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CC(79)96

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FORTIETH PLENARY SESSION

CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE

LANCASTER HOUSE

LONDON

Summary of the proceedings of the Fortieth
Plenary Session of the Conference, Thursday
6 December 1979.

Lancaster House
6 December 1979

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PRESENT:

UK Delegation

Lord Carrington (in the Chair)

Sir I Gilmour Bt

Mr R Luce

Sir A Duff

Gen M Farndale

Mr R W Renwick

Mr N M Fenn

Mr G G H Walden

Mr C D Powell

Mr R Jackling

Col C Dunphie

Mr P J Barlow

Mr S J Gomersall

Mr R M J Lyne

Mrs A J Phillips

Mr M C Wood

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Bishop Muzorewa and Delegation

Dr S C Mundawarara

Air Vice Marshal H Hawkins

Mr D Zamchiya

Gen P Walls

Mr P Allum

Mr P Claypole

Mr A R MacMillan

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Mr Mugabe, Mr Nkomo and Delegation

Mr J M Nkomo

Mr R G Mugabe

Mr J M Chinamano

Mr E Tekere

Mr J W Msika

Gen J Tongogara

Mr T G Silundika

Mr E R Kadungure

Mr A M Chambati

Dr H Ushewokunze

Mr W Musarurwa

Mr D Mutumbuka

Mr D Dabengwa

Mr E Zvobgo

Mr L Mafela

Mr W Kamba

Miss E Siziba

Secretariat

Mr J M Willson

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The session began at 11.10.

THE CHAIRMAN said that the Conference had reached agreement on the ceasefire proposals, and they were now at the last stage of the negotiations. He was sure all were agreed that it was essential over the next two or three days to work out the details of the proposals.

He hoped that the ceasefire agreement which he had circulated the previous day (CC(79)95) was acceptable to all parties since it contained the substance of the proposals for the basis of the implementation of a ceasefire. What had to be done now was to reach decisions on the practical details. The first essential was to agree a date on which hostilities would cease; this was in the interests of all the people of Rhodesia and of the neighbouring countries. The date had to be as soon as was compatible with the arrangements for the despatch of the monitoring forces to Rhodesia. In the meanwhile he hoped that leaders of both sides would agree to transmit warning orders to prepare their forces for the announcement of a ceasefire agreement. The second issue was to agree practical arrangements for a disengagement and separation of forces and the deployment of the monitoring force. The Rhodesian forces would be monitored throughout their command structure and, as far as the Patriotic Front forces at present inside Rhodesia were concerned, it had been agreed that assembly places should be established at which the monitoring force could be similarly deployed. British military experts had been studying the practical /requirements

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requirements and would be prepared to put proposals to the Conference.

The Chairman continued by saying that one of the first tasks was to establish numbers involved, and he hoped that the Patriotic Front would be able that afternoon to let the experts have estimated force levels inside Rhodesia. To secure an effective ceasefire, it was necessary to agree on securing a cessation of all cross-border military activity from the moment agreement was reached at the Conference. The Governor would be responsible for seeing that the Rhodesian forces carried out this requirement, and it would be necessary to discuss comparable arrangements for Patriotic Front forces outside Rhodesia. He proposed that all these matters be discussed that afternoon under the chairmanship of Sir Antony Duff.

DR MUNDAWARARA said that, as he had stated yesterday, he believed that those negotiations were the most important part of the Conference. Anything aimed at ending the war was of paramount importance; his delegation thought it most important that certain things were laid down in order that the ceasefire should be effective, and he now wished to set out how they considered it should be done.

Dr Mundawarara then delivered a statement, subsequently circulated as Conference Paper CC(79)97.

MR NKOMO said that the Conference now had to consider both the Chairman's opening remarks and those made by Dr Mundawarara in a long and at times provocative statement.

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Such statements were unfortunate at this stage of the Conference, but the Patriotic Front delegation would not be provoked.

Mr Nkomo referred to a number of aspects mentioned in the Chairman's opening remarks. The Chairman had not spelt out in detail his intentions regarding the proposed crossing points. Mr Nkomo supposed that what was meant was crossing points with the four countries bordering Rhodesia, that is Zambia, Botswana, South Africa and Mozambique. The Chairman had particularly mentioned that the Patriotic Front forces not yet in the country should not move after the ceasefire date. It was, however, necessary to point out that there were certain organisations within Rhodesia, apart from South African forces, which had been trained in South Africa and had entered the country from South Africa. Mr Nkomo hoped that in due course the Chairman would be able to say what should be done about this.

Regarding the South African forces themselves, Mr Nkomo recalled the Chairman's assurance at the 39th Plenary Session that under the British Governor there would be no South African forces coming into the country. However, the point was that, since they were already there, they should leave. A number of categories were involved; first there were South African police, which were supposed to have been withdrawn at some stage. Then there were so-called volunteers from South Africa. All these had to be accounted for. If there was to be an effective ceasefire, it was important to understand that all
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foreign elements had to leave - those from Britain, other Western European countries and the United States. In particular, he hoped that the Chairman would say something about reports of an American who threatened the lives of the Patriotic Front leaders. There were also mercenaries in Rhodesia.

In conclusion, Mr Nkomo expressed the hope that the Chairman would be able to conduct the final stage of the Conference without resorting to numerous agreements, sub-agreements and time-limits. His delegation wanted the Conference to work towards a definitive final agreement on the ceasefire. Precisely what procedure was being proposed by the Chairman for the afternoon session?

MR MUGABE stressed his delegation's understanding that the parties at the Conference should now move on an equal footing towards the final stage of the peace agreement. This required great calmness and objectivity from all the parties involved. Dr Mundawarara's statement (Conference Paper CC(79)97) had not been made with the seriousness required for the last stage of the negotiations. He wondered whether Dr Mundawarara had delivered his statement with conviction. For their part, his delegation had been in part provoked and in part amused by it. If the statement was intended seriously, Bishop Muzorewa's delegation would need to revise their attitude completely. Both sides would be entering into a ceasefire agreement as equals. Bishop Muzorewa's delegation was aware of the
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position of the Patriotic Front inside Rhodesia. Far from being vanquished, they had moved the war forward and had been poised for victory. Within two years they could have brought down the present regime. It was better to accept each other as equals.

His delegation was prepared to reciprocate on an equal footing and to perform its side of the bargain. It would not be pushed into a position where it seemed to be surrendering. What was required was an acceptance of equal treatment, conditions, obligations, rights and duties. In that spirit it would be possible to achieve peace, and the conditions necessary for free and fair elections.

THE CHAIRMAN said that what was needed was for everyone to discuss these matters calmly and quickly. As he had said before, time was running out. At the session that afternoon General Farndale would introduce the British delegation's ideas, and it would then be possible to get down to the positive business of the military details and the implementation of the ceasefire on the ground. The Chairman also reiterated his hope that the Patriotic Front would feel able to disclose their force levels at the afternoon meeting.

MR MUGABE said that it might be difficult for his delegation to make a response. The question of force levels was not a major one, and in any case his delegation would not

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give their levels until Bishop Muzorewa's delegation had disclosed theirs. The problem was that his delegation might not have time to respond to the proposals already made by the Chairman. THE CHAIRMAN said that his proposals were simply an indication of what matters needed dicussing.

It was agreed to adjourn until 1500 under the chairmanship of Sir A Duff.

The session ended at 11.45.

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