

Des:by 011100Z

IMMEDIATE

QPS

[RHODESIA: POLICY: ADVANCE COPIES]

23

PS
PS/SIR I GILMOUR
PS/MR LUCE
PS/PUS
SIR J GRAHAM
MR WILLSON
MR DAY
LORD N G LENNOX
MR ASPIN

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

MR R L WADE-GERY
MR P M MAXEY
COL MOIR
MR P J FOWLER
DIO

CABINET
OFFICE

.....
HD/RHOD DEPT (4)

HD/C AF D
HD/S AF D

HD/PUSD (2)

HD/NEWS DEPT
HD/WAD

MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RM K200A

MR FIFOOT LEGAL ADVISER RM K164

PRIME MINISTER

PERSONAL MESSAGE

SERIAL NO. T131/79T

Original on

Rhodesia Pt 9

CRS 800

CONFIDENTIAL

DESKBY 011100Z FCO

FM LUSAKA 011015Z NOV 79

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 1177 OF 1 NOVEMBER

INFO PRIORITY WASHINGTON.

M. I. P. T.

ADVANCE COPY

DUE TO CLERICAL ERROR BY KAUNDA'S OFFICE WE HAVE RECEIVED TEXT OF LETTER WHICH PRIOR TO OUR MEETING HE HAD INTENDED TO SEND TO PRIME MINISTER. IT READS AS FOLLOWS:

I AM MOST GRATEFUL TO YOU FOR YOUR LETTER OF 31ST OCTOBER WHICH I HAVE RECEIVED TODAY THROUGH YOUR HIGH COMMISSIONER HERE, SIR ALLINSON.

I THOUGHT I SHOULD REPLY TO YOU IMMEDIATELY BECAUSE YOUR TALKS ARE REACHING A REALLY DELICATE STAGE REQUIRING ALL OF US TO PUT OUR HEADS TOGETHER TO MAKE CERTAIN THAT WE DO NOT AGAIN MISS THE CHANCE FOR A SETTLEMENT. AS YOU POINT OUT IN YOUR LETTER THIS IS THE FIRST TIME WE HAVE COME SO CLOSE TO AN AGREEMENT.

I WANT TO URGE YOU, AS CHAIRMAN, TO GIVE THE PARTIES TO THE CONFERENCE TIME TO NEGOTIATE AND REACH REASONABLE COMPROMISE ON POINTS WHERE DIFFERENCES STILL EXIST. THIS PHASE OF THE

I WANT TO URGE YOU, AS CHAIRMAN, TO GIVE THE PARTIES TO THE CONFERENCE TIME TO NEGOTIATE AND REACH REASONABLE COMPROMISE ON POINTS WHERE DIFFERENCES STILL EXIST. THIS PHASE OF THE CONFERENCE IS SO CRUCIAL THAT WE, YOUR COLLEAGUES, CERTAINLY EXPECT YOU TO ALLOW TIME FOR REASONABLE NEGOTIATION.

I MUST BE VERY FRANK WITH YOU. ONE BASIC ELEMENT OF THE TRANSITION CONTINUES TO WORRY ME VERY MUCH AND YOUR LETTER TO ME HAS NOT BEEN ABLE TO EASE MY EXTREME CONCERN. THIS IS YOUR PROPOSAL AND INSISTENCE TO PUT THE GOVERNOR INTO RHODESIA FOR A PERIOD OF TWO MONTHS ONLY. I AM FULLY CONVINCED THAT YOU ARE IN VERY SERIOUS ERROR IN THIS REGARD. IT CAN BE TRAGIC, MARGARET, YOU ARE EXCEEDINGLY UNDERESTIMATING NOT JUST THE FORCES AT PLAY BUT BOTH THE SIZE OF THE TASK AND THE COMPLEXITY OF THE SITUATION FOR WHICH YOU ARE TAKING RESPONSIBILITY AND ARE SENDING A GOVERNOR TO SORT OUT. WE ARE ALL AGREED AND COMMITTED TO HAVING AN ELECTION - A FAIR AND FREE ELECTION - BUT PLEASE DO NOT ALLOW ELECTION TO OBSCURE THE SIZE OF THE PROBLEM AND THE COMPLEXITY OF THE SITUATION. IF IN FACT THE MAIN TASK AND PROBLEM WAS A MERE ELECTION UNDOUBTEDLY SMITH AND MUZOREWA WOULD HAVE SOLVED THE ISSUE.

