

Declassified Files: UK Aid to Zimbabwe



Aid for Land Resettlement
North Korea Military Assistance
Zimbabwe/ South Africa Relations
Aid for Land Resettlement
Zimbabwe Donor Conference for Reconstruction and Development
Military Assistance for Zimbabwe
Aid for Loyal Rhodesian Public Servants

PART 1

Confidential Filing

Independence for Zimbabwe (formally Rhodesia) internal situation
Aid to Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe/Southern Africa Relations

ZIMBABWE

May 1980

Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date
13.5.80		18-9-80		12.5.81			
15.5.80		22.9.80		8.6.81			
24.5.80		2-10-80		3.8.81			
2.6.80		13.11.80		2.11.81			
3.6.80							
6.6.80		28.11.80		ends			
9.6.80		9.12.80					
17.6.80		12.12.80					
24.6.80		29.12.80					
26.6.80		6.1.81					
26.6.80		8.1.81					
2.7.80		9.2.81					
9.7.80		13.2.81					
11.7.80		19.2.81					
15.7.80		20.2.81					
21.7.80		27.2.81					
24.7.80		9.3.81					
25.7.80							
31.7.80		11.3.81					
7.8.80		28/3/81					
8.8.80		25/3/81					
18.8.80		27/4/81					
29.8.80		7/4/81					
4.9.80							
9.9.80							

~~PREM~~ 19/606

PART 1 ends:-

2-11.87

PART 2 begins:-

12-11.81

SUBJECT

T 153/81



cc Master
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c fco.

10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

**PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T 153/81**

2 November 1981

I was delighted to have the opportunity for such a good talk while we were in Melbourne. As a result of our conversation I have every confidence that the difficulties that you face - formidable though some of them may be - will be successfully overcome. As you know, over the year and a half since independence we have endeavoured to give you all the assistance within our power, not only as far as the economy is concerned with our development aid programme, but also in dealing with the first of the problems you mentioned to me, the integration of the Army.

I promised to look into two particular questions you raised with me, progress on land resettlement and fees for students from Zimbabwe in the United Kingdom. On the first of these, you asked if we could not increase the allocation of £20 million for land transfer and resettlement which formed part of the total offer of development aid which we made at the time of independence. I realise how important this is to you. It was for this reason that at the Aid Donors' Conference in Salisbury last March Lord Soames made a further commitment of £10 million to a second land resettlement scheme. We understood that, together with the first scheme, this constituted the full extent of the Zimbabwe Government's plans in this extremely important sphere for the next three years. I hope you will consider that a total of £30 million, representing almost 50 per cent of the estimated total cost of land resettlement schemes over the first few years of independence, is a generous response, especially in view of the limitations on our development aid expenditure which have regrettably had to be made for the time being as part of our general economic strategy. Moreover, I understand that there might be some limit to the speed at which land resettlement can be accomplished.

/ I am

B

I am of course aware, not least from my conversations in Melbourne, that our decision to charge full fees to many overseas students has caused disquiet, especially in Commonwealth countries. We have carefully considered whether we could not make some exceptions to our present rules, but I fear that any relaxation would inevitably become widespread and would undermine the basis of what we believe to be a necessary policy. However, in certain respects, Zimbabwe is already more favoured than others. We have financed very large numbers of Zimbabwean students over the years from our aid programme (in fact, the training allocation for Zimbabwe has been the largest of all) and we are continuing to do so, albeit on a lesser scale. At the Aid Donors' Conference in Salisbury in March, Lord Soames announced an addition of £5 million for Zimbabwean students in Britain who would qualify for tertiary education, either in the United Kingdom or at the University of Salisbury, and he also indicated to your Minister of Education that your Government could, if they wished, use some of the British aid announced at independence to finance additional students to pass to higher level studies.

I hope you will agree that the very substantial assistance that we have already offered will make a significant contribution in both the highly important areas which you mentioned to me. The assistance we have pledged ourselves to provide to Zimbabwe immediately makes this one of our biggest aid programmes in Africa and demonstrates the importance we attach to helping Zimbabwe in the early years of independence.

(SGD) MARGARET THATCHER

The Hon. R. G. Mugabe



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

28 October 1981

*Prime Minister.**Agree to write as
in the draft?**PM
28.10.81.**Yes**Don Aire*

In your letter of 7 October recording the discussion in Melbourne between the Prime Minister and Mr Mugabe, you asked for advice on the points which the latter raised on aid for land resettlement and fees for Zimbabwe students in the UK.

Mr Mugabe does not seem to have been very well briefed on the land resettlement question. Apart from the £20 million to which he referred (which we have committed to the first resettlement programme), a further commitment of £10 million to a second scheme was announced by Lord Soames at the Aid Donors' Conference in Salisbury in March 1981. Disbursement of this sum is expected to run into 1984/85. Total British aid commitments to Zimbabwe now amount to £112 million, of which £30 million is now dedicated to resettlement; this is a generous response, given the constraints on our Aid Programme, and it would be premature now to enter into any further commitment on resettlement aid until we see how things develop over the next year or so.

I should add that we do not accept Mr Mugabe's contention that lack of funds is holding up the resettlement programme. Besides our own large contribution, money is available from the European Development Fund, the Kuwait Fund, the African Development Bank and the Dutch Government. Although two of these would be willing to finance land purchase as well as subsequent development, they cannot do so because Mr Mugabe has refused to apply loan finance to this purpose. Furthermore, it is clear from a recent report from our High Commission in Salisbury that other factors not mentioned by Mr Mugabe are having a delaying effect on this programme; although Zimbabwe's administrative capacity is high by African standards, it would not in our view stretch to a much faster rate of orderly land resettlement than is afforded by the present programme.

/We have



We have of course received strong representations from a number of Commonwealth countries about the charging of full fees to students from overseas. The case for concessions, especially for dependent territories and the Commonwealth, has been considered by Ministers and rejected. Such concessions could not be confined to a few countries and, becoming widespread, would destroy the basic policy. The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary thinks it would be helpful for the Prime Minister to write to Mr Mugabe, to show that she has personally looked into these questions (as she promised) and to ensure that he appreciates our position. I attach a draft, which might be delivered by our High Commissioner at Salisbury.

Yours ever

J.P.

(B J P Fall)
Private Secretary

Clive Whitmore Esq
10 Downing Street
LONDON SW 1

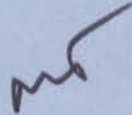
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SUBJECT



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ce master

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Principal Private Secretary

7 October 1981

Dear Bowen,

CALL ON THE PRIME MINISTER BY MR. ROBERT MUGABE

Mr. Robert Mugabe, the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, called upon the Prime Minister for forty minutes in her suite at the Hilton Hotel, Melbourne, at 1425 yesterday, 6 October 1981.

The Prime Minister asked after the situation generally in Zimbabwe. Mr. Mugabe said that the most important task of his Government was to achieve peace and stability, and he thought that they were succeeding in this. The task of integrating the Army and the cadres should be completed by the end of 1981, but retraining would need to continue after that. It would take time for the old loyalties to fade away and for the Zimbabwe Army to develop a single allegiance to the government in power. But progress was already being made in this direction and the different elements of the Army were working well together. He was very grateful for the help being given by the British Army instructors in Zimbabwe. All this was satisfactory. It was the economy that caused him most worry. His Government was pressing on with its most urgent programmes such as the reconstruction of roads, schools and hospitals which had been destroyed or had fallen into disrepair in the period leading up to independence, but they were hampered by the weaknesses in the country's transport system. Half of their railway locomotives were in a state of disrepair, and South Africa had withdrawn 25 locomotives which they had loaned to Mr. Smith's government. There was a severe shortage of technical experts, and they had asked India and Canada for the loan of some personnel. They were financing the purchase of 25 locomotives from Brazil with a Kuwaiti loan, and these should start arriving next month. There were another 35 engines on order in the United States and Canada. The lack of equipment was, he hoped, a temporary handicap. It was, however, being compounded by the tactics of the South Africans. Zimbabwe had to use South African ports and whereas the rail journey from Zimbabwe to Durban had taken 10-14 days before independence, it was now taking 24 days. The South Africans said that the delay was due to the increased volume of traffic, but he believed that the go-slow tactics of the South Africans were intended to damage the economy of Zimbabwe. The South Africans were doing precisely the same to traffic from Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland.

/ Mr. Mugabe

RS

Mr. Mugabe went on to say that the mining industry remained very important to the health of Zimbabwe's economy. This was why the Government had established a central marketing authority for minerals. In this way the Government would know what was being produced, what it was being sold for and where it was going. He wanted to emphasise that this was not nationalisation and went no further than had the establishment of central marketing authorities for cotton, grain and other agricultural products. He hoped that the mining companies would be represented on the marketing authority. None the less, the multinational companies operating in Zimbabwe had greeted this development with anxiety and suspicion, though there was no cause for them to worry.

Mr. Mugabe said that he was also facing a measure of discontent in the Civil Service. When Zimbabwe had come to independence, he had found that there were no Africans in the higher ranks of the public service, and he had therefore had to bring some on quickly. Fortunately many of the senior white civil servants had reached retirement age, and it had therefore been possible to advance a number of Africans without making anybody else redundant. But he had had to freeze promotion for white civil servants temporarily, and this had offended them. But he had assured them that once a number of Africans had been brought on, the traditional system of promotion on merit would be resumed.

His Government had also had to take action recently against the quite large number of people who were evading exchange controls when they emigrated to South Africa. They did this by taking not only their own furniture but also furniture which was bought from other people and then resold in South Africa. Regulations had now been issued which required emigrants to place the proceeds from any assets they realised before leaving in banks in Zimbabwe, whence they would be remitted to the owners in due course. These measures had initially caused some resentment but he thought they were now seen as necessary in order to deal with a growing abuse.

In response to a question by the Prime Minister, Mr. Mugabe said that farmers in Zimbabwe, both large scale and peasant, were doing well, and the most recent harvests had been good. The country was, for example, now producing more maize than it consumed, and the balance was being exported to a number of other African countries. It was true to say the farmers were the happiest segment of the white community. African farmers were also making a good return and were, at least for the time being, content. There was, however, a major problem over land, and this was one reason why he had asked to see the Prime Minister. The British Government had given Zimbabwe on independence a grant of £20 million for land resettlement. This money was not being employed to buy farms from the whites which were being fully used but to purchase land that was either under-utilised or not being used at all. The land which was acquired in this way was then distributed to African farmers. Over the next year he hoped to settle 150,000 families, and each one of these needed at least

12 hectares for arable purposes and sufficient grazing land for up to 10 animals. There was plenty of land available: the constraint was lack of funds. The shortage of money was made even more acute by the fact that the development of land had to be accompanied by the provision of schools, roads, health facilities and so on. The £20 million given by the British Government would not go far, and he hoped that when it was exhausted, he would be able to raise with us the question of a further grant.

Mr. Mugabe said that a further issue which he would like to mention to the Prime Minister was that of Zimbabwe students in the United Kingdom. The £5 million which the British Government had given Zimbabwe for the education of those students in the United Kingdom would go much further if Zimbabwe could be exempted from the new requirement that overseas students should pay their fees in full. He wondered whether Zimbabwe could be treated as a special case during the period of adjustment through which her economy was going.

In response to a question by the Prime Minister, Mr. Mugabe said that Mr. Nkomo was on the whole now being very helpful. Immediately after independence relations had not been at all easy. The Soviet Union had continued to give ZAPU weapons and the ZAPU military commanders had tried to overthrow the Government. This was why there had been fighting in Bulawayo. But Mr. Nkomo had always been realistic and had not supported his military colleagues. He was still not a happy man, and to maintain his credibility with his supporters, he had to attack the Government from time to time. But generally there were no serious problems with him.

The Prime Minister said that she was glad to learn that on the whole Zimbabwe was making good progress. She would see whether anything could be done to help on the question of further aid for land resettlement and on fees for Zimbabwe students in the United Kingdom.

The Prime Minister would be grateful for the advice of the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary on these two points.

I am sending copies of this letter to Peter Shaw (Department of Education and Science) and David Wright (Cabinet Office).

Yours sincerely,

Alma Whitmore.

Brian Fall, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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TO PRIORITY FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 408 OF 3 AUGUST

INFO ROUTINE CAPE TOWN, PRETORIA, MAPUTO LUSAKA, GABORONE.

SAVING LILONGWE.

ANC.

1. THE ANC REPRESENTATIVE IN ZIMBABWE, JOE GQABI, WAS SHOT DEAD AS HE WAS DRIVING OUT OF HIS SALISBURY HOME LATE ON 31 JULY. NO ARREST HAS BEEN MADE, BUT THE MINISTER OF INFORMATION, SHAMUYARIRA, HAS SAID THAT THE GOVERNMENT BELIEVES THE MURDER WAS THE "DIRTY WORK OF UNSCUPULOUS AGENTS OF THE RACIST SOUTH AFRICAN REGIME". WE BELIEVE THAT THIS IS ALSO THE AGREED VIEW IN INFORMED GOVERNMENT CIRCLES.

2. ONE GOVERNMENT MINISTER TOLD US PRIVATELY TODAY THAT THE GOVERNMENT FIRMLY BELIEVED THAT, ALTHOUGH THE SOUTH AFRICANS HAD NOT HAD ANYBODY MURDERED IN THIS FASHION IN A NEIGHBOURING COUNTRY BEFORE, THE SOUTH AFRICANS HAD DECIDED TO HAVE GQABI MURDERED, PERHAPS BY DISAFFECTED ZIMBABWEAN WHITES, IN ORDER TO INTIMIDATE THE ZIMBABWEANS AND THE ANC. HOWEVER, MUGABE HAS ALREADY SAID THAT THIS MURDER WILL NOT DETER THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE FROM THEIR "UNWAVERING SUPPORT AND SOLIDARITY" FOR THE ANC AND PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA. WHATEVER THE TRUTH ABOUT RESPONSIBILITY FOR THIS INCIDENT, IT SEEMS CERTAIN TO WORSEN ZIMBABWEAN/SOUTH AFRICAN RELATIONS.

FCO PASS SAVING LILONGWE.

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BYATT

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MR DAY

SIR. L. ALLINSON

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10 DOWNING STREET

to B
Zimbabwe

From the Private Secretary

8 June 1981

North Korean Military Assistance to
Zimbabwe

The Prime Minister has seen your letter to me of 3 June on this subject. She regards Mr. Mugabe's interest in the North Korean offer as very worrying. She believes that it indicates the underlying attitudes of the Government in Zimbabwe.

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

R.M.J. Lyne, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

3 June 1981

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*Very worrying. It
involves the
Dear Michael,
underlying
culture.*

Prime Minister

And 4/6

North Korean Military Assistance to Zimbabwe

We received reports from Salisbury at the end of last week that the Zimbabweans might be on the point of accepting an offer of free military assistance from the North Koreans comprising equipment for a brigade and a training team of 100 men. The High Commissioner subsequently spoke to Mr Mugabe about the risks involved and it now looks as though Mugabe may at least postpone acceptance of the offer.

The North Koreans supported Mugabe's ZANLA forces during the Rhodesian conflict and Mugabe has maintained friendly relations, visiting North Korea in the course of an Asian tour last month. The offer of military assistance was originally made by the North Koreans early this year. The Commander of the British Military Training Team pointed out to the Zimbabweans at that time the dangers and difficulties involved in accepting it and the project was put on ice; but the North Koreans have suddenly sent three officers to negotiate arrangements for the deal and are apparently trying to bounce the Zimbabweans into a decision.

The fact that Mugabe seemed to have decided last week to accept the offer does not reflect any deliberate policy move against Western influences; but rather a combination of naivety in failing to recognise the international implications of such a move, a desire to establish non-aligned credentials and a reluctance to turn down a free and substantial offer of equipment. But the repercussions of accepting substantial numbers of North Korean instructors would be considerable. The Americans would react very strongly and their large aid commitment would be at risk. Bilateral relations with South Africa, already increasingly strained, would be exacerbated; and potential Western investors could be discouraged. The High Commissioner made these points to Mugabe.

We shall continue to watch this closely and Lord Carrington is prepared to send a personal message to Mugabe if necessary. We have discussed the problem with the Americans in order to preempt any premature reaction on their part following news of the Korean offer.

*Yours ever
R M J Lyne*

(R M J Lyne)

M O'D B Alexander Esq
10 Downing Street

GR 670

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DESKBY WASHINGTON 121430Z

FM SALISBURY 121310Z MAY 81

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 267 OF 12 MAY

INFO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON

INFO ROUTINE PRETORIA, MAPUTO, LUSAKA.

