

## **CHRONOLOGY: RHODESIA UDI: ROAD TO SETTLEMENT**

- 11 November 1965 UDI declared by Rhodesian government, and a new constitution published. Britain immediately invokes selective sanctions.
- 12 November 1965 Harold Wilson, British Prime Minister, declares UDI illegal (henceforth known as IDI) and an act of rebellion.
- 19 November 1965 UN Security Council Resolution declares UDI illegal and calls on Britain to end the rebellion.
- 3 December 1965 British Government suspends Governor and Directors of Reserve Bank of Rhodesia and freezes Rhodesian reserves in Britain
- 12 December 1965 Britain imposes total economic sanctions against Rhodesia (renewed annually).
- 16 December 1965 Mr Wilson, appeals to UNO for support to end Rhodesian rebellion. Mr Wilson rules out use of force, and states British responsibility for addressing the problem.
- 17 December 1965 British government declares oil embargo against Rhodesia. Air lift of oil commences to Zambia.
- 14 January 1966 Lagos Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference. Mr Wilson accepts use of force cannot be ruled out.
- 25 January 1966 Mr Wilson informs Parliament that no negotiations can be held with the illegal regime but the Governor (Sir Humphrey Gibbs) is authorised to talk at any time about a return to constitutional rule. Any constitutional developments would have to be based on the five principles, to which the sixth is now added (NIBMAR).
- 10 April 1966 UNO Security Council agrees that Britain should use force to prevent oil reaching Rhodesia via Beira (Mozambique).
- 27 April 1966 Mr Wilson announces informal talks at official level with Rhodesia

- 15 September 1966      Communiqué issued after Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London details steps by which Britain might restore constitutional rule. Force is ruled out.
- 2 December 1966        Mr Wilson and Mr Smith meet on HMS Tiger to discuss possibility of settlement
- 5 December 1966        Rhodesian Government accepts the six principles as the basis for a settlement. However, British proposals are rejected on the grounds that the investiture of the Governor with legislative powers and the dissolution of parliament cannot be tolerated.
- 16 December 1966       On application of British Government, UNO votes for selected mandatory sanctions (including oil) against Rhodesia
- 20 December 1966       Mr Wilson announces in House of Commons that no independence for Rhodesia before African majority rule.
- 14 June 1967            Lord Alport (former High Commissioner to Central African Federation) visit to Rhodesia to discover whether stalemate can be broken
- 26 July 1967            Announcement of new British initiative: whether HMS Tiger constitutional proposals can be renegotiated through Sir Humphrey Gibbs, by correspondence
- 29 May 1968            UNO Security Council approval of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia, proposed by Britain (Resolution 253)
- 10-13 October 1968    HMS Fearless talks between Mr Smith and Mr Wilson. British proposals for a settlement based on the Tiger proposals are tabled; some concessions over procedures for the return to legality are included. A joint statement on 13 October states that the talks had ended without agreement "on fundamental issues".
- 2 November 1968        Mr George Thomson and Mr Foley (PUSS at the FCO) visit Rhodesia for talks which end in deadlock.
- 7 November 1968        Talks held separately with detailed nationalist leaders, Mr Joshua Nkomo (ZAPU) and Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole (ZANU)
- 18 November 1968      Announcement of Rhodesian rejection of HMS Fearless' proposals.
- 20 June 1969            Rhodesian referendum on new Constitution and Republican status.
- 24 June 1969            Sir Humphrey Gibbs resigns as Governor of Rhodesia

14 July 1969	British Residual Mission in Salisbury, and Rhodesia House in London, both closed.
November 1969	Passage of Constitution Bill, Land Tenure Bill (dividing the country into European, African and national areas under which Europeans and Africans hold equal amounts of land) and an Electoral Bill, dividing Rhodesians electorally on a racial basis,
2 March 1970	Rhodesia becomes a Republic and new Constitution takes effect
17 March 1970	Britain and America use veto in UNO Security Council to avoid implementation of complete mandatory sanctions
2 July 1970	The recently elected Conservative Government declares it will make a further effort to find “a sensible and just solution” to the Rhodesian problem.
9 November 1970	Sir Alec Douglas-Home (Foreign Secretary) informs Parliament that contact has been made with the Rhodesian Government to determine whether a basis exists for renewing negotiations.
30 June 1971	Arrival of Lord Goodman, British special envoy for talks with Rhodesian officials
15 November 1971	Arrival of Sir Alec Douglas-Home, British Foreign Secretary, in Salisbury to discuss settlement proposals
24 November 1971	Sir Alec and Mr Smith sign an agreement setting out proposals for settlement
25 November 1971	Proposals for the settlement based on the five principals are outlined in Parliament. Under these, the 1969 Rhodesian Constitution (which permanently denied Africans a majority in the House of Assembly) would be modified. The African franchise would be considerably widened, and provision for unimpeded progress towards majority rule made. A justifiable Declaration of Rights, to reduce discrimination and promote racial harmony, is also proposed, and a commission of enquiry is to be set up to look at the question of discriminatory legislation.

