PREM 19/347

The internal situation.
Independence.

Part 17

RHODESIA

Part 1 : May 1979
Part 17 : March 1980

Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date
~~24.3.80~~		11-8-80.					
~~26.3.80~~							
~~27.3.80.~~							
~~1.4.80.~~							
~~9.4.80~~							
~~15.4.80~~							
~~19.4.80.~~							
~~21.4.80~~							
~~22.4.80.~~							
30.4.80							
5.5.80.							
ends							

PREM 19/347

TO BE RETAINED AS TOP ENCLOSURE

Cabinet / Cabinet Committee Documents

Reference	Date
CC (80) 16th Conclusions, Minute 2 (extract)	17.4.80
CC (80) 17th Conclusions, Minute 2 (extract)	24.4.80

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 CHWayland Date 8 July 2010

PREM Records Team

Commonwealth Information

NEWS RELEASE
80/39

11 August 1980

ZIMBABWE: STATEMENT BY MR SHRIDATH RAMPHAL, COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY-GENERAL

In his opening address at the Eighth Commonwealth Education Conference in Colombo this morning, the Commonwealth Secretary-General, Mr Shridath Ramphal said:

> "The statement by General Walls today reviving talk of intimidation comes ill from him. As the detailed and dispassionate report of the Commonwealth Observer Group drawn from 11 Commonwealth countries confirmed in advance of the declared results, the elections organised and supervised by the British Government were free and fair and a valid exercise of the will of the people of Zimbabwe. His statement confirms, however, how strong was the pressure to frustrate that will by those who have guarded UDI for so long and how great remains the need to safeguard Zimbabwe's freedom".

End

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

CONFIDENTIAL

bc MR GAFFIN

jfh

Rhodesia.

11 August 1980

Thank you for your letter of today's date about General Walls' interview on Panorama.

As I told you on the telephone, the Prime Minister has somewhat amended the first section of the recommended line to take. I enclose a copy of the line which our Press Office will be using.

MAP

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

cc.

CONFIDENTIAL

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

11 August 1980

Previous papers on Part 16 of this file

Dear Mike,

General Walls' interview on Panorama

I attach a line to take with the press in reply to questions about the reports on tonight's interview on Panorama.

The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary feels very strongly that we should avoid getting embroiled in a public controversy with General Walls. In the course of the negotiations we took him into our confidence to a substantial extent. He is an emotional man and we know that, however wrongly, he feels embittered over the role played by HMG. He considers that he was given assurances which were subsequently not fulfilled. Our objectives should be to let the affair die away as quickly as possible and, above all, to avoid provoking Walls into further public comments. In particular, it would be helpful if appreciation could be expressed of the key role which he played in the transition to independence: by implication this will help to explain why Walls was given access to the Prime Minister.

We shall be having a further look during the course of today at the Government's contacts with General Walls during the Lancaster House Conference and subsequently: and shall offer further advice tomorrow on the line to be taken in the light of the full broadcast. While General Walls may make further points which require an answer, we think that our objective should be to avoid replying in detail to everything which he says.

Yours ever

Roderic Lyne

(R M J Lyne)
Private Secretary

M Pattison Esq
10 Downing Street
London

CONFIDENTIAL

Line to Take with the Press

We have not yet seen the full interview.

General Walls did indeed send the Prime Minister a message shortly after the Rhodesian elections (the message was in fact received on 2 March). The Prime Minister ~~did not reply in writing. However the Governor's Office delivered an oral reply on her behalf.*~~ asking her to declare the poll null and void. arranged for the deputy-governor to see General Walls personally to explain why she felt that could not be done,

~~The reply made clear that~~ in the light of reports from the election supervisors and observers, ~~the Prime Minister~~ she did not consider ~~that~~ there were any grounds on which the election could be declared null and void. These reports, and the reports which have appeared since by groups of international observers, have all agreed that while there may have been some intimidation, the elections were as free and fair as was possible in the circumstances and constituted a genuine expression of the will of the Zimbabwean people.

~~The Press~~. This ~~[illegible]~~ makes clear that General Walls and the Deputy Governor took place on

~~General Walls has played a~~ key role, both before and after independence in the Rhodesian settlement, ~~and in the transition to peace, to legality and to majority rule~~ which General Walls played. It was a courageous decision on his part to assume responsibility at a crucial time for the military integration programme.

The PM & F.S. have paid tribute to the role General Walls played

If pressed on the question of intimidation

The size of Mr Mugabe's victory suggests that intimidation, which was not confined to one side, could not significantly have affected the outcome.

Did General Walls have direct access to the Prime Minister?

Yes. General Walls was a key figure in the negotiations and it was agreed that he should be able to speak to the Prime Minister personally, if necessary.

*[telegrams of instructions enclosed: I understand that you have spoken to Sir A Duff about this].

If Pressed

Did General Walls in fact meet the Prime Minister?

Yes. And as General Walls has said, the Prime Minister told him that he could get in touch with her if matters of critical importance arose.

When did General Walls meet the Prime Minister?

On 6 December, when the Lancaster House Conference was drawing to a close.

Why did the Prime Minister agree to meet him/Why was the meeting not announced?

In the last days of the Conference the Prime Minister met leaders on both sides. Although not a delegation leader, General Walls held a position of critical importance, as the Government had recognised from the outset. Without his support, implementation of the settlement would not have been possible: and he has subsequently played a vital part in the transition to independence, by continuing until recently to lead the joint military command.

[If pressed]

A meeting between the Prime Minister and General Walls was bound to be a sensitive matter with the negotiations reaching their climax. It was therefore decided not to make a public announcement at that time.

General Walls claims that he has been let down

The Government carried out the Lancaster House agreement and held elections, with the support and cooperation of General Walls, which resulted in a democratically elected government.

[If pressed on why ZANU was not banned]

In the view of the Governor and of the Election Commissioner, there was a degree of intimidation on all sides: but this did not justify the banning of one party.

Line to Take with the Press

We have not yet seen the full interview.

General Walls did indeed send the Prime Minister a message shortly after the Rhodesian elections asking her to declare them null and void. (The message was in fact received on 2 March.) The Prime Minister arranged for the Deputy Governor to see General Walls personally the following day to explain why, in the light of reports from the election supervisors and observers, she did not consider that there were any grounds on which the elections could be declared null and void. These reports, and the reports which have appeared since by groups of international observers, have all agreed that while there may have been some intimidation, the elections were as free and fair as was possible in the circumstances and constituted a genuine expression of the will of the Zimbabwean people.

The Prime Minister and the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary have great regard for the key role which General Walls played, both before and after independence, in the Rhodesian settlement. It was a courageous decision on his part to assume responsibility at a crucial time for the military integration programme.

Rhodesia

B/F 8.5.80

1 May 1980

ZIMBABWE

I enclose a copy of a message received by the Prime Minister from President Shagari of Nigeria. I should be grateful if you could let me have a draft reply which the Prime Minister might send to President Shagari.

See TQO 4/80

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

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

Canadian High Commission  Haut Commissariat du Canada

1 Grosvenor Square,
London, W.1.

May 1, 1980

P.S. Thanks 2/5

Dear Mr. Whitmore,

Further to my letter of April 18, attached please find the original letter from Prime Minister Trudeau to Prime Minister Thatcher dated April 17, 1980.

Filed in correct place

Yours sincerely,

Christian Hardy
Deputy High Commissioner

Mr. C.A. Whitmore,
Principal Private Secretary
to the Prime Minister,
No. 10 Downing Street,
London, S.W.1.

Rhodesia

cc PS/Lord Privy Seal

10 DOWNING STREET

30 April 1980

From the Private Secretary

Zimbabwe: Final Report of the Election Commissioner

Thank you for your letter of 30 April. We have no objection to the timetable you propose.

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

N. J. SANDERS

E.R. Worsnop, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

cc Press Office

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London S.W.1

30 April 1980

N Sanders Esq
10 Downing Street
London
SW1

Dear Nick,

ZIMBABWE: FINAL REPORT OF THE ELECTION COMMISSIONER

We propose to publish as a White Paper in approximately six weeks time (ie mid-June) Sir John Boynton's final Report on the Rhodesian Elections. This is basically a factual account providing a detailed description of the organisation and conduct of the elections.

The Report will be accompanied by a selection of appendices as given on the attached sheet.

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

Yours ever,

Edric

E R Worsnop
Parliamentary Clerk

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

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

ANNEX

Appendices to be printed:-

1a (Election Commission staff and responsibilities)

1d (List of official British observers, plus their report)

2a (Election results)

Some Party political leaflets and some of those explaining secrecy of vote etc.

7a (Agenda items at meetings of the Election Council)

7b (Summary of main decisions made by the Election Council)

10a (Lord Soames' message to British Police Officers)

10b (Instructions to British Police Officers)

11a (Polling Stations)

11c (Note on security arrangements)

12a (List of observers)

vb

22 April 1980

Message to President Carter: Zimbabwe

I enclose the signed original of a message from the Prime Minister to President Carter thanking the President for his messages of 3 and 19 April about Zimbabwe. The text has been sent to the White House on the direct line. I should be grateful if you would arrange for the delivery of the signed version.

MICHAEL ALEXANDER

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

GB

Subject

Rhodesia

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T91/80.

CAB/WTE 003/22

O 221155Z APR 80
FM CABINET OFFICE LONDON
TO WHITE HOUSE
BT
UNCLASSIFIED
FOR PRESIDENT CARTER
FROM PRIME MINISTER THATCHER

DEAR MR PRESIDENT
THANK YOU FOR YOUR MESSAGES OF 3 AND 19 APRIL ABOUT ZIMBABWE. I MUCH APPRECIATE YOUR WILLINGNESS TO GIVE THE PROBLEMS OF ZIMBABWE'S FUTURE YOUR PERSONAL ATTENTION AT THIS DIFFICULT TIME.

THE ECONOMIC SUPPORT WHICH YOU HAVE BEEN ABLE TO EXTEND TO ZIMBABWE WILL BE A FILLIP TO THE NEW GOVERNMENT AS IT BEGINS TO TACKLE THE DAUNTING PROBLEM OF RECONSTRUCTION. ZIMBABWE IS IN URGENT NEED TO HELP IN THE SECTORS TO WHICH YOU HAVE COMMITTED FUNDS IN THE CURRENT FISCAL YEAR. WITH YOUR HELP AND THE AID PLEDGES WHICH I EXPECT OTHER FRIENDLY COUNTRIES WILL BE MAKING SHORTLY, ROBERT MUGABE'S GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE ABLE TO CONTINUE THE PROGRESS ALREADY MADE TOWARDS ESTABLISHING A PEACEFUL AND STABLE FUTURE FOR ALL THEIR PEOPLE.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR CONTINUING SUPPORT.

YOURS SINCERELY

MARGARET THATCHER

BT

NNNN

T91/80

MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

0292
O - 221155Z

U/c

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T91/80.

"Dear Mr. President

Thank you for your messagesof 3 and 19 April about Zimbabwe. I much appreciate your willingness to give the problems of Zimbabwe's future your personal attention at this difficult time.

The economic support which you have been able to extend to Zimbabwe will be a fillip to the new government as it begins to tackle the daunting problem of reconstruction. Zimbabwe is in urgent need to help in the sectors to which you have committed funds in the current fiscal year. With your help and the aid pledges which I expect other friendly countries will be making shortly, Robert Mugabe's government should be able to continue the progress already made towards establishing a peaceful and stable future for all their people.

Thank you for your continuing support.

Yours sincerely

MARGARET THATCHER"

file copy

SUBJECT

10 DOWNING STREET

22 April 1980

THE PRIME MINISTER

T91/80

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T91/80

Dear Mr President,

Thank you for your messages of 3 and 19 April about Zimbabwe. I much appreciate your willingness to give the problems of Zimbabwe's future your personal attention at this difficult time.

The economic support which you have been able to extend to Zimbabwe will be a fillip to the new government as it begins to tackle the daunting problem of reconstruction. Zimbabwe is in urgent need of help in the sectors to which you have committed funds in the current fiscal year. With your help and the aid pledges which I expect other friendly countries will be making shortly, Robert Mugabe's government should be able to continue the progress already made towards establishing a peaceful and stable future for all their people.

Thank you for your continuing support.

Yours sincerely

Margaret Thatcher

The President of the United States of America

010

bcc

M Alexander Esq

1

Ag Pmt 23/

Mr Sankey (CAD)

Secretary of State's Visit to Salisbury

To supplement my oral reports to you and to Mr Johnson, it may be worth rounding up certain points from Lord Carrington's visit to Salisbury which did not justify inclusion in a telegram. I attach a list of those with whom the Secretary of State had bilateral meetings, and the guests at his lunch on 17 April.

Lord Carrington had hoped to have a talk with Mr Luavalu, who was leading the Angolan delegation. However, Luavalu dropped out of the lunch at a late stage; we were not able to fit in a bilateral with him; and Lord Carrington did not succeed in catching him on a social occasion. The question of the Britons in prison in Angola was therefore not raised.

President Kaunda, as I sought to indicate in the reporting telegram, went out of his way publicly and privately to bury the hatchet. He greeted Lord Carrington like a long lost brother (Mark Chona, whom I had only met briefly in the margins of Lancaster House, gave me similar treatment). Kaunda then made sure that as many African pressmen as possible were crammed into the tiny hotel room to film, record and photograph his congratulations to the Secretary of State and the Prime Minister (with many a ''Margaret'') on their achievement in Rhodesia and his regret at past differences and harsh words. The private conversation that followed remained equally warm. Kaunda made no reference to British aid to Zambia or to the question of the British High Commissioner at Lusaka. Far from berating us and the Five for failing to get the South Africans out of Zambia and to press them to move faster to accept the Namibian settlement, Kaunda thanked us most warmly for our vote on the Zambian resolution in the Security Council and seemed genuinely to think that it had had some effect on the South Africans. He was obviously astonished and delighted at the sudden turn of events which had brought him to stay in peace and tranquility in Meikles Hotel (on arrival at the airport, Kaunda told Sir A Duff that his last experience of Salisbury was in 1959 when he had been transferred from a prison in Northern Rhodesia to one in Southern Rhodesia). Nkomo's gloom had not rubbed off on him. Given the pressure he has been under internally and the fact that he had only returned on the day before from a tour of the Far East, Kaunda seemed surprisingly relaxed and bouncy.

The meeting with President Shagari was friendly but less relaxed in style. He was staying in a vast suite with a retinue to match, most of whom remained in the room or wandered in and out while Lord Carrington was talking. The meeting was covered throughout by cameramen and photographers and it was not always easy to pick up Shagari's soft tones over the whirring and clicking of the press. Shagari was somewhat formal in his manner and careful in his phrasing. Professor Audu did not intervene, except when invited to describe the coup in Monrovia. This had caused pain to the Nigerians and Shagari manifestly thought it an affront to the dignity of OAU

/Heads of State

Heads of State to have to contemplate a Master Sergeant as their Chairman. Lord Carrington jokingly referred to the fact that Napoleon and Hitler had been Corporals. Shagari riposted with the more recent precedent of Amin. As he was in the throes of leaving, the Secretary of State expressed the hope that Shagari might at some stage spare Professor Audu for a few days to visit London, and added that Shagari himself would of course be welcome: this was not conveyed as a specific invitation requiring any form of reply; but rather was phrased as an expression of courtesy.

Of those invited to lunch, Kamara-Taylor of Sierra Leone had to be dropped at the last moment because he did not arrive in Salisbury until 18 hours after the scheduled time (conceivably as a consequence of the Liberian coup? One of our African interlocutors said that President Stevens was particularly worried about the implications of the coup, having been close to Tolbert). Kodjo was perhaps the brightest of the eight Africans to attend, but Lord Carrington unfortunately was not able to have more than a few words with him. The lunch was memorable only for an extrovert performance by Dos Santos of Mozambique, who loudly interrupted the conversation in order to harangue Lord Carrington about Namibia. Dos Santos took exception to the proposition that the South Africans should be given a few weeks to adjust to the shock of events in Rhodesia before being pressed to commit themselves on Namibia. Far from being allowed time to recover, he argued that the South Africans should be treated like a snake. His fellow Africans seemed much amused by Dos Santos' speech and some chipped in to support him (including my neighbours Nguza and Molapo, who had both agreed only a few minutes earlier that it did not make sense to push the South Africans too hard on Namibia at the present juncture).

RMJ Lyne

22 April 1980 (R M J Lyne)

cc: PS/Mr Luce
PS/PUS
Mr Day
Sir L Allinson
Mr Johnson WAD
Mr Robson EAD
Mr Barder SAfD
Mr Barlow Zimbabwe Unit
Mr Fenn, News Dept
PUSD

ANNEX

A. Secretary of State's bilateral meetings in Salisbury (chronological order)

Mr Mugabe (reported by telegram)

Mr Nkomo (record circulated)

Mr David Smith (tete-a-tete, no record)

Bishop Muzorewa (record circulated)

Chinese Foreign Minister)
)
President of Pakistan)
)
President of Botswana)
)
Canadian Foreign Minister) (reported by telegram)
)
Indian Prime Minister)
)
President of Zambia)
)
Australian Prime Minister)
)
President of Nigeria)

B. Secretary of State's guests for lunch at Government House on 17 April

Mr Kibaki Vice President of Kenya

Mr Ebeid, Egyptian Deputy Prime Minister

Dr Waldheim, Secretary General of the United Nations

Dr de Graft Johnson, Vice President of Ghana

Mr Ake, Ivory Coast Minister of Foreign Affairs

Mr Dos Santos, Mozambique Representative

Mr Nguza Karl-I-Bond, Zaire Foreign Minister

Mr Molapo, Lesotho Foreign Minister

Mr Kodjo, Secretary General of the OAU

Confidential

(2)

Prime Minister
Ag.

Treasury Chambers, Parliament Street, SW1P 3AG
01-233 3000

21 April 1980

Private Secretary to the
Prime Minister
No 10 Downing Street
London SW1

Dear Michael,

ZIMBABWE'S DEBTS

The Chancellor has asked me to let you know that a preliminary round of discussions with Zimbabwe representatives on Zimbabwe's debts to the UK is expected to start in London in the week beginning 5 May.

The Government of Zimbabwe owes the United Kingdom about £100 million, a debt incurred by successive administrations in Salisbury up to the declaration of UDI in November, 1965. Mr Mugabe has undertaken to honour this debt. Agreement on it is a crucial element in the establishing of Zimbabwe's credit-worthiness. The debt falls into two categories. First, there are debts owed to HMG arising out of development loans, loans by the Commonwealth Development Corporation and payments under guarantee of Southern Rhodesia borrowing from the IBRD. These account for about half the total. The other half is owed to the United Kingdom resident holders of Rhodesian government stock issued on the London Capital Market.

Clearly, Zimbabwe cannot pay all this at once. There will have to be some re-scheduling of payments. We cannot at present judge how much debt relief will be required. It will be necessary to make some assessment of Zimbabwe's capacity to repay over a period. There are also some inherent complications:-

i. We have to ensure that the treatment of governmental and bondholders' claims is equitable as between the two categories.

/ii. It

ii. It will be necessary to agree upon appropriate treatment of matured and of 'live' Rhodesian Government stocks.

iii. The debt arose during the tenure of office of a totally different regime. Should interest be payable upon sums outstanding over the whole period since repayments fell due (sometimes referred to for convenience as 'compensation' interest)?

iv. Some claims are pretty 'political' (viz payments by HMG to 'loyal' public officials, who left Salisbury on UDI; and payments for Hunter aircraft ordered before UDI by the Rhodesian government.

A further complication is that the South African Government lent the previous regime some £250 million. We are not clear what Mr Mugabe's intentions are about repayment; he has apparently been offered attractive inducements. But we could not accept that South Africa should be treated more favourably than our own pre-UDI debt.

Agreement will take time to reach. There is no possibility of concluding the negotiations at the first round of meetings. The aim at this round will be to clear the ground - to agree on the extent of the debts, the procedures for arriving at a settlement, and how to achieve consistency of treatment.

The Treasury will be in the lead for the UK at these talks, in close consultation with the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and other Departments. The participants from Zimbabwe will probably be the Permanent Secretary for Finance and the Deputy Governor of the Reserve Bank in Salisbury. The Council of Foreign Bondholders (CFB) will represent the Bondholders; and the Bank of England (in their capacities as Trustees of some of the Sinking Funds attached to Rhodesian stocks, and as registrar of all but one of them) will also take part. Zimbabwean interests in the market stocks may be represented on their behalf by Messrs Morgan Grenfell.

/We are making

CONFIDENTIAL

We are making arrangements to ensure that the discussions between the Zimbabwe representatives and the CFB (with whom we are in touch) proceed in parallel with those on the debt to HMG so that in due course Ministers can take a view about the whole picture. In the meantime the Chancellor will keep his colleagues closely informed on the progress of the talks; the issues involved will clearly be sensitive.

I am sending copies of this letter to the Private Secretaries to the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary, the Secretary of State for Trade the Lord President of the Council and the Governor of the Bank of England.

Yours ever,

MAH

M A HALL
Private Secretary

SUBJECT

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T90A/80

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA
STATE HOUSE
LAGOS, NIGERIA

Ref. No. 1882/S.70 *21st April, 1980*

Dear Excellency,

ZIMBABWE INDEPENDENCE CELEBRATIONS

I have just returned from a visit to Salisbury, Zimbabwe where I had the pleasure and privilege to participate in their independence celebrations. It was a particularly happy and moving occasion and a truly great privilege to see the new nation launched into the world community as a fully accepted member, with so much international goodwill. The realisation of this great victory must be largely attributed to the political will of your goodself and your government and your sincere determination to see to a just and peaceful solution to the long drawn-out conflict. I would like on behalf of myself, my government and the entire people of my country to congratulate you most warmly and most sincerely for bringing about this peaceful solution in that troubled land through actively ensuring the conduct of free and fair elections. We on our part would like to assure you of our continuing support for the young nation in whatever way we possibly can to ensure that their onerous task of reconciliation, resettlement and rehabilitation succeeds in an atmosphere of peace and mutual trust and confidence. We believe that a successful multiracial society in Zimbabwe would be a great symbol of hope for mankind not only in Africa but throughout the world.

Meanwhile I ask you to accept, Your Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration and esteem.

Yours Sincerely,

(ALHAJI SHEHU SHAGARI)
PRESIDENT OF THE FEDERAL
REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA.

The Right Honourable
Mrs. Margaret Thatcher,
Prime Minister,
United Kingdom.

file

Rhodesia

21 April 1980

Thank you for your letter of 18 April to Clive Whitmore.

Your Prime Minister's message has, of course, been brought to the Prime Minister's immediate attention.