Zimbabwe
ms *5*

MY TELNO 623 AND YOUR TELNO 134 : ZIMBABWE/SOUTH AFRICA.

1. I BELIEVE THAT THE ZIMBABWEANS ARE KEENLY AWARE OF THE DANGER OF A FURTHER DETERIORATION AND ARE ANXIOUS TO AVOID IT. THE WHOLE QUESTION OF THEIR RELATIONSHIP WITH SOUTH AFRICA IS A SENSITIVE ONE AND I DO NOT THINK THAT THERE WOULD BE MUCH PURPOSE IN URGING CAUTION ON THEM AT THIS JUNCTURE. (UNFORTUNATELY I COULD NOT GET AN OPPORTUNITY TO TELL MUGABE OF LORD SOAMES' CONVERSATION WITH STEYN).

2. THE LATEST PUBLIC EXCHANGE MAY HAVE BEEN STARTED BY ENOS NKALA (MY TELNO 261) WHO MORE OFTEN THAN NOT SPEAKS WITH NO PRIOR CONSULTATION AND LITTLE PRIOR THOUGHT. THE ZIMBABWEANS COULD HARDLY LET LE GRANGE'S REMARKS (PRETORIA TELNO 153) PASS WITHOUT COMMENT. BUT JOURNALISTS PRESENT AT HOVE'S PRESS CONFERENCE (MY TUR) TOLD US THAT HE SEEMED ANXIOUS TO GET IT OVER WITH AND TOOK CARE NOT TO BE PROVOKED BY LEADING QUESTIONS INTO MORE BELLICOSE PHRASEOLOGY.

3. I AM GLAD THAT YOU ARE SUGGESTING THAT HAID SHOULD SPEAK TO PIK BOTHA. WE UNDERSTAND FROM THE US EMBASSY HERE THAT THEY ARE MAKING THE SAME SUGGESTION AND THAT CROCKER RAISED THE SUBJECT IN PRETORIA, THOUGH THEY HAVE NO DETAILED RECORD OF THAT. HOWEVER, THEY KNOW OF NO FURTHER MESSAGE TO REAGAN FROM MUGABE (MY TUR). EITHER ONE IS IN THE PIPELINE OR, MORE LIKELY, THE LOCAL PRESS MISUNDERSTOOD HOVE.

4. INCIDENTALLY, THE VERSION OF RECENT EVENTS OFFERED BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN MFA (PRETORIA TELNO 155) CONVENIENTLY OMITTS THE MATTER OF THE LOANS LAST YEAR. MUGABE DEEPLY RESENTED THE NON-PAYMENT OF THE LAST INSTALMENTS, DESPITE HIS PRE-INDEPENDENCE STATEMENT ACCEPTING RESPONSIBILITY FOR EXTERNAL DEBT. HE SEEMED TO CONCLUDE THAT THE SOUTH AFRICANS WERE NOT TO BE TRUSTED IN FINANCIAL MATTERS HAVING RENEGED ON AN AGREEMENT (EVEN IF A "SECRET" ONE) AND ZIMBABWEAN GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENT AND PARASTATALS WERE INSTRUCTED NOT TO ACCEPT ECGD-TYPE FINANCE FROM SOUTH AFRICA. WHATEVER THE SOUTH AFRICANS NOW BELIEVE, THE FIRST UNFRIENDLY ACTION CAME FROM THEM.

5. AS TO PARA 2 OF YOUR TUR, ALL THE EVIDENCE I HAVE SUGGESTS THAT THE ZIMBABWEANS ARE DOING THEIR BEST TO ENFORCE THE PUBLIC

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LINE THEY HAVE TAKEN OVER ANC AND PAC: POLITICAL AND DIPLOMATIC SUPPORT BUT NO BASES OR FACILITIES FOR MILITARY ACTIVITY. HOVE WAS STRICTLY CORRECT THAT THERE IS NO ANC OFFICE IN ZIMBABWE. THE ANC DO NOT HAVE IDENTIFIABLE PREMISES WITH A BRASS PLAQUE, BUT THEY DO HAVE A REPRESENTATIVE IN SALISBURY AND, WE BELIEVE, ALSO IN BULAWAYO. PAC PEOPLE HAVE BEEN ALLOWED TO VISIT FROM TIME TO TIME. NUMBERS AND ACTIVITIES OF BOTH SEEM TO BE STRICTLY CONTROLLED. WE HAVE EVIDENCE FROM SECRET SOURCES THAT THE SECURITY AUTHORITIES HAVE AND ARE ACTING ON INSTRUCTIONS TO DEPORT MILITARY ACTIVISTS OF EITHER PARTY WHERE FOUND. AS YOU KNOW, THERE IS ALSO EVIDENCE FROM SECRET SOURCES OF GROUPS OF ANC (NUMBERS UNCLEAR) BEING ACCOMMODATED WITH ZIPRA IN MATABELELAND. THE ONLY ONE WE ARE SURE OF IS AT GWAI MINE, BUT THERE JUST COULD BE OTHERS. WE KNOW OF NO GROUPS OF PAC ACTIVISTS. THE SHELTERING OF ANC AT GWAI IS CERTAINLY BEING DONE BEHIND THE GOVERNMENT'S BACK AND IS PART OF THEIR GENERAL PROBLEM WITH ZIPRA. IT SHOULD DISAPPEAR OVER THE NEXT SIX MONTHS AS AMALGAMATION IS COMPLETED AND ZIPRA NO LONGER HAVE UNITS OF THEIR OWN. MEANWHILE, THE GOVERNMENT MAINTAIN, FOR THEIR OWN PURPOSE, A CLOSE WATCH FOR ANY ARMED MOVEMENT FROM GWAI AND DISARMAMENT THERE SHOULD HELP TO SOME EXTENT.

6. ON THEIR SIDE, THE ZIMBABWEANS ARE DEEPLY WORRIED ABOUT THE 5,000 ARMED ZIMBABWEANS WHOM THEY BELIEVE THE SOUTH AFRICANS HAVE ASSEMBLED IN THE NORTHERN TRANSVAAL. THEY ARE ALSO CONCERNED THAT WITH SO MANY MILITARY AND INTELLIGENCE GROUPS INVOLVED ON THE SOUTH AFRICAN SIDE, SOMEONE MAY AT SOME STAGE TRY SOMETHING STUPID WITHOUT PROPER AUTHORITY. IN OTHER WORDS, THEY ARE NOT CONVINCED THAT THE SOUTH AFRICANS ARE MUCH BETTER ABLE TO CONTROL THINGS SOUTH OF THE LIMPOPO THAN THEY ARE TO ENFORCE THEIR POLICIES AT GWAI MINE.

BYATT

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TO PRIORITY FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 223 OF 7 APRIL

INFO ROUTINE PRETORIA

Zimbabwe
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ZIMBABWEAN OIL SUPPLIES

1. AS YOU WILL HAVE SEEN FROM LORD SOAMES' REPORT OF HIS PRIVATE CONVERSATION WITH MUGABE ON 22 MARCH, THE LATTER EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT ZIMBABWE'S DEPENDENCE ON OIL SUPPLIES FROM SOUTH AFRICA. DAVID SMITH VOICED THE SAME CONCERN TO LORD SOAMES SAYING THAT ZIMBABWE WAS DEPENDENT UPON A REGULAR SUPPLY OF 40 WAGONS A DAY AND THAT IF IT WERE INTERRUPTED SUPPLIES OF SOME FUELS WOULD RUN OUT WITHIN 5 DAYS. MUGABE SAID THAT HE WAS ANXIOUS TO FIND A SECURE SOURCE OF SUPPLY ON THE BASIS OF A GOVERNMENT TO GOVERNMENT DEAL. THE NIGERIANS AND THE SAUDIS HAD BEEN APPROACHED BUT NEITHER HAD BEEN HELPFUL. HE ASKED IF THERE WAS ANY WAY IN WHICH WE COULD HELP. DAVID SMITH ON THE OTHER HAND TOLD LORD SOAMES IN CONFIDENCE THAT A DEAL WITH THE SAUDIS WAS CLOSE TO AGREEMENT AND INVOLVED SHELL, WHO WOULD DO THE REFINING AND SUPPLY THE PRODUCTS TO ZIMBABWE. WE HAVE NOT SO FAR BEEN ABLE TO ESTABLISH WHICH VERSION OF THE SAUDI ATTITUDE IS CORRECT - MUGABE'S OR SMITH'S.

2. MUGABE IS ALSO CONCERNED ABOUT THE SLOW PROGRESS OVER RECOMMISSIONING THE FERUKA REFINERY AT UMTALI WHICH WAS DESIGNED TO PROCESS CRUDE OIL PUMPED UP THE PIPELINE FROM BEIRA BUT HAS BEEN IDLE FOR 15 YEARS AND IS NOW OF OUTDATED DESIGN. HE AND OTHER ZIMBABWEANS SUSPECT THAT THE OIL COMPANIES ARE DRAGGING THEIR FEET. AN ACCOUNT OF THE STATE OF PLAY WAS GIVEN TO MY DEPUTY LAST MONTH BY PLATT OF SHELL (ELAM'S MINUTE OF 13 MARCH COPIED TO SANKEY CAFD). PROGRESS ON THE PIPELINE ITSELF HAS BEEN SLOWER THAN ANTICIPATED. AT INDEPENDENCE LONRHO (WHO OWN IT) WERE SPEAKING OF HAVING IT IN WORKING ORDER BY THE END OF 1980 FOR THE THROUGHPUT OF REFINED PRODUCTS. THEY NOW SAY THAT THE EARLIEST DATE FOR OPERATION WILL BE OCTOBER 1981. THEY WERE AWARE A YEAR AGO THAT SECTION NEAR BEIRA WOULD PROBABLY HAVE TO BE RE-LAID, AS HAS PROVED TO BE THE CASE. I AM NOT CLEAR WHY THEIR ESTIMATE HAS CHANGED SO MUCH. DISSIDENT ACTIVITY IN MOZAMBIQUE MAY HAVE SOMETHING TO DO WITH IT. SO MAY LONRHO'S ARBITRATION (THOUGH THEY ASSURED ME LAST YEAR THAT THE ARBITRATION WOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO HOLD UP RE-ACTIVATION OF THE PIPELINE). THERE MAY BE ANOTHER FACTOR: MUNANGATIRE, A LOCAL LONRHO DIRECTOR, TOLD ME RECENTLY THAT "WE ARE INTERESTED IN THE REFINERY": IT IS OWNED BY CAPREF, A CONSORTIUM OF OIL COMPANIES OF WHICH SHELL AND BP ARE TWO. IF LONRHO HAVE THEIR EYES ON IT THAT COULD CAUSE COMPLICATIONS.

3. IN THE SHORT TERM AT LEAST, THE PIPELINE IS OBVIOUSLY MUCH MORE IMPORTANT TO THE ZIMBABWEANS THAN THE REFINERY SINCE ITS OPERATION WOULD IMMEDIATELY REDUCE DEPENDENCE ON SUPPLIES THROUGH SOUTH AFRICA.

CONFIDENTIAL

/ ACCORDING

ACCORDING TO PLATT ONE OF THE PROBLEMS ABOUT THE REFINERY IS THAT, NOT ONLY WOULD IT TAKE 18 MONTHS TO REPAIR, BUT ITS DESIGN NO LONGER SUITS THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE ZIMBABWE MARKET AND ABOUT 20 PERCENT OF ITS PRODUCT WOULD BE USELESS HERE. APPARENTLY THE CONSORTIUM HAVE NOT YET BRACED THEMSELVES TO EXPLAIN THIS TO THE ZIMBABWE GOVERNMENT. THE LONGER THEY DELAY THE MORE LIKELY THAT THEY WILL BE CHARGED WITH MAKING DIFFICULTIES. IN MY VIEW THEY OUGHT TO ASSESS AND TO EXPLAIN TO THE ZIMBABWEANS SOON THE ECONOMICS OF THE VARIOUS OPTIONS (FORGET THE REFINERY AND RELY ON THE PRODUCT VIA THE PIPELINE; RESTORE THE REFINERY AND ACCEPT ITS INADEQUACIES IN THE INTERESTS OF SAVING FOREIGN EXCHANGE COSTS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE; REDESIGN AND REBUILD THE REFINERY).

4. ACCORDING TO PLATT ONE OF THE PROBLEMS IS A DEARTH OF PEOPLE IN THE NEW MINISTRY OF INDUSTRY AND ENERGY HERE WHO HAVE THE EXPERTISE TO UNDERSTAND THE ISSUES. WE HAVE HEARD THAT THE GOVERNMENT ARE CONSIDERING APPOINTING CONSULTANTS TO ADVISE THEM IN THEIR DEALINGS WITH THE CONSORTIUM AND WE GATHER FROM THE LOCAL FIRM, SHELL BP (ZIMBABWE), THAT THEY AT LEAST WOULD WELCOME THIS. MY COMMERCIAL SECTION HAVE RECEIVED AN ENQUIRY FROM A BRITISH FIRM, ROXBY ENGINEERING INTERNATIONAL LTD, ABOUT CONSULTANCY PROSPECTS AND HAVE ADVISED THEM OF THE GOVERNMENT'S APPARENT INTEREST.

5. THERE HAS ALSO BEEN SPECULATION IN THE LOCAL PRESS THAT THE CONSORTIUM WOULD LIKE THE GOVERNMENT TO ASSIST WITH THE COST OF REFURBISHING THE FERUKA REFINERY, THEREBY ACQUIRING A STAKE IN IT. WE HAVE NO CONFIRMATION OF THAT FROM THE COMPANIES. HOWEVER, IT WOULD CERTAINLY FIT WITH THE GOVERNMENT'S STATED LONGER TERM AIM OF ACQUIRING PARTICIPATION IN MAJOR ECONOMIC ENTERPRISES. FINANCE WOULD BE A PROBLEM FOR THEM, BUT POSSIBLY THE WORLD BANK, THE EIB OR ONE OF THE ARAB DEVELOPMENT FUNDS MIGHT BE READY TO HELP THEM. I HAVE NO IDEA WHAT THE COST OF REBUILDING THE REFINERY TO MEET MARKET REQUIREMENTS WOULD BE. IF A MODERNISED REFINERY WERE ABLE TO WEAR A REGIONAL HAT, SERVING BOTSWANA AND POSSIBLY SOME OF THE ZAMBIAN MARKET AS WELL AS ZIMBABWE, THAT MIGHT INCREASE ITS ATTRACTIVENESS TO DEVELOPMENT FUNDS.

BYATT

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TO PRIORITY FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 203 OF 30 MARCH

INFO PRIORITY HONG KONG (FOR PS TO SOSFA).

ROUTINE LUSAKA, MAPUTO, GABORONE, PRETORIA AND WASHINGTON.

SAVING DAR ES SALAAM, LAGOS, NAIROBI, ADDIS ABABA.

LORD SOAMES' VISIT TO ZIMBABWE.

1. DRIVING TO THE AIRPORT FOR HIS DEPARTURE, THE LORD PRESIDENT AND I CONFESSED THAT, IN THE PRECEDING WEEKS, BOTH HAD FELT SOME ANXIETY LEST HIS RETURN TO ZIMBABWE AS LEADER OF OUR DELEGATION TO A LESS THAN SUCCESSFUL ZIMCORD CONFERENCE SHOULD SERVE TO DIMINISH RATHER THAN INCREASE THE ADVANTAGES WHICH BRITAIN ENJOYS HERE FROM HIS GOVERNORSHIP. THE EVENT HAS PROVED SUCH ANXIETY ENTIRELY UNFOUNDED.

2. THE CONFERENCE HAS BEEN SUCCESSFUL BEYOND THE EXPECTATIONS OF THE ZIMBABWEANS (AND INDEED OURS). ALTHOUGH THE NEW PLEDGES OF ZIMBABWE DOLLARS 900 MILLION WHICH THEY ATTRIBUTE TO THE CONFERENCE MUST BE TAKEN WITH A LITTLE PINCH OF SALT, AS REPORTED IN MY TELNO MDEV 119, THE OUTCOME IS REMARKABLE BY ANY STANDARD. BOTH ZIMBABWEANS AND DELEGATES HAVE SAID THAT LORD SOAMES' PRESENCE CONTRIBUTED LARGELY TO THIS: THE KNOWLEDGE THAT HE WAS COMING, AND OUR BILATERAL LOBBYING, URGED GOVERNMENTS TO TAKE THE CONFERENCE SERIOUSLY, AND THE TONE OF HIS OPENING SPEECHES, AS WELL AS HIS CORRIDOR LOBBYING, ENCOURAGED DELEGATES TO EXPRESS THEIR OWN BRIEFS IN AS POSITIVE AND DETAILED A WAY AS POSSIBLE.