In addition, British aid of £50m over 10 years is to be made available for economic and educational development in African areas; this would be matched by the Rhodesian Government.

The package would be submitted to the Rhodesian people for approval, with a test of acceptability to be conducted by a

	commission appointed by the British government and led by Lord Pearce.
16 December 1971	The African National Council is set up as a temporary non-political body under Bishop Abel Muzorewa to oppose the settlement terms.
11 January 1972	Pearce Commission arrives in Rhodesia to conduct test of acceptability of settlement proposals.
10 March 1972	The ANC is transformed into a political organisation, calling for a constitutional conference.
11 March 1972	Pearce Commission leaves Rhodesia
23 May 1972	Publication of Pearce Commission Report, that settlement proposals were not acceptable to 'the people of Rhodesia as a whole'.
31 May 1972	US Senate votes against re-imposition of embargo on Rhodesian chrome.
November 1972	Sir Alec Douglas-Home declares the government's belief "that to ensure a harmonious future, the proposals for a settlement must now come from the Rhodesians".
21 December 1972	Attack on Altena farm in Centenary area. Marks beginning of upsurge of insurgency activity
9 January 1973	Rhodesian border with Zambia closed, on condition that Zambia would cease to harbour guerrillas. (reopened by Rhodesia 4 February, though Zambian side remains closed).
22 May 1973	Britain and US veto UNO Security Council Resolution to extend sanctions against Rhodesia.
21-25 June 1973	British delegation, led by Sir Denis Greenhill (PUS, FCO) visit to Rhodesia for talks with Rhodesian civil servants and Bishop Muzorewa
27 June 1973	Sir Alec Douglas-Home, addressing the House of Commons, urges Europeans and Africans to try to seek solutions to their problems between themselves. No settlement would be stable without a greater measure of agreement between Europeans and Africans.
17 July 1973	First official meeting between Mr Smith and Bishop Muzorewa (ANC).
2 March 1974	ANC inaugural conference agree on a mandate for continuing talks with the Rhodesian regime.

- 18 March 1974 Mr Callaghan (now Foreign Secretary following February 1974 British General Election) announces in the House of Commons: “There is still one area of Southern Africa which remains a specifically British responsibility – Rhodesia”.
- 2 June 1974 Joint proposals agreed between Bishop Muzorewa and Mr Smith, based on the 1971 Constitutional proposals and laid before the ANC Central Committee, are rejected, but further talks encouraged.
- 3 July 1974 An ANC delegation tells the British Government it is not prepared to continue talks with the Mr Smith regime, but wants a constitutional conference attended by Britain and detained nationalist leaders.
- 31 July 1974 Victory of Rhodesian Front (all 50 seats) in Rhodesian general election. Although the ANC boycotted the election, ANC supporters successfully contested 6:8 elected African seats as independents.
- November-December 1974 Meetings held in Lusaka attended by Presidents of Botswana, Tanzania and Zambia, leaders of the four Rhodesian nationalist groups and representatives of the Rhodesian regime. Mr Nkomo and the Rev Sithole are allowed out of detention in Rhodesia to attend.
- 9 December 1974 Leaders of African Nationalist movements sign the Lusaka Declaration, uniting ZAPU, ZANU, FROLIZO and ANC under UANC and chairmanship of Bishop Muzorewa.
- 11 December 1974 Although the Lusaka Declaration established that negotiations between the UANC and the Rhodesian regime were to be held without preconditions, a ceasefire arranged and detained nationalist leaders and their followers released, the agreement is interpreted differently by the two sides. This is particularly on the implementation and status of the agreed ceasefire.
- January 1975 The Rhodesian regime halts the release of nationalist detainees, alleging that the ceasefire is not being observed. The UANC claim that agreements on freedom of political activity for Africans are not being honoured.
- 14 January 1975 Following a visit to African countries (Zambia, Botswana, Malawi, Tanzania, Kenya, Nigeria and South Africa) Mr Callaghan announces in Parliament that he believes there is ‘a greater degree of understanding’ over the Rhodesia question ‘between Britain and the African governments than at any time since UDI’. He also discussed with South African Prime

