANTS TO REMAIN AT THEIR POSTS AFTER MUZOREWA BECAME PRIME MINISTER. UNDER THIS SCHEME PUBLIC SERVANTS WHO ELECT TO RETIRE EARLY AND LEAVE THE COUNTRY ANY TIME IN THE 5 YEARS FOLLOWING 30 APRIL 1980, I.E. FROM ONE YEAR AFTER THE INSTALLATION OF MUZOREWA'S ADMINISTRATION, MAY TAKE WITH THEM THE COMPUTABLE ELEMENT OF THEIR PENSION (ONE THIRD OF THE TOTAL), AS A CAPITAL SUM FREE OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE RESTRICTIONS. A MEMBER OF THE ARMED SERVICES OR POLICE MAY TAKE THE WHOLE SUM DUE IMMEDIATELY HE LEAVES, AND A CIVIL SERVANT ONE FIFTH OF THE SUM IMMEDIATELY AFTER HIS DEPARTURE AND THE REMAINDER OVER A PERIOD OF 5 TO 10 YEARS FROM 30 APRIL 1980 DEPENDING ON THE DATE OF HIS

IMMEDIATELY HE LEAVES, AND A CIVIL SERVANT ONE FIFTH OF THE SUM IMMEDIATELY AFTER HIS DEPARTURE AND THE REMAINDER OVER A PERIOD OF 5 TO 10 YEARS FROM 30 APRIL 1980 DEPENDING ON THE DATE OF HIS DEPARTURE.

4. THE IMPLICATION OF THIS IS OBVIOUS. THE MAJORITY OF PUBLIC SERVANTS, PARTICULARLY THE MILITARY, HAVE CONCLUDED THAT THEY CANNOT COUNT ON RECEIVING THEIR ANNUAL PENSION PAYMENTS ON RETIREMENT, WHETHER EARLY OR AT THE DUE AGE, AND ARE THEREFORE VERY ANXIOUS TO LAY THEIR HANDS ON THEIR CAPITAL SUM UNDER THE INCENTIVE SCHEME. WE HAVE BEEN TOLD FORCIBLY BY SENIOR REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL THE PUBLIC SERVICES THAT THERE IS LITTLE CONFIDENCE THAT THE INDEPENDENCE GOVERNMENT WILL HONOUR THE INCENTIVE SCHEME FOR LONG. WE ARE THEREFORE FACED WITH THE PROSPECT OF AN EXODUS OF THESE WHITES (WHO ARE UNFORTUNATELY THE KEY TO THE WHOLE SITUATION). FROM 30 APRIL ON THE GROUNDS THAT THEY CANNOT TAKE THE CHANCE THAT THEY WILL LOSE THEIR CAPITAL, THE POLICE SPEAK OF LOSING 70 PER CENT OF THEIR OFFICERS, EVEN ALLOWING FOR EXAGGERATION THIS IS ALARMING. THERE IS A DANGER THAT JUST AT THE TIME WHEN WE ARE WORKING TO STABILISE THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MUGABE AND THE WHITES, THE INCENTIVE FOR WHITES TO LEAVE WILL BE AT ITS HIGHEST.

5. MUGABE HAS ALREADY STATED PUBLICLY THAT HE WILL RESPECT THE PENSION RIGHTS OF PUBLIC SERVANTS. BUT I FEAR THAT THIS IS NOT TAKEN AT FACE VALUE, AND THAT WE WILL HAVE TO DO SOMETHING OURSELVES. I DO NOT HAVE IN MIND GUARANTEEING FULL PENSION RIGHTS LET ALONE THE RIGHTS OF ALL PENSIONERS. THIS COULD BE VERY EXPENSIVE AND THE RHODESIANS DO NOT IN ANY CASE EXPECT TO RETAIN THESE RIGHTS. THE KEY IS TO OFFER SOME GUARANTEE OF THE CAPITAL SUM. WE HAVE NOT YET GOT EXACT FIGURES, BUT ON A PRELIMINARY VIEW THE TOTAL CAPITAL SUM LIABILITY FOR THE ARMED SERVICES IS DOLLARS 40 MILLION, AND FOR THE POLICE DOLLARS 18 MILLION. THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE WILL SOON PRODUCE A FIGURE FOR THE CIVIL SERVICE. WE WANT TO INDUCE WHITES TO STAY FOR THE CRUCIAL PERIOD OF ADMINISTRATIVE TRANSITION TO BLACK RULE, SAY FOR THE NEXT FIVE YEARS. BY THEN THE COUNTRY MAY IN ANY CASE HAVE STABILISED ENOUGH TO PERSUADE THEM THAT THEY HAVE A FUTURE, AND IF THEY DO STILL WANT TO LEAVE THE RISK OF ADMINISTRATIVE UPHEAVAL AND ECONOMIC DISRUPTION WILL BE MUCH LESS. IF WE CAN STATE THAT WE WILL GUARANTEE THE REMITTABLE CAPITAL SUM IF THE NEW GOVERNMENT SHOULD RENEGE ON THE COMMITMENT OVER THE NEXT FIVE YEARS, I BELIEVE IT WILL DO THE TRICK. THE TOTAL LIABILITY IS CALCULATED ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT EVERYONE ENTITLED UNDER THE SCHEME WILL LEAVE. IN PRACTICE THE LIABILITY WOULD BE A GOOD DEAL LESS.

6 I REALISE THAT THIS IS A DIFFICULT PILL TO SWALLOW. IN PARTICULAR I RECOGNISE THE ARGUMENT THAT ANY SUCH STATEMENT WOULD TEMPT THE INDEPENDENCE GOVERNMENT TO RENEGE. I COULD SAY THAT WE DO NOT INTEND TO IMPLY THAT WE DISBELIEVE HIS ASSURANCES, BUT THAT WE HAVE TO RECOGNISE THE APPREHENSIONS OF THE WHITES AND COUNTER THEM. HE SHOULD BE RECEPTIVE TO THIS. I COULD FURTHER WARN HIM THAT IF WE WERE OBLIGED TO TAKE ON RESPONSIBILITY FOR ANY PART OF THE TOTAL CAPITAL SUM INVOLVED THIS WOULD HAVE TO BE SET AGAINST THE AID PROGRAMME. I COULD ALSO FLOAT WITH HIM THE IDEA OF SPECIALLY ENTRENCHING PENSION REMITTABILITY BY MAKING A PROVISION IN THE CONSTITUTION THAT, OVER 10 YEARS, COULD ONLY BE CHANGED BY UNANIMOUS VOTE OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. ALL THIS SHOULD REDUCE THE CHANCE THAT WE WILL EVER HAVE TO PAY UP. YOU MAY ALSO WISH TO CONSIDER WHETHER WE COULD INSURE AGAINST THE POSSIBILITY OF BECOMING LIABLE. WHATEVER WE DO THERE IS A FINANCIAL RISK, BUT THE POTENTIAL POLITICAL DIVIDEND IS HIGH.

SOAMES

IMMEDIATE

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800
SUBJECT.



AUSTRALIAN HIGH COMMISSION · LONDON

AUSTRALIA HOUSE STRAND WC2B 4LA TEL 01-438 8209

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T 51/80

Acting
THE HIGH COMMISSIONER

10 March 1980

cc. Fraser
ops

fr. Paul

Ronnie Ruster

(2)

Paul 10/3

Dear Mr Alexander,

I have been asked by the Australian Prime Minister, the Rt Hon. Malcolm Fraser, to convey the attached text of a letter of 7 March from him to your Prime Minister, the Rt Hon. Margaret Thatcher.

I should be grateful if you could bring this letter to Mrs Thatcher's attention as soon as possible. I shall pass the original to you when it arrives.

Yours sincerely,

mf

R. Fernandez

(R.R. Fernandez)

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

T 51/80

Text of a Letter of 7 March from the
Prime Minister of Australia, the Rt Hon.
Malcolm Fraser, to the Rt Hon. Margaret
Thatcher

Begins:

My dear Margaret,

I send you warm congratulations on the successful holding of the elections in Rhodesia, which brought to fruition the process initiated at Lusaka.

The way to the present achievement was not always smooth, but the determination and skill of your Government and officials have resulted in this great act of service to the people of Rhodesia, who for the first time have had the opportunity to choose their leaders in a democratic way. I am as pleased as you must be that there was a consensus among observers that, despite the very difficult circumstances, the elections were generally free and fair and permitted a genuine act of free choice by the overwhelming majority of the electorate.

The clear victory achieved by Mr Mugabe in the elections, followed by his evident wish to form a national government, including representatives of the Rhodesian Front, opens the way for stable government. His actions since the election, particularly his statesmanlike address to the nation on 4 March, give reason for confidence that the country will advance in peace and prosperity to the advantage of all its people.

I believe there are good prospects for us to establish sound relations with the new Zimbabwe Government.

Yours sincerely,

Malcolm Fraser

Ends.

10 March 1980.



With the compliments of

THE PRIVATE SECRETARY

Central African Dept have passed on the attached message from Mr Chona to the Prime Minister, asking us to send it to you if appropriate.

**FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE
SW1A 2AH**

TELEGRAMS: UNIP



TELEPHONES:

GENERAL INQUIRIES 74321
SECRETARY-GENERAL 75424
ADMINISTRATIVE SEC. 73750

UNITED NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE PARTY

Office of the Secretary-General of the Party

In reply please quote:

SGP/P/1

No.....

**FREEDOM HOUSE
P.O. BOX 302, LUSAKA
REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA**

10th March, 1980

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

Dear Madam Prime Minister,

You met so many people when you came to Zambia last August and I don't therefore, expect you to remember me.

All the same may I first of all congratulate you for the happy end of the Rhodesian problem. It fell on you to make hard decisions and to discuss and exchange views with other world leaders in order to convince them of your bona fides. This was not easy.

As an African I should not hide that our general but dying feelings are still that all was done to prevent the Patriotic Front Alliance from winning; while all was secretly and openly done to give UANC of Bishop Muzorewa all advantage. We feel South Africa was giving orders to Britain designed to have a sort of Bantustan in Zimbabwe.

However, what is significant is that the Patriotic Front Alliance won masively in spite of all the odds against them. True they were popular but credit is also due not so much to the interim "Administration" (Africans argue that it was ineffective), but it is due to Electoral Team from Britain which countenanced no kind of corrupt practices of any kind whatsoever. They never attempted (and we who are familiar with British standards in these matters knew that they would not attempt) to tamper with the ballot.

These officials share the credit with you and the other Commonwealth leaders like our President Dr. Kenneth Kaunda who knocked out the Lusaka Accord.

/2....


Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher, MP., - 2 - 10th March, 1980

My second point for writing to you is to remind you of what you kept on emphasizing in Lusaka. You said you were for the ballot and not for the bullet in Rhodesia. In the Intercontinental Hotel, during the Kenyan reception, my colleagues and I had opportunity to inform you that, in fact, it was Ian Smith who was against the ballot and who had been ruling through the bullet. We added that, the Patriotic Front were really for the ballot and not the bullet.

I am against the "I told you" people. However, I am ashamed that, on this occasion, I can not resist joining the people I despise by claiming that the victory of the Patriotic Front has proved our point that these dedicated and devoted patriots, these lovers of peace, these humanists have always been for nothing but the ballot. They are leaders of Africans who are peace-loving and most of whom are still as innocent as a child - though I found this to be true of English people in the country as well.

I hope all will continue to be well in Zimbabwe. Things are very promising and Britain is out. You have done something to be proud of and which seemed virtually impossible six months ago. You will be remembered by the people of Zimbabwe, those of neighbouring countries and of the entire African continent. And by history.

Yours sincerely,


M. Mainza Chona

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I hope all will continue to be well in Zimbabwe. Things are very promising and Britain is out. You have done something to be proud of and which seemed virtually impossible six months ago. You will be remembered by the people of Zimbabwe, those of neighbouring countries and of the entire African continent. And by history.

Yours sincerely,


M. Mwanza Chona



file #8
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10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

10 March 1980

Dear Willie.

I have written to Lord Soames asking him to convey to all those concerned with the organisation of the recent elections the Government's thanks and appreciation for their work. I should like, through you, to thank in particular the members of British police forces who helped to supervise the elections.

It is quite clear from all reports, including those of the various international observers, that the conduct of the elections met the highest standards. The elections have been accepted universally as a valid expression of the wishes of the people; there was wide understanding of the secrecy of the vote; and the high level of turnout was virtually unprecedented. All served to put the results of the elections beyond any doubt and thus to secure for Rhodesia, soon to be Zimbabwe, a most convincing start to its new life as an independent state and accepted member of the international community. I know that this result was achieved only by devoted work, often under difficult and dangerous conditions, and in the full glare of publicity. On behalf of the Government, I wish to express admiration and gratitude to all those who contributed to this splendid achievement.

Yours sincerely
Robert White

The Rt. Hon. William Whitelaw, C.H., M.C.

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file HS
cc Fro

10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

10 March 1980

Dear Christopher .

I should like to convey to all those concerned with the organisation of the recent elections in Rhodesia - and in particular the Election Commissioner and his staff, the Election Supervisors and official observers, the Rhodesian Election Directorate, and the members of British police forces who helped supervise the elections - the Government's thanks and appreciation for their work.

It is quite clear from all reports, including those of the various international observers, that the conduct of the elections met the highest standards. The elections have been accepted universally as a valid expression of the wishes of the people; there was wide understanding of the secrecy of the vote; and the high level of turnout was virtually unprecedented. All served to put the results of the elections beyond any doubt and thus to secure for Rhodesia, soon to be Zimbabwe, a most convincing start to its new life as an independent state and accepted member of the international community. I know that this result was achieved only by devoted work, often under difficult and dangerous conditions, and in the full glare of publicity. On behalf of the Government, I wish to express admiration and gratitude to all those who contributed to this splendid achievement.

Yours sincerely
Raymond Stobart

The Rt. Hon. The Lord Soames, G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., C.B.E.

✓ 16



File 115
cc F20

10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

10 March 1980

Dear Sir John

I have written to Lord Soames asking him to convey to all those concerned with the organisation of the recent elections the Government's thanks and appreciation for their work. I should like however to thank you personally and, through you, the members of your staff for all that you did.

It is quite clear from all reports, including those of the various international observers, that the conduct of the elections met the highest standards. The elections have been accepted universally as a valid expression of the wishes of the people; there was wide understanding of the secrecy of the vote; and the high level of turnout was virtually unprecedented. All served to put the results of the elections beyond any doubt and thus to secure for Rhodesia, soon to be Zimbabwe, a most convincing start to its new life as an independent state and accepted member of the international community. I know that this result was achieved only by devoted work, often under difficult and dangerous conditions, and in the full glare of publicity. On behalf of the Government, I wish to express admiration and gratitude to all those who contributed to this splendid achievement.

Yours sincerely
Margaret Thatcher

Sir John Boynton, M.C.

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Subject copy filed on:-
Mozambique: Aug 79: Aid to Mozambique.

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

10 March 1980

Dear Robin,

Call by Mr. Cabaco

As you know, President Machel's envoy, Mr. Cabaco, called on the Prime Minister earlier today. He was accompanied by Mr. Honwana and his Private Secretary, Mr. Come. The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary and Mr. Luce were also present.

Mr. Cabaco said that he had been sent by President Machel to convey the President's congratulations on the happy outcome in Rhodesia. Mozambique, like the entire international community, was enthusiastic about the outcome. The other countries of the region were already feeling the benefits of peace. South Africa would have to tackle the problem of finding a solution to its problems in a shorter term than had previously seemed likely. However the most immediate problem was Namibia. In the spirit of the close co-operation between Britain and Mozambique in recent months, talks had already begun between the two countries about Namibia.

Mr. Cabaco said that in President Machel's view, Britain had achieved new status in Africa. Britain and Africa had been reconciled. British colonialism no longer existed. Throughout the Rhodesian negotiations, Britain and Mozambique had been allies. Their tactical objectives had on occasions differed but the goal had always been the same. President Machel had greatly appreciated the frankness with which HMG had communicated with him. The two countries should now aim to continue as allies in consolidating what had been built so far. President Machel hoped that a British delegation would come to Mozambique soon to discuss the economic consolidation of Zimbabwe and of the region and the strengthening of bilateral links between Britain and Mozambique.

The Prime Minister said that the success in Rhodesia would not have been possible without President Machel's help. Help offered quickly when asked for and in time of need was the help most appreciated. HMG were delighted with the outcome in Rhodesia. Zimbabwe would start as an independent nation with the goodwill and confidence of the world as a whole. This was a wonderful start. The country was rich in resources and had a great future. Britain would continue to take a major interest in the region. We had historic ties with it. It would be essential to try to bring South Africa along. The other countries in the region should try to encourage the South African Government when they took

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positive action such as a reduction in discrimination. It was essential that all the countries in the area should work together for the good of the region.

As regards President Machel's invitation, the Prime Minister said that she was pleased to have been asked to help. It seemed to her an excellent idea for a team to go out to Mozambique. She suggested, however, that it might be wise to wait until it was a little clearer what was happening in Rhodesia. The Prime Minister concluded the discussion by asking Mr. Cabaco to carry her best wishes to President Machel.

I enclose a copy of the text of the letter left with the Prime Minister by Mr. Cabaco.

Yours ever

Michael Alexander

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

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copy to Mr Alexander

NO 70

for info.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL
DESKBY 110700Z
FM FCO 101925Z MAR 80
TO IMMEDIATE SALISBURY
TELEGRAM NUMBER 745 OF 10 MARCH

A useful summary of thinking
so far. Read in full.

And

FOR DUFF FROM POWELL.

ASSISTANCE TO RHODESIA

1. WE HAVE HAD PRELIMINARY DISCUSSIONS WITH THE ODA AND OTHERS AT OFFICIAL LEVEL ON THE VARIOUS PROJECTS FOR IMMEDIATE ASSISTANCE TO RHODESIA DEALT WITH IN YOUR TELS NOS 978, 992 AND 1003. WE SHALL NEED TO SUBMIT TO MINISTERS ON SOME POINTS. YOU WILL BE RECEIVING DETAILED REPLIES FROM THE ODA OVER THE NEXT FEW DAYS. THE FOLLOWING IS INTENDED AS A SYNOPSIS TO LET YOU KNOW IN BROAD TERMS HOW WE CAN HELP.

no.

MILITARY ASSISTANCE

2. WE CANNOT TAKE DECISIONS ON THIS UNTIL GENERAL PERKINS HAS REPORTED. THE MAIN PROBLEM IS LIKELY TO BE OVER FUNDS. THE UKMTAS BUDGET FOR NEXT YEAR IS UNDER EXTREME PRESSURE.

ZRBC

3. WE HOPE TO BE ABLE TO PUT TOGETHER A TEAM CONSISTING OF A SENIOR BBC (OR EX-BBC) EXECUTIVE, AN ENGINEER AND AN EXPERT ON NEWS BROADCASTS WHO COULD VISIT RHODESIA FOR THREE OR FOUR WEEKS TO INVESTIGATE THE STRUCTURE OF ZRBC AND PRODUCE A PAPER FOR THE NEW GOVERNMENT. THEY WOULD ACT AS CONSULTANTS. THIS MIGHT BE FOLLOWED BY SECONDMENT OF EXPERTS AND POSSIBLY OF A GENERAL ADVISER OF BROADCASTING. THIS WOULD DEPEND ON THE INITIAL REPORT AND THE NEW GOVERNMENT'S CONCLUSIONS. WE SHALL GET YOU THE TEAM AS SOON AS POSSIBLE BUT IT MAY TAKE A WEEK OR TWO TO ASSEMBLE THEM.

POLICE

4. WE ARE ARRANGING FOR THE DEPUTY ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER FOR PERSONNEL IN THE METROPOLITAN POLICE AND THE DEPUTY COMMANDANT FOR OVERSEAS TRAINING FROM HENDON TO VISIT RHODESIA NEXT WEEK TO ASSESS POTENTIAL REQUIREMENTS. THE MAIN LIMITING FACTOR AT THIS END IS LIKELY TO BE AVAILABILITY OF COURSES, FOR WHICH THERE IS

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/INTENSE

CONFIDENTIAL

INTENSE COMPETITION FROM OTHER COUNTRIES. IN THE LONGER TERM, THE NORMAL PROCEDURE WOULD BE TO AGREE WITH THE NEW GOVERNMENT AN OVERALL FIGURE FOR TRAINING IN THE UNITED KINGDOM OF ALL SORTS AND THEN TO WORK OUT PRIORITIES (E.G. POLICE, AGRICULTURE, ETC) WITHIN THIS CEILING.

CIVIL SERVICE

5. AGAIN WE ARE THINKING IN TERMS OF GETTING OUT A SMALL TEAM TO YOU AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO ASSESS THE TASK AND TO MAKE SOME PRELIMINARY RECOMMENDATIONS. IT HAS BEEN SUGGESTED TO US THAT THE BEST PERSON TO HEAD THIS WOULD BE WILDING, THE DEPUTY SECRETARY IN THE CIVIL SERVICE DEPARTMENT IN CHARGE OF THE MANAGEMENT GROUP. WE SHALL BE ASKING THE PUS TO WRITE TO SIR I BANCROFT TO SEE IF WILDING CAN BE MADE AVAILABLE: BUT YOU MAY LIKE TO MAKE SURE THAT THE GOVERNOR THINKS HIM A GOOD CHOICE (HE IS, OF COURSE, A MEMBER OF LORD SOAMES' STAFF AT THE CSD). WE ENVISAGE TWO OTHER MEMBERS OF THE MISSION, PROBABLY FORMER MEMBERS OF THE ODA WITH RELEVANT EXPERIENCE.

RESETTLEMENT

6. WE ARE NOT SURE WHETHER THE REQUIREMENT WILL BE MAINLY FOR CASH TO FINANCE RESETTLEMENT PROGRAMMES, OR FOR ADVICE ON THE ORGANISATION OF TRAINING COURSES, ETC. THE ODA ARE CHECKING TO SEE WHETHER THEIR EMPLOYMENT ADVISER COULD GIVE USEFUL ADVICE. THE MOD MAY ALSO HAVE RELEVANT EXPERTISE ON WHICH WE COULD DRAW. FOR THE FINANCING OF RESETTLEMENT WE SHALL HAVE TO LOOK FOR ASSISTANCE FROM OTHER GOVERNMENTS AND HAVE, ALREADY MADE SOME PRELIMINARY APPROACHES.

AID MISSION

7. MARTIN LYNCH'S VIEW, WHICH I AM SURE IS RIGHT, IS THAT THERE IS LITTLE POINT IN A FULL SCALE AID MISSION UNTIL THE NEW GOVERNMENT IS WELL SETTLED IN AND HAS HAD TIME TO THINK ABOUT ITS PRIORITIES. HE IS THEREFORE THINKING OF BRINGING A TEAM COMPRISING 6 OR 7 EXPERTS IN THE SECOND HALF OF APRIL. HOWEVER, WE COULD DIVERT JOHN KERBY, WHO IS IN MALAWI UNTIL THE END OF THIS WEEK, TO VISIT SALISBURY ON HIS WAY HOME, TO MAKE INITIAL CONTACT WITH NEW MINISTERS AND TO DISCUSS THE SCOPE OF THE AID MISSION. PLEASE LET US KNOW IF YOU THINK THIS WOULD BE USEFUL.

CONFIDENTIAL

DONORS' CONFERENCE

8. THIS NEEDS TO BE WELL PREPARED WITH FULL DOCUMENTATION SENT OUT TO POTENTIAL DONORS WELL IN ADVANCE. (A RECENT INADEQUATELY PREPARED DONORS' CONFERENCE FOR UGANDA WAS A WASHOUT.) THE ODA WOULD PREFER TO CARRY THROUGH THE VISIT OF THEIR OWN MISSION FIRST. THEY ALSO THINK IT BETTER THAT ANY EVENTUAL CONFERENCE SHOULD BE IN SALISBURY RATHER THAN LONDON (WHICH MIGHT ENCOURAGE EXAGGERATED EXPECTATIONS OF WHAT WE ARE PREPARED TO MAKE AVAILABLE IN THE WAY OF AID.)

9. PLEASE TREAT THE ABOVE AS AN INDICATION OF WHAT WE HOPE TO BE ABLE TO DO IN THE SHORT TERM. WE AWAIT YOUR FURTHER RECOMMENDATIONS ABOUT DEVELOPMENT AID. BUT I SHOULD BE MISLEADING YOU IF I GAVE YOU ANY ENCOURAGEMENT TO BELIEVE THAT THE CLIMATE HERE WILL ALLOW A SIGNIFICANT INCREASE IN THE PLANNING FIGURE OF POUNDS STERLING 40 MILLION OVER THREE YEARS.

CARRINGTON

FILES
RHOD.D
PS
PS/LPS
PS/MR LUCE
PS/PUS
SIR L ALMONSON
MR BHATT
MR DAY

COPIES TO:

MR LYNCH
MR FREEMAN } ODA

CONFIDENTIAL

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FROM SALISBURY 081500Z MAR 80

TO PRIORITY FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 1003 OF 8 MARCH 1980

INFO ROUTINE LUSAKA DAR ES SALAAM GABORONE MAPUTO LAGOS
CAPE TOWN WASHINGTON AND UKMIS NEW YORK.

FROM DUFF.

M I P T: ASSISTANCE TO RHODESIA.

ASSISTANCE TO THE PUBLIC SERVICE.

1. OUR AIM IN PROVIDING ASSISTANCE TO THE PUBLIC SERVICE WOULD BE:-
 - (A) TO DEMONSTRATE A CONTINUING BRITISH INTEREST IN THIS COUNTRY:
 - (B) TO OFFER OBJECTIVE ADVICE TO MUGABE, WHO HAS NO PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE IN THIS FIELD, ON THE FUTURE SHAPE AND COMPOSITION OF THE CIVIL SERVICE (MUGABE IS LIKELY TO DISTRUST ANY ADVICE ON THIS SUBJECT WHICH HE RECEIVES FROM THE RHODESIAN CIVIL SERVICE ITSELF):
 - (C) TO PROVIDE SOME REASSURANCE TO THE WHITE CIVIL SERVANTS AGAINST AN ILL-CONSIDERED AND PRECIPITATE REORGANISATION WHICH MIGHT OTHERWISE BE CARRIED OUT BY THE NEW GOVERNMENT:
 - (D) TO PRE-EMPT THE APPOINTMENT OF ADVISERS FROM ELSEWHERE WHOSE ADVICE MIGHT BE INIMICAL TO OUR INTERESTS.

2. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO AVOID GIVING ADVICE ON AFRICANISATION: INDEED THIS IS LIKELY TO BE A CENTRAL ISSUE IN ANY PLAN FOR CIVIL SERVICE REORGANISATION. MUGABE IS LIKELY TO BE UNDER STRONG PRESSURE FOR WHOLESAL AFRICANISATION: INDEPENDENT ADVICE FROM US MIGHT HELP HIM TO RESIST THESE PRESSURES. OUR OBJECTIVE SHOULD BE TO ENSURE THAT AFRICANISATION TAKES PLACE RAPIDLY BUT NOT AT SUCH A PACE AS TO DESTROY THE MORALE OF WHITE CIVIL SERVANTS OR SERIOUSLY TO IMPAIR THE EFFICIENCY OF THE PUBLIC SERVICE.

3. IT IS DIFFICULT AT THIS STAGE TO BE PRECISE ABOUT THE SORT OF ASSISTANCE WE MIGHT OFFER. PERHAPS WE SHOULD AIM TO START WITH A SMALL TEAM, WHICH WOULD COME FOR A LIMITED PERIOD TO DRAW UP, IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PUBLIC SERVICE, RECOMMENDATIONS FOR AN OVERALL REORGANISATION OF THE CIVIL SERVICE TOGETHER WITH A PROGRAMME FOR AFRICANISATION. THE TEAM MIGHT ALSO ADVISE ON

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TRAINING

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TRAINING WHICH COULD BE OFFERED IN THE UK TO AFRICAN CIVIL SERVANTS WHO WERE BEING GROOMED FOR SENIOR APPOINTMENTS. IF IT SEEMED NECESSARY AND NOT EMBARRASSING TO OURSELVES, WE MIGHT PROVIDE LONGER TERM ADVISERS TO BE ATTACHED TO THE PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION TO HELP WITH THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROGRAMME OF RE-ORGANISATION AND TRAINING.

4. THERE MIGHT ALSO BE A REQUIREMENT FOR US TO FIND EXPERT ADVISERS TO SERVE LONG-TERM ATTACHMENTS WITH INDIVIDUAL MINISTRIES TO ASSIST IN POLICY FORMATION. FOR EXAMPLE, WE MIGHT OFFER TO SET UP AND PROVIDE STAFF FOR A CENTRAL ECONOMIC PLANNING UNIT.

5. ONE SPECIFIC AREA IN WHICH THE NEW STATE WILL REQUIRE HELP IS IN THE SETTING UP OF ITS FOREIGN SERVICE. THE PRESENT MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS IS EXTREMELY SMALL WITH VERY FEW REPRESENTATIVES OVERSEAS. A LARGE EXPANSION IS THEREFORE GOING TO BE NECESSARY AND AFRICANSIATION SHOULD PRESENT FEWER PROBLEMS THAN IN THE REST OF THE PUBLIC SERVICE. WE COULD PROVIDE ADVICE ON THE ORGANISATION OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY TOGETHER WITH ATTACHMENTS TO THE FOREIGN OFFICE AND BRITISH MISSIONS OVERSEAS FOR POTENTIAL ZIMBABWE FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICERS, AS WE HAVE DONE IN THE CASE OF OTHER COLONIES ABOUT TO ACHIEVE INDEPENDENCE.

6. THE FIRST STEP, AS SUGGESTED IN MY TELNO 964, MIGHT BE A PRELIMINARY VISIT BY SOMEONE FROM THE CIVIL SERVICE DEPARTMENT ACCOMPANIED PERHAPS BY A REPRESENTATIVE FROM THE ODA. I HOPE THAT THIS VISIT COULD TAKE PLACE IN THE VERY NEAR FUTURE.

OTHER MATTERS.