3. THE PRESENCE OF LORD AND LADY SOAMES HAS BEEN UNIVERSALLY WELCOMED. BOTH HAVE RECEIVED GOOD PRESS COVERAGE. LADY SOAMES IS CONTINUING HER PROGRAMME INTO THIS WEEK, WITH VISITS TO INSTITUTIONS IN BULAWAYO AND FORT VICTORIA.

4. FOLLOWING THE INITIAL TALK WITH MUGABE (MY TELNO 186) THE SOAMES DINED ALONE WITH THE MUGABES ON 25 MARCH. THIS GAVE THE OPPORTUNITY FOR A FRANK AND WIDE-RANGING DISCUSSION WHICH LORD SOAMES IS REPORTING TO YOU BY LETTER. MUGABE SAID THAT HE WAS CONTENT WITH THE BRITISH AID CONTRIBUTION (PACE HIS PUBLIC REMARKS, MY TELNO 202) AND REPEATED HIS SATISFACTION AT THE STATE OF BILATERAL RELATIONS. WE HAVE REPORTED THE DISCUSSIONS WITH CHIDZERO (MY TELNO MDEV 122), WHO IS DELIGHTED WITH OUR ROLE. LORD SOAMES ALSO HAD USEFUL AND GENERALLY CONSTRUCTIVE MEETINGS WITH NKOMO, THE MINISTERS OF FINANCE, LANDS AND EDUCATION, THE LEADERS OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR ORGANISATIONS AND IAN SMITH. WE SHALL BE REPORTING THE MAIN POINTS SEPARATELY. NKOMO WAS AT PAINS

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TO TAKE A POSITIVE LINE: THERE WAS TROUBLE WITH THE YOUNG MEN, MISTAKES HAD BEEN MADE, BUT THEY COULD BE OVERCOME: AMALGAMATION OF FORCES WAS ESSENTIAL, THOUGH IT TOO WOULD LEAD TO PROBLEMS. SMITH WAS GLOOMY ABOUT THE RATE OF WHITE DEPARTURES. SEVERAL OTHERS HAD REPORTED UNEASE AMONG WHITES OVER MINISTERIAL CRITICISM OF THE COLONIAL PAST. IN HIS TALKS WITH MUGABE AND OTHER MINISTERS LORD SOAMES URGED THAT THERE BE LESS RHETORIC ABOUT THE COLONIAL PAST AND THE POINT WAS GENERALLY TAKEN. MUGABE AND THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION SAID THAT THERE WOULD BE NO OBJECTION TO PRIVATE SCHOOLING AND MEDICINE PROVIDED THEY WERE NON-RACIAL.

5. IN SHORT, THE VISIT HAS BEEN VERY SUCCESSFUL AND HAS SERVED FURTHER TO CEMENT BILATERAL RELATIONS.

FCO PASS SAVING DAR ES SALAAM, LAGOS, NAIROBI, ADDIS ABABA.

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TO PRIORITY FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 202 OF 30 MARCH

INFO PRIORITY HONG KONG (FOR PS TO SOSFA).

ROUTINE LUSAKA, MAPUTO, GABORONE, PRETORIA AND WASHINGTON.

SAVING DAR ES SALAAM, LAGOS, NAIROBI, ADDIS ABABA.

MIPT: ZIMBABWE DONORS' CONFERENCE.

1. THERE IS NO LONGER ROOM FOR DOUBT ABOUT THE SUCCESS OF THE CONFERENCE, WHICH FAR EXCEEDED EVERYONE'S EXPECTATIONS. THE DELEGATES WERE IMPRESSED BY THE ORGANISATION OF THE CONFERENCE AND THE DETAILED PRESENTATIONS MADE ON THE MAIN AGENDA ITEMS WERE VERY WELL DONE AND VERY WELL RECEIVED.

2. WE HAVE RECEIVED MANY EXPRESSION OF GRATITUDE AND ADMIRATION FROM BOTH ORGANISERS AND DELEGATES FOR LORD SOAMES'S PRESENCE AND ROLE (ON WHICH SEE MY TELNO 203). HIS DEPARTURE ON THE PENULTIMATE DAY LEFT THE WAY CLEAR FOR THE DUTCH PRIME MINISTER, MR VAN AGT, WHOSE PROMINENCE IN THE FINAL 24 HOURS USEFULLY MADE THE POINT THAT ZIMBABWE NEED NOT LOOK TO BRITAIN ALONE.

3. IN THE CLOSING STAGES OF THE CONFERENCE CHIDZERO AND HIS PERMANENT SECRETARY WERE FULL OF PRAISE IN PRIVATE DISCUSSION FOR THE BRITISH ROLE BEFORE AND DURING THE CONFERENCE: "IT IS YOUR SUCCESS AS WELL AS OURS". AT A TELEVISED PRESS CONFERENCE ON 29 MARCH, MUGABE SAID THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WAS OVERWHELMED BY THE RESPONSES RECEIVED WHICH WERE "A JOY AND INSPIRATION TO ZIMBABWE". HE ATTRIBUTED THE RESPONSE TO THE DEMOCRATIC, CONSTITUTIONAL AND NON-ALIGNED POLICIES OF HIS GOVERNMENT (IN ITSELF A PLUS POINT) UNFORTUNATELY HE WAS THEN ASKED A QUESTION BY ITV WHICH HE SEEMED TO FIND DIFFICULT: WHETHER THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAD FULFILLED HIS EXPECTATIONS, PARTICULARLY IN REGARD TO LAND SETTLEMENT? HE GAVE A SOMEWHAT RAMBLING AND GRUDGING REPLY. HE POINTED OUT THAT SOME OF OUR NEW PLEDGE WAS FOR EDUCATION, SO THAT THERE WAS LESS THAN POUNDS 25 MILLION AVAILABLE FOR LAND PURCHASE. HE HAD DRAWN LORD SOAMES' ATTENTION TO "THE INSUFFICIENCY OF THIS AMOUNT" WHICH FELL SHORT OF ZIMBABWE'S EXPECTATION. LORD SOAMES HAD EXPLAINED THAT IT WAS FOR 1981 AND WHAT HAPPENED IN 1982 AND 1983 COULD BE DISCUSSED (WE SHALL PUT HIM RIGHT ON THE DATES), SO THERE WAS "THIS EXPECTATION OF FURTHER ASSISTANCE". I HAD THE IMPRESSION, WATCHING THE PRESS CONFERENCE ON TELEVISION, THAT HE HAD NOT ANTICIPATED OR WAS ANNOYED BY THIS QUESTION. GIVEN WHAT HE HAS SAID IN THE PAST, IT WOULD HAVE BEEN SURPRISING HAD HE EXPRESSED COMPLETE SATISFACTION, BUT HE MIGHT HAVE DONE BETTER THAN THIS. IT MAY BE SIGNIFICANT THAT THE ACCOUNT OF THE PRESS CONFERENCE IN THE LOCAL SUNDAY PAPER MADE NO MENTION AT ALL OF THIS PARTICULAR QUESTION AND ANSWER.

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4. I DO NOT THINK THAT WE SHOULD GAIN MUCH BY ARGUING WITH MUGABE ABOUT THE DETAIL OF WHAT WAS OR WAS NOT SAID AT HIS PRIVATE MEETING WITH LORD SOAMES, BUT I SHALL TRY TO CONVEY TO HIM (MY TELECON WITH CHAPLIN TODAY) THAT LORD SOAMES HAD NOT EXPECTED THAT HE WOULD PUBLICLY CRITICISE OUR AID CONTRIBUTION AND IS DISAPPOINTED. IN DISCUSSION WITH GENERAL PALMER THIS MORNING MUGABE SAID HE WAS DELIGHTED WITH THE OUTCOME OF THE CONFERENCE, WHICH OWED MUCH TO THE PREPARATORY LOBBYING BY THE ZIMBABWEANS AND THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

5. THE OUTCOME OF THE CONFERENCE SHOULD DISPEL THE CLOUD OF DISAPPOINTMENT THAT HAS HUNG OVER OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS, AND INDEED ZIMBABWE'S RELATIONS WITH THE WEST AS A WHOLE, FOR SOME TIME. NO DOUBT THERE WILL BE FURTHER GRUMBLES FROM TIME TO TIME, OF WHICH MUGABE'S REPLY IS SYMPTOMATIC, BUT THE BITTERNESS AND ANXIETY OF RECENT MONTHS WILL, I HOPE, NOT REAPPEAR. INDEED THE TONE OF MUGABE'S REMARKS WAS VERY MILD BY COMPARISON WITH SOME OF HIS UTTERANCES IN THE LATTER PART OF LAST YEAR.

FCO PASS SAVING DAR ES SALAAM, LAGOS, NAIROBI, ADDIS ABABA.

BYATT

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TO PRIORITY FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 194 OF 25 MARCH

INFO PRIORITY PRETORIA, ROUTINE UKREP BRUSSELS, ODA, DOT,
HM TREASURY, BANK OF ENGLAND, BDDSA LILONGWE
AND SAVING EC POSTS, LUSAKA, GABORONE, MAPUTO, DARESSALAAM,
LAGOS, LUANDA.

M

ZIMBABWE/SOUTH AFRICA TRADE RELATIONS

1. THIS MORNING'S SALISBURY HERALD CARRIES A REPORT FROM PRETORIA THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT HAVE GIVEN 12 MONTHS NOTICE FOR TERMINATION OF THE PREFERENTIAL TRADE AGREEMENT BETWEEN ZIMBABWE AND SOUTH AFRICA.
2. THIS AGREEMENT DATES FROM 1964 AND PROVIDES FOR PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT OF A WIDE RANGE OF GOODS TRADED BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. ALTHOUGH IT INCLUDED A STIPULATION TO THE EFFECT THAT NO IMPORT OR EXPORT CONTROL MEASURES SHOULD APPLY TO THE MOVEMENT OF GOODS, THAT CONDITION HAD BEEN WAIVED DURING THE YEARS OF SANCTIONS, WITH THE CONSEQUENCE THAT WHILE RHODESIA/ZIMBABWE HAS BEEN ENJOYING SUBSTANTIAL BENEFIT UNDER THE AGREEMENT, THE SOUTH AFRICANS HAVE IN FACT GAINED VERY LITTLE (SEE LORD SOAMES' TELNO 953 OF 4 MARCH 1980-NOT TO ALL).
3. SOUTH AFRICA AT PRESENT TAKES SOME 24 PERCENT OF ZIMBABWE'S EXPORTS (EXCLUDING GOLD); AND IT IS ESTIMATED THAT IN 1979 SOUTH AFRICA TOOK AS MUCH AS 70 PERCENT OF ZIMBABWE'S MANUFACTURED EXPORTS. IT IS THIS SECTOR THAT WILL SUFFER THE MOST WHEN THE AGREEMENT IS TERMINATED: NOTABLY ZIMBABWEAN EXPORTS OF FOOTWEAR, CLOTHING, TEXTILES AND SIMPLE ELECTRICAL GOODS. BUT FIRST REACTIONS FROM THE HEADS OF THE CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY HAVE BEEN FAIRLY PHILOSOPHICAL: THEY RECOGNISE THE NEED TO DIVERSIFY THEIR EXPORT MARKETS AND, INDEED, THE UTILITY OF HAVING THIS SPUR TO DO SO. THEY EXPECT TO BE ABLE TO CONTINUE TO SELL SUBSTANTIALLY IN SOUTH AFRICA WITH MFN TREATMENT, EVEN IF NOT AS MUCH AS BEFORE.

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4. HOWEVER, THE SOUTH AFRICAN ACTION CANNOT BE REGARDED AS A FRIENDLY ONE - AND IT IS PARTICULARLY NOTEWORTHY THAT THE ANNOUNCEMENT WAS TIMED TO COINCIDE WITH REPORTS OF THE FIRST DAY OF PLEDGING AT THE AID DONOR'S CONFERENCE. IT IS ANOTHER INDICATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN UNWILLINGNESS TO CONTINUE TO TREAT ZIMBABWE WITH FAVOUR (TO ADD TO EG THE WITHDRAWAL OF LOANED SOUTH AFRICAN ROLLING STOCK AND LOCOMOTIVES AND, WE HEAR, VIRTUALLY TOTAL CESSATION OF THE EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION BETWEEN THE TWO POLICE FORCES ON THE QUESTION OF THE EVASION OF ZIMBABWE EXCHANGE CONTROL LEGISLATION.

FCO PSE PASS SAVING ROME ATHENS LUXEMBOURG THEHAGUE
COPENHAGEN BRUSSELS PARIS BONN DUBLIN LUSAKA GABORONE
MAPUTO DARESSALAAM LAGOS LUANDA.

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TO PRIORITY FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 186 OF 23 MARCH

INFO PRIORITY MAASTRICHT (FOR PS TO SOSFA)

ROUTINE PRETORIA, LUSAKA, MAPUTO, WASHINGTON

SAVING GABORONE, DAR ES SALAAM, NAIROBI, ADDIS ABBA, LAGOS.

ZIMBABWE : LORD SOAMES' FIRST MEETING WITH MUGABE.

1. MR MUGABE WAS CLEARLY IMMENSELY PLEASED TO SEE LORD SOAMES AGAIN IN ZIMBABWE, GREETED HIM DEMONSTRABLY AND WAS IN A WARM AND RELAXED MOOD THROUGHOUT A TWO HOUR MEETING AT HIS RESIDENCE LATE ON 20 MARCH. HIS PARTING WORDS WERE "MR BYATT, THANK YOU FOR BRINGING MY FRIEND".

2. FRANK DISCUSSION WAS SOMEWHAT INHIBITED BY THE PRESENCE OF THE FOREIGN MINISTER AND NEWLY APPOINTED SECRETARY (UTETE), BUT MUGABE AGREED THAT THERE SHOULD BE A PRIVATE MEETING IN THE COURSE OF THE WEEK.

3. MUGABE SAID THAT HE WAS PLEASED WITH THE PROGRESS MADE IN THE FIRST YEAR. WHAT HAD MOST SURPRISED HIM HAD BEEN THE ATTITUDE OF THE WHITES: HE HAD NOT EXPECTED THEM TO ADAPT SO QUICKLY. MOST WERE WORKING WELL AND HELPFULLY WITH THE GOVERNMENT. HE WAS SAD TO LOSE DAVID SMITH, WHO HAD BEEN A GREAT HELP. SOME OF NKOMO'S PEOPLE, HOWEVER, WERE STILL NOT RECONCILED AND WOULD PREFER ANOTHER PRIME MINISTER. THE LEADERSHIP WAS NOT A PROBLEM. NKOMO HIMSELF HAD NOW ADJUSTED, RELUCTANTLY, TO THE OUTCOME OF THE ELECTION - "THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO OF US HAS BEEN GOOD THROUGHOUT EVERYTHING".

4. THERE WERE PROBLEMS ON THE MILITARY SIDE. HE AGREED THAT DISARMAMENT WAS CRUCIAL: THERE WERE STILL TOO MANY PEOPLE WALKING ABOUT WITH THEIR WEAPONS. HOWEVER, DESPITE LAST MONTH'S SETBACK, AMALGAMATION HAD MADE REASONABLE PROGRESS. THE BRITISH MILITARY TRAINERS WERE DOING A MARVELLOUS JOB - "WITHOUT THEM WE COULD NEVER HAVE ACHIEVED WHAT WE HAVE DONE". IN AN ATMOSPHERE WHERE EACH ARMY FACTION MISTRUSTED THE OTHERS, BMATT PROVIDED THE ESSENTIAL NEUTRAL ELEMENT AND WAS TRUSTED BY ALL.

5. LORD SOAMES EXTENDED THE INVITATION FOR AN OFFICIAL VISIT TO BRITAIN "AT A MUTUALLY CONVENIENT TIME TO BE WORKED OUT". MUGABE WAS CLEARLY PLEASED AND SAID THAT HE WOULD MUCH ENJOY SUCH A VISIT. HE REMARKED THAT THE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP WAS VERY

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GOOD AND, IN THE COURSE OF LIGHT-HEARTED BANTER, CAREFULLY DISSOCIATED HIMSELF FROM NKALA'S JANUARY ATTACK ON OUR AID - "HE IS LIKE THAT - UNPREDICTABLE".