	Minister BJ Vorster ways of achieving an agreement settlement between the two sides in Rhodesia.
15 March 1975	Mr Smith and senior Ministers visit to South Africa for talks
18 March 1975	Rhodesia's Diplomatic Mission in Lisbon told to leave by 30 April.
15 June 1975	Meeting between Mr Smith and UANC ends in deadlock over venue for constitutional conference.
9 August 1975	After talks in London, Mr Callaghan and Bishop Muzorewa announce they have agreed to 'continue their efforts to bring discussions about and secure a successful constitutional conference'.
13 August 1975	The Pretoria Agreement, announcing a constitutional conference to be held in South African Railways coaches on Victoria Falls Bridge. This is signed by Mark Chona, President Kaunda's special adviser.
25 August 1975	Conference at Victoria Falls Bridge, attended also by President Kaunda and Prime Minister Vorster.
26 August 1975	Deadlock at Victoria Falls Conference.
4 September 1975	Split emerges within UANC, between ZAPU led by Mr Nkomo and Bishop Muzorewa and the Rev. Sithole in Lusaka.
November 1975	The Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA) set up in Mozambique by guerrilla leaders. Guerrilla cadres are chiefly ZANU members; Robert Mugabe becomes ZIPA spokesman.
December 1975	Negotiations open between Mr Smith and Mr Nkomo.
3 March 1976	Following border clashes, President Machel of Mozambique announces the closure of the border with Rhodesia, and the application in full of UN sanctions against Rhodesia.
19 March 1976	Talks between Mr Smith and Mr Nkomo break down over the timing of majority rule, the extent of the franchise and the composition of an interim government. Mr Smith said he believed Britain 'should now actively assist in resolving the constitutional issue in Rhodesia'.
22 March 1976	Following earlier contacts between the British Government and the Rhodesian regime (including an exploratory mission by Lord Greenhill), Mr Callaghan proposes in Parliament a two stage operation for a peaceful settlement: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Prior agreement by all parties to a number of preconditions</li> </ol>

- a. 'Acceptance of the principle of majority rule.
- b. Elections for majority rule to take place in 18-24 months.
- c. Agreement that there will be no independence before majority rule
- d. The negotiations must not be long drawn out.'

Assurances would be needed that the transition to majority rule and to an independent Rhodesia would not be thwarted and would be orderly.

2. the negotiation of the actual terms of the independence constitution.

2 April 1976	The proposals are endorsed by the Heads of Government of the European Community.
25 April 1976	After discussing the Rhodesian situation with the Foreign Secretary Mr Crosland, the US Secretary of State, Dr Kissinger, announces that the American and British views on Rhodesia are identical and that the US Government strongly support Mr Callaghan's proposals.
27 April 1976	During a tour of 7 African countries, Dr Kissinger emphasises in Lusaka the US commitment to an early negotiated settlement and urges acceptance of Mr Callaghan's proposals.
8 August 1976	300 terrorists killed in Mozambique, following Mr Smith warning of possible 'hot pursuit' operations if attacks across Mozambique/Rhodesian border continued.
4 September 1976	Prime Minister Vorster and Secretary of State Dr Henry Kissinger meet in Zurich
13 September 1976	Mr Smith meeting with Mr Vorster in Pretoria
19 September 1976	Mr Smith meeting with Dr Kissinger in Pretoria. Dr Kissinger presents Mr Smith with a discussion paper containing a set of draft proposals aimed at solving the constitutional issue.
24 September 1976	Mr Smith's broadcast to Rhodesian nation that he has accepted the Kissinger proposals for majority rule in two years, conditional upon the removal of sanctions and end of the insurgency. Mr Smith announces that the Kissinger proposals also provided for representatives of the Rhodesian Government and African leaders 'to meet immediately at a mutually agreed place' to organise an interim government. This would comprise a Council of State with equal numbers of black and white members, nominated by their respective sides, and a white chairman without a special vote; and a Council of Ministers with a majority of African members and an African First Minister, taking decisions by a two-thirds majority. For the

period of the interim government, the Minister of Defence and Law and Order would be white. When the interim government was established, sanctions would be lifted and all acts of war, including guerrilla warfare, would cease. Substantial economic support would be made available by the international community to stimulate the Rhodesian economy.

