

PS
PS/SIR I GILMOUR
PS/MR LUCE
PS/PUS
SIR D MATTLAND
MR DAY
SIR L ALLINSON
~~MR ASPEN~~

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET **4**
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)

0805

HD/NEWS DEPT
HD/WAD
PS/SIR I SINCLAIR
MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A
~~MR FIFOOE~~

RESIDENT CLERK

SECRET

FM SALISBURY 032300Z MAR 80

TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 931 OF 3 MARCH 1980
INFO IMMEDIATE CAPE TOWN (PERSONAL FOR AMBASSADOR)

*Read in full
(though slightly
overlain by events)*

RHODESIA: FORMATION OF THE GOVERNMENT

1. DUFF AND RENWICK SAW THE NJOC AT THEIR REQUEST THIS MORNING. THEY STATED THEIR WISH TO RECORD FORMALLY THAT THEY DID NOT REGARD THE ELECTION RESULTS AS FREE AND FAIR. GENERAL WALLS SAID THAT HIS FUTURE ATTITUDE WOULD DEPEND ON THE RESPONSE TO HIS MESSAGE TO THE PRIME MINISTER.
2. DUFF MADE CLEAR THAT WHILE THE ELECTION COMMISSIONER'S REPORT WOULD ACKNOWLEDGE THAT THE RESULTS HAD BEEN DISTORTED BY INTIMIDATION IN SOME AREAS IT WOULD CONCLUDE THAT THE OVERALL RESULT WOULD BROADLY REFLECT THE WISHES OF THE PEOPLE OF RHODESIA. THE NJOC EXPRESSED THEIR RESERVATIONS ABOUT THIS AND THEIR CONCERN THAT IF MUGABE WON OVER FIFTY SEATS THERE COULD BE A PERIOD OF CHAOS AND MASS EXODUS OF THE WHITES. THEY SOUGHT TO OPEN UP THE POSSIBILITY

AND MASS EXODUS OF THE WHITES. THEY SOUGHT TO OPEN UP THE POSSIBILITY OF OUR CONTINUING TO PLAY A ROLE AND OF INDEPENDENCE BEING DEFERRED.

3. BEFORE A FURTHER MEETING WITH THE NJOC THIS EVENING, DUFF WALLS OF THE TERMS OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S REPLY TO HIS MESSAGE (YOUR TELEGRAMS 668 AND 674). WALLS EXPRESSED DISAPPOINTMENT THAT THERE WAS NO QUESTION OF INVALIDATING THE ELECTION RESULTS (THOUGH HE CANNOT SERIOUSLY HAVE HOPED FOR THIS) AND AT THE RESPONSE TO HIS SUGGESTION THAT THERE SHOULD BE SOME CONTINUING BRITISH ROLE.

4. AT A FURTHER MEETING WITH THE NJOC, WALLS RECORDED A FORMAL PROTEST THAT THE ELECTION RESULT WAS BEING ACCEPTED. HE ALSO SAID THE NJOC WISHES TO RECORD THEIR CONCERN THAT, ON THEIR ADVICE, THE MUZOREWA GOVERNMENT HAD BEEN PERSUADED TO GO ALONG WITH THE AGREEMENT AT LANCASTER HOUSE, WHICH HAD NOT SUBSEQUENTLY BEEN HONOURED BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT. THERE HAD BEEN EXTENSIVE INTIMIDATION BEFORE AND DURING THE ELECTIONS, ABOUT WHICH A MASS OF EVIDENCE HAD BEEN PROVIDED. OTHER MEMBERS OF THE NJOC EXPRESSED THEIR REGRET THAT THEY HAD EMBARKED ON THE COURSE WHICH HAD LED TO THIS RESULT, THOUGH SOME HAD THE GRACE TO ADMIT THAT THEY COULD NOT HAVE WON THE WAR IN ANY EVENT.

THE MAIN ARGUMENT DEPLOYED WAS THAT, GIVEN THIS RESULT, THERE WOULD BE A MASSIVE EXODUS OF THE WHITE COMMUNITY UNLESS IMMEDIATE ACTION WAS TAKEN TO STABILISE THE SITUATION. RESIGNATIONS FROM THE PUBLIC SERVICE WERE ALREADY BEING RECEIVED AND WERE TO BE EXPECTED FROM THE DEFENCE FORCES AND THE POLICE. IT WAS ARGUED VERY STRONGLY THAT WE COULD NOT SIMPLY WALK AWAY FROM THE OUTCOME. WALLS ALSO EXPRESSED HIS CONCERN ABOUT THE WITHDRAWAL OF SOUTH AFRICAN EQUIPMENT IF THE NJOC WERE TO RESIGN THEMSELVES TO THE RESULT (THOUGH THEY MAY NOW HAVE LITTLE OPTION BUT TO DO THIS) IT WOULD BE ESSENTIAL FOR THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO HELP MITIGATE THE EFFECTS OF THE TRANSITION. THIS COULD ONLY BE DONE IF WE WERE PREPARED TO CONTINUE TO PLAY A ROLE FOR SOME TIME WHICH WOULD OFFER THE POSSIBILITY FOR THOSE WHO WISHED TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY OF BEING ABLE TO DO SO IN AN ORDERLY MANNER; REASSURANCE TO THE AFRICAN POPULATION, INCLUDING AFRICAN MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY FORCES; AND PROVIDE A