7. I SHALL BE TELEGRAPHING SEPARATELY ABOUT BRITISH DEVELOPMENT AID. BUT I HOPE THAT THE ODA WILL BE READY TO SEND OUT HERE, AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AFTER THE NEW GOVERNMENT IS FORMED AND BEFORE INDEPENDENCE, THE AID MISSION REFERRED TO IN YOUR TELNO 619 OF 21 DECEMBER (NOT TO ALL). THE MISSION SHOULD INCLUDE SOMEONE WHO IS COMPETENT TO LOOK INTO THE WHOLE QUESTION OF RETRAINING AND RESETTLEMENT FOR THE DEMOBILISED MEMBERS OF THE ARMED FORCES. WE ARE OF COURSE COMMITTED TO HELP IN THIS AREA UNDER THE TERMS OF THE LANCASTER HOUSE AGREEMENT (THE LAST SENTENCE OF PARA 15 OF THE ATTACHMENT TO THE CEASE-FIRE AGREEMENT).

2

18. WE SHOULD

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8. WE SHOULD ALSO BE GIVING THOUGHT TO THE GENERAL QUESTION OF ENCOURAGING AND PROMOTING AID FROM OTHER SOURCES, BOTH BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL. ORGANISATIONAL CAPABILITY IN THIS COUNTRY IS SUCH THAT IT IS PROBABLY UNNECESSARY TO THINK IN TERMS OF A STANDING CONSULTATIVE GROUP. BUT SHOULD WE NOT BE THINKING OF ARRANGING, VERY SOON AFTER INDEPENDENCE, A ONE-OFF DONORS' CONFERENCE IN LONDON AT WHICH ZIMBABWE COULD EXPLAIN ITS NEEDS?

FCC PSE PASS TO ALL

[REPEATED AS
REQUESTED]

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PS/MR RIDLEY
PS/MR HURD
PS/MR MARTEN
PS/PUS

SIR D MAITLAND
SIR A ACLAND
LORD N G LENNOX
SIR L ALLINSON
MR DAY
MR FERGUSSON

ADDITIONAL DISTN.
RHODESIA POLICY

3
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Read in full
(2 files)

CONFIDENTIAL

FROM SALISBURY 091455Z MAR 80

TO PRIORITY FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 1002 OF 8 MARCH 1980

INFO ROUTINE LUSAKA DAR ES SALAAM GABORONE MAPUTO LAGOS
CAPE TOWN WASHINGTON AND UKMIS NEW YORK.

FROM DUFF.

YOUR TELNO 103 TO KUALA LUMPUR (NOT TO GABORONE):
ASSISTANCE TO RHODESIA.

1. AS SEEN FROM HERE, THE APPROACH REFLECTED IN YOUR TELEGRAM IS UNDULY CAUTIOUS. THE IDEAS WE HAVE SO FAR PUT FORWARD HAVE MUGABE'S FULL ENDORSEMENT, AND WE SHALL OF COURSE CONTINUE TO KEEP IN TOUCH WITH HIM (AND HIS GOVERNMENT WHEN IT IS FORMED) AS OUR PLANS DEVELOP. AS YOU KNOW (OUR TELNO 964), THE PURPOSE OF THE WHOLE PACKAGE IS TO HELP REASSURE THE WHITES, TO HELP STABILISE THE NEW GOVERNMENT, AND TO GET OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THEM OFF ON A CLOSE AND COOPERATIVE BASIS. THE GOVERNOR BELIEVES THAT WE HAVE A UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY WHICH WE SHOULD SEIZE WITH BOTH HANDS. THE FRENCH WOULD NOT HESITATE IF THEY WERE IN OUR POSITION. THE DANGERS ATTENDANT ON A "CONTINUING DIRECT INVOLVEMENT IN RHODESIA WHICH WE MIGHT LATER REGRET" ARE ONES THAT WE MUST KEEP IN MIND AS WE CONSIDER EACH ELEMENT IN THE GENERAL PACKAGE OF ASSISTANCE, BUT THEY RELATE MORE CLOSELY TO THE CONCEPT OF A CONTINUING CLOSE POLITICAL LINK WITH MUGABE THAN TO THE VARIOUS AREAS OF TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE THAT WE HAVE SUGGESTED. INDEED, INSOFAR AS THE LATTER ARE CONCERNED, AT LEAST PART OF THE PURPOSE IS TO PROMOTE A SENSIBLE APPROACH TO THE ADJUSTMENTS THAT HAVE TO BE MADE. IF, AFTER INDEPENDENCE, THE ZIMBABWE GOVERNMENT START TO FOLLOW POLICIES OF WHICH WE STRONGLY DISAPPROVE, WE SHALL HAVE TO DISENGAGE. BUT MEANWHILE WE SHOULD GIVE WHAT HELP AND ENCOURAGEMENT WE CAN IN ORDER TO NURTURE MODERATE POLICIES. WE BASE OUR VIEWS ON THE GENERAL NEED TO HELP ZIMBABWE TO EVOLVE INTO A STABLE AND PROSPEROUS COUNTRY: AND ON THE REQUIREMENTS OF OUR COMMERCIAL AND POLITICAL INTERESTS.

2. SO FAR AS THE INDIVIDUAL ELEMENTS IN THE PACKAGE ARE CONCERNED, WE HAVE ALREADY MADE PROPOSALS WITH REGARD TO ZRBC AND THE POLICE. THE PLAN FOR MILITARY ADVICE AND TRAINING MUST AWAIT GENERAL

CONFIDENTIAL

/PERRINS VISIT

CONFIDENTIAL

PERKINS' VISIT, FOLLOWED BY GENERAL FURSDON'S ARRIVAL LATER THIS MONTH. MY I F T CONTAINS SUGGESTIONS WITH REGARD TO THE PUBLIC SERVICE AND OTHER MATTERS.

3. WE HAVE NO INTENTION OF UNDULY PROLONGING THE PROCESSES LEADING TO INDEPENDENCE. WE HAVE ALREADY STATED PUBLICLY THAT WE ARE AIMING FOR LATE MARCH OR EARLY APRIL. IF (AS IS RUMOURED TODAY) THE NEW GOVERNMENT IS FORMED BY EARLY NEXT WEEK, WE MAY HAVE TO CONSIDER ADVANCING THE DATE OF INDEPENDENCE.

4. THE PACKAGE OF ASSISTANCE WHICH WE ARE TALKING ABOUT IS NOT LARGE: NOR IS IT LIKELY TO PROVE VERY EXPENSIVE. BUT IT DOES OFFER US THE OPPORTUNITY TO TURN MUGABE'S VICTORY, WHICH COULD HAVE BEEN DISASTROUS FOR US, INTO A WORKING RELATIONSHIP. THIS WOULD BE ADVANTAGEOUS NOT ONLY TO THIS COUNTRY, BUT ALSO TO OURSELVES. I HOPE THAT WE SHALL NOT MISS THIS OPPORTUNITY.

5 THE GOVERNOR HAS NOT SEEN THIS TELEGRAM AND MY I F T. I BELIEVE THEY REFLECT HIS GENERAL VIEWS, BUT HE WILL COMMENT ON 10 MARCH IF HE DISAGREES.

FCO PSE PASS TO ALL

SOAMES

[REPEATED AS
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PS/MR HURD
PS/MR MARTEN
PS/PUS

SIR D MAITLAND
SIR A ACLAND
LORD N G LENNOX
SIR L ALLINSON
MR DAY
MR FERGUSSON

ADDITIONAL DISTN.
RHODESIA POLICY

2

CONFIDENTIAL

GRS 260

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RESTRICTED

FROM LAGOS 100945Z

TO PRIORITY FCO

TELNO 268 OF 8 MARCH 1980

RFI PRIORITY SALISBURY, DAR ES SALAAM, LUSAKA, GABORONE, UKMIS
NEW YORK, MAPUTO AND WASHINGTON.

MY TELNO 265: RHODESIA.

LAST NIGHT I HAD THE OPPORTUNITY OF A FEW WORDS WITH
PRESIDENT SHAGARI AT A COCKTAIL PARTY AT STATE HOUSE. HE SAID
HE WAS DELIGHTED WITH THE OUTCOME IN RHODESIA. HE WAS "MOST
APPRECIATIVE" OF THE EFFORTS OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND
ESPECIALLY OF THE WAY IN WHICH WE HAD CONSULTED AND CO-
OPERATED WITH THE NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT, AND HAD PROMPTLY ANSWERED
VARIOUS QUESTIONS WHICH HE HAD RAISED DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD.

2. THE PRESIDENT'S WORDS ARE IN MARKED CONTRAST TO HIS
UNGRACIOUS PUBLIC STATEMENT ON RHODESIA (MYTELNO 251) WHICH WAS
NO DOUBT DRAFTED FOR AFRICAN AND LOCAL CONSUMPTION. AN
EXPLANATION, THOUGH NOT AN EXCUSE, FOR THE STATEMENT IS THAT
THE NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT IS STILL HAVING A BAD TIME DOMESTICALLY.
THE PRESIDENT HAS STILL NOT ESTABLISHED A SATISFACTORY MODUS
VIVENDI (UNDERLINED) WITH THE GOVERNORS OF THE NINE STATES
CONTROLLED BY OPPOSITION PARTIES. THE TWO SMALLER OPPOSITION
PARTIES ARE INCREASINGLY COMBINING WITH AWOLOWO'S U P N IN AN
ATTITUDE OF UNCOMPROMISING HOSTILITY TO THE PRESIDENT, AND A
SERIES OF GOVERNMENT BLUNDERS HAS GIVEN THEM PLENTY OF AMMUNITION.
AFTER THE STILL UNRESOLVED AFFAIR OF THE EXPULSION OF THE BORNO
STATE ASSEMBLY MAJORITY LEADER ON THE DUBIOUS GROUNDS THAT HE WAS
NOT A NIGERIAN, THE GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN SHAKEN BY AN APPALLING
INCIDENT OF POLICE BRUTALITY A WEEK AGO 68 "SUSPECTS", MANY
OF THEM FROM NIGER AND SOME FROM GHANA WERE ROUNDED UP AND IN THE
HEAT OF THE DAY PACKED INTO AN UNVENTILATED BLACK MARIA VAN
MEANT TO HOLD 20, CAUSING THE DEATH OF 50 FROM SUFFOCATION. WITH
SO MANY THINGS GOING WRONG THE GOVERNMENT MAY HAVE SUCCUMBERED
TO THE TEMPTATION OF SEEKING CHEAP POPULARITY AND APPEASING THE
LEFT-WING INTELLECTUALS WITH A TOUGH "AFRICAN" STATEMENT ON
RHODESIA.

BROWN

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PS/MR HURD

PS/MR MARTEN

PS/PUS

SIR D MAITLAND

SIR A ACLAND

LORD N G LENNOX

SIR L ALLINSON

MR DAY

MR FERGUSSON

MR MILLS

CPO

ADDITIONAL DISTN.
RHODESIA POLICY

RESTRICTED

Text of telegram
Salisbury 1001 of 8 March to FCO

CONFIDENTIAL

RHODESIA: FORMATION OF GOVERNMENT

Mufaxed to Chequers
8.3.80
Original telegram
illegible and subsequently
(inadvertently) destroyed. (!)
PM seen.

1. Nkomo asked Barlow to call this morning and told him that Mugabe this morning had offered the PF the following posts in Government:

Presidency

Local Government and Housing

Posts and Telecommunications

National Resources and Water Development

Public Works

Two Deputy Ministerial Posts (not including the Deputy Prime Minister-ship).

2. Nkomo went on to say that he had told Mugabe that this was not a satisfactory offer. He did not want the Presidency for himself and wished to remain in the House of Assembly. He wanted 6 Ministries as a minimum, including Home Affairs and one other department (eg Health or Education) which quote touched people's lives unquote. All the posts which Mugabe had offered the PF were concerned with quote inert objects unquote.

3. Nkomo made clear that he was not asking me or anyone else to intervene with Mugabe at this stage. There is to be a meeting of the Coordinating Council of PF and ZANU (PF) on Monday at which this question will be discussed further. If it cannot be resolved it will be referred back to the two central committees.

4. Nkomo concluded by saying that if Mugabe was not prepared to improve his offer he (Nkomo) would have no choice but to take the PF into opposition in Parliament. In that case he would also withdraw ZIPRA from the integrated army and return them to civilian life.

/5. Nkomo

5. Nkomo appeared to be in a fairly despondent mood (which is to be attributed also to his reaction to the release by ZANO (PF) yesterday of a number of his supporters who were badly beaten by ZANLA Mujibas during the election campaign). Some of his advisers, to whom Barlow spoke privately afterwards, seemed less depressed and claimed they had been prepared all along for a wrangle with Mugabe over the allocation of ministerial posts which would take some days more to resolve.

SOAMES



10 DOWNING STREET

Michael -

Charles Powell of the Rhodesia Dept telephoned us on Saturday morning to say that in fact the Governor was probably seeing Mungabe with his cabinet list on Monday.

His advice was to send message from PM to Mungabe and they agreed the Governor suggested text.

The draft, as slightly amended by the PM is also attached. His informed accordingly.

Theresa

8.3.80

SUBJECT



PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T51/80

PRIME MINISTER

CANBERRA

7 MAR 1980

T'd under 10.3.80

M, Dear Margaret

I send you warm congratulations on the successful holding of the elections in Rhodesia, which brought to fruition the process initiated at Lusaka.

The way to the present achievement was not always smooth, but the determination and skill of your government and officials have resulted in this great act of service to the people of Rhodesia, who for the first time have had the opportunity to choose their leaders in a democratic way. I am as pleased as you must be that there was a consensus among observers that, despite the very difficult circumstances, the elections were generally free and fair and permitted a genuine act of free choice by the overwhelming majority of the electorate.

The clear victory achieved by Mr Mugabe in the elections, followed by his evident wish to form a national government, including representatives of the Rhodesian Front, open the way for stable government. His actions since the election, particularly his statesmanlike address to the nation on 4 March, give reason for confidence that the country will advance in peace and prosperity to the advantage of all its people.

I believe there are good prospects for us to establish sound relations with the new Zimbabwe Government.

Yours sincerely,

(Malcolm Fraser)

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

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178 MAR 1980

[RHODESIA: POLICY: ADVANCE COPIES]

33

PS/SIR I GILMOUR
PS/MR LUCE
PS/PUS
SIR D MAITLAND
MR DAY
SIR L ALLISON
MR ASPIN

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

SIR R ARMSTRONG)
MR R L WADE GERY)
MR P M MAXEY) CABINET
MR GOULTY) OFFICE
MR W N WENBAN SMITH)
DIO)

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

HD/C AF D
HD/S AF D
~~HD/UND~~
HD/PUSD (2)

HD/NEWS DEPT
HD/WAD
PS/SIR I SINCLAIR
MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER FMK200A
MR FIFOOT

RESIDENT CLERK

CONFIDENTIAL

FM SALISBURY 071745Z MAR 80

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 995 OF 7 MARCH 1980

MT

*Revised draft dictated to
FIO 11-30.
TWR.
8-3-80*

KIPT

1. FOLLOWING IS DRAFT:

BEGINS: I SEND YOU MY WARMEST CONGRATULATIONS AND GOOD WISHES,
AND THOSE OF MY GOVERNMENT, ON THE ASSUMPTION OF YOUR HIGH
OFFICE. THE PATH FROM LUSAKA HAS AT TIMES BEEN A HARD AND
DIFFICULT ONE; ~~YOU AND WE HAVE HAD OUR DISAGREEMENTS~~, BUT NOW
WE CAN ~~WE~~ LOOK FORWARD TO A HAPPY AND PROSPEROUS FUTURE FOR
ZIMBABWE, IN WHICH THE WOUNDS OF THE RECENT PAST WILL BE HEALED
IN THE SPIRIT OF ^{HOPE} ~~HUMANITY~~ AND RECONCILIATION WHICH YOU HAVE SET
AS A GUIDING PRINCIPLE. AS YOU KNOW, MY GOVERNMENT AND I LOOK
FORWARD TO MAKING OUR CONTRIBUTION TO YOUR SUCCESS IN THE
ADMINISTRATION OF YOUR COUNTRY. ENDS.

SOAMES

33

PS/SIR I GILMOUR
PS/MR LUCE
PS/PUS
SIR D MATTLAND
MR DAY
SIR L ALLISON
MR ASPIN

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

SIR R ARMSTRONG)
MR R L WADE GERY)
MR P M MAXEY) CABINET
MR GOULTY) OFFICE
MR W N WENBAN SMITH)
DIO)

HD/RHOD DEPT (4)

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

HD/NEWS DEPT
HD/WAD
PS/SIR I SINCLAIR
MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A
MR ELFOOT
RESIDENT CLERK

CONFIDENTIAL

FM SALISBURY 071730Z MAR 80

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 994 OF 7 MARCH 1980

YOUR TELNO 136 TO KUALA LUMPUR : MESSAGES

1. I DO NOT THINK IT NECESSARY TO GO ON AT QUITE SUCH LENGTH. ACCORDINGLY, WHEN I NEXT SEE KUSABE (PROBABLY ON MONDAY) I PROPOSE TO SAY THAT I HAVE BEEN IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH YOU, THAT YOU ARE DELIGHTED WITH THE WAY THINGS ARE GOING AND HAVE ASKED ME TO EXPRESS TO HIM YOUR CONGRATULATIONS ON HIS STATESMANLIKE APPROACH AND YOUR BEST WISHES FOR THE FUTURE.
2. KUSABE IS, OF COURSE, INUNDATED WITH CONGRATULATIONS FROM HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT. THE ABSENCE OF A MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER IS BEGINNING TO BE CONSPICUOUS. WHATEVER THE CONSTITUTIONAL PRECENT, I THINK IT WOULD BE QUITE WRONG TO DELAY SUCH A MESSAGE UNTIL INDEPENDENCE. ON THE OTHER HAND, IT WOULD BE WRONG FOR HER TO SEND A MESSAGE NOW OUT OF THE BLUE, SINCE THIS WOULD LOOK AS IF IT WERE EITHER AN AFTERTHOUGHT OR A RESPONSE TO PRESSURE.
3. I SHOULD THEREFORE LIKE TO GIVE KUSABE (AND MAKE PUBLIC) A WARM

PRESSURE.

3. I SHOULD THEREFORE LIKE TO GIVE MUGABE (AND MAKE PUBLIC) A WARM MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER WHEN I FORMALLY APPOINT HIM PRIME MINISTER, WHICH I PROPOSE TO DO WHEN HE COMES TO PRESENT TO ME HIS FULL CABINET LIST. THIS MAY BE ABOUT THE MIDDLE OF NEXT WEEK.
4. IF THE PRIME MINISTER AGREES, I SHOULD BE GRATEFUL TO RECEIVE BY 11 MARCH THE TEXT OF HER MESSAGE WITH AUTHORITY TO DELIVER WHENEVER MUGABE COMES TO SEE ME WITH HIS CABINET LIST. I SUGGEST IT SHOULD BE ON THE LINES OF THE DRAFT IN MIFT.

SCANES

NNNN



10 DOWNING STREET

Home Secretary

I have written to Lord Soames asking him to convey to all those concerned with the organisation of the recent elections the best thanks & appreciation for their work. I should like, through you, to thank in particular the members of British police forces who helped to supervise the elections.

Sir J. Boynton.

[Full sentence as above]. I should ^{now} like ~~also~~ to thank you personally & through you, the members of your staff for all that you did.



(1)

289.5

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

Prime Minister

If you are content with
the text I will arrange for
suitably amended versions to

7 March 1980

Dear Michael,

be submitted for your signature

[Handwritten signature]
7/3

Rhodesia: Election Staff: Message From the Prime Minister

I understand that it was agreed at Cabinet on the morning of 6 March that the Prime Minister should convey the Government's thanks to all those concerned with the organisation of the elections in Rhodesia.

I enclose the draft of a message which the Prime Minister might send to the Governor, to express the Government's thanks to the Election Commissioner's staff, the Rhodesian Election Directorate, those members of the Governor's staff directly concerned with the conduct of the elections and the members of the British police forces who went to Rhodesia to help supervise the elections. I suggest that separate signed copies of the message be sent to the Home Secretary to be conveyed to the police officers concerned, and, suitably edited, to the Election Commissioner, Sir John Boynton. We will arrange for each of the Election Supervisors - who have left Rhodesia and returned to the United Kingdom - to receive an individual letter conveying the Prime Minister's message.

Yours etc

[Handwritten signature: Paul]

(P Lever)
Private Secretary

M O'D B Alexander Esq
10 Downing Street
LONDON

Registry
No.

DRAFT

LETTER

Type 1 +

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

Top Secret,
Secret.
Confidential.
Restricted.
Unclassified.

To:—

- (a) The Governor of Southern Rhodesia
- (b) The Home Secretary
- (c) The Election Commissioner,
Sir John Boynton

From
Prime Minister

Telephone No. Ext.

Department

PRIVACY MARKING

..... In Confidence

I should like to convey to all those concerned with the organisation of the recent elections in Rhodesia - and in particular the Election Commissioner and his staff, the Election Supervisors and official observers, the Rhodesian Election Directorate, and the members of British police forces who helped supervise the elections - the Government's thanks and appreciation for their work.

It is quite clear from all reports, including those of the various international observers, that the conduct of the elections met the highest standards. The elections have been accepted universally as a valid expression of the wishes of the people; there was wide understanding of the secrecy of the vote; and the high level of turnout was virtually unprecedented. All served to put the results of the elections beyond any doubt and thus to secure for Rhodesia, soon to be Zimbabwe, a most convincing start to its new life as an independent state and accepted member of the international community. I know that this result was achieved only by devoted work, often under difficult and dangerous conditions, and in the full glare of publicity. On behalf of the Government, I wish to express admiration and gratitude to all those who contributed to this splendid achievement.

7 MAR 1980



Prime Minister

33

RHODESIA: POLICY: ADVANCE COPIES]

PS
PS/SIR I. GILMOUR
PS/MR LUCE
PS/PUS
SIR D MAITLAND
MR DAY
Sir L. Allinson
MR ASPIH

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

SIR R ARMSTRONG)
MR R L WADE GERY)
MR P M MAXEY) CABINET
MR GOULFY) OFFICE
MR W N WENBAN SMITH)
DIO)

MS

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HD/RHOD DEPT (4)

HD/C AF D
HD/S AF D
HD/UND
HD/PUSD (2)

HD/NEWS DEPT
HE/WAD
PS/SIR I SINCLAIR
MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A
MR PILFOOT
RESIDENT CLERK

PP BONN

PP ROME

GRS 300A

UNCLASSIFIED

FROM SALISBURY C72005Z MAR 80

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 998 OF 7 MARCH 1980

INFO IMMEDIATE DAR ES SALAAM LUSAKA MAPUTO LUANDA GABORONE LAGOS
CAPETOWN PRETORIA NAIROBI PRIORITY CANBERRA WELLINGTON WASHINGTON
UKMIS NEW YORK OTTAWA EC POSTS.

RHODESIA: PRESS.

1. AT HIS PRESS CONFERENCE ON 7 MARCH, MY SPOKESMAN MADE THE AGREED
STATEMENT ON BRITAIN'S FUTURE RELATIONS WITH ZIMBABWE. CONFIRMATORY
TEXT IN M I F T. IN ANSWER TO QUESTION HE DECLINED TO GIVE A FIGURE
FOR CAPITAL AID TO ZIMBABWE, AND RECAPITULATED THE POSITION ON LAND
DEVELOPMENT AS IT EMERGED FROM LANCASTER HOUSE ON 19 OCTOBER 1979.

- attached.

2. HE ALSO ANNOUNCED...

2. HE ALSO ANNOUNCED THAT THE CEASE FIRE COMMISSION, AT ITS MEETING ON 7 MARCH HAD AGREED THAT IT NEED NOT MEET AGAIN 'IN VIEW OF THE FORMATION OF AN INTEGRATION COMMITTEE ON WHICH THE PF AND RHODESIAN COMMANDERS WILL SIT TOGETHER AND ISSUE ORDERS DOWN THEIR OWN RESPECTIVE CHAINS OF COMMAND'. THE COMMUNIQUE ENDS 'THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION PARTED WITH SOME SADNESS'.

3. AT HIS SEPARATE PRESS CONFERENCE, DR EDSON ZVOBGO, SPOKESMAN FOR THE PRIME MINISTER DESIGNATE, ANNOUNCED THAT MUGABE AND NKOMO HAD 'MOVED DECISIVELY TO AGREE ON DEFINITE MINISTRIES THAT WILL BE OFFERED TO OUR PF ALLIES' HE PROMISED TO ANNOUNCE DETAILS AT 1230 ON 8 MARCH, AND TO GIVE FULL DETAILS OF THE CABINET BY TUESDAY 11 MARCH. IN REPLY TO QUESTIONS HE CONFIRMED THAT MUGABE WAS COMMITTED TO TAKING EUROPEANS INTO THE CABINET BUT 'NOT NECESSARILY FROM THE RHODESIA FRONT'. HE SAID THAT THE DATE FOR INDEPENDENCE WOULD BE ANNOUNCED 'WITHIN THREE DAYS'. HE GAVE SKILFULLY ANODYNE REPLIES TO QUESTIONS ABOUT SPORTING RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA, THE FUTURE OF THE SELOUS SCOUTS, AND THE THOUGHT THAT ZANU PF MIGHT USE ITS COALITION MAJORITY TO AMEND THE CONSTITUTION ON SUCH MATTERS AS CITIZENSHIP.

SOAMES

NNNN

[RHODESIA: POLICY: ADVANCE COPIES]

33 Prime Minister

PS
PS/SIR I. GILMOUR
PS/MR LUCE
PS/PUS
SIR D MAITLAND
MR DAY
SIR L ALLINSON
MR ASPIN

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET
SIR R ARMSTRONG)
MR R L WADE GERY)
MR P M MAXEY) CABINET
MR GOULTY) OFFICE
MR W N WENBAN SMITH)
DIO)

.....
ED/RHOD DEPT (4)

ED/C AF D
ED/S AF D
~~ED/UND~~
ED/PUSD (2)

ED/NEWS DEPT
HE/WAD
PS/SIR I SINCLAIR
MR FRELAND LEGAL ADVISER FMK200A
MR FINOOT
RESIDENT CLERK

ms

GRS 550A

UNCLASSIFIED

FROM SALISBURY 072010Z MAR 80

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 999 OF 7 MARCH 1980

INFO IMMEDIATE DAR ES SALAAM LUSAKA MAPUTO LUANDA GABORONE LAGOS
CAPETOWN PRETORIA NAIROBI PRIORITY CANBERRA WELLINGTON WASHINGTON
UKMIS NEW YORK OTTAWA EC POSTS.

M I P T BRITAIN AND ZIMBABWE

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF STATEMENT ISSUED TONIGHT BY GOVERNOR'S
SPOKESMAN.

BRITAIN'S PURPOSE IN RHODESIA IS TO ACHIEVE AN ORDERLY TRANSFER
OF POWER TO A DULY ELECTED GOVERNMENT IN CIRCUMSTANCES OF PEACE AND
STABILITY. THE ELECTIONS HAVE NOW TAKEN PLACE AND A GOVERNMENT IS
BEING FORMED. ATTENTION NOW SHIFTS TO THE TASK OF ASSURING A STABLE
AND PEACEFUL START IN LIFE FOR THE NEW ZIMBABWE. ALTHOUGH BRITAIN'S
RESPONSIBILITY FOR ZIMBABWE WILL END AT INDEPENDENCE, WE WILL
CONTINUE TO HAVE A STRONG INTEREST IN CLOSE AND FRIENDLY RELATIONS
WITH THE NEW STATE.

WE SHALL PROCEED DELIBERATELY TOWARDS INDEPENDENCE. THERE IS NO NEED FOR HASTE. THE DATE FOR INDEPENDENCE WILL BE AGREED WITH THE NEW GOVERNMENT, AND IT WILL COME AFTER THE GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN APPOINTED AND ITS MEMBERS HAVE HAD TIME TO FAMILIARISE THEMSELVES WITH THEIR DUTIES. IT IS TOO EARLY TO SET AN EXACT DATE, BUT INDEPENDENCE DAY IS LIKELY TO BE TOWARDS THE END OF MARCH OR EARLY IN APRIL.

BRITAIN STANDS READY TO HELP BOTH BEFORE AND AFTER INDEPENDENCE. THE MOST URGENT TASK IS THE INTEGRATION OF THE FORCES. THIS HAS ALREADY BEGUN, AND WILL CONTINUE TO BE CARRIED FORWARD UNDER THE DIRECTION OF LIEUTENANT GENERAL WALLS. THE MONITORING FORCE IS HELPING IN THIS TASK. THE DIRECTOR OF OVERSEAS MILITARY ASSISTANCE AT THE BRITISH MINISTRY OF DEFENCE, MAJOR GENERAL PERKINS, WILL BE COMING HERE NEXT WEEK FOR CONSULTATIONS. HIS VISIT IS LIKELY TO LEAD TO THE APPOINTMENT OF A BRITISH MILITARY ADVISORY AND TRAINING TEAM WHOSE ASSIGNMENT WILL CONTINUE WELL BEYOND INDEPENDENCE. AT LANCASTER HOUSE, THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT INDICATED THAT IT WAS READY TO ASSIST WITH THE RETRAINING AND RESETTLEMENT OF THOSE MEMBERS OF THE FORCES WHO WISH TO PURSUE A CIVIL CAREER. ARRANGEMENTS FOR RESETTLEMENT AND RETRAINING WILL BE SET INHAND URGENTLY. WE HOPE THAT OTHER COUNTRIES WILL CONTRIBUTE TO THIS IMPORTANT UNDERTAKING.

BRITAIN IS ALSO PREPARED TO PROVIDE OTHER TEAMS WHOSE TASK WOULD BE TO ADVISE AND ASSIST THE NEW GOVERNMENT WITH ITS ADMINISTRATIVE REQUIREMENTS IN OTHER FIELDS. THE TASKS OF THESE TEAMS WILL ALSO CONTINUE BEYOND INDEPENDENCE.

BRITAIN WILL CONTRIBUTE TO THE RECONSTRUCTION AND REHABILITATION OF THIS COUNTRY'S ECONOMY THROUGH ECONOMIC AID, TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE AND TRAINING IN THE UNITED KINGDOM. WE WILL ENCOURAGE OTHER COUNTRIES TO DO LIKEWISE.

INCREASING COMMERCIAL AND ECONOMIC LINKS BETWEEN ZIMBABWE AND BRITAIN WILL BENEFIT BOTH COUNTRIES. ZIMBABWE WILL BE ELIGIBLE TO APPLY FOR ACCESSION TO THE LOME CONVENTION AND TO BENEFIT FROM THE AID AND ACCESS TO THE MARKETS OF THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY WHICH THIS WOULD PROVIDE.