- 26 September 1976 The Presidents of Zambia, Angola, Botswana, Mozambique and Tanzania (the Front Line States) issue a statement in which, while discounting the proposals as outlined by Mr Smith, they call upon Britain immediately to convene a conference outside Rhodesia with 'the authentic and legitimate representatives of the people' to discuss the structure and functions of the transitional government and to set it up, to discuss the modalities for convening a full constitutional conference to work out the independence constitution, and to establish the basis upon which peace and normality could be restored in the territory.
- 29 September 1976 Mr Crosland announces that Britain has decided to convene a conference to discuss the formation of an interim government.
- 9 October 1976 Formation of a joint 'Patriotic Front' announced by Mr Nkomo (ZAPU) and Mr Mugabe (ZANU). A joint statement declares that the front has 'decided to intensify the armed liberation struggle until the achievement of victory'. The co-leaders agree to attend any conference as a joint delegation under joint leadership.
- 28 October 1976 Opening of Geneva Conference on Kissinger Plan, under chairmanship of Mr Ivor Richard. Delegations representing the Rhodesia Front (led by Mr Smith), and nationalist movements (led by Mr Nkomo, Bishop Muzorewa, Rev. Sithole and Mr Mugabe) attend. Plenary sessions are also attended by government observers from Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, and Zambia, and representatives of the Organisation of African Unity and the Commonwealth Secretariat. After discussing a possible date for independence, the conference turns to the central issue of the structure and functions of an interim government. The nationalists were not prepared to negotiate on the basis of the five points accepted by Mr Smith.
- 3 November 1976 Mr Smith returns to Salisbury, leaving P K van der Byl (Minister of Foreign Affairs) to head Rhodesian delegation.
- 12 November 1976 Britain renews sanctions against Rhodesia
- 12 December 1976 Mr Smith returns from visit to Geneva Conference



- 14 December 1976 Geneva talks adjourned until 17 January 1977.
- 29 December 1976 Formation of ZUPO (Zimbabwe United People's Organisation)
- 1 January 1977 Ivor Richard arrives in Rhodesia to present new British proposals
- January 1977 Inauguration of President Carter.
- 11 January 1977 Reopening of Geneva Conference postponed.
- 19 January 1977 Beginning a second round of consultations in Africa, Mr Richard presents a document embodying the ideas already discussed. The plan provides for a transitional government to be headed by an Interim Commissioner appointed by Britain, and a Council of Ministers with a substantial African majority. The Council of Ministers would have full executive and legislative competence, subject to the Interim Commissioner's reserve powers in certain matters (primarily external affairs, defence, internal security and the implementation of the independence programme.) These powers would enable the Commissioner to ensure a smooth transition to majority rule and independence. A National Security Council, presided over by the Interim Commissioner, would be responsible for defence and security and for ensuring effective government control of the defence and security forces. The Council of Ministers would implement the independence programme and work out a constitution. For this purpose it would appoint a constitutional committee presided over by the Interim Commissioner, and representative of the political groupings.
- The proposals are accepted as a basis for negotiation by the FLS and by all the nationalist leaders.
- 24 January 1977 Mr Smith broadcasts to the nation, rejecting British proposals on the grounds that they differ considerably from the Anglo-American proposals as presented by Dr Kissinger. As an alternative, he hints at the possibility of an 'internal' solution.
- 10 February 1977 Vorster discussions with US and British Ambassadors about new settlement initiative
- 12 February 1977 British Foreign Secretary, Tony Crosland, falls ill. Mr R W (Pik) Botha, South African Foreign Minister, meets Cyrus Vance, US Secretary of State in Washington for discussions on Rhodesian settlement initiative
- 19 February 1977 Death of Tony Crosland.  
Appointment of Dr David Owen as Foreign Secretary.

Frank Judd appointed as Minister of State.