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

Christian Hardy, Esq.

Subject.

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T 89/80.

V

✓ Mufaxed to Chequers
19/4

ZCZCWAG013
OO WTE24
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FM THE WHITE HOUSE
TO CABINET OFFICE
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C O N F I D E N T I A L VIA CABINET OFFICE CHANNELS EYES ONLY WH80460

TO: PRIME MINISTER MAGARET THATCHER
LONDON

DEAR MADAME PRIME MINISTER:

PLEASE ACCEPT MY WARMEST CONGRATULATIONS FOR GREAT BRITAINS ROLE IN BRINGING ZIMBABWE TO INDEPENDENCE. WE HAVE THE PROFOUNDEST ADMIRATION FOR THE SKILLS THAT YOU AND LORD CARRINGTON DEMONSTRATED IN ACHIEVING THIS.

AMERICANS ARE PROUD TO HAVE ABLE TO PLAY A ROLE IN ASSISTING YOU AND THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE ALONG THE ARDUOUS PATH TO INDEPENDENCE. THIS HAS BEEN A TRIUMPH FOR ALL FREEDOM-LOVING PEOPLES.

THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN AMONG THE FIRST TO ESTABLISH RELATIONS WITH ZIMBABWE, AND WE ARE FOLLOWING YOUR LEAD BY ANNOUNCING A SUBSTANTIAL AID PROGRAM FG THIS NEW NATION IN WHICH WE ALL TAKE SUCH A WARM INTEREST.

ONCE AGAIN, MY CONGRATULATIONS ON THIS MAGNIFICENT ACHIEVEMENT.

SINCJELY,

JIMMY CARTER

0188
£2983

NNNN

RECEPTION ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE RETURN TO THE UNITED KINGDOM FROM ZIMBABWE OF THE LORD SOAMES GCMG GCVO CBE

SATURDAY 19 APRIL 1980

1. DATE AND PLACE

The Lord Soames GCMG GCVO CBE and Lady Soames and the party accompanying them (see Appendix I) from Zimbabwe will arrive at London Airport, Heathrow Southside Suite at 10.00 hours on Saturday 19 April. They will be travelling by RAF VC 10 Flight Ascot 1181.

2. RECEIVING PARTY

(a) On arrival Lord and Lady Soames, Sir Antony Duff KCMG and Miss Emma Soames will be greeted at the aircraft steps by:-

1. Lt Col The Lord Charteris of Amisfield GCB GCVO OBE QSO

   Permanent Lord in Waiting Representing Her Majesty The Queen

2. The Prime Minister The Rt Hon Margaret Thatcher MP

3. The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary The Lord Carrington KCMG MC

4. The Permanent Under Secretary of State, Foreign and Commonwealth Office

   Sir Michael Palliser GCMG and Lady Palliser

5. Deputy Under Secretary of State Foreign and Commonwealth Office

   Mr D M Day CMG

6. Lady Duff

7. Vice Marshal of the Diplomatic Corps Mr R W H du Boulay CMG CVO

8. The Hon Mrs Charlotte Hambro

9. Mr & Mrs Jeremy Soames

10. Mr Rupert Soames

(b) Following the greeting Lord Charteris, accompanied by the Prime Minister and Lord Soames, will walk along the red carpet to the microphones. The Prime Minister will say a few words of welcome, to which Lord Soames will reply. They will then go into the VIP suite, accompanied by other members of the greeting party.

Diagram attached - Appendix II

/3.

3. ORDER OF CARS TO HEATHROW

The order of cars for those travelling to Heathrow to greet the party is shown at Appendix III.

4. DEPARTURE FROM HEATHROW

(a) Transport arrangements for those disembarking from Lord Soames aircraft are shown at Appendix IV.

(b) Cars will depart from Southside Heathrow in the following order:-

1. The Queen's Representative, Lord Charteris
2. Prime Minister
3. Lord and Lady Soames
4. Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary
5. Sir Antony and Lady Duff

5. PRESS ARRANGEMENTS

There will be media coverage of the arrival. Press arrangements are being coordinated by Mr Denis Healey of News Department FCO and Mr Ray Berry, Public Relations Officer British Airports Authority. Details at Appendix V.

6. ENQUIRIES

Any enquiries regarding these arrangements should be referred to Miss Makgill (P&CD 233 3116). Transport enquiries to Mr Michael Hall (P&CD 233 8601) and Press Arrangements to Mr Denis Healey (News Department 233 3191).

Diana Makgill

18 April 1980

The Hon Diana Makgill
Protocol and Conference Department

APPENDIX I

THOSE ARRIVING ON RAF FLIGHT
ASCOT 1181 FROM RHODESIA ON
SATURDAY 19 APRIL

(a) 1. The Lord Soames GCMG GCVO CBE
2. Lady Soames
3. Sir Antony Duff KCMG
4. Miss Emma Soames
5. Miss Jane Morton
6. Mr and Mrs J Buckley and child (PS to Lord Soames)
7. Mrs R A C Byatt (wife of British High Commissioner)
8. Lt Col and Mrs A Parker Bowles
9. Mrs Fursdon (wife of General Fursdon)
10. Mr de Chassiron (1st Secretary, FCO)
11. Miss B Chaplin (1st Secretary, FCO)
12. Mr E Chaplin (1st Secretary, FCO)
13. Miss J Pearey (FCO Personal Assistant)
14. Miss M Tillman (FCO Personal Assistant)
15. Miss E McKnight (FCO Personal Assistant)
16. Miss N Williams (FCO Personal Assistant)
17. Mr E Taylor (FCO Passport Officer)
18. Mrs Bronson and 2 children

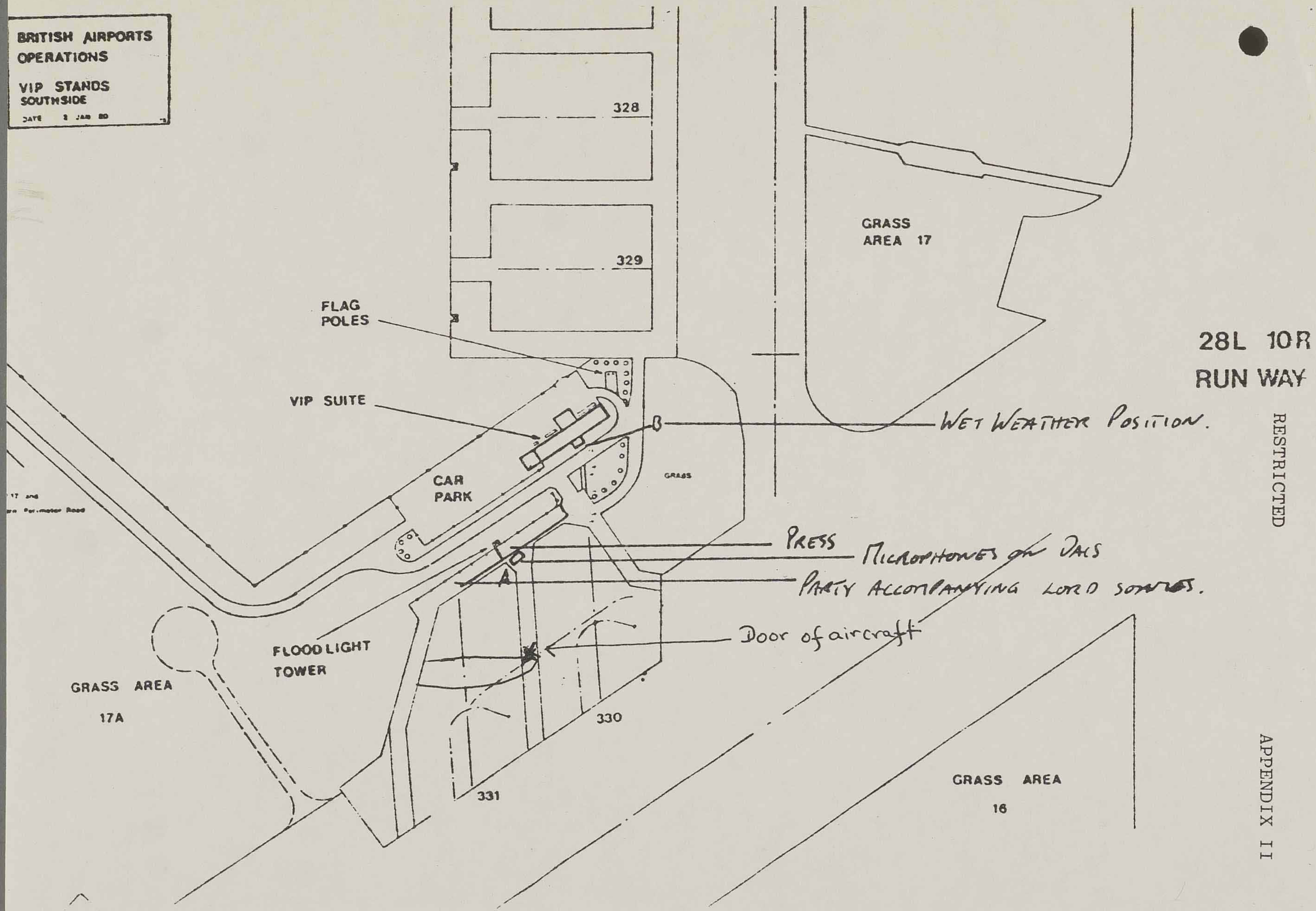
(b) Also travelling:-

RSM J O'Donnell and 11 members of the Royal Military Police, London District Provost Company.

(c) 17 British members of the Commonwealth Monitoring Force and British Army Training Team.

(d) 8 members of press/media.

Total 59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PARTY ACCOMPANYING LORD SOMMES.
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Door of aircraft
FLOOD LIGHT TOWER
GRASS AREA 17A
330
331
GRASS AREA 16

APPENDIX III

ORDER OF CARS TO HEATHROW

Car	Passengers	From/At	Arrival at Southside
5 GCS cars	-	-	09.15
2 FCO vans	-	-	
1 PSA van	-	-	
Own cars	The Hon Diana Makgill Mr Hall Mr Healey (All FCO)	-	09.15
FCO car	Mr Day	Oxford & Cambridge Club Pall Mall 08.30	09.15
Own car	Mr du Boulay	89 Piccadilly	09.15
Own cars	Mrs C Hambro Mrs Jeremy Soames Mr R Soames Mr Graham Penn (to collect luggage) Mrs MacKaness (to meet Miss Morton)		09.30
GCS Car	Lady Duff	30 Park Mansions Prince of Wales Drive SW11 08.45	09.30
Own car	Sir Michael and Lady Palliser	As directed	09.30
Own car	Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary and Lady Carrington	As directed	09.35
Own car	Prime Minister	As directed	09.40
Own car	Lord Charteris	As directed	09.45

APPENDIX IV

TRANSPORT FROM HEATHROW SOUTSIDE FOR THOSE TRAVELLING ON ASCOT 1181

Car	Passengers	To
Own car	Lord and Lady Soames	Castle Mill House North Warnborough Nr Basingstoke
Mrs Hambros' car	Miss Emma Soames	
GCS car 1	Sir Antony and Lady Duff	Park Mansions Prince of Wales Drive SW11
FCO car	Mrs Byatt (also Mr Day)	5 Kensington Park Gardens
Mrs Mackaness' car	Miss Morton	As directed
GCS car 2	Mr & Mrs Buckley	Spencer Avenue Weybridge
MOD car	Mrs Fursdon LtCol & Mrs Parker-Bowles	As directed
GCS car 3	Mr de Chassiron Miss McKnight Miss Pearey	Effingham, Surrey Carshalton, Surrey West Side, Wimbledon SW19
GCS car 4	Miss Tillman Miss Williams	Victoria Station Victoria Station
GCS car 5	Miss Chaplin Mr Chaplin	Airlie Gardens W8 Leighton Road, NW5
GCS Car 6	Mrs Bronson and children	Euston Station
RMP Transport	RMP Contingent	
MOD Transport	CMF and BATT Personnel	
PSA Van	Lord and Lady Soames' Baggage	Castle Mill House
FCO Van I	Security Boxes	FCO
FCO Van II	Election Equipment for HMSO	FCO

Separate Arrangements - Press

NOTE TO PRESS OFFICERS

LORD SOAMES' RETURN

No 10 will be announcing at the Lobby this morning that the Prime Minister will go to the airport on Saturday morning to greet Lord Soames on his return from Zimbabwe.

The reception committee in order of precedence will be:

Permanent Lord-in-Waiting, Lord Charteris
Prime Minister accompanied by Dennis Thatcher
Lord Carrington
Michael Palliser, PUS
Derek Day, DUS
Roger du Boulay, Vice Marshall, Diplomatic Corps

Press arrangements will be as follows:

Lord Soames' aircraft arrives at Heathrow Airport at 10 am. He will be greeted by the line-up above. The PM will say a few words of welcome and Lord Soames will reply. The gates to the Southside area will be opened at 8 am. The interested press are asked to arrive by 0915. No special press accreditation is required, the usual press credentials will suffice.

DISTRIBUTION

Lord Chamberlain's Office

The Comptroller for Lord Charteris
Press Office - Buckingham Palace

No 10 Downing Street
PS/PM
Miss Caroline Stevens
Press Office

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

PS/Secretary of State
PS/PUS
Mr Day
Mr du Boulay
Rhodesia Department (2)
News Department Mr Healey (2)
Protocol and Conference Department (10)
Resident Clerks
FCO Car Pool
Security Department: Mr Harris (2)

Ministry of Defence

PAS to Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State (RAF) Sq.Ldr B Lee
MOVOPS Wing Commander Whitworth (3)

RAF Northolt (3)

Civil Service Department

Miss Thornton (Lord President's Office)

Scotland Yard (Special Branch)

British Airports Authority

Mr R Baxendale
Mr R Berry

Department of the Environment

Government Car Service (2)

Metropolitan Police Heathrow

Chief Inspector Ian Woodhead

SPEECH BY THE PRIME MINISTER ON LORD SOAMES' RETURN

The whole country is delighted to welcome you and your staff back to London at the triumphant conclusion of your unique mission.

When you departed for Salisbury just four months ago, we were under no illusion about the difficulty of the task you faced. It was to preside over the transformation of a country from war to peace and from violent confrontation to the ballot box. Almost miraculously, the transformation has been wrought. I and your other colleagues here have watched with admiration and respect as you have tackled the problems confronting you and brought your stewardship to a satisfactory end.

The peaceful settlement of the Rhodesian problem after so many years is a source of profound satisfaction. It has demanded political determination and courage of the highest order from all the parties in Zimbabwe.

It also, I believe, owes much to the skill of your administration. In the weeks since the election, you have played a central role in creating the spirit of reconciliation and hope which has been the hallmark of the independence celebrations. You have also developed a close friendship with Mr. Mugabe and his Ministers, as he said in his warm tribute to you in his independence address.

I also pay tribute to the work of your staff, many of whom have been involved in the settlement since this Government took office. They have worked with you under demanding and tense

/ conditions.

PRIME MINISTER

Mufaxed to Chequers at 2000 18/4

I attach a few sentences on which you may care to draw in speaking at Heathrow tomorrow morning.

18 April 1980

conditions. In particular, I would like to thank the Deputy Governor, Sir Antony Duff. As he goes into retirement, I hope Sir Antony will look back with pride and satisfaction on his final mission.

Congratulations to you all. This has been a mission well accomplished.

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

Type for signature.

18 April 1980

Dear Michael,

Thank you for your letter of 3 April enclosing President Carter's message about US aid to Zimbabwe.

The American contribution of $20 million this year is not particularly generous. But the President has had real difficulties with Congress over the aid budget and his response represents a substantial effort. We understand that the Prime Minister's letter helped to secure approval of this offer. We think it would be useful to send a brief but friendly reply.

I attach a draft.

Yours ever

Paul

(P Lever)
Private Secretary

M O'D B Alexander Esq
10 Downing Street
LONDON

DSR 11 (Revised)

DRAFT: minute/letter/teleletter/despatch/note

TYPE: Draft/Final 1+

FROM:

The Prime Minister

DEPARTMENT: TEL. NO:

Reference

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

Top Secret
Secret
Confidential
Restricted
Unclassified

TO:

President Carter

Your Reference

Copies to:

PRIVACY MARKING

.....In Confidence

CAVEAT.....

SUBJECT:

Thank you for your message of 3 April about aid for Zimbabwe. It was good of you to give this your personal attention.

I was very glad to hear of the economic support which you have been able to give at the outset to Zimbabwe. This will be a fillip to the new government as it begins to tackle the daunting problem of reconstruction. Zimbabwe is in urgent need of help in the sectors to which you have committed funds in the current fiscal year. With your help and the aid pledges which I expect other friendly countries will be making shortly, Robert Mugabe's government should be able to continue the progress already made towards establishing a peaceful and stable future for all their people.

Thank you for your continuing support.

Enclosures—flag(s).....

56-ST Dd 0532078 12/78 H+P Ltd Bly

Canadian High Commission  Haut Commissariat du Canada

1 Grosvenor Square,
London, W1.

April 18, 1980

Dear Mr. Whitmore,

I have been asked to transmit the attached message to Prime Minister Thatcher from Prime Minister Trudeau.

Yours sincerely,

Christian Hardy,
Deputy High Commissioner

Mr. C.A. Whitmore,
Principal Private Secretary
to the Prime Minister,
No. 10 Downing Street,
London, S.W.1.

SUBJECT

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T87/80

PRIME MINISTER · PREMIER MINISTRE

OTTAWA, K1A 0A2

April 17, 1980.

My Dear Prime Minister,

As Zimbabwe attains independence and takes its place in the Commonwealth and the wider international community, I should like to convey to you my warmest personal congratulations for the central role you played in this achievement.

The Secretary of State for External Affairs will, I know, be offering his own congratulations to Lord Carrington in Salisbury for the masterful way in which he conducted the negotiations at Lancaster House. We in Canada are conscious, however, that without your personal involvement and commitment at Lusaka and your continuing support for the negotiating process since that time, success could not have been achieved.

With very best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

P.E. Trudeau

Right Honourable Margaret Thatcher, M.P.,
Prime Minister of the United Kingdom,
10 Downing Street,
LONDON, S.W.1.

Subject

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T 87/80

T 87/80

(2)

Prime Minister
Mtg.

Rmt 18/4

OTTAWA
April 17, 1980

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P. E. Trudeau"

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SERIAL No. T 87/80

OTTAWA
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With very best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

P. E. Trudeau"

100

+ 28

[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 MAKEY) 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 PIFOOT

~~PRESIDENT CLERK~~

Read in full

ADVANCE COPY
IMMEDIATE

CONFIDENTIAL

FM SALISBURY 170745Z APR 80
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 1357 OF 17 APRIL
INFO IMMEDIATE CAPE TOWN NEW YORK
SECRETARY OF STATE'S MEETING WITH MR MUGABE
FOLLOWING FROM WALDEN
1. LORD CARRINGTON MET MR MUGABE FOR HALF AN HOUR SHORTLY AFTER HIS ARRIVAL. THE ATMOSPHERE WAS EXCELLENT.
2. MR MUGABE PAID TRIBUTE TO THE GOVERNOR'S ROLE, AND EXPRESSED GRATITUDE FOR OUR AID COMMITMENT. HE WAS PARTICULARLY KEEN THAT WE SHOULD HELP OVER THE CIVIL SERVICE, WHICH HE SAW AS POSING A GREATER PROBLEM FOR THE MOMENT THAN THE ECONOMY.
3. HE ADMITTED THAT RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA WERE A CAUSE FOR SOME CONCERN AT PRESENT. THEY HAD WITHDRAWN THEIR REPRESENTATIVE FROM SALISBURY (THOUGH GEORGE SMITH, THE CABINET SECRETARY WHO WAS PRESENT, THOUGHT THAT HE WOULD RETURN AFTER THE INDEPENDENCE CELEBRATIONS). MUGABE SUPPOSED THAT THE SOUTH AFRICANS HAD BEEN UPSET AT NOT BEING INVITED TO THE INDEPENDENCE CELEBRATIONS AND BY THE RECENT LUSAKA MEETING AIMED AT REDUCING ECONOMIC DEPENDENCE ON THEM. THEY WERE ALSO ASKING FOR WRITTEN UNDERTAKINGS TO REPAY THEIR TWO MAJOR LOANS TO THE MUZOREWA GOVERNMENT. MUGABE SAID THAT THIS WOULD BE DIFFICULT, THOUGH HE WOULD BE PREPARED TO CONTINUE THE UNDERSTANDING THAT PAYMENT WOULD EVENTUALLY BE MADE. LORD CARRINGTON

EXPLAINED THAT WE HAD SEEN NO EVIDENCE OF HOSTILITY FROM PRETORIA, THOUGH THE SOUTH AFRICANS WOULD NATURALLY NEED TIME TO DIGEST THE RHODESIAN ELECTIONS. THEIR ATTITUDE WAS ONE OF WAIT AND SEE. HE OFFERED TO PUT IN A WORD WITH THEM ABOUT THE LOANS. MUGABE GRATEFULLY ACCEPTED. MR LEAHY SHOULD KEEP IN TOUCH WITH HAWKINS ON THIS ISSUE AND TAKE ANY OPPORTUNITY TO ENCOURAGE THE SOUTH AFRICANS TO BE FLEXIBLE.

4. ON NAMIBIA, THE SECRETARY OF STATE SAID THAT THE SOUTH AFRICANS CLEARLY WERE NOT READY TO COMMIT THEMSELVES TO ELECTIONS IN THE WAKE OF EVENTS IN RHODESIA. THIS WAS PERHAPS NOT UNREASONABLE, THOUGH THE IMPATIENCE OF THE FRONT-LINE STATES WAS ALSO UNDERSTANDABLE. THE DANGER WAS THAT, BY PRESSING NOW, WE WOULD PROVOKE A NEGATIVE REPLY ON THE U N PLAN: WHEREAS THE REPLY MIGHT BE POSITIVE IF WE PLAYED IT LONGER. THE SOUTH AFRICANS MIGHT OVER-REACT IF PRESSED TOO HARD, AND THIS COULD SPILL OVER INTO U N ACTION WHICH COULD IN TURN CREATE ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES FOR ALL THE COUNTRIES OF THE REGION, EG IF THE SOUTH AFRICANS CLOSED THEIR BORDERS. MUGABE AGREED THAT THE SOUTH AFRICANS WOULD BE UNLIKELY TO ACCEPT A SIMILAR SOLUTION IN NAMIBIA TO THAT IN RHODESIA YET. SPEAKING IN CONFIDENCE, LORD CARRINGTON MENTIONED THE POSSIBILITY OF DIRECT TALKS WITH S W A P O: MUGABE CLEARLY APPROVED OF THIS AND SAID THAT S W A P O WOULD BE READY FOR SUCH TALKS.