THE NEW ZIMBABWE WILL NO DOUBT WISH TO JOIN INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS, PARTICULARLY THE UNITED NATIONS AND ITS SPECIALISED AGENCIES. BRITAIN WILL BE READY TO SPONSOR THESE APPLICATIONS AND FOLLOWING MR MUGABE'S REQUEST HAS ASKED THE COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY GENERAL TO CONSULT OTHER COMMONWEALTH MEMBERS WITH A VIEW TO ZIMBABWE BECOMING A MEMBER OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

BRITAIN HAS A CONTINUING INTEREST IN ZIMBABWE, AND A GREAT GOODWILL FOR ITS FUTURE. THESE PROPOSALS ARE A MEASURE OF OUR DETERMINATION TO CARRY THROUGH TO A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OUR PURPOSE TO ASSURE THAT THE NEW ZIMBABWE BEGINS ITS LIFE IN CIRCUMSTANCES OF PEACE, PROSPERITY AND RECONCILIATION.

Rhodesia

RHODESIA

1. The Government has scored a major success in achieving a peaceful solution to the Rhodesia problem, which has defeated efforts of successive Governments over the last 15 years. The final solution is not yet in the bag - but prospects seem good that we shall achieve a smooth and peaceful transition to independence for the new Republic of Zimbabwe within the Commonwealth.

2. The landslide victory for Mr Robert Mugabe was not perhaps what some sections of British opinion would have wanted, but we committed ourselves to holding free and fair elections, seeing whom the people of Rhodesia wished to lead them, and handing over power to those people. Mr Mugabe has spoken in a statesmanlike and moderate way of working within the Constitution agreed at Lancaster House (which provides adequate safeguards for the white minority, existing civil service, armed forces and so on). Given his overall majority in the new House of Assembly, Mr Mugabe has everything to gain from proceeding in a measured and careful way, including Nkomo's party and some whites in his Government, and doing everything he can to keep members of the white community in Rhodesia to contribute to the country's economic welfare. Mugabe owes no political debts to the Soviet Union: his support during the guerilla war came from China and such countries as Yugoslavia and Romania. He has not visited the Soviet Union and is no supporter of the Soviet system. The achievement of peace in Rhodesia

/represents

represents a major defeat for the Russians in that it reduces the opportunities for them to interfere.

3. Peaceful settlement of the Rhodesia problem will give impetus to efforts to achieve peaceful solution to other problems in Southern Africa and the wider world. It will also greatly enhance Britain's prestige with our friends among Western and non-aligned countries.

Paymaster General's Office
Privy Council Office
68 Whitehall
SW1

7 March 1980

Sup

7 March 1980

I am replying on the Prime Minister's behalf to your letter to her of 6 March, conveying a message to the Prime Minister from the Prime Minister of Jamaica. The Prime Minister much appreciated Mr. Manley's message.

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

His Excellency Mr. Ernest G. Peart



RESTRICTED

File

Tour

7 March 1980

Rhodesia: Message to President Tolbert

Thank you for your letter of 6 March enclosing a draft telegram to our Ambassador in Monrovia. The telegram can be despatched.

Paul Lever, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.



RESTRICTED

GR 500

CONFIDENTIAL

*mm faxed to dequien. as
no indication PM had seen*

CONFIDENTIAL

FM FCO 061140Z MAR 80

TO FLASH KUALA LUMPUR

TELNO 108 OF 6 MAR

INFO FLASH SALISBURY, ROUTINE LUSAKA, DAR ES SALAAM, MAPUTO, LAGOS,
CAPETOWN, WASHINGTON, UKMIS NEW YORK.

M I P T

Read in full.

YOUR TELSNOs 964 AND 965: ASSISTANCE TO RHODESIA

1. I ENDORSE YOUR GENERAL AIM OF HELPING THE NEW GOVERNMENT THROUGH THE TRANSITIONAL PROCESS AND GIVING THE WHITES CONFIDENCE IN THEIR FUTURE PROSPECTS, AND AM CONTENT WITH THE GENERAL THRUST OF YOUR PROPOSALS. BUT WE MUST BE CAREFUL NOT TO BE DRAWN TOO FAR IN THE DIRECTION OF A CONTINUING DIRECT INVOLVEMENT IN RHODESIA WHICH WE MIGHT LATER REGRET. I AM CONCERNED TOO NOT TO PUT US IN A POSITION WHERE WE RISK BEING HELD RESPONSIBLE AFTER INDEPENDENCE FOR THE SUCCESS OR FAILURE OF SUCH CONTENTIOUS POLICIES AS AFRICANISATION OF THE CIVIL SERVICE.

PRE-INDEPENDENCE

2. ONCE MUGABE APPOINTS HIS MINISTERS, THEY WILL UNDERSTANDABLY WISH TO BEGIN TO EXERCISE THEIR POWERS VERY SOON. WHILE IT MAY TAKE THEM A WEEK OR SO TO GET SETTLED IN TO THEIR OFFICES, IT SEEMS LIKELY THAT THEY WILL RAPIDLY BECOME FRUSTRATED THEREAFTER IF THEY CANNOT START TAKING DECISIONS. THEY WILL ALSO BE IN AN ANOMALOUS POSITION VIS-A-VIS THEIR CIVIL SERVANTS WHO WILL CONTINUE TO BE RESPONSIBLE TO YOU. IT DOES NOT SEEM WISE TO ME TO ALLOW THIS SITUATION TO CONTINUE FOR MORE THAN A VERY LIMITED TIME. I SHOULD BE RELUCTANT TO AGREE THAT YOU SHOULD DELEGATE ANY OF YOUR POWERS TO MINISTERS BEFORE INDEPENDENCE. IT WOULD BE UNWISE THEREFORE, IN MY VIEW, TO POSTPONE INDEPENDENCE BEYOND THE LAST WEEK OF THIS MONTH OR, AT THE OUTSIDE THE FIRST DAYS OF APRIL. I HOPE THAT, IN ANY PUBLIC STATEMENTS, YOU CAN BEGIN TO FOCUS EXPECTATIONS ON THIS PERIOD.

3. I AGREE THERE SHOULD BE A FITTING INDEPENDENCE CEREMONY. THE QUESTION OF REPRESENTATION AT THIS IS BEING DEALT WITH SEPARATELY.

POST-INDEPENDENCE

4. I ASSUME THAT YOU WILL ENSURE THAT YOUR VARIOUS PROPOSALS UNDER THIS HEADING HAVE MUGABE'S EXPLICIT ENDORSEMENT AS WELL AS THAT OF RHODESIAN OFFICIALS. ON MILITARY TRAINING, WE AWAIT GENERAL PERKINS' RECOMMENDATIONS. THE DEPARTMENT WILL FOLLOW UP THE

CONFIDENTIAL

/ POSSIBILITY

CONFIDENTIAL

POSSIBILITY FOR POLICE TRAINING IN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND AN EARLY VISIT BY AN EXPERT FROM THE CSD. BUT I HAVE DOUBTS ABOUT THE WISDOM OF OUR GETTING INVOLVED IN AFRICANISATION OF THE POLICE AND CIVIL SERVICE AS OPPOSED TO OFFERING GENERAL ADVICE ON ORGANISATION, TRAINING AND PROCEDURES. THE INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION REGULATES PROCEDURES FOR APPOINTMENTS IN THE POLICE AND CIVIL SERVICE. IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE FOR US TO APPEAR IN ANY WAY TO BE RESPONSIBLE EITHER FOR TRYING TO IMPOSE AFRICANISATION AT A FASTER RATE THAN THE PUBLIC SERVICE WOULD TOLERATE OR FOR APPEARING TO OBSTRUCT IT. IN ANY CASE, MY UNDERSTANDING IS THAT YOU DO NOT ENVISAGE THE TRAINING AND ADVISORY GROUP AS SUCH BEING PRESENT FOR MORE THAN A FEW MONTHS (THOUGH WE SHALL OF COURSE BE WILLING TO PROVIDE CONTINUING ADVICE UNDER TECHNICAL CO-OPERATION PROGRAMMES AS WELL AS TRAINING IN THE UK). IT IS UNLIKELY THAT THEY CAN DO MORE IN THAT TIME THAN PRODUCE GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS.

5. RESTRUCTURING OF ZRBC SEEMS TO ME A TASK FOR THE NEW GOVERNMENT RATHER THAN YOUR INTERIM ADMINISTRATION: WOULD IT NOT BE BETTER TO WAIT UNTIL AFTER INDEPENDENCE BEFORE SENDING AN EXPERT. MEANWHILE WE WILL TAKE SOME SOUNDINGS OF THE BBC.

6. I AGREE THAT WE SHOULD DEFER A DECISION ON THE APPOINTMENT OF A SENIOR FIGURE. IF WE DO GO FOR SOME SUCH ARRANGEMENT, I WOULD NOT WANT HIM TO STAY FOR MORE THAN 2 OR 3 MONTHS.

7. IN PURSUING FURTHER DISCUSSIONS WITH MR MUGABE AND WITH OFFICIALS, I AM SURE YOU WILL SEEK TO PRESERVE A BALANCE BETWEEN THE NEED TO BE SEEN TO HELP ON THE ONE HAND: AND TO AVOID GETTING US TOO DEEPLY INVOLVED ON THE OTHER.

8. MIFT CONTAINS COMMENTS ON YOUR DRAFT STATEMENT.

CARRINGTON

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SIR A ACLAND
LORD N G LENNOX
SIR L ALLINSON
MR DAY
MR FERGUSSON
MR MILLS
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ADDITIONAL DISTN.
RHODESIA POLICY

- 2 -
CONFIDENTIAL

SUBJECT



Telephone
01-499 8600

Cables
JAMHICOM, LONDON, S.W.1.

T 50/80
PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T50/80

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

305.1

6 March 1980

Dear Prime Minister,

I have been directed by my Prime Minister to transmit the following message to you:

" Please accept best wishes and congratulations on successful outcome in the holding of elections in Zimbabwe to the process which commenced in Lusaka. Perhaps you would be good enough to convey our appreciation to Lord Carrington for his own considerable contribution.

Regards.

Michael Manley "

Yours sincerely,

Ernest G Peart
High Commissioner

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

GRS 250

UNCLASSIFIED

FROM LAGOS 061250Z

TO PRIORITY FCO

TELNO 259 OF 6 MARCH 1980.

AND PRIORITY TO SALISBURY, GABORONE, MAPUTO, LUSAKA, DAR ES SALAAM,
LUANDA, CAPE TOWN, WASHINGTON AND UKMIS NEW YORK.

RHODESIAN ELECTION RESULTS: MEDIA REACTION.

1. THE MEDIA HAVE BEEN JUBILANT ABOUT MUGABE'S VICTORY. WITH ONE OR TWO EXCEPTIONS REPORTS TOOK THE LINE THAT HIS VICTORY WAS IN SPITE OF BRITAIN'S MACHINATIONS AND MOST NEWSPAPERS DECEIBED US AS BEING DISAPPOINTED OR GLOOMY AT THE RESULTS. THE TV HAD A 7 MINUTE NEWS ITEM WHICH DID NOT MENTION BRITAIN ONCE AND IMPLIED THAT THE ELECTIONS WERE BROUGHT ABOUT MAINLY BY NIGERIA WITH A BIT OF HELP FROM THE FRONT LINE STATES. THE TV ALSO HAD A DISCUSSION BETWEEN DR AKINYEMI (RECENTLY IN RHODESIA) AND DR DELE COLE, MANAGING DIRECTOR OF THE DAILY TIMES. THIS WAS A SMALL-MINDED AFFAIR IN WHICH MUGABE WAS PORTRAYED AS STANDING OUT AGAINST THE WHOLE APPARATUS OF THE STATE WHICH WAS OUT TO CRUSH HIM. ACCORDING TO AKINYEMI OUR PLAN TO HINDER HIS ACTIVITIES BACK-FIRED.
2. THE PRINCIPAL EXCEPTIONS WERE THE RADIO WHICH BROADCAST AN INTERVIEW WITH ME AND THE SKETCH AND TRIBUNE (BOTH UPN INCLINED) WHO TOOK THE LINE OF CONGRATULATING US FOR ORGANISING FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS AND DRAWING THE MORAL FROM IT THAT IF THE BRITISH COULD ORGANISE FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS IN ZIMBABWE, NIGERIA D POULD BE ABLE TO ORGANISE THEM IN NIGERIA. (THE UPN ARE STILL COMPLAINING ABOUT THE RESULTS OF THE RECENT ELECTIONS HERE).
3. HOWEVER, FROM WHAT IT IS WORTH, IN PRIVATE A NUMBER OF TV AND NEWSPAPER PEOPLE HAVE CONGRATULATED US ON OUR ACHIEVEMENT.

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PS/MR RIDLEY
PS/MR HURD
PS/MR MARTEN
PS/PUS

SIR D MAITLAND
SIR A ACLAND
LORD N G LENNOX
SIR L ALLINSON
MR DAY

UND
LEGAL ADVS.
(MR FREELAND)
(MR FIFOOT)

ADDITIONAL DISTN.
RHODESIA POLICY

[RHODESIA: POLICY: ADVANCE COPIES] + 30.

PS
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PS/MR LUCE
PS/PUS
SIR D MAITLAND
MR DAY
SIR L ALLINSON
~~MR ASPEN~~
HD/CCD.....

~~PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET~~
SIR R ARMSTRONG)
MR R L WADE GERY)
MR P M MAXEY) CABINET
MR GOULTY) OFFICE
MR W N WENBAN SMITH)
DIO)

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MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A
MR FIFOOT
RESIDENT CLERK

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CONFIDENTIAL
FROM SALISBURY 061520Z MAR 80
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 976 OF 6 MARCH 1980.

YOUR TELNO 705: RHODESIA: COMMONWEALTH MEMBERSHIP.

1. WHEN MR MUGABE CAME TO SEE ME THIS MORNING I EXPLAINED THE PROCEDURE TO HIM. HE SAID HE WOULD WISH ZIMBABWE TO BE A MEMBER OF THE COMMONWEALTH AND HE THEREFORE PUT TO ME A FORMAL REQUEST FOR US TO TAKE THE NECESSARY ACTION. THIS REQUEST IS ONLY ORAL, BUT IN PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES SHOULD BE TAKEN AS PERFECTLY ADEQUATE FOR OUR PURPOSES. GRATEFUL THEREFORE IF YOU WOULD INFORM THE SECRETARY-GENERAL THAT WE HAVE RECEIVED MUGABE'S FORMAL REQUEST FOR COMMONWEALTH MEMBERSHIP AND ASK HIM TO INITIATE THE NECESSARY CONSULTATIONS SO THAT IT CAN BE AGREED BEFORE INDEPENDENCE.

2. WE HAVE INFORMED MALHOUTRA.

SOAMES

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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

6 March 1980

Dear Michael,

Rhodesia: Messages to the Prime Minister from President
Tolbert of Liberia

Thank you for your letter of 4 March enclosing a message to the Prime Minister from President Tolbert. I enclose an earlier message which has been passed to us by the Liberian Embassy. We agreed that the Prime Minister need not reply personally to these messages. If the Prime Minister agrees, the enclosed telegram might be sent to the Ambassador in Monrovia asking him to reply to the President on the Prime Minister's behalf.

(T43/80 of
1 March 80)

/

Yours etc

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Paul'.

(P Lever)
Private Secretary

M O'D B Alexander Esq
10 Downing Street
LONDON

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OUT TELEGRAM

	↓	Classification and Caveats RESTRICTED	Precedence/Deskby IMMEDIATE
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6	FM FCO 061900Z MARCH 1980
7	IMMEDIATE MONROVIA
8	TELEGRAM NO
9	IMMEDIATE SALISBURY
10	IMMEDIATE ADDIS ABABA
11	IMMEDIATE LUSAKA
12	IMMEDIATE MAPUTO
13	IMMEDIATE DAR-ES-SALAAM
14	IMMEDIATE LAGOS
15	IMMEDIATE UKMIS NEW YORK
16	IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON
17	RHODESIA: MESSAGE TO THE PRIME MINISTER FROM PRESIDENT TOLBERT
18	1. The Liberian Embassy have sent us the following messages
19	from President Tolbert to the Prime Minister:-
20	Madame Prime Minister: Now that the elections in Zimbabwe
21	have been concluded, we are greatly heartened that this important
22	step has been taken without any disruption. As we all
23	anxiously await the announcement of the results of the elections
24	on Tuesday next and the assessment of conditions under which
25	they were held, it remains our fervent prayer that nothing

NNNN ends telegram	BLANK	Catchword whatsoever
File number	Dept S/S office	Distribution Files Rhodesia Dept WAD Mr Day PS PS/LPS PS/Mr Luce PS/PUS
Drafted by (Block capitals) P Lever		
Telephone number 233 4831		
Authorised for despatch		
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OUT TELEGRAM (CONT)

Classification and Caveats

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whatsoever shall be allowed to jeopardize the attainment of independence with majority rule for the people of Zimbabwe with a legally constituted government which is now within such close reach. Information however reveals that some units of the Monitoring Forces are prematurely withdrawing from their positions and that those positions are now being taken over by units of the Rhodesian Security forces and the auxiliaries. This, we understand, is being done ⁿis such a systematic manner leaving the impression that the Rhodesian Security Forces and the auxiliaries are deliberately encircling assembly points of the forces of the Patriotic Front. This action, in our view, is not only inconsistent with the Lancaster House Agreement, but is extremely provocative in nature and could lead to clashes with units of the Patriotic Front who continue to remain restricted to their assembly points in compliance with provisions of the agreement. Because of our grave concern that peace should continue to prevail now and after elections, when the new government is formed and independence achieved, we are impelled once again, Madame Prime Minister, in the name of Africa to urge that your Government, which still has administering authority, will take such timely and necessary measures as to encourage the Monitoring Forces to retain their positions and effect the return of the Rhodesian Security Forces and the auxiliaries to their bases. Such a measure would avoid the possibility of any conflict which could have a disruptive effect on the peaceful process well underway in bringing independence to Zimbabwe. I remain convinced that you will do all within your power to ensure that the Lancaster House Agreement will be faithfully implemented for the benefit of all of the people of Zimbabwe, to the glory of Africa, and to the honour of your great country. With assurances of our highest consideration and esteem, Sincerely W R Tolbert, JR. President of Liberia and current Chairman of the Organisation of

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NNNN ends telegram	BLANK	Catchword African Unity
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OUT TELEGRAM (CONT)

Classification and Caveats

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2 African Unity.

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4 2. Text of second message is:-

5 Begins

6 Madame Prime Minister: The results of the elections in Rhodesia
 7 having now been announced, we wish to commend you and your
 8 Government for the achievements thus far attained in the
 9 implementation of the Lancaster House Agreement. We remain
 10 hopeful that as Rhodesia now stands at the threshold of
 11 independence, your Government will do all in its power to
 12 ensure that the final phase of transition to independence is
 13 smooth and that the aspirations of the people of Rhodesia as
 14 expressed in the results of the elections will be fully
 15 respected. It is our prayerful wish that with the emergence
 16 of a legally constituted government truly representative of the
 17 people of Rhodesia, freedom, justice, equality and peace will
 18 at long last be the legacy of all of the people of that
 19 territory. Please accept, Madam Prime Minister, renewed
 20 assurances of my highest consideration and esteem. Sincerely
 21 W R Tolbert, Jr. President of the Republic of Liberia and
 22 current Chairman of the OAU.

23 Ends

24 3. Please thank President Tolbert on the Prime Minister's behalf
 25 for these messages. You should make clear to him, politely
 26 but firmly, that the first message (that dealing with withdrawal
 27 of the Monitoring Force) was well wide of the mark and, as
 28 was the case with some of his previous messages, based on
 29 partial and inadequate information. The fact is that elements
 30 of the Monitoring Force will remain in Rhodesia until independence
 31 to perform liaison and training duties and a number are still
 32 at the assembly places. The arrangements for the Monitoring
 33 Force have been agreed with Mr Mugabe and Mr Nkomo.

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NNNN ends
telegram

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Catchword

The Prime Minister

OUT TELEGRAM (CONT)

	Classification and Caveats RESTRICTED	IMMEDIATE	Page 3
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2 4. The Prime Minister was grateful for the appreciation
3 expressed in the second message. You may tell President
4 Tolbert that our aim is to complete an orderly transfer of power
5 to the new government by the end of this month: but we shall
6 continue to take a close and friendly interest in Zimbabwe's
7 affairs, and will, at Mr Mugabe's request, be providing
8 military and police training teams and other assistance in
9 the period after independence.

10

11 CARRINGTON

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7 MAR 1980



[RHODESIA: POLICY: ADVANCE COPIES]

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PS/SIR I GILMOUR
PS/MR LUCE
PS/PUS
SIR D MAITLAND
MR DAY

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

SIR R ARMSTRONG)
MR R L WADE GERY)
MR P M MAXEY) CABINET
MR GOULTY) OFFICE
MR W N WENBAN SMITH)
DIO)

SIR L ALLISON
~~MR ASPEN~~

~~HD/PCD~~
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HD/RHOD DEPT (4)

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PS/SIR I SINCLAIR
MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A
MR FIFOOT

~~RESIDENT CLERK~~

IMMEDIATE

ADVANCE COPY

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CONFIDENTIAL
FROM SALISBURY 061236Z MAR 80
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 973 OF 6 MARCH 1980.

MY TELNO 531 AND YOUR 467: INDEPENDENCE.

1. IN THE LIGHT OF THE OUTCOME OF THE ELECTIONS, I NOW CONSIDER THAT MORE ELABORATE CELEBRATIONS ON THE TRANSFER OF POWER ARE BOTH FEASIBLE AND DESIRABLE. IT WOULD SEEM SENSIBLE TO BASE THEM ON THOSE WHICH HAVE MARKED THE OCCASION IN THE LARGER COLONIES IN THE PAST. GRATEFUL FOR VERY EARLY AND DETAILED GUIDANCE ON PROCEDURES. IS THERE SOME SORT OF EXPERT ON THESE MATTERS WHO COULD PERHPAS BE BORROWED FOR THE OCCASION? WHERE, IN THE FCO, DOES THE FOUNT OF KNOWLEDGE AND EXPERIENCE IN THESE MATTERS LIE?

2. MEANWHILE WE ARE BEGINNING TO DISCUSS PLANS WITH THE RHODESIANS.

SOAMES

NNNN



AUSTRALIAN HIGH COMMISSION • LONDON

Rhodesia

Acting
THE HIGH COMMISSIONER

6 March 1980

*for
Rhodesia*

Dear Mr Alexander,

I refer to my letter of 20 February 1980, enclosing the text of a letter from my Prime Minister, the Rt. Hon. Malcolm Fraser, to your Prime Minister, the Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher.

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

Yours sincerely,

R. R. Fernandez

(R.R. Fernandez)

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



19 FEB 1980

PRIME MINISTER

CANBERRA

T 34/80

Mr. Ken Buzant

In recent days, I have been in touch with Julius Nyerere and Kenneth Kaunda at the request of your High Commissioner to Australia, Sir Donald Tebbit, and have reported the results of these discussions to Sir Donald.

Now, in the light of further assessments we have made here, I am asking Andrew Peacock to re-arrange his plans to enable him to visit London briefly on his way to Washington for next week's ANZUS meeting.

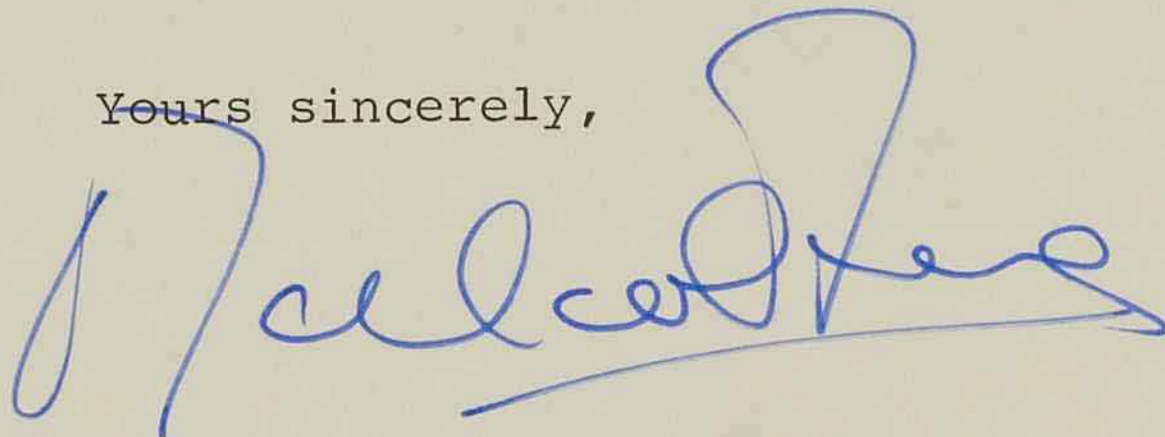
My reason for doing so is primarily to enable Andrew to register with Peter Carrington (and I hope it may be possible for you to see him also) the seriousness with which we view the developing situation in Rhodesia.

I believe that a point has now been reached when all the efforts of the last few months stand in the greatest jeopardy. On our assessment, avoidable risks are being taken which could seriously affect the acceptance of the results of the elections, such that all that has been achieved so far would have been to no avail.

I know there is a belief in some quarters that Julius Nyerere and Kenneth Kaunda have reached a position of irretrievable partisanship. I can only say that I am far from convinced that that is the case, and having in mind the influence which they could bring to bear in those critical early days after the election, I urge you to take the initiative in seeking to re-establish the warm personal relationship between the three of you which so evidently developed at Lusaka.

I do not wish to go into more detail by letter. Andrew Peacock can put very well to Peter Carrington the particular concerns that we have in our minds here. But I thought I should write to you to make it clear that it is only because of the extreme gravity with which we view the present situation that I am asking Andrew to undertake this special mission.

Yours sincerely,

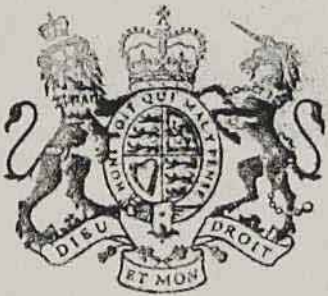
A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'Malcolm Fraser'. The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large loop at the end.

(Malcolm Fraser)

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

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-6 MAR 1960



BK

u/w
Rhodesia

10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

6 March 1980

Dear Mr Ramphal

Thank you so much for your generous letter about the role of Her Majesty's Government in implementing the Lusaka agreement. The progress that has been made towards bringing Rhodesia to independence in conditions of peace and on a basis that will ensure international acceptance is indeed encouraging.

Both at Lusaka and subsequently the member states of the Commonwealth have played a central role in the search for a settlement. You yourself, as Commonwealth Secretary-General, have taken helpful initiatives at more than one critical moment. We all have reason for satisfaction at what has been achieved.

Yours sincerely

MT

His Excellency Mr. Shridath S. Ramphal, Kt., C.M.G., Q.C.

jfh

jfh

6 March 1980

Message from the Commonwealth Secretary
General

I enclose, for your records, copies of
an exchange of messages between the Prime
Minister and the Commonwealth Secretary
General about Rhodesia.

Michael Alexander

Paul Lever, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

43

jfh

6 March 1980

Envoy from President Machel

The Prime Minister would be willing to receive President Machel's envoy should he come to London. The draft telegram enclosed with your letter to me of 5 March on this subject can therefore be despatched. I would have thought, however, that the first part of the second sentence should be omitted.

Michael Alexander

Paul Lever, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

93

HS

5 March 1980

Rhodesia: Commonwealth Monitoring Force

As I told you on the telephone, the Prime Minister has agreed that the message enclosed with Roderic Lyne's letter to me of 4 March on this subject may be despatched.

M. ALEXANDER

Paul Lever, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

gB

March 5, 1980

My dear Prime Minister,

I communicated with you yesterday in terms of a more general message addressed to all Commonwealth Heads of Government. I should like to convey more personally, however, a particular word of appreciation of the unique and pre-eminent contribution that you and your Government have made to yesterday's advancement of the Lusaka Accord. That a final settlement in Rhodesia is within grasp of all its people and that independence on the basis of majority rule is at hand, are due in substantial measure to the energy and determination with which your Government has pursued them. I know how difficult have been some of the decisions you faced; but the completion of the Lusaka process which they made possible is testimony enough to their immense overall significance. Nor are the fruits of that process for Zimbabwe alone; they offer hope and encouragement for the peaceful resolution of conflict the world over. In all this, you have greatly helped the Commonwealth to fulfil its potential for effectiveness and strengthened it beyond measure.

I am writing separately to Peter Carrington who has borne so manfully the heat and burden of the day throughout what I know must have seemed a long and sometimes trying journey from Lusaka.

With deep respect and my most sincere congratulations,



Shridath S. Ramphal

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

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
LIBRARY

Mr. J. R. ...

- 5 MAR 1980



J.R.



The National Archives

LETTERCODE/SERIES <i>PREM 19</i>	Date and sign
PIECE/ITEM <i>346</i> (one piece/item number)	
Extract/Item details: <i>Minute from Whitmore to Prime Minister dated 5 March 1980</i>	
CLOSED FOR <i>40</i> YEARS UNDER FOI EXEMPTION	<i>8 July 2010 A Wayland</i>
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20

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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

Prime Minister

①

Agree?

Paul's

5 March 1980

Handwritten initials

Dear Michael,

Envoy from President Machel

Our Embassy in Maputo have reported that President Machel would like to send a personal envoy to London as soon as possible to convey to the Prime Minister the President's 'thanks and congratulations for her handling of the Rhodesian issue'. The envoy, who would probably be Sr Cabaco, the Minister, who was Mozambique's observer at the Lancaster House Conference, would expect to be in London by Sunday.

President Machel has been very helpful to us over Rhodesia. Lord Carrington therefore recommends that the Prime Minister should if possible agree to receive President Machel's personal envoy for what need not be an extended call. I attach a draft telegram to Maputo.

Yours etc

Paul

(P Lever)
Private Secretary

M O'D B Alexander Esq
10 Downing Street
LONDON

CONFIDENTIAL

File No.
 Department CAfD
 Drafted by
 (Block Capitals) D BROAD
 Tel. Extn.

OUTWARD
 TELEGRAM

Security Classification CONFIDENTIAL
Precedence IMMEDIATE
DESKBYZ

FOR COMMS. DEPT. USE	Despatched	(Date)	POSTBY
		(Time)ZZ

PREAMBLE

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

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

AND TO (precedence/post)

AND SAVING TO
 REPEATED TO (for info) ROUTINE SALISBURY, LUSAKA, DAR ES SALAAM, LAGOS

SAVING TO (for info) GABORONE

Distribution:-

[TEXT]

YOUR TELNO 146: MOZAMBIQUE/UK

1. The Prime Minister has agreed to receive a call next week from President Machel's personal envoy. We hope to let you know the time of the appointment shortly and should be grateful for early confirmation of the choice of the envoy and his travel plans.

Copies to:-

CONFIDENTIAL

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5 MAR 1960

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GR 210

ms

UNCLASSIFIED
FM WASHINGTON 052351Z MAR 80
TO PRIORITY F C O
TELEGRAM NUMBER 970 OF 5 MARCH 1980
INFO SALISBURY, BIS NEW YORK.

RHODESIA ELECTION: AMERICAN PRESS COVERAGE.

1. MAJOR AMERICAN PAPERS TODAY HEAP PRAISE ON BRITAIN'S ROLE IN SECURING PEACEFUL OUTCOME AND FREE AND FAIR ELECTION. QUOTE PRAISE IS DUE TO LORD SOAMES WHOSE EXEMPLARY BLUFFMANSHIP KEPT ALL THE CANDIDATES OFF GUARD SO THAT NONE COULD CONVINCINGLY CRY FOUL. A DARING PEACEMAKING DRIVE BY PRIME MINISTER THATCHER AND LORD CARRINGTON BROUGHT AN HONOURABLE END TO ANOTHER CHAPTER IN ENGLAND'S IMPERIAL HISTORY UNQUOTE (NEW YORK TIMES). QUOTE FOR THE BRITISH, THE PEACEFUL END OF THE BITTER INDEPENDENCE STRUGGLE WAS NOBLE DISTINCTION. PRIME MINISTER MARGARET THATCHER'S GOVERNMENT ACTED SUPERBLY WHERE OTHERS HAD FAILED UNQUOTE (BALTIMORE SUN).

2. MOST ARE JITTERY ABOUT MUGABE BUT SEEM REASSURED BY HIS CONCILIATORY STANCE AFTER WINNING. PREDICTABLY THE WALL STREET JOURNAL FOCUSSES ON MUGABE AS AN QUOTE ACOLYTE OF CHINESE COMMUNISM WITH CONTEMPT FOR BOURGEOIS DEMOCRATIC PROCEDURES UNQUOTE. IN A MUDDLED EDITORIAL THEY CASTIGATE THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION FOR NOT HAVING SUPPORTED THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT IN THE PAST. BUT THE JOURNAL RESERVES JUDGEMENT ABOUT THE PROSPECTIVE MUGABE GOVERNMENT AND WILL QUOTE GIVE THE NEW CIRCUMSTANCES THEIR CHANCE UNQUOTE.

HENDERSON

FILES
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LEGAL ADVS.
(MR FREELAND)
(MR FIFOOT)

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NEWS D
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PS/LPS
PS/MR LUCE
PS/MR RIDLEY
PS/MR HURD
PS/MR MARTEN
PS/PUS

SIR D MAITLAND
SIR A ACLAND
LORD N G LENNOX
SIR L ALLINSON
MR DAY
MR FERGUSSON
MR MILLS
CPO
ADDITIONAL DISTN.
RHODESIA POLICY

[THIS TELEGRAM WAS NOT ADVANCED]

GRS 232
UNCLASSIFIED
FM DAKAR 051615Z MARCH 80
TO ROUTINE F C O
TELEGRAM NUMBER 72 OF 05 MARCH 1980
INFO SALISBURY

RHODESIA

1. THE PRESS OF 5 MARCH GIVES FRONT PAGE COVERAGE TO MUGABE'S ELECTION VICTORY. IN A FRONT PAGE EDITORIAL THE GOVERNMENT PAPER WRITES QUOTE THE SUCCESSFUL CONDUCT OF THE ZIMBABWE ELECTIONS REFLECTS CREDIT ON ALL THE PARTICIPANTS. IT IS SIMPLE JUSTICE TO CONGRATULATE GREAT BRITAIN AND MARGARET THATCHER... UNQUOTE. THE EDITORIAL GOES ON TO STRESS THE NEED FOR THE MUGABE GOVERNMENT QUOTE TO SEEK NATIONAL UNITY IN WORKING WITH ALL ZIMBABWIANS WHATEVER THEIR COLOUR OR PARTY ON THE BASIS OF THEIR ABILITIES AND USEFULNESS UNQUOTE. A FURTHER LESSON TO BE DRAWN FROM THE EVOLUTION OF THE RHODESIA CRISIS IS THAT QUOTE TIME IS ON THE SIDE OF THE BLACKS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA UNQUOTE.
2. A SECOND ARTICLE HEADED QUOTE CONGRATULATIONS MARGARET UNQUOTE HAILS THE LATEST DEVELOPMENTS AS A QUOTE VICTORY FOR THE RHODESIANS UNQUOTE AND A DIPLOMATIC SUCCESS FOR THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, GOES ON IN GLOWING TERMS TO PRAISE BRITAIN'S ROLE: QUOTE AS SHE HAS DONE IN THE PAST THE COUNTRY OF SHAKESPEARE HAS JUST GIVEN AN EXAMPLE OF DEMOCRACY TO THE WORLD UNQUOTE.
3. THE ARTICLE HOLDS UP THE COMMONWEALTH, A FLEXIBLE MULTI-RACIAL ORGANISATION, AS AN EXAMPLE TO FRANCOPHONE COUNTRIES.

SQUIRE

FILES

RHOD D	DEF D	SIR A ACLAND
OADS	IPD	LORD N G LENNOX
NAD	OID	SIR L ALLINSON
PUSD	NEWS D	MR DAY
PLANNING STAFF	PS	MR FERGUSSON
CCD	PS/LPS	MR ASPIN
FRD	PS/MR LUCE	MR MILLS
ECD (E)	PS/MR RIDLEY	CPO
UND	PS/MR HURD	
LEGAL ADVISERS	PS/MR MARTEN	
(MR FREELAND)	PS/PUS	
(MR FIFOOT)	SIR D MAITLAND	

ECON D

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RHODESIA POLICY

CONFIDENTIAL

GR 360

CONFIDENTIAL

FM UKMIS NEW YORK 060010Z MAR 80

TO PRIORITY FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 431 OF 5 MARCH

INFO PRIORITY SALISBURY DAR ES SALAAM LUSAKA GABORONE
CAPETOWN LAGOS

YOUR TELNO 203: PEREZ DE CUELLAR

1. I GAVE PEREZ DE CUELLAR LUNCH TODAY. HE WAS MOST GRATEFUL FOR ALL THE FACILITIES AND MEETINGS ARRANGED FOR HIM IN LONDON AND IN SALISBURY.

2. HE SAID THAT HE HAD BEEN ENORMOUSLY IMPRESSED BY THE GOVERNOR AND BY ALL THE BRITISH OFFICIALS HE HAD MET. THE METICULOUS EFFICIENCY AND FAIRNESS WITH WHICH WE HAD CONDUCTED THE ELECTION HAD BEEN BEYOND PRAISE. HE HAD ALSO BEEN IMPRESSED BY THE ORDERLINESS SERIOUSNESS AND POLITICAL SOPHISTICATION OF THE ELECTORATE WHICH HE HAD SEEN AT THE POLLING STATIONS IN SALISBURY. MANY PEOPLE HAD TOLD HIM THAT, BY COMPARISON, THE ELECTIONS LAST YEAR HAD BEEN 'LIKE A CARNIVAL'.

3. DE CUELLAR SAID THAT HIS STAFF HAD SHARED HIS IMPRESSIONS. THE TWO AFRICANS HAD ARRIVED WITH SUSPICIOUS ATTITUDES, BUT HIS TOGOLESE COLLEAGUE HAD BEEN COMPLETELY WON OVER BY BEING INVITED TO LUNCH BY THE GOVERNOR EXCLAM. THEREAFTER THERE HAD BEEN NO PROBLEMS WITH EITHER OF THEM.

4. HE HAD BEEN SERIOUSLY SHAKEN BY THE PREJUDICE OF ALMOST ALL THE NON-BRITISH OBSERVERS WHOM HE HAD MET, PARTICULARLY DAYAL. THEY HAD ALL SEEMED DETERMINED TO FIND FAULT WHERE THEY COULD. DAYAL HAD DONE HIS BEST TO POISON THE MINDS OF DE CUELLAR AND HIS COLLEAGUES: THE OTHER COMMONWEALTH OBSERVERS HAD NOT BEEN SO BAD.

5. AS REGARDS FOLLOW UP ACTION, DE CUELLAR TOLD ME FOR MY PRIVATE INFORMATION - HE WAS NOT INFORMING HIS OWN TEAM - THAT HE WAS DRAFTING A PERSONAL REPORT FOR THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ONLY. WALDHEIM HAD DECIDED TO TAKE NO FURTHER ACTION UNLESS HE CAME UNDER HEAVY PRESSURE. DE CUELLAR THOUGHT THAT THERE WOULD BE NO SUCH PRESSURE: 'THE AFRICANS ARE CHILDREN. THEY HAVE GOT WHAT THEY WANTED AND HAVE NOW LOST INTEREST'.

CONFIDENTIAL

/6. DE CUELLAR

CONFIDENTIAL

6. DE CUELLAR HAD REPORTED ORALLY TO WALDHEIM YESTERDAY. THE LATTER HAD PUT OUT A STATEMENT WHICH WAS CARRIED BY REUTERS STATING THAT THE UN OFFICIALS WHO WITNESSED THE ELECTIONS CONSIDERED THAT THE ELECTIONS WERE ADEQUATE AND SATISFACTORY: WALDHEIM WAS GRATIFIED THAT THE ELECTION PROCESS HAD TAKEN PLACE IN AN ORDERLY WAY AND HOPED THAT THE OUTCOME WOULD LEAD TO A STABLE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE NEWLY INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE.

PARSONS

[NOT ADVANCED]

FILES
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(MR FREELAND)
(MR FIFOOT)

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PS/MR RIDLEY
PS/MR HURD
PS/MR MARTEN
PS/PUS

SIR D MAITLAND
SIR A ACLAND
LORD N G LENNOX
SIR L ALLINSON
MR DAY
MR FERGUSSON
MR MILLS
CPO

ADDITIONAL DISTN.
RHODESIA POLICY

- 2 -
CONFIDENTIAL

[RHODESIA: POLICY: ADVANCE COPIES]

28

IMMEDIATE

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

PS
SIR I GILMOUR
PS/MR LUCE
PS/PUS
SIR D MAITLAND
MR DAY
SIR L ALLISON
~~MR ASPIN~~

SIR R ARMSTRONG)
MR R L WADE GERY)
MR P M MAXEY) CABINET
MR GOULTY) OFFICE
MR W N WENBAN SMITH)
DIO)

.....

HD/RHOD DEPT (4)

HD/C AF D

HD/S AF D

~~HD/UND~~

HD/PUSD (2)

HD/NEWS DEPT

HD/WAD

PS/SIR I SINCLAIR

MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A

MR FIFOOT

GRS 1302A

CONFIDENTIAL

DESKBY 051730Z FCO
FROM SALISBURY 051540Z MAR 80
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 964 OF 5 MARCH 1980

IMMEDIATE

mt

*Read in full (together
with attached draft statement).
1 apologetic for the four copy.*

INFO ROUTINE LUSAKA DAR ES SALAAM GABORONE MAPUTO LAGOS CAPE TOWN
WASHINGTON AND UKMIS NEW YORK.

ASSISTANCE TO RHODESIA.

ms

1. MY TELNO 952 (TO FCO ONLY). OUR AIM SHOULD BE:
 - (A) TO WORK CLOSELY WITH THE INCOMING GOVERNMENT SO AS TO HELP THEM INTO THE SADDLE AND TO BUILD AS CLOSE AS POSSIBLE A RELATIONSHIP WITH THEM;
 - (B) TO HELP THEM ESTABLISH THEIR RELATIONSHIP WITH AND CONTROL OVER THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATIVE APPARATUS;
 - (C) TO GIVE THE WHITES TIME TO GAIN SOME CONFIDENCE IN THEIR FUTURE PROSPECTS, BY DEMONSTRATING THAT THE BRITISH ARE NOT CUTTING AND RUNNING AND THAT WE INTEND TO CONTINUE, AFTER INDEPENDENCE, SUCH HELP AS MAY BE NECESSARY TO FURTHER (A) AND (B). POLICY PROPOSALS CAN BE DIVIDED INTO THE PRE- AND POST-INDEPENDENCE PERIODS, BUT OUR IMMEDIATE OBJECTIVE MUST BE TO ESTABLISH AS RAPIDLY AS POSSIBLE IN THE MINDS OF THE PUBLIC THE CONCEPT THAT BRITISH INTEREST AND INVOLVEMENT IN ZIMBABWE REMAINS CLOSE, AND THAT PRACTICAL MEASURES TO DEMONSTRATE THIS WILL START AS SOON

BRITISH INTEREST AND INVOLVEMENT IN ZIMBABWE REMAINS CLOSE, AND THAT PRACTICAL MEASURES TO DEMONSTRATE THIS WILL START AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AND WILL CONTINUE BEYOND INDEPENDENCE.

PRE-INDEPENDENCE.

2. MUGABE AND WALLS HAVE TOLD US SEPARATELY THAT THEY DO NOT WISH US TO RUSH UNDULY IN GRANTING INDEPENDENCE. MUGABE SEEMED TO BE THINKING IN TERMS OF WEEKS, WALLS' OPENING BID WAS THREE MONTHS. WE NEED TO STAY LONG ENOUGH TO GIVE PSYCHOLOGICAL REASSURANCE TO THE WHITES AND TO SEE THE NEW GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHED. IT IS TOO EARLY TO SAY HOW LONG THIS PERIOD SHOULD BE. I WOULD HOPE TO TAKE A VIEW IN A FEW DAYS, AFTER FURTHER DISCUSSION WITH MUGABE. FOR THE PRESENT I THINK WE SHOULD ACCEPT A PLANNING DATE OF 3-4 WEEKS. IT MAY TAKE MUGABE AS MUCH AS A WEEK OR TWO TO FORM HIS NEW GOVERNMENT, WHICH WOULD MEAN THAT THERE WOULD BE AN OVERLAP OF ABOUT TWO FURTHER WEEKS WHEN THE NEW MINISTERS ARE BEGINNING TO TAKE UP THEIR APPOINTMENTS BEFORE INDEPENDENCE COULD FINALLY BE GRANTED. THAT MAY BE AN AWKWARD PERIOD, SINCE I WILL HAVE RESPONSIBILITY BUT THE NEW GOVERNMENT WILL NATURALLY WISH TO BEGIN TO SHOW ITS PAGES. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE ADVANTAGES IN NOT RUSHING AWAY ARE MANIFEST. WE HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO EASE THE NEW MINISTERS INTO THEIR DEPARTMENTS GRADUALLY AND FORESTALL FRICTION WITH THEIR SENIOR OFFICIALS. I THINK THAT, IF WE EXPLAIN THE POTENTIAL DIFFICULTIES TO MUGABE IN GOOD TIME, HE WILL UNDERSTAND AND THE SITUATION WILL BE MANAGEABLE.

3. IT IS I THINK IMPORTANT IN THIS CONTEXT THAT THERE SHOULD BE A FITTING INDEPENDENCE CEREMONY: I SHALL BE SUBMITTING FURTHER PROPOSALS ON THIS SUBJECT.

4. DURING THIS PRE-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD WE MUST MAKE AS MUCH PROGRESS AS POSSIBLE TOWARDS UNDERTAKING THE TASKS PROPOSED BELOW FOR THE POST-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD. THE MOST URGENT NEED IS TO GET ON WITH MILITARY INTEGRATION AND TO DETERMINE THE FUTURE OF THOSE IN THE ASSEMBLY AREAS.

POST-INDEPENDENCE.

5. IN SUPPORT OF OBJECTIVE 1(C), WE NEED TO DEMONSTRATE THAT A VISIBLE BRITISH PRESENCE, ADDITIONAL TO THE EMBASSY OR HIGH COMMISSION, WILL REMAIN HERE FOR A PERIOD AFTER INDEPENDENCE, AND WE SHALL BE HELPING WITH THE ADJUSTMENTS THAT HAVE TO BE MADE TO GOVERNMENT SERVICES INCLUDING THE ARMED FORCES. AT FIRST GLANCE, TRAINING AND ASSISTANCE NEED TO BE OFFERED IN THE FOLLOWING FIELDS.

(1) MILITARY.

(I) MILITARY.

BOTH MUGABE AND WALLS HAVE TOLD US THAT THEY WOULD LIKE A BRITISH MILITARY TEAM TO COME HERE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO ASSIST WITH THE INTEGRATION OF THE FORCES AND THE SETTING UP AND TRAINING OF THE NEW ARMED FORCES OF ZIMBABWE. WE HAVE ALREADY ASKED THAT GENERAL PERKINS SHOULD COME HERE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO CONSIDER, WITH MUGABE'S PEOPLE AND WALLS, HOW WE COULD HELP. HE WILL NEED TO RECOMMEND WHAT SIZE OF TEAM MIGHT BE REQUIRED IN THE WAY OF ADVISERS AND INSTRUCTORS IN ZIMBABWE, HOW THE MONITORING FORCE WILL BE PHASED OUT AS THEY ARE PHASED IN, AND THE NEED FOR TRAINING COURSES IN THE UK.

(II) POLICE.

THE POLICE WILL REQUIRE ASSISTANCE WITH AFRICANISATION. MY POLICE ADVISER CONSIDERS THAT THEY COULD ALSO BENEFIT FROM HELP IN CERTAIN TECHNICAL AREAS OF POLICE WORK. SUBJECT TO YOUR AGREEMENT WE WILL DISCUSS THIS WITH THE POLICE COMMISSIONER. TRAINING IN THE UK, ESPECIALLY FOR AFRICAN OFFICERS, WILL CERTAINLY BE NECESSARY. IN ADDITION IT WOULD PROBABLY BE HELPFUL TO BRING OUT A SMALL ADVISORY TEAM OF 3 TO 4, HEADED BY A SENIOR OFFICER, AS SOON AS PRACTICABLE BUT IN ANY CASE BEFORE INDEPENDENCE. THE POLICE ADVISER COULD LEAVE SOON AFTER.

(III) THE CIVIL SERVICE.

THE CIVIL SERVICE WILL NEED NOT SO MUCH TRAINING AS ADVICE AND GUIDANCE ON AFRICANISATION AND REORGANISATION. (THE HOME AFFAIRS MINISTRY ALREADY HAVE AN EMBRYONIC PLAN WHICH APPEARS TO ENVISAGE AFRICANISATION OF AT LEAST THE DISTRICT ADMINISTRATION WITHIN 4 YEARS). IT MAY HOWEVER BE HELPFUL TO HAVE, FOR EXAMPLE, A FEW ADVISERS ATTACHED TO THE PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION. AS A FIRST STEP I WOULD PROPOSE A VISIT FROM THE CIVIL SERVICE DEPARTMENT, WHO WOULD COME OUT AND LOOK OVER THE CIVIL SERVICE:

(A) TO OFFER ADVICE ON HOW TO SET ABOUT THE TASK;

(B) TO CONSIDER WHETHER ANY LONGER TERM ADVICE OR ASSISTANCE MIGHT BE USEFUL.

(IV) ZRBC.

MUGABE HAS ALREADY TOLD ME THAT HE WANTS TO SEE THE ZRBC COMPLETELY REORGANISED AND HOPES THAT THE BBC WILL BE ABLE TO HELP ON THIS. THE SOONER WE CAN GET THIS ONE STARTED THE BETTER.

6. WE HAVE TO RECOGNISE THAT IT HAS NOT BEEN POSSIBLE TO PREPARE RHODESIA FOR THE KIND OF INDEPENDENCE GOVERNMENT NOW ABOUT TO BE FORMED, IN THE WAY IN WHICH WE HAVE PREPARED BRITISH COLONIES FOR WHICH WE HAD DIRECT RESPONSIBILITY. WE DO THEREFORE NEED TO EMPHASISE CONTINUED BRITISH INVOLVEMENT. TO THIS END, IT MAY BE HELPFUL TO GROUP OUR VARIOUS ENDEAVOURS UNDER THE OVERALL UMBRELLA

HELPFUL TO GROUP OUR VARIOUS ENDEAVOURS UNDER THE OVERALL UMBRELLA OF A SINGLE 'BRITISH TRAINING AND ADVISORY GROUP'. EACH COMPONENT WOULD BE GETTING ON WITH ITS OWN TASK BUT THE GROUP WOULD BE HEADED BY A SENIOR INDIVIDUAL WHO WOULD STAY FOR 3 TO 4 MONTHS WHILE THE NEW GOVERNMENT GOT UNDERWAY AND CONFIDENCE WAS CONSOLIDATED. HE COULD EITHER BE SEPARATE FROM THE FIRST BRITISH AMBASSADOR; OR HE COULD BE THE AMBASSADOR FOR THAT SHORT PERIOD. THE SEPARATE COMPONENTS WITHIN THE GROUP WOULD OF COURSE STAY LONGER IF THEIR TASKS REQUIRED THIS, AS THE MILITARY ONE MOST CERTAINLY WOULD.

7. THE IDEA OF A SENIOR REPRESENTATIVE HAS ATTRACTIVE ASPECTS. IT WOULD REINFORCE THE IMPRESSION THAT THE BRITISH WERE STILL AN INFLUENCE AND THE LEADER OF THE GROUP WOULD NO DOUBT HAVE ADEQUATE ACCESS TO MUGABE AND HIS GOVERNMENT TO ENABLE HIM TO OFFER ADVICE AS NECESSARY. IT COULD HELP - AS THE FRENCH HAVE DONE SUCCESSFULLY ELSEWHERE IN AFRICA - TO PROVIDE A MEANS OF ADVICE AND INFLUENCE; AND TO AVOID THROWING AWAY THE CONSIDERABLE ASSETS WE SHOULD ENJOY IN OUR INITIAL DEALINGS WITH THE NEW GOVERNMENT. IT WOULD DEMONSTRATE OUR CONTINUING COMMITMENT TO AN ORDERLY TRANSITION, WITHOUT HAVING TO CONTINUE ANY CONSTITUTIONAL LINK. THE POLITICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECT OF OUR TRAINING TEAMS WOULD BE GREATER IF THEY WERE UNDER THE GENERAL DIRECTION OF A SENIOR FIGURE, THAN IF THEY WERE OPERATING INDEPENDENTLY.

8. ON THE OTHER HAND, THERE IS A CLEAR RISK IN HAVING IN SALISBURY A BRITISH REPRESENTATIVE WHO WILL BE BELIEVED TO HAVE MUGABE'S EAR. HOWEVER LIKELY IT MAY NOW APPEAR THAT MUGABE WILL APPROACH ECONOMIC AND OTHER ISSUES SENSIBLY AND MODERATELY, IT IS TO SAY THE LEAST POSSIBLE THAT HIS GOVT WILL TURN TO POLICIES WITH WHICH WE WOULD NOT IN FACT WISH TO BE ASSOCIATED. MOREOVER IT IS QUITE POSSIBLE THAT, WHEREAS THE TRAINING TEAMS WILL CERTAINLY BE NECESSARY, THE ADDITION OF A GROUP LEADER MAY NOT BE, IF CONFIDENCE INCREASES SUFFICIENTLY DURING THE NEXT FEW WEEKS.

9. I SUGGEST THEREFORE THAT WE SHOULD KEEP THIS IDEA IN MIND. WE DO NOT NEED TO TAKE A DEFINITE VIEW ON IT YET. (INCIDENTALLY, I SUPPOSE AN ALTERNATIVE WOULD BE THE APPOINTMENT OF A SENIOR (AND PREFERABLY WELL-KNOWN) FIGURE AS AMBASSADOR/HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR THE FIRST TWO YEARS).

10. WE SHALL BE DEVELOPING OUR IDEAS FURTHER IN CONSULTATION WITH THE RHODESIANS AND WITH MUGABE. I SHOULD BE GRATEFUL FOR YOUR AUTHORITY TO CONTINUE DISCUSSION ALONG THESE LINES. MEANWHILE,

YOUR AUTHORITY TO CONTINUE DISCUSSION ALONG THESE LINES. MEANWHILE,
IN ORDER TO FULFIL THE CHIEF NEED, WHICH IS TO GIVE IMMEDIATE
ENCOURAGEMENT TO THE WHITES, I SHOULD LIKE TO MAKE AN EARLY STATE-
MENT OF OUR INTENTIONS ALONG THE LINES OF THE DRAFT IN M I F T.
MAY I PLEASE HAVE YOUR AGREEMENT TO THIS? I SHOULD LIKE TO GET IT
OUT TOMORROW.

FCO PSE PASS TO ALL

SCAMES

IMMEDIATE

WVNV

SENT/RCVD AT 05/1710Z TWW/ED

[RHODESIA: POLICY: ADVANCE COPIES]

IMMEDIATE

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

PS
PS/SIR I GILMOUR
PS/MR LUCE
PS/PUS
SIR D MAITLAND
MR DAY
SIR L ALLISON
~~MR ASPEN~~

SIR R ARMSTRONG)
MR R L WADE GERY)
MR P M MAXEY) CABINET
MR GOULTY) OFFICE
MR W N WENBAN SMITH)
DIO)

.....
HD/RHOD DEPT (4)
HD/C AF D
HD/S AF D
~~HD/UND~~
HD/PUSD (2)

HD/NEWS DEPT
HD/WAD
PS/SIR I SINCLAIR
MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER FMK200A
MR FIFOOT

IMMEDIATE

IMMEDIATE

CONFIDENTIAL

DESKBY 051730Z

FM SALISBURY 051545Z MAR 80

TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 965 OF 5 MARCH 1980
INFO ROUTINE LUSAKA DAR ES SALAAM GABORONE MAPUTO LAGOS CAPE TOWN
WASHINGTON AND UKMIS NEW YORK.

M.I.P.T.
FOLLOWING IS DRAFT STATEMENT.
BEGINS

1. BRITAIN'S PURPOSE IN RHODESIA IS TO ACHIEVE AN ORDERLY TRANSFER OF POWER TO A DULY ELECTED GOVERNMENT IN CIRCUMSTANCES OF PEACE AND STABILITY. THE ELECTIONS HAVE NOW TAKEN PLACE AND A GOVERNMENT IS BEING FORMED. ATTENTION NOW SHIFTS TO THE TASK OF ASSURING A STABLE AND PEACEFUL START IN LIFE FOR THE NEW ZIMBABWE. ALTHOUGH BRITAIN'S RESPONSIBILITY FOR ZIMBABWE WILL END AT INDEPENDENCE, WE WILL CONTINUE TO BE VITALLY INTERESTED IN CLOSE AND FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH THE NEW STATE.

2. WE SHALL PROCEED DELIBERATELY TOWARDS INDEPENDENCE. THERE IS NO NEED FOR HASTE. THE DATE FOR INDEPENDENCE WILL BE AGREED WITH THE NEW GOVERNMENT, AND IT WILL COME AFTER THE GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN APPOINTED AND ITS MEMBERS HAVE HAD TIME TO FAMILIARISE THEMSELVES WITH THEIR DUTIES. IT IS TOO EARLY TO SET AN EXACT DATE, BUT INDEPENDENCE DAY IS LIKELY TO BE TOWARDS THE END OF

DATE, BUT INDEPENDENCE DAY IS LIKELY TO BE TOWARDS THE END OF MARCH OR EARLY IN APRIL.

3. BRITAIN STANDS READY TO HELP BOTH BEFORE AND AFTER INDEPENDENCE. THE MOST URGENT TASK IS THE INTEGRATION OF THE FORCES. THIS HAS ALREADY BEGUN, AND WILL CONTINUE TO BE CARRIED FORWARD UNDER THE DIRECTION OF LIEUTENANT GENERAL WALLS. THE MONITORING FORCE IS HELPING IN THIS TASK. THE DIRECTOR OF OVERSEAS MILITARY ASSISTANCE AT THE BRITISH MINISTRY OF DEFENCE, MAJOR GENERAL PERKINS, WILL BE COMING HERE NEXT WEEK FOR CONSULTATIONS. HIS VISIT IS LIKELY TO LEAD TO THE APPOINTMENT OF A BRITISH MILITARY ADVISORY AND TRAINING TEAM WHOSE ASSIGNMENT WILL CONTINUE WELL BEYOND INDEPENDENCE. AT LANCASTER HOUSE, THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT INDICATED THAT IT WAS READY TO ASSIST WITH THE RETRAINING AND RESETTLEMENT OF THOSE MEMBERS OF THE FORCES WHO WISH TO PURSUE A CIVIL CAREER. ARRANGEMENTS FOR RESETTLEMENT AND RETRAINING WILL BE SET IN HAND URGENTLY. WE HOPE THAT OTHER COUNTRIES WILL CONTRIBUTE TO THIS IMPORTANT UNDERTAKING.

4. BRITAIN IS ALSO PREPARED TO PROVIDE OTHER SMALL TEAMS WHOSE TASK WOULD BE TO ADVISE AND ASSIST THE NEW GOVERNMENT WITH ITS ADMINISTRATIVE REQUIREMENTS IN OTHER FIELDS. THE TASKS OF THESE TEAMS WILL ALSO CONTINUE BEYOND INDEPENDENCE.

5. BRITAIN WILL CONTRIBUTE TO THE RECONSTRUCTION AND REHABILITATION OF THIS COUNTRY'S ECONOMY THROUGH ECONOMIC AID, TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE AND TRAINING IN THE UNITED KINGDOM. WE WILL ENCOURAGE OTHER COUNTRIES TO DO LIKEWISE.

6. BRITAIN LOOKS FORWARD TO AN INCREASING AND MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL COMMERCIAL AND ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP WITH THE NEW STATE. ZIMBABWE WILL BE ELIGIBLE TO ACCEDE TO THE LOME CONVENTION AND TO BENEFIT FROM THE AID AND ACCESS TO THE MARKETS OF THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY WHICH IT PROVIDES.

7. THE NEW ZIMBABWE WILL NO DOUBT WISH TO JOIN INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS, PARTICULARLY THE UNITED NATIONS AND ITS SPECIALISED AGENCIES. BRITAIN WILL BE READY TO SPONSOR THESE APPLICATIONS; AND, IF THE NEW GOVERNMENT WISHES, TO ASK THE COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY GENERAL TO CONSULT OTHER COMMONWEALTH MEMBERS ABOUT ZIMBABWE BECOMING A MEMBER OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

8. BRITAIN HAS A CONTINUING SPECIAL INTEREST IN ZIMBABWE, AND A GREAT GOODWILL FOR ITS FUTURE. THESE PROPOSALS ARE A MEASURE OF OUR DETERMINATION TO DO EVERYTHING IN OUR POWER TO ASSIST THE NEW STATE.