- 21 February 1977 Meeting at Foreign Office, chaired by Dr Owen, to consider breakdown of Geneva initiative (prompted by RF Botha). Attended by Ivor Richard.
- 23 February 1977 Amendment to Land Tenure Act announced. (White farming lands and industrial and commercial lands in central districts to be open to all races, but Tribal Trust Lands to remain the preserve of Africans.)
- 2 March 1977 12 Rhodesian Front MPs rebel against Land Bill
- 4 March 1977 Land Tenure Bill passes in Rhodesian Parliament
- 10 March 1977 Prime Minister Callaghan and Dr Owen visit to Washington for talks with President Carter and Secretary of State Vance. Dr Owen decision to work as closely as possible with Zambia, Mozambique, Botswana, as well as Angola and Tanzania, and South Africa and Rhodesia.  
Launch of a new joint Anglo-American initiative. The aim is to reach agreement with the parties on the independence constitution and on arrangements for a brief transition period, during which elections will be held.
- 16 March 1977 Repeal of Byrd Amendment allowing US to import Rhodesian chrome.
- 19/20 March 1977 Informal Labour/Ulster Unionist Pact.  
22/23 March 1977 Lib/Lab pact
- 30 March 1977 Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole reveals deaths of over 260 ZANU fighters in factional infighting in Mozambique
- 2 April 1977 Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole forms own branch of ANC, in opposition to Bishop Muzorewa
- April 1977 Dr Owen meeting with Mr Nkomo in London.
- 10-17 April 1977 Dr Owen visits Tanzania, Mozambique, South Africa, Botswana, Zambia, Rhodesia, Angola and Nigeria for talks.
- 13 April 1977 Dr Owen meeting with Mr Smith at the British Ambassador's residence, Cape Town.
- 15 April 1977 Dr David Owen, British Foreign Secretary, arrives in Rhodesia. Meetings with variety of Rhodesians
- 16 April 1977 Dr Owen announces preference for transition to caretaker government – whites to be encouraged to stay

- 11 May 1977 Britain announces formation of roving Consultative Group in Southern Africa for negotiations on constitutional and transitional arrangements to majority rule (Graham-Low group). Anglo-American proposals backed by Front Line States.
- 15 May 1977 Mr Smith announces that constitution must be drafted before agreement can be reached on transition to black majority rule
- 16 May 1977 Kaunda announces Zambia is in a 'state of war' with Rhodesia.
- 26 May 1977 Anglo-American envoys, John Graham (Deputy Under Secretary, FCO) and Stephen Low (US Ambassador to Zambia), arrive in Salisbury for discussions with cross-section of Rhodesian opinion.
- 27 May 1977 Messrs Graham and Low meeting with Mr Smith
- 29 May 1977 Messrs Graham and Low visit to Maputo, Mozambique.
- 1 June 1977 Anglo-American envoys discussion with Nkomo (co-leader of Patriotic Front)
- 23 June 1977 Dr Owen and Cyrus Vance meet in Paris to discuss Rhodesia
- 5 July 1977 OAU summit meeting in Gabon gives backing to the military aims of the Patriotic Front whilst emphasising that the question of political leadership should be left to the Rhodesian people to decide.
- July 1977 Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference, London.
- 10 July 1977 Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole returns to Rhodesia after over two-year exile. Denounces terrorism, and endorses the present Anglo-American settlement initiative.
- 17 July 1977 Large rally greets Muzorewa after 6-week absence.
- 18 July 1977 Mr Smith announces General Election on 31 August as a preliminary to seeking an internal settlement.
- 23 July 1977 Muzorewa presents 4-point plan culminating in one-man one-vote general election by March 1978.
- 25 July 1977 Following discussions with Mr Vance and President Carter, Dr Owen informs Parliament that it has been agreed that the Anglo-American initiative should continue.