50 IN AN ORDERLY MANNER; REASSURANCE TO THE AFRICAN POPULATION, INCLUDING AFRICAN MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY FORCES; AND PROVIDE A PRESENCE DURING THE PROCESS OF THE INTERGRATION OF THE ARMED FORCES. THERE WERE FURTHER STRONG PLEAS FOR ASSISTANCE WITH THE PENSIONS OF PUBLIC SERVANTS OR AT LEAST ACTION TO ENCOURAGE THEM TO STAY. THE SENIOR ECHELONS OF THE PUBLIC SERVICE WERE LIABLE TO MELT AWAY UNLESS SOME SUCH ACTION WAS TAKEN.

5. DUFF GAVE THE NJOC NO ENCOURAGEMENT THAT WE WOULD BE ABLE TO HELP OVER PENSIONS. HE SAID THAT WE WOULD BE DOING EVERYTHING WE COULD TO ACHIEVE AS BROADLY BASED A GOVERNMENT AS POSSIBLE AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF THE ELECTION RESULT. WE HAD MADE CLEAR THAT WE WERE READY TO HELP IN WHATEVER WAY WE COULD WITH THE TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE. THE MANNER IN WHICH WE DID SO WOULD DEPEND IN PART ON OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH THE INCOMING GOVERNMENT.

6. NKOMO SUBSEQUENTLY TELEPHONED ABOUT THE RESULTS. HE WAS SEVERELY SHAKEN BY THE FACT THAT MUGABE HAD GOT OVER FIFTY-FIVE SEATS AND THAT THE TWENTY SEATS HE LOOKS LIKELY TO WIN CORRESPOND PRECISELY TO THE EXTENT OF NDEBELE SUPPORT. HE SAID THAT THERE WOULD BE A STRONG REACTION IN MATABELELAND AND THAT THE SITUATION WAS HOPELESS. HE DID NOT SEE HOW HE COULD REMAIN IN THE COUNTRY (HE HAD PREVIOUSLY TOLD MUZOREWA THAT HE DID NOT BELIEVE THAT HE COULD LIVE IN SAFETY HERE IF MUGABE WAS PRIME MINISTER). WE SHALL BE DOING ALL WE CAN TOMORROW TO ENCOURAGE HIM TOWARDS A PROMINENT PLACE IN THE GOVERNMENT. I HAVE ASKED MUGABE TO CALL AT 1000 AND NKOMO AT 1200.

7. THE NJOC HAVE TODAY BEHAVED WITH SOME DIGNITY , DESPITE THEIR MANIFEST BITTERNESS AT THE DISASTER THAT HAS HIT THEM (''THE ENEMY IS ABOUT TO BECOME OUR GOVERNMENT''). DESPITE ONE OR TWO REFERENCES TO THE POSSIBILITY OF UNCONSTITUTIONAL ACTION, WE JUDGE THAT THE COMMANDERS ARE NOW GENUINELY CONVINCED OF THE MADNESS OF ANY SUCH COURSE AND WILL DO THEIR BEST TO KEEP THEIR SUBORDINATES IN CHECK. WALLS HAD A MEETING OF ALL JOC COMMANDERS YESTERDAY, AT WHICH AFTER MUCH WILD TALK THEY ALL AGREED ON THIS. HE TOOK THE NJOC TO SEE MUGABE THIS AFTERNOON TO EXCHANGE MUTUAL REASSURANCES; AND WENT ON TELEVISION HIMSELF TONIGHT TO GIVE A GENERALLY HELPFUL

AND WENT ON TELEVISION HIMSELF TONIGHT TO GIVE A GENERALLY HELPFUL STATEMENT ABOUT THE NEED FOR CALM, RECONCILIATION AND SO ON. 8. AT THE END OF THE DISCUSSION WALLS MADE IT CLEAR THAT THE NJOC ARE EXPECTING A SUBSTANTIVE ANSWER ABOUT THE ROLE WE ARE PREPARED TO PLAY THERE IS NO DOUBT ABOUT THE SEVERITY OF THE SHOCK WHICH WILL BE FELT TOMORROW BY THE WHITE COMMUNITY GENERALLY, BY THE SECURITY FORCES AND BY NKOMO'S SUPPORTERS. I SHALL BE SENDING SEPARATELY SOME THOUGHTS OF WAYS IN WHICH WE MIGHT EASE THE TRANSITION TOWARDS INDEPENDENCE, THOUGH IN DOING SO WE MUST NOT SADDLE OURSELVES WITH AN OPEN-ENDED OR PROTRACTED COMMITMENT. OUR MAIN TASKS OVER THE NEXT FEW DAYS WILL BE TO DAMP DOWN THE REACTIONS, TO BEGIN TO EASE MUGABE INTO THE PROCESS OF GOVERNMENT AND TO PREVAIL UPON HIM TO SEE THE NEED TO ACCOMMODATE HIS POLITICAL OPPONENTS AND TO ACHIEVE THE MODU VIVENDI WITH THE SECURITY FORCE COMMANDERS AND OTHERS.

FCO PSE PASS

SOAMES

NNNN