BRITAIN HAS A CONTINUING SPECIAL INTEREST IN ZIMBABWE, AND A GREAT GOODWILL FOR ITS FUTURE. THESE PROPOSALS ARE A MEASURE OF OUR DETERMINATION TO CARRY THROUGH TO A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OUR PURPOSE TO ASSURE THAT THE NEW ZIMBABWE BEGINS ITS LIFE IN CIRCUMSTANCES OF PEACE, PROSPERITY AND RECONCILIATION.

FCO PASS ALL

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SENT/RCVD AT 05/1643Z TWW /BD

[RHODESIA: POLICY: ADVANCE COPIES]

28

PS
PS/SIR I GILMOUR
PS/MR LUCE
PS/PUS
SIR D MAITLAND
MR DAY
SIR L ALLINSON
~~MR ASPIN~~

~~PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET~~

SIR R ARMSTRONG)
MR R L WADE GERY)
MR P M MAKEY) CABINET
MR GOULTY) OFFICE
MR W N WENBAN SMITH)
DIO)

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HD/S AF D
~~HD/UND~~
HD/PUSD (2)

HD/NEWS DEPT

~~HD/WAD~~
PS/SIR I SINCLAIR
MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A
MR FIFOOT

IMMEDIATE

RESTRICTED

FM SALISBURY 051500Z MAR 80

IMMEDIATE

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 963 OF 5 MARCH 1980

INFO IMMEDIATE MODUK LUSAKA DAR ES SALAAM MAPUTO GABORONE LUANDA
PRETORIA CAPE TOWN WASHINGTON LAGOS UKMIS NEW YORK CANBERRA
PRIORITY OTTAWA WELLINGTON NAIROBI AND SUVA

RHODESIA: SITREP 5 MARCH

1. MILITARY ACTIVITY CONTINUES, ALBEIT AT A LOW LEVEL. IN THE PAST 24 HOURS THERE HAVE BEEN 4 CONTACTS, 4 SHOOTINGS AND A CROSS-BORDER INCIDENT. THERE WERE 5 DEATHS AND 5 WERE WOUNDED. IN THREE SEPARATE INCIDENTS A (BLACK) SECURITY FORCES PATROL SHOT 3 PEOPLE WHO FAILED TO STOP WHEN CHALLENGED. POLICE APPROACHING A HOUSE IN WHICH THEY SUSPECTED ZANLA GUERILLAS TO BE PRESENT WERE ATTACKED WITH GRENADES AND SMALL ARMS; REINFORCEMENTS WERE CALLED IN, BUT THE GUERILLAS ESCAPED WITHOUT CASUALTY. AN AUXILIARY BASE WAS ATTACKED BY AN UNKNOWN NUMBER OF ZANLA GUERILLAS. AN UNOCCUPIED PATROL CAMP NEAR VICTORIA FALLS WAS FIRED ON BY SMALL ARMS AND MORTARS FROM ZAMBIA.
2. THIS MORNING THERE WERE 22,712 IN ASSEMBLY PLACES AND TRAINING CAMPS.

FCO PASS ALL

SOAMES

[RHODESIA: POLICY: ADVANCE COPIES]

30

PS
S/SIR I GILMOUR
PS/MR LUCE
PS/PUS
SIR D MAITLAND
MR DAY
SIR L ALLISON
~~MR ASPIN~~

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

SIR R ARMSTRONG)
MR R L WADE GERY)
MR P M MAXEY) CABINET
MR GOULTY) OFFICE
MR W N WENBAN SMITH)
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
PS/SIR I SINCLAIR
MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A
MR FIFOOT
RESIDENT CLERK

ms

GRS 327A
UNCLASSIFIED
FM CAPE TOWN EMBASSY 051330Z MAR 80
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 198 OF 5 MARCH
INFO IMMEDIATE SALISBURY
INFO PRIORITY MAPUTO, LUSAKA, DAR ES SALAAM AND LAGOS
INFO SAYING GABORONE, MASERU, MBABANE

IMMEDIATE

RHODESIAN ELECTION RESULT: SOUTH AFRICAN PRESS REACTION

1. THE INITIAL PRESS REACTION WAS ONE OF SHOCK AT THE EXTENT OF MUGABE'S VICTORY AND DISMAY AT SOUTH AFRICA'S MISCALCULATION OF MUZOREWA'S SUPPORT. WHILE THIS MORNING'S PAPERS CONTINUE TO EXPRESS BEWILDERMENT AND ALARM AT WHAT THEY SEE AS A COMMUNIST VICTORY, MUGABE'S CONCILIATORY POST-ELECTION STATEMENTS ARE REPORTED PROMINENTLY TOGETHER WITH HIS REQUEST TO WALLS TO TAKE CHARGE OF THE INTEGRATION OF THE SECURITY FORCES AND THE GUERRILLA ARMIES. CRONJE'S CALL FOR CALM IS REPORTED IN ALL AFRIKAANS NEWSPAPERS. SATV FEATURED A LENGTHY INTERVIEW WITH MUGABE YESTERDAY EVENING, IN WHICH HE WAS THOUGHTFUL, RESTRAINED AND MODERATE, GENERALLY PRESENTING A REASSURING IMAGE.

AND MODERATE, GENERALLY PRESENTING A REASSURING IMAGE.

2. MOST EDITORIALS CALL FOR CALM AND A DISPASSIONATE CONSIDERATION OF HOW SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD REACT. MOST ACKNOWLEDGE THAT THERE IS AT LEAST A POSSIBILITY OF ESTABLISHING A MODUS VIVENDI (LAST TWO WORDS UNDERLINED) WITH MUGABE, AS WITH MACHEL. ALL THE AFRIKAANS MORNING PAPERS INSIST THAT MUGABE MUST BE GIVEN THE BENEFIT OF THE DOUBT AND THAT SOUTH AFRICA MUST NOT REACT BY CLAMPING DOWN ON INTERNAL REFORM. WHAT MUGABE'S VICTORY SHOWS IS THAT SOUTH AFRICA MUST NEGOTIATE NOW WITH ITS OWN BLACK LEADERS WHILE THERE IS STILL TIME. 'DIE BURGER' SEES SOME REASON FOR HOPE IN THE DECISIVENESS OF THE OUTCOME WHICH REMOVES ALL UNCERTAINTY. 'VADERLAND' ARGUES THAT THE REAL LEADERS ARE SHOWN TO BE THE RADICAL LEADERS WHO HAVE THE POPULACE BEHIND THEM. 'BEELD' SPECIFICALLY CALLS FOR DISCUSSIONS WITH SUCH RELATIVELY RADICAL BLACK LEADERS IN SOUTH AFRICA AS MOTLANA AND THOMAZILE BOTHA. NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE LIKES OF THEM WOULD LEAD TO MUCH MORE RAPID REFORM THAN EVEN THE 'VERLIGTES' HAVE BEEN DEMANDING.

3. THE PRESS REPORTS THE PRIME MINISTER'S REACTION TO THE RESULT (MY TELNO 187), CONCENTRATING ON P W BOTHA'S ACCEPTANCE OF RHODESIA'S CHOICE RATHER THAN HIS WARNING AGAINST INTERFERENCE.

4. THE 'CITIZEN' STRIKES A DISCORDANT NOTE, FULL OF RECRIMINATIONS AGAINST THE UK, WHICH IS NOT REFLECTED IN THE AFRIKAANS PRESS. 'OGGENBLAD' PAINTS AN APOCALYPTIC PICTURE OF ANC TERRORISM IN NORTHERN TRANSVAAL AND MARXIST TAKE-OVERS IN ZAMBIA, BOTSWANA AND EVEN SWAZILAND.

FCO PSE PASS SAVING TO ALL

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Rhodesia



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

5 March 1980

Dear Michael,

F. A. Nutsby

Rhodesia: Commonwealth Observers:
Interim Report

I enclose a copy of a letter from the Commonwealth Secretary-General in which Mr Ramphal asks that the interim report of the Commonwealth observer group on the elections in Rhodesia be conveyed to the Prime Minister.

The Prime Minister will already be aware of the substance of the report from telegrams. The Commonwealth observers conclude unanimously 'that the election up to the end of polling can be considered to have been free and fair to the extent that it provided an adequate and acceptable means of determining the wishes of the people in a democratic manner'.

Yours ever

Roderic Lyne

(R M J Lyne)
Private Secretary

Michael Alexander Esq
No 10 Downing Street
London

OFFICE OF THE COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY-GENERAL
ARLBOROUGH HOUSE · PALL MALL · LONDON SW1Y 5HX

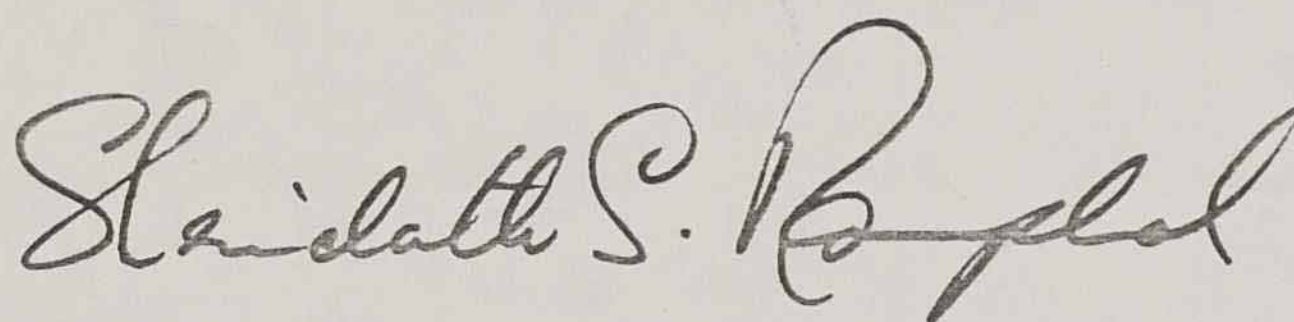
Circular Letter No. 17/80

2 March, 1980

Rhodesia Elections: Commonwealth
Observer Group - Interim Report

Further to my Circular Letter No. 15/80 of 27 February 1980, I would be grateful if you would convey to your Head of Government by the speediest possible means the attached message forwarding the Interim Report of the Commonwealth Observer Group.

Release of the Interim Report is being embargoed for 1700 hours (GMT) today in both Salisbury and London.



Shridath S. Ramphal

Rhodesia Elections: Commonwealth
Observer Group - Interim Report

The Group of Commonwealth Observers established collectively - to observe all aspects of the electoral campaign and the elections in Rhodesia and to report to Commonwealth Governments has submitted an Interim Report which deals with matters up to and including the poll itself. The text of the interim report is as follows:

Begins

"The Commonwealth Observer Group, since its arrival in Rhodesia on 24 January, has carefully scrutinised the entire electoral process and, through a programme of extensive and generally independent travel and enquiry throughout the country, covering more than 125,000 kilometres till 29 February, has acquired a unique position for assessing developments, the election campaign, and the actual conduct of the poll. The Group has been conscious throughout of the special responsibilities devolving on it under the Lusaka Accord and the Lancaster House Agreement.

2. The Group recognises that it is difficult, if not impossible, to make clear and unqualified judgements about every aspect of the electoral process carried out, as it has been, in the immediate wake of a protracted and bitter civil war. Various factors have sustained or created conditions where political activity was not always devoid of violence, where freedom of movement, assembly and expression were restricted in varying degrees in parts of the country and where the performance of the publicly-owned media left much to be desired. The suspicions and hostility dividing different sections of Rhodesian society, exacerbated by years of armed conflict were not, and could not reasonably be expected to be, dissipated within a few weeks of the ceasefire. It is a matter of some satisfaction, however, that in a society as heavily armed as Rhodesia's, the level of violence during the campaign has not been higher than it was. In this context, the Group was gratified by the ready response of party leaders to its suggestion, subsequently pursued formally by the Election Council, that they issue a public statement adjuring their followers to eschew violence and to campaign peacefully.

3. The Group considered it important to keep in touch with the functioning of the administration especially in its bearing on the electoral process. While recognising the complex nature of the problems confronting it, it noted with regret evidence of obstruction and a lack of a sufficient degree of impartiality in dealing with the interests of the different parties.

4. The problem of intimidation in these elections has

been of central concern to the Group. That intimidation has occurred is a fact and there can be no doubt that intimidation whether in the form of violence, threats of violence or coercion has marred the election campaign. It is equally true that intimidation has not stemmed from only a single quarter. In the Group's view, certain official agencies have also been culpable. It is impossible to judge accurately the extent to which intimidation, taken overall, has restricted the freedom of activity of the political parties or influenced voters. In many cases the Group found from personal observation in the field that charges of intimidation were being exaggerated or were being made in deliberately vague and general terms, inspired by considerations of political expediency. It also found that various political parties were indeed able to campaign actively in some of the areas where it was alleged that they were unable to do so. In any event, the limitations and constraints were to a degree overcome by the party political broadcasts on radio and television and the extensive use of advertising. The Group strongly cautioned the authorities against banning parties or candidates or disenfranchising voters in particular areas and it was relieved that, in the event, none of these major disqualifications was applied. The Group believes that the political parties have had, by and large, an adequate, if not entirely unrestricted, opportunity to solicit the support of the electorate.

5. The Group was impressed by the very high degree of political awareness among the people in both urban and rural areas. They showed a lively appreciation of the issues and a keen involvement in the election process and the future destiny of their country. The overwhelming urge for peace in freedom and dignity was throughout a key factor, and with the passage of time, the Group was encouraged to see a palpable strengthening of the forces working for peace and reconciliation. This was a sentiment strongly urged by the political leadership and widely echoed by the population. The beginning made in the process of integrating the armies was its most hopeful augury.

6. In addressing itself to the question of whether the election process has been entirely free and fair, the Group believes it would be unrealistic and misleading to apply conventional yardsticks in assessing a situation which is as unique and unparalleled as that in Rhodesia. For it is impossible to ignore the deep wounds left by the war, the burden of Rhodesia's troubled history and the unprecedented character of the Lancaster House Agreement itself. While recognising deficiencies in the implementation of the Agreement, the Group has taken careful note of the fact that none of the principal political leaders it met judged these to be such as to undermine the validity of the election. The collective

experience of the Group, based on conversations with many thousands of people in all parts of the country, revealed a high level of awareness among the great majority of the electorate that their vote was and would remain secret. This assurance would have served to attenuate the effects of intimidation on the voters' freedom of choice.

7. Having regard to all these factors, as well as the use of the party list system, it is the unanimous conclusion of the Commonwealth Observer Group that the election up to the end of polling can be considered to have been free and fair to the extent that it provided an adequate and acceptable means of determining the wishes of the people in a democratic manner. This view is fortified by the high turnout, and the orderly and manifestly relaxed manner in which such a large percentage of voters went to the polls.

8. While the counting is not yet complete, it is the view of the Group that the organisational aspects of the election, including the arrangements for the polling, have on the whole been carried out efficiently and fairly in what were undoubtedly difficult circumstances. The 63-strong Group observed polling in 409 out of the 657 polling stations, and was present in all parts of the country while many hundreds of thousands cast their votes. Despite such comprehensive coverage, the number of deficiencies observed by the Group in the actual conduct of the poll was insignificant and will not affect the outcome in any material way. The Group is continuing to observe the final stages of the election process but so far has not discerned any significant anomalies which might vitiate its present conclusions.

9. A detailed and final report will be issued as soon as possible after the conclusion of the count.

Salisbury, 1 March 1980"

Ends

The Observer Group's Interim Report is a unanimous Report signed by all eleven members of the Group. Their full and final report will be issued after the electoral process has ended with the declaration of the result, and I hope will be transmitted to you by mid-March.

Commonwealth Secretariat
2 March, 1980

[RHODESIA: POLICY: ADVANCE COPIES]

PS
PS/SIR I GILMOUR
PS/MR LUCE
PS/PUS
SIR D MAITLAND
MR DAY
SIR L ALLINSON
~~MR ASPEN~~

~~PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET~~

SIR R ARMSTRONG)
MR R L WADE GERY)
MR P M MAXEY) CABINET
MR GOULTY) OFFICE
MR W N WENBAN SMITH)
DIO)

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HD/PUSD (2)

ADVANCE COPY

HD/NEWS DEPT
~~HD/WAD~~
PS/SIR I SINCLAIR
MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A
MR FIFOOT

IMMEDIATE

RESTRICTED

FROM SALISBURY 041350Z MAR 80
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 940 OF 4 MARCH 1980.

INFO IMMEDIATE LUSAKA GABORONE DAR ES SALAAM MAPUTO CAPE TOWN
PRETORIA WASHINGTON CANBERRA OTTAWA UKMIS NEW YORK PRIORITY
EC POSTS LAGOS NAIROBI.

REACTION TO THE ELECTIONS.

1. THE CENTRE OF SALISBURY HAS REMAINED CALM SINCE THE
ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE ELECTION RESULT. THERE HAVE BEEN
TROOPS ON THE STREETS AT KEY INTER-SECTIONS BUT THEY HAVE
HAD NO DISORDER TO COPE WITH. THE POLICE ARE KEEPING A LOW
PROFILE. GROUPS OF ZANU (PF) SUPPORTERS HAVE BEEN WANDERING
AROUND OR TRAVELLING UP AND DOWN IN LORRIES, AND ARE SINGING
AND CHANTING OUTSIDE ZANU(PF) HQ, BUT THEIR MOOD HAS BEEN
JUBILANT NOT HOSTILE. MANY WHITES ARE LOOKING DEPRESSED AND
APPREHENSIVE, BUT THERE IS NO SIGN OF RACIAL CLASHES BREWING.

APPREHENSIVE, BUT THERE IS NO SIGN OF RACIAL CLASHES BREWING.

2. THERE HAVE BEEN SOME REPORTS OF STONE-THROWING BY BLACKS IN AN INDUSTRIAL SUBURB TO THE WEST OF TOWN AND AN OUTLYING FARMING AREA ALSO TO THE WEST, BUT THESE SEEM TO HAVE BE ISOLATED INCIDENTS. WE HAVE BEEN GIVEN STORIES OF INCIDENTS AND MURDERS IN RURAL AREAS BUT POLICE ENQUIRIES HAVE SHOWN THEM TO BE FALSE. MANY FACTORIES HAVE CLOSED FOR THE DAY AS A PRECAUTIONARY MEASURE.

3. AT PRESENT IT LOOKS AS THOUGH THE TOWN WILL GET OVER THIS DIFFICULT DAY WITHOUT SERIOUS TROUBLE. BUT THE DANGER OF WILDER ELEMENTS, EITHER BLACK OR WHITE, GETTING OUT OF HAND WILL BE GREATER TONIGHT.

FCO PSE PASS TO ALL

SOAMES

NNNN

[RHODESIA: POLICY: ADVANCE COPIES]

IMMEDIATE

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

PS
PS/SIR I GILMOUR
PS/MR LUCE
PS/PUS
SIR D MAITLAND
MR DAY
Sir L Allison
MR ASPIN

SIR R ARMSTRONG)
MR R L WADE GERY)
MR P M MAXEY) CABINET
MR GOULTY) OFFICE
MR W N WENBAN SMITH)
DIO)

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PS/SIR I SINCLAIR

MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A

MR FIFOOT

IMMEDIATE

00 FCO DESKEY 1430Z/4

OR 208

UNCLASSIFIED

FM DAR ES SALAAM 041330Z MARCH 80

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 226 OF 4 MARCH

INFO IMMEDIATE SALISBURY

INFO PRIORITY PRETORIA, LUSAKA, LUANDA, LAGOS, MAPUTO,

ADDIS ABABA, GABORONE, WASHINGTON, UKMIS NEW YORK

RHODESIA

1. THE PRESIDENT THIS MORNING GAVE A PRESS CONFERENCE IN WHICH HE WELCOMED THE RESULT OF THE ELECTIONS AND CALLED PARTICULARLY FOR COOPERATION BETWEEN WHITES AND BLACKS IN ZIMBABWE TO WORK TOGETHER.

2. IN ANSWER TO QUESTIONS, THE PRESIDENT ADMITTED HE HAD BEEN WRONG IN HIS EARLIER BELIEF THAT THE ELECTIONS HAD NOT BEEN FREE AND FAIR ALTHOUGH HE JUSTIFIED SOME OF HIS OTHER PAST CRITICISMS OF OUR ACTIONS IN RHODESIA.

3. WHEN TOLD OF BOTHA'S APPARENT ACCEPTANCE OF THE RESULTS OF THE ELECTION, HE WELCOMED THIS. HE THEN CONTINUED TO SPEAK AT SOME LENGTH ABOUT RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA ALONG THE LINES THAT ZIMBABWE AND OTHER AFRICAN STATES WOULD NEVER ACCEPT SOUTH AFRICA'S POLICIES BUT THAT THE NEED FOR CO-EXISTENCE SHOULD BE RECOGNISED.

POLICIES BUT THAT THE NEED FOR CO-EXISTENCE SHOULD BE RECOGNISED.

4. NYERERE AT ONE POINT CONGRATULATED BOTH MUGABE AND NXOMO ON THE ELECTION RESULT BUT HE SAID NOTHING SPECIFIC ABOUT THE FORMATION OF A COALITION GOVERNMENT EMBRACING BOTH PARTIES OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT.

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SENT AT 1357Z

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Published Papers

The following published paper(s) enclosed on this file have been removed and destroyed. Copies may be found elsewhere in The National Archives.

House of Commons Hansard,

4 March 1980, columns 242 - 254

"Rhodesia (Elections)"

Signed Wayland Date 8 July 2010

PREM Records Team



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

4 March 1980

Dear Michael,

Rhodesia: Commonwealth Monitoring Force:
Message to Prime Ministers of Contributing
Countries

The non-British contingents of the Commonwealth Monitoring Force will almost all leave Rhodesia this week. The Force has done a splendid job and made a very significant contribution to the success, to date, of the Rhodesia operation. Lord Carrington therefore suggests that the Prime Minister might wish to send messages of appreciation to the Prime Ministers of contributing countries. I / enclose a draft telegram which, if the Prime Minister agrees, could be sent to the capitals concerned.

*Yours ever
Roderic Lyne*

(R M J Lyne)
Private Secretary

M O'D B Alexander Esq
10 Downing Street
London SW1

*Agreed
aw*



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

4 March 1980

Dear Michael,

Rhodesia: Commonwealth Monitoring Force:
Message to Prime Ministers of Contributing
Countries

The non-British contingents of the Commonwealth Monitoring Force will almost all leave Rhodesia this week. The Force has done a splendid job and made a very significant contribution to the success, to date, of the Rhodesia operation. Lord Carrington therefore suggests that the Prime Minister might wish to send messages of appreciation to the Prime Ministers of contributing countries. I / enclose a draft telegram which, if the Prime Minister agrees, could be sent to the capitals concerned.

*Yours ever
Roderic Lyne*

(R M J Lyne)
Private Secretary

M O'D B Alexander Esq
10 Downing Street
London SW1

*Agreed
MB*

File No.....
Department..... RHODESIA
Drafted by
(Block Capitals)..... C. D. POWELL.....
Tel. Extn..... 3466.....

OUTWARD
TELEGRAM

Security Classification
RESTRICTED
Precedence
IMMEDIATE
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 IMMEDIATE CANBERRA (precedence) (post) Tel. No. of

AND TO (precedence/post)..... IMMEDIATE WELLINGTON, NAIROBI, SUVA

AND SAVING TO.....

REPEATED TO (for info)..... IMMEDIATE SALISBURY

PRIORITY OTTAWA, WASHINGTON, UKMIS NEW YORK,
UKMIS GENEVA, MODUK.

SAVING TO (for info).....

Distribution:-

[TEXT]

Rhodesia Policy

RHODESIA: COMMONWEALTH MONITORING FORCE
MESSAGE FROM PRIME MINISTER.

1. Please pass the following message from Prime Minister
to Prime Minister.

Begins:

I should be grateful if you would convey to the men
serving in the [Australian/New Zealand/Fijian/Kenyan]
contingent of the Commonwealth Monitoring Force in Rhodesia
as they return home my warmest thanks for their outstanding
performance. Their courage, and skill played a vital part
in creating the conditions under which free and fair
elections could be held only weeks after the end of the war.
No praise is too high for the matchless way in which they

Copies to:-

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/succeeded

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succeeded in winning the confidence of all concerned.

I would also like to express to you and your colleagues my thanks for agreeing that the forces of your country should take part in this enterprise, despite the difficulties and dangers. I believe that the Commonwealth bond has been notably strengthened by this further demonstration of our ability to act together.

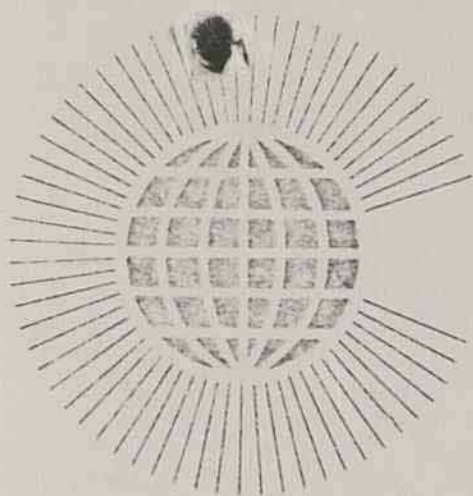
~~Yours sincerely,~~

Margaret Thatcher

Ends.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

RESTRICTED



Commonwealth Information

NEWS RELEASE
80/12

4 March 1980

COMPLETION OF THE LUSAKA PROCESS

The Commonwealth Secretary-General, Mr. Shridath Ramphal, made the following statement today:

"The Declaration of the election results in Salisbury this morning has brought us close to the end of a long night for the people of Zimbabwe. We must go forward now in completion of the Lusaka process whose end result is the independence of Zimbabwe under a Government "chosen through free and fair elections".

This is what the elections were about. Commonwealth Observers have said in their Interim Report that, despite slippages of many kinds, the elections up to and including the poll, were free and fair - "an adequate and acceptable means of determining the wishes of the people in a democratic manner." But, beyond that judgement, lies the fulfilment of the promise of Lusaka: a Government chosen through those elections and independence on that basis - a free Zimbabwe taking its place in the international community, its status and character accepted by all.

The people of Zimbabwe have now made their choice. That choice must be acknowledged, respected and fulfilled.

It is a time, therefore, for all, within Rhodesia and outside it, to ensure that the completion of the Lusaka process vindicates the path of negotiation and peace that Commonwealth leaders marked out last August and their faith in pursuing it so steadfastly.

This has been a monumental Commonwealth contribution to the future of Southern Africa and to the resolution of conflict everywhere.

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

STATEMENT ON RHODESIA ON 4 MARCH 1980

Rhodesia

With your Lordships' permission I shall make a statement on Rhodesia.

The results of the Common Roll elections held last week were announced this morning. They give Mr Mugabe's ZANU(PF) party 57 seats, Mr Nkomo's Patriotic Front party 20 seats and Bishop Muzorewa's UANC party 3 seats.

In his report to the Governor, the Election Commissioner concluded that, despite some distortion of voting as a result of intimidation in certain areas, the overall result would broadly reflect the wishes of the people.

/It has

It has been the virtually unanimous view of the British, Commonwealth and other international observers who witnessed the elections, that they were, in the circumstances, free and fair. The exceptionally high turnout provides an indication of the confidence of the Rhodesian people in the conduct of the elections and the secrecy of the vote.

The government are grateful for the efforts of all those concerned with the organisation of the elections for their unstinting work.

The need now is for national unity and reconciliation.

The Governor has seen Mr Mugabe, as leader of the party with an absolute majority of the seats in the House of Assembly, and asked him to set in train the process of forming a government which can contribute effectively to these goals.

/An important

An important step towards reconciliation and the integration of forces has already been taken with the start of joint training between units of Mr Mugabe's and Mr Nkomo's forces and of the Rhodesian army, under the supervision of British members of the Monitoring Force.

The growing confidence and contact between the two forces means that the role of the Monitoring Force is increasingly one of liaison and training and there will be a phased reduction in its size. The first members will return to the United Kingdom today.

The government would wish to record once again its thanks to all members of the force for the admirable way in which they carried out their difficult task, above all in winning the confidence of both sides.

/The people

The people of Rhodesia have now made their choice of government under conditions agreed by all the parties at Lancaster House, who committed themselves to accept the outcome of the election.

It is no less important that the other aspects of the Lancaster House Agreements reached should be faithfully observed.

The independence constitution which will shortly come into force provides safeguards for the minority community and will ensure that they can continue to play their full part in the life of the country.

Britain's task now is to assist in the orderly transfer of power to a stable government. The Governor will do all that he can to ease the transition and to help overcome whatever problems may arise in the period until Independence.



I. ELECTIONS AND FORMATION OF A GOVERNMENT

GOVERNMENT IS HANDING POWER TO MARXISTS

All British Governments for the last 15 years have supported the six principles which include the need for a settlement to be acceptable to the people as a whole. I presume that no member of the House will wish to dispute the outcome of elections in which over 90% of the electorate gave their vote and which were almost universally regarded as fair.

WHAT ABOUT THE FUTURE OF ALL THOSE WHO HAVE SPENT THEIR LIVES WORKING FOR A DECENT DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY IN RHODESIA

Can think of no more convincing demonstration of democracy than the elections just held. A much better basis has been established for a stable and peaceful future than would have been the case had the conflict continued.

SHOULD HAVE RECOGNISED MUZOREWA

Our aim has been a stable and lasting solution in Rhodesia. The results of these elections suggest that this could not have been achieved on the basis of the April 1979 election, which did not of course end the war.

MUGABE COULD NOT HAVE WON WITHOUT INTIMIDATION

The secrecy of the vote, which was generally understood, is the most effective counter to intimidation. The Election Commissioner's report makes clear that, while there was indeed intimidation in some areas, it was not so great as to invalidate the overall results of the poll. This opinion was widely shared by international observers.

/WHAT ABOUT

CEASEFIRE COMMISSION

The Ceasefire Commission will continue to function until independence, but decided unanimously last week that it would no longer discuss ceasefire violations but would concentrate on such matters as confidence-building and joint training of the Patriotic Front and Rhodesian forces. We welcome this as a further indication of the move away from armed confrontation.