5. MUGABE SAID THAT THE CURRENT SITUATION IN RHODESIA WAS CALMER THAN HE HAD EXPECTED, THOUGH THERE WAS SOME TROUBLE WITH BANDITRY, INTIMIDATION, AND RELUCTANCE BY SOME LOCAL LEADERS TO ACCEPT THE AUTHORITY OF THE EXISTING LOCAL GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE (THE DISTRICT COMMISSIONERS). ON THE ECONOMY, HE SAID THAT INDUSTRY WOULD NEED PROTECTION FOR SOME TIME UNTIL NEW FINANCE WAS INJECTED. BUT HE WOULD LIKE THE O D A MISSION IN JUNE TO GIVE PRIORITY TO AGRICULTURE. IT WAS VITAL TO RAISE THE DEPRESSED LIVING STANDARDS OF THE PEASANTS, AND TO GET THEM ABOVE SUBSISTENCE LEVEL. THEY NEEDED LOANS, WHICH HAD IN THE PAST BEEN RESERVED FOR WHITES. BUT LARGE EFFICIENT FARMERS MUST ALSO BE ENCOURAGED. HE HAD BEEN PLEASENTLY SURPRISED BY THE READINESS OF THE FARMING COMMUNITY TO ASSIST THE PEASANTS. HE ALSO MENTIONED PRESSURES FOR AN INCREASE IN THE PRICE OF MAIZE: THE NEED TO ENCOURAGE HOME PRODUCTION OF COTTON GOODS AND DIMINISH EXPORTS (CURRENTLY RUNNING AT 80 PER CENT) OF RAW COTTON: AND SAID THAT THE TOBACCO AUCTIONS SEEMED TO BE GOING WELL, THOUGH PRODUCERS NATURALLY COMPLAINED OF LOW PRICES.

6. THE MEETING ENDED WITH SOME GOOD-HUMOURED RECOLLECTIONS OF THE LANCASTER HOUSE CONFERENCE.

FCO PASS ALL

SOAMES

file Rhodesia

17 April 1980

I enclose a copy of a message received by the Prime Minister from the Prime Minister of Japan congratulating her on Zimbabwe's achievement of independence. The Prime Minister has asked that a brief message of acknowledgement should be conveyed to Mr. Ohira. This might be on the following lines:-

> "I am most grateful to you for your message on the occasion of Zimbabwe's achievement of independence. Like you I hope that this will be an important contribution to the stability of southern Africa. I look forward to our meeting in Venice in June."

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

Roderic Lyne, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

GB

ds

17 April 1980

The Prime Minister has asked me to thank you for your letter to her of 16 April enclosing a message from the Japanese Prime Minister. The Prime Minister is most grateful to Mr. Ohira for having written.

MICHAEL ALEXANDER

His Excellency Mr. Naraichi Fujiyama

Prime Minister

If you agree, I shall arrange for a brief ack to be sent in your name.

MT - 16/4

Yes please

MT

(2)

EMBASSY OF JAPAN
UNITED KINGDOM

London : 16th April 1980

Dear Prime Minister,

I am instructed by the Prime Minister of Japan, Mr. Masayoshi Ohira, to convey to you a message upon the occasion of the Independence of Zimbabwe.

I have pleasure in attaching this message herewith.

Yours sincerely

Naraichi Fujiyama
Ambassador

The Rt.Hon. Margaret Thatcher, MP,
Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury,
10, Downing Street,
London, S.W.1.

T 85/80

TEXT

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T 85/80

Dear Prime Minister,

On the auspicious occasion of the independence of Zimbabwe, I should like to express my profound respects to you for the great contribution you have made to the realization of peace and genuine majority rule in Zimbabwe. I wish to pay tribute to your prominent statesmanship which brought about such a historic achievement by overcoming the many difficulties, and I heartily hope that Zimbabwe will go along the path of steady nation-building and will contribute to the peace and stability of southern Africa.

I am looking forward to seeing you again at the Summit Meeting in Venice this summer.

Yours sincerely,

Masayoshi Ohira
PRIME MINISTER OF JAPAN

The Rt.Hon. Margaret Thatcher, MP,
Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury,
London.

C.C. Mr Alexander
Denis Healy
Fco. News Dept

PRIME MINISTER

Return of Lord Soames

You are to welcome Lord Soames back to the UK on the South Side of Heathrow at 10 a.m. on Saturday. There will be very considerable press/radio/TV interest in this and I would be grateful for your advice on how you want to play it.

The story is primarily a photo-caption and I understand that Lord Soames is not anxious to give in depth interviews immediately on his return.

Nor should we overplay the conquering hero. However, Rhodesia is a major success. You described it as 'the British miracle' in Die Welt. Therefore, I think that you should say a few words of welcome on the tarmac and give Lord Soames an opportunity to respond. This will give the media both sight and sound and should prove highly satisfactory to all concerned.

Are you therefore content for us to arrange for a photo barrier and microphone facility so that everyone can get a good shot and record the words of welcome and response? Yes

If Lord Soames wishes to do short news interviews, then he will no doubt make his views known over the next few days. However, I do not think you should get involved in interviews; a photo/microphone facility will better serve your interests and will not overshadow Lord Soames.

Agree? Yes

No

B. INGHAM

15 April, 1980

PA
MS

STATEMENT ON RHODESIA BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR IAN GILMOUR MP, LORD PRIVY SEAL, IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON TUESDAY 15 APRIL 1980

Rhodesia

With permission Mr Speaker, I shall make a statement on Rhodesia.

Rhodesia will come to independence as Zimbabwe on Friday 18 April. Her Majesty The Queen will be represented at the independence celebrations by His Royal Highness The Prince of Wales. My right honourable and noble Friend will represent the Government. My right honourable and noble Friend the Governor of Southern Rhodesia will leave Salisbury on Independence Day. Britain is thus about to terminate its constitutional responsibility for Rhodesia and to transfer power to a Government freely elected, under British supervision, by the Rhodesia people. I am sure that the House wishes the new country every success.

The Government look forward to working closely with the Government of an independent Zimbabwe headed by Mr Mugabe. I am pleased to announce that, subject to Parliamentary approval, we intend to commit, over three years, aid totalling 75 million pounds to Zimbabwe. The aid to be given within this total commitment includes a seven million pound grant for urgent post-war reconstruction; an allocation of five hundred thousand pounds for joint funding with British

/voluntary agencies

voluntary agencies of projects which they undertake in Zimbabwe; contributions to our share of expenditure through any extension of the Lome Convention to Zimbabwe and to the special appeal of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees; and further humanitarian assistance.

The bulk of the 75 million pounds will be devoted to a substantial bilateral aid programme which will be allocated in agreement with the Zimbabwe Government. A mission from the Overseas Development Administration will visit Zimbabwe shortly after independence for talks with incoming Ministers to identify projects. At the request of the new Government we are providing assistance with police training, broadcasting, the civil service and the foreign service. We are also providing, separately from the aid programme, assistance with the training of the future Zimbabwe army.

Because of the marked extent to which the aid programme is already committed over the next two years, and in order to minimise the impact of this very substantial pledge to Zimbabwe on the level of UK assistance to other countries, my right honourable Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer has agreed exceptionally that there should be made available from the public expenditure contingency reserve a sum of eight million pounds in 1980/81 (with consequent adjustment of the cash limit) and of seven million pounds in 1981/82.

/We welcome

We welcome Zimbabwe's accession to the Commonwealth as the forty third member. This calls for further legal provisions. An Order under the Zimbabwe Act will be laid before Parliament in draft in the next two days for approval by resolution. The principal purposes are to continue the application of certain United Kingdom laws in relation to Zimbabwe notwithstanding its change in status. Similar provision has been made for the application of United Kingdom law in respect of other republics within the Commonwealth.

The Zimbabwe Act 1979 granted an amnesty in United Kingdom law for political offences connected with UDI.

A similar amnesty was granted in Rhodesian law, and has subsequently been extended by the Governor in a general pardon covering all political offences up to the elections.

Now that full amnesty has been granted to all those responsible for the situation which led to the imposition of sanctions, the Government feel that it would no longer be appropriate for any further prosecutions to be initiated for sanctions offences.

The measures applying sanctions in United Kingdom law have of course been revoked. I am informed by my right honourable and learned Friend the Attorney General that only one case, an appeal, is at present before the courts, and that no other prosecutions are pending. The amnesty will not reopen past judgments. An order will be laid before Her Majesty in Council in due course to give effect to this decision.

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.

1. House of Commons Hansard, 15 April 1980, columns 1015-1025
   "Rhodesia"

2. House of Lords Hansard, 15 April 1980, columns 124-133
   "Rhodesia"

Signed AWayland Date 8 July 2010

PREM Records Team

Mr de Fonblanque (Rhodesia Department)

Parliamentary Statement on Rhodesia

I attach the amended version of the statement on Rhodesia which the Secretary of State approved for use today. Could you let me know early tomorrow morning whether any further amendments are necessary in the light of the postponement of the statement until the afternoon of 15 April, e.g. as a result of the "World in Action" television programme to be screened tonight or of the House of Lord's debate on Lord Hatch's unstarred question.

RMJ Lyne

R M J Lyne

14 April 1980

cc: PS/LPS
PS/Mr Luce
Lord Trefgarne
PS/PUS
Mr Day
Parliamentary Unit
Mr Alexander (10 Downing Street)

STATEMENT ON RHODESIA

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

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/A similar

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Rhodesia

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

14 April 1980

Dear Michael,

Thank you for your letter of 2 April enclosing a copy of President Banda's letter to the Prime Minister.

For your records I enclose a copy of a letter the Department have sent to Mr Peters in Lilongwe with instructions on the lines of your suggestion.

Yours ever

Roderic Lyne

(R M J Lyne)
Private Secretary

Michael Alexander Esq
10 Downing Street
LONDON

Foreign and Commonwealth Office
London SW1A 2AH

Telephone 01-

Your reference

Our reference

Date 11 April 1980

Mr W Peters MVO MBE

LILONGWE

Dear High Commissioner,

RHODESIA: PRIME MINISTER'S LETTER TO PRESIDENT BANDA

... 1 I am enclosing a copy of President Banda's promised reply to the Prime Minister's letter of 14 February to him which you delivered through Mr Kachingwe.

2 The Prime Minister has seen the President's reply. We agree with No 10's suggestion that it does not call for a formal reply but, if a suitable opportunity arises, you might like to mention that the letter has been read with interest here.

3 Mr Mugabe's overwhelming election success seems to have been as much of a surprise to President Banda as to others in Africa. Let us hope that the President's expectations of good relations with independent Zimbabwe are fulfilled.

Yours ever

Tim Hemans

T N F Hemans
Southern African Department

CONFIDENTIAL

DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRY
ASHDOWN HOUSE
123 VICTORIA STREET
LONDON SW1E 6RB
TELEPHONE DIRECT LINE 01-212 3301
SWITCHBOARD 01-212 7676

Secretary of State for Industry

14 April 1980

The Rt Hon Sir Ian Gilmour MP
Lord Privy Seal
Foreign and Commonwealth Office
London SW1

NBPM

Dear Ian.

Thank 14/4

AID TO ZIMBABWE

Thank you for your letter of 8 April.

I am glad that we are agreed on the need to maximise the industrial and commercial benefit to Britain of the aid we shall be providing for Zimbabwe. I am very much concerned, though, about the implication in your letter that perhaps as little as one-quarter of the £75 million may be available to support capital projects of direct commercial and industrial benefit to Britain. This proportion seems far too low. In Zimbabwe we have a unique opportunity to put into immediate effect our recently agreed policy of giving increased priority, in the use of aid, to industrial and commercial considerations. We can be quite sure that other donors will be doing all they can to maximise the return to their economies on the aid they provide. Unless we do the same we shall place our own industry at a serious and possibly permanent competitive disadvantage in Zimbabwe.

I accept, of course, that political and developmental objectives must be considered and that there are already some inescapable commitments. But I would like to see substantially more than one half of the £75 million set aside to be used as capital aid to help secure orders for British companies, which may in total be worth several times the amount of aid provided. This should still leave a sizeable balance available to meet the various unavoidable claims on our aid to which your letter refers.

I am glad that you also recognise the importance of retaining flexibility in the aid programme and hope that you will be able to accept my view that the savings needed to provide for the aid to Zimbabwe should be made through reductions elsewhere in the aid programme rather than through drawings on the unallocated margin.

/I am ...

CONFIDENTIAL

I am pleased to hear that your statement on Monday will make clear that it is our intention to maximise the industrial and commercial use of our aid for Zimbabwe, in keeping with the recent aid policy announcement. I would have preferred to have made more progress towards resolving the outstanding issues before that statement is made but I accept that this is not now practicable. I am therefore content to leave them to be pursued through interdepartmental discussion subsequently.

I am copying this letter to the Prime Minister, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Secretary of State for Trade.

Yours,

Kim

PRIME MINISTER

(2)

ZIMBABWE INDEPENDENCE CELEBRATIONS

You may be interested to know that the following are the principal Heads of Government who will be attending the Zimbabwe Independence Celebrations at the end of this week:-

Mrs Gandhi

Mr Fraser

President Kaunda

President Seretse Khama

President Limann (Ghana)

President Zia (Pakistan)

Mr Premadasa (Sri Lanka)

Other prominent participants will be Mr Averell Harrimin Mr Huang Hua and Messrs Waldheim and Ramphal.

Presidents Banda, Nyerere and Machel are not attending.

11 April 1980

cc Gibraltar (Policy)

(2)

PRIME MINISTER

cc Mr. Alexander
Mr. Sanders

Statements on Rhodesia and Gibraltar

The Foreign Secretary and the Lord Privy Seal are proposing to make statements on Monday on Rhodesia, and then on Gibraltar. I have checked with the Whips' Office and the Chancellor of the Duchy's, and they see no objection in terms of the Parliamentary Business.

Attached are the drafts, though these still have to be cleared with Lord Carrington.

TL

11 April 1980

MT

T.L.

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

11 April 1980

Dear Tim,

Parliamentary Statements on
Gibraltar and Rhodesia

The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary and The Lord Privy Seal will be making statements in Parliament on 14 April on Gibraltar and Rhodesia. I enclose draft statements which have yet to be approved by Lord Carrington and Sir Ian Gilmour, who will be looking at them over the weekend. We shall let you have the final version as early as possible on Monday.

Yours ever

Roderic Lyne

(R M J Lyne)
Private Secretary

Tim Lankester Esq
10 Downing Street
LONDON SW1

DRAFT STATEMENT

With permission, Mr Speaker, I shall make a statement on Rhodesia.

Rhodesia will come to independence as Zimbabwe on Friday 18 April. Her Majesty The Queen will be represented at the independence celebrations by His Royal Highness The Prince of Wales. I/My Right Honourable and Noble Friend the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary will represent the Government. My Right Honourable and Noble Friend the Governor of Southern Rhodesia will leave Salisbury on Independence Day. Britain is thus about to terminate its constitutional responsibility for Rhodesia and to transfer power to a Government freely elected, under British supervision, by the Rhodesian people. This will fulfil an objective for which successive British Governments have aimed.

We look forward to working closely with the Government of an independent Zimbabwe headed by Mr Mugabe. I am pleased to announce that the Government intends, subject to Parliamentary approval, to commit over 3 years aid totalling £75 million to Zimbabwe. Within this total commitment we have already offered a £7 million grant towards urgent post-war reconstruction: we have allocated £500,000 for joint funding with British voluntary agencies of projects which they undertake in Zimbabwe: we are contributing to the special appeal of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, and expect to offer further humanitarian assistance: and we shall contribute our share of expenditure through any extension of the Lome Convention to Zimbabwe.

/The bulk

The bulk of the £75 million will be devoted to a substantial bilateral aid programme which will be allocated in agreement with the Zimbabwe Government. An ODA Aid Mission will visit Zimbabwe shortly after independence for talks with incoming Ministers to identify priorities. [In accordance with our aid strategy we shall be seeking to give due weight in the allocation of this aid to industrial and commercial considerations alongside our basic developmental objectives]. At the request of the new Government we are providing assistance with police training, broadcasting, the civil service and the foreign service. We are also providing, separately from the aid programme, assistance with the training of the future Zimbabwe army.

Because of the marked extent to which the aid programme is already committed over the next 2 years, and in order to minimise the impact of this very substantial pledge to Zimbabwe on the level of UK assistance to other countries, My Right Honourable Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer has agreed exceptionally that there should be made available from the public expenditure contingency reserve a sum of £8 million in 1980/81 and of £7 million in 1981/82. In respect of the former year the overseas aid Cash Limit will, subject to the approval of the House, be raised by the sum of £8 million.

It will be necessary to make further legal provision consequent upon Zimbabwe becoming a member of the Commonwealth on independence. This will be done by an Order which, under the Zimbabwe Act, is required to be laid before Parliament in draft and approved by resolution. The draft will be laid in the next two days. The

/principal

principal purposes are to continue the application of certain United Kingdom laws in relation to Zimbabwe notwithstanding its change in status. Similar provision has been made for the application of United Kingdom law in respect of other republics within the Commonwealth.

The Zimbabwe Act 1979 granted an amnesty in United Kingdom law for political offences connected with UDI. A similar amnesty was granted in Rhodesian law, and has subsequently been extended by the Governor in a general pardon covering all political offences up to the elections. Now that full amnesty has been granted to all those responsible for the situation which led to the imposition of sanctions the Government feel that it would no longer be appropriate for any further prosecutions to be initiated for sanctions offences. The measures applying sanctions in United Kingdom law have of course been revoked. I am informed by My Rt Hon and Learned Friend the Attorney General that only one case, an appeal, is at present before the courts, and that no other prosecutions are pending. The amnesty will not reopen past judgments. An order will be laid before Her Majesty in Council in due course to give effect to this decision.

It is a source of great satisfaction to me that it has been possible to bring Zimbabwe to independence in conditions of peace. I am sure that this House will wish to join me in wishing the new country every success.

cc FCO ds

SUBJECT

10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

14 April 1980

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T81/80

Dear Julius

Thank you very much for your message of 24 March, of which I have now received the text through our High Commission in Dar es Salaam.

The transfer of power on 18 April to a government chosen by the people of Rhodesia in free and fair elections in peaceful conditions and with the full support of the international community, will indeed represent the achievement of the aims which the British Government has been pursuing in that country. It has been a long, hard haul but the result can give satisfaction to us all. As you say, there is now a great opportunity for the people of Zimbabwe to rebuild their country after the trials of the past years. I am glad to have your assurance that Tanzania will do whatever it can to support the Government of Zimbabwe in the heavy tasks they face. We shall certainly play our full part.

Yours sincerely

MT

His Excellency Mwalimu Dr. Julius K. Nyerere

jfh

PRIME MINISTER FROM TIM LANKESTER

F.S.

Zimbabwe Independence Day - First Day Cover Stamp

Mr. Mugabe wants to print a first day cover stamp showing himself, Lord Soames, the Prince of Wales and the new President of Zimbabwe on it. The Queen has been consulted, and is content. Lord Carrington is content, though without any great enthusiasm. Edward Adeane, the Prince of Wales' Private Secretary, has been consulted, and says that if The Queen is content, the Prince of Wales will be as well.

I have been asked by The Queen's Private Secretary to make sure that you have no objection. He needs to telephone Salisbury this evening to give Lord Soames the go-ahead.

Agreed
MT.

11/4/80

CONFIDENTIAL

GRS 50
CONFIDENTIAL
FM CANBERRA 100740Z APR 80
TO PRIORITY FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 249 OF 10 APRIL
INFO PRIORITY SALISBURY
INFO SAVING WASHINGTON AND WELLINGTON.

CANBERRA TELNO 210 : AID FOR ZIMBABWE

1. WE UNDERSTAND IN CONFIDENCE THAT THE AUSTRALIAN CABINEZ HAVE AGREED TO GIVE AUSTRALIAN DOLLARS 5M TO ZIMBABWE OVER THE NEXT TWO YEARS. MR FRASER WILL PROBABLY ANNOUNCE THIS DECISION DURING THE INDEPENDENCE CELEBRATIONS BUT UNTIL HE DOES SO THE FIGURE AND TIME SCALE SHOULD BE TREATED IN STRICT CONFIDENCE.

FCO PSE PASS SAVING TO WASHINGTON AND WELLINGTON.

DUDGEON

[REPEATED AS REQUESTED]

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FRD
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LEGAL ADVS.
(MR FREELAND)
(MR FIFOOT)
P & C D

ECON D
DEF D
IPD
OID
NEWS D
PS
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

COPIES TO:
PS/CHANCELLOR
MR J C SLATER TREASURY
MR KERBY ODA

CONFIDENTIAL

no

2

PRIME MINISTER

yes

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

9 April 1980

Dear Nick,

Zimbabwe: Commonwealth Membership

The Commonwealth Secretary-General has informed us that Commonwealth Governments have agreed to Zimbabwe becoming a member of the Commonwealth on independence (18 April). The Commonwealth Secretariat are issuing a press release this afternoon. Zimbabwe will be the 43rd Commonwealth member.

Yours ever

Robert Lyne

(R M J Lyne)
Private Secretary

M O'D B Alexander Esq
10 Downing Street

With the compliments of

COMMONWEALTH CO-ORDINATION
DEPARTMENT

FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE
SW1A 2AH

PS/No 10 2

COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT

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

MARLBOROUGH HOUSE,
PALL MALL,
LONDON, SW1Y 5HX

Your ref:
Our ref:

Mr Rees

Circular Letter No. 25/80 — 9 April, 1980

-not read

In Circular Letter No. 18/80 of 7 March the Secretary-General sought the agreement of Commonwealth Governments to Zimbabwe's request for membership of the Commonwealth on attaining independence.

I am pleased to inform you that all responses have been entirely positive. Accordingly we are informing the British Government that Commonwealth Governments have agreed to the request. The date of Zimbabwe's independence has now been set for 18 April and we shall be making an announcement about Commonwealth membership later today.

I should be grateful if you would inform your Government accordingly.

E.C. Anyaoku
Deputy Secretary-General
10-4-80

PS No 10
mr Wrenbury Smith
PS
PS/LPS
PS mr Blake
PS mr Luce
PS Sir D. Maitland
PS/PUS
mr Stratton
mr Day
mr Hayden
mr De Fonblanque
Governor Salisbury
mr Bantop
mr Paterson
HCC 021/2
HCC 021/498/1

file

CONFIDENTIAL

ds

Rhodesia

9 April 1980

Tanzania/Rhodesia

The Prime Minister has seen your letter of 3 April to Michael Alexander. She has agreed the text of the message to President Nyerere which was attached to that letter with one small amendment:

> In the second paragraph, "my Government" should be amended to read "the British Government".