6. I SHALL TELEGRAPH SEPARATELY ON MUGABE'S REMARKS ABOUT SOUTHERN AFRICA'S PROBLEMS.

FCO PASS SAVING GABORONE, DAR ES SALAAM, NAIROBI, ADDIS ABABA, AND LAGOS.

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TO ROUTINE SALISBURY

TELEGRAM NUMBER 89 OF 13 MARCH

YOUR TELEGRAM 126: ZIMBABWE CONFERENCE ON RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT

1. PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING REPLY DATED 11 MARCH FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO MR MUGABE: 'THANK YOU FOR YOUR LETTER OF 25 FEBRUARY ABOUT THE FORTHCOMING CONFERENCE ON RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT. YOUR MESSAGE ARRIVED MOST OPPORTUNELY AS I WAS BEGINNING MY TALKS IN WASHINGTON.

I PROMISED YOU LAST NOVEMBER THAT WE WOULD DO ALL WE COULD TO SECURE A POSITIVE OUTCOME FOR THIS MOST IMPORTANT CONFERENCE. SINCE THEN, WE HAVE UNDERTAKEN AN INTENSIVE ROUND OF LOBBYING IN CAPITALS IN MANY PARTS OF THE WORLD, AND HAVE RAISED THE SUBJECT IN LONDON WITH VISITING MINISTERS FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES. OUR AIM HAS BEEN TO ENCOURAGE GOVERNMENTS TO BE REPRESENTED AT THE CONFERENCE AT A HIGH LEVEL AND TO MAKE GENEROUS PLEDGES OF ASSISTANCE. AS REPRESENTATIVES OF YOUR GOVERNMENT WILL BE DOING THE SAME, WE SHALL BE WORKING TOGETHER TO MAKE THE CONFERENCE A SUCCESS.

I AM GLAD THAT YOU RECOGNISE IN YOUR LETTER THAT THE RESOURCES REQUIRED BY ZIMBABWE FOR LAND AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT ARE BEYOND THE CAPACITY OF BRITAIN OR ANY OTHER SINGLE COUNTRY TO MEET. I NEED NOT REMIND YOU THAT OUR OWN CONTRIBUTION TO ZIMBABWE S DEVELOPMENT IS NOT ONLY ONE OF OUR LARGEST IN AFRICA, BUT IS BEING MADE AT A TIME WHEN BRITAIN'S ECONOMY IS IN SERIOUS DIFFICULTIES AND WHEN WE ARE HAVING TO MAKE HEAVY REDUCTIONS IN ALL AREAS OF GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURE.

BEFORE I RECEIVED YOUR LETTER, WE HAD ALREADY DECIDED THAT WE WOULD TAKE THE OPPORTUNITY OF MY VISIT TO WASHINGTON TO URGE THE NEW ADMINISTRATION TO BE AS GENEROUS AS POSSIBLE AT THIS MONTH'S CONFERENCE. MR HAIG UNDERTOOK TO CONSIDER THE QUESTION CAREFULLY

T 48 a/81 - see PM to
Mugabe 11/3/81.

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AND SYMPATHETICALLY. LIKE US, THE US GOVERNMENT RECOGNISE THAT THE ZIMBABWEAN ECONOMY HAS THE POTENTIAL TO DEVELOP TO THE BENEFIT NOT ONLY OF THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE, BUT ALSO AS A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STABILITY OF SOUTHER AFRICA AS A WHOLE. LORD SOAMES IS, I KNOW, LOOKING FORWARD TO LEADING THE BRITISH DELEGATION TO THE CONFERENCE AND WILL CERTAINLY DO ALL HE CAN TO MAKE IT A SUCCESS.'

2. SIGNED ORIGINAL FOLLOWS IN THE NON-CONFIDENTIAL BAG - LEAVING FCO ON 17 MARCH.

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THE PRIME MINISTER

11 March 1981

**PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T 48A/81**

Thank you for your letter of 25 February about the forthcoming Conference on reconstruction and development. Your message arrived most opportunely as I was beginning my talks in Washington.

I promised you last November that we would do all we could to secure a positive outcome for this most important Conference. Since then, we have undertaken an extensive round of lobbying in capitals in many parts of the world, and have raised the subject in London with visiting Ministers from foreign countries. Our aim has been to encourage Governments to be represented at the Conference at a high level and to make generous pledges of assistance. As representatives of your Government will be doing the same, we shall be working together to make the Conference a success.

I am glad that you recognise in your letter that the resources required by Zimbabwe for land and rural development are beyond the capacity of Britain or any other single country to meet. I need not remind you that our own contribution to Zimbabwe's development is not only one of our largest in Africa, but is being made at a time when Britain's economy is in serious difficulties and when we are having to make heavy reductions in all areas of Government expenditure.

/Before I received

FR

Before I received your letter, we had already decided that we would take the opportunity of my visit to Washington to urge the new Administration to be as generous as possible at this month's Conference. Mr. Haig undertook to consider the question carefully and sympathetically. Like us, the US Government recognise that the Zimbabwean economy has the potential to develop to the benefit not only of the people of Zimbabwe, but also as a contribution to the stability of Southern Africa as a whole.

Lord Soames is, I know, looking forward to leading the British delegation to the Conference, and will certainly do all he can to make it a success.

(sgd) M T

The Honourable Robert Mugabe.



Zimbabwe
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

Type for PM's Signature

9 March 1981

Dear Michael,

Zimbabwe

Mike Pattison wrote on 27 February about Mr Mugabe's message to the Prime Minister.

I enclose a draft reply for the Prime Minister's consideration. Subject to her approval, we propose to telegraph the text to Salisbury, with the signed copy to follow.

yours ever
Roderic Lyne

(R M J Lyne)
Private Secretary

M O' D B Alexander Esq
10 Downing Street
LONDON

DRAFT: ~~XXXX~~/letter/~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~e
~~minute~~/letter/~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~e

TYPE: Draft/Final 1+

FROM:
Prime Minister

Reference

DEPARTMENT: TEL. NO:

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

TO:
The Honourable Robert Mugabe
Prime Minister of Zimbabwe

Your Reference

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- Secret
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SUBJECT:

.....In Confidence

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I promised you last November that we would do all we could to secure a positive outcome for this most important Conference. Since then, we have undertaken an extensive round of lobbying in capitals in many parts of the world, and have raised the subject in London with visiting Ministers from foreign countries. Our aim has been to encourage Governments to be represented at the Conference at a high level and to make generous pledges of assistance. As representatives of your Government will be doing the same, we shall ~~min~~ be working together to make the Conference a success.

I am glad that you recognise in your letter that the resources required by Zimbabwe for land and rural development are beyond the capacity of Britain or any other single country to meet. ~~This is a point which has not always been sufficiently emphasised.~~ I need not remind you that our own contribution to Zimbabwe's development is not only one of our largest in Africa, but is being made at a time when Britain's economy is in serious difficulties and when we are having to make heavy reductions in all areas of Government expenditure.

CAVEAT.....

Enclosures—flag(s).....

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Like us, the US Government recognise that the Zimbabwe economy has the potential to develop to the benefit not only of the people of Zimbabwe, but also as a contribution to the stability of Southern Africa as a whole.

Lord Soames is, I know, looking forward to leading the British delegation to the Conference, and will certainly do all he can to make it a success.

-9 MAR 1974



Linda can you send
this back. Sent in error.

Jim Watson

JA



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

27 February 1981

BF 10.3.81

The Prime Minister has seen Salisbury telegram number 126, containing the text of a letter from Mr. Mugabe, in Washington. (T 34/81)

Action may have been taken in Washington to set in hand the drafting of a reply, but I am just writing to put on record the need for a suitable draft in due course.

I am sending a copy of this letter to David Wright (Cabinet Office).

M. A. PATTISON

Roderic Lyne, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.



SUBJECT

PM has seen in Washington

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TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 126 OF 25 FEBRUARY
AND TO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON
INFO PRIORITY ODA.

**PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T.34/81**

FOLLOWING FOR PS/S OF S

MY TEL NO 124 : PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO WASHINGTON : AID FOR ZIMBABWE.

1. I HAVE THIS EVENING RECEIVED FOR TELEGRAPHIC TRANSMISSION THE TEXT OF A LETTER DATED 25 FEBRUARY FROM MUGABE TO THE PRIME MINISTER (ORIGINAL VIA ZIMBABWE HC IN LONDON) IT READS :

DEAR PRIME MINISTER,

AS WE START OUR FINAL PREPARATIONS FO THE ZIMBABWE DONORS CONFERENCE AND IN VIEW OF YOUR IMPENDING VISIT TO WASHINGTON, I BELIEVE THAT IT IS APPROPRIATE FOR ME TO EMPHASISE THE LEADING ROLE THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT MUST PLAY IF THE CONFERENCE IS TO BE A SUCESS.

THE ZIMBABWE CONFERENCE ON RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT HAS ITS ORIGINS IN THE LANCASTER HOUSE CONFERENCE. THE MOBILISATION OF INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR ZIMBABWE WAS FORSEEN AS ESSENTIAL BECAUSE THE REQUIRED RESOURCES FOR LAND AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT WERE BEYOND THE CAPACITY OF THE NEW ZIMBABWE, OF BRITAIN OR ANY SINGLE COUNTRY.

COMPARED WITH THE ENTHUSIASM WITH WHICH THE MAJOR GOVERNMENT WELCOMED THE BIRTH OF OUR NEW NATION AND MY GOVERNMENT'S POLICY OF RECONCILIATION, THEIR WILLINGNESS TO COMMIT THEMSELVES TO SPECIFIC FINANCIAL SUPPORT DURING THE FIRST FEW YEARS OF ITS LIFE HAS BEEN DISAPPOINTING. IT IS NOT GENERALLY APPRECIATED THAT WHAT IS REQUIRED IS A ONE-TIME MASSIVE INJECTION OF RESOURCES INTO OUR ECONOMY, PARTICULARLY FOR LAND AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT, AS WELL AS FOR RECONSTRUCTION. MUCH HAS BEEN SAID ABOUT THE IMPORTANCE OF STABILITY IN THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN REGION AND I THINK THAT IT IS FAIR TO SAY THAT ZIMBABWE'S INDEPENDENCE HAS ACHIEVED MUCH IN THIS DIRECTION. BUT THERE IS A NEED FOPUR CONSOLIDATION AND RAPID DEVELOPMENT - A PROCESS WHICH CANNOT BE CARRIED THROUGH UNLESS EARLY STRIDES ARE MADE TO REDRESS THE IMBALANCES OF THE PAST AND TO REHABILITATE THE ECONOMY, WHICH, I BELIEVE, HAS ALL THE POTENTIAL FOR RAPID AND SUSTAINED GROWTH, TO THE BENEFIT OF EVERYONE JN ZIMBABWE AND IN THE REGION.

CONFIDENTIAL

/TO

CONFIDENTIAL

TO MOBILISE SUPPORT FOR THE DONORS CONFERENCE, REPRESENTATIVES OF MY GOVERNMENT HAVE BEEN OR WILL IN THE COURSE OF THE NEXT TEN DAYS BE IN PERSONAL CONTACT WITH THE PRINCIPAL DONOR COUNTRIES. IT IS VITAL, I THINK, FOR THESE CONTACTS TO BE REINFORCED BY STRENUOUS LOBBYING BY YOUR GOVERNMENT.

SUCH EFFORTS WILL BE IN LINE WITH LORD CARRINGTON'S STATEMENT AT LANCASTER HOUSE AND THE STRONG LEAD THAT YOU HAVE GIVEN IN ALL MATTERS AFFECTING ZIMBABWE SINCE BEFORE THE COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE IN LUSAKA IN 1979.

THE POSITION OF THE NEW UNITED STATES ADMINISTRATION GIVES ME PARTICULAR CAUSE FOR CONCERN. REPRESENTATIVES OF MY GOVERNMENT HAVE ALREADY BEEN TO WASHINGTON IN CONNECTION WITH THE DONORS CONFERENCE. UNDERSTANDABLY PERHAPS, THERE HAS BEEN NO CLEAR POLICY STATEMENT, BUT WHAT LITTLE HAS BEEN SAID ABOUT THE NEW ADMINISTRATION'S ATTITUDE TO AID, SUGGESTS THAT A HARD LINE WILL BE TAKEN. IF APPLIED TO ZIMBABWE, SUCH A POLICY WILL ADVERSELY AFFECT OUR DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS AND PREJUDICE THE STABILITY OF THE REGION. I TRUST, THEREFORE, THAT WHEN YOU ARE IN WASHINGTON YOU WILL BE ABLE TO USE YOUR NOT INCONSIDERABLE INFLUENCE TO CONVINCING THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT THAT IT SHARES WITH YOU RESPONSIBILITY FOR MONITORING SUPPORT AMONG OTHER COUNTRIES WHILE MAKING A FURTHER MAJOR COMMITMENT TO THE PROVISION OF FUNDS OVER THE NEXT THREE YEARS FOR DEVELOPMENT IN ZIMBABWE.

BEST WISHES FOR A SUCCESSFUL VISIT TO WASHINGTON.

YOURS SINCERELY,

R G MUGABE

ENDSIO

BYATT

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PS/MR LUCE
PS/MR MARTEN
PS/PUS
MR DAY
SIR L ALLINSON
LORD BRIDGES
MR EVANS

COPIES TO:-
SIR P PRESTON ODA
MR LYNCH ODA
MR KIRBY ODA

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FM SALISBURY 091458Z FEB 81

Very Depressing.

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 082 OF 9 FEBRUARY.

AND TO IMMEDIATE MODUK (FOR DI4)

INFO ROUTINE CAPE TOWN, PRETORIA, LUSAKA, GABERONE, MAPUTO, AND WASHINGTON.

Zimbabwe
[Signature]

MY TELNO 44 : INTERNAL SITUATION.

1. THERE WERE TWO DISQUIETING SECURITY INCIDENTS OVER THE WEEK-END. ON 7 FEBRUARY FIGHTING BROKE OUT BETWEEN ZIPRA AND ZANLA PERSONNEL IN 12 BATTALION OF THE ZNA BASED AT NTABIZINDUNA NORTH END OF BULAWAYO. THE TROUBLE BEGAN WHEN DISABLED EX-ZIPRA GUERRILLAS FROM THE NEARBY KAYISA TRAINING CENTRE THREW STONES AT EX ZANLA MEMBERS OF 12 BATTALION, EX ZIPRA MEMBERS OF THE BATTALION THEN JOINED IN AND THE ARMOURIES WERE BROKEN INTO. SHOOTING BETWEEN THE TWO FACTIONS DIED OUT BY MIDNIGHT ON 7 FEBRUARY, BUT WAS RESUMED WITH INCREASED FEROCITY ON THE MORNING OF 8 FEBRUARY. THE ZANLA ELEMENTS DUG THEMSELVES IN INSIDE THE CAMP WITH THE ZIPRA FACTION OUTSIDE. LOCAL RESIDENTS WERE OBLIGED TO FLEE THE AREA, A SALISBURY/BULAWAYO TRAIN ON THE NEARBY MAIN LINE WAS HIT BY STRAY SHOTS (TWO FEMALE PASSENGERS WERE WOUNDED) AND POLICE HAD TO CLOSE THE MAIN SALISBURY/BULAWAYO ROAD WHICH ALSO PASSES CLOSE TO THE CAMP. FIGHTING HAD ABATED BY MIDNIGHT LAST NIGHT AND TODAY'S HERALD REPORTS THAT AT LEAST ONE PERSON WAS KILLED AND 20 INJURED DURING THE TROUBLE. THE ZIPRA PERSONNEL ARE CURRENTLY BEING ROUNDED UP BY 1 BRIGADE (PRINCIPALLY USING AN EX RAR BATTALION) BUT WE HAVE JUST HEARD FROM BMATT THAT ORDER HAS NOT YET BEEN RESTORED. THIS IS THE MOST SERIOUS INCIDENCE TO DATE OF INTER FACTIONAL TROUBLE IN A ZNA BATTALION. 12 BATTALION WAS ONE OF THE BETTER DISCIPLINED UNITS WHICH PERFORMED CREDITABLY DURING THE ENTUMBANE DISTURBANCES. HOWEVER, SINCE THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE BMATT CO-ORDINATORS SIX WEEKS AGO STANDARDS HAVE DETERIORATED. THE CO IS A CAPABLE, BUT YOUNG (22) EX ZIPRA OFFICER.