- 27 July 1977 Mr Nkomo visits London for talks with Mr Callaghan and Dr Owen.
- 5 August 1977 President Nyerere meets President Carter and Mr Vance in Washington. Carter modifies wording of Anglo-American proposal to read the security forces will be based primarily on the liberation forces.
- 11 August 1977 Dr Owen met Bishop Muzorewa in London.
- 12 August 1977 Dr Owen and Mr Vance held talks with the South African Foreign Minister, Mr R F Botha, in London.
- 16 August 1977 Dr Owen holds further talks with Bishop Muzorewa in London.
- 18 August 1977 Mr Botha meets Mr Smith in Salisbury.
- 20 August 1977 African nationalist leaders move towards a new political line-up (Rev. Sithole, Senator Chief Chirau and Dr Gabellah [Vice President of Muzorewa's ANC]).
- 24 August 1977 Muzorewa dissolves ANC executive
- 25 August 1977 Dr Owen meets the UN Secretary General, Dr Waldheim, in London and the Nigerian External Affairs Commissioner, Brigadier Garba, in Lagos, before visiting Southern Africa. Announcement of Anglo-American proposals for Rhodesia
- 27 August 1977 Mr Smith meeting with Mr Vorster in Pretoria.
- 27 – 30 August 1977 Dr Owen and Mr Andrew Young (US Ambassador to the UN) hold meetings in Lusaka with FLPs and the Patriotic Front; with Mr Vorster and Mr Botha in Pretoria; with President Nyerere in Dar es Salaam; and with Mr William |Eteki Mboumoua, Secretary-General of the OAU, in Nairobi.
- 28 August 1977 Mr Vorster discusses latest settlement proposals with Anglo-American negotiators in Pretoria.
- 31 August 1977 Rhodesian General Election. Rhodesian Front wins all 50 European seats.
- 1 September 1977 Dr Owen and Mr Young arrive in Salisbury to present Anglo-American proposals (Command Paper 6919 *Rhodesia: Proposals for a Settlement*. - end of Mr Smith government and six-month transition period leading to general election on basis of one-man one-vote. Independent Zimbabwe by 1978, and establishment of interim government to be supervised by Britain with UN presence, including a UN Force; an independence \constitution providing for a democratically

elected government, the abolition of discrimination, protection of individual human rights, and the independence of the judiciary. A development fund to revive the economy is also to be established.)

The British Government also undertakes to place before the Security Council proposals for the Independence Constitution and for the administration of the territory during the transitional period. The latter is to comprise: the appointment of a Resident Commissioner, whose role is to include organising and conducting a general election within a period not exceeding six months, taking command of all the armed forces in Rhodesia (apart from the UN Zimbabwe force) and the assumption of responsibility for the police force; the appointment of a Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General; the establishment of a UN Zimbabwe force; the assumption of responsibility for law and order by the police forces; the establishment of new Zimbabwe National Army; the establishment of an electoral and boundary commission; arrangements for a ceasefire on the agreed day on which power was transferred to the transitional administration.

Field Marshall Lord Carver is appointed Resident Commissioner-designate. Lord Carver emphasises that law and order will be the crucial issue during the transitional period. It is a fundamental principle that on independence day the government should have under its command one unified army loyal to the people and their elected government.

- 7 September 1977 The Rhodesian Government submitted to the British Government a memorandum seeking clarification of points which were negotiable.
- 12 September 1977 Death of Steve Biko in South African police custody.
- 14 September 1977 Patriotic Front leaders announce their objections to some aspects of the proposals.
- 15 September 1977 Mr Smith sends representations to British government on proposals.
- 18 September 1977 Mr Smith announces the formation of a new white-dominated Cabinet and the shelving of the interim settlement plan.
- 19 September 1977 Dr Owen holds talks with President Kaunda's Special Adviser, Mr Mark Chona, and Mr Archie Mogwe, Botswana Foreign Minister in London.

- 25 September 1977 Mr Smith meets President Kaunda in Lusaka. (The meeting is not revealed until 1 October, when it is described as "cordial and wide-ranging" by Rhodesian officials.)
- 27 September 1977 UN Security Council meets to consider Anglo-American proposals. Dr Owen addresses the UN General Assembly. He says that peace is unobtainable in Rhodesia unless there is agreement between the parties concerned and that the UN had an important role to play in the transition.
- 29 September 1977 The Security Council adopts Resolution 415 (1977) by 13 votes to nil (The USSR abstains; China does not participate.) It requests that the Secretary-General appoint a Representative "to enter into discussions with the British Resident Commissioner-designate and with all parties, concerning the military and associated arrangements that are considered necessary to effect the transition to majority rule in Southern Rhodesia."
- 1 October 1977 Dr Owen and Mr Vance aim for conference on Rhodesia in neutral country
- 3 October 1977 Lieutenant General Prem Chand appointed as UN special representative to Rhodesia
- 9-11 October 1977 In Moscow, Dr Owen discusses with Mr Brezhnev and Mr Gromyko Britain's initiative to involve the UN in efforts to reach a settlement in Rhodesia.
- 10 October 1977 Zambia calls for UN sanctions on South Africa, including an oil embargo
- 19 October 1977 P K van der Byl dismisses idea that security forces would be disbanded under Anglo-American proposals.
- 20 October 1977 The Commonwealth Committee on Southern Africa reported on oil sanctions against Rhodesia.
- 25 October 1977 The Mozambique Foreign Minister, Mr Joaquim Chissano, discusses the Anglo-US proposals in London with Dr Owen.
- 26-28 October 1977 The Rev. N Sithole, speaking in London where he has met Dr Owen, said that most Africans accepted the Anglo-American settlement proposals.
- November 1977 UN Security Council Resolution 421, Mandatory arms sanctions on South Africa.
- 1-10 November 1977 Lord Carver (accompanied by General Chan) holds talks in Dar es Salaam, Salisbury, Gabarone, Lusaka and Lagos. Subjects include ceasefire and transitional arrangements, covering