We will let you have the signed original in a day or two.

N J SANDERS

S.J. Gomersall, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

TCR

CONFIDENTIAL

DS

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

9 April 1980

Dear George

Aid for Zimbabwe

The Prime Minister has seen the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary's minute of 24 March to the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the subsequent comments from the Secretary of State for Industry, the Minister for Trade and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. She is content that the Foreign Secretary and the Lord Privy Seal should proceed as they suggest.

I am copying this letter to John Wiggins (HM Treasury), Stuart Hampson (Department of Trade), Ian Ellison (Department of Industry) and David Wright (Cabinet Office).

Yours ever

Nick Sanders

George Walden, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

JS

CONFIDENTIAL
DESKBY 081630Z
FM FCO 081458Z APR 80
TO IMMEDIATE SALISBURY
TELEGRAM NUMBER 951 OF 8 APRIL

MY TELNO 1237: INDEPENDENCE: MESSAGES

1. THE MESSAGES FROM THE QUEEN AND THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE SPEECH BY PRINCE CHARLES HAVE BEEN APPROVED. THE FOLLOWING TEXTS MAY NOW BE DISTRIBUTED UNDER EMBARGO TO PROVINCIAL CENTRES:

(A) MESSAGE FROM THE QUEEN:

QUOTE IT IS WITH GREAT PLEASURE THAT I SEND YOU MY WARMEST CONGRATULATIONS ON THE OCCASION OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF ZIMBABWE AND, AS HEAD OF THE COMMONWEALTH, WELCOME YOU AS THE 43RD MEMBER OF OUR UNIQUE INTERNATIONAL FELLOWSHIP.

I WELL REMEMBER MY OWN BRIEF VISIT TO YOUR BEAUTIFUL LAND WITH MY PARENTS IN 1947, AND I AM ALL THE MORE DELIGHTED THAT MY SON, THE PRINCE OF WALES, CAN BE WITH YOU ON THIS DAY.

IT IS A MOMENT FOR PEOPLE OF ALL RACES AND ALL POLITICAL PERSUASIONS TO FORGET THE BITTERNESS OF THE PAST AND TO WORK TOGETHER TO BUILD A BETTER FUTURE FOR THEIR COUNTRY AND ALL ITS CITIZENS. WITH THE GREAT NATURAL WEALTH OF YOUR LAND AND THE EXCEPTIONAL RESOURCES OF YOUR SOCIETY YOU ARE WELL EQUIPPED TO ACHIEVE THIS. I AND ALL MY PEOPLE WISH YOU EVERY GOOD FORTUNE IN YOUR ENDEAVOURS.

TODAY ALSO MARKS THE BEGINNING OF A NEW AND HAPPIER RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MY COUNTRY AND YOUR OWN.

I AM CONFIDENT THAT, AS YOU SET OUT TO CREATE PEACE AND PROSPERITY, YOU WILL HAVE THE FULL SUPPORT OF BRITAIN, OF YOUR COMMONWEALTH PARTNERS AND OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

I WISH YOU ALL HAPPINESS AND SUCCESS.
MAY GOD BLESS YOU ALL. UNQUOTE

(B) PRINCE CHARLES' SPEECH:

QUOTE WE ARE GATHERED HERE TODAY AT AN HISTORIC MOEMENT OF GREAT SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY. THE PRESENCE OF SO MANY LEADERS FROM OTHER COUNTRIES DEMONSTRATES THE IMPORTANCE ATTACHED TO THIS EVENT BY THEIR PEOPLES, WHO HAVE FOLLOWED WITH INCREASING HOPE THE PROCESS OF A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. I AM DELIGHTED AND HONOURED, AS THE REPRESENTATIVE OF HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN, TO JOIN WITH YOU IN CELEBRATING ON THIS DAY THE INDEPENDENCE OF ZIMBABWE.

ZIMBABWE HAS REACHED INDEPENDENCE IN THE FACE OF MANY DIFFICULTIES. IN MEETING THESE TROUBLES THE PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY HAVE SHOWN GREAT COURAGE, DETERMINATION AND ADAPTABILITY. IT IS A REMARKABLE ACHIEVEMENT AND A TRIBUTE TO ALL THOSE INVOLVED IN IT TO HAVE BROUGHT ZIMBABWE TO INDEPENDENCE IN CONDITIONS OF PEACE. THERE HAS BEEN SUFFERING AND SORROW IN THE PAST YEARS, BUT THE SPIRIT OF RECONCILIATION WITH WHICH YOU HAVE JOINED TOGETHER IN RECENT WEEKS TO FACE THE FUTURE SHOULD BE AN INSPIRATION TO OTHERS. THERE COULD BE NO FIRMER FOUNDATION ON WHICH TO OVERCOME THE CHALLENGES WHICH LIE AHEAD OF YOUR COUNTRY.

I SHOULD LIKE, MR PRESIDENT, TO THANK YOU AND ALL THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE FOR THE WELCOME AND THE WARM HOSPITALITY YOU HAVE SO GENEROUSLY GIVEN TO ME. I SHALL REMEMBER WITH GREAT PLEASURE MY BRIEF STAY HERE. I SHALL HOPE TO RETURN SOMETIME IN THE FUTURE, AND MEANWHILE I SHALL FOLLOW WITH CLOSE INTEREST THE FORTUNES OF ZIMBABWE.

HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN HAS ENTRUSTED TO ME A MESSAGE FOR YOU ALL, WHICH READS.....

AND NOW, MR PRESIDENT, IT IS MY VERY GREAT PRIVILEGE TO HAND TO YOU THESE CONSTITUTIONAL INSTRUMENTS - THE SYMBOL OF YOUR INDEPENDENCE. I DO SO WITH THE BEST WISHES OF ALL THE PEOPLE OF BRITAIN FOR THE FUTURE PEACE AND PROSPERITY OF YOUR COUNTRY. UNQUOTE.

/(C)

(C) PRIME MINISTER'S MESSAGE:

QUOTE I SEND YOU MY WARM CONGRATULATIONS AND GOOD WISHES ON THE OCCASION OF ZIMBABWE'S INDEPENDENCE. THE GOAL TO WHICH MANY, INSIDE AND OUTSIDE YOUR COUNTRY, HAVE DEDICATED EXCEPTIONAL EFFORTS, HAS NOW BEEN ACHIEVED. WE SHARE YOUR PLEASURE ON THIS MEMORABLE DAY.

THE NATURAL INTERESTS OF OUR TWO COUNTRIES LIE IN CLOSE CO-OPERATION AND FRIENDSHIP. WE SHALL DO ALL WE CAN TO DEVELOP THESE, AND SHALL WORK CLOSELY WITH YOU ON THE TASKS OF RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT. I SEND YOU BEST WISHES, ON BEHALF OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, FOR YOUR FUTURE PEACE AND PROSPERITY. UNQUOTE.

CARRINGTON

FILES
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HK & GD
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PS/LPS
PS/MR LUCE
LORD TREFGARNE
PS/PUS
SIR D MAITLAND
MR DAY
MR STRATTON
MR FIFOOT

COPIES TO:

BUCKINGHAM PALACE

NO 10 DOWNING ST

2

PRIME MINISTER

To see. The Foreign Sec and Lord Privy Seal plan to make statements about Zimbabwe on Monday. You approved the general line when you saw the earlier correspondence on Tuesday.

TL
9/4

Foreign and Commonwealth Office
London SW1

8 April 1980

Dear Keith,

AID TO ZIMBABWE

letters removed from file see TPM slip

In Peter Carrington's absence I am replying to your letter of 31 March. You will now have seen Geoffrey Howe's letter of 2 April agreeing to our proposals.

Of course we share your concern that as much as possible of our aid to Zimbabwe should bring industrial and commercial benefit to Britain. This will be very much in our minds when we discuss the allocation of the £75 million with the Zimbabwe Government soon after independence. However, there are a number of factors which together mean that we shall inevitably not be able to devote as much of this aid to projects of commercial and industrial benefit as we might otherwise wish. We have agreed to contribute £7 million towards reconstruction: we shall have to find within the £75 million the British contribution to an expansion of the Lomé Convention to include Zimbabwe; we are bound to need a fairly substantial Technical Cooperation programme to follow up the very important work which has been started on, for instance, public administration and the police; and we have already undertaken commitments to UNHCR, ICRC and other agencies for relief work. These requirements will however take up less than half of the total.

From the remainder available for capital aid we shall have to find a considerable sum for agricultural development, including land

/settlement

The Rt Hon Sir Keith Joseph Bt MP
Secretary of State for Industry
Ashdown House
123 Victoria St SW1

settlement, which forms an integral part of the Lancaster House Agreement. Nevertheless this will still leave half of our capital aid available for projects of direct commercial and industrial benefit to Britain.

Naturally, we too appreciate the desirability of retaining flexibility in the aid programme in future years, and shall shortly be considering proposals from officials on this whole question. But there can be no case now for delaying the announcement of the £75 million overall pledge until we have decided precisely how that money will be found within the Aid Framework. To do so would seriously undermine the political objectives behind our decision to assist the new government of Zimbabwe, which was taken after full consultation with colleagues.

It is of the highest political importance that we should announce the overall size of our aid pledge before independence on 18 April. Peter and I are planning to do so in statements about Zimbabwe on 14 April. The Governor regards it as essential that it should be done then, not only to reassure the Zimbabwe Government of our support, but also to give a lead to the other aid donors whom we are encouraging to make early and generous pledges of support. We understand that some donors, notably the Americans, are planning to make such pledges at the time of independence.

I am copying this letter to the Prime Minister, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Secretary of State for Trade.

Yours ever

Ian

GPS 1150 CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

FRAME DEVELOPMENT

FM SALISBURY 031548Z APR 80

TO PRIORITY FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 1254 OF 3 APRIL

INFO PRIORITY UKREP BRUSSELS WASSHINGTON NEW YORK ROUTINE EEC POSTS CAPE TOWN MAPUTO GABORONE LUSAKA DAR ES SALAAM NAIROBI LAGOS LUANDA MASERU MBABANE

EC/ZIMBABWE: CHEYSSON'S VISIT

1. CHEYSSON'S VISIT WAS A SUCCESS. HE SAW MUGABE. MZENDA (DEPUTY P M AND MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS), NAKALA (FIANANCE), NKOMO AND VARIOUS OTHER MINISTERS INCLUDING AGRICULTURE, COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY, AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS. HE WAS IMPRESSED BY THE PRAGMATISM OF THE NEW REGIME, BY THE QUALITY OF THE BUREACRACY, BY THE UNDERLYING RESOURCE STRENGTH OF THE ECONOMY AND ITS SOUND FINANCIAL POSITION (IN TERMS OF EXTERNAL INDEBTEDNESS) BY THE PEACEABLENESS OF THE COUNTRY - AND ALSO BY THE NEED FOR IMMEDIATE AID FOR RECONSTRUCTION.

2. CHEYSSON WAS GREATLY ENCOURAGED BY MUGABE'S DETERMINATION TO APPLY QUICKLY FOR ACCESSION TO LOME. HE ADVISED THAT A FORMAL APPLICATION SHOULD BE MADE TO THE A C P IMMEDIATELY ON INDEPENDENCE, SO THAT BOTH THE A C P COUNCIL AND THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL COULD BE PERSUADED TO AGREE IN ADVANCE OF THE NAIROBI MEETING THAT ZIMBABWE SHOULD ATTEND WITH OBSERVER STATUS.

3. AT HIS REQUEST, WE BRIEFED HIM IN DETAIL ABOUT THE SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE AGREEMENT. HE PRONOUNCED HIMSELF SATISFIED THAT IT PRESENTED NO IMMEDIATE PROBLEM OF DISCRIMINATION AND COULD BE DEALT WITH IN THE CONTEXT OF THE LOME ACCESSION NEGOTIATIONS, BUT SAID HE WOULD LIKE TO SEND ONE OR TWO EXPERTS TO SALISBURY IN A FEW WEEKS TIME TO STUDY THE MATTER IN MORE DETAIL AND ESTABLISH IN WHAT AREAS THE S A T A MIGHT CAUSE DIFFICULTY IN FUTURE - PARTICULARLY IF, FOR EXAMPLE, IMPORT CONTROLS WERE TO BE RELAXED.

4. HE WARNED THOSE HE SAW THAT IT WOULD BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO NEGOTIATE ANY DEAL WITH THE COMMUNITY ON SUGAR AT ALL. ON BEEF HE SAID IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT BUT NOT IMPOSSIBLE TO NEGOTIATE SOME SORT OF DEAL BUT HE ALSO URGED THAT ZIMBABWE TAKE FULL BENEFIT OF FREE ACCESS TO FRENCH OVERSEAS TERRITORIES FOR BEEF (POINTING OUT THAT REUNION IN PARTICULAR BADLY NEEDED TO DIVERSIFY ITS SOURCES OF SUPPLY).

5. CHEYSSON SAW SEVERAL POSSIBILITIES FOR IMMEDIATE COMMUNITY AID TO ZIMBABWE UNDER THE AID PROGRAMME FOR THE NON-ASSOCIATED COUNTRIES. HE SAID HE EXPECTED THE COMMUNITY TO GIVE QUOTE SEVERAL MILLIONS UNQUOTE TO THE U N H C R'S NEW APPEAL. HE SAID THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO RECEIVE PROPOSALS BY THE END OF THE MONTH FOR COMMUNITY GRANT AID IN THE FIELD OF VETERINARY CONTROL (PAYING PARTICULAR ATTENTION TO THE REGIONAL ASPECTS INVOLVING BOTSWANA) FOR FOOD AID TO ASSIST WITH THE PROBLEM OF REFUGEES AND FOR GRANT AID FOR RECONSTRUCTION (SCHOOLS, CLINICS, CATTLE DIPS, ETC). HE ALSO MENTIONED THE POSSIBILITY OF COMMUNITY AID THROUGH VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS HE TOLD THE EC REPRESENTATIVES THAT HE THOUGHT THAT MOST OF THIS COULD BE FOUND FROM EXISTING BUDGETARY PROVISIONS: AND THAT FULL ADVANTAGE SHOULD BE TAKEN OF THE CURRENT POLITICAL

/WILLINGNESS

CONFIDENTIAL

Mr. 2

PRIME MINISTER

MI

WILLINGNESS TO HELP ZIMBABWE. (HE TOLD US PRIVATELY THAT THE KIND OF SUM HE HAD IN MIND FOR IMMEDIATE DISBURSEMENT WAS IN THE REGION OF 10 M U AS.)

6. ON THE QUESTION OF AID AFTER LOME ACCESSION, CHEYSSON SAID THAT HE WOULD RECOMMEND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A COMMUNITY OFFICE IN SALISBURY TO ASSIST IN FORMULATING PROPOSALS. HE OUTLINED THE VARIOUS LOME PROVISIONS AND MENTIONED IN PARTICULAR THE POSSIBILITY OF HELP IN THE FUTURE FOR THE MINING INDUSTRIES UNDER THE SYSMIN. ASKED BY THE MINISTER OF FINANCE ABOUT BUDGETARY AID, HE SAID THAT IT WAS VIRTUALLY EXCLUDED FROM COMMUNITY SOURCES BUT THAT IT OUGHT TO BE AVAILABLE TO ZIMBABWE FROM THE I M F UNDER EG THE WITTEVEEN FACILITY.

7. CHEYSSON HAD A LONG CONVERSATION IN RESTRICTED SESSION WITH THE PRIME MINISTER AND WAS IMPRESSED BY THE IMPORTANCE THAT MUGABE ATTACHED TO ZIMBABWE'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND ALSO WITH THE SCANDINAVIAN AND ARAB COUNTRIES. MUGABE ASKED HIM WHY MOZAMBIQUE AND ANGOLA HAD NOT JOINED LOME AND, ON HEARING OF THE PRESSURES FROM THE EAST GERMANS AND RUSSIANS, SPOKE VERY CRITICALLY OF THE RUSSIANS IN PARTICULAR, ASKING RHETORICALLY WHAT HAD THEY EVER DONE ECONOMICALLY FOR MOZAMBIQUE. ON SOUTH AFRICA MUGABE REPEATED WHAT HE HAD SAID PREVIOUSLY IN PUBLIC, THAT HE WOULD NOT ALLOW ZIMBABWE TO BE USED AS A BASE FOR OPERATIONS AGAINST THE REPUBLIC AND THAT ZIMBABWE MUST BE FREE TO CONDUCT A NORMAL TRADING RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOUTH.

8. WE DISCUSSED MOZAMBIQUE TOGETHER. CHEYSSON WAS DEPRESSED AND ANNOYED BY THE ATTITUDE OF THE F R G (AND PARTICULARLY OF GENSCHER) WHO, HE FELT, WERE TRYING TO EXPLOIT THE SITUATION TO GET WHAT THEY WANTED FROM MOZAMBIQUE (AND ANGOLA) OR BERLIN AT THE COST OF HOLDING UP VITAL REGIONAL PROJECTS - EG THE RAILWAYS AND PORTS - IN WHICH THE COMMUNITY SHOULD BE URGENTLY HELPING.

FCO PASS ALL
SOAMES

[REPEATED AS REQUESTED]

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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 DISTN.
RHODESIA POLICY

THIS TELEGRAM WAS NOT ADVANCED

CONFIDENTIAL

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

3 April, 1980.

Zimbabwe: Independence Celebrations

The Prime Minister has seen George Walden's letter to me of 2 April on this subject, and the enclosed message. The Prime Minister agrees that, on the available evidence, it would not be appropriate for her to attend the Independence celebrations. She agrees with the draft message enclosed with George Walden's letter except that the final sentence should read as follows:-

> "We shall do all we can to develop these, and shall work closely with you on the tasks of reconstruction and development. I send you best wishes, on behalf of the Government of the United Kingdom, for your future peace and prosperity."

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

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

CONFIDENTIAL

1

PRIME MINISTER

Ref: A01896

CONFIDENTIAL

Agree with the Foreign Secretary and Chancellor?

MS 8/4

MR. ALEXANDER

Yes MT

Aid for Zimbabwe

The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary has sent the Prime
[A] Minister a copy of his minute (FCS/80/66) in which he seeks the Chancellor's agreement to a proposal involving the allocation of £8 million for 1980-81 and £7 million for 1981-82 from the central contingency reserve in order to provide total aid of £75 million to Zimbabwe over the period 1980-84.

[B] 2. I understand that the Secretary of State for Industry, to whom the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary also copied his minute, is uneasy
[C] about the proposal; but that the Minister for Trade can agree to it. The Chancellor of the Exchequer intends to reply that he can accept the proposal
[D] provided that his Cabinet colleagues do so. In the circumstances I recommend that the Prime Minister should agree with Lord Carrington, Sir Geoffrey Howe and Mr. Parkinson.

RTA

(Robert Armstrong)

3rd April 1980

VB

cc: FCO

3 April 1980

Thank you for your letter of 24 March with which you enclosed the final report of the Commonwealth observer group on the elections in Rhodesia.

I am grateful to the members of the group for the way in which they carried out their responsibilities in difficult conditions. Please convey my thanks and appreciation to them.

sgd (Margaret Thatcher)

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

PRIME MINISTER

Contact with draft ab A?

MS

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

3 April 1980

Dear Minister,

Agreed ab

TANZANIA/RHODESIA

Pt 17

You will have seen Dar es Salaam telegrams numbers 276 and 277 conveying the text of a message from President Nyerere to the Prime Minister about Rhodesia (copies enclosed). I attach a draft reply for the Prime Minister's consideration.

As the post notes, the tone of the letter is grudging and without apology. It is a belated recognition by Nyerere that he has put himself in a false position by his failure promptly and directly to acknowledge to us the successful outcome of the elections in Rhodesia (in marked contrast to the reactions, for example, of Machel). Nyerere has probably been advised that this is the minimum required to protect Tanzania against the consequences of any deterioration in British-Tanzanian relations.

It is clear that Nyerere sees some risk of this. He is aware that the absence of a congratulatory message has been noted and that our High Commissioner in Dar es Salaam has been recalled for consultations. The Tanzanian High Commissioner returned at short notice to Dar es Salaam on 26 March (this may have contributed to the confusion whereby the original of a letter dated 24 March has never been delivered).

/Lord

M O'D B Alexander Esq
10 Downing Street
London

Lord Carrington has discussed our future relations with Tanzania with Sir P Moon. We have told the Tanzanians that we are not ready for the annual bilateral aid talks, originally scheduled for 24 March. Much of our aid to Tanzania is for capital projects which cannot be terminated without breaking inter-governmental agreements and contracts with UK suppliers, who could seek compensation if these were cancelled. However £18m of pledged aid will not now be allocated to projects. (But we do not propose to make this public; this would enable Nyerere to claim that he was being victimised). Lord Carrington thinks that our policy for the longer term should be to reduce Nyerere's political influence with other African governments, particularly the Front Line States. We should, so far as possible, ignore Nyerere and deal directly with other governments on general African issues. Meanwhile, Tanzania has acute economic difficulties to which Nyerere will have to pay increasing attention.

Sir Ian Gilmour does not think that Nyerere's message should cause us to alter this policy; but it will be the more effective if we maintain correct relations with Tanzania which give Nyerere no ground for claiming that we are seeking to punish him for his performance over Rhodesia. This would attract sympathy, however undeserved, and could hinder efforts to detach African support for Tanzania. It would be appropriate, therefore, for the Prime Minister's reply to match the cool but correct tone of Nyerere's message. There is no need for urgency in replying: presentationally we think it would be better to do so after a lapse of a few days. If the Prime Minister is content we will despatch the message telegraphically from here for delivery in advance of the signed original.

/I am

I am copying this letter to David Wright at the Cabinet Office.

Yours ever
Stephen Gomersall

S J Gomersall
Private Secretary to
the Lord Privy Seal

D 107991 400,000 7/76 904953

K17>

XY 42

CONFIDENTIAL

File No. .....

EAST AFRICAN

Department .....

Drafted by (Block Capitals) J A ROBSON/MO'C

Tel. Extn. 4549

OUTWARD TELEGRAM

Security Classification: CONFIDENTIAL

Precedence: PRIORITY

DESKBY ..... Z

FOR COMMS. DEPT. USE — Despatched (Date) ..... (Time) ..... Z

POSTBY ..... Z

PREAMBLE

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

(Security Class.) CONFIDENTIAL

(Codeword) .....