3. ON 6 FEBRUARY, NELSON MAREMBO, THE PF SECRETARY FOR COMMERCE, AND HIS NEPHEW WERE KILLED WHEN THEIR CAR DETONATED A LAND MINE IN THE DRIVEWAY OF MAREMBO'S HOUSE IN THE WATERFALLS DISTRICT OF SOUTHERN SALISBURY. THE POLICE HAVE TOLD US THAT THE LAND MINE ALSO DAMAGED A WATER MAIN WITH THE RESULT THAT ALL EVIDENCE HAS BEEN WASHED AWAY. THE SPECIAL BRANCH HAS HOWEVER BEEN TELLING JOURNALISTS ON A "NOT FOR USE" BASIS THAT THEY SUSPECT THAT THE PF WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ATTACK. IT SEEMS THAT MAREMBO HAS BEEN EMBEZZLING PARTY FUNDS FOR SOME TIME AND THAT HE IGNORED PREVIOUS WARNINGS TO DESIST.

BYATT

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[NOTE BY COD
MISSING PARA 2 HAS BEEN REQUESTED]

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CONFIDENTIAL

Zimbabwe.

9 February 1981

Zimbabwe Aid Donors Conference

Thank you for your letter of 9 February enclosing a letter addressed to the Prime Minister by the Minister of Economic Planning and Development in Salisbury. I agree that you should reply on the Prime Minister's behalf to Dr. Chidzero.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Edward Chaplin (Lord President's Office).

(SGD) MICHAEL ALEXANDER

R.M.J. Lyne, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

AL



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

9 February 1981

Dear Michael,

Zimbabwe Aid Donors Conference

I attach the top copy of a letter addressed to the Prime Minister by the Minister of Economic Planning and Development in Salisbury. This was handed to me this morning by the High Commissioner for Zimbabwe. As you will see, this is a circular letter containing background information on the Aid Donors Conference to be held in Salisbury from 23 March.

Subject to your agreement, we shall reply directly to Dr Chidzero's letter through our High Commissioner in Salisbury. We hope to make an announcement this week about the leadership of the British delegation to the Conference. I am therefore copying this letter and its enclosure to Edward Chaplin in the Lord President's Office.

Yours ever
Roderic Lyne

(R M J Lyne)
Private Secretary

M O'D B Alexander Esq
10 Downing Street
LONDON

Telegrams: "ECONPLAN"
Telex: 2141
Phone: 794574
Private Bag 7752, Causeway.



ZIMBABWE

Reference: B21/4/1

OFFICE OF THE MINISTER OF ECONOMIC
PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT,
Milton Building,
Samora Machel Avenue,
Salisbury.

28 January, 1981

The Prime Minister,
The Honourable Margaret Thatcher,
10 Downing Street,
LONDON.

Dear Madam Prime Minister,

Following the formal invitation which Prime Minister Mugabe sent to you concerning the Zimbabwe Donors Conference to be held in Salisbury 23 - 27 March 1981, I have felt it necessary to remind your Government of the invitation and to provide you with further details and information which might assist you in planning your response to that invitation and in determining the composition of your Government's delegation. Accordingly, attached to this letter is an information and background paper on the Conference.

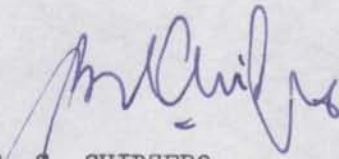
It is my earnest hope that this paper will show that we share the same objectives and principles of development, justice, and equity. The Conference will be the forum in which these objectives and principles are affirmed and given practical expression. For these reasons, I urge you to ensure that your delegation is of a level consistent with the Ministerial character of the Conference and with your commitment, and that your contribution will give material expression of support for the objectives we share.

I am sure you will agree that it is appropriate in the present situation of Zimbabwe that your organization bear the costs of your delegation's expenses to the Conference.

The Conference programme and other information will be sent to you in due course. In the meantime, we shall be happy to render assistance and provide advice and information, if required, on matters connected with travel and other internal arrangements.

We would also be most obliged if your Excellency could ensure that the enclosed form on the composition of your delegation is completed as soon as possible and returned to us. When you have established the modes of travel and times of arrival for each member of your delegation, would you please inform us as soon as possible. This will help us in the organization of the Conference and on rendering assistance to your delegation as may be necessary.

Yours sincerely,



B. T. G. CHIDZERO
Minister of Economic Planning and Development

/om

5

BACKGROUND INFORMATION TO THE ZIMBABWE CONFERENCE
ON RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT

At the Lancaster House Conference, which brought independence to Zimbabwe, it was foreseen that the required resources for land and rural development would be beyond the capacity of the future Government of Zimbabwe, of Britain and indeed, any single donor. Mobilization of international support was foreseen as essential. Thus the origin of the Zimbabwe Conference on Reconstruction and Development is to be traced back to Lancaster House and is to be seen in the context of that Conference generally and the Chairman of the Conference's statement in particular, which now stands as part of the record of that Conference. It is also worth recalling that the famous Kissinger Constitutional Settlement proposals of 1976 envisaged the sum of US\$1,5 billion as a development fund, a large part of which would be for land settlement and development. Those proposals too, not only recognised that a fair solution on land was central to achieving an acceptable settlement but also that the political future of Zimbabwe required substantial financial underwriting on land redistribution and rural development.

There are several arguments and reasons which have led the Government of the Republic of Zimbabwe to the decision to convene a donors conference; viz:-

1. Government's fundamental commitment to find a lasting solution to the land question in Zimbabwe as well as its determination to develop the rural areas of the country on which it has placed top priority;
2. Government's disappointment with the flow of aid to the country so far, in spite of the world wide recognition both during and after Lancaster House, that Zimbabwe needs massive aid resources;
3. It's acceptance of the argument that the required financial resources were not only beyond the capacity of the Government of Zimbabwe but also beyond that of any single donor;
4. That while Lancaster House envisaged financial requirements on land and rural agricultural development, the end of the war of liberation and the establishment of peace have now revealed additional areas of massive financial requirements of an emergency kind which justify an urgent appeal to the international community, an appeal for grant aid because the problems are not amenable to solution with hard-loan type financing;

5. The Government and people of Zimbabwe are determined to bring about a more non-racially integrated society than has been possible so far anywhere else in the world. In this, Government feels that the significance of this experiment and the unique opportunity which exists more than justify a strong appeal to the international community for help. Government believes that the international community will recognise not only this, but also the far reaching implications which this entails, including the recognition of the strategic, political, social and economic position of Zimbabwe in the world and in the region in which it is an important part. The international community should therefore be given the opportunity to take part in the experiment;
6. Government believes that the urgency of the situation and the nature of the problems which the country faces, not only require concerted effort by the international community, but also that the problems are of such a size and in such areas as could not be handled in the traditional structure or methods of donor-receptient relationship; and
7. The immediate problems faced are reducible to reconstruction and rehabilitation of the country, the population and the economy, after a protracted and bitter war. They are of a Marshall Plan type as seen in Europe following the Second World War.

For these and other considerations and reasons too numerous to catalogue, Government took the decision to hold the donors conference. For the same arguments and reasons too, it decided to confine its appeal to the international community only to the following areas:-

1. the programme of land settlement and rural development;
2. repair and reconstruction of war damage;
3. resettlement of refugees and displaced persons;
4. training and rehabilitation of former combatants;
5. technical co-operation.

It would be useful and informative not only to explain briefly, on each of these points, the logic of the essential strategy which is being pursued but also to indicate, as necessary, the nature of Government policies within that strategy.

Land Settlement and Rural Development

Government believes that the future of Zimbabwe lies in its agriculture and rural development. It accepts that commercial agriculture will continue to play a vital role in that strategy. Land redistribution is essential both to reorganise and improve the country's agriculture as well as to relieve pressure in some African rural areas where there is

considerable over-crowding in order to make them agriculturally viable. Thus, there are two distinct strategies - one of resettlement and the other of rural development.

Resettlement seeks to settle people on new land, either bought or re-assigned by Government, of the following categories of people collectively referred to as displaced persons.

- (a) Returning refugees;
- (b) those who left the rural areas for the urban areas in the height of the war and now want to return;
- (e) those who were uprooted from their villages/homes during the war and put into what was known as "protected villages" in the countryside;
- (d) people from the over-crowded tribal areas;
- (e) former freedom fighters who want to go into farming or rural development activities.

These categories represent an estimated population of 1,6 million persons as of the present date. (Government has been buying land on a willing seller and willing buyer basis.)

The strategy so far has been to buy large tracts of land, preferably adjacent to overcrowded black rural areas in order to fulfil two principal objectives; first in order to settle as many people as possible on the new land, secondly in order to relieve pressure from these overcrowded areas. Government has sought to settle people on co-operatives where smaller pieces of land are involved and on which large numbers of people cannot be settled.

How many people can be settled on a piece of land depends on a number of carefully assessed factors among which are the following; the type of soil involved, the amount of rainfall, the most suitable uses of the soil and the income targets set for the settlers. These factors also determine the size of the farm.

Government is determined that the settlement programme does not end up as a transfer or extension of the subsistence agriculture from the present African areas to the new settlements. For these reasons, great care is taken not only to determine the extent of settlement in particular areas by taking the above factors into account to establish the appropriate size of a farm but, has established a Board to assess the suitability of intending settlers as farmers.

At the same time work is going on settling people on new land, work is also being carried out in the existing **black** rural areas to improve infrastructural facilities, and generally towards developing them to become an integral part of the economy. It is estimated that there are over

700 000 peasant farmers in these black areas.

Government strongly believes that the socio-economic future of the country rests on the transformation of the rural sector. This sector also provides a more immediate practical way of raising the standards of living of a great majority of the people, expansion in employment opportunities, self-sufficiency in food and great potential for exports. It has a positive linkage with domestic industry both current and potential

Government's settlement and rural development programmes are based on a comprehensive approach which seeks to provide, expand and develop the rural areas as fully as possible and with all the requisite infrastructure and facilities.

Because of the extensive and comprehensive nature of the programme vast resources are required, both financial and technical, to carry out the programme. Already considerable settlement has been done from the country's own resources which has resulted in the settlement of 5 000 families. This will continue throughout the rainy season. But the task is immense and international assistance is absolutely essential if any real impact is to be made and the purpose achieved.

Repair and Reconstruction of War Damage

The response of the international community has been more favourable and positive, comparatively speaking, on the reconstruction programme since independence than on other areas of great need. Estimates of the damage immediately following the cessation of the war put the financial requirements of the programme at Z\$200 million. This estimate was however made at a time when more precise estimates were not possible as some parts of the country were still largely inaccessible because of damaged communications infrastructure. As part of the planning and budgetary process of Government more accurate assessments have been called for.

Present Government plans envisage the completion of the programme of resettlement by 1983 although, before that date is reached, it will become increasingly difficult to distinguish between reconstruction and development.

It is important to point out that approximately 90 per cent of the resource requirements of the reconstruction programme is domestic content, though aid which has not been tied has helped to relieve pressure on resources elsewhere and has helped in some instances to provide foreign exchange which has been necessary and helpful indirectly in creating domestic industry's capacity to meet certain output requirements.

In a few illustrative instances when funds have been offered to restore war-damaged infrastructure, the problem has shown itself in other dramatic ways. For instance, where funds have been available for the reconstruction of schools, there is now an urgent need to provide the required

number of teachers and also teachers with appropriate qualification. This can also be said of rural hospitals and clinics and their staff requirements and equipment.

A successful and urgent completion of the reconstruction programme is not only necessary in order to restore life to normality in the areas affected but is also a prerequisite to the development and expansion of the economy and especially of the rural areas.

Resettlement of Refugees and Displaced Persons

As in the case of the reconstruction programme, the international community responded through the United Nations High Commission for Refugees in helping to finance the return and resettlement of refugees both before and after the independence elections. It is estimated that by April 1981, the programme of resettlement of the refugees will have been completed, with only a small part of it left and the displaced persons reverting to the more normal requirement of settlement of displaced persons. The reasons for appeal for aid on this item is so as to have resources available to deal with any major problems which may remain after April, 1981.

Rehabilitation of Former Combatants

While the Lancaster House Agreement brought independence to Zimbabwe it left the country with serious and urgent problems of settling war combatants of the liberation struggle. The ceasefire arrangements of that agreement required the creation of Assembly Points of the guerillas in the war zones of the remote rural areas of the country with only rudimentary facilities and very temporary structures. With the return of peace to Zimbabwe the continued existence of the Assembly Points is no longer defensible politically, socially and morally but also militarily. Besides, the existence of these large groups of armed men and women with hardly anything to do creates dangers of frustration, and boredom which could threaten the internal peace and security of the country. Because of these problems, Government has in recent months been obliged to allocate civilian housing in urban areas to a portion of the combatants as a means of temporarily dealing with the problem. As part of the long-term solution to this problem, a painfully slow but successful programme of building the Zimbabwe National Army is well in hand, bringing together ZANLA and ZIPRA forces as well as elements of the former Rhodesian Army. It is recognised, however, that in any case a sizeable proportion of these military elements will remain, requiring other solutions. Given the urgency and size of the problem, the single major constraint to the solution of this problem is the lack of finance.

An agricultural settlement programme code-named SEED (Soldiers Employed in Economic Development) comprising of 3 settlement areas and about 7 000 men so far was launched for those former freedom fighters interested in agriculture. This programme is not only within an area of Government's development priorities, but it also enables those war combatants to make a meaningful contribution to the country's peace-time development. More can be done with greater resources which are at present in very short supply. Part of the solution to this problem too must involve some training of these combatants in some skills which would not only improve the employment prospects of those who want to return to civilian life but would also act as an incentive for them to do so and provide an attractive alternative to military life.

Not only are the problems faced in this area those of providing acceptable facilities of housing and associated amenities so as to eliminate hardships and security risks involved but also to provide stable conditions and to allow time for a realistic and more careful exercise in building a fully integrated and unified Zimbabwe National Army.

TRAINING AND TECHNICAL CORPORATION

Zimbabwe needs to provide technically skilled manpower required in large numbers to deal with the immediate problems of reconstruction and for the long-term development because of the wide area of urgent problems of project planning and preparation but also project implementation.

Over the years, manpower training in Zimbabwe was carried out on a deliberate racially **discriminatory** basis which concentrated on the minority to the virtual exclusion of the majority.

With the advent of independence, some skilled professional and technical white emmigration has taken place, which if it continues means that the shortage of skilled manpower, which is already serious because of much greater demand in the new situation, will be worse. This will be the more so given Government's determination to accelerate development and to expand the economic and social services that go with it.

At the invitation of Government, over 16 000 black Zimbabweans came forward who have been and are being processed into the Public Service. In the immediate period, Government has taken steps to increase by 50% student intake in the country's existing technical training institutions.

Plans for carrying out a manpower survey in the early part of 1981 are well advanced. This Survey will not only indicate the extent of the country's skilled manpower requirement but also its composition. The information from the survey will also help to determine the precise scale of the country's training requirements and the required capacity, both public and private. Plans are also in hand for a complete assessment of the existing training facilities in the country with a view to determining not only their adequacy but also how far they can be immediately expanded.

As part of the Government's strong commitment and desire to ensure that blacks are employed in high positions in the Public Service and that the service as a whole accurately and adequately reflects the racial composition of the country as a whole, a Presidential decree was promulgated in May last year making it possible to bring in a substantial number of blacks into the Service.

A large part of the skilled manpower requirement as far as the private sector is concerned is the result of current and expected expansion in the economy. In the public sector, the new social and economic policies of the Government cover a much wider part of the economy and the country as a whole to a far greater extent than before. Indeed, the whole of the Government's thrust on rural development has enormous skilled manpower requirements in terms of teachers, nurses/doctors as well as agricultural extension workers among others.

Government believes that the long-term solution to the manpower problem lies in creating the training capacity at home. This means that policy measures must start with improvements at the primary and secondary level of the education, going through to the higher technical and other institutions of learning. Training programme must therefore lay emphasis not only in training of required manpower but also in the training of trainers both at home and abroad.

It is also a priority of Government to seek assistance in the planning and preparation of project implementation where domestic capacity is fully utilised so as to achieve and maintain a high degree of implementation. A large element of technical assistance required lies in the area of feasibility studies where the need is largely for financial resources to finance such studies carried out by both external and domestic institutions.