AMERY

The Hon Gentleman has been consistent in his views, but they have not always been supported even by the majority of white Rhodesians. You cannot fight against realities. He will recall that General Walls said that the war could not be won by military means, and that Rhodesia's problems needed a political solution. The signs today are that people will make a sincere effort to adjust and reconcile. This is a good omen for stability in Rhodesia and in the region. Generally speaking, stability is bad for Communism.

BISHOP MUZOREWA WAS BADLY TREATED

Nothing can diminish the contribution of Bishop Muzorewa and his colleagues to bringing about majority rule and an end to the war in Zimbabwe. History sometimes teaches some hard lessons - even in this country - and it is not for us to quarrel with that. It has always been common ground in this House that the people of Zimbabwe should have the determining say in who should govern them at independence. Members will recall the leading role played by Bishop Muzorewa at the time of the Pearce Commission and subsequently in the pursuit of genuine majority rule. At long last that has come about, and I am sure the whole House will pay tribute to Bishop Muzorewa's contribution.

/INTIMIDATION

INTIMIDATION

As statements have made clear, we have been very worried about intimidation during the election, but the Election Commissioner's conclusion was that, despite some distortion of voting as a result of intimidation in some areas, the overall result would broadly reflect the wishes of the people.

Given the nature of today's result, I think it is a little far-fetched to claim that intimidation was the only reason for Mr Mugabe's victory. The secrecy of the poll was widely publicised and recognised. It is relevant that Mr Mugabe's party also did well in the three provinces of Mashonaland, in which the Election Commissioner found no serious evidence of intimidation.

BRIGHT FUTURE

The people of Zimbabwe have had their say in conditions which were as free and fair as could be devised. Hon Members who criticise must consider what the alternatives would have been.

Lord Soames has met Mr Mugabe today with a view to his forming a broadly-based government. This would have unanimous African and international support. If it can be achieved, it offers a much better prospect to Rhodesians than a renewed war. It is premature to condemn the new government. We do not know how it will be composed or what its policies will be. It is, however, noteworthy that there has been close contacts between Mr Mugabe and the Rhodesian administration in recent days. Our responsibility and the interests of our country lie in continuing to foster and develop good relations with the new government of Zimbabwe.



WHAT ABOUT FRAUD/MULTIPLE VOTING

No evidence that this had any serious effect. It has been conclusively shown that a well-known cool drink does not possess the magical powers attributed to it.

WHO WILL FORM A GOVERNMENT?

The Governor has asked Mr Mugabe to set in train the process of forming a broadly-based government. [If pressed] What Rhodesia needs is stability and reconciliation. The government should be broad enough to ensure these.

WHAT PRECAUTIONS IS THE GOVERNOR TAKING AGAINST A COUP?

Unworthy suggestion. All parties have agreed to accept the outcome of the elections. Pay tribute to role of Rhodesian Forces and police. General Walls has appealed for calm and restraint.

WHAT FUTURE FOR WHITES?

The Constitution provides fully adequate safeguards for the minority community. The future government will have to proceed in accordance with the independence constitution agreed at Lancaster House. The Whites have made an enormous contribution to their country and I believe that the conditions will exist under which they can continue to do so.

/SOUTH AFRICAN



SOUTH AFRICAN INTERFERENCE

The South African government has today issued a statement recognising that the result of the elections is a decision by the people of Rhodesia and saying that South Africa has never interfered in the affairs of its neighbours. [We have been grateful for the practical assistance given by the South African government during the elections.]

WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO WHITES WHO LEAVE? CAN THEY COME HERE?

One of the main objectives at Lancaster House was to create the conditions under which all the people of Rhodesia, whatever their race, would see a stable future for themselves in the country. [If pressed] Those who are patrial have an automatic right of entry and would, under existing legislation, be allowed to come here if they so wished. [The total is thought to be between 130-150,000.] [If pressed on the position of black Rhodesians.] The vast majority are Rhodesian citizens and do not have automatic right of entry.

WHAT ABOUT EVACUATION?

Our whole purpose is to create confidence and avoid the need for anyone to leave. After independence the United Kingdom will discharge its responsibilities for the protection of its citizens in the usual fashion.

/WHEN WILL

WHEN WILL INDEPENDENCE BE GRANTED?

No date has yet been set. Our task is now to bring about an orderly transition to a stable government. We shall do all we can to ease the transition and help overcome any difficulties. [There is no question of a scuttle.]

WHAT CONSTITUTIONAL STEPS ARE NECESSARY?

After the appointment of a Prime Minister and Government arrangements will be made for the election and appointment of members of the Senate who, with members of the House of Assembly, form a college for the election of a President.

WILL THE GOVERNOR REMAIN AFTER INDEPENDENCE?

The Governor will help with any problems in the period until independence and do all that he can to ease the transition and give Zimbabwe the best possible start to its independent life. But there would be no role for a Governor after independence.

HOW WILL THE GOVERNMENT RESPOND TO MR MUGABE'S SUGGESTION THAT THE GOVERNOR SHOULD STAY AND INDEPENDENCE BE POSTPONED?

There is no question of the government abandoning its responsibilities. The Governor will seek an orderly transition to a stable government and complete the constitutional formalities before departure. But obviously he cannot stay indefinitely.

WHAT HELP WILL YOU GIVE THE INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT?

We shall of course be ready to provide various forms of assistance after independence. These will be for discussion with the new government.

/WILL THE

WILL THE QUEEN ATTEND THE INDEPENDENCE CELEBRATIONS?

We will give thought to the question of independence celebrations once a date for independence has been set. We should look to the Governor for advice on who might attend.

MONITORING FORCE WITHDRAWAL WILL CREATE DANGEROUS VACUUM

The growing confidence and contacts between the Rhodesian and Patriotic Front forces make it possible to reduce the size of the Monitoring Force. This has been agreed with all the parties. But some British elements of the Monitoring Force will remain in Rhodesia for the time being to liaise with the Rhodesian forces and with the Patriotic Front forces at the assembly places.

WHAT ARRANGEMENTS NOW AT ASSEMBLY PLACES?

Rhodesian civilian and military presence has been established at the assembly places and a small number of British monitors remain at each of them. The Rhodesian civilian authorities have taken over from the Monitoring Force arrangements for the supply and administration of the assembled Patriotic Front forces.

WILL MONITORING FORCE STAY AFTER INDEPENDENCE?

No. Monitoring Force was constituted to observe and monitor ceasefire. It has discharged its responsibility in this role with courage and skill. We will be prepared to consider with the elected government of Zimbabwe how to help with the training of its armed forces in the post-independence period.

/CEASEFIRE

[RHODESIA: POLICY: ADVANCE COPIES]

28

IMMEDIATE

PS
PS/SIR I GILMOUR
PS/MR LUCE
PS/PUS
SIR D MAITLAND
MR DAY
SIR L ALLISON
~~MR ASPIN~~

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

SIR R ARMSTRONG)
MR R L WADE GERY)
MR P M MAXEY) CABINET
MR GOULTY) OFFICE
MR W N WENBAN SMITH)
DIO)

.....

HD/RHOD DEPT (4)

HD/C AF D

HD/S AF D

~~HD/UND~~
HD/PUSD (2)

HD/NEWS DEPT

~~HD/WAD~~

PS/SIR I SINCLAIR
MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A
MR FIFOOT

IMMEDIATE

CONFIDENTIAL

IMMEDIATE

FM SALISBURY 041215Z MAR 80

Read in full

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 935 OF 4 MARCH

INFO IMMEDIATE CAPE TOWN PRIORITY LUSAKA DAR ES SALAAM GABORONE
MAPUTO LAGOS WASHINGTON UKMIS NEW YORK

MY TELNO 932 (NOT TO ALL): RHODESIA: FORMATION OF THE GOVERNMENT

1. WALLS ASKED FOR A PERSONAL TALK WITH RENWICK THIS MORNING.

HE WAS LATER JOINED BY MCLAREN.

2. WALLS' MAIN CONCERN WAS THAT THE ELECTION RESULT WOULD CREATE
A CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE FOR THE WHITE COMMUNITY AND THE LARGE NUMBER
OF AFRICANS WHO, WHETHER IN THE SECURITY FORCES OR IN OTHER
CAPACITIES, HAD BEEN WORKING FOR THE PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT. HE WAS
UNDER PRESSURE FROM SOME ELEMENTS OF THE ARMED FORCES AND OF THE
RHODESIA FRONT TO TAKE SOME ACTION TO PREVENT A MUGABE-LED GOVERN-
MENT BEING INSTALLED. HE HAD REJECTED THIS, BUT HE NEEDED TO
KNOW OUR INTENTIONS IN TERMS OF TRYING TO GET MUGABE TO FORM A
BROADLY BASED GOVERNMENT; AND ABOVE ALL A WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER
PROLONGING OUR ROLE HERE FOR SUFFICIENT TIME TO ALLOW THE NEW
GOVERNMENT TO ESTABLISH ITSELF AND THE NECESSARY ADJUSTMENTS TO
BE MADE. THE PRESENT POSITION WAS THAT A GOOD MANY WHITES IN THE

BE MADE. THE PRESENT POSITION WAS THAT A GOOD MANY WHITES IN THE ARMED FORCES WERE THINKING OF LEAVING FORTHWITH. HIS INTENTION WAS TO SOLDIER ON WITH THE OTHER COMMANDERS FOR UP TO SIX MONTHS. THEREAFTER THEY WOULD LEAVE. THIS WOULD ALLOW TIME FOR MEMBERS OF THE WHITE COMMUNITY EITHER TO LEAVE RHODESIA IN AN ORDERLY FASHION AND NOT IN A PANIC; OR TO TAKE THEIR OWN DECISIONS TO STAY ON HERE. HE HAD NO DESIRE TO GO BACK OVER THE WAY THINGS HAD TURNED OUT. BUT HE FELT THAT WE HAD A RESPONSIBILITY TO HELP TO ENSURE AN ORDERLY TRANSITION; TO REDUCE THE DANGER OF CONFLICT BREAKING OUT AGAIN IN THE COUNTRY; AND THAT THE INEVITABLE WHITE EXODUS WAS AS ORDERLY AS POSSIBLE.

3. RENWICK SAID THAT SO FAR AS THE FORMATION OF THE GOVERNMENT WAS CONCERNED, WE WOULD BE HOPING TO EXERT OUR INFLUENCE TO ENSURE THAT NKOMO OCCUPIED A SENIOR POSITION IN THE GOVERNMENT; AND THAT IT WAS AS BROADLY BASED AS POSSIBLE. WALLS THOUGHT THAT IT WOULD BE ENORMOUSLY HELPFUL IF MUGABE COULD BE BROUGHT TO MAKE AN OFFER TO A SENIOR WHITE POLITICIAN, E G DAVID SMITH, BUT REALISED THAT THIS MIGHT NOT BE ATAINABLE. RENWICK SAID THAT WE WERE IMPRESSING ON MUGABE THE NEED FOR HIM TO ASK WALLS TO TAKE CHARGE OF THE PROCESS OF INTEGRATION OF THE FORCES.

4. WALLS AND MCLAREN BOTH ARGUED STRONGLY THAT WHAT WAS REQUIRED TO ENSURE AN ORDERLY TRANSFER OF POWER WAS A PROLONGATION OF OUR DIRECT RESPONSIBILITY FOR UP TO THREE MONTHS. RENWICK SAID THAT THIS WOULD NOT MAKE SENSE. ONCE A GOVERNMENT WAS INSTALLED, THERE WOULD BE NO USE IN HAVING A GOVERNOR AS A FIGUREHEAD, WITH NO REAL AUTHORITY. WE COULD NOT PRESERVE A CONSTITUTIONAL LINK ONCE THE NORMAL PROCESS LEADING TO INDEPENDENCE HAD BEEN COMPLETED. WALLS SAID THAT IF WE SIMPLY COMPLETED THE CONSTITUTIONAL PROCEDURES RAPIDLY AND THEN LEFT, THIS COULD LEAD TO PANIC AND CHAOS.

5. RENWICK SAID THAT WE HAD NO INTENTION OF RUSHING THROUGH THE CONSTITUTIONAL PROCESSES. WALLS AND MCLAREN SAID THAT THEY BELIEVED THAT IT WOULD BE OF GREAT HELP TO THEM AND PROBABLY ALSO TO MUGABE FOR THIS PROCESS TO TAKE A MONTH AT ANY RATE (AS IT HAD LAST TIME). THEY REMAINED VERY CONCERNED ABOUT THE POSITION THEREAFTER UNLESS WE WERE CLEARLY MAKING DISPOSITIONS TO PLAY SOME SORT OF CONTINUING ROLE

WE WERE CLEARLY MAKING DISPOSITIONS TO PLAY SOME SORT OF CONTINUING ROLE.

6. RENWICK SAID THAT SUCH A ROLE COULD NOT BE A CONSTITUTIONAL ONE. WHAT MIGHT, HOWEVER, BE POSSIBLE WOULD BE FOR US TO SEEK TO ASSIST IN THE TWO OR THREE MONTHS IMMEDIATELY AFTER INDEPENDENCE WITH A MILITARY TRAINING TEAM; AND POSSIBLY ALSO WITH SMALL TEAMS OF POLICE EXPERTS AND PERSONS WHO COULD HELP WITH THE PROCESS OF ADJUSTMENT AS BETWEEN THE INCOMING GOVERNMENT AND THE EXISTING CIVIL SERVICE. WALLS THOUGHT THAT THIS WOULD BE ENORMOUSLY HELPFUL, PARTICULARLY IF FOR THIS LIMITED PERIOD WE COULD CONSIDER APPOINTING A SENIOR FIGURE WHO COULD OVERSEE THE ACTIVITIES OF THESE TEAMS; ADVISE MUGABE IN THE CRUCIAL EARLY DAYS OF HIS GOVERNMENT; AND GENERALLY HELP TO ENSURE A PEACEFUL TRANSITION. RENWICK UNDERTOOK TO REPORT THESE IDEAS TO YOU.

7. WALLS' PERSONAL DISTRESS CAN EASILY BE IMAGINED. RENWICK POINTED OUT THAT IT HAD BEEN OUR ASSESSMENT IN AUGUST, BEFORE THE NEGOTIATIONS BEGAN, THAT THE WAR WAS SIMPLY NOT WINNABLE FROM THE RHODESIAN POINT OF VIEW. THE PATRIOTIC FRONT COULD NOT DEFEAT THE RHODESIAN ARMED FORCES; BUT WITHIN A YEAR OR TWO AT MOST THEY WOULD HAVE WORN DOWN THE WHITE COMMUNITY GENERALLY SUFFICIENTLY TO PROVOKE SOME KIND OF COLLAPSE. NOR WAS IT POSSIBLE TO EXPLAIN THE EXTENT OF MUGABE'S ELECTORAL VICTORY BY INTIMIDATION. THE FACT WAS THAT VIRTUALLY THE ENTIRE SHONA-SPEAKING POPULATION HAD VOTED FOR MUGABE. ANY ATTEMPT TO SEEK TO FRUSTRATE THE RESULT BY MILITARY ACTION WOULD BE DISASTROUS. WALLS SAID THAT HE ACCEPTED THIS, THOUGH SOME ELEMENTS OF THE ARMY DID NOT. HE NEEDED HELP FROM US IN TERMS OF (A) A GRADUAL APPROACH TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL PROCESSES LEADING TO INDEPENDENCE (B) A CONTINUING TRAINING ROLE, SUPERVISED BY A SENIOR FIGURE WHO WOULD OFFER SOME FURTHER REASSURANCE THEREAFTER. HE BELIEVED THAT MUGABE WOULD TAKE VERY MUCH THE SAME VIEW.

FCO PASS ALL

SOAMES



10 DOWNING STREET

Sitrep at 20.30 ; Probable result:

ZANU(PF) : 57

P.F. : 20

UANC : 3.

Paul

4.3.80

Paul

UNCLASSIFIED

TO THE RT HON MARGARET THATCHER MP PRIME MINISTER OF BRITAIN

FR COMSEC

TEL NO 18 OF 4 MARCH

THE ELECTION RESULTS ANNOUNCED TODAY IN SALISBURY BRING US CLOSER TO THE COMPLETION OF THE LUSAKA PROCESS, NAMELY, INDEPENDENCE FOR ZIMBABWE ON THE BASIS OF MAJORITY RULE. IN MY MESSAGE TO ROBERT MUGABE, I HAVE ASSURED HIM OF THE WELCOME THAT AWAITS ZIMBABWE IN THE FRATERNITY OF THE COMMONWEALTH. I BELIEVE YOU CAN FEEL ASSURED THAT THE ACCORD OF LUSAKA HAS MADE A MONUMENTAL CONTRIBUTION TO THE FUTURE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA AND GIVEN NEW HOPE FOR THE PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF CONFLICT EVERYWHERE

WITH GREAT RESPECT,

SONNY RAMPHAL

COMSECGEN

FILES

R HOD D

CED

PS

PS/LPS

PS/ MR LUCE

PS/ MR BLAKER

PS/PUS

SIR D MAITLAND

MR STRATTON

MR DAY

[COPIES SENT TO
NO 10 DOWNING ST.]

T



File B

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

4 March 1980

I enclose the text of a further (and conceivably final) message from President Tolbert about Rhodesia. We have received this through the Post Office as well as from Mr. Dennis but I do not recall having seen it in an FCO telegram.

You may think that, as in one or two recent cases, the Prime Minister's response to President Tolbert might be conveyed orally by Mr. Doubleday in Monrovia.

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDE

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

ae



PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T47/80

SUBJECT

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

TEL. 01-509 9405
01-509 2264

413-3a-01-'80

4th March, 1980

Madam 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:-

"THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MARGARET THATCHER
PRIME MINISTER OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN
AND NORTHERN IRELAND
10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON.

MADAM PRIME MINISTER COLON THE RESULTS OF THE ELECTIONS IN RHODESIA HAVING NOW BEEN ANNOUNCED CMA WE WISH TO COMMEND YOU AND YOUR GOVERNMENT FOR THE ACHIEVEMENTS THUS FAR ATTAINED IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE LANCASTER HOUSE AGREEMENT STOP WE REMAIN HOPEFUL THAT AS RHODESIA NOW STANDS AT THE THRESHOLD OF INDEPENDENCE CMA YOUR GOVERNMENT WILL DO ALL IN ITS POWER TO ENSURE THAT THE FINAL PHASE OF TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE IS SMOOTH AND THAT THE ASPIRATIONS OF THE PEOPLE OF RHODESIA AS EXPRESSED IN THE RESULTS OF THE ELECTIONS WILL BE FULLY RESPECTED STOP IT IS OUR PRAYERFUL WISH THAT WITH THE EMERGENCE OF A LEGALLY CONSTITUTED GOVERNMENT TRULY REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PEOPLE OF RHODESIA CMA FREEDOM CMA JUSTICE CMA EQUALITY AND PEACE WILL AT LONG LAST BE THE LEGACY OF ALL OF THE PEOPLE OF THAT TERRITORY STOP PLEASE ACCEPT CMA MADAM PRIME MINISTER CMA RENEWED ASSURANCES OF MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATION AND ESTEEM SINCERELY

W.R. TOLBERT JR,
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA AND
CURRENT CHAIRMAN OF THE OAU"

Please accept, Madam Prime Minister, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.


Francis A. Dennis
AMBASSADOR

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

4 MAR 1950

EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA
21 BRIDGE STREET
LONDON W1



TO: THE SECRETARY
GENERAL OF THE
UNITED NATIONS



I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 28th instant, in which you refer to the report of the Commission on the Situation of the Republic of Liberia, dated 1949, and to the fact that the Commission has not yet received the necessary information to enable it to complete its report.

The Government of Liberia is deeply concerned by the situation in your country and is ready to cooperate in any way possible to assist the Commission in its work.

The Government of Liberia is ready to provide the Commission with all the information it may require, and to facilitate its work in any way possible. It is also ready to receive the Commission's report and to take the necessary steps to implement its recommendations.

Very truly yours,
The President of the Republic of Liberia

Enclosed for the Secretary-General are two copies of the report of the Commission on the Situation of the Republic of Liberia, dated 1949.

Enclosed for the Secretary-General are two copies of the report of the Commission on the Situation of the Republic of Liberia, dated 1949.

The Secretary-General is requested to forward the report of the Commission on the Situation of the Republic of Liberia, dated 1949, to the Commission on the Situation of the Republic of Liberia, and to inform the Commission of the receipt of the report.

RESTRICTED

CP 05014		
- 6 MAR 1980		
INDEX	DESK OFFICE	SECRETARY
	TO	Action taken

GRS 134

RESTRICTED

FM FCO 031730Z MAR 80
TO FLASH SALISBURY
TELEGRAM NUMBER 674 OF 3 MARCH

REPLY TO WALLS

1. THE PRIME MINISTER HAS ENDORSED THE INSTRUCTIONS SENT PROVISIONALLY TO YOU EARLIER TODAY, SUBJECT TO THE FOLLOWING AMENDMENTS:

- (A) PARAGRAPH 3: FIRST SENTENCE: INSERT IN PARENTHESIS AT THE END 'THE PRIME MINISTER ASSUMES YOU WILL NOT WISH SIR A DUFF TO LABOUR THIS POINT, WHICH IS SELF-EVIDENT'.
- (B) PARAGRAPH 4 TO READ AS FOLLOWS: 'YOU SHOULD TELL WALLS THAT, IN THE LIGHT OF THE REPORTS FROM OUR OWN SUPERVISORS AND OBSERVERS, THE PRIME MINISTER DOES NOT CONSIDER THAT THERE ARE ANY GROUNDS ON WHICH THE ELECTION COULD BE DECLARED NULL AND VOID. THE TASK NOW IS GOVERNMENT.'
- (C) PARAGRAPH 5: FIFTH SENTENCE: STOP AT 'ELECTION RESULTS' AND OMIT FROM 'AND WILL BE IN TOUCH' TO 'BE ACHIEVED'.

CARRINGTON

DISTRIBUTION

FILES	HD RHODESIA D
PS	PS/LPS
PS/MR LUCE	PS/PUS
MR DAY	

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RESTRICTED

SECRET

59

CP 050/4		
19785 - 0 MAR 1980		

GRS 630

SECRET

DESKBY 031530Z

FM FCO 031400Z

TO IMMEDIATE SALISBURY

TELEGRAM NUMBER 668 OF 3 MARCH

128 MIPT : RHODESIA: MESSAGE FROM GENERAL WALLS

1. THE PRIME MINISTER DOES NOT INTEND TO REPLY TO WALLS' MESSAGE IN WRITING, BUT WOULD BE GRATEFUL IF YOU OR SIR A DUFF COULD SPEAK TO WALLS ON THE FOLLOWING LINES, MAKING CLEAR THAT YOU ARE DOING SO ON HER PERSONAL INSTRUCTIONS. (IN THE LIGHT OF SOME OF THE COMMENTS IN WALLS' MESSAGE, YOU MAY PREFER TO ASK SIR A DUFF TO DO SO).
2. THE PRIME MINISTER WAS GLAD THAT WALLS FELT ABLE TO GET IN TOUCH WITH HER PERSONALLY TO EXPLAIN HIS CONCERNS. SHE FULLY UNDERSTANDS WHAT A DIFFICULT TIME THIS IS AND IN PARTICULAR THE UNCERTAINTY AND TENSION WHICH INEVITABLY EXISTS BETWEEN THE ELECTIONS AND THE DECLARATION OF RESULTS. SHE HAS GREATLY ADMIRERD THE LEAD TAKEN BY WALLS IN BRINGING TOGETHER THE FORCES OF THE TWO SIDES AND IN ENCOURAGING CO-OPERATION BETWEEN NKOMO, MUZOREWA AND THE WHITES, AND THESE EFFORTS HAVE HER FULL SUPPORT. THE PROSPECTS FOR A PEACEFUL AND STABLE OUTCOME WILL DEPEND UPON OTHERS BEING WILLING TO SHOW THE SAME SPIRIT OF RECONCILIATION. THE PRIME MINISTER IS VERY GRATEFUL TO WALLS FOR HIS OUTSTANDING CONTRIBUTION, AND HOPES THAT HE WILL CONTINUE TO DO HIS BEST TO KEEP ALL THE PARTIES CALM DURING THE DIFFICULT PERIOD AHEAD.
3. IT SHOULD BE MADE CLEAR TO WALLS THAT THE PRIME MINISTER REGARDS HIS CRITICISMS OF YOU AS ENTIRELY UNJUSTIFIED. THE RSF HAVE BEEN DEPLOYED FULLY THROUGHOUT THE INTERIM PERIOD AND IN A WAY WHICH HAS ENABLED THEM TO MAINTAIN FULL CONTROL OVER THE MILITARY SITUATION. NO ATTEMPT HAS BEEN MADE TO INTERFERE WITH THE NJOC'S MILITARY JUDGMENT. THE ADMISSION OF OBSERVERS TO THE ELECTIONS WAS AGREED AT LANCASTER HOUSE. IT IS ALSO

/VITAL TO

SECRET

VITAL TO SECURING INTERNATIONAL ACCEPTANCE FOR RHODESIA.

4. YOU SHOULD LEAVE WALLS IN NO DOUBT THAT, IN THE LIGHT OF THE REPORTS FROM OUR OWN SUPERVISORS AND OBSERVERS AS WELL AS INTERNATIONAL GROUPS, THE PRIME MINISTER DOES NOT SHARE HIS VIEW THAT MASSIVE INTIMIDATION HAS FRUSTRATED THE FREE CHOICE OF THE PEOPLE (ALTHOUGH SHE REALISES THAT THERE HAS BEEN SOME INTIMIDATION). THERE ARE NO GROUNDS, IN THE PRIME MINISTER'S VIEW, ON WHICH THE ELECTION COULD BE DECLARED NULL AND VOID. THE TASK NOW IS TO MAKE THE BEST OF THE OUTCOME TO ENSURE A STABLE GOVERNMENT.

5. THE COMPOSITION OF THE FUTURE GOVERNMENT MUST, IN THE PRIME MINISTER'S VIEW, REFLECT THE NEED FOR UNITY AND RECONCILIATION. IT REMAINS HER OBJECTIVE, AS EXPLAINED TO WALLS DURING LANCASTER HOUSE, TO SEE RHODESIA BROUGHT TO INDEPENDENCE WITH AS STABLE AND MODERATE A GOVERNMENT AS POSSIBLE WHICH FAIRLY REFLECTS THE WISHES OF THE PEOPLE. THE PRIME MINISTER HAS HEARD WITH INTEREST AND APPROVAL OF THE DISCUSSIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN TAKING PLACE BETWEEN BISHOP MUZOREWA, MR NKOMO AND THE RHODESIAN FRONT, WITH THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF THE NJOC, AND HOPES THAT THESE CAN ESTABLISH THE FOUNDATIONS FOR SUCCESSFUL COLLABORATION IN THE POST-ELECTION PERIOD. DEPENDING ON THE ELECTION RESULTS, IT MAY ALSO BE NECESSARY TO ACCOMMODATE OTHER PARTIES WHO ARE EQUALLY PREPARED TO COMMIT THEMSELVES TO THE GOALS OF UNITY AND RECONCILIATION. THE PRIME MINISTER HAS ASKED THE GOVERNOR TO KEEP HER CLOSELY INFORMED OF HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH THE POLITICAL LEADERS FOLLOWING THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE ELECTION RESULTS AND WILL BE IN TOUCH FURTHER WITH WALLS TO CONSIDER HOW OUR COMMON OBJECTIVE OF A STABLE FUTURE FOR RHODESIA CAN BEST BE ACHIEVED. WE INTEND TO ASSIST IN ANY WAY WE CAN WITH THE PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN THE TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE. IN THE MEANTIME THE PRIME MINISTER URGES WALLS, IN THE STRONGEST TERMS, TO COUNSEL HIS COLLEAGUES TO SHOW CALM AND RESTRAINT: IT IS ONLY ON THAT BASIS THAT WE CAN WORK SUCCESSFULLY TOGETHER FOR A GOVERNMENT WITH BROAD SUPPORT UNDER WHICH ALL THE PEOPLE OF RHODESIA WILL CONTINUE TO FEEL SECURE IN THEIR FUTURE.

CARRINGTON

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DESKBY 031530Z
 FM FCO 031430Z FEB 80
 TO IMMEDIATE SALISEURY
 TELEGRAM NUMBER 667 OF 3 MARCH

(126)

YOUR TEL NO 914: REPLY TO WALLS

1. MIFT CONTAINS THE TEXT OF INSTRUCTIONS ON A REPLY TO
 GENERAL WALLS WHICH HAVE BEEN SUBMITTED TO NO 10 FOR APPROVAL.
 WE SHALL INFORM YOU BY TELEPHONE OR FLASH TELEGRAM AS SOON AS
 THE PRIME MINISTER HAS ENDORSED THESE INSTRUCTIONS. THEY
 ARE BEING SENT TO YOU NOW TO PREVENT DELAYS IN TRANSMISSION LATER.

CARRINGTON

DISTRIBUTION

FILES RHODESIA D
 PS PS/PUS
 MR DAY

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[RHODESIA: POLICY: ADVANCE COPIES]

30.

PS
PS/SIR I GILMOUR
PS/MR LUCE
PS/PUS
SIR D MAITLAND
MR DAY
SIR L ALLINSON
~~MR ASPIN~~

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

5.

SIR R ARMSTRONG)
MR R L WADE GERY)
MR P M MAXEY) CABINET
MR GOULTY) OFFICE
~~MR W N WENBAN SMITH~~)
~~DIO~~)

.....