(Restrictive Prefix) .....

(Caveat/ Privacy marking) .....

(Deskby) ..... Z

TO PRIORITY - DAR ES SALAAM (precedence) (post) Tel. No. ..... of [3.4.80.]

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

AND SAVING TO .....

REPEATED TO (for info) PRIORITY - SALISBURY, LUSAKA, WASHINGTON, UKMIS NEW YORK

SAVING TO (for info) LUANDA, GABERONES, MAPUTO, LAGOS, CAPETOWN

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MR DAY
MR FERGUSSON
MR MILLS
ADD DIST. RHODESIA POLICY

[TEXT]
Your telegrams numbers 276 and 277: PRESIDENT NYERERE'S MESSAGE ABOUT RHODESIA

1. The original has not (not) been delivered here and we have had no recent contact with the Tanzanian High Commission about Rhodesia (Nsekela returned to Dar es Salaam on 26 March).

2. Please transmit the following message from the Prime Minister to Nyerere. Original follows by bag.

Begins:

Thank you very much for your message of 24 March, of which I have now received the text through our High Commission in Dar es Salaam.

The transfer of power on 18 April to a government chosen by the people of Rhodesia in free and fair elections in

CONFIDENTIAL

/peaceful

peaceful conditions and with the full support of the international community, will indeed represent the achievement of the aims which ~~my~~ the British Government has been pursuing in that country. It has been a long, hard haul but the result can give satisfaction to us all. As you say, there is now a great opportunity for the people of Zimbabwe to rebuild their country after the trials of the past years. I am glad to have your assurance that Tanzania will do whatever it can to support the Government of Zimbabwe in the heavy tasks they face. We shall certainly play our full part.

Ends.

CARRINGTON

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

FILE

VLB

Rhodesia

Bf 11.4.80

3 April 1980

Message from President Carter: Zimbabwe

I enclose a copy of the text of a message received by the Prime Minister this morning from President Carter about U.S. aid to Zimbabwe. This is in reply to the Prime Minister's message of 23 March. No doubt you will let me have advice as to whether the correspondence is to be carried any further.

(SGD) MODBA

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

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
LONDON

April 3, 1980

Dear Prime Minister:

I have been asked to deliver the attached message to you from President Carter, which was received at the Embassy early this morning.

Sincerely,

Kingman Brewster

Kingman Brewster
Ambassador

Enclosure

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

SUBJECT

CONFIDENTIAL

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. J75/80

Dear Madame Prime Minister:

Thank you for your message on Zimbabwe. I appreciate your thoughts on the role Western nations can play in building on the achievements of Lancaster House.

Now that we are so close to the fulfillment of our common objectives in Zimbabwe, I agree that we should act quickly and visibly to honor our general commitment to assist in the agricultural and economic development of Zimbabwe.

Various obstacles have prevented us from giving as much assistance to Southern Africa as we would like to give. Nevertheless, we have taken a number of steps that we hope will help to meet Zimbabwe's immediate needs without weakening our continuing assistance to other nations in the region.

In January we pledged 5 million dollars to the U.N. High Commission for Refugees to assist in the refugee repatriation effort. We have now identified an additional 15 million dollars to assist in rural rehabilitation and for reconstruction and/or resettlement within Zimbabwe. We will therefore have committed 20 million dollars to Zimbabwe from appropriations for this fiscal year, which ends September 30, 1980. For fiscal year 1981, my government expects, with Congressional approval, to extend additional economic support to Zimbabwe at the level of 25-30 million dollars.

It is my intention to ask my representative to the Zimbabwe independence ceremony to discuss this program with the new government during his stay in Salisbury next month.

In the days ahead, we will stay in close touch with your government on these most important matters.

Sincerely,

/s/

Jimmy Carter

CONFIDENTIAL

(1)

10 DOWNING STREET

Prime Minister.

The latest from is that Presidents Nyerere, Machel & Dos Santos are not going but that Presidents Kaunda, Khama & Mrs Gandhi are going. No news yet about Mr Fraser.

It does not look as though your absence would attract unfavourable comment. Agree message?

Yes message

MT

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

2 April 1980

Dear Michael,

ZIMBABWE: INDEPENDENCE CELEBRATIONS

In Roderic Lyne's letter of 27 March he said that Lord Carrington wished to delay our final recommendation on whether the Prime Minister should attend the celebrations until the intentions of other Governments were known in more detail. We still do not have replies from all those invited but it now seems clear that apart from those Heads of State or Government personally invited by Mr Mugabe (the 'Front Line' Presidents and a few other African Presidents, Mrs Gandhi, Mr Fraser, Mr Manley and Mr Forbes-Burnham) and one or two other mainly African Presidents, representation will be mainly at a level below Head of State or Government. It now seems unlikely that either Vice-President Mondale or Mr Vance will be going.

In these circumstances and since it is not normal practice for the Prime Minister of the day to attend independence celebrations, Lord Carrington does not think that the attendance of the Prime Minister is necessary, and recommends that she should send a personal message which he would read at the independence celebrations. I enclose a draft text, which Lord Soames agrees would be appropriate, for the Prime Minister's approval.

Yours ever

(G G H Walden)

M O'D B Alexander Esq
10 Downing Street

RHODESIA : INDEPENDENCE CELEBRATIONS

MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER

'I send you my warm congratulations and good wishes on the occasion of Zimbabwe's independence. The goal to which many, inside and outside your country, have dedicated exceptional efforts, has now been achieved. We share your pleasure on this memorable day.

The natural interests of our two countries lie in close co-operation and friendship. We shall do all we can to develop these, and shall work closely with you on the tasks of reconstruction and development. I send you best wishes, on behalf of the Government ~~and people~~ of ~~Great Britain~~ United Kingdom, for your future peace and prosperity.'

89280 Dd 532113 200M 2/79 StS

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

2 April 1980

I enclose a copy of the text of a letter to the Prime Minister from President Banda. This is in reply to the Prime Minister's letter of 14 February.

The Prime Minister has seen President Banda's letter. Subject to your views, I do not think that President Banda's letter requires a formal reply. Mr. Peters might say at some point that it had been read with interest here.

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

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

CONFIDENTIAL

Rhodesia

Treasury Chambers, Parliament Street, SW1P 3AG
01-233 3000

The Rt Hon Lord Carrington
Secretary of State for
Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs
Foreign and Commonwealth Office
London SW1

2 April 1980

NBPM get

Dear Peter

AID FOR ZIMBABWE

We discussed Christopher Soames' proposals on 19 March, and I have since received your letter of 25 March, proposing that, of the extra £35 million which Christopher suggested should be disbursed over 1980-81 to 1983-84, we should find £8 million in 1980-81 and £7 million in 1981-82 from the central Contingency Reserve in the public expenditure White Paper.

As I said at the meeting, inroads into the contingency reserve must be kept to an absolute minimum. The reserve we have, which is less than 1½% of planned public expenditure, is none too large in relation to the threats which could face us as 1980-81 wears on, and it is central to our strategy and to our posture as a Government that our public expenditure plans should ntobe overspent. If we are to maintain our grip on total expenditure, it is vital that we should make allocations from the Reserve only in quite exceptional and unforeseen circumstances.

Your letter - and Christopher's representations - argued that our strategic, political and commercial interests in Central Africa required us to find these funds. That may be so. But it is also necessary to be certain that they can be found in no other way than from the Contingency Reserve. The ODA provided my officials, on 27 March, with detailed figures which indicate that the successive cuts in the Aid Programme, and firm forecast commitments, had fully earmarked the ODA contingency reserve for 1980-81.

/In 1981-82,

In 1981-82, ODA's bilateral programmes will have to be reduced by about 35 per cent in real terms. With the agreed additional need for a larger ODA reserve, the Department could see no way of finding the full extra amount for Zimbabwe in 1981-82. (It is agreed, of course, that Zimbabwe's requirements after 1981-82 will all be met from within the Aid Programme).

In all the circumstances, I am prepared to agree to your proposals in this matter provided that none of our Cabinet colleagues, to whom I have sent copies of this letter, dissent from an allocation from the Contingency Reserve for this purpose.

GEOFFREY HOWE

FILE

RH

cc:- FCO

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T73/80

Dear Mr President,

2. 4. 80

Thank you for your letter of the 17 March about Rhodesia. It was kind of you to express your appreciation in this way.

I am confident that we shall see a smooth and peaceful transition to independence, and that the new Zimbabwe will enjoy a stable and prosperous future. I am very pleased that the Commonwealth has once again demonstrated its effectiveness as a force for good in the world.

I share your hope that Zimbabwe will become an example of racial harmony in Southern Africa. The settlement of the Rhodesian question has demonstrated that it is possible to find negotiated solutions to the most intractable problems.

Yours sincerely,

Margaret Thatcher

His Excellency Dr Hilla Limann

Lot.

(3)

10 DOWNING STREET

Prime Minister.

The report is a bulky document. I attach its conclusions. They are not objectionable.

2.4.

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

GR

1 April 1980

Type for signature.

Dear Michael,

Rhodesia: Report of the Commonwealth Observer Group

The Commonwealth Secretary-General wrote to the Prime Minister on 24 March, with a copy of the report of the Commonwealth observer group on the Rhodesian elections. A copy of the letter and report are attached.

The general tone of the report is grudging: and the favourable references to the Governor's administration (page 74) are half-hearted. Nevertheless, the overall conclusion is favourable. I enclose a draft reply which the Prime Minister may wish to send to Mr Ramphal.

Yours ever

(G G H Walden)
Private Secretary

Michael Alexander Esq
10 Downing Street
London

6 CONCLUSIONS

Peace has been restored to Southern Rhodesia by means of a democratic exercise without historical precedent. Never before have elections been held at a time of tenuous cease-fire, without agreed battle lines, and with rival armies uneasily apart. That this proved possible redounds to the credit of all those involved.

In the extraordinary circumstances in which the elections were held, we could hardly have expected to find the levels of administrative propriety and public rectitude associated with the concept of free and fair elections at their ideal best, a level not always or everywhere achieved even in stable societies with long experience of democratic institutions. In the event, the degree to which they approached those levels was praiseworthy indeed.

We were able to observe the conduct of the campaign from its very early days until its culmination in the announcement of the results. We were also able to make intensive observations in all parts of the country. Our conclusions are therefore based on a thorough study of the totality of the process that allowed the people of Rhodesia to choose the government that will take their country to sovereign independence as Zimbabwe.

Inevitably, there were imperfections. In varying degree, the parties which sought the favour of the voters did face limitations on their freedom to campaign but not always to the extent suggested by official pronouncements or by aggrieved politicians. Curbs were sometimes imposed by party activists with or without the approval of their leaders. Sometimes they were the result of official action such as the arrest of candidates and party workers, restrictions on their electoral activity, and a selective application of emergency regulations. Sometimes they flowed from a less than impartial functioning of the principal agencies of government or an unwillingness to respond to higher authority.

The overall impact of these limitations on the ability of the parties to take their message to the voters was mitigated by the access which all parties enjoyed to make party political broadcasts and to advertise through the publicly owned broadcasting services, as well as being free to advertise in the privately owned press. None of the major parties seemed to suffer from a shortage of resources for the latter.

There were also some attempts to limit the freedom of choice of voters through various forms of intimidation. That there was a certain degree of violence and fear is incontestable. But the extent of intimidation was often exaggerated either for political purposes or as the result of incorrect or slanted information. Blame was not confined to any one quarter. Nevertheless, we firmly believe that its impact on the voters' freedom of choice was strongly countered, if not frustrated, by the widespread belief in the secrecy of the ballot.

The pattern of voting too, offers evidence in support of our assessment of the extent of intimidation. There had been no charges of any significant intimidation in Salisbury itself, yet the proportion of voters supporting ZANU(PF) in urban Salisbury was broadly the same as in those rural districts where intimidation on its behalf was alleged to have been at its most severe.

The system of proportional representation based on party lists further diminished the electoral impact of intimidation. Under this system, a massive shift in voter preference was required to make a significant difference in the number of seats gained by any one party at the polls.

We are completely satisfied with the integrity of the conduct of the poll in all its aspects, including the security of ballot boxes and the accuracy of the count.

Taken as a whole, it is our considered and unanimous view that the election offered an adequate opportunity to the parties to seek the favour of the electorate and sufficient freedom to the voters to exercise their franchise according to their convictions. We therefore reaffirm the conclusion of our interim report that the election was a valid and democratic expression of the wishes of the people of Zimbabwe.

That this proved possible in the circumstances of Rhodesia is to the credit of all: the Governor, the administration, the political parties, and above all to the people. We believe that the desire for peace and stability was the most potent factor in ensuring that progress continued without major setbacks along the course charted at Lancaster House.

We have in various parts of our Report commented adversely on aspects of the conduct of the Rhodesian administration. We are aware of the traumatic changes which the Lancaster House Agreement brought into prospect for those officials who found difficulty in making the mental adjustment it required. Our wide observations gave us the impression, however, that a large body of public servants preserved their professional integrity and demonstrated a high level of ability.

We have also been critical of some aspects of the administration of the Governor who had ultimate authority in the period of transition. We are conscious, however, of the very delicate role he was called upon to play in overseeing Rhodesia's passage to independence through democratic elections held during a necessarily imperfect cease-fire after a seven years war. He had supreme authority but few instruments of his own. His dependence on the local administration was decreed by the Lancaster House Agreement itself. His capacity to control developments rested on a fragile balance of forces. Throughout he had to act with the awareness that this equilibrium could be easily upset, and with disastrous consequences. When we were apprehensive of the consequences of some actions, either taken or in contemplation, we did not hesitate to convey our concerns to him. We believe that on certain matters we were able to offer timely counsel based on our own independent perception of events. The strong commitment of the parties to the Lancaster House Agreement and to the achievement of peace through elections, was a potent factor in keeping the process on course. It was the Governor's achievement that he was able to sustain their involvement in it through a

most testing period.

It has been our privilege to observe Rhodesia's election on behalf of the Commonwealth, and to have been able to serve the country as it took decisive steps towards its long deferred and cherished goal of independence. We concluded our work having seen the foundation for that independence firmly laid in fulfilment of the wishes of its people and the hopes of the entire Commonwealth.

We close our Report by paying our own tribute, which we believe will be widely echoed throughout the Commonwealth and beyond, to all those who, in different ways and at different times, contributed to Rhodesia's emergence as an independent Zimbabwe. Countless individuals and many countries have been touched by the tragedy of the past 15 years. In the end, the essential triumph has been that of the people of Zimbabwe themselves. Transmuting their suffering, their faith in the processes of peace has exceeded their courage in war.

DSR 11 (Revised)

DRAFT: minute/letter/teleletter/despatch/note

TYPE: Draft/Final 1+

FROM: THE PRIME MINISTER

Reference

DEPARTMENT: TEL. NO:

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

Top Secret
Secret
Confidential
Restricted
Unclassified

PRIVACY MARKING

.....In Confidence

CAVEAT.....

Enclosures—flag(s).....

TO:

His Excellency Mr Shridath
S Ramphal
Commonwealth Secretary-General

Your Reference

Copies to:

SUBJECT:

Thank you for your letter of 24 March with which you enclosed the final report of the Commonwealth observer group on the elections in Rhodesia.

I am grateful to the members of the group for the way in which they carried out their responsibilities in difficult conditions. Please convey my thanks and appreciation to them.

56-ST Dd 0532078 12/78 H+P Ltd Bly

Rhodesia

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

Type for PM's signature. pps

1 April 1980

Dear Michael,

Rhodesia: Message to the
Prime Minister from the President of Ghana

Thank you for your letter of 26 March.
... I enclose a draft reply from the Prime Minister to Dr Limann's letter.

Yours ever
GGH

(G G H Walden)

M O'D B Alexander Esq
No 10 Downing Street

DSR 11

Registry No.

DRAFT LETTER

Type 1 +

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

Top Secret,
Secret.
Confidential.
Restricted.
Unclassified.

PRIVACY MARKING

..... In Confidence

From

The Prime Minister

Telephone No. Ext.

Department

To:-

His Excellency Dr Hilla Limann
President of the Republic of Ghana

Thank you for your letter of the 17th March about Rhodesia. It was ~~good~~ kind of you to express your appreciation in this way.

~~The prospects now seem good~~ I am confident that we shall see a smooth and peaceful transition to independence, and that the new Zimbabwe will enjoy a stable and prosperous future. I am very pleased that the Commonwealth has once again demonstrated its effectiveness as a force for good in the world.

I share your hope that Zimbabwe will become an example of racial harmony in Southern Africa. The ~~negotiated~~ settlement of the Rhodesian question has demonstrated that it is possible to find ~~peaceful~~ negotiated solutions to ~~seemingly~~ the most intractable problems.

~~With every good wish~~

~~Yours sincerely~~

Dd 0532000 800M 5/78 HMSO Bracknell

[RHODESIA: POLICY: ADVANCE COPIES] 28

IMMEDIATE

PS
PS/SIR I GILMOUR
PS/MR LUCE
PS/PUS
SIR D MAITLAND
MR DAY
Sir C 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)

.....

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

2 cols

Pres Nyerere is barely more gracious than Pres Kaunda (whose letter 'on behalf of' of Pres Kaunda you will recall.)

GRS 220

CONFIDENTIAL

DESKBY 011330Z

FM DAR ES SALAAM 010955Z APL 80

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 276 OF 01 APRIL 1980

INFO PRIORITY SALISBURY, LUSAKA, GABORONES, MAPUTO, LUANDA, LAGOS, CAPETOWN, WASHINGTON, UKMIS NEWYORK

RHODESIA

1. MY IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING TELGRAM CONTAINS THE TEXT OF A COPY OF A LETTER FROM PRESIDENT NYERERE TO THE PRIME MINISTER ABOUT RHODESIA. THE LETTER, RECEIVED TODAY, IS DATED 24 MARCH AND ACCORDING TO A COVERING NOTE FROM THE MFA DATED 31 MARCH, THE ORIGINAL SHOULD ALREADY HAVE BEEN DELIVERED THROUGH THE TANZANIAN HIGH COMMISSION IN LONDON. BUT IN CASE IT HAS NOT I AM SENDING THE TEXT IN FULL.

2. ALTHOUGH NYERERE'S TONE IS GRUDGING, WITH NO MARKS GIVEN FOR OUR EFFORTS AND HE OMITS ANY APOLOGY FOR HIS ATTACKS ON OUR ADMINISTRATION IN RHODESIA IMMEDIATELY PRIOR TO THE ELECTIONS (ALTHOUGH THERE IS AN ATTEMPT TO JUSTIFY HIS ATTITUDE) IT IS OBVIOUSLY A BELATED ATTEMPT TO MEND FENCES. I IMAGINE THAT HE HAS BEEN INFLUENCED BY REPORTS FROM HIS HIGH COMMISSIONER IN LONDON OF PRESS AND OTHER REPORTS SPECULATING ON THE DETERIORATION IN ANGLO-TANZANIAN RELATIONS. HE MAY ALSO BE UNDER PRESSURE FROM SENIOR OFFICIALS TO MAKE ALTHOUGH CERTAIN

DETERIORATION IN ANGLO-TANZANIAN RELATIONS. HE MAY ALSO BE UNDER PRESSURE FROM SENIOR OFFICIALS TO MAKE A FRIENDLY GESTURE. EQUALLY OBVIOUSLY THE FULL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER'S RECALL FOR CONSULTATIONS HAS NOT ESCAPED THE PRESIDENT.

3. SIR PETER MOON WILL, I AM SURE, WISH TO SEE THE MESSAGE.

4. FCO PSE PASS SAVING TO ADDIS ABABA.

HINCHCLIFFE

IMMEDIATE

NNNN

[RHODESIA: POLICY: ADVANCE COPIES]

28

IMMEDIATE

T63B/80

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

SUBJECT

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

RESIDENT CLERK

PRIVATE SECRETARY'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T63B/80

IMMEDIATE

CONFIDENTIAL
DESKBY 011330Z
FM DAR ES SALAAM 011010Z APL 80
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TEL NO 277 OF 01 APRIL 1980
INFO PRIORITY SALISBURY, LUSAKA, LUANDA, GABORONE, MAPUTO
LAGOS, CAPETOWN, WASHINGTON, UKMIS NEW YORK.

Read in full

MIPT: RHODESIA.

TEXT OF PRESIDENT NYERERE'S LETTER IS AS FOLLOWS:

DEAR MRS THATCHER,

THIS IS THE VERY LAST LETTER I EXPECT TO WRITE TO YOU ABOUT RHODESIA. BUT AFTER OUR LONG DISCUSSIONS IN LUSAKA, AND THEN IN LONDON, IT SEEMS INAPPROPRIATE TO CLOSE THIS FILE WITHOUT MARKING THE CLEAR - AND I HOPE YOU AGREE - SUCCESSFUL COMPLETION ON 18TH APRIL 1980 OF THE TASK OF TRANSFERRING POWER TO THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE.

THE BRITISH AND TANZANIAN GOVERNMENTS HAVE HAD MANY AND BITTER ARGUMENTS OVER THIS SUBJECT SINCE TANGANYIKA BECAME

THE BRITISH AND TANZANIAN GOVERNMENTS HAVE HAD MANY AND BITTER ARGUMENTS OVER THIS SUBJECT SINCE TANGANYIKA BECAME INDEPENDENT IN DECEMBER 1961. IN JULY LAST YEAR YOU AND I, TOGETHER WITH OTHER COMMONWEALTH LEADERS, REACHED AN ACCORD IN LUSAKA, BUT STILL THERE WERE DISAGREEMENTS BETWEEN US BEFORE THE ELECTIONS TOOK PLACE AT THE END OF FEBRUARY. IN RETROSPECT, PERHAPS ALL THIS DISAGREEMENT WAS INEVITABLE GIVEN THE DIFFERENT HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL EXPERIENCES OF OUR TWO NATIONS. CERTAINLY TANZANIA FOUND ITSELF ARGUING JUST AS FIERCELY WHICHEVER POLITICAL PARTY WAS IN POWER IN BRITAIN EXCLAMATION

BUT NOW THE MATTER IS SETTLED. WHATEVER WE THINK OF THEIR CHOICE, WE ALL AGREE THAT THE DECISION OF THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE IS UNMISTAKEABLE. AND PRIME MINISTER MUGABE'S DECISION TO FORM A BROAD-BASED UNITY GOVERNMENT DESPITE THE ZANU(PF) ELECTORAL VICTORY HAS CREATED AN UNPARALLELED OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL GROUPS TO MERGE THEIR PAST BITTERNESS INTO THE COMMON STRUGGLE TO REBUILD THE COUNTRY. I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT TANZANIA, FOR ITS PART, WILL DO WHATEVER IT CAN TO BACK UP MR. MUGABE'S ENDEAVOURS IN THIS RESPECT.