SAVINGS THAT COULD COST US DEAR

At any time during the frustrating years of the Rhodesian rebellion Britain, and by extension the United States, would have paid willingly to see a peaceable and well-disposed black government installed. The United States put an offer on the table : one billion dollars, said Dr. Kissinger, would be waiting to transform the country from one status to another. There was some hesitation, admittedly, about where the money was to come from. Germany, Sweden, and other soft touches would be expected to pay their share. Nevertheless it was a time for expansive gestures, and to some extent they worked. Mr. Ian Smith accepted the development fund as part of a package which included majority rule. That was in 1976. In 1977 Britain put forward plans of its own, and by then the figure had been indexed : it would be between one billion and one-and-a half billion, though the Treasury inserted a cautionary clause limiting the British commitment to seventy five million pounds. Three years later that remains the figure, so that Britain can be said to have honoured (inflation apart) its somewhat miserly word. That cannot be said of the United States, which at the time set its own contribution at \$520 million. In the event \$105 million has been promised for 1980 and 1981.

The haggling that has taken place suggests that both London and Washington have tunnel vision. Postulate a new missile system for the defence of the free world and the funds will flow without question. Postulate non-military means of keeping important countries stable and the till will be found empty. Zimbabwe occupies a crucial position on the African continent, geographically and by its influence. No one suggests that it can be bought by foreign aid, and Mr. Mugabe would rightly prefer to go without rather than accept on those terms. But the converse is slightly more complicated. Zimbabwe could easily be alienated by a lack of attention to its needs. The mixed economy by which Mr. Mugabe is hoping to develop Zimbabwe is not, ideologically, his first choice, nor is it that of his followers. It is likely to be blamed if the hopes of increased living standards are not met within reasonable time.

Zimbabwe is not a poor country, and that, paradoxically, is one reason why aid there would be well spent. White Rhodesians never received any aid from anybody, and what they achieved in building an economy was remarkable. But the bounty was very thinly spread. Mr. Mugabe's aim, one

supposes, is to take a strong infrastructure and build on it. There is no more sensible way to operate, but the restructuring itself needs money. If he fails then the failure could be disastrous. The loss of white skills and technology could destroy the infrastructure itself, which is what happened in Mozambique. In both farming and manufacture Zimbabwe has the potential to spread better living standards not only at home but among its northern neighbours, and to see that happen ought surely to be one of the western powers' main foreign policy goals. The alternative is so unattractive that the relatively small cost of preventing it ought not to be grudged. For his long-term programme Mr. Mugabe talked in Washington last week of \$4 billion, one-third of it now and the rest over several years. He went home within striking distance of one-sixteenth of that figure.

Editorial in "The Guardian" (United Kingdom) : September 4, 1980

HOTEL ACCOMMODATION

The venue for the Donors' Conference is Meikles Hotel, Stanley Avenue/ Third Street, Salisbury where accommodation has been reserved for delegates at the following reduced rates per person bed and breakfast:-

TWIN/SINGLE ROOMS

Single occupancy	Z\$.29,00 per night
Double occupancy	Z\$.24,50 each per night

SUITES

Single occupancy	Z\$.40,00 per night
Double occupancy	Z\$.35,00 each per night

Accommodation may also be available at the Monomatapa and Jameson Hotels which are central. The rates are as follows:-

MONOMATAPA HOTEL, 54 PARK LANE, SALISBURY

TWIN/SINGLES

Single occupancy	Z\$.26,00 per room per night
Double occupancy	Z\$.36,00 per room per night

SUITES

Double occupancy	from Z\$.65,00 per night
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Breakfast is not included.

JAMESON HOTEL, SAMORA MACHEL AVENUE, SALISBURY

Singles	Z\$.25,00 per room per night
Twin	Z\$.36,00 per room per night

Breakfast included.

It is advisable that you let us know your hotel requirements as soon as possible.

The current rate of exchange between the Zimbabwe and United States dollar is Z\$1 = US\$1,5811

Zimbabwe

GR 300

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FM SALISBURY 080706Z JAN 81

TO PRIORITY FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 014 OF 8 JANUARY.

ANDPPO ROUTINE MODUK (FOR DI4)

INFO ROUTINE MAPUTO, GABERONE, CAPE TOWN, PRETORIA, LUSAKA, WASHINGTON.

MILITARY THEFTS AND SABOTAGE.

1. THE DA REPORTED IN HIS SITREP OF 31 DECEMBER (NOT TO ALL) THAT A NUMBER OF WEAPONS HAD BEEN STOLEN FROM AN ARMY BARRACKS NEAR SALISBURY. FURTHER DETAILS ON THIS HAVE NOW BEEN GIVEN UNATTRIBUTABLY TO THE PRESS, APPARENTLY BY A MILITARY SOURCE, AND WAS THE LEAD ITEM IN YESTERDAY'S HERALD. ACCORDING TO THE REPORT FIVE WHITES IN STANDARD ZIMBABWE CAMOUFLAGE STOLE WEAPONS, AMMUNITION AND TWO VEHICLES FROM CRANBORNE BARRACKS JUST OUTSIDE SALISBURY BETWEEN 24 AND 29 DECEMBER. THEY TOOK MORE THAN 100 FN RIFLES, 20 MEDIUM MACHINE GUNS, 130 PISTOLS, 1 MILLION ROUNDS OF AMMUNITION AND A NUMBER OF SOVIET-MADE WEAPONS PREVIOUSLY USED BY ZANLA AND ZIIRA.

2. THE PRESS QUOTES THE MILITARY SOURCE AS SAYING THAT THE RAIDERS HAD A DETAILED KNOWLEDGE OF THE BARRACKS AND OF ZIMBPBWE MILITARY PROCEDURE AND HAVE BEEN PRESUMED TO BE FORMER MEMBERS OF THE RHODESIAN SECURITY FORCES. THE SAME SOURCE IS QUOTED AS SAYING THAT IT WAS MOST LIKELY THAT THE MEN USED A LIGHT AIRCRAFT READY NEAR FORT VICTORIA TO AIR-LIFT THEIR HAUL OUT OF THE COUNTRY, POSSIBLY TO SOUTH AFRICA.

3. THE PRESS HAD EARLIER REPORTED THE DISCOVERY OF EXPLOSIVE DEVICES IN ARMY VEHICLES (PARA 2 OF THE SITREP OF 31 DECEMBER).

4. THESE REPORTS WILL ENCOURAGE A BELIEF THAT THE THEFT AND SABOTAGE WERE PLANNED WITH THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT. THERE HAS NOT YET BEEN ANY STATEMENT BY THE ZIMBABWEANS BUT THEY ARE ALWAYS READY TO JUMP TO ADVERSE CONCLUSIONS ABOUT SOUTH AFRICA AND THIS INCIDENT CAN ONLY SERVE TO HEIGHTEN SUSPICIONS OF SOUTH AFRICAN INTENTIONS.

BYATT

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STANDARD

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Zimbabwe

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GR 720

CONFIDENTIAL

CORRECTED VERSION

FM SALISBURY 061040Z JAN 81

TO ROUTINE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 011 OF 6 JANUARY

INFO PRETORIA, MAPUTO, GABERONE, WASHINGTON, LUSAKA.

OWNERSHIP OF THE PRESS.

1. THE MINISTER OF INFORMATION, SHAMUYARIRA, ANNOUNCED ON 3 JANUARY THAT THE MASS MEDIA TRUST, SET UP INITIALLY BY THE GOVERNMENT TO GAIN A CONTROLLING INTEREST IN THE NATIONAL NEWS AGENCY, ZIANA, HAD BOUGHT OUT THE SOUTH AFRICAN ARGUS COMPANY'S MAJORITY SHAREHOLDING IN ZIMBABWE NEWSPAPERS, THE PUBLISHERS OF ZIMBABWE'S MAJOR NEWSPAPERS WITH EFFECT FROM 19 JANUARY. THE NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT HAD PROVIDED ZD 5 MILLION FOR THIS PURPOSE. THE GOVERNMENT WOULD SEEK TO OBTAIN ALL OTHER SHARES IN ZIMBABWE NEWSPAPERS WHICH BELONGED TO INDIVIDUALS LIVING IN SOUTH AFRICA. SHAMUYARIRA SAID THAT THE GOVERNMENT WAS CONCERNED ONLY THAT THE PRESS SHOULD BE OWNED AND MANAGED BY ZIMBABWEAN INTERESTS, PUBLIC OR PRIVATE. THERE WAS THEREFORE NO INTENTION OF ACQUIRING ZIMBABWE NEWSPAPERS SHARES WHICH WERE NOT HELD IN SOUTH AFRICA. THE GOVERNMENT'S POLICY WAS NON-RACIAL AND THE AIM WAS TO REDRESS THE RACIALISM OF THE PAST WHICH HAD BEEN EMPHASISED BY THE NEWSPAPERS' SOUTH AFRICAN CONNECTIONS. THE GOVERNMENT REMAINED COMMITTED TO THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS.

2. ALTHOUGH SHAMUYARIRA WAS AT PAINS TO POINT OUT THAT THE GOVERNMENT WAS MERELY EFFECTING A CHANGE OF THE NATIONALITY OF OWNERSHIP OF ZIMBABWE NEWSPAPER SHARES, HE WAS NOT CONVINCING IN HIS ASSERTIONS THAT THE MASS MEDIA TRUST WOULD BE ENTIRELY INDEPENDENT OF THE GOVERNMENT AND THAT GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT INTERFERE IN THE TRUST'S POLICIES. HE INSISTED THAT THE TRUST WOULD BE FREE TO FORMULATE ITS OWN POLICIES BUT SAID ALMOST IN THE SAME BREATH THAT GOVERNMENT WANTED BLACK EDITORS APPOINTED.

3. NKOMO SAID ON 4 JANUARY THAT THE GOVERNMENT'S ACTION WAS "A TRAGEDY" AS IT WAS VITAL TO HAVE SOME INDEPENDENT INFORMATION FROM SOMEWHERE WHEN ONE WAS IN POWER, LEST ONE WAS MISLED BY "SELF - CREATED BLINKERS" TO BELIEVE THAT ONE WAS RIGHT ALL THE TIME. RADIO AND TELEVISION WERE ALREADY "UNDER THE HEEL OF ZANU (PF). ONE WOULD HAVE THOUGHT RADIO AND TELEVISION WERE ENOUGH AS PROPAGANDA TOOLS". HE FOUND IT DIFFICULT TO BELIEVE THAT THE GOVERNMENT'S ACTION WAS NECESSARY. IF THE GOVERNMENT DID NOT LIKE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTROL OF THE NEWS MEDIA, IT SHOULD HAVE ASKED THE ZIMBABWE PUBLIC TO BUY SOUTH AFRICAN HELD SHARES IN ZIMBABWE NEWSPAPERS.

I wonder if he would have acted differently!

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/4. THE

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4. THE SUNDAY MAIL AND THE HERALD BOTH MADE CLEAR THEIR FEARS ABOUT WHERE THE PRESS IS GOING. THE SUNDAY MAIL WAS MOST OUTSPOKEN WHEN IT SAID THAT THE PATH FOR ZIMBABWE'S NEWSPAPERS WAS ENTIRELY PREDICTABLE. SOONER RATHER THAN LATER THESE PAPERS WOULD BE VEHICLES FOR GOVERNMENT POLICY. ANYBODY WHO DOUBTED THIS NEEDED ONLY SWITCH ON A RADIO OR TELEVISION SET. THE PRESS WAS GOING THE SAME WAY AS THE PRESS HAD GONE IN THE REST OF BLACK AFRICA. THE HERALD POINTED OUT, RATHER MORE CHARITABLY, THAT ALL DEPENDED ON HOW THE NEW MASS MEDIA TRUST OPERATED, BUT ADDED THAT VERY LITTLE WAS YET KNOWN OF THE TRUST AND CONCLUDED THAT IT WAS SADDENING THAT THE PRESS SHOULD FIND ITSELF UNDER THE EFFECTIVE CONTROL OF A BODY ESTABLISHED BY THE GOVERNMENT.

5. THE FUTURE OF ZIMBABWE NEWSPAPERS WILL NOW DEPEND ON THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE TRUST, THE TERMS OF REFERENCE THEY ARE GIVEN AND THE NEW PERSONALITIES THEY WILL PRESUMABLY APPOINT TO THE PAPERS THEMSELVES. ROBERT MANDAKU, WHO WAS THE ZANU (PF) REPRESENTATIVE IN SWEDEN AND HAS A REPUTATION AS A HARD-LINER, HAS BEEN NAMED AS EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE TRUST AND ALAN WATERIDGE, DESCRIBED AS A "LUSAKA RESIDENT WITH 20 YEARS EXPERIENCE IN NEWSPAPERS" AS A DIRECTOR. (CAN LUSAKA TELL US ABOUT HIM?). THESE TWO AND THE REMAINING APPOINTEES WILL NO DOUBT BE READY TO RECEIVE GUIDANCE FROM THE GOVERNMENT. WE MUST THEREFORE BE PREPARED FOR A GOVERNMENT CONTROLLED PRESS, BUT THE CURTAINS ARE NOT LIKELY TO DESCEND SUDDENLY ON 19 JANUARY. IF GOVERNMENT ARE SENSIBLE THEY WILL SEE THAT THE CHANGE TAKES PLACE GRADUALLY OVER A FEW MONTHS, MAKING IT LESS EASY FOR THE PF AND THE WHITES TO COMPLAIN. ALSO THE WRITTEN PRESS HAS A CORE OF PROFESSIONAL AND EXPERIENCED AFRICAN JOURNALISTS, MANY OF WHOM ARE RELUCTANT TO BECOME AN APPENDAGE OF GOVERNMENT. IN THIS RESPECT THE HERALD IS QUITE DIFFERENT FROM THE ZBC. BUT WE MUST BE UNDER NO ILLUSION. BEFORE LONG IT WILL BE HARDER FOR ZIMBABWEANS (AND WE OURSELVES) TO DISCOVER WHAT THE GOVERNMENT DOES NOT WANT US TO KNOW.

BYATT

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[THIS TELEGRAM WAS NOT ADVANCED]

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Zimbabwe

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GR 940
CONFIDENTIAL
FM SALISBURY 300600Z DEC 80
TO ROUTINE F C O
TELEGRAM NUMBER 2287 OF 29 DECEMBER
INFO ROUTINE ODA AND LILONGWE (FOR BDDSA)

From: Minister
RL
30x2

YOUR TELNO 1780 : BRITISH AID AND UK/ZIMBABWE RELATIONS

ms

1. MUGABE WAS FINALLY ABLE TO RECEIVE ME AT MIDDAY ON CHRISTMAS EVE AND WE SPOKE FOR OVER AN HOUR IN WHAT BECAME A WIDE-RANGING DISCUSSION ABOUT AID AND RELATED MATTERS.
2. MAKING CLEAR THAT I WAS SPEAKING ON INSTRUCTIONS, I FOLLOWED CLOSELY THE LINE OF PARA 1 OF YOUR TUR, OMITTING (F) (THE INVITATION TO VISIT THE UK), STRESSING THAT JUST OVER TWO-THIRDS OF OUR POUNDS 75 MILLION WOULD NOW BE COMING IN THE FORM OF GRANT AND TELLING HIM OF OUR AGREEMENT TO FINANCE THE ADDITIONAL 35 MEMBERS OF BMATT IN THE CURRENT FINANCIAL YEAR (YOUR TELNO 1779). MUGABE EXPRESSED HIS THANKS FOR YOUR DECISIONS ON BMATT AND ON THE POUNDS 20 MILLION FOR LAND SETTLEMENT, ADDING THAT HE HAD STILL HOPED THAT WE MIGHT BE PREPARED TO MAKE THE WHOLE OF OUR POUNDS 75 MILLION A GRANT (I HAD OF COURSE EXPLAINED WHY THIS IS NOT POSSIBLE). HE WENT ON TO TALK AT LENGTH ABOUT THE GENERAL AID PICTURE AND HIS DISAPPOINTMENT AT THE LEVEL OF AID OFFERED BY DONORS, INCLUDING BRITAIN. HE MADE CLEAR THAT HE HAS TWO MAJOR CONCERNS: HOW TO CONTAIN AND FINANCE THE BUDGET DEFICIT IN THE SHORT-TERM UNLESS THERE ARE SUBSTANTIAL AID INFLOWS, AND HOW TO FINANCE THE MASSIVE PURCHASE OF AVAILABLE COMMERCIAL FARMING LAND WHICH HE BELIEVES WILL BE NECESSARY OVER THE NEXT FEW YEARS.
3. ON THE FIRST POINT HE COMMENTED THAT THE MINISTER OF FINANCE WANTS TO REMOVE SUBSIDIES ON FOOD NEXT YEAR BUT THAT THIS WOULD BE POLITICALLY IMPOSSIBLE. ON THE SECOND HE MADE CLEAR THAT HE FEELS THAT BRITAIN HAS A PARTICULAR RESPONSIBILITY TO TRY TO HELP OVER THE LAND PROBLEM, NOT JUST BECAUSE OF WHAT MAY HAVE BEEN SAID AT LANCASTER HOUSE BUT ALSO BECAUSE OF THE ROLE OF SETTLERS FROM BRITAIN OVER THE YEARS IN ITS CREATION. HE CLEARLY FEELS HIMSELF TO BE IN A JAM OVER FINANCE FOR THE NEXT FEW YEARS AND ASKED RHETORICALLY "HOW DOES BRITAIN EXPECT ME TO PAY FOR ALL THIS LAND?"
4. THERE HAVE BEEN A NUMBER OF REFERENCES IN THE PRESS HERE RECENTLY (MOSTLY QUOTING MUGABE) TO THE EFFECT THAT BRITAIN HAS NOT FULFILLED HER PROMISES OVER AID. I TOLD MUGABE THAT I WISHED TO MAKE AN ADDITIONAL POINT ON A PERSONAL BASIS, WITHOUT INSTRUCTIONS. I TOOK MUGABE THROUGH THE VARIOUS THINGS WE HAVE

