

f. s. / Peter 26/11

TELEPHONE CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE FOREIGN  
AND COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY IN THE EARLY EVENING ON SUNDAY, 25  
NOVEMBER 1979

PM: Hullo

FCS: Hullo Margaret

PM: Peter. I just 'phoned up to ask if you had any thoughts about the news from Dar Es Salaam that they are not going to co-operate on the ceasefire and they are going to call your bluff, etc.

FCS: Well I don't think we really know what happened. They didn't actually produce a communique .

PM: But Mugabe was on the news.

FCS: Tonight?

PM: Yes.

FCS: This Evening?

PM: Yes. On the radio

FCS: We have heard nothing at the Foreign Office about that. What they will certainly do is not to answer tomorrow. But I don't think it necessarily follows that they won't go on talking. I think that they will say, you know, we haven't had the talks, and this that and the other. I hope Salisbury will say they accept the ceasefire tomorrow and then we shall try and play them along.

PM: Certainly. <sup>that I have heard</sup> Though on the news tonight the BBC ..... radio was one of four accounts/and it was very much that the Rhodesians say that Nkomo has been infiltrating people into us. But the Dar Es Salaam people absolutely refuse to congregate in groups inside Rhodesia, because that would be unfair.

FCS: They won't congregate in groups?

PM: Yes.

FCS: Well in which case there can be no ceasefire.

PM: Well, and they are not going to co-operate and they are going to call your bluff, etc. The typical posturing stuff you would expect. In a way I was not displeased because it puts them back into the wrong. So it pleased me quite a lot from the viewpoint of public opinion it looks to <sup>me</sup> as if they have gone absolutely into the wrong. that is rather

FCS: Yes. I think/good. You know they have done another raid.

PM: Oh no. On Zipra?

/FCS: On Zipra, yes.

FCS: On Zipra, yes. And it is said to be a camp about 25 miles from Lusaka.

PM: Oh Lord it is right inside.

FCS: Well, you know one despairs of them doesn't one.

PM: Yes.

FCS: But some body said they heard it on the news. Did it not appear on the six o'clock news?

PM: I didn't hear that on the six o'clock news, no.

FCS: Well may be it is a false report.

PM: They might have listened to television news you see.

FCS; No. This was earlier on at one o'clock.

PM: Oh. Well most certainly I don't think it was on the six o'clock.

FCS: Oh it may have passed off rather better than you might think. But so far as we can judge I have been in touch all day with all this, what's happened is that there has been no communique issued by the Front Line Presidents. But Mugabe gave a press conference in which he said he was going to call my bluff but....

PM: Yes well that must have been what we heard.

FCS: But nothing about not concentrating or anything. That may have come later. In which case I agree with you. It puts them in the wrong.

PM: Yes. We were just talking Europe here. I can't see Peter that you are going to be able to come unless the thing breaks up before.

FCS: No, nor do I. It would come at this moment wouldn't it.

PM: I know. But if, they are coming back what, tonight or tomorrow morning?

FCS: They are coming back tonight.

PM: To arrive tomorrow morning?

FCS: Yes well they may turn up or they may not turn up in order to defy me because I asked them to give me an answer on Monday. But we shall be in a better position because if the Salisbury delegation agree to our ceasefire proposals, say that they won't hit Zipra, say they won't infiltrate, and also they will talk to them as soon as they have agreed. We are in a much better position.

PM: Much better. The blame is attached to the other side.

FCS: Well that's right and we are now getting the thing back on the ceasefire rather than on the Zambian thing. But I am afraid they have done themselves a lot of damage with all the people we want to support them. That is the problem. However, we have just

/got

to play this by ear really. I will give a ring Margaret and find out ... I haven't been in touch with them for three or four hours.

PM: No. I am still at Chequers and will be here for another two and a half hours.

FCS: Well if I find out anything else I will give you a ring.

PM: All right.

FCS: But I haven't heard that bit and I will see if they can confirm it.

PM: All right.

FCS: Thanks so much.

PM: Good bye.

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FCS: Hullo Margaret.

PM: Yes Ieter.

FCS: The report is inaccurate. What they said was that they were not going to have an ultimatum. They would go on negotiating in their own time. But our proposals did not give equality of status to the forces and that if they were required to assemble then the Salisbury forces would have to assemble too.

PM: Oh. I see. Well that can't happen can it?

FCS: No. But it puts us of course in a more difficult position.

PM: In that case it would be far better if their forces got out, wouldn't it? But we can't ask that either.

FCS: But they won't do that. But they say because they hold more territory than the Salisbury forces.

PM: I see. So a ceasefire is going to be just about impossible to monitor.

FCS: It will be impossible to monitor because, I mean it is quite clear they won't assemble and you will have to use the other people to do it.

PM: To round them up?

FCS: Yes. But it will break down on that.

PM: Oh Lord.

FCS: I mean I would think that is what would happen, wouldn't you?

PM: I wonder if it is impossible for everyone to go back to barracks.

FCS: No because W won't. Because he said they won't assemble and there would be intimidation.

/PM:

PM: He's right.

FCS: And he couldn't put the thing at risk.

PM: If they assembled you could use them for patrolling couldn't you? But you would have nowhere to go to ....

FCS: But he won't accept that either.

PM: Oh well, we'll have to think about it Peter.

FCS: Yes. But one thing is quite certain. After what he has done there is no paper.

PM: I entirely agree.

FCS: We will just have to think.

PM: Yes. Good bye.