INTERNATIONALLY I HOPE THAT THE SAME SPIRIT WILL PREVAIL. ON THAT BASIS I ANTICIPATE THAT OUR TWO COUNTRIES WILL BE ABLE TO MAINTAIN AND EVEN EXTEND THE FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION WHICH HAS ALWAYS MARKED OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS. I THEREFORE LOOK FORWARD WITH PLEASURE TO FUTURE CONTACT BETWEEN OUR TWO PEOPLES, AND IN PARTICULAR TO THE POSSIBILITY OF MEETING YOU AGAIN WHEN OUR VARIOUS BUSINESS OR TRAVELS MAKES THIS PRACTICABLE.

IN THE MEANTIME I SEND YOU MY WARM PERSONAL GOOD WISHES.

YOURS SINCERELY,
JULIUS K. NYERERE

2. FCO PSE PASS SAVING ADDIS ABABA.

HINCHCLIFFE

IMMEDIATE

MMNN

T 75/80

fg

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 31, 1980

Dear Madame Prime Minister:

Thank you for your message on Zimbabwe. I appreciate your thoughts on the role Western nations can play in building on the achievements of Lancaster House.

Now that we are so close to the fulfillment of our common objectives in Zimbabwe, I agree that we should act quickly and visibly to honor our general commitment to assist in the agricultural and economic development of Zimbabwe.

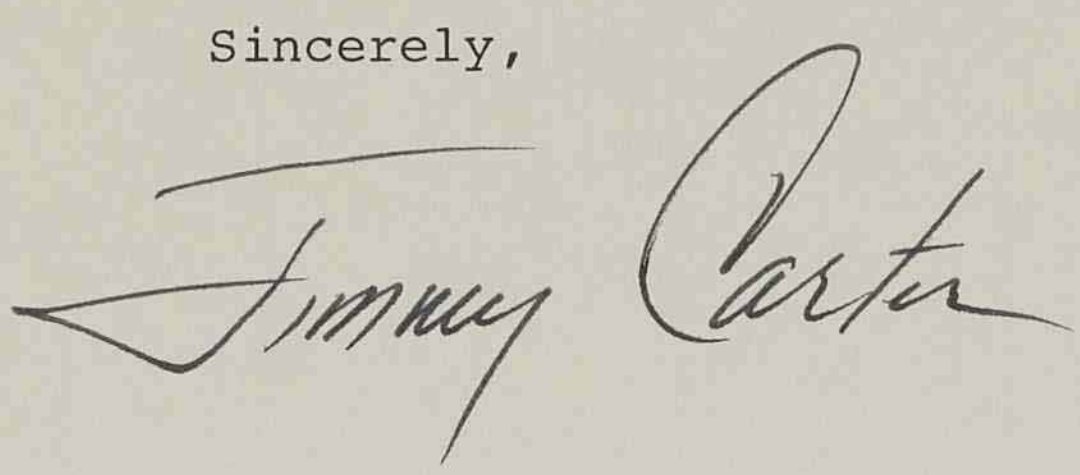
Various obstacles have prevented us from giving as much assistance to southern Africa as we would like to give. Nevertheless, we have taken a number of steps that we hope will help to meet Zimbabwe's immediate needs without weakening our continuing assistance to other nations in the region.

In January we pledged $5 million to the UN High Commission for Refugees to assist in the refugee repatriation effort. We have now identified an additional $15 million to assist in rural rehabilitation and for reconstruction and/or resettlement within Zimbabwe. We will therefore have committed $20 million to Zimbabwe from appropriations for this fiscal year, which ends September 30, 1980. For Fiscal Year 1981, my government expects, with Congressional approval, to extend additional economic support to Zimbabwe at the level of $25 to $30 million.

It is my intention to ask my representative to the Zimbabwe Independence ceremony to discuss this program with the new government during his stay in Salisbury next month.

In the days ahead, we will stay in close touch with your government on these most important matters.

Sincerely,



The Right Honorable
Margaret R. Thatcher, M.P.
Prime Minister
London

GRS 200

RESTRICTED
FM WASHINGTON 3122311Z MAR 80
TO IMMEDIATE SALISBURY
TEL NO 10 OF 31 MARCH 1980.

FCO TELNO 50 TO ALGIERS AND MY TELNO 1245 TO F C O.

INDEPENDENCE CELEBRATIONS.

1. SEITZ IN VANCE'S OFFICE TOLD MORLAND TODAY THAT IT NOW DID NOT LOOK AS THOUGH EITHER MONDALE OR VANCE WOULD BE ABLE TO ATTEND, MONDALE BECAUSE SENATOR KENNEDY'S WIN IN THE NEW YORK AND CONNECTICUT PRIMARIES MADE IT NECESSARY FOR HIM TO STAY IN THE COUNTRY AND CAMPAIGN, AND VANCE BECAUSE BEGIN'S VISIT HAD BEEN CHANGED FROM 14/15 TO 15/16 APRIL AND IT WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE TO REACH SALISBURY IN TIME. WARREN CHRISTOPHER WAS EQUALLY TIED UP WITH THE SADAT VISIT. MEANWHILE ATTEMPTS WERE BEING MADE TO SECURE HIGH LEVEL REPRESENTATION FROM THE CONGRESS, AND TO FIND A MEMBER OF THE CABINET TO LEAD THE DELEGATION.

2. WE HAVE EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT AFTER THE MAJOR PART WHICH THE U S ADMINISTRATION HAD PLAYED IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE FOR THEM TO HAVE HIGH LEVEL REPRESENTATION FROM THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH AS WELL AS CONGRESS.

HENDERSON

FILES
RHOD D
OADS
N AM D
PUSD
PLANNING STAFF
CCD
FRD
ECD (E)
UND
LEGAL ADVS.
(MR FREELAND)

ECON D
DEF D
IPD
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NEWS D
PS
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

DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRY
ASHDOWN HOUSE
123 VICTORIA STREET
LONDON SW1E 6RB
TELEPHONE DIRECT LINE 01-212 3301
SWITCHBOARD 01-212 7676

Secretary of State for Industry

31 March 1980

The Rt Hon Lord Carrington PC KCMG MC MP
Secretary of State for Foreign & Commonwealth Affairs
Foreign & Commonwealth Office
Whitehall
SW1

Dear Peter,

AID TO ZIMBABWE

I have seen your minute of 24 March to the Chancellor of the Exchequer about the proposal to allocate £75 million of aid to Zimbabwe over the period 1980/81 to 1983/84.

I am in principle happy to see the aid to Zimbabwe increased. However, I am concerned that only a relatively small part of the sums involved may benefit British industry. There are considerable opportunities in Zimbabwe for British industry, and a leavening of aid for projects could play an important part in obtaining these contracts. Therefore, before being able to offer my final views on this matter, I should be grateful for clarification as to the amounts which could be available for projects entailing the supply of British equipment. I hope that the bulk of the allocation can be used for this purpose, and in conjunction with commercial finance, so as to maximise the export benefits.

In addition, I have difficulty in accepting your proposal that most of the £75 million should come from the aid programme contingency margin. To allocate so much of the contingency margin so far in advance runs counter to the recent decision to increase the unallocated margin, to enable us to respond more flexibly to new political situations or to industrial and commercial opportunities as they arise.

I accept that a drawing on the unallocated margin may be unavoidable in 1980-81, and that pressures on the aid programme are considerable, but I am not convinced that a substantial part of the proposed aid to Zimbabwe in the later years could not be found by reducing our contributions to multilateral aid programmes, as well as those parts of the bilateral aid programmes which do not benefit British industry.

/It ...

It might be best for officials of the interested Departments to get together soon to consider both these aspects, and report back to Ministers, before a decision is taken.

I am copying this minute to the Prime Minister, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Secretary of State for Trade.

Ever

Kim

MO 3A(OR)

Treasury Chambers, Parliament Street, SW1P 3AG
01-233 3000

NRPA

28 March 1980

31/3

The Rt. Hon. The Lord Carrington KCMG, MC.

Dear Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary,

MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO ZIMBABWE

Thank you for your minute of 26th March.

I have considered your proposal very carefully, but I am afraid it will not run. Pre-payment in one year for largely unspecific purposes in the next is contrary to the fundamental principles of government accounting, viz. that there must be no payment in advance of need, and that expenditure must be entirely consistent with the purposes for which Parliament voted the money. Moreover, your proposal would breach a further principle that shortfall in one year cannot be carried over to augment approved provision in the next.

I accept that MOD practice is to bill in advance for particular individuals accepted for specific courses. But, in this case, we do not know what courses may be set up or how many candidates may be accepted. I think it is stretching the interpretation of Parliament's intentions too far to suggest that monies voted to meet HMG's own costs of implementing the interim arrangements could be used to meet the training expenses of the post-independence government of Zimbabwe.

/ If necessary,

If necessary, I would be willing to consider this again when the MOD have produced a costed assessment of what might be needed and what they are capable of providing. But, I am bound to say that I shall have to be convinced that you cannot find the necessary funds from within the £7 million now provided for military training assistance in 1980-81.

I am sending copies of this letter to the Prime Minister and Francis Pym.

Yours sincerely,

Martin Hall (Private Secretary)

p.p. GEOFFREY HOWE

[approved by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and signed in his absence]

MODBA(OR)

2 pps

CONFIDENTIAL

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER

AID FOR ZIMBABWE

In his minute to you of 24 March, Peter Carrington sets out the case on aid for Zimbabwe.

I fully support his proposal to offer £75m in aid to an independent Zimbabwe, for the reasons set out in the minute. In particular, I would stress the need to do all we can to capitalise on political goodwill so as to enable British companies to regain a foothold in Zimbabwe. There are likely to be a number of major both public and private sector contracts which can only be won, in the face of Japanese and German competition, by an injection of aid. Success would bring welcome business to a number of industries and provide a firm basis for possible repeat orders at a later date. It is imperative therefore that a substantial proportion of the £68m of 'other assistance' referred to on page 2 be earmarked for programmes and projects that will generate UK exports to this valuable market. This will be a useful supplement to any sums that may be allocated to Zimbabwean business out of the Aid and Trade Provision over the same period.

I am copying this minute to the Prime Minister and the Secretaries of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, and for Industry.

Cecil Parkinson

CECIL PARKINSON
28 March 1980

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

Prime Minister
to note A
31/3

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

27 March 1980

Dear Michael,

Zimbabwe: Independence Celebrations

Invitations have now been issued in the name of Mr Mugabe's government through British Embassies and High Commissions to some one hundred Heads of State or Heads of Government to attend or be represented at the Zimbabwe Independence celebrations on 17/18 April. We are unlikely to know until the middle of next week how many will attend personally. Mr Mugabe has sent personal invitations to eight African Presidents and to Mrs Gandhi, Mr Fraser, Mr Manley and Mr Forbes Burnham. We have had indications that Mr Fraser and Mrs Gandhi will attend. Sir N Henderson has reported that the US delegation may include Vice President Mondale, Mr Vance and Mr Andrew Young. The West German and Irish Foreign Ministers will be attending, but the French Government will be represented by M de Guiringaud, the former Foreign Minister.

As you know, it has been agreed that Prince Charles should represent The Queen. Present plans are that the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary should represent the Government. However, if the Heads of several important non-African Governments decided to attend, we should need to consider whether the Prime Minister's absence might be misinterpreted, for example as indicating reservations about Mr Mugabe's government. On the other hand, it has not been customary for the Prime Minister of the day to attend independence celebrations and the presence of Prince Charles and of the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary on this occasion, in addition to the Governor, would ensure that Britain's participation in the celebrations would be very prominent, as befits our special responsibility. Lord Carrington would prefer to delay a final recommendation until the intentions of other governments are known in more detail, which is likely to be next week.

A

/I enclose

CONFIDENTIAL

/ I enclose a brief note of the main events planned for the independence celebrations. The Governor has proposed that Prince Charles should travel to Salisbury overnight on 15/16 April and carry out a programme during the afternoon of 16 April and the whole of 17 April, returning to London by day on 18 April
/ (Salisbury tel no 1160 attached). He has recommended a parallel programme for Lord Carrington, comprising calls on members of the new Government on the afternoon of 16 April and meetings with foreign representatives on 17 April.

Yours ever

Roderic Lyne

(R M J Lyne)
Private Secretary

Michael Alexander Esq
10 Downing Street
London

ZIMBABWE INDEPENDENCE: MAIN EVENTS

15/16 April		Arrival of Representatives
16 April	1800 - 2000	Reception for Rhodesian Government and VIPs at Government House
	2030	Dinner at Government House for Mr Mugabe
17 April	1700	Reception at Government House in honour of Prince of Wales (Heads of State and foreign representatives to attend)
	2015	President's State Banquet
	2350	Independence ceremonies begin
18 April	1030	Depart for London

The National Archives

LETTERCODE/SERIES PREM 19 PIECE/ITEM 347 (one piece/item number)	Date and sign
Extract/Item details: Salisbury telegram no. 1160 to FCO dated 25 March 1980 (attached to letter from Lyne to Alexander of 27 March)	
CLOSED FOR 40 YEARS UNDER FOI EXEMPTION	8 July 2010 AWayland
RETAINED UNDER SECTION 3(4) OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS ACT 1958	
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MISSING	
NUMBER NOT USED	

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Use the card for one piece/item number only

Enter the Lettercode, Series and Piece/Item references clearly
e.g.

LETTERCODE/SERIES .....*GRA 168*.....
PIECE/ITEM .....*49*.....
(ONE PIECE/ITEM NUMBER ONLY)

Please Sign and Date in the box adjacent to the description that applies to the document being replaced by the Dummy Card

If the document is Closed under a FOI exemption, enter the number of years closed. See the TNA guidance *Preparation of records for transfer to The National Archives*, section 18.2

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2

PRIME MINISTER

MG

GPS 355
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

FM SALISBURY 271737Z MAR 80
TO PRIORITY FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 1193 OF 27 MARCH
INFO PRIORITY LUSAKA MAPUTO CAPE TOWN PRETORIA DAR ES SALAAM
GABORONE WASHINGTON UKMIS NEW YORK
TELECON LAYDEN/BROWNE: ELECTION OF PRESIDENT

1. MUGABE AGREES THAT IT WOULD BE APPROPRIATE FOR THE PRESIDENT TO BE ELECTED SHORTLY BEFORE INDEPENDENCE DAY. THE PLAN IS THAT I SHOULD MAKE A PROCLAMATION FIXING THE DATE OF THE NOMINATION COURT IN THE WEEK BEGINNING 7 APRIL, PROBABLY ON 8 APRIL, AND THAT THE NOMINATION COURT SHOULD SIT ON 11 APRIL. WE EXPECT THERE TO BE ONLY ONE CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT, THE REVEREND CANAAN BANANA. IN THIS CASE, THERE WILL NOT NEED TO BE AN ELECTORAL COLLEGE AND ONCE THE NOMINATION COURT HAS SAT IT WILL ONLY REMAIN FOR US TO ARRANGE A GAZETTE NOTICE DECLARING WHO HAS BEEN ELECTED AS PRESIDENT.

2. IF BY ANY CHANCE THERE IS MORE THAN ONE NOMINATION SECRETARY TO PARLIAMENT WILL BE DIRECTED TO CONVENE THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE AND ISSUE A PROCLAMATION FIXING A DATE FOR THE MEETING OF THE COLLEGE, WHICH COULD TAKE PLACE ON 14 OR 15 APRIL.

3. THE NAME BANANA IS AN UNFORTUNATE ONE FOR THE PRESIDENT OF A REPUBLIC EXCLAMATION MARK HE IS HOWEVER, A WELL-KNOWN NATIONALIST POLITICIAN, AND HAS BEEN CHOSEN LARGELY BECAUSE HE IS ONE OF THE FEW LEADING MEMBERS OF Z A N U (P F) WHO IS AN NDEBELE. THE CHOICE HAS NOT (NOT) BEEN ANNOUNCED PUBLICLY.

FCO PASS ALL

SOAMES

[PASSED AS REQUESTED]

FILES
RHOD DEPT
OADS
NAD
PUSD
PLANNING STAFF
PCD
CCD
FRD
ECD(E)
UND
LEGAL ADVISERS
MR FREELAND
MR FIFOOT
ECON DEPT

DEF DEPT
OID
IPD
NEWS DEPT
PS
PS/SIR I GILMOUR
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

vb

Rhodesia

27 March 1980

Further to our telephone conversation, I enclose the signed text of a letter from the Prime Minister to Sir James Haughton. The text is identical with that enclosed in your letter to me of 26 March.

M O'D B A

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

10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

27 March 1980

Now that your mission in Rhodesia has come to an end, I should like to express my warmest thanks to you for the invaluable contribution which you, and your staff, made to the implementation of the Lancaster House agreement and the transition to independence.

I know how difficult the task which you were asked to carry out must have been. But without all the patient effort you and your colleagues put into establishing and maintaining good relations with the British South Africa Police, and into the investigation of complaints by the political parties, and without the prestige and authority which you personally brought to the office of Police Adviser to the Governor, we should have been ill-placed to defend our policies to the international community and to make good our undertaking to conduct an election in fair conditions. You are entitled to feel pride and satisfaction in a job well done in the best traditions of the British police service, and I congratulate you on your achievement.

(SGD) MARGARET THATCHER

Sir J. Haughton, QPM.

vb

3

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

26 March 1980

Dear Michael,

Sir John Boynton, the Election Commissioner, and Sir James Haughton, the Governor's Police Adviser, have now both returned to the United Kingdom, having completed their service in Rhodesia. They have both had to carry out very arduous tasks under difficult circumstances, and have done so with distinction. Lord Carrington believes that it would be much appreciated if the Prime Minister could write personally to each of them as she did to General Acland. I enclose drafts.

Yours ever

Roderic Lyne

(R M J Lyne)

M O'D B Alexander Esq
10 Downing Street

Prime Minister,
You have already written to Sir John Boynton. A letter for you to send to Sir James Haughton is attached.

ABJ
Duty Clerk 26/3

jfh

Rhodesia

BF 1/4/80

26 March 1980

I enclose a copy of the message to the Prime Minister from the President of the Republic of Ghana which was enclosed with your letter to me of 25 March. The Prime Minister would like to send a written reply. It would be helpful if a draft text could reach me by close of play on Tuesday 1 April.

Michael Alexander

KRB.

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

FCS/80/62

CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER

Military Assistance to Zimbabwe

1. A key element in achieving a successful outcome in Rhodesia has been the role of the Monitoring Force in supervising joint military training between the Patriotic Front and Rhodesian forces as the first step towards integration of these forces. Mr Mugabe has pressed us hard to continue this assistance and provide other military training after independence. We have agreed in principle to this. It is much better that Britain should provide such assistance rather than see Mugabe turn to the Soviet Union or some other unacceptable source of help in this field. The Ministry of Defence are establishing exactly what is needed and will produce costed proposals. A programme for one to two years is likely to be necessary.

2. The first strain of such a programme should obviously be taken on our budget for military assistance overseas. Thanks to Francis Pym's agreement to help, we are able to make an allocation of £400,000 for Zimbabwe for next year and may be able to find some more from the UKMTAS reserve. But the indications are that the sort of assistance which Christopher Soames considers essential in the first year will require a substantial sum, possibly £3-4 million. There is no prospect of accommodating expenditure on this scale within our budget.

/3.

3. The expenditure of £31 million to cover the costs of a settlement in Rhodesia has been approved. The current costs of those elements of the Monitoring Force which remain in Rhodesia are at present being drawn from that sum. However, in part because we shall now be able to return some of the Monitoring Force's equipment by sea rather than by USAF aircraft, we hope to make savings within the allocated total of some £3-4 million. I should like to use some of these savings to make a pre-payment of £2 million from our 1979/80 funds to the MOD before the end of this financial year, to cover the cost in the next financial year of a military training mission in Rhodesia and of courses for Rhodesian Officers and NCOs in this country. The principle of pre-payment for agreed courses is, I understand, an established one; and I believe that what I propose is consistent with the purposes for which Parliament originally voted the sum (ie to achieve and consolidate a settlement in Rhodesia) and represents only a continuation and expansion of what we have done up to now. I should be grateful if you could look at this proposal as soon as possible. If you can agree, we shall need to take action before the end of the financial year.

4. I am sending a copy of this minute to the Prime Minister and to Francis Pym.

(CARRINGTON)

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

26 March 1980

GR 220
UNCLASSIFIED
FM SALISBURY 250830Z MAR 80

TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 1151 OF 25 MARCH 1980

It would be surprising if the numbers do not grow further. MT

MIPT : RHODESIA : PRINCE CHARLES'S VISIT
TEXT BEGINS: (Report in Rhodesia Herald).
1. PRINCE CHARLES WILL ARRIVE IN SALISBURY ON APRIL 16 TO REPRESENT THE QUEEN AT THE ZIMBABWE INDEPENDENCE CEREMONY AT RUFARO STADIUM AT MIDNIGHT ON APRIL 17, THE ZRBC/TV REPORTED LAST NIGHT.
2. THE REPORT WHICH DID NOT QUOTE ANY OFFICIAL SOURCES, SAID PRINCE CHARLES'S ARRIVAL WOULD BE FOLLOWED BY THAT OF SEVERAL HEADS OF STATE, PROBABLY INCLUDING THE PRESIDENTS OF TANZANIA, MOZAMBIQUE, ZAMBIA, ANGOLA AND BOTSWANA.
3. THE PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA, MRS INDIRA GANDHI, WILL ALSO BE A GUEST AT THE CEREMONY.
4. ZRBC SAID PRINCE CHARLES WOULD HOLD A STATE BANQUET FOR THE PRIME MINISTER OF ZIMBABWE, MR MUGABE, BEFORE GOING ON TO THE FLAG-RAISING CEREMONY AT THE SOCCER STADIUM IN SALISBURY.
5. ON PARADE AT THE CEREMONY WILL BE UNITS REPRESENTING THE POLICE, THE ARMY, THE AIR FORCE, ZANLA AND ZIPRA.
6. THE NEW NATIONAL FLAG, TO BE RAISED AT THE CEREMONY, WOULD PROBABLY INCORPORATE STRIPES OF RED, BLACK, GREEN AND YELLOW, SAID THE REPORT.
7. PRINCE CHARLES AND THE GOVERNOR, LORD SOAMES, ARE EXPECTED TO LEAVE ZIMBABWE THE NEXT DAY.
TEXT ENDS.
SOAMES

[COPIES SENT TO NO 10 DOWNING STREET]

F I L E S

RHOD D	PS/LPS
OADS	PS/MR LUCE
PCD	PS/PUS
CCD	SIR D MAITLAND
OID	SIR L ALLINSON
NEWS D	MR DAY
PS	

P S TO PRIME MINISTER
10 DOWNING ST

CONFIDENTIAL

22224 - 1

GRS 68
CONFIDENTIAL
FM FCO 251600Z MARCH 1980
TO IMMEDIATE SALISBURY
TELEGRAM NUMBER 858 OF 25 MARCH

YOUR TELS NOS 1146-8: INVITATIONS TO INDEPENDENCE CELEBRATIONS
1. WE ARE SENDING APPROPRIATE INSTRUCTIONS TO POSTS. INVITATIONS TO ALBANIA AND NORTH KOREA WILL, HOWEVER, HAVE TO BE SENT DIRECT BY MUGABE.
2. (TELECON CHAPLIN/DE FONBLANQUE). WE HAVE ADDED SPAIN AND DELETED PDRY. YOU SHOULD URGE MUGABE STRONGLY TO INCLUDE JAPAN.

