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Five

cc C.O.
Copied to Master
+ Commonwealth
CHGM

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

15 June 1979

~~B/F 19.6.79.~~

Dear Stephen,

Call on the Prime Minister by the High Commissioner of Zambia
on 15 June 1979

The Zambian High Commissioner, Miss Chibesakunda, called on the Prime Minister today, at her own request, at 1515 in order to deliver a message from President Kaunda on Rhodesia. I enclose a copy of President Kaunda's message, on which I should be grateful for early comments and for advice on how the Prime Minister should respond. The following is a summary of the main points which arose during a discussion which lasted for 40 minutes.

CHGM, Lusaka

Miss Chibesakunda told the Prime Minister that President Kaunda sent her his very best wishes and that he was looking forward to seeing her in Lusaka. The President would greatly welcome an opportunity to have an informal meeting with the Prime Minister, on the margin of the Lusaka Conference and at as an early a stage as possible, in order to discuss Rhodesia. The Prime Minister indicated that she would be glad to do this and suggested that the meeting should be restricted to two a side (she would like the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary to be present) with note-takers. Miss Chibesakunda suggested that the meeting might take place on the evening of the Prime Minister's arrival in Lusaka and the Prime Minister undertook to look into this possibility.

The Prime Minister said that Miss Chibesakunda would have noticed that the British Government were encountering one or two problems in connection with The Queen's presence in Lusaka for the CHGM. The Government was engaged in quiet enquiries relating to The Queen's security and concerning, in particular, the possibility of an attack on The Queen's aircraft by ground-to-air missiles. The Prime Minister of New Zealand, Mr. Muldoon,

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had called on her on 11 June and had mentioned to her his concern for The Queen's safety. Mr. Muldoon had subsequently decided to share his concerns with the press. As a result of this, the Prime Minister was having to deal with a number of questions in the House of Commons and with suggestions that the conference should be moved to an alternative venue. In reply, the Prime Minister was saying that she hoped that The Queen would go to Lusaka and that The Queen's safety was a paramount consideration. The Government were thus doing everything they could to provide reassurance: but the final reassurance could only come from President Kaunda if he were to ensure that all missiles were removed from the guerilla forces in Zambia and that no maverick fired one. The Prime Minister said that The Queen wished to go to Lusaka, that she herself wished The Queen to do so and that she, the Prime Minister, would go to Lusaka in any case. The Queen's safety, however, had to be seen to be protected and the Prime Minister was answerable to Parliament for this. She had to judge that everything possible had been done to ensure the safety of The Queen's aircraft, both on its inward and on its outward flights, although she recognised that there could be no guarantees.

Miss Chibesakunda said that she appreciated the Prime Minister's concern. The Zambian Government was aware of the problem and had done all in their power to ensure The Queen's safety. She pointed out that the incidents which had given rise to concern in the UK had all happened outside Zambian territory: she had every confidence so far as the territory under President Kaunda's control was concerned. Within Zambia's own borders, the Zambian Government could give the necessary guarantees.

Miss Chibesakunda went on to suggest that the Prime Minister might use the British Government's influence with the Rhodesian forces as well: they, too, were undisciplined and the UK should exert leverage on them. Miss Chibesakunda undertook to report the Prime Minister's remarks to President Kaunda.

Rhodesia

After handing over President Kaunda's message, Miss Chibesakunda told the Prime Minister that the President had asked her to say that he hoped the Prime Minister would keep very much in mind the fact that the Zambian and British Governments shared the same goal. Zambia needed a stable neighbour to the south. The British Government's present approach to the Rhodesia problem was, in President Kaunda's view, the surest way of opening Southern Africa to Eastern bloc influence. President Kaunda hoped that the UK would concentrate on bringing the parties together in order to discuss a cease-fire and to tackle the real causes of the present war.

/President Kaunda

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President Kaunda wished the Prime Minister to know, Miss Chibesakunda said, that if any action should be taken to deprive one of the parties to the conflict of access to the UK, this would create the possibility of access to other powers, in the East. The Prime Minister asked what was meant by "access to the UK". Miss Chibesakunda said that if the Patriotic Front were to feel that the UK was reinforcing the internal arrangements in Salisbury without regard to the Patriotic Front's interests, the Patriotic Front would have to look elsewhere for support. The Prime Minister commented that Nkomo was already receiving funds from the Soviet Union, and Mugabe assistance from the Chinese. Miss Chibesakunda replied that Nkomo would have no reason to seek such help if the root causes of the war were to be removed.

The Prime Minister asked Miss Chibesakunda if Nkomo would take part in an All-Party Conference: Miss Chibesakunda replied that Nkomo would take part in a genuine attempt to reach a solution and that Mugabe would also do so, on certain conditions, such as a change in the Rhodesian constitution. Miss Chibesakunda asked whether there was any scope for a transitional period in Salisbury to allow all the parties to adjust to the new situation. The Prime Minister said that Bishop Muzorewa was now undoubtedly in charge in Salisbury. She was certainly concerned by the problems which existed between him and Mr. Sithole but the fact remained that a 64 per cent election turnout, and the high vote which the Bishop had received, could not be ignored.

Miss Chibesakunda argued that there had been no basic change in Rhodesia and that the new constitution was deficient by international standards. The Prime Minister commented that both Zambia and the UK recognised a number of states, such as Angola, Mozambique and Uganda, in which no elections had been held and whose constitutions neither Government would accept for their own people. If the last of the six principles were shown to have been satisfied, the ground for Rhodesia's illegality would have disappeared. Everybody agreed that there was now a new situation in Rhodesia.

Miss Chibesakunda said that, as Rhodesia's neighbour, Zambia did not believe that there had been a change there: the status quo still existed. Would Bishop Muzorewa be able to cope with the continuing war? The Prime Minister remarked that one feature of the war had been attacks on mission schools. Miss Chibesakunda said that the incidents involving Viscount aircraft had been regrettable but there was no evidence that the so-called terrorists had attacked mission targets; there was, on the other hand, evidence that these attacks had been carried out by the Selous Scouts, disguised in guerilla uniforms. The Patriotic Front only used terror as a last resort. The Prime Minister recalled that Nkomo had told Mr. Cledwyn Hughes,

/ during his mission

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during his mission to Southern Africa, that the Patriotic Front could achieve what they wanted by the gun. When Miss Chibesakunda seemed disposed to question the good faith of Lord Boyd's team of observers which had covered the elections in Rhodesia, the Prime Minister remarked that she was beginning to wonder whether she would be welcome in Lusaka and brought the conversation to an end.

I should be grateful if you would ensure that this letter is given a suitably limited distribution. I am sending a copy to Martin Vile (Cabinet Office).

Yours ever,

Brian Carrivick.

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

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