HD/RHOD DEPT (4)

HD/C AF D

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HD/FUSD (2)

HD/NEWS DEPT

HD/WAD

PS/SIR I SINCLAIR

MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A

MR FIFOOT

RESIDENT CLERK

GRS 500A

SECRET

DESK BY FCO 040700Z MAR 80

DESK BY SALISBURY 040500Z MAR 80

FM CAPETOWN 031045Z MAR 80

TO IMMEDIATE F C O

TEL NO 180 OF 3 MARCH

INFO IMMEDIATE SALISBURY

SALISBURY TEL NO 926 TO FCO

RHODESIA ELECTION

I HAVE SPOKEN TO PIK BOTHA THREE TIMES ON THE TELEPHONE THIS EVENING, TWICE WHEN HE WAS WITH THE PRIME MINISTER, AND HAVE GIVEN HIM A PREVIEW OF THE LIKELY RESULT. HE WAS AT FIRST PREDICTABLY EXCITABLE, CLAIMING THAT THERE MUST HAVE BEEN CHEATING OVER THE BALLOT BOXES, WE OUGHT TO CALL ANOTHER ELECTION, AND THIS KIND OF RESULT WAS BOUND TO PROVOKE 'A COUP'. BUT ON THE LAST OCCASION WHEN I WAS ABLE TO TALK TO HIM AT GREATER LENGTH AND HE WAS ALONE, HE WAS MORE PHILOSOPHICAL ABOUT IT. AFTER SAYING THAT THE RESULT SHOWED HOW THE WEST WAS LOSING OUT EVERYWHERE TO THE RUSSIANS AND THAT THERE WERE ROUGH TIMES AHEAD,

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WHERE TO THE RUSSIANS AND THAT THERE WERE ROUGH TIMES AHEAD, HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT HE HAD LEARNED IN LIFE THAT ONE DOES NOT ALWAYS UNDERSTAND A GIVEN SITUATION IMMEDIATELY AND THAT AFTER A LAPSE OF TIME IT LOOKS DIFFERENT. "IN A HUNDRED YEARS TIME NO ONE WILL REMEMBER IT". I ENCOURAGED HIM IN THIS LINE OF THOUGHT BY SAYING THAT IT WAS A NEW SITUATION WHICH NONE OF US HAD CONTEMPLATED AND THAT WE WOULD NEED TO THINK TOGETHER CAREFULLY ABOUT HOW TO REACT TO IT. HE SAID THAT HE HAD WARNED ME LAST OCTOBER THAT THE PROCRASTINATIONS AT THE LANCASTER HOUSE CONFERENCE MIGHT LEAD TO THIS. I SAID THAT THIS REMARK MIGHT HAVE BEEN JUSTIFIED HAD MUZOREWA LOST BY A NARROWER GAP BUT THIS COULD NOT POSSIBLY EXPLAIN SUCH A SWEEPING VICTORY, ANY MORE THAN SUGGESTIONS OF CHEATING IN THE ELECTIONS COULD. WE ALL HAD TO FACE UP TO A NEW SITUATION, HE DID NOT DISPUTE THIS.

2. PIK SAID THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO MAKE A SUGGESTION. WOULD IT BE POSSIBLE FOR US TO GIVE THE S.A.G. OUR ASSESSMENT OF THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE RESULT AND PERHAPS CONSULT THEM BEFORE MUGABE WAS ACTUALLY ASKED TO FORM A GOVERNMENT? IT WOULD MAKE A GREAT DIFFERENCE TO THE PRIME MINISTER IF WE COULD DO THIS. HE SAID IT IN SUCH A WAY AS TO SUGGEST THAT IN ASKING THIS HE WAS HOPING AGAINST HOPE, BUT I SAID I WOULD PASS ON HIS REQUEST.

3. I HAVE SINCE TALKED TO SIR A. DUFF ON THE TELEPHONE AND HAVE GATHERED FROM HIM THAT IF POSSIBLE THE GOVERNOR WILL TRY TO AVOID A SITUATION ARISING TOMORROW MORNING WHERE MUGABE IS ACTUALLY ASKED TO FORM A GOVERNMENT, THOUGH MUGABE HIMSELF MAY NOT GO ALONG WITH SUGGESTIONS THAT HE SHOULD WAIT TO SEE WHETHER HE CAN BROADEN THE BASE OF HIS ADMINISTRATION. I CAN ONLY SAY THAT THE MORE WE CAN SPIN THINGS OUT IN SALISBURY THE MORE LIKELY IT IS THAT WE CAN PERSUADE THE S.A.G. TO REACT SENSIBLY.

4. I HAVE KEPT LAURENS VAN DER POST FULLY INFORMED OF DEVELOPMENTS AND HE IS DOING HIS BEST THROUGH KOORNHOF TO COUNSEL MODERATION.

5. DUFF MENTIONED INSTRUCTIONS TO ME IN FCO TEL NO 119, BUT I HAVE NOT YET RECEIVED THIS.

LEAHY

NNNN

PS
PS/SIR I GILMOUR
PS/MR LUCE
PS/PUS
SIR D MATTLAND
MR DAY
SIR L ALLINSON
~~MR ASPEN~~

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET **4**
SIR R ARMSTRONG)
MR R L WADE GERY)
MR P M MAXEY) CABINET
MR GOULTY) OFFICE
MR W N WENBAN SMITH)
DIO)

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HD/RHOD DEPT (4)

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HD/NEWS DEPT
HD/WAD
PS/SIR I SINCLAIR
MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A
MR FIFOOE

RESIDENT CLERK

SECRET

FM SALISBURY 032300Z MAR 80

TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 931 OF 3 MARCH 1980
INFO IMMEDIATE CAPE TOWN (PERSONAL FOR AMBASSADOR)

*Read in full
(though slightly
overlain by events)*

RHODESIA: FORMATION OF THE GOVERNMENT

1. DUFF AND RENWICK SAW THE NJOC AT THEIR REQUEST THIS MORNING. THEY STATED THEIR WISH TO RECORD FORMALLY THAT THEY DID NOT REGARD THE ELECTION RESULTS AS FREE AND FAIR. GENERAL WALLS SAID THAT HIS FUTURE ATTITUDE WOULD DEPEND ON THE RESPONSE TO HIS MESSAGE TO THE PRIME MINISTER.
2. DUFF MADE CLEAR THAT WHILE THE ELECTION COMMISSIONER'S REPORT WOULD ACKNOWLEDGE THAT THE RESULTS HAD BEEN DISTORTED BY INTIMIDATION IN SOME AREAS IT WOULD CONCLUDE THAT THE OVERALL RESULT WOULD BROADLY REFLECT THE WISHES OF THE PEOPLE OF RHODESIA. THE NJOC EXPRESSED THEIR RESERVATIONS ABOUT THIS AND THEIR CONCERN THAT IF MUGABE WON OVER FIFTY SEATS THERE COULD BE A PERIOD OF CHAOS AND MASS EXODUS OF THE WHITES. THEY SOUGHT TO OPEN UP THE POSSIBILITY

AND MASS EXODUS OF THE WHITES. THEY SOUGHT TO OPEN UP THE POSSIBILITY OF OUR CONTINUING TO PLAY A ROLE AND OF INDEPENDENCE BEING DEFERRED.

3. BEFORE A FURTHER MEETING WITH THE NJOC THIS EVENING, DUFF WALLS OF THE TERMS OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S REPLY TO HIS MESSAGE (YOUR TELEGRAMS 668 AND 674). WALLS EXPRESSED DISAPPOINTMENT THAT THERE WAS NO QUESTION OF INVALIDATING THE ELECTION RESULTS (THOUGH HE CANNOT SERIOUSLY HAVE HOPED FOR THIS) AND AT THE RESPONSE TO HIS SUGGESTION THAT THERE SHOULD BE SOME CONTINUING BRITISH ROLE.

4. AT A FURTHER MEETING WITH THE NJOC, WALLS RECORDED A FORMAL PROTEST THAT THE ELECTION RESULT WAS BEING ACCEPTED. HE ALSO SAID THE NJOC WISHES TO RECORD THEIR CONCERN THAT, ON THEIR ADVICE, THE MUZOREWA GOVERNMENT HAD BEEN PERSUADED TO GO ALONG WITH THE AGREEMENT AT LANCASTER HOUSE, WHICH HAD NOT SUBSEQUENTLY BEEN HONOURED BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT. THERE HAD BEEN EXTENSIVE INTIMIDATION BEFORE AND DURING THE ELECTIONS, ABOUT WHICH A MASS OF EVIDENCE HAD BEEN PROVIDED. OTHER MEMBERS OF THE NJOC EXPRESSED THEIR REGRET THAT THEY HAD EMBARKED ON THE COURSE WHICH HAD LED TO THIS RESULT, THOUGH SOME HAD THE GRACE TO ADMIT THAT THEY COULD NOT HAVE WON THE WAR IN ANY EVENT.

THE MAIN ARGUMENT DEPLOYED WAS THAT, GIVEN THIS RESULT, THERE WOULD BE A MASSIVE EXODUS OF THE WHITE COMMUNITY UNLESS IMMEDIATE ACTION WAS TAKEN TO STABILISE THE SITUATION. RESIGNATIONS FROM THE PUBLIC SERVICE WERE ALREADY BEING RECEIVED AND WERE TO BE EXPECTED FROM THE DEFENCE FORCES AND THE POLICE. IT WAS ARGUED VERY STRONGLY THAT WE COULD NOT SIMPLY WALK AWAY FROM THE OUTCOME. WALLS ALSO EXPRESSED HIS CONCERN ABOUT THE WITHDRAWAL OF SOUTH AFRICAN EQUIPMENT IF THE NJOC WERE TO RESIGN THEMSELVES TO THE RESULT (THOUGH THEY MAY NOW HAVE LITTLE OPTION BUT TO DO THIS) IT WOULD BE ESSENTIAL FOR THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO HELP MITIGATE THE EFFECTS OF THE TRANSITION. THIS COULD ONLY BE DONE IF WE WERE PREPARED TO CONTINUE TO PLAY A ROLE FOR SOME TIME WHICH WOULD OFFER THE POSSIBILITY FOR THOSE WHO WISHED TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY OF BEING ABLE TO DO SO IN AN ORDERLY MANNER; REASSURANCE TO THE AFRICAN POPULATION, INCLUDING AFRICAN MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY FORCES; AND PROVIDE A

50 IN AN ORDERLY MANNER; REASSURANCE TO THE AFRICAN POPULATION, INCLUDING AFRICAN MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY FORCES; AND PROVIDE A PRESENCE DURING THE PROCESS OF THE INTERGRATION OF THE ARMED FORCES. THERE WERE FURTHER STRONG PLEAS FOR ASSISTANCE WITH THE PENSIONS OF PUBLIC SERVANTS OR AT LEAST ACTION TO ENCOURAGE THEM TO STAY. THE SENIOR ECHELONS OF THE PUBLIC SERVICE WERE LIABLE TO MELT AWAY UNLESS SOME SUCH ACTION WAS TAKEN.

5. DUFF GAVE THE NJOC NO ENCOURAGEMENT THAT WE WOULD BE ABLE TO HELP OVER PENSIONS. HE SAID THAT WE WOULD BE DOING EVERYTHING WE COULD TO ACHIEVE AS BROADLY BASED A GOVERNMENT AS POSSIBLE AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF THE ELECTION RESULT. WE HAD MADE CLEAR THAT WE WERE READY TO HELP IN WHATEVER WAY WE COULD WITH THE TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE. THE MANNER IN WHICH WE DID SO WOULD DEPEND IN PART ON OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH THE INCOMING GOVERNMENT.

6. NKOMO SUBSEQUENTLY TELEPHONED ABOUT THE RESULTS. HE WAS SEVERELY SHAKEN BY THE FACT THAT MUGABE HAD GOT OVER FIFTY-FIVE SEATS AND THAT THE TWENTY SEATS HE LOOKS LIKELY TO WIN CORRESPOND PRECISELY TO THE EXTENT OF NDEBELE SUPPORT. HE SAID THAT THERE WOULD BE A STRONG REACTION IN MATABELELAND AND THAT THE SITUATION WAS HOPELESS. HE DID NOT SEE HOW HE COULD REMAIN IN THE COUNTRY (HE HAD PREVIOUSLY TOLD MUZOREWA THAT HE DID NOT BELIEVE THAT HE COULD LIVE IN SAFETY HERE IF MUGABE WAS PRIME MINISTER). WE SHALL BE DOING ALL WE CAN TOMORROW TO ENCOURAGE HIM TOWARDS A PROMINENT PLACE IN THE GOVERNMENT. I HAVE ASKED MUGABE TO CALL AT 1000 AND NKOMO AT 1200.

7. THE NJOC HAVE TODAY BEHAVED WITH SOME DIGNITY , DESPITE THEIR MANIFEST BITTERNESS AT THE DISASTER THAT HAS HIT THEM (''THE ENEMY IS ABOUT TO BECOME OUR GOVERNMENT''). DESPITE ONE OR TWO REFERENCES TO THE POSSIBILITY OF UNCONSTITUTIONAL ACTION, WE JUDGE THAT THE COMMANDERS ARE NOW GENUINELY CONVINCED OF THE MADNESS OF ANY SUCH COURSE AND WILL DO THEIR BEST TO KEEP THEIR SUBORDINATES IN CHECK. WALLS HAD A MEETING OF ALL JOC COMMANDERS YESTERDAY, AT WHICH AFTER MUCH WILD TALK THEY ALL AGREED ON THIS. HE TOOK THE NJOC TO SEE MUGABE THIS AFTERNOON TO EXCHANGE MUTUAL REASSURANCES; AND WENT ON TELEVISION HIMSELF TONIGHT TO GIVE A GENERALLY HELPFUL

AND WENT ON TELEVISION HIMSELF TONIGHT TO GIVE A GENERALLY HELPFUL STATEMENT ABOUT THE NEED FOR CALM, RECONCILIATION AND SO ON. 8. AT THE END OF THE DISCUSSION WALLS MADE IT CLEAR THAT THE NJOC ARE EXPECTING A SUBSTANTIVE ANSWER ABOUT THE ROLE WE ARE PREPARED TO PLAY THERE IS NO DOUBT ABOUT THE SEVERITY OF THE SHOCK WHICH WILL BE FELT TOMORROW BY THE WHITE COMMUNITY GENERALLY, BY THE SECURITY FORCES AND BY NKOMO'S SUPPORTERS. I SHALL BE SENDING SEPARATELY SOME THOUGHTS OF WAYS IN WHICH WE MIGHT EASE THE TRANSITION TOWARDS INDEPENDENCE, THOUGH IN DOING SO WE MUST NOT SADDLE OURSELVES WITH AN OPEN-ENDED OR PROTRACTED COMMITMENT. OUR MAIN TASKS OVER THE NEXT FEW DAYS WILL BE TO DAMP DOWN THE REACTIONS, TO BEGIN TO EASE MUGABE INTO THE PROCESS OF GOVERNMENT AND TO PREVAIL UPON HIM TO SEE THE NEED TO ACCOMMODATE HIS POLITICAL OPPONENTS AND TO ACHIEVE THE MODU VIVENDI WITH THE SECURITY FORCE COMMANDERS AND OTHERS.

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FM CANBERRA 030030 Z MARCH 80

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NO 172 OF 3 MARCH 80

INFO PRIORITY SALISBURY WASHINGTON

YOUR TELEGRAM NO 108: RHODESIA

.. ON MY RETURN TO CANBERRA, I DECIDED THAT THE BEST MAN TO TALK TO ON YOUR INSTRUCTIONS WOULD BE MR MCKELLAR, IN HIS DOUBLE CAPACITY AS ACTING FOREIGN MINISTER AND MINISTER ASSISTING THE PRIME MINISTER. I THEREFORE SPOKE TO HIM ON SATURDAY, 1 MARCH IN SUITABLY WHITE-HOT TERMS, MAKING ALLOWANCE ONLY FOR: (A) THE HELPFUL AUSTRALIAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE MONITORING FORCE, AND (B) THE FACT THAT, IN REPORTING NYERERE'S VIEWS TO ME, MR FRASER HAD NOT CLAIMED THAT THEY WERE NECESSARILY CORRECT BUT HAD ARGUED THAT, RIGHT OR WRONG, THEY WERE POTENTIALLY IMPORTANT ESPECIALLY IN THE POST-ELECTION PERIOD AND THAT WE SHOULD BE IN A POSITION TO DEAL WITH THEM.

2. WHEN I FIRED THE AMMUNITION IN YOUR PARAGRAPH 3, MR MCKELLAR SAID THAT HE WOULD CONSULT BOTH THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. BUT HE COMMENTED AT ONCE THAT HE COULD NOT (REPEAT NOT) IMAGINE HOW ANY AUSTRALIAN VIEW COULD POSSIBLY IGNORE THE UNDOUBTED FACTS IN YOUR PARAGRAPH 3(B) NOR DID HE SEE HOW A VIEW ATTRIBUTED TO THEM IN PARAGRAPH 3(A) COULD BE TENABLE.

3. AFTER A FEW HOURS, DURING WHICH AGONIZED ENQUIRIES TO MY CHANCERY FROM THE DFA BETRAYED GREAT DISCOMFORT THERE, MR MCKELLAR GOT IN TOUCH AGAIN TO SAY THAT THE AUSTRALIAN POSITION WAS NOT (REPEAT NOT) WHAT WE HAD FEARED. THEIR VIEW WAS MERELY THAT THEY DID NOT (REPEAT NOT) THINK THAT MUGABE SHOULD BE SOMEHOW SQUEEZED OUT IRRESPECTIVE OF THE ELECTION RESULTS AND THAT HE SHOULD BE CONSULTED IN THE LIGHT OF THE OUTCOME PARI PASSU WITH THE OTHERS. I SAID THAT THERE HAD NEVER BEEN ANY REASON TO SUPPOSE THAT YOU OR THE GOVERNOR HAD EVER ENVISAGED DISCRIMINATING AGAINST ANY PARTY IN DESPITE OF THE ELECTIONS RESULTS: BUT I WAS GLAD TO KNOW (AND WAS SURE YOU WOULD BE) THAT WHAT MR PARSONS HAD SEEMED TO SUGGEST WAS NOT AUSTRALIAN POLICY AND THAT A COALITION WAS NOT THOUGHT LESS RESPECTABLE IN RHODESIA THAN ELSEWHERE. I RUBBED IN THE POINT THAT YOU WERE TIRED OF MISPLACED INTERVENTIONS IN A DIFFICULT, DRAWN-OUT BUT SO FAR SUCCESSFUL OPERATION.

TEBBIT

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PS/LPS

PS/MR BLAKER

PS/MR LUCE

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RYPUS

SIRD MAITLAND

MR CORTAZZI

MR DAY

MR MURRAY

CONFIDENTIAL

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SECRET

3 March 1980

Rhodesia: Message to General Walls

As I have already told you on the telephone, the Prime Minister has seen your letter to me of 3 March and has approved the text enclosed with it subject to the following two comments:-

(a) that the second half of the first sentence of para 4 should be deleted;

and

(b) that the reference in the final paragraph to further contacts between the Prime Minister and General Walls should be deleted.

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

R M J Lyne Esq
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

KH/8

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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

3 March 1980

Dear Michael,

Rhodesia: Message from General Walls

The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary discussed with the Prime Minister yesterday evening the message from General Walls. Lord Carrington recommends that instructions should be sent as soon as possible today for the Governor or Sir A Duff to reply to Walls on the Prime Minister's behalf. The purpose will be to calm and reassure Walls, without giving hostages to fortune about the precise composition of the government, or our own role after the election results are known.

The implied threats in Walls' letter are worrying and no doubt reflect the strong pressure which Walls is under from within the armed forces. But he has played a helpful role over the past week or so both in bringing together the forces of the two sides and in establishing the foundation for a coalition between Mr Nkomo, Bishop Muzorewa and the Whites. He will be aware of the grave consequences of any action to overturn the election results; and it is unlikely that he has any firm assurances of South African support. While the risk of hasty action in the event of a Mugabe landslide undoubtedly exists and there is evidence of contingency plans in the Rhodesian forces to deal with the PF in the assembly places, we have no grounds to think that any action is imminent.

Lord Carrington considers that the Prime Minister's reply should so far as possible seek to reassure Walls and to recognise the vital part he has played in recent days. Clearly he cannot be given any specific commitment about the formation of a government. But provided Mugabe gets less than 40 seats (ie short of a majority of the African seats), the sort of coalition between Nkomo, Muzorewa and the Whites which Walls is seeking to promote would be a perfectly legitimate objective, though it might be possible to take some elements of ZANU(PF) into it. Walls should therefore be reassured that we share the goal of a broad, moderate and stable government which contributes to national unity and reconciliation.

/If Mugabe

M O'D B Alexander Esq
10 Downing Street

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If Mugabe gets more than 40 seats, the situation will be much more difficult; and it will be hard to avoid a situation in which he does not have a leading role in the government. Walls and the Whites could probably be brought to accept some form of national government, though their suspicion of Mugabe is such that we should have to approach it carefully, emphasising the need for unity and reconciliation after the elections and for a broadly based government which reflected all viewpoints in the country.

If Mugabe wins an absolute majority, then our aim will again have to be a national government in which all parties are represented, and Mugabe's influence thus diluted. It will be very difficult to bring the Whites to accept such a government in which Mugabe would inevitably have a very prominent role, and the risks of a White reaction would be strongest in these circumstances. But it is probably the best outcome we could hope for. Our role in such a case would be difficult. But to reassure the Whites we would have to indicate that we stood ready to help with the problems involved in the transition to independence (though we would not envisage extending the Governor's stay by more than a matter of days and certainly not beyond independence).

/ I enclose a draft telegram of instructions for the Prime Minister's approval.

Yours ever
Roderic Lyne

(R M J Lyne)
Private Secretary

SECRET

OUT TELEGRAM

	Classification and Caveats	Precedence/Deskby
	SECRET	FLASH

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FM FCO
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TEL NO

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2	GRS
3	SECRET
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6	FM FCO 031400Z
7	TO FLASH SALISBURY
8	TELEGRAM NUMBER
9	
10	MY TELNO : RHODESIA: MESSAGE FROM GENERAL WALLS
11	1. The Prime Minister does not intend to reply to Walls'
12	message in writing, but would be grateful if you or Sir A Duff
13	could speak to Walls on the following lines, making clear that
14	you are doing so on her personal instructions. (In the light
15	of some of the comments in Walls' message, you may prefer to
16	ask Sir A Duff to do so).
17	2. The Prime Minister was glad that Walls felt able to get in
18	touch with her personally to explain his concerns. She fully
19	understands what a difficult time this is and in particular
20	the uncertainty and tension which inevitably exists between
21	the elections and the declaration of results. She has greatly
22	admired the lead taken by walls in bringing together the forces
23	of the two sides and in encouraging co-operation between Nkomo,
24	Muzorewa and the Whites, and these efforts have her full support.
25	

NNNN ends telegram	BLANK	Catchword /The prospects
File number	Dept Rhodesia Dept	Distribution Files PS PS/LPS PS/Mr Luce PS/PUS Mr Day Head, Rhodesia Dept
Drafted by (Block capitals) C D POWELL		
Telephone number 3466		
Authorised for despatch		
Comcen reference	Time of despatch	

OUT TELEGRAM (CONT)

	Classification and Caveats SECRET	Page 2
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2 The prospects for a peaceful and stable outcome will depend

3 upon others being willing to show the same spirit of

4 reconciliation. The Prime Minister is very grateful to Walls

5 for his outstanding contribution, and hopes that he will

6 continue to do his best to keep all the parties calm during

7 the difficult period ahead.

8 3. It should be made clear to Walls that the Prime Minister

9 regards his criticisms of you as entirely unjustified. The

10 RSF have been deployed fully throughout the interim period and

11 in a way which has enabled them to maintain full control over

12 the military situation. No attempt has been made to interfere

13 with the NJOC's military judgment. The admission of observers

14 to the elections was agreed at Lancaster House. It is also

15 vital to securing international acceptance for Rhodesia.

16 4. You should leave Walls in no doubt that, in the light of

17 the reports from our own supervisors and observers ^{as well as}

18 international groups, the Prime Minister does not share his

19 view that massive intimidation has frustrated the free choice

20 of the people (although she realises that there has been some

21 intimidation). There are no grounds, in the Prime Minister's

22 view, on which the election could be declared null and void.

23 The task now is to make the best of the outcome to ensure a

24 stable government.

25 5. The composition of the future government must, in the

26 Prime Minister's view, reflect the need for unity and

27 reconciliation. It remains her objective, as explained to

28 Walls during Lancaster House ^{the conference}, to see Rhodesia brought to

29 independence with as stable and moderate a government as possible

30 which fairly reflects the wishes of the people. The Prime

31 Minister has heard with interest and approval of the

32 discussions which have been taking place between Bishop

33 Muzorewa, Mr Nkomo and the Rhodesian Front, with the

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NNNN ends telegram	BLANK	Catchword /encouragement
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OUT TELEGRAM (CONT)

	Classification and Caveats SECRET	Page 3
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1 <<<<
 2 encouragement of the NJOC, and hopes that these can establish
 3 the foundations for successful collaboration in the post-
 4 election period. Depending on the election results, it may
 5 also be necessary to accommodate other parties who are equally
 6 prepared to commit themselves to the goals of unity and
 7 reconciliation. The Prime Minister has asked the Governor to
 8 keep her closely informed of his discussions with the political
 9 leaders following the announcement of the election results
 10 and will be in touch further with Walls to consider how our
 11 common objective of a stable future for Rhodesia can best be
 12 achieved. We intend to assist in any way we can with the
 13 problems involved in the transition to independence. In the
 14 meantime the Prime Minister urges Walls, in the strongest
 15 terms, to counsel his colleagues to show calm and restraint;
 16 it is only on that basis that we can work successfully together
 17 for a government with broad support under which all the people
 18 of Rhodesia will continue to feel secure in their future.
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NNNN ends telegram	BLANK	Catchword
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PS/SIR I GILMOUR

PS/MR. LUCE

PS/PUS

SIR D MAITLAND

MR DAY

SIR L ALLWSON
~~MR ASTEN~~

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

13

SIR R ARMSTRONG)

MR R L WADE GERY)

MR P M MAXEY)

MR GOULTY)

MR W N WENBAN SMITH)

DIO)

CABINET
OFFICE

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HD/RHOD DEPT (4)

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PS/SIR I SINCLAIR

MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A

MR FIFOOT

RESIDENT CLERK

IMMEDIATE

~~SECRET~~

FM SALISBURY 021615Z MAR 80

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 906 OF 2 MARCH 1980

INFO IMMEDIATE CAPE TOWN (PERSONAL FOR AMBASSADOR)

MY TELNO 905 : RHODESIA: FORMATION OF THE GOVERNMENT

1. CHAMBATI TOLD US THIS EVENING THAT NKOMO'S PARTY LEADERSHIP AGREED TODAY THAT, IN VIEW OF INTIMIDATION AND THE MURDER OF PF PARTY WORKERS BY ZANLA DURING THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN, THEY WOULD NOT AGREE TO PARTICIPATE IN A COALITION ON ANY TERMS PROPOSED BY ZANU(PF). THEY WOULD SEEK A COALITION WITH MUZOREWA AND THE WHITES, AND WOULD OFFER PLACES IN A COALITION GOVERNMENT TO ZANU(PF).

IT WAS AGREED THAT NKOMO SHOULD MEET MUZOREWA TOMORROW.

2. THEY ARE PROCEEDING ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT NKOMO WOULD BE PRIME MINISTER (AND THERE ARE SOME INDICATIONS THAT THE UANC ARE NOW MORE RESIGNED TO THIS). THEY WILL BE CONSIDERING TOMORROW WHETHER TO GIVE ANY INDICATIONS OF THEIR INTENTIONS BEFORE THE ELECTION RESULTS ARE KNOWN. THEIR MAIN WORRY IS THAT, OWING TO THE EXTENT OF INTIMIDATION IN VICTORIA AND MANICALAND (ABOUT WHICH OUR OWN ELECTION SUPERVISORS HAVE GIVEN DISQUIETING REPORTS), MUGABE COULD WIN OVER FORTY SEATS. EVEN IN THAT EVENT THEY MIGHT TRY TO PROCEED WITH THE KIND OF ARRANGEMENT OUTLINED ABOVE. BUT THERE WOULD THEN BE A GREATER DISPOSITION TO CONTEST THE VALIDITY OF THE ELECTION ITSELF.

3. WE UNDERSTAND THAT NKOMO HAD ALREADY SENT MILNER TO LUSAKA TO EXPLAIN THE POSITION TO KAUNDA. THIS WILL BE FOLLOWED UP WITH A VISIT BY CHIRAMANO TO LUSAKA TOMORROW.

FCO PASS CAPE TOWN

SOAMES

IMMEDIATE

6 DS
/SIR I GILMOUR
PS/MR LUCE
PS/PUS
SIR D MAITLAND
MR DAY
SIR L ALANSON
~~MR ASPEN~~

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

1A

SIR R ARMSTRONG)
MR R L WADE GERY)
MR P M MAXEY) CABINET
MR GOULTY) OFFICE
MR W N WENBAN SMITH)
DIO)

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

HD/C AF D
HD/S AF D
~~HD/UND~~
HD/PUSD (2)

HD/NEWS DEPT
HD/WAD
PS/SIR I SINCLAIR
MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A
MR FIFOOT

IMMEDIATE

RESIDENT CLERK

SECRET
FM SALISBURY 021500Z MAR 80

IMMEDIATE

TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 905 OF 2 MARCH 1980
INFO IMMEDIATE CAPE TOWN (PERSONAL FOR AMBASSADOR)

MY TELNO 890 : RHODESIA: FORMATION OF THE GOVERNMENT
1. WALLS, FLOWER AND YOUNG WENT TO SEE MUZOREWA YESTERDAY. THEY EXPLAINED THAT THE PRELIMINARY REPORTS SUGGESTED THAT MUGABE, PARTLY DUE TO INTIMIDATION, WAS GOING TO GET A LARGE NUMBER OF SEATS. THEY SAID THAT IT WAS ESSENTIAL FOR THE FUTURE OF THE COUNTRY THAT THERE SHOULD BE A COALITION BETWEEN MUZOREWA, NKOMO AND THE WHITES. MUZOREWA SAID THAT HE ENTIRELY ACCEPTED THE NECESSITY FOR A COALITION INVOLVING NKOMO AND WOULD BE WORKING TO THAT END.
2. WALLS THEN SAID THAT, WHILE IT DISTRESSED THEM GREATLY TO HAVE TO SAY THIS, THEY THOUGHT IT UNLIKELY THAT NKOMO WOULD AGREE TO PARTICIPATE IN SUCH A COALITION EXCEPT AS PRIME MINISTER. IN THE EVENT OF MUGABE EMERGING IN A STRONG POSITION AND THE UANC DOING LESS WELL THAN THEY HAD HOPED, IT MIGHT BE NECESSARY IN THE NATIONAL INTEREST TO ACCEPT A SOLUTION ON THAT BASIS. IN SEPARATE CONVERSATIONS FLOWER AND OTHERS HAD INDICATED TO MUZOREWA AND HIS ADVISERS THAT IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE (WITHOUT NECESSARILY ENVISAGING ANY AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION) TO ENHANCE THE ROLE OF THE PRESIDENCY, IN PARTICULAR BY PLACING MORE EMPHASIS ON THE PRESIDENT AS COMMANDER IN CHIEF.
3. IN THE ENSUING DISCUSSION IT WAS POINTED OUT THAT, IF MUZOREWA IN EFFECT STOOD DOWN IN FAVOUR OF NKOMO, THE REACTIONS AMONG THE SHONA IN GENERAL AND THE UANC IN PARTICULAR WOULD BE UNPREDICTABLE. THEY WOULD FIND GREAT DIFFICULTY IN ACCEPTING AN NDEBELE AS PRIME MINISTER. THIS COULD RESULT IN DEFECTIONS FROM THE UANC, OR IN A MORE GENERAL SHIFT OF SHONA SUPPORT TOWARDS MUGABE. THIS FACTOR IS EXTREMELY WORRYING TO MUZOREWA'S ADVISERS AND TO SOME OF THE WHITES.
4. NEVERTHELESS, KAMUSIKIRI SUBSEQUENTLY CALLED TO SEE US TO ASK ABOUT THE POWERS OF THE PRESIDENCY AND ANY WAYS IN WHICH THEY MIGHT BE ENHANCED. WE MADE IT CLEAR THAT IT WOULD BE UNWISE TO THINK IN TERMS OF ANY AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION. BUT IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO ESTABLISH A CONVENTION WHEREBY THE PRESIDENT AS COMMANDER IN CHIEF WAS CONSULTED ON ALL MATTERS CONCERNING NATIONAL DEFENCE AND SECURITY AND HAD A PARTICULAR ROLE TO PLAY IN OVERSEEING THE

CRIF WAS CONSULTED ON ALL MATTERS CONCERNING NATIONAL DEFENCE AND SECURITY AND HAD A PARTICULAR ROLE TO PLAY IN OVERSEEING THE FORMATION OF THE FUTURE NATIONAL ARMY. KAMUSIKIRI REGARDED THE POLITICAL PRESENTATION OF ANY DECISION BY MUZOREWA TO ACCEPT THE PRESIDENCY AS OF CRUCIAL IMPORTANCE TO REASSURING HIS SHONA SUPPORTERS.