CARRINGTON

F I L E S
RHOD DEPT
OADS
NAD
PUSD
PLANNING STAFF
PCD
CCD
FRD
ECD(E)
UND
LEGAL ADVISERS
MR FREELAND
MR FIFOOT
ECON DEPT
DEF DEPT
OID
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NEWS DEPT
PS
PS/SIR I GILMOUR
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

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

Prime Minister

If you agree, I will arrange for the High Commissioner to acknowledge

Mrs 25/3

— I will write back. But please note.

25 March 1980

Dear Michael,

filed on Part 16.

I enclose a sealed envelope containing a letter to the Prime Minister, which the Acting High Commissioner for Ghana in London has asked us to forward. Our High Commissioner in Ghana recently reported that the President was thinking of writing to congratulate Mrs Thatcher on the progress made on Rhodesia/Zimbabwe. This may well be that message.

Yours ever

Roderic Lyne

(R M J Lyne)
Private Secretary

M O'D B Alexander Esq
10 Downing Street
London

SUBJECT

T 63 B/80

THE STATE HOUSE,
DAR ES SALAAM,
TANZANIA.

24th March 1980

Mrs. Margaret Thatcher,
The Prime Minister,
10 Downing Street,
London, S.W.1.
U.K.

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T63B/80

Dear Mrs. Thatcher,

This is the very last letter I expect to write to you about Rhodesia. But after our long discussions in Lusaka, and then in London, it seems inappropriate to close this file without marking the clear - and I hope you agree - successful completion on 18th April 1980 of the task of transferring power to the majority of the people of Zimbabwe.

The British and Tanzanian Governments have had many and bitter arguments over this subject since Tanganyika became independent in December 1961. In July last year you and I, together with other Commonwealth leaders, reached an accord in Lusaka; but still there were disagreements between us before the elections took place at the end of February. In retrospect, perhaps all this disagreement was inevitable given the different historical and political experiences of our two nations. Certainly Tanzania found itself arguing just as fiercely whichever political Party was in power in Britain!

But now the matter is settled. Whatever we think of their choice, we all agree that the decision of the people of Zimbabwe is unmistakeable. And Prime Minister Mugabe's decision to form a broad-based unity Government despite the ZANU(PF) electoral victory has created an unparalleled opportunity for all groups to merge their past bitterness into the common struggle to rebuild the country. I can assure you that Tanzania, for its part, will do whatever it can to back up Mr. Mugabe's endeavours in this respect.

Internationally I hope that the same spirit will prevail. On that basis I anticipate that our two countries will be able to maintain and even extend the friendship and cooperation which has always marked our bilateral relations. I therefore look forward with pleasure to future contact between our two peoples, and in particular to the possibility of meeting you again when our various business or travels makes this practicable.

In the meantime I send you my warm personal good wishes.

Yours sincerely,

Julius K. Nyerere

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

24 March 1980

PM - has already replied.

Dear Prime Minister,

See separate folder

I have great pleasure in forwarding the full and final Report of the Commonwealth Observer Group on the recent elections in Southern Rhodesia. The Report is unanimous, and its thoroughness speaks for itself.

The role of the Commonwealth Observer Group, the confidence and trust which was reposed in them by the leadership and people of Zimbabwe and the constructive part they were able to play in the critical pre-election period are further manifestations of the Commonwealth's vital contribution to the emergence of a free Zimbabwe. I am sure you will wish me to convey your high appreciation to all Members of the Group for the manner in which they discharged their responsibilities, disregarding trying physical conditions and the occasional element of personal risk.

With deep respect,

Shridath S. Ramphal

The Rt.Hon Margaret Thatcher, MP
Prime Minister of Great Britain.

CONFIDENTIAL

FM SALISBURY 241832Z MAR 80

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 1148 OF 24 MARCH

MY TWO I P T S: INVITATIONS TO INDEPENDENCE CELEBRATIONS

1. MUGABE WILL SEND PERSONAL INVITATIONS TO THE HEADS OF STATE/ GOVERNMENT OF THE FOLLOWING COUNTRIES: ANGOLA, BOTSWANA, MOZAMBIQUE, TANZANIA, ZAMBIA, LIBERIA (AS CHAIRMAN OF THE O A U), NIGERIA, ETHIOPIA, JAMAICA, GUYANA, AUSTRALIA AND INDIA.

2. MUGABE WAS AT FIRST INCLINED NOT TO INVITE SOME OF THE SMALLER MEMBERS OF THE COMMONWEALTH. WE HAVE TOLD HIM THAT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULAT NOT FORMALLY TO INVITE ALL MEMBERS OF THE COMMONWEALTH, BUT AGREED THAT WHERE APPROPRIATE WE WOULD DISCREETLY POINT OUT TO SMALLER STATES THAT THEY SHOULD NOT FEEL OBLIGED TO SEND REPRESENTATIVES, AND THAT IN SUCH CASES A MESSAGE FROM THE HEAD OF STATE OR GOVERNMENT TO MUGABE WOULD BE QUITE SUFFICIENT.

3. THE LIST AS IT NOW STANDS IS A CONSIDERABLE REDUCTION ON MUGABE'S ORIGINAL LIST (WHICH INCLUDED 120 COUNTRIES AND 64 ORGANISATIONS). EVEN SO THE ARRIVAL OF OVER 100 DELEGATIONS INCLUDING 12 HEADS OF STATE WILL BE FAR BEYONG THE RESOURCES PRESENTLY AVAILABLE. ANYTHING WHICH YOU AND POSTS CAN DO TO (A) ENCOURAGE MESSAGES TO BE SENT RATHER THAN REPRESENTATIVES: AND (B) TO REDUCE NUMBERS IN EACH DELEGATION TO THE ABSOLUTE MINIMUM WOULD BE MUCH APPRECIATED BOTH BY OURSELVES AND BY THE NEW GOVERNMENT.

SOAMES

FILES
RHOD. D
PCD
CCD
MR DAY

RESTRICTED
FM SALISBURY 241940Z MAR 80
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 1147 OF 24 MARCH
M I P T: INVITATIONS TO INDEPENDENCE CELEBRATIONS
1. MUGABE WISHES THE FOLLOWING COUNTRIES TO BE INVITED TO THE INDEPENDENCE CELEBRATIONS:
(A) ALL COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES (BUT SEE M I. P T):
(B) O A U COUNTRIES NOT INCLUDED IN (A), WITH THE EXCEPTION OF BURUNDI, CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC, CHAD, MOROCCO, RWANOA AND TOGO:
(C) EUROPE. ALL E E C COUNTRIES PLUS SWEDEN, SWITZERLAND, PORTUGAL NORWAY, FINLAND, U S S R, BULGARIA, ROMANIA, ALBANIA AND YUGOSLAVIA:
(D) THE AMERICAS. U S, CUBA, MEXICO AND NICARAGUA:
(E) MIDDLE AND FAR EAST. SYRIA, IRAQ, IRAN, P D R Y, CHINA, NORTH KOREA, VIETNAM AND PAKISTAN.
(F) INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS. U N, O A U, E E C COMMISSION AND COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY GENERAL.
TOTAL SO FAR IS THEREFORE 96 COUNTRIES AND 4 ORGANISATIONS
2. THE INCLUSION OF ALBANIA AND NORTH KOREA CLEARLY POSE PROBLEMS FOR US. YOU MAY WISH MUGABE TO SEND A MESSAGE DIRECT FROM HERE.
3. NOTABLE ABSENTEES AT PRESENT INCLUDE JAPAN, SPAIN AND GREECE. WE SHALL POINT OUT TO MUGABE THAT THE FIRST TWO ARE POTENTIAL AID DONAORS, AND THAT THERE IS A LARGE GREEK COMMUNITY HERE.

SOAMES

FILES
RHOD. D
PCD
CCD
MR DAY

RESTRICTED

FM SALISBURY 241800Z MAR 80
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 1146 OF 24 MARCH
YOUR TELNO 803: INVITATIONS TO INDEPENDENCE CELEBRATIONS

1. MUGABE HAS NOT YET FINALISED A LIST OF COUNTRIES AND ORGANISATIONS WHOM HE WISHES TO SEE REPRESENTED AT THE INDEPENDENCE CELEBRATIONS.

2. HOWEVER HE HAS AGREED THAT THE COUNTRIES IN M I F T WILL IN ANY CASE BE INVITED. WE WILL LET YOU HAVE NAMES OF ANY ADDITIONAL COUNTRIES AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

3. WE SHOULD BE GRATEFUL IF YOU WOULD INSTRUCT POSTS CONCERNED TO DELIVER INVITATIONS TO HEADS OF STATE OR GOVERNMENT AS APPROPRIATE. WITH THE EXCEPTION OF CERTAIN HEADS OF STATE DETAILED IN MY SECOND I F T MUGABE HAS AGREED THAT HEADS OF STATE/GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE INVITED TO SEND A REPRESENTATIVE. WIVES/HUSBANDS ARE INCLUDED IN THE INVITIATION.

4. APART FROM THE SHORTAGE OF TIME AVAILABLE FOR PREPARATIONS, FACILITIES IN SALISBURY PARTICULARLY OF HOTEL ACCOMMODATION AND TRANSPORT ARE VERY LIMITED. WE ARE SURE THAT GOVERNMENTS WILL UNDERSTAND THAT IT WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE TO PROVIDE SUITABLE FACILITIES FOR LARGE DELEGATIONS. WE HAVE AGREED WITH MUGABE THAT EACH REPRESENTATIVE MAY THEREFORE BE ACCOMAPNIED BY A MAXIMUM OF 2 OFFICIALS.

5. REPRESENTATIVE, SPOUSE AND UP TO 2 OFFICIALS WILL BE THE GUESTS OF THE ZIMBABWE GOVERNMENT DURING THE PERIOD 16-20 APRIL. HOTEL ACCOMMODATION AND TRANSPORTATION WITHIN ZIMBABWE WILL BE PROVIDED FOR EACH OFFICIAL DELEGATION.

6. THE OFFICIAL PROGRAMME FOR THE REPRESENTATIVES IS LIKELY TO BE:

15/16 APRIL ARRIVAL OF REPRESENTATIVES
17 APRIL 1700 RECEPTION AT GOVERNMENT HOUSE IN HONOUR OF THE PRINCE OF WALES
2000 DINNER GIVEN BY THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
2330 ONWARDS FLAG-RAISING CEREMONY
18 APRIL FURTHER OFFICIAL EVENTS TO BE ARRANGED (OUTLINE DETAILS TO FOLLOW)
19/20 APRIL DEPARTURE OF REPRESENTATIVES

7. DRESS THROUGHOUT WILL BE LOUNGE SUITS, UNIFORM OR NATIONAL DRESS (DINNER JACKETS WILL NOT BE REQUIRED). FOR LADIES LONG OR SHORT DRESSES AS THEY WISH: HATS AND GLOVES ARE NOT (NOT) NECESSARY.

8. WE NEED TO KNOW AS SOON AS POSSIBLE WHETHER EACH COUNTRY WILL BE REPRESENTED AND IF SO AT WHAT LEVEL. WE SHOULD BE GRATEFUL TO RECEIVE NOT LATER THAN 2 APRIL:

/ (A)

Mr. Rutt
Prime Minister
MT.
Rutt
24/3

(2)

FCS/80/66

CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER

Aid for Zimbabwe

1. We discussed with Christopher Soames on 19 March the financial and economic measures which he considered essential to consolidate our political settlement in Rhodesia.

2. The political case for aid to Zimbabwe is a strong one and was set out by Christopher Soames in Cabinet. It is in our wider interests to consolidate the settlement and ensure stability. We want to win a major share of the Rhodesian market for British industry.

3. Our political interest in the success of the settlement and its implications for the future of Southern Africa is shared by other Western countries. I have already instructed HM Ambassadors in all the leading donor countries to represent to Governments the need to give development aid. The multilateral institutions will undoubtedly contribute when the independent government is able to join them. The Governor is to suggest to Mugabe that a full donors' conference be called in Salisbury as soon as the new Ministers are briefed and ready to receive it.

4. But we shall need to make a major contribution, though this need not become a longer-term burden given Zimbabwe's basic wealth. Christopher Soames has told Mugabe that we shall make a grant, with no limitation as to local costs, of £7 million (Rhodesian dollars 10 million), for reconstruction of schools, hospitals, and other assets destroyed or damaged during the years of war. He has also said that we shall give "substantial" assistance for Zimbabwe's development needs in the medium-term.

5. We agreed on Wednesday that, subject to tactical considerations in regard to other donors and to the timing of a UK aid mission to Salisbury at present scheduled for the week following independence, we should offer a total of £75m in aid to the independent State from 1980/81 to 1983/84, for commitment over the first three of

/these years

these years and disbursement over the four: this sum will include the assistance of £7m for reconstruction in 1980/81 and will cover whatever proposals both for capital aid and technical co-operation are subsequently agreed with the new Government. (The terms of capital aid can be discussed by officials later). The proposed pattern of spending (at present estimated, but in our negotiations in Salisbury we shall secure that it is closely adhered to) is as follows:

	1980/81	1981/82	1982/83	1983/84
Reconstruction grant	7			
Other assistance	8	17	19	24

Total £75m

The sums proposed for "other assistance" will include both contributions to an Agricultural Development Corporation for rural development (including land settlement) which was an undertaking given at the Lancaster House Conference and an essential part of the Rhodesian settlement, and the financing, in whole or in part, of programmes or projects designed to enable our industries to regain a foothold in an independent Zimbabwe. The essential commercial and banking connections are already there.

6. The detailed allocations of our aid programme up to 1984 are still being worked out. It is already quite clear that the cuts we have agreed on will force us to slow down the implementation of commitments we have made since we assumed office as well as those of our predecessors which we should rightly honour. I believe, however, that provided Keith Joseph and John Nott agree, I can accommodate the sums set out above by drawing on the prospective contingency provisions for each year in the aid programme up to and including 1983/84 save for the first two years. For these, I propose that sums of £8m for 1980/81 and £7m for 1981/82 be provided from the central contingency reserve. This will mean that the total provision for the aid programme in our projections for public expenditure will be increased by these cash amounts for the two financial years in question, and for these only. Our strategic, political and commercial interests in the region demand no less. I hope that you

/and our

and our colleagues will be able to agree.

7. This minute is copied to the Prime Minister and to the Secretaries of State for Trade and for Industry.

C

(CARRINGTON)

Foreign and Commonwealth Office
24 March 1980

[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 MAXEY) CABINET
MR GOULTY) OFFICE
MR W N WENBAN SMITH)
DTO)

.....

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

IMMEDIATE

CONFIDENTIAL
FM SALISBURY 241226Z MAR 80
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 1139 OF 24 MARCH
INFO PRIORITY WASHINGTON UKMIS NEW YORK EEC POSTS CANBERRA WELLINGTON OTTAWA DAR ES SALAAM MAPUTO NAIROBI LAGOS CAPE TOWN GABORONE LUANDA
RHODESIA: POLITICAL SITUATION
1. AT THE RECEPTION I GAVE ON 20 MARCH, FORMALLY TO APPOINT THE INCOMING MINISTERS, IT WAS CLEAR THAT THEY WERE FEELING THEIR WAY. THEY WERE ENCOURAGED BY THE ATTITUDE THE PERMANENT SECRETARIES AND THE OTHER LEADING CIVIL SERVANTS WERE ADOPTING TOWARDS THEM. THERE WAS A REALISATION THAT IN THE PERIOD UP TO INDEPENDENCE ON 18 APRIL MINISTERS WOULD NOT BE IN A POSITION TO TAKE DECISIONS OF A POLITICALLY CONTROVERSIAL NATURE (AND NO DEMANDS AT THIS STAGE FOR THE DELEGATION OF POWERS).
2. IN RESPONSE TO A NUMBER OF STRIKES WHICH HAVE BEEN TAKING PLACE IN THE SALISBURY AREA, MUGABE TOLD ME THAT HE HAD NO INTENTION OF LETTING MATTERS GET OUT OF HAND. THE EMPLOYMENT MINISTER, KANGAI, HAS BEEN APPEALING TO THE STRIKERS TO GO BACK TO WORK. THE MORE INTELLIGENT MINISTERS POINTED OUT IN PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS THAT THEIR MAIN PROBLEM OVER THE NEXT FEW WEEKS AND MONTHS WILL BE THE CRISIS OF EXPECTATIONS. THERE IS AN UNDERSTANDING THAT THEY WILL HAVE TO TAKE ACTIONS TO SATISFY THEIR SUPPORTERS THAT THINGS HAVE CHANGED: BUT THAT THE FINANCIAL CONSTRAINTS ARE REAL. THERE WAS CORRESPONDING GRATITUDE FOR OUR PROMPT ACTION IN PROVIDING RHODESIAN DOLLARS 10 MILLION'S WORTH OF CONSTRUCTION ASSISTANCE.
3. THE WHITE COMMUNITY HAVE RESPONDED FAVOURABLY TO STATEMENTS BY MUGABE AND OTHER MINISTERS DESIGNED TO REASSURE THEM. THE CONTINUANCE IN OFFICE OF GENERAL WALLS AND THE APPOINTMENT TO THE CABINET OF DAVID SMITH AND NORMAN HAVE HAD A STABILISING EFFECT. THERE ARE A NUMBER OF DEPARTURES, BUT THESE ARE NOT REALLY AFFECTING THE PRIVATE SECTOR. THE WORRYING FEATURE IS THE POTENTIAL EXODUS OF A LARGE NUMBER OF PEOPLE IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR (MY TELNO 1117). THE WHITES ARE WORRIED THAT MUGABE'S NEW MODERATION MAY BE SKIN DEEP AND DEPENDENT ON OUR OWN PRESENCE HERE. IN GENERAL, HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE THAT THE GREAT MAJORITY OF THE WHITE COMMUNITY WILL STAY AND SEE HOW THINGS WORK OUT PROVIDED THERE IS NOT A SUDDEN AND DRAMATIC EXODUS FROM THE PUBLIC SECTOR.
4. THE KEY ELEMENT FOR THE FUTURE IS THE SUCCESSFUL ACCOMPLISHMENT OF THE PROCESS OF AMALGAMATING THE THREE ARMIES. LAST WEEK THE

HOW THINGS WORK OUT PROVIDED THERE IS NOT A SUDDEN AND DRAMATIC EXODUS FROM THE PUBLIC SECTOR.

4. THE KEY ELEMENT FOR THE FUTURE IS THE SUCCESSFUL ACCOMPLISHMENT OF THE PROCESS OF AMALGAMATING THE THREE ARMIES. LAST WEEK THE MILITARY AMALGAMATION COMMITTEE UNDER GENERAL WALLS RAN INTO SEVERE DIFFICULTY AS A RESULT OF THE ATTITUDE BEING ADOPTED BY JUNIOR Z A N L A COMMANDERS, IN PARTICULAR ON THE QUESTION OF DEMOBILISATION. THEY WERE ARGUING THAT NONE OF THE Z A N L A FORCES IN THE ASSEMBLY AREAS (NOW AMOUNTING TO OVER 20,000 MEN FOR Z A N L A ALONE) SHOULD BE DEMOBILISED UNTIL PART OF THE RHODESIAN REGULAR FORCES HAD BEEN DEMOBILISED. WALLS MEANWHILE HAS BEEN PRESSING AHEAD WITH PLANS TO DEMOBILISE VIRTUALLY ALL THE SECURITY FORCE AUXILIARIES, THE DISTRICT SECURITY ASSISTANTS AND MUCH OF THE FARM MILITIA OVER THE NEXT SIX TO EIGHT WEEKS. THIS WILL INVOLVE THE DEMOBILISATION OF SOME 25,000 MEN. THE Z I P R A COMMANDERS HAVE BEEN REACTING TO WHAT THEY REGARD AS ATTEMPTS BY Z A N L A TO GAIN A MILITARY ADVANTAGE: AND TO THE POLITICAL SLIGHT TO NKOMO OVER THE ELECTIONS TO THE SENATE (WHEN Z A N U (P F) ALLOWED ONLY ONE PATRIOTIC FRONT NOMINEE - MSIKA - TO BE ELECTED).

5. FOLLOWING MY TALK WITH MUGABE ON THURSDAY AND WALLS' SUBSEQUENT MEETING WITH HIM ON FRIDAY, THE IMMEDIATE PROBLEMS IN THE AMALGAMATION COMMITTEE SEEM TO HAVE BEEN OVERCOME. BUT THERE ARE MANY DIFFICULTIES AHEAD, INCLUDING THE RETURN OF THE Z I P R A FORCES IN ZAMBIA: AND ABOVE ALL THE EXTENT TO WHICH IT WILL NOW BE POSSIBLE TO ACHIEVE THE PROGRESSIVE DEMOBILISATION OF A GOOD MANY OF THOSE IN THE ASSEMBLY PLACES.

6. APART FROM THE LOCAL INDUSTRIAL TROUBLES, SOMETIMES SPONSORED BY LOCAL Z A N U (P F) ACTIVISTS, THERE HAVE BEEN ONE OR TWO INCIDENTS OF INCURSIONS INTO WHITE FARMS. Z A N U (P F) HAVE BOUGHT TWO FARMS IN THE ARCTURUS AREA AND SOME OF THE Z A N L A ELEMENTS WORKING ON THEM HAVE RETAINED THEIR ARMS. FOLLOWING AN INCIDENT INVOLVING AN ELDERLY WHITE FARMER (MR WILLOUGHBY) ON 22 MARCH NHONGO WENT TO THE AREA YESTERDAY TO GET THEM UNDER CONTROL. THIS PROBLEM IS STILL CAUSING CONCERN. IN GENERAL, HOWEVER, THE THE GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN TRYING HARD TO CONTAIN THE PROBLEMS WHICH HAVE ARISEN: AND THOSE WHICH HAVE OCCURRED HAVE NOT SO FAR BEEN ON A SCALE LARGER THAN COULD REASONABLY HAVE BEEN ANTICIPATED FOLLOWING THE POLITICAL UPHEAVALS OF THE LAST FEW WEEKS.