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/DANE

CONFIDENTIAL

DONE TO HELP HIM (POUNDS 75 MILLION, BMATT - TWICE INCREASED THIS YEAR - DEBT, AID FOR RAILWAYS ETC). I SAID THAT NONE OF THIS HAD BEEN EASY IN THE CURRENT ECONOMIC AND BUDGETARY CLIMATE IN BRITAIN. I ACCEPTED THAT IT WAS PERMISSIBLE FOR ZIMBABWE TO SEEK TO URGE US AS WELL AS OTHER DONORS TO PRODUCE MORE AID, BUT I HOPED THAT HE COULD ENCOURAGE THE MEDIA TO DO SO IN A POSITIVE RATHER THAN A CARPING TONE. I WAS AFRAID OTHERWISE THAT MY TASK AND YOURS IN TRYING TO HELP OVER AID TO ZIMBABWE WOULD BECOME YET MORE DIFFICULT. I REMINDED HIM THAT HE HAD ASKED US TO TRY TO ADOPT A PROMOTIVE POSTURE AT THE AID DONORS' CONFERENCE: THAT ALSO WOULD BE MORE DIFFICULT IF THE PUBLIC ATMOSPHERE WAS ALL WRONG. HE SAID THAT HE SAW MY POINT ENTIRELY BUT THAT HE HIMSELF NEVERTHELESS FELT THAT BRITAIN REALLY OUGHT TO BE DOING MORE. I SAID THAT WAS A FAIR ENOUGH POSITION FOR HIM TO ADOPT (THOUGH HE KNEW OUR DIFFICULTIES) BUT LET THERE NOT BE TALK OF UNFULFILLED PROMISES.

5. THIS, AS I HAD INTENDED, LED INTO A DISCUSSION OF THE PROPOSAL FOR A ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND IN THE ANGLO/AMERICAN PROPOSALS. IT SOON BECAME CLEAR THAT MUGABE BELIEVED THAT WE AND THE AMERICANS HAD SOMEHOW PLEDGED OURSELVES TO SECURE A FUND OF US DOLLARS ONE TO ONE AND A HALF BILLION AND THAT WHAT WE WERE DOING NOW WAS A GOOD DEAL LESS THAN WE HAD BEEN READY TO DO IN 1977. I SHOWED HIM THE TEXT OF THE RELEVANT PASSAGE OF THE 1977 WHITE PAPER AND POINTED OUT THAT (APART FROM THE FACT THAT THE 1977 FUND WAS APPARENTLY TO HAVE BEEN LOAN RATHER THAN GRANT MONEY) WHAT WE WERE DOING NOW FOR ZIMBABWE WAS SUBSTANTIALLY MORE THAN WHAT HAD BEEN PROMISED IN 1977 (15 PERCENT OF OTHER PEOPLE'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE FUND UP TO A CEILING OF POUNDS 75 MILLION PLUS POUNDS FORTY ONE MILLION BILATERAL AID, BOTH OVER 5 YEARS, NOT 3).

6. ON THE POINTS IN THE TWO PRECEDING PARAGRAPHS I THINK THAT I CONVINCED MUGABE INTELLECTUALLY BUT I AM NOT SURE THAT I MADE MUCH IMPACT ON HIS EMOTIONAL ANXIETIES ABOUT AID.

7. I HAD LAST WEEK TAKEN CHIDZERO OVER THE GROUND IN YOUR TUR. HIS REACTION WAS ENTIRELY POSITIVE. HE VERY MUCH WELCOMED THE DECISION ABOUT THE LAND SETTLEMENT GRANT. HE HAD BEEN CLEAR ALL ALONG ABOUT THE PROPOSED TERMS OF OUR AID AND WAS HIMSELF SURPRISED AT MUGABE'S MISUNDERSTANDING. HE PROMISED TO GO OVER THE GROUND WITH MUGABE ONCE I HAD SPOKEN TO TRY TO CONSOLIDATE A MORE POSITIVE FRAME OF MIND. I THINK THAT HE WILL DO HIS BEST. I HAVE ALSO TODAY BEEN OVER THE GROUND WITH NKALA WHO WAS NOT AS EMOTIONAL AS I HAD FEARED AND TOOK MUCH THE SAME LINE AS HAD THE PRIME MINISTER.

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8. MY TALK WITH MUGABE, THOUGH AT TIMES FRANK, WAS AMICABLE THROUGHOUT. APART FROM ASKING ME TO THANK YOU FOR THE BMATT INSTRUCTORS AND THE SWITCH TO GRANT TERMS FOR LAND SETTLEMENT AID, HE CUT IN ON ME AT ONE STAGE TOWARDS THE END TO SAY "SURELY YOU ARE NOT SUGGESTING THAT THERE IS ANYTHING WRONG WITH THE POLITICAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BRITAIN AND ZIMBABWE? IT SEEMS TO ME EXCELLENT".

BYATT

LIMITED
C.A.F.D.
PLANNING STAFF
O.A.D.
A.P.D.
NEWS
P.C.D.
D.E.F.
O.A.A.
P.S.
P.S./L.P.S.
P.S./L.U.C.E.
P.S./L.T.A.C.T.I.N.
P.S./L.P.S.
S.I.L.E.Y.O.U.R.D.E.
H.I.D.A.Y.
S.I.L.L.A.L.L.I.S.O.N

Collected

Mr ALEXANDER No 10 Downing St.
SIR P. PRESTON }
Mr LYNCH } O.A.A.
Mr FOGELTY }
P.S./L.O.R.D. PRESIDENT
Mr SLATER Mr TREASURY
P.S./S.O.F.S. DEFENCE

THIS TELEGRAM
WAS NOT
ADVANCED

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Zimbabwe



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

Prime Minister
Decided not to issue an
invitation just now. FCO
informed.

12 December 1980

Dear Michael,

fa. *[Signature]* 15/12

Zimbabwe: Invitation to Mr Mugabe

/ I enclose copies of two telegrams about aid to Zimbabwe which we have despatched to Robin Byatt in Salisbury. The High Commissioner hopes to see Robert Mugabe on Monday, 15 December (before Mugabe leaves for an official visit to Nigeria). As I told you on the telephone, we hope that Byatt will be able to take this opportunity to convey an official invitation from the Prime Minister to Mugabe to visit the United Kingdom. The possibility of such an invitation was raised in a separate letter which I have sent you about inward and outward visits.

/ I am lodging with the Resident Clerk a draft telegram (copy also enclosed) authorising Robin Byatt to convey the invitation, in the hope that you will be able to confirm over the weekend that the Prime Minister is content.

yours ever
Roderic Lyne

(R M J Lyne)
Private Secretary

M O'D B Alexander Esq
10 Downing St

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OUT TELEGRAM

	Classification and Caveats CONFIDENTIAL	Precedence/Deskby IMMEDIATE
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ZCZC
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CLASS
CAVEATS
DESKBY
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PRE/ADD
TEL NO

1	ZCZC
2	GRS
3	CONFIDENTIAL
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6	FM FCO 121600Z DECEMBER 1980
7	IMMEDIATE SALISBURY
8	TELEGRAM NO
9	IMMEDIATE MODUK (FOR DS6, DS11, DMO, PS/SECRETARY OF STATE)
10	YOUR TELNO 2242 AND MIPT: MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO ZIMBABWE
11	1. You should also inform Mugabe that the Defence Secretary
12	and I can agree to his request for additional British
13	military training assistance, and that funds will be made
14	available for an expansion of BMATT by 35 men this financial
15	year to assist in the integration process.
16	
17	2. For your own information, we calculate that the increase
18	of BMATT as proposed in your TUR will cost a further £150,000
19	this financial year. Although we are already running slightly
20	over the £3m allocated to Zimbabwe, we hope to manage the
21	increase by drawing on underspent UKMTAS or other FCO funds.
22	
23	3. As explained in my telno 1763, we can give no commitment
24	on the size of BMATT for the next financial year until ministers
25	

///
//
/

NNNN ends telegram	BLANK	Catchword have
File number	Dept S/S office	Distribution Limited CAfD Defence Dept Finance <i>Def</i> PS PS/LPS PS/Mr Luce PS/PUS Mr Day Mr Moberly Sir L Allinson
Drafted by (Block capitals) R M J Lyne		
Telephone number 233 4641		
Authorised for despatch <i>RMJL 13/11</i>		
Comcen reference	Time of despatch	
		Copies to D10, Cabinet Office PS/Defence Sec DS6 DS11 DMO PS/Mr Marten, ODA

OUT TELEGRAM

Classification and Caveats

CONFIDENTIAL

Precedence/Deskby

IMMEDIATE

ZCZC	1	ZCZC
GRS	2	GRS
CLASS	3	CONFIDENTIAL
CAVEATS	4	
DESKBY	5	
FM FCO	6	FM FCO 1600Z 12 DECEMBER 1980
PRE/ADD	7	IMMEDIATE SALISBURY
TEL NO	8	TELEGRAM NO
	9	REPEAT ROUTINE LILONGWE FOR BDDSA
	10	MY TELNO 1762: BRITISH AID AND UK/ZIMBABWE RELATIONS
	11	1. It has been agreed that our £20 million aid for land
	12	resettlement should be on grant terms. In conveying
	13	this to Mr Mugabe, I would like you to take the opportunity
	14	to place this additional measure of support for Zimbabwe's
	15	development firmly in the context of our wider political
	16	relationship with Zimbabwe. You should take the following
	17	line, making it clear that you are speaking on my instructions:-
	18	(a) Since independence, the British Government have given
	19	Zimbabwe every possible support, economically and politically.
	20	We share Mr Mugabe's objective of a peaceful and non-racial
	21	society in Zimbabwe and recognise the country's importance
///	22	to the future of South Africa as a whole. The Prime
//	23	Minister assured Dr Zwinoira on 28 November of our determination
/	24	not to be deflected by individual pieces of bad news in our
	25	efforts to consolidate the hard-won political settlement.

NNNN ends telegram	BLANK	Catchword (b) We
File number	Dept S/S office	Distribution Limited CAfD Planning Staff OADS, APD News Dept PCD Defence Dept ODA PS PS/LPS PS/Mr Luce PS/PUS Sir E Youde
Drafted by (Block capitals) <p style="text-align: center;">R M J Lyne</p>		
Telephone number		
Authorised for despatch <p style="text-align: right;"><i>RMJL 12/xii</i></p>		
Comcen reference	Time of despatch	

OUT TELEGRAM (CONT)

	Classification and Caveats CONFIDENTIAL	IMMEDIATE	Page 2
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<<<< 1 <<<<
 2 (b) We recognise the political constraints under which the
 3 Zimbabwe Government is working. So too must the Zimbabweans
 4 understand that there is no British pot of gold which can
 5 solve Zimbabwe's reconstruction and development problems
 6 overnight. Our own financial constraints are real. Our
 7 overall assistance to Zimbabwe since independence, including
 8 substantial help outside the aid programme (i.e. debt relief,
 9 military assistance), demonstrates the special position
 10 Zimbabwe holds and our recognition of her needs. We have
 11 also expended much energy in giving support to Mr Mugabe's
 12 policies and in enlisting international aid. Promises of
 13 bilateral and multilateral aid are now little short of the
 14 billion dollars envisaged for the Kissinger fund.
 15
 16 (c) We have not sought at any stage to mislead Mr Mugabe
 17 about the terms of our aid. I regret any misunderstanding that
 18 has arisen. However, in view of the unique post-war
 19 circumstances of Zimbabwe and the special needs of a programme
 20 in which land purchase is a major component, the British
 21 Government agree that the allocation of £20 million for
 22 our joint resettlement programme should be on grant terms.
 23
 24 (d) The balance of our capital aid (£23.5 m) will be on
 25 loan terms. The reasons for this are set out in my TUR.
 26 The figure for outright grants (which should have read £31.5 m
 27 in paragraph 2 of TUR) is now increased to £51.5 m. Taking
 28 account of the 60% grant element in our other capital aid,
 29 the grant element in the overall £75 m package will be around
 30 87%.
 /// 31
 // 32 (e) My colleagues and I are already taking every opportunity
 / 33 to emphasise the importance of next March's donor's conference.
 34

NNNN ends telegram	BLANK	Catchword Lord Soames
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OUT TELEGRAM (CONT)

Classification and Caveats
CONFIDENTIAL

IMMEDIATE

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2

1 <<<<

2 Lord Soames would be very happy to attend the conference as
3 leader of the British delegation. This demonstrates the
4 importance we attach to achieving a positive international
5 response. We hope that the Zimbabwe Government will shortly
6 be able to distribute the documentation and briefing for the
7 Conference. Some donors simply do not have a detailed
8 grasp of Zimbabwe's needs. The Prime Minister in her letter
9 to Mr Mugabe of 13 November offered the help of the
10 British Government in the preparation of the Conference.

11
12 (f) ^{The is} (Following/subject to confirmation from No 10 Downing
13 Street, which will be sent to you by separate telegram). The
14 Prime Minister and I were glad to have the opportunity to
15 discuss UK/Zimbabwe relations with Mr Mugabe personally during
16 his brief stopovers in London in May and August. I am also
17 pleased that we have been able to maintain a flow of
18 ministerial and other high-level visits in both directions.
19 In this spirit, the Prime Minister and I would like to
20 extend an invitation to Mr Mugabe to make an official visit
21 to London in 1981 as the guest of HMG. We can discuss dates
22 in the New Year. ^{(We appreciate that} The donors' conference and the independence
23 day celebrations may preclude a visit before May)

24
25 (g) The aim of both our governments is to build on the great
26 progress which Zimbabwe has already made. The British
27 Government has no wish to interfere in Zimbabwe's internal
28 affairs. We recognise the resolute and determined way
29 Mr Mugabe's government have handled the recent security
30 difficulties. I am glad that our own efforts through BMATT
31 have been so successful with the formulation of the integrated
32 battalions. We have admired the Zimbabwe Government's
33 determination to pursue the policies of reconciliation. This
34

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OUT TELEGRAM (CONT)

Classification and Caveats
CONFIDENTIAL

IMMEDIATE

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2 must apply equally to all elements in the population and to
3 all political groupings. Its success is a vital element in
4 building foreign confidence in Zimbabwe and hence in encouraging
5 investment.

6

7 2. Lord Soames would not wish Mugabe to be under any mis-
8 apprehension about his role at the donors' conference. When
9 speaking in terms of para 1(e) above, please ensure that
10 Mugabe understands that Lord Soames will not arrive laden with
11 gifts of additional aid. We have pledged a very large amount
12 of aid to Zimbabwe; at the Conference and in the period beforehand,
13 we shall continue with our efforts to persuade others to take
14 matching action. Through his status and involvement with
15 Zimbabwe, Lord Soames is particularly well qualified to
16 give impetus to these efforts.

17

18 3. A separate telegram will follow on the modifications
19 required in the draft agreement covering land resettlement.
20 Please see MIFT on British Military Training Assistance.