- proposals for the maintenance of law and order and military arrangements.
- 1 November 1977 Lord Carver brief meeting with Nkomo and Mugabe in Lusaka
- 2 November 1977 Lord Carver and General Chand arrive in Salisbury for discussions
- 3-9 November 1977 Mr Graham visits Rhodesia for discussions on the independence constitution.
- 5 November 1977 Mr Smith announces 'no progress' following discussions with Carver and Chand.
- 8 November 1977 Lord Carver and General Chand meeting with President Kaunda in Lusaka to debrief on Salisbury talks  
Dr Owen announcement in London that as long as African nationalist leaders are divided, no solution is possible without an election
- 10 November 1977 Preliminary soundings about possible round-table talks in Malta
- 11 November 1977 Dr Owen, in the House of Commons, identifies three essential elements to be resolved: the transitional constitution, the independence constitution, law and order.
- 12 November 1977 Announcement in House of Commons of Carver's proposed establishment of Rhodesian Security Forces (all white units to be disbanded, six battalions to be created from nationalist units, Air Force to remain intact.)
- 18 November 1977 Muzorewa and Rev. Sithole announce their continuing support for Anglo-American proposals.
- 24 November 1977 Mr Smith declared acceptance of the principle of black majority rule and announces his intention to hold settlement discussions with African leaders in Rhodesia.
- 25 November 1977 Dr Owen reiterates that independence must involve a genuine transfer of power to a government representing the majority of the people of Rhodesia following elections based on universal adult suffrage.
- 1 December 1977 President Kaunda indicates in an interview published in *The Times* that he might support an internal settlement in Rhodesia if this met with the approval of the Patriotic Front and the Front Line States.

- 2 December 1977 Talks held between Mr Smith government and nationalist parties (UANC, Rev N Sithole ANC and Chief Jeremiah Chirau (ZUPO) on an internal settlement.
- 5 December 1977 In London, Rev N Sithole declared his intention of working with the Anglo-US proposals.
- 5 December 1977 Walter Mondale, US Vice President, says fair elections in Rhodesia could provide 'a good hope for peaceful and democratic government'.
- 6 December 1977 President Kaunda announces the Zambian view that elections under the Anglo-US initiative should not come before independence. Zambia would make no further contributions to the proposals by participating in further discussions with the British Government, but would continue to participate in meetings with other Front Line Presidents.
- 8 December 1977 Mr Nkomo and Mr Mugabe decline an invitation to meet Dr Owen in London on 13 December. The invitation is later renewed for talks in the New Year.
- 18 December 1977 The Presidents of Angola, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia, meeting at Beira, reaffirmed their commitment to the Anglo-US settlement proposals.
- 6-9 January 1978 Lord Carver (Resident Commissioner-designate) and General Prem Chan hold talks in Maputo with President Machel. Lord Carver continues on to Pretoria and Gaborone.
- 17 January 1978 Internal settlement talks in Salisbury delayed in an attempt to reach a compromise on the question of applying a blocking mechanism on a future parliament.
- 20 January 1978 Rhodesian Government launches 'safe return' programme for nationalist guerrillas wishing to return to Rhodesia in peace.
- 30 January 1978 Meeting in Malta between Dr Owen, Lord Carver, Mr Andrew Young and General Prem Chan, and PF leaders, Mugabe and Nkomo, to discuss Anglo-US proposals. Each side agreed to consider proposals made by the other and to meet again.
- 6 February 1978 Malta proposals received in Salisbury.
- 15 February 1978 Announcement by Mr Smith and Muzorewa of internal settlement, including establishment of an interim government to lead Rhodesia to majority rule.
- 16 February 1978 Andrew Young, US Ambassador to the UN, reacts negatively, predicting 'another Angola-type situation'. Dr Owen, UK



Foreign Secretary, responds differently, informing Parliament, 'the quicker Rhodesia can be brought to independence on the basis of the agreement, the more likely we are to get a satisfactory solution.'