7. IN HAS IN CONSEQUENCE BEEN POSSIBLE FOR WALLS AND MUGABE TO AGREE THAT THERE SHOULD BE A MASSIVE REDUCTION IN THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE CALL-UP OF WHITE RESERVISTS. THE CALL-UP OF PERSONS UNDER 25 IS BEING ABOLISHED IMMEDIATELY. TRAINED RESERVISTS BETWEEN 25 AND 38 WILL BE FORMALLY LIABLE FOR 30 DAYS MILITARY SERVICE UP TO THE END OF THE YEAR: AND THOSE IN THE 38 TO 50 AGE GROUP FOR 15 DAYS SERVICE. IN PRACTICE, THE MAJORITY OF THE PERSONS CONCERNED WILL RAMAIN ON STAND-BY. THOUGH SOME OF THE MOPE TECHNICALLY QUALIFIED RESERVISTS MAY BE CALLED UP IN THIS PERIOD. THIS WILL COMBINE A MASSIVE REDUCTION IN THE OVERALL EFFECT OF THE CALL-UP WITH AN ARRANGEMENT GIVING ADEQUATE FLEXIBILITY IN TERMS OF QUALIFIED RESERVISTS IF THE NEED SHOULD ARISE.

FCO PASS ALL

SOAMES

IMMEDIATE

NNNN

Rhodesia

24 March 1980

International Assistance for Zimbabwe

The Prime Minister has seen and approved the message to President Carter enclosed with your letter to me of 21 March. The message was despatched to Washington over the hotline yesterday. I believe that the Resident Clerk has arranged for our Embassy in Washington and the Governor's office in Salisbury to be informed.

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

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

CONFIDENTIAL

T 62/80

Please pass following message from Prime Minister to President Carter.

SUBJECT
PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T62/80

Dear Mr President

Rhodesia, or Zimbabwe as it will be, is on the verge of independence. It scarcely seemed possible last summer that we should be able to launch the new state under such favourable conditions and with such wide international acceptance. Your continuous support has played a vital part in helping us get there.

/The first steps

CONFIDENTIAL

The first steps taken by Mr. Mugabe have been encouraging. He has appointed a broadly-based government and has had the wisdom to include representation of the white community. He has called for reconciliation and clearly intends to pursue moderate policies. He has applied for Zimbabwe to join the Commonwealth and I believe he intends to be genuinely non-aligned. Certainly his links with the Soviet Union are tenuous. If he sticks to this course we shall have successfully eliminated a major source of instability in Southern Africa. The prospects of settling peacefully the other problems of the area will have improved.

There is no doubt in my mind that Mugabe's ability to hold to this course will be crucially affected by the readiness of the West to provide economic help. Although Zimbabwe is potentially a wealthy country, the immediate problems of reconstruction after the war are daunting. The new government will have to convince its supporters that moderate policies pay. In particular they will attach the highest importance to agricultural development. Cy Vance was very helpful in indicating during the Lancaster House conference that the Administration believed that a multi-donor effort would be appropriate to assist in the agricultural and economic development of a wider development concept for Africa as a whole and that the US would be prepared to co-operate in such an effort. This played a crucial part in persuading the Patriotic Front to accept the Independence Constitution.

It is vital that we and the West as a whole should build on what has been achieved at Lancaster House and subsequently and consolidate the gains for our overall position in Africa from the settlement. What is required is an early commitment of substantial assistance to the new government, which will create the climate of confidence to carry them through the crucial early stages of independence. I very much hope that all who are concerned in this matter will recognise the crucial importance of backing up success and ensuring that Mr. Mugabe is not driven to feel that he must turn to other quarters for help. I know that you, like us, face

/budgetary

budgetary constraints. But we share a really major political interest in converting a diplomatic success into a durable achievement: and this needs prompt and convincing action. I very much hope therefore that you can make the strongest possible commitment to provide American support to the new government, and at the same time provide immediate and substantial assistance. We have announced an initial contribution of £7m. with more to come and are approaching other Western governments and Japan for help. There is an opportunity here which we must not let slip.

Yours sincerely,

Margaret

23 March 1980

T 62/80

SUBJECT.

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T 62/80

cc. Master set
DPS

IMMEDIATE 231740Z MAR 80

FROM CABINET OFFICE LONDON

TO WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

BT
CONFIDENTIAL

DEAR MR PRESIDENT

RHODESIA, OR ZIMBABWE AS IT WILL BE, IS ON THE VERGE OF INDEPENDENCE. IT SCARCELY SEEMED POSSIBLE LAST SUMMER THAT WE SHOULD BE ABLE TO LAUNCH THE NEW STATE UNDER SUCH FAVOURABLE CONDITIONS AND WITH SUCH WIDE INTERNATIONAL ACCEPTANCE. YOUR CONTINUOUS SUPPORT HAS PLAYED A VITAL PART IN HELPING US GET THERE.

THE FIRST STEPS TAKEN BY MR. MUGABE HAVE BEEN ENCOURAGING. HE HAS APPOINTED A BROADLY-BASED GOVERNMENT AND HAS HAD THE WISDOM TO INCLUDE REPRESENTATION OF THE WHITE COMMUNITY. HE HAS CALLED FOR RECONCILIATION AND CLEARLY INTENDS TO PURSUE MODERATE POLICIES. HE HAS APPLIED FOR ZIMBABWE TO JOIN THE COMMONWEALTH AND I BELIEVE HE INTENDS TO BE GENUINELY NON-ALIGNED. CERTAINLY HIS LINKS WITH THE SOVIET UNION ARE TENUOUS. IF HE STICKS TO THIS COURSE WE SHALL HAVE SUCCESSFULLY ELIMINATED A MAJOR SOURCE OF INSTABILITY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. THE PROSPECTS OF SETTLING PEACEFULLY THE OTHER PROBLEMS OF THE AREA WILL HAVE IMPROVED.

THERE IS NO DOUBT IN MY MIND THAT MUGABE'S ABILITY TO HOLD TO THIS COURSE WILL BE CRUCIALLY AFFECTED BY THE READINESS OF THE WEST TO PROVIDE ECONOMIC HELP. ALTHOUGH ZIMBABWE IS POTENTIALLY A WEALTHY COUNTRY, THE IMMEDIATE PROBLEMS OF RECONSTRUCTION AFTER THE WAR ARE DAUNTING. THE NEW GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE TO CONVINCE ITS SUPPORTERS THAT MODERATE POLICIES PAY. IN PARTICULAR THEY WILL ATTACH THE HIGHEST IMPORTANCE TO AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT. CY VANCE WAS VERY HELPFUL IN INDICATING DURING THE LANCASTER HOUSE CONFERENCE THAT THE ADMINISTRATION BELIEVED THAT A MULTI-DONOR EFFORT WOULD BE APPROPRIATE TO ASSIST IN THE AGRICULTURAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF A WIDER DEVELOPMENT CONCEPT FOR AFRICA AS A WHOLE AND THAT THE US WOULD BE PREPARED TO CO-OPERATE IN SUCH AN EFFORT. THIS PLAYED A CRUCIAL PART IN PERSUADING THE PATRIOTIC FRONT TO ACCEPT THE INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION.

IT IS VITAL THAT WE AND THE WEST AS A WHOLE SHOULD BUILD ON WHAT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED AT LANCASTER HOUSE AND SUBSEQUENTLY AND CONSOLIDATE THE GAINS FOR OUR OVERALL POSITION IN AFRICA FROM THE SETTLEMENT. WHAT IS REQUIRED IS AN EARLY COMMITMENT OF SUBSTANTIAL ASSISTANCE TO THE NEW GOVERNMENT, WHICH WILL CREATE THE CLIMATE OF CONFIDENCE TO CARRY THEM THROUGH THE CRUCIAL EARLY STAGES OF INDEPENDENCE. I VERY MUCH HOPE THAT ALL WHO ARE CONCERNED IN THIS MATTER WILL RECOGNISE THE CRUCIAL IMPORTANCE OF BACKING UP SUCCESS AND ENSURING THAT MR. MUGABE IS NOT DRIVEN TO FEEL THAT HE MUST TURN TO OTHER QUARTERS FOR HELP. I KNOW THAT YOU, LIKE US, FACE BUDGETARY CONSTRAINTS. BUT WE SHARE A REALLY MAJOR POLITICAL INTEREST IN CONVERTING A DIPLOMATIC SUCCESS INTO A DURABLE ACHIEVEMENT: AND THIS NEEDS PROMPT AND CONVINCING ACTION. I VERY MUCH HOPE THEREFORE THAT YOU CAN MAKE THE STRONGEST POSSIBLE COMMITMENT TO PROVIDE AMERICAN SUPPORT TO THE NEW GOVERNMENT, AND AT THE SAME TIME PROVIDE IMMEDIATE AND SUBSTANTIAL ASSISTANCE. WE HAVE ANNOUNCED AN INITIAL CONTRIBUTION OF POUNDS STERLING 7 MILLION WITH MORE TO COME AND ARE APPROACHING OTHER WESTERN GOVERNMENTS AND JAPAN FOR HELP. THERE IS AN OPPORTUNITY HERE WHICH WE MUST NOT LET SLIP.

+ corrected Pers.

YOURS SINCERELY,

MARGARET

DER BOTSCHAFTER
DER BUNDESREPUBLIK DEUTSCHLAND

London, March 21st, 1980

T 61 AA/80

Dear Prime Minister

I have the honour to transmit to you the enclosed telegramme from Herr Helmut Schmidt, Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany.

A courtesy translation is also attached.

I am, dear Prime Minister,
yours sincerely
Jürgen Ruhfus

Jürgen Ruhfus

The Rt.Hon. Margaret Thatcher, MP
Her Majesty's Prime Minister
and First Lord of the Treasury
London

Telegramm

von Herrn Helmut Schmidt, Bundeskanzler
der Bundesrepublik Deutschland

an The Rt.Hon. Margaret Thatcher, MP,
Prime Minister

Sehr geehrte Frau Premierminister,

zu Ihrer mutigen und so erfolgreichen Politik, dem Volk von Zimbabwe die Unabhängigkeit in Frieden und Freiheit zu ermöglichen, sende ich Ihnen meine herzlichen Glückwünsche.

Die Bundesregierung hat das britische Engagement in Rhodesien stets mit aktiver Sympathie unterstützt. Wir hoffen, daß der Aussöhnungsprozeß in Zimbabwe auf das ganze südliche Afrika stabilisierend ausstrahlen wird.

Ich freue mich auf unsere Gespräche am 27./28. März 1980 in Chequers und bin

mit freundlichen Grüßen

Helmut Schmidt
Bundeskanzler der
Bundesrepublik Deutschland

SUBJECT.

Courtesy Translation

PRIME MINISTER'S PERSONAL MESSAGE SERIAL No. (2) T 61 AA/80

Telegramme

from Herr Helmut Schmidt, Chancellor
of the Federal Republic of Germany

to The Rt.Hon. Margaret Thatcher, MP,
Prime Minister

Prime Minister

cc. master set

You may prefer to thank Herr Schmidt personally for his message on Thursday.

MT

Dear Prime Minister,

I send you my most cordial congratulation for your courageous and so successful policy of enabling the people of Zimbabwe to obtain independence in peace and freedom.

MT

The Federal Government has always sympathized with and supported the British commitment in Rhodesia. We hope, that the reconciliation process in Zimbabwe will have a stabilizing effect on the whole of Southern Africa.

I am looking forward to our talks on March 27th and 28th, 1980, in Chequers.

Yours sincerely,

Helmut Schmidt
Chancellor of the
Federal Republic of Germany

[RHODESIA: POLICY: ADVANCE COPIES] 6

34. Prime Minister 100

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)

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

RESIDENT CLERK

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T61A/80

SUBJECT

IMMEDIATE

UNCLASSIFIED

FM SALISBURY 211815Z MAR 80

IMMEDIATE

TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 1133A OF 21 MARCH 1980
AND TO ROUTINE UKREP BRUSSELS UKMIS NEW YORK AND UKMIS GENEVA.

MY TELNO 1132.

MESSAGE TO PRIME MINISTER.
I HAVE RECEIVED THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM MR MUGABE FOR TRANSMISSION TO THE PRIME MINISTER. TEXT HAS BEEN PUBLISHED HERE THIS EVENING:
BEGINS
''I WOULD LIKE ONBEHALF OF MY GOVERNMENT, AND THE PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY AS A WHOLE, TO EXPRESS OUR GRATITUDE TO HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT FOR THE IMMEDIATE AND GENEROUS CONTRIBUTION OF RHODESIAN DOLLARS 10 MILLION TOWARDS THE COST OF RECONSTRUCTION IN ZIMBABWE, AND THE PLEDGE OF FURTHER SUBSTANTIAL AID OVER THE NEXT TWO OR THREE YEARS.
''MY GOVERNMENT IS FULLY CONSCIOUS OF THE ENORMOUS ECONOMIC PROBLEMS WE FACE IN THE IMMEDIATE AND LONG TERM FUTURE. YOU MAY BE ASSURED THAT WE SHALL APPLY OURSELVES DILIGENTLY

NEXT TWO OR THREE YEARS.

''MY GOVERNMENT IS FULLY CONSCIOUS OF THE ENORMOUS ECONOMIC PROBLEMS WE FACE IN THE IMMEDIATE AND LONG TERM FUTURE. YOU MAY BE ASSURED THAT WE SHALL APPLY OURSELVES DILLIGENTLY TO THE URGENT NEED TO STABILISE THIS COUNTRY AND TO WORK TOWARDS ITS DEVLOPMENT AND CONTINUED RECONSTRUCTION.

''THE TASK WILL BE MADE THAT MUCH EASIER BY THE GIFT AND PLEDGE YOU HAVE EXTENDED TO US, WHICH AT THE SAME TIME, WILL HAVE GIVEN MOMENTUM TO THE INTERNATIONAL APPEAL LAUNCHED BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT FOR SIMILAR ASSISTANCE FROM OTHER COUNTRIES.''

ENDS.

IMMEDIATE

SOAMES

NNNN

With the Compliments of

The Clerk

of the House of Commons

THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE
HOUSE OF COMMONS, S.W.1

21st March 1980

Dear Lyne

Independence Gifts to Rhodesia

Thank you for sending me a copy of your letter to Alexander of 18th March. As I mentioned to you over the telephone yesterday, the expenses of Gifts by the House of Commons to Commonwealth Parliaments on the occasion of the attainment of independence of their respective countries are now borne on Class XIII A of the Estimates, and the approval of the limit of such expenditure therefore falls to the House of Commons Commission, and not to the Treasury. When the Commission come to consider this matter, I shall of course apprise them of the opinion of the Prime Minister as expressed in Alexander's reply to you of 19th March.

I am sending copies of this letter to all those to whom your letter of 18th March was copied.

Yours sincerely
Charles Gordon

C.A.S.S. GORDON

R.M.J. Lyne, Esq.,
Private Secretary,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office,
London SW1A 2AH.

Prime Minister
The Policy Clerk has a copy of the text. If you are content with it, it could go by the hot line. Agree text?

Yes.

MAP 21/3

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

21 March 1980

Dear Michael,

International Assistance for Zimbabwe

During the Lancaster House Conference and subsequently, the government undertook to help the new government of Zimbabwe to obtain international assistance. We shall be fulfilling this promise in various ways, eg by helping Zimbabwe obtain early membership of the IMF and IBRD and assistance from the EEC. We have also sent instructions to posts in Western countries, Japan and selected Arab countries, to ask governments concerned for an early statement of their intention to provide aid.

The United States will have a key role. During Lancaster House they declared themselves ready to help the new government, particularly with agricultural development. But their attitude has subsequently been cautious. US officials have pleaded budgetary difficulties. The only commitment so far offered has been US$2 million of emergency assistance.

Lord Carrington believes that a strong commitment by the United States to support the new government with economic assistance will make a major contribution both to confirming Mr Mugabe in his present moderate course, and to bolstering the confidence of the white community. It has been suggested to us in strict confidence by the Embassy here, by other US officials and by a senior Congressional assistant, that the most effective means to obtain an early commitment of US support would be a personal message from the Prime Minister to President Carter, which would state squarely the political case for assistance and could be used by the Administration with Congress. The Ambassador in Washington agrees. Lord Carrington recommends that, in view of the great importance of giving Zimbabwe the best possible start, we should follow this advice and send an early message. I enclose a draft for the Prime Minister's consideration.

Yours ever

Roderic Lyne

(R M J Lyne)
Private Secretary

M O'D B Alexander Esq
10 Downing Street

S3842(22455)DD.0532199 300M 8/79 GWB LTD.GP.870

XY 42

File No. .....

Department RHODESIA

Drafted by (Block Capitals) C D POWELL

Tel. Extn. 3466

OUTWARD

TELEGRAM

Security Classification: CONFIDENTIAL

Precedence: IMMEDIATE

DESKBY .....Z

FOR COMMS. DEPT. USE

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

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PREAMBLE

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

(Security Class.) CONFIDENTIAL

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(Restrictive Prefix) .....

(Caveat/ Privacy marking) .....

(Deskby) ..... Z

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

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

AND SAVING TO .....

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

SAVING TO (for info) .....

Distribution:–

Rhodesia Policy

Copies to:–

[TEXT]

Your telno 1176: AID TO ZIMBABWE

Please pass following message from Prime Minister to President Carter.

'Dear ~~Jimmy~~, Mr President

Rhodesia, or Zimbabwe as it will be, is on the verge of independence. It scarcely seemed possible last summer that we should be able to launch the new state under such favourable conditions and with such wide international acceptance. Your continuous support has played a vital part in helping us get there.

The first steps taken by Mr Mugabe have been ~~very~~ encouraging. He has appointed a broadly-based government and has had the wisdom to include representation of the white community. He has called for reconciliation and

/clearly

clearly intends to pursue moderate policies. He has applied for Zimbabwe to join the Commonwealth and I believe he intends to be genuinely non-aligned. Certainly his links with the Soviet Union are tenuous. If he sticks to this course we shall have successfully eliminated a major source of instability in Southern Africa. The prospects of settling peacefully the other problems of the area will have improved.

There is no doubt in my mind that Mugabe's ability to hold to this course will be crucially affected by the readiness of the West to provide economic help. Although Zimbabwe is potentially a wealthy country, the immediate problems of reconstruction after the war are daunting. The new government will have to convince its supporters that moderate policies pay. In particular they will attach the highest importance to agricultural development. Cy Vance was very helpful in indicating during the Lancaster House conference that the Administration believed that a multi-donor effort would be appropriate to assist in the agricultural and economic development of a wider development concept for Africa as a whole and that the US would be prepared to co-operate in such an effort. This played a crucial part in persuading the Patriotic Front to accept the Independence Constitution.

It is vital that we and the West as a whole should build on what has been achieved at Lancaster House and subsequently and consolidate the gains for our overall position in Africa from the settlement.

 /What

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

What is required is an early commitment of substantial assistance to the new government, which will create the climate of confidence to carry them through the crucial early stages of independence. I very much hope that all who are concerned in this matter will recognise the crucial importance of backing up success and ensuring that Mr Mugabe is not driven to feel that he must turn to other quarters for help. I know that you, like us, face budgetary constraints. But we share a really major political interest in converting a diplomatic success into a durable achievement: and this needs prompt and convincing action. I very much hope therefore that you can make the strongest possible commitment to provide American support to the new government, and at the same time provide immediate and substantial assistance. We ~~shall be making an important~~ have announced an initial contribution of £7m. and ~~shall also be~~ are approaching other Western governments and Japan for help. There is an opportunity here which we must not let slip.

Yours sincerely,

Margaret

PART 16 ends:-

MODBA to FCO 19.3.80

PART 17 begins:-

FCO to MODBA 21.3.80

[RHODESIA: POLICY: ADVANCE COPIES] 34 IMMEDIATE

PS 6
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)

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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

RESIDENT CLERK

IMMEDIATE

CONFIDENTIAL
FM SALISBURY 211630Z MAR 80

TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 1132 OF 21 MARCH 1980
INFO PRIORITY EEC POSTS WASHINGTON AND UKDEL NATO.

RHODESIA

1. I SAW NUAGBE LAST NIGHT AND GAVE HIM THE GOOD NEWS ABOUT THE IMMEDIATE GRANT THAT WE WERE MAKING AND TOLD HIM ALSO THAT, THOUGH I COULD NOT TALK ABOUT FIGURES, WE WERE INTENDING TO OFFER HIM GENEROUS HELP OURSELVES AND WERE ALSO DOING OUR BEST WITH A NUMBER OF OTHER COUNTRIES. HE WAS DEEPLY GRATEFUL.

2. WE THEN MOVED ON TO A NUMBER OF LOCAL DIFFICULTIES THAT WERE ON HIS MIND: AND THEN TO MY VISIT TO MOZAMBIQUE.

3. HE SUGGESTED THAT I SHOULD TALK TO MACHEL ABOUT HIS APPLYING TO ACCEDE TO THE LOME CONVENTION. I SAID THAT I IMAGINED THE RUSSIANS WOULD DO EVERYTHING TO STOP THIS. THIS LED HIM INTO AN ANTI-RUSSIAN TIRADE OF HOW BADLY THEY TREATED COUNTRIES WHO BECAME BEHOLDEN TO THEM, IN PARTICULAR THOSE WHO RECEIVED AID FROM THEM. HE THOUGHT THAT I WOULD FIND THAT, THOUGH MACHEL HAD DEPENDED UPON THEM FOR ARMS, HE WOULD NOT WISH TO BE DEPENDENT UPON THEM FOR MUCH ELSE. THE PRIME MINISTER WENT ON TO SAY THAT HE WAS GLAD TO SAY THAT HE HAD NEVER HAD ANYTHING TO DO WITH THE RUSSIANS: ALL OF THE ARMS HE HAD RECEIVED HAD COME FROM CHINA, AND ''I AM GLAD TO SAY I HAVE NOT HAD AS MUCH AS A BUTTON FROM THE RUSSIANS''. HE WAS VERY APPRECIATIVE OF THE EFFORTS WE WERE MAKING TO ATTRACT AID FROM OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES.

FCO PASS ALL

SOAMES

IMMEDIATE

MANN