I HAVE TO POINT OUT THAT EVEN IF THE CONFERENCE FINALLY AGREES TO BASE THIS HAND-OVER ELECTION ON MERE PARTY LISTS AND THEREFORE REQUIRE NO REGISTRATION OF VOTERS AND NO DELIMITATION OF CONSTITUENCIES, YOU MUST, MARGARET, GIVE YOURSELF TIME TO MAKE THE CEASEFIRE SENSIBLE AND TO RE-ESTABLISH FREE MOVEMENT AND AS NEAR NORMAL SOCIAL INTERCOURSE AS POSSIBLE AMONG THE RACIALLY MIXED AND ERSTWHILE WARRING COMMUNITIES. IT IS UPON THIS LIMITED PRACTICAL CONDITION OF PEACE THAT THE GOVERNOR CAN BUILD A MEANINGFUL POLITICAL PROGRAMME FOR AN ALL-PARTY ELECTION. WITHOUT THIS THE GOVERNOR AND BRITISH RESPONSIBILITY AND PRESENCE IN RHODESIA MAY FAIL EVEN TO APPEAR AS A SYMBOL OF PEACE LET ALONE AN AUTHORITY AND INSTRUMENT OF PEACE.

PLEASE, DO NOT FORGET THAT ONCE YOU ANNOUNCE:

(A) CEASEFIRE

(B) THE ARRIVAL OF THE GOVERNOR IN RHODESIA AND

(C) AN ALL-PARTY GENERAL ELECTION

THERE WILL BE AN INFLUX OF RHODESIANS BACK TO RHODESIA AND A GREAT MOVEMENT OF THE WAR-DISPLACED PEOPLE INSIDE RHODESIA ITSELF. THE GOVERNOR WILL NOT COPE WITH THIS AND OTHER CONTINGENT PROBLEMS IN ONE MONTH.

THEREFORE WHILE YOU GIVE YOURSELF TWO MONTHS SPECIFICALLY FOR ELECTION (THE EASIEST PART OF THE WHOLE EXERCISE OF THE TRANSITION), YOU MUST, AND I SAY THIS MOST EMPHATICALLY, GIVE YOURSELF NOT A COUPLE OF WEEKS BUT ADDITIONAL MONTHS TO PREPARE FOR THE TWO MONTHS OF ELECTIONS. IN MY VIEW YOU NEED A MINIMUM OF AT LEAST THREE MONTHS TO BRING REASONABLY PEACEFUL AND FREE CONDITIONS TO RHODESIA BEFORE UNDERTAKING ON YOUR TWO MONTHS OF ELECTIONS UNDER ANY FORM

BEFORE EMBARKING ON YOUR TWO MONTHS OF ELECTIONS UNDER ANY FORM
THE CONFERENCE MAY CHOOSE.

IN MY VIEW THE INTERVAL OF THE TRANSITION IS CARDINAL
TO THE WHOLE PROCESS BECAUSE IT WILL DETERMINE WHAT ADMINISTRATIVE
ARRANGEMENTS YOU WILL NEED, WHERE AND WHEN. OBVIOUSLY IF YOU PRETEND
THAT THE WHOLE THING CAN BE DONE IN ONE AFTERNOON THEN YOU WILL
DECEIVE YOURSELF THAT YOU DO NOT NEED MANY THINGS WHICH YOU IN
FACT DO. YOU MUST WORK IN A LOGICAL TIME SCALE. TO PROPOSE TWO
MONTHS FOR EVERYTHING IS ILLOGICAL.

OTHERWISE QUITE HONESTLY I DO NOT SEE HOW ONE CAN PERSUADE THE
PATRIOTIC FRONT OR INDEED ANYONE WHO KNOWS THE SIZE AND NATURE OF
THE PROBLEM AND WHAT HE MUST DO, TO ACCEPT THAT THE WHOLE THING CAN
BE DONE IN NO TIME AT ALL. THE TRANSITION COMPRISES ROUGH REALITIES
FOR WHICH THERE CAN BE NO MAGIC WAND. SUFFICIENT TIME, CERTAINLY
NOT LESS THAN FIVE MONTHS MUST BE ALLOWED FOR A PROPER MANAGEMENT
OF THIS PERIOD.

CERTAINLY IT WILL BE AT LEAST ONE STEP FORWARD IF YOU CAN
ALLOW ADEQUATE TIME FOR THE MANAGEMENT OF THE TRANSITION. TWO MONTHS
IS AS ILLOGICAL AS TEN YEARS IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES. IT WILL DESTROY
WHATEVER YOU MAY ACHIEVE AT THE CONFERENCE TABLE.

I REMAIN READY FOR ANY FURTHER CONSULTATIONS YOU MAY WISH
TO MAKE. AND I WISH YOU ALL THE BEST IN YOUR EFFORTS.
GOD BLESS.

KENNETH DAVID KAUNDA
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA

ALLINSON

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