5. THE POSITION, THEREFORE, IS THAT MUZOREWA (NATURALLY ENOUGH) HAS NOT AT THIS STAGE AGREED TO ABANDON HIS AMBITIONS OF BECOMING PRIME MINISTER AND TO ACCEPT THE PRESIDENCY (OR TO BECOME DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER). BUT THE SUBJECT HAS BEEN BROACHED WITH HIM, AND IF THE POLITICAL SITUATION DEMANDS THIS, THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT WALLS, FLOWER AND THE OTHER WHITE LEADERS WOULD PUT VERY STRONG PRESSURE ON HIM TO AGREE TO ACCEPT NKOMO AS PRIME MINISTER.

6. MEANWHILE, FLOWER ON MUZOREWA'S INSTRUCTIONS WENT TO SEE NKOMO LAST NIGHT. HE TOLD NKOMO THAT MUGABE WAS LIKELY TO GET THE LARGEST NUMBER OF SEATS (AND MIGHT GET OVER FORTY); AND TRIED TO ARRANGE A MEETING BETWEEN NKOMO AND MUZOREWA FOR TODAY. NKOMO AGREED BUT SUBSEQUENTLY CONTACTED HIM TO SAY THAT HE WAS HAVING DIFFICULTIES WITH HIS OWN SUPPORTERS. HE WOULD BE HOLDING A MEETING OF HIS NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TODAY. HE WOULD SEEK TO ARRANGE A MEETING WITH MUZOREWA TOMORROW.

7. RENWICK SAW NKOMO THIS MORNING. HE WAS IN A SOMEWHAT DESPONDENT AND RECRIMINATORY MOOD. HIS PARTY HAD BEEN COMPLETELY UNABLE TO CAMPAIGN IN MANICALAND AND MOST OF VICTORIA PROVINCE. THERE HAD BEEN SEVERE INTIMIDATION IN THOSE AREAS. THIS HAD CONTINUED DURING THE POLLING AS WELL AS BEFORE IT. WE HAD TAKEN NO ACTION TO DEAL WITH THIS. HE CONSIDERED THAT WE SHOULD INVALIDATE THE POLLING BEFORE THE VOTES WERE COUNTED IN SOME OF THE AREAS CONCERNED.

8. THE CONVERSATION THEN TOOK A MORE CONSTRUCTIVE COURSE. NKOMO SAID THAT HE WOULD NOT SERVE IN A GOVERNMENT UNDER MUGABE. HE WAS NOT PREPARED TO TURN THE COUNTRY OVER TO "MUJIBA RULE". HIS INTENTION WAS TO FORM A GOVERNMENT HIMSELF AND HE WOULD TELL ME SO WHEN I SUMMONED HIM ON TUESDAY. HE WOULD HOWEVER BE PLACED IN A VERY DIFFICULT POSITION IF, BY INTIMIDATION, MUGABE WON TEN MORE SEATS THAN HE DID. HE HAD TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE REACTIONS IF HE APPEARED SIMPLY TO BE GANGING UP WITH MUZOREWA AND THE WHITES AGAINST MUGABE. HE WOULD INCLUDE MUZOREWA IN HIS GOVERNMENT; AND THE WHITES. IT WOULD ALSO BE ESSENTIAL TO MAKE AN OFFER TO ZANU(PF), WHETHER OR NOT THIS WAS ACCEPTED. HE SAID THAT, HAVING DECLINED TO GO TO LUSAKA TO MEET THE NIGERIANS, HE HAD BEEN TELEPHONED BY KAUNDA AND WAS UNDER HEAVY PRESSURE FROM HIM, AND FROM THE OAU GENERALLY, TO FORM A COALITION WITH MUGABE.

9. DESPITE THESE INHIBITIONS, NKOMO'S OVERRIDING CONCERN IS TO BECOME PRIME MINISTER. HE GENUINELY BELIEVES THAT HE ALONE CAN PROVIDE SOME MEASURE OF UNITY AND WORK FOR RECONCILIATION (AND HE IS PROBABLY RIGHT IN THIS). AN OFFER WILL INDEED HAVE TO BE MADE TO MUGABE, BUT THIS WILL REQUIRE VERY CAREFUL HANDLING IN VIEW OF WALLS' EXTREME CONCERN AND THAT OF THE WHITES GENERALLY ABOUT THE CONSEQUENCE OF MUGABE BEING IN A PROMINENT POSITION IN A FUTURE GOVERNMENT.

10. WALLS MEANWHILE HAS TOLD US (AS WE HAVE WARNED YOU BY TELEPHONE) THAT HE HAS SENT A MESSAGE TO THE PRIME MINISTER. HE IS LOOKING FOR REASSURANCE THAT OUR OVERALL OBJECTIVE REMAINS TO AVOID A MARXIST-DOMINATED GOVERNMENT HERE. HE HAS BEEN TOLD FORMALLY BY THREE OF THE JOINT OPERATIONS COMMANDS (HURRICANE, THRASHER AND REPULSE) THAT THEY DO NOT ACCEPT THAT THE ELECTIONS IN THOSE AREAS WERE FREE AND FAIR, OWING TO EXTENSIVE INTIMIDATION. HE IS TRYING TO HOLD THE ARMY IN LINE AND, WITH SUPPORT FROM US AND IF HE BELIEVES THAT WE ARE WORKING IN THE SAME DIRECTION, SHOULD BE ABLE TO DO SO.

11. IN THEIR REPORTS TO WALLS, THE JOCS HAVE RECOMMENDED THAT IF THE ELECTION PRODUCES A MUGABE LANDSLIDE, AND THIS RESULT IS NOT ACCEPTED BY THE OTHER PARTIES, THERE SHOULD BE AN INTERIM ARRANGEMENT WITH A COUNCIL OF STATE REPRESENTING THE FOUR MAJOR PARTIES UNDER ME. THERE IS INDEED A RISK THAT, IN THE EVENT OF A MASSIVE MUGABE VOTE, NKOMO AND MUZOREWA WILL REFUSE TO ACCEPT THE OUTCOME; AND THE RHODESIAN FORCES AND ZIPRA WILL REFUSE TO SERVE UNDER A MUGABE GOVERNMENT. IF THAT WERE TO HAPPEN, WE WILL HAVE A HARD JOB ON OUR HANDS TO TALK ALL PARTIES

REFUSE TO SERVE UNDER A MUGABE GOVERNMENT. IF THAT WERE TO HAPPEN, WE WILL HAVE A HARD JOB ON OUR HANDS TO TALK ALL PARTIES BACK INTO THE GAME AGAIN.

12. MEANWHILE, WE MUST GO ON WORKING STEADILY TO MAKE AS MUCH PROGRESS AS POSSIBLE IN BRINGING MUZOREWA, NKOMO AND THE WHITES TOGETHER BEFORE THE RESULTS ARE ANNOUNCED ON TUESDAY. BUT SEEK ALSO TO ENSURE THAT, AT THE END OF THE DAY, AN OFFER IS MADE TO ZANU(PF). THE REST WILL DEPEND ON THE ELECTORAL ARITHMETIC, BUT EVEN IN THE EVENT OF MUGABE WINNING 40-PLUS SEATS, WE MIGHT STILL HAVE TO THINK IN TERMS OF A "GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION". AND IT MIGHT BE NECESSARY TO SEEK TO PERSUADE MUGABE TO ACCEPT AT ANY RATE FOR THE TIME BEING A GOVERNMENT LED BY NKOMO.

FCO PASS CAPE TOWN

SGAMES

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FM SALISBURY 021300Z MAR 80

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 903 OF 2 MARCH 1980

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

OUR TELNO 889 : ELECTION

1. A TOTAL OF 2,699,450 VOTES WERE CAST IN THE ELECTION.

THE DISTRICT BREAKDOWN IS AS FOLLOWS:

MATABELELAND NORTH	403,162
MATABELELAND SOUTH	178,007
MASHONALAND WEST	295,858
MASHONALAND CENTRAL	185,237
MASHONALAND EAST	638,935
MANICALAND	301,673
VICTORIA	348,990
MIDLANDS	347,588

IN TWO OF THE PROVINCES, MASHONALAND EAST AND MATABELELAND NORTH, THE NUMBER OF VOTES CAST EXCEEDED THE PRIOR ESTIMATE OF THE VOTING POPULATION. THIS WAS NOT UNEXPECTED, SINCE THE POPULATION ESTIMATES WERE RECOGNISED TO BE OUTDATED. PEOPLE WERE ALSO NOT OBLIGED TO VOTE IN THEIR HOME PROVINCES. THE ESTIMATED TURN OUT IN PERCENTAGE TERMS IS ABOUT 94%. BALLOT BOXES WERE TRANSFERRED YESTERDAY FROM POLLING STATIONS TO DISTRICT CENTRES AND THE NUMBER OF VOTING PAPERS WILL TODAY BE CHECKED AGAINST THE NUMBER OF COUNTERFOILS, THE SO-CALLED VERIFICATION PROCESS. THE OFFICIAL COUNT CAN THEN BEGIN. THERE HAS BEEN NO SERIOUS SECURITY INCIDENT SINCE MY TELEGRAM UNDER REFERENCE.

2. BOTH THE UANC AND THE PF HAVE MADE ALLEGATIONS OF IRREGULARITIES IN THE POLLING. MUZOREWA HAS COMPLAINED THAT THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE COULD NOT BE EXPRESSED IN THE FACE OF ZANU(PF) INTIMIDATION AND ALSO MADE ALLEGATIONS OF MULTIPLE VOTING. THE PF HAVE STATED THAT IF THEY CONCLUDE THAT THE ELECTIONS WERE SO UNFAIR AND SO UNFREE AS TO BELIEVE THE DEMOCRATIC WILL OF THE PEOPLE THEY WOULD NOT HESITATE TO DECLARE THEM NULL AND VOID. IT IS NATURAL FOR THE UANC AND PF TO MAKE SUCH STATEMENTS TO GIVE THEMSELVES AN EXCUSE IN CASE OF ELECTORAL DISASTER AND WE DO NOT ATTACH MUCH IMPORTANCE TO THEM.

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/NKOMO HAS

NKOMO HAS TOLD HIS MEN AT THE ASSEMBLY PLACES THAT THE RESULT MUST BE ACCEPTED. THE RHODESIA FRONT HAVE SAID THAT THE ELECTION COULD NOT BE REGARDED AS FREE AND FAIR BECAUSE OF INTIMIDATION BUT HAVE DELAYED AN OFFICIAL STATEMENT UNTIL AFTER THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE RESULT. ZANU(PF) HAVE MADE NO OFFICIAL COMMENT BUT THEIR SPOKESMEN ARE ANTICIPATING A LAND-SLIDE VICTORY IN SOME DISTRICTS.

3. THE COMMONWEALTH OBSERVER GROUP ARE TO ISSUE AN INTERIM REPORT ON THE ELECTIONS AT A PRESS CONFERENCE AT 1630Z TONIGHT. THE COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT WERE TO HAVE DISTRIBUTED COPIES OF THE REPORT TO HIGH COMMISSIONS IN LONDON THIS MORNING. THE INDICATIONS STILL ARE THAT THE COMMONWEALTH REPORT WILL BE NOT UNHELPFUL.

4. OTHER INTERIM REPORTS HAVE BEEN ISSUED BY THE UNITED STATES FREEDOM HOUSE OBSERVERS, THE CANADIAN NON-GOVERNMENT OBSERVER TEAM AND THE IRISH OFFICIAL OBSERVER GROUP. FREEDOM HOUSE PRAISED THE ELECTION TEAM FOR PROVIDING AN ESSENTIALLY FREE ELECTORAL PROCESS. THEY CONCLUDE THAT THE NATIONWIDE ACTIVE SECURITY EFFORT WAS ESSENTIAL BUT THEY ARE NOT SATISFIED THAT THE ELECTION WAS ENTIRELY FAIR BECAUSE OF THE CLIMATE OF FEAR IN WHICH THE PARTIES COMPETE. DESPITE THIS THEY CONCLUDE THAT THEY WILL APPROXIMATELY REPRESENT THE DISTRIBUTION OF CURRENT POLITICAL VIEWS. THE CANADIAN GROUP HAVE A NUMBER OF COMPLAINTS ABOUT THE ACTIVITIES OF THE SECURITY FORCES, ARRESTS OF ZANU(PF) AGENTS ETC. BUT CONCLUDE THAT THE VOTING RESULT WILL REFLECT THE BEST AVAILABLE EXPRESSION OF THE WISHES OF THE PEOPLE BECAUSE MOST VOTERS WERE CONVINCED THAT THEIR VOTES WERE SECRET. THEY END WITH A WARNING NOTE THAT A GOVERNMENT WHICH RELIED ON WHITE REPRESENTATIVES TO THE EXCLUSION OF A BLACK MAJORITY PARTY WOULD BE A RECIPE FOR INSTABILITY. THE IRISH OBSERVER GROUP CONCLUDE THAT THE ELECTION RESULTS SHOULD PROVIDE A FAIR EXPRESSION OF THE WISHES OF THE ELECTORATE.

5. THE TEXT OF A SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT BY THE BRITISH M.P.'S IS IN MIFT TO FCO ONLY. THEIR REASON FOR ISSUING THIS IS THAT THEY BELIEVED THAT THEIR TRIBUTES MIGHT BE OVERSHADOWED IF INCLUDED IN THE MAIN REPORT.

FCO PASS ALL

[REPEATED AS REQUESTED]

SOAMES

F I L E S	ECON D		ADDITIONAL DIST
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OADS	IPD	LORD N G LENNOX	
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PLANNING STAFF	PS	SIR L ALLINSON	
CCD	PS/LPS	MR MILLS	
FRD	PS/MR LUCE	CPO	
ECD (E)	PS/MR RIDLEY		
UND	PS/MR HURD		
LEGAL ADVISERS	PS/MR MARTEN	(REPETITION TO LUANDA REFERRED FOR	
(MR FREELAND)	PS/PUS	DEPARTMENTAL DECISION REPEATED	
(MR RIFOOT)	SIR D MAITLAND ₂	AS REQUESTED TO OTHER POSTS)	

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SECRET

cc Mr. Powell FCO

AM has seen

2.3.80

Reply sent.

LA. Hunt - 3/3

Salisbury

1 March 1980

The Right Honourable Margaret Thatcher, MP
Prime Minister
10 Downing Street
LONDON SW1

Dear Prime Minister

I am exercising the right conferred upon me by you personally that I have direct access to you when the situation warrants it. I believe it is my solemn duty and responsibility to now report to you directly and make an appeal on behalf of all freedom-loving and law-abiding Zimbabwe Rhodesians. Many of these have trusted you and your Government because of my colleagues and my own example, assurance and encouragement, and in the case of the security forces, our command. We have now completed three days of voting as part of the electoral process agreed at Lancaster House and await announcement of the results on next Tuesday morning. I therefore judge this to be the right moment for me to take this action. I must first explain the background. Despite your assurance to me that Lord Soames would measure up to the grave responsibility delegated to him, I must confirm reports sent to you, through intermediaries, that he has proved to be inadequate, lacking in moral courage, lacking in ability to listen and learn, and above all incapable of implementing the solemn promise, given by yourself and Lord Carrington, that he would rely on us for advice on military and other situations, and act in accordance with the interests of survival of a moderate, freedom-loving and anti-marxist society. I will not accuse him of being unwilling to do so, although many in their bitterness think this to be the case. He has often treated us as if we had no special status in your eyes and certainly not as people who, at great political sacrifice, had agreed to go to the conference table after militarily forcing the other parties to agree to do so. It is true his task has not

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been made easier by your Government insisting on unrestricted entry of hundreds of observers and journalists, many of whom are avowedly left wing orientated and definitely anti-Muzorewa. Many of them, and some junior monitors, have been arrogant enough to set themselves up as instant experts on this country, and Africa generally, and have made pronouncements accordingly, contributing greatly to the emotional and hysterical wave of hostile propaganda levelled against us. Had the Governor acted resolutely and effectively in the early days of the pre-election period, his task would have been much easier, and our survival as a democratic nation would not now be so seriously imperilled.

Although it is possible the moderate parties may achieve acceptable results in the election, I must say to you in all sincerity and gravity that it will be a miracle if it happens and in spite of intimidation, breaches of the ceasefire, and sheer terror accepted pathetically by your representatives. Although I have sufficient faith in God to hope that the true wishes of the people in this country will be manifested some day in some way and may be even now, I must take the precaution of making contingency plans for the worst case on this occasion, especially as reports from all around the country indicate that massive intimidation makes a victory by Mugabe the most likely if not inevitable result of the election.

I should add that many of the affidavits about intimidation, in the hundreds being forwarded to us today, have been sworn by your British policemen and other visitors. I wish you could see the sullen hurt and misery in the eyes and faces of our black people, who are normally so cheerful, good-natured, and full of goodwill.

My appeal to you must be on the following basis :

- (a) If Mugabe succeeds in gaining a simple majority by winning 51 seats or more, or if he is able to attract sufficient defectors from other parties, it is vital to our survival as a free nation that you declare the election nul and void on the grounds of official reports of massive intimidation frustrating the free choice of the bulk of the people

- (b) If Mugabe gets less than 50 seats but has more than any other party, our present efforts to form a coalition based on the tripod of Muzorewa, Nkomo and Smith must be given every opportunity and help, however overt or devious as may be necessary, to succeed in governing the country and resisting the efforts to overthrow them of Mugabe, and anybody who supports him
- (c) In the event of the election being declared nul and void, or the moderate parties failing to form a viable coalition with a working majority in the House of Assembly, it is essential from my considered point of view that you maintain a British presence in ZR to run the country with a Council of Ministers, thus allowing us to provide, if necessary, the military conditions for an orderly and safe withdrawal of those people of all races who wish to take refuge in South Africa or elsewhere. This will be preferable to my taking unconstitutional action which would be fraught with snags and dangers, apart from being loathsome to me as a professional soldier, and almost certain to result in much bloodshed and damage to property, and embarrassment to your Government. However, if you are unable to see your way to honouring the bond between us I must reserve the right to take whatever action is necessary in the interests of the majority of people whom I am pledged to serve.

It must be without precedent or at least abnormal, for a person like myself to address such a message as this to no less than the Prime Minister of Britain, but I wish to assure you I do so only in the extremity of our possible emergency, with goodwill, and in the sincere and honest belief that it is my duty in terms of the privileged conversations I had with you and Lord Carrington. I don't know how to sign myself, but I hope to remain your obedient servant,

PETER WALLS

GBLD CO LIMV 424
MONROVIA RL 424 01 2030

MONROVIA TEL 48

ETATPRIORITE

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

T 43/80

SUBJECT
PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T45/80

LFS0018

22.80

MADAM PRIME MINISTER COLON NOW THAT THE ELECTIONS IN ZIMBABWE
HAVE BEEN CONCLUDED CMA WE ARE GREATLY HEARTENED THAT THIS
IMPORTANT STEP HAS BEEN TAKEN WITHOUT ANY DISTRUPTION STOP AS
WE ALL ANXIOUSLY AWAIT THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE RESULTS OF THE
ELECTIONS ON TUESDAY NEXT AND THE ASSESSMENT OF CONDITIONS
UNDER WHICH THEY WERE HELD CMA IT REMAINS OUR FERVENT PRAYER
THAT NOTHING WHATSOEVER SHALL BE ALLOWED TO JEOPARDIZE THE
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LEGALLY CONSTITUTED GOVERNMENT WHICH IS NOW WITHIN SUCH CLOSE
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AND THAT THOSE POSITIONS ARE NOW BEING TAKEN OVER BY UNITS OF THE
RODHESIAN SECURITY FORCES AND THE AUXILIARIES STOP THIS CMA WE
UNDERSTAND, CMA IS BEING DONE IN SUCH A SYSTEMATIC MANNER LEAVING
THE IMPRESSION THAT THE RHODESIAN SECURITY FORCES AND THE
AUXILIARIES ARE DELIBERATELY ENCIRCLING ASSEMBLY POINTS OF THE
FORCES OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT STOP THIS ACTION CMA IN OUR VIEW
CMA IS

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NOT ONLY INCONSISTENT WITH THE LANCASTER HOUSE AGREEMENT CMA BUT
IS EXTREMELY PROVOCATIVE IN NATURE AND COULD LEAD TO CLASHES
WITH UNITS OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WHO CONTINUE TO REMAIN
RESTRICTED TO THEIR ASSEMBLY POINTS IN COMPLIANCE WITH PROVISIONS
OF THE AGREEMENT STOP BECAUSE OF OUR GRAVE CONCERN THAT PEACE
SHOULD CONTINUE TO PREVAIL NOW AND AFTER ELECTIONS CMA HWEN THE
NEW GOVERNMENT IS FORMED AND INDEPENDENCE ACHIEVED CMA WE ARE
IMPELLED ONCE AGAIN CMA MADAM PRIME MINISTER CMA IN THE NAME OF
AFRICA TO URGE THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT CMA WHICH STILL HAS
ADMINISTERING
AUTHORITY CMA WILL TAKE SUCH TIMELY AND NECESSARY MEASURES
AS TO ENCOURAGE THE MONITORING FORCES TO

COL NIL

RETAIN THEIR POSITIONS AND EFFECT THE RETURN OF THE RHODESIAN
SECURITY FORCES AND AUXILIARIES TO THEIR BASES STOP STOP SUCH A
MEASURE WOULD AVOID THE POSSIBILITY OF ANY CONFLICT WHICH COULD
HAVE A DISTRUPTIVE EFFECT ON THE PEACEFUL PROCESS WELL UNDERWAY
IN BRINGING INDEPENDENCE TO ZIMBABWE STOP I REMAIN CONVINCED
THAT YOU WILL DO ALL WITHIN YOUR POWER TO ENSURE THAT THE LANCASTER
HOUSE AGREEMENT WILL BE FAITHFULLY IMPLEMENTED FOR THE BENEFIT
OF ALL OF THE PEOPLE OF ZIMABAWE CMA TO THE GLORY OF AFRICA
CMA AND TO THE HONOUR OF YOUR GREAT COUNTRY STOP WITH ASSURANCES
OF OUR HIGHEST CONSIDERATION AND ESTEEM SINCERELY

W R TOLBERT JR

PRESIDENT OF LIBERIA AND CURRENT CHAIRMAN OF THE
ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY

COL HIGHEST ESTEEM SINCERELY

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

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Handwritten signature and initials



PRIME MINISTER'S

PERSONAL MESSAGE

SERIAL No. T43/80 EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA
21 PRINCE'S GATE
LONDON SW7 1QB

TEL. 01-589 9405
01-589 2264

394-3b-02-'80

The Embassy of the Republic of Liberia presents its compliments to Her Majesty's Foreign and Commonwealth Office and has the honour to transmit herewith text of a telegram from President William R. Tolbert, Jr., President of the Republic of Liberia and current Chairman of the Organization of Africa Unity to Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, Prime Minister of United Kingdom and Northern Ireland:-

A "MADAM PRIME MINISTER: NOW THAT THE ELECTIONS IN ZIMBABWE HAVE BEEN CONCLUDED, WE ARE GREATLY HEARTENED THAT THIS IMPORTANT STEP HAS BEEN TAKEN WITHOUT ANY DISRUPTION. AS WE ALL ANXIOUSLY AWAIT THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE RESULTS OF THE ELECTIONS ON TUESDAY NEXT AND THE ASSESSMENT OF CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THEY WERE HELD, IT REMAINS OUR FERVENT PRAYER THAT NOTHING WHATSOEVER SHALL BE ALLOWED TO JEOPARDIZE THE ATTAINMENT OF INDEPENDENCE WITH MAJORITY RULE FOR THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE WITH A LEGALLY CONSTITUTED GOVERNMENT WHICH IS NOW WITHIN SUCH CLOSE REACH. INFORMATION HOWEVER REVEALS THAT SOME UNITS OF THE MONITORING FORCES ARE PREMATURELY WITHDRAWING FROM THEIR POSITIONS AND THAT THOSE POSITIONS ARE NOW BEING TAKEN OVER BY UNITS OF THE RHODESIAN SECURITY FORCES AND THE AUXILIARIES. THIS, WE UNDERSTAND, IS BEING DONE IN SUCH A SYSTEMATIC MANNER LEAVING THE IMPRESSION THAT THE RHODESIAN SECURITY FORCES AND THE AUXILIARIES ARE DELIBERATELY ENCIRCLING ASSEMBLY POINTS OF THE FORCES OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT.

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

TEL. 01-589 9405
01-589 2264

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THIS ACTION, IN OUR VIEW, IS NOT ONLY INCONSISTENT WITH THE LANCASTER HOUSE AGREEMENT, BUT IS EXTREMELY PROVOCATIVE IN NATURE AND COULD LEAD TO CLASHES WITH UNITS OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WHO CONTINUE TO REMAIN RESTRICTED TO THEIR ASSEMBLY POINTS IN COMPLIANCE WITH PROVISIONS OF THE AGREEMENT. BECAUSE OF OUR GRAVE CONCERN THAT PEACE SHOULD CONTINUE TO PREVAIL NOW AND AFTER ELECTIONS, WHEN THE NEW GOVERNMENT IS FORMED AND INDEPENDENCE ACHIEVED, WE ARE IMPELLED ONCE AGAIN, MADAM PRIME MINISTER, IN THE NAME OF AFRICA TO URGE THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT, WHICH STILL HAS ADMINISTERING AUTHORITY, WILL TAKE SUCH TIMELY AND NECESSARY MEASURES AS TO ENCOURAGE THE MONITORING FORCES TO RETAIN THEIR POSITIONS AND EFFECT THE RETURN OF THE RHODESIAN SECURITY FORCES AND THE AUXILIARIES TO THEIR BASES. SUCH A MEASURE WOULD AVOID THE POSSIBILITY OF ANY CONFLICT WHICH COULD HAVE A DISRUPTIVE EFFECT ON THE PEACEFUL PROCESS WELL UNDERWAY IN BRINGING INDEPENDENCE TO ZIMBABWE. I REMAIN CONVINCED THAT YOU WILL DO ALL WITHIN YOUR POWER TO ENSURE THAT THE LANCASTER HOUSE AGREEMENT WILL BE FAITHFULLY IMPLEMENTED FOR THE BENEFIT OF ALL OF THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE, TO THE GLORY OF AFRICA, AND TO THE HONOR OF YOUR GREAT COUNTRY. WITH ASSURANCES OF OUR HIGHEST CONSIDERATION AND ESTEEM, SINCERELY W. R. TOLBERT, JR., PRESIDENT OF LIBERIA AND CURRENT CHAIRMAN OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICA UNITY."

The Embassy of the Republic of Liberia avails itself of this opportunity to renew to Her Majesty's Foreign and Commonwealth Office the assurance of its highest consideration. *WRT*

LONDON, 3rd March, 1980



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PP SALISBURY
GRS 124
UNCLASSIFIED
FM FCO 291930Z FEB 80.
TO PRIORITY SALISBURY
TELEGRAM NUMBER 657 OF 29 FEB.

fs. Runt

RHODESIA: HOUSE OF COMMONS

1. THE FOLLOWING EXCHANGE TOOK PLACE DURING PRIME MINISTER'S QUESTION TIME ON 28 FEBRUARY:

'SIR GRAHAM PAGE: WILL MY RT HON FRIEND FIND AN OPPORTUNITY TODAY TO CONGRATULATE THOSE BRITISH SERVICE MEN AND POLICEMEN IN RHODESIA WHO ARE HAVING SUCH SUCCESS IN ENSURING A GOOD TURN-OUT AT THE ELECTIONS?

THE PRIME MINISTER: I SHALL GLADLY DO SO. INDEED, I SHALL CONGRATULATE ALL THOSE CONCERNED WITH ADMINISTERING THE ELECTIONS. I AM HAPPY TO REPORT THAT THEY SEEM TO BE GOING EXTREMELY WELL AT THE MOMENT.'

2. GRATEFUL IF YOU WOULD SEE THAT THOSE CONCERNED ARE AWARE OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S APPRECIATION, AS EXPRESSED IN THE HOUSE.

CARRINGTON

NNNN

FILES
RHODESIA D
PARLIAMENTARY UNIT
DEFENCE D
PS
PS/LPS
PS/MR LUCE
SIR A ACLAND
MR DAY.

COPIES TO:
PS/SOS FOR DEFENCE.
MR ALEXANDER, NO 10 DS.

PART 16 begins:-

~~Salsburg tel 90~~

~~FCO tel FCO tel 657 29.2.1950~~

~~Tel Monrovia to FCO 48 1.3.50~~

PART 15 ends:-

Tel Maputo to FCO 179 29.2.50