21

22 CARRINGTON

23 NNNN

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*(for example I took the question up
this week with the Japanese Foreign
Minister, who was visiting London).*

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telegram

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Catchword

CONFIDENTIAL

7458 - 1

OO SALISBURY

RR LILONGWE

GRS 912

CONFIDENTIAL

FM FCO 121600Z DEC 80

TO IMMEDIATE SALISBURY

TELEGRAM NUMBER 1780 OF 12 DECEMBER

AND TO ROUTINE LILONGWE FOR BDDSA

MY TELNO 1762: BRITISH AID AND UK/ZIMBABWE RELATIONS

1. IT HAS BEEN AGREED THAT OUR 20 MILLION AID FOR LAND RESETTLEMENT SHOULD BE ON GRANT TERMS. IN CONVEYING THIS TO MR MUGABE, I WOULD LIKE YOU TO TAKE THE OPPORTUNITY TO PLACE THIS ADDITIONAL MEASURE OF SUPPORT FOR ZIMBABWE'S DEVELOPMENT FIRMLY IN THE CONTEXT OF OUR WIDER POLITICAL RELATIONSHIP WITH ZIMBABWE. YOU SHOULD TAKE THE FOLLOWING LINE, MAKING IT CLEAR THAT YOU ARE SPEAKING ON MY INSTRUCTIONS:-

(A) SINCE INDEPENDENCE, THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAVE GIVEN ZIMBABWE EVERY POSSIBLE SUPPORT, ECONOMICALLY AND POLITICALLY. WE SHARE MR MUGABE'S OBJECTIVE OF A PEACEFUL AND NON-RACIAL SOCIETY IN ZIMBABWE AND RECOGNISE THE COUNTRY'S IMPORTANCE TO THE FUTURE OF SOUTH AFRICA AS A WHOLE. THE PRIME MINISTER ASSURED DR ZWINOIRA ON 28 NOVEMBER OF OUR DETERMINATION NOT TO BE DEFLECTED BY INDIVIDUAL PIECES OF BAD NEWS IN OUR EFFORTS TO CONSOLIDATE THE HARD-WON POLITICAL SETTLEMENT.

(B) WE RECOGNISE THE POLITICAL CONSTRAINTS UNDER WHICH THE ZIMBABWE GOVERNMENT IS WORKING. SO TOO MUST THE ZIMBABWEANS UNDERSTAND THAT THERE IS NO BRITISH POT OF GOLD WHICH CAN SOLVE ZIMBABWE'S RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMS OVERNIGHT. OUR OWN FINANCIAL CONSTRAINTS ARE REAL. OUR OVERALL ASSISTANCE TO ZIMBABWE SINCE INDEPENDENCE, INCLUDING SUBSTANTIAL HELP OUTSIDE THE AID PROGRAMME (I.E. DEBT RELIEF, MILITARY ASSISTANCE), DEMONSTRATES THE SPECIAL POSITION

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7458 - 1

ZIMBABWE HOLDS AND OUR RECOGNITION OF HER NEEDS. WE HAVE ALSO EXPENDED MUCH ENERGY IN GIVING SUPPORT TO MR MUGABE'S POLICIES AND IN ENLISTING INTERNATIONAL AID. PROMISES OF BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL AID ARE NOW LITTLE SHORT OF THE BILLION DOLLARS ENVISAGED FOR THE KISSINGER FUND.

(C) WE HAVE NOT SOUGHT AT ANY STAGE TO MISLEAD MR MUGABE ABOUT THE TERMS OF OUR AID. I REGRET ANY MISUNDERSTANDING THAT HAS ARISEN. HOWEVER, IN VIEW IF THE UNIQUE POST-WAR CIRCUMSTANCES OF ZIMBABWE AND THE SPECIAL NEEDS OF A PROGRAMME IN WHICH LAND PURCHASE IS A MAJOR COMPONENT, THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AGREE THAT THE ALLOCATION OF 20 MILLION FOR OUR JOINT RESETTLEMENT PROGRAMME SHOULD BE ON GRANT TERMS.

(D) THE BALANCE OF OUR CAPITAL AID (23.5 M) WILL BE ON LOAN TERMS. THE REASONS FOR THIS ARE SET OUT IN MY TUR. THE FIGURE FOR OUTRIGHT GRANTS (WHICH SHOULD HAVE READ 31.5 M IN PARAGRAPH 2 OF TUR) IS NOW INCREASED TO 51.5 M. TAKING ACCOUNT OF THE 60 GRANT ELEMENT IN OUR OTHER CAPITAL AID, THE GRANT ELEMENT IN THE OVERALL 75 M PACKAGE WILL BE AROUND 87 .

(E) MY COLLEAGUES AND I ARE ALREADY TAKING EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO EMPHASISE THE IMPORTANCE OF NEXT MARCH'S DONOR'S CONFERENCE. LORD SOAMES WOULD BE VERY HAPPY TO ATTEND THE CONFERENCE AS LEADER OF THE BRITISH DELEGATION. THIS DEMONSTRATES THE IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO ACHIEVING A POSITIVE INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE. WE HOPE THAT THE ZIMBABWE GOVERNMENT WILL SHORTLY BE ABLE TO DISTRIBUTE THE DOCUMENTATION AND BRIEFING FOR THE CONFERENCE. SOME DONORS SIMPLY DO NOT HAVE A DETAILED GRASP OF ZIMBABWE'S NEEDS. THE PRIME MINISTER IN HER LETTER TO MR MUGABE OF 13 NOVEMBER OFFERED THE HELP OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN THE PREPARATION OF THE CONFERENCE.

(F) (THE FOLLOWING IS SUBJECT TO CONFIRMATION FROM NO 10 DOWNING STREET, WHICH WILL BE SENT TO YOU BY SEPARATE TELEGRAM). THE

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PRIME MINISTER AND I WERE GLAD TO HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS UK/ZIMBABWE RELATIONS WITH MR MUQABE PERSONALLY DURING HIS BRIEF STOPOVERS IN LONDON IN MAY AND AUGUST. I AM ALSO PLEASED THAT WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO MAINTAIN A FLOW OF MINISTERIAL AND OTHER HIGH-LEVEL VISITS IN BOTH DIRECTIONS. IN THIS SPIRIT, THE PRIME MINISTER AND I WOULD LIKE TO EXTEND AN INVITATION TO MR MUGABE TO MAKE AN OFFICIAL VISIT TO LONDON IN 1981 AS THE GUEST OF HMG. WE CAN DISCUSS DATES IN THE NEW YEAR. (WE APPRECIATE THAT THE DONORS' CONFERENCE AND THE INDEPENDENCE DAY CELEBRATIONS MAY PRECLUDE A VISIT BEFORE MAY).

(G) THE AIM OF BOTH OUR GOVERNMENTS IS TO BUILD ON THE GREAT PROGRESS WHICH ZIMBABWE HAS ALREADY MADE. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAS NO WISH TO INTERFERE IN ZIMBABWE'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS. WE RECOGNISE THE RESOLUTE AND DETERMINED WAY MR MUGABE'S GOVERNMENT HAVE HANDLED THE RECENT SECURITY DIFFICULTIES. I AM GLAD THAT OUR OWN EFFORTS THROUGH BMATT HAVE BEEN SO SUCCESSFUL WITH THE FORMULATION OF THE INTEGRATED BATTALIONS. WE HAVE ADMIRERD THE ZIMBABWE GOVERNMENT'S DETERMINATION TO PURSUE THE POLICIES OF RECONCILIATION. THIS MUST APPLY EQUALLY TO ALL ELEMENTS IN THE POPULATION AND TO ALL POLITICAL GROUPINGS. ITS SUCCESS IS A VITAL ELEMENT IN BUILDING FOREIGN CONFIDENCE IN ZIMBABWE AND HENCE IN ENCOURAGING INVESTMENT.

2. LORD SOAMES WOULD NOT WISH MUGABE TO BE UNDER ANY MIS-APPREHENSION ABOUT HIS ROLE AT THE DONORS' CONFERENCE. WHEN SPEAKING IN TERMS OF PARA 1(E) ABOVE, PLEASE ENSURE THAT MUCABE UNDERSTANDS THAT LORD SOAMES WILL NOT ARRIVE LADEN WITH GIFTS OF ADDITIONAL AID. WE HAVE PLEDGED A VERY LARGE AMOUNT OF AID TO ZIMBABWE: AT THE CONFERENCE AND IN THE PERIOD BEFOREHAND, WE SHALL CONTINUE WITH OUR EFFORTS TO PERSUADE OTHERS TO TAKE MATCHING ACTION. (FOR EXAMPLE I TOOK THE QUESTION UP THIS WEEK WITH THE JAPANESE FOREIGN MINISTER, WHO WAS VISITING LONDON). THROUGH HIS STATUS AND INVOLVEMENT WITH ZIMBABWE, LORD SOAMES IS PARTICULARLY WELL QUALIFIED TO

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GIVE IMPETUS TO THESE EFFORTS.

3. A SEPARATE TELEGRAM WILL FOLLOW ON THE MODIFICATIONS
REQUIRED IN THE DRAFT AGREEMENT COVERING LAND RESETTLEMENT.
PLEASE SEE MIFT ON BRITISH MILITARY TRAINING ASSISTANCE.

CARRINGTON

NNNN

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Sir L. Hillson

FM SALISBURY 091444Z DEC 80

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

Hd/AFS

TELEGRAM NUMBER 2263 OF 9 DECEMBER.

Hd/News

INFO PRETORIA, LUSAKA, MAPUTO, GABORONE AND WASHINGTON.

PS/N^o 1005

MY TELNO 2259 AND TELECON BROWNE/SHEINWALD : TEKERE.

1. THE FULL JUDGMENT IS STILL NOT AVAILABLE AND COURT OFFICIALS SAY IT WILL BE ISSUED ON 11 DECEMBER. IT IS, HOWEVER, NOW CLEAR THAT THE DIFFERENCE OF OPINION BETWEEN THE JUDGE AND HIS TWO ASSESSORS CENTRED ON A POINT OF FACT, NAMELY WHETHER OR NOT TEKERE AND HIS CO-ACCUSED HAD BEEN ACTING IN GOOD FAITH IN AN ATTEMPT TO SUPPRESS TERRORISM.
2. THE PRIME MINISTER ISSUED A STATEMENT YESTERDAY AFTER THE VERDICT WAS DECLARED. IN THIS, MUGABE STRESSED THAT "THE GOVERNMENT LEFT THE JUDICIAL PROCESS TO RUN ITS FULL COURSE WITHOUT INTERFERENCE BECAUSE GOVERNMENT WISHED TO ENSURE THE IMPARTIALITY OF THE JUDICIARY AND THE COURTS. THE PUBLIC CAN HAVE CONFIDENCE THAT IN THE FUTURE, AS IN THE PRESENT CASE, GOVERNMENT WILL NOT INTERFERE WITH THE JUDICIAL EXERCISE OF THEIR FUNCTIONS BY THE COURTS." AS FAR AS WE CAN TELL, THE COURT DID INDEED REACH ITS VERDICT WITHOUT GOVERNMENT INTERFERENCE, ALTHOUGH THE BLACK ASSESSOR AT LEAST MAY HAVE FELT SOME APPREHENSION ABOUT HIS FUTURE HAD HE RULED DIFFERENTLY. IT IS IRONICAL THAT TEKERE AND HIS MEN HAVE BEEN INDEMNIFIED BY THE PROVISIONS OF A LAW WHICH WAS DRAWN UP UNDER AN RF GOVERNMENT AND WHICH THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT HAS REPEALED SINCE THE ATTACK ON ADAMS' FARM. MY HONORARY LEGAL ADVISER CONFIRMS THAT THIS LOOPHOLE IS NO LONGER

HONORARY LEGAL ADVISER CONFIRMS THAT THIS LOOPHOLE IS NO LONGER AVAILABLE.

3. IT IS TOO EARLY TO ASSESS WITH ANY GREAT CONFIDENCE HOW THIS VERDICT WILL BE RECEIVED BY ALL SECTIONS OF THE COMMUNITY. MANY WHITES HAVE BEEN SAYING THAT THE TEKERE CASE WOULD BE A TEST: IF HE WERE LET OFF, THEY WOULD LEAVE. FOR SOME THE VERDICT MAY BE THE LAST STRAW, AND THESE TEND TO BE THE MOST VOCIFEROUS. OTHERS SHRUGG THEIR SHOULDERS AND SAY THAT WORSE HAS HAPPENED BEFORE. IT IS PROBABLY MORE ACCEPTABLE FOR THE WHITES TO SEE TEKERE ACQUITTED, ALBEIT IN CURIOUS CIRCUMSTANCES, THAN TO SEE HIM CONVICTED AND AMNESTIED. MUGABE WILL ALSO BE RELIEVED THAT HE DID NOT HAVE TO FACE A DECISION OVER WHETHER TO GRANT A PARDON TO TEKERE OR TO FACE A DEBATE ON TEKERE'S POSITION AS MINISTER AND ZANU (PF) SECRETARY-GENERAL. THE HERALD EDITORIAL TODAY OFFERS A SENSIBLE LEAD FOR WHITE OPINION IN SAYING THAT PEOPLE SHOULD AWAIT THE FULL JUDGEMENT BEFORE MAKING UP THEIR MINDS BUT POINTING OUT THAT THE RULE OF LAW TOOK ITS COURSE AND MUST BE ACCEPTED. I DOUBT IF THE VERDICT WILL HAVE A DRAMATIC EFFECT ON THE RATE OF WHITE DEPARTURES, WHICH IS ANYWAY EXPECTED TO RISE IN DECEMBER AND JANUARY WITH THE END OF THE SCHOOL YEAR.

4. WHILE THE PF WILL OBVIOUSLY BE DISAPPOINTED BY THE VERDICT: SUPPORTERS OF TEKERE WILL BE DELIGHTED AND TEKERE HIMSELF MUST SEE IT AS A PERSONAL VINDICATION. HIS PRESS CONFERENCE SHOWED THE SORT OF TALK WE CAN EXPECT OF HIM IN THE WEEKS TO COME. HE IS A STRONG ORATOR WITH A FEEL FOR GRASS ROOTS OPINION. HE WILL BE SEEN AS THE MAN WHO TOOK ON THE WHITE DOMINATED JUDICIARY AND WON. MANY IN ZANU (PF), NOT JUST HIS OWN MANYIKA TRIBE, SEE HIM AS A NATURAL LEADER. HOWEVER HIS SUPPORT EVEN AT THE POPULAR LEVEL IS BY NO MEANS UNIVERSAL.

5. IT IS MUCH TOO EARLY TO ASSESS WHAT EFFECT THE VERDICT WILL HAVE ON THE BALANCE IN THE UPPER REACHES OF ZANU OR TEKERE'S INFLUENCE THERE. IT HAS BECOME CLEAR SINCE HIS ORIGINAL ARREST THAT THE MAJORITY OF THE ZANU (PF) CENTRAL COMMITTEE FOUND HIS CONDUCT AN EMBARRASSMENT, AND HAD LITTLE SYMPATHY FOR HIM. THE KARANGAS, PARTICULARLY ZVOBGO, ARE RESOLUTELY OPPOSED TO HIM. MUGABE HAS BEEN ANGERED BY SOME OF TEKERE'S EARLIER PRONOUNCEMENTS, AND OTHERS IN THE LEADERSHIP WILL ALSO NOT TAKE KINDLY TO TEKERE'S DESCRIPTION OF HIMSELF TO THE MEDIA YESTERDAY AS 'MUGABE'S TASK MAN'.

6. I FEAR THAT THE VERDICT WILL NOT BE WELL RECEIVED INTERNATION-

6. I FEAR THAT THE VERDICT WILL NOT BE WELL RECEIVED INTERNATIONAL-
ALL. POTENTIAL INVESTORS MAY SEE IT AS ANOTHER REASON TO HANG
BACK, ALTHOUGH AS I HAVE EXPLAINED ABOVE, WE HAVE NO REASON TO
SUPPOSE THAT THE DUE PROCESSES OF LAW WERE NOT FOLLOWED.

BYATT

NNNN

TO THE PRESIDENT AND THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
AND THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

I am writing you today to express my deep concern over the
recent actions of the FBI and the Justice Department in
their handling of the case of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
I am particularly concerned about the way in which the
FBI has conducted its investigation of the assassination
of Dr. King. I believe that the FBI has acted in a
highly unbecoming and unbecomingly manner in its
handling of this case. I believe that the FBI has
acted in a way that is highly unbecoming and
unbecomingly manner in its handling of this case.
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