

copy to Mr Alexander

NO 70

for info.

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

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

And

FOR DUFF FROM POWELL.

ASSISTANCE TO RHODESIA

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

no.

MILITARY ASSISTANCE

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

ZRBC

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

POLICE

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

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

CIVIL SERVICE

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

RESETTLEMENT

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

AID MISSION

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

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/DONORS'

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DONORS' CONFERENCE

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

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

CARRINGTON

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

COPIES TO:

MR LYNCH
MR FREEMAN } ODA

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FROM SALISBURY 081500Z MAR 80

TO PRIORITY FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 1003 OF 8 MARCH 1980

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

FROM DUFF.

M I P T: ASSISTANCE TO RHODESIA.

ASSISTANCE TO THE PUBLIC SERVICE.

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

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

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

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TRAINING

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

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

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

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

OTHER MATTERS.

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

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18. WE SHOULD

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

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[REPEATED AS
REQUESTED]

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PLANNING STAFF
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(MR FIFOOT)

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

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

ADDITIONAL DISTN.
RHODESIA POLICY

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Read in full
(2 files)

CONFIDENTIAL
FROM SALISBURY 091455Z MAR 80
TO PRIORITY FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 1002 OF 8 MARCH 1980
INFO ROUTINE LUSAKA DAR ES SALAAM GABORONE MAPUTO LAGOS
CAPE TOWN WASHINGTON AND UKMIS NEW YORK.

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

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

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

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/PERRINS VISIT

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

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

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

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

FCO PSE PASS TO ALL

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[REPEATED AS
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