

[RHODESIA: POLICY: ADVANCE COPIES]

28

IMMEDIATE

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

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

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

.....

HD/RHOD DEPT (4)

HD/C AF D

HD/S AF D

~~HD/UND~~

HD/PUSD (2)

HD/NEWS DEPT

HD/WAD

PS/SIR I SINCLAIR

MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A

MR FIFOOT

GRS 1302A

CONFIDENTIAL

~~DESKBY 051730Z FCO~~

FROM SALISBURY 051540Z MAR 80

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 964 OF 5 MARCH 1980

IMMEDIATE

mt

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

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

ASSISTANCE TO RHODESIA.

mt

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

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

PRE-INDEPENDENCE.

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

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

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

POST-INDEPENDENCE.

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

(1) MILITARY.

(I) MILITARY.

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

(II) POLICE.

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

(III) THE CIVIL SERVICE.

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

- (A) TO OFFER ADVICE ON HOW TO SET ABOUT THE TASK;
- (B) TO CONSIDER WHETHER ANY LONGER TERM ADVICE OR ASSISTANCE MIGHT BE USEFUL.

(IV) ZRBC.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

FCO PSE PASS TO ALL

SCAMES

IMMEDIATE

WVNV

SENT/RCVD AT 05/1710Z TWW/ED

[RHODESIA: POLICY: ADVANCE COPIES]

IMMEDIATE

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

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

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

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

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

IMMEDIATE

IMMEDIATE

CONFIDENTIAL

DESKBY 051730Z

FM SALISBURY 051545Z MAR 80

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

FCO PASS ALL

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IMMEDIATE

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SENT/RCVD AT 05/1643Z TWW /BD