

SUBJECT



Rhodesia
PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL T 114/79 TIGE
SERIAL No. T114/79 T

*State House
Lusaka, Republic of Zambia*

10th October, 1979.

My Dear Prime Minister,

As you know, I continue to follow with profound interest the proceedings in the negotiations on the independence of Zimbabwe. Right from the start, I never thought these negotiations would be easy. Nevertheless, I am satisfied with the progress made so far. I have seen the document tabled by the British Government on the Independence Constitution. I regard this as a serious attempt to work out a democratic Constitution which provides a foundation for a free and independent Zimbabwe based on genuine majority rule.

I am confident that although the negotiations are tough, they are nevertheless constructive and will end in an agreement. I am in full contact with the Patriotic Front as I am with your Government. The document tabled by the Patriotic Front in reply to yours has strengthened my confidence in the successful outcome in the negotiations. I, therefore, wish to comment on some aspects of the British Government document:

(a) Presidency:

I am really concerned about the provision relating to a Constitutional President with an Executive Prime Minister. While there may be good reasons for this provision, I would urge you to re-examine it in the light of past experience.

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Right Honourable Margaret Thatcher,
Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and
Northern Ireland,
10 Downing Street,
LONDON.



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Zimbabwe is going through a savage war and it will take a long time before people enjoy genuine peace and stability. We should not forget what happened in Nigeria when the British Government tried to provide a similar structure as the one being proposed. Under conditions of instability where peace is threatened, you need a strong Government in which power is not diffused. A decisive Government is the best hope for Zimbabwe particularly in the great task of integrating the security forces after independence. A weak Government will not be decisive enough and will lead to failure in guaranteeing security in the country. Under these conditions the exodus of whites, whom we hope will stay on in an Independent Zimbabwe, will infact be a certainty. In the interests of stability, and in the interest of the smooth running of the new Zimbabwe Government, I urge you to seriously consider the proposal for an executive President rather than a constitutional President. If you dismiss it, then you may choose a perilous path.

(b) Declaration of Rights:

We all want human rights guaranteed under the Constitution. This is a very important provision. However, land hunger in Zimbabwe is real - considering that half the country with the best soils is under white ownership while the other half with very poor soils is reserved for Africans. This is a potential source of grave instability which will need a decisive Government to manage. In our view, it will be difficult for any independent Government in Zimbabwe to accept the entrenchment of this clause. Such Government cannot survive for long. I can assure you that the sufferers will be the whites. The provision on land is a recipe for trouble. I also propose that the issue of compensation should be dealt with by reviving the idea of a

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Zimbabwe Development Fund which was in the Kissinger Plan and also in the Anglo-American Proposals. I believe that the Carter Administration would be helpful among others including Australia, Canada and some EEC Members in contributing to this Fund.

- (c) The issue of pensions is also important. I propose that the Zimbabwe Development Fund be used also to meet the requirements under this provision.
- (d) I am also concerned about the role of white representatives in Parliament. It is our view that 20% of the seats reserved for whites should be exclusively designed to represent white interests. This is what they were specifically intended for. The 20% representing 3% of the population of Zimbabwe should, therefore, not be allowed to form a coalition with any of the black groups to form a Government in an Independent Zimbabwe for this would amount to a new blocking mechanism.
- (e) The Unanimity Rule:
- I note with concern that some clauses in the Constitution will be, inter-alia, amendable only by a unanimous vote in the House of Assembly. This, I must say, is another form of blocking mechanism which I urge you to re-consider. I think that if the Patriotic Front should accept 70% provision for the amendment of the Constitution instead of two-thirds which they have demanded, this should be accepted as a reasonable compromise to cover all Clauses.
- (f) Finally, there is the question of the linkage between agreement on the Constitution and agreement on the Transitional Arrangements. I welcome this as a firm undertaking by all sides that agreement on the Constitution would be contingent upon agreement on Transitional Arrangements. This is an extremely important point.

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Looking at the outstanding points, it is clear to me that some of the issues which remain unresolved would easily fall away if agreement was reached on the Transitional Arrangements. I, therefore, want to urge you to consider carefully the proposal that if you are not at this stage able to complete the discussions on the Constitution or are unable to meet the reservations of the Patriotic Front, you move to the Transitional Arrangements where some of the fears of the Patriotic Front will be dispelled and reservations will fall away.

Let me emphasize that the areas of agreement between the British Government and the Patriotic Front are very wide indeed. Agreement that there should be a democratic Constitution and free elections before independence is vital. I am impressed by this progress. We should, therefore, look very closely at the few remaining areas of dispute. As you will recall issues like citizenship had given the Patriotic Front great cause for concern but this may no longer be a crucial issue. They are worried about the Public Service but a possible formular can be found to eliminate this area of difference. In my view, the areas which I have outlined, if met, would lead to agreement on the Constitution and would thus pave the way for the negotiations on the Transitional Arrangements. This is significant progress.

Let me also refer to the recent raids by the rebel Rhodesian forces into Mozambique. I want to emphasize how dangerous these raids are. They could easily have wrecked the London Conference and I want to assure you that credit goes to the Patriotic Front who did not walk out and to President Samora Machel who exercised the greatest restraint during one of the worst crises Mozambique has ever faced.

I had sent a message to your Government firmly stating that no one should take the co-operation of Frontline States and indeed the Patriotic Front for granted during these negotiations. The Patriotic Front will not walk out of the London Conference. They will not be the ones to break the Conference but provocation such as the recent raids on Mozambique coupled with silence from London certainly could achieve that purpose. No one wants this to happen, least of all Commonwealth countries who declared their support for the current initiative in London.

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So I urge you and your Government to order Bishop Muzorewa to end his attacks on neighbouring countries. Failure to do that will definitely jeopardize the Conference. I do not want this to happen.

Zambia remains committed to the principles enunciated in the Commonwealth declaration on Rhodesia. We agreed to find an internationally accepted solution to the Rhodesian problem. I believe that the London Conference is aimed at this objective. If there should be any change, then, of course, we can expect that the Frontline States, the O.A.U. and other members of the international community will not accept such a solution. I have told you that the Patriotic Front will not walk out of London regardless of any pressures put on them through the attacks launched against them in neighbouring countries or those applied directly to get them to accept the British document which still requires further negotiations. It is my hope, therefore, that Britain will not ignore proposals put forward by people who have been involved in negotiations over the independence of Zimbabwe for more than 20 years.

We for our part, we will continue to play our role of assisting Britain discharge her international obligation. I also pray that we build a spirit of reconciliation into the blood system of the new leadership and not resentment which will lead them to take action against those who may believe that they are being protected. Statements from some British officials do not seem to me to be helpful in making the spirit of reconciliation, the life blood of the new Zimbabwean leadership. I see a distinct possibility that in place of reconciliation, you will build a spirit of vengeance. God forbid. I pray that my advice will be taken as one from a friend trying to help another to succeed.

By the way, Mark Chona will have told you how impressed I was by Lord Carrington's address at the United Nations in reference to the Middle East and the importance of the PLO in the search for a lasting and just solution to the conflict. It is my sincere hope that we can face up to the reality of the Middle East and work towards establishing a Palestinian State so that the millions of the Palestinian refugees capable of building their own nation can have a home to return to and contribute to the establishment of peace and stability in the area.

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The statement has added my confidence that you can face up to the realities of Zimbabwe. I hope you can.

May I end by wishing you a successful Conference at Blackpool.

As always,

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Kenneth D. Kaunda
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA