

Please show to
Foreign Secretary.

PM

Prime Minister

Within the next two months, Patrick Cosgrave will be taking up a post in Glasgow as Managing Editor of the Glasgow Herald Group of newspapers, owned by Lonrho.

During the past two months, Patrick Cosgrave has travelled to Lusaka, and has had several 'journalistic' meetings with African politicians, all of which I assume have been arranged by Tiny Rowland. Cosgrave will be at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference next week with his family having been flown out to Lusaka probably by Rowland.

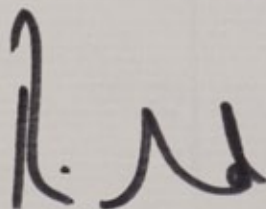
I was placed in the slightly invidious position of being rung by Cosgrave last night primarily in connection with a talk that he had had in London with the Rev Sithole on Monday morning, 23rd July. The principal points to emerge were as follows:-

1. On Friday of this week (27 July) the Rev Sithole will take up his seats in the Rhodesian Parliament. He will then exercise his right under the new constitution to a cabinet post and believes he will be offered the Ministry of Health. He will immediately form an alliance with James Chikerema and they expect further defections from Bishop Muzorewa's followers to increase their combined strength by three. This, obviously puts the Bishop in an increasingly difficult position in relation to the black members of parliament. He is now perilously close to having to depend on Mr Smith and his followers for a parliamentary majority. While, of course, there is nothing theoretically wrong constitutionally with such an arrangement, obviously it would nonetheless constitute a severe blow to the Bishop's moral position both in Rhodesia itself and in Africa generally. The stability, or instability of his government, as well as its prospects for survival may influence the attitude of HM Government towards recognition.
2. Cosgrave asked Dr Sithole why he had changed his mind about staying out of the parliament. He had the following reasons.
 - (a) He stayed out, he said, because of his conviction that in certain areas of the country the election had been rigged against him.

.../Cont

- (b) He has been much encouraged in recent days by the High Court's finding for Mr Chikerema. You will recall that when Mr Chikerema broke away from the Bishop's group in parliament, the Bishop attempted to have him and his followers banned from taking their seats. Dr Sithole expressed surprise that the Court found for Mr Chikerema; he had expected what he called a 'political' decision. He now feels that he has a far better chance than he had expected of putting his case about the election rigging to the Court.
- (c) He also feels that the situation is changing so rapidly that he would be foolish to adhere to his original decision to boycott the new parliament.
3. Sometime on Friday 27th July, Dr Sithole and Mr Chikerema will hold a joint press conference to announce the formation of their new alliance and to express its policy in a way summarised in the rest of this memo.
 4. The essential tactical element in their policy is the conviction that Mr Joshua Nkomo must be brought in to the government of Zimbabwe. An objective which Lonrho have been pursuing with great energy of late.
 5. The essential political element in their platform will be the removal of the entrenched clauses in the present Rhodesian constitution. They would then want a fresh general election, to be held under British supervision. They - and all the other black leaders Patrick has spoken to in recent weeks - are adamantly opposed to a United Nations force.
 6. Dr Sithole and Mr Chikerema would immediately argue for the ending of air raids on Zambia. They are seeking to build a bridge to President Kaunda. They will argue that, had it not been for the guerilla war, and Zambia's hospitality to the Patriotic Front, Mr Smith would never have been pressured into going as far as he has gone.
 7. Both Dr Sithole and Mr Chikerema are convinced that Mr Nkomo can be separated from Mr Mugabe.
 8. Cosgrave had lunch recently with Mr Josiah Chinamano, who is Mr Nkomo's representative in this country and travels a great deal on his behalf. Cosgrave is advised, however, that the real political brains in the Chinamano family are to be found in Mr Chinamano, who was also at his lunch. The Chinamanos insisted that the alliance between Mr Nkomo and Mr Mugabe is unbreakable. His conviction, however, is that this argument is merely a convenient front to be put up against questions from people like himself.

9. In all Cosgrave's conversations with African leaders in recent weeks, one of the things to come across most strongly is their conviction that only you and your Government can materially alter the future direction of Rhodesian history. Nobody has any confidence, or even interest, any more in the American position. Mr Young is despised nearly as much as President Carter.
10. Cosgrave expected - certainly in talking to Dr Sithole, Mr Chikerema and Mr Chinamano - to find that your remarks about the unlikelihood of Parliament renewing sanctions in November would excite a great deal of hostility. However, all the people Cosgrave talked to are so convinced that a settlement must be arrived shortly after Lusaka: that November, to them, is rather like the next century. If there is no substantial movement over the next few weeks, they are, they are convinced that chaos would supervene.
11. The general desire, therefore, is for a round table conference to be chaired by Britain. Cosgrave has heard various suggestions about the kind of conclusion it would be expected to come to - apart from the one seen to be essential by all the black leaders, the removal of the entrenched clauses. One of the most interesting is the suggestion that the President of Zimbabwe should be elected by universal suffrage and, while not being purely decorative, should nonetheless enjoy some powers, rather along the lines of the presidency of Portugal. The general hope is that Mr Nkomo would be delighted to achieve such a position. Although he is only 61 years of age, his somewhat gross appetites, especially in the matter of food and drink, have, Cosgrave is told, undermined his health.
12. Sithole left London on Monday night to fly to Kenya. Both he and Mr Chikerema will have meetings with President Moi and his Attorney General Mr Charles Njonjo, before the Lusaka Conference opens. They told Cosgrave that they are confident of President Moi's support for the general line they are taking. Cosgrave understands further, that Mr Nkomo will also be in Nairobi today, Tuesday 24th July. A meeting between them all took place this afternoon.



Richard
24.7.79