4 prominent US Senators introduce resolution in Senate urging the Carter Administration to give it 'serious and impartial consideration'.

February 1978                      Speech by John Davies, Shadow Foreign Secretary, welcoming prospect of internal settlement provided 6 principles are met.

26-27 February 1978              OAU Foreign Ministers' Conference, Tripoli, rejects the Salisbury negotiations and calls for further talks on the basis of the Anglo-US proposals.

1-2 March 1978                    African States at the UN called for a Security Council meeting to consider proposals to block acceptance of any internal settlement which does not include the PF.

Parties to the internal settlement talks agree that Rhodesia should become independent under majority rule on 31 December 1978. Proposals for a transitional administration also agreed.

3 March 1978                      Internal Settlement reached between Ian Mr Smith and Bishop Abel Muzorewa (head of ANC), Rev. Ndabagini Sithole (leader of ZUPO), and Chief Chirau: the Salisbury Agreement. Includes provision for:

- i) a Constitution to provide for majority rule on the basis of university adult suffrage;
- ii) 100 member legislative assembly (72 black and 28 white)
- iii) a Declaration of Rights
- iv) the independence, qualifications and security of the judiciary;
- v) an independent Public Services Board
- vi) establishment of a transitional government to bring about a ceasefire and deal with matters relating to the future composition of military forces, release of detainees, review of sentences for political offences, removal of discrimination, election and the drafting of a Constitution.
- vii) Composition of the transitional government:
  - a. An Executive Council, comprising Bishop Muzorewa, the Rev. Sithole, Chief Chirau and Mr Smith (chairmanship by rotation);
  - b. A Ministerial council, with black and white parity (chairmanship by alteration), responsible for

- initiating legislation and for duties referred to it by the Executive Council;
- viii) continuation of Parliament during the life of the transitional government for the purpose of passing or enacting legislation as required to implement the agreement;
- ix) independence on 31 December 1978.
- 5 March 1978      Dr Owen refuses to give assurances that Britain will not recognise the agreement without the involvement of the Patriotic Front.  
16 members of Congressional black caucus urge President Carter to reject the internal settlement.
- The Patriotic Front issue a communiqué condemning the internal agreement and advocating negotiations on the basis of the Anglo-US proposals.
- 6 March 1978      UN Security Council debate on the Salisbury Agreement; later decided that any internal settlement to be ‘illegal and unacceptable’. Resolution 423 (adopted 10:0 with 5 abstentions, including Britain and other Western Security Council members)
- March 1978      Front Line President’s meeting in Dar es Salaam: FLP call upon the US and UK to make their stance on the Anglo-American plan clear.
- 8 March 1978      Dr Owen visits Washington for talks with President Carter and Mr Vance.
- mid-March 1978      Mr Mugabe and Mr Nkomo meeting with Dr Owen in London
- 9 March 1978      Meeting between President Carter, Mr Vance and Dr Owen, at which it is agreed the Anglo-American plan (of an all-party conference) is the best basis on which to proceed.
- 10 March 1978      Joint announcement by British and American Governments that they wish to bring together at one conference all the parties to the Salisbury and Malta talks with a view to widening the areas of agreement.
- 13-16 March 1978      Dr Owen holds further talks in London with the Patriotic Front leaders, Chief Chirau and Bishop Muzorewa.
- 14 March 1978      US and UK abstention in UN Security Council on African sponsored resolution calling for rejection of the internal settlement.

- 17 March 1978 British and American representatives meeting with Rhodesian officials in Pretoria.  
UN Security Council Resolution 424 condemning the Rhodesian raid on Zambia (6-7 March)
- 17-18 March 1978 Mr John Graham (FCO) and US officials have meeting in Pretoria with Mr Jack Gaylord, Secretary to the Cabinet in Rhodesia, and representatives of Rev. Sithole to explain British and American thinking behind the proposed meeting of all parties.
- 21 March 1978 Rhodesian Executive Council established, ministerial status being given to Bishop Muzorewa, the Rev. Sithole and Chief Chirau.  
  
Mr Young visits Dar es Salaam to assure President Nyerere of President Carter's commitment to the Anglo-American Plan.
- 25-26 March 1978 Front Line Presidents and the Patriotic Front Leaders hold summit meeting in Dar es Salaam. They condemn the internal agreement ("as illegal as the previous regime"); criticised the British and US Governments for not condemning it; called on the two governments to convene a meeting as a follow-up to the Malta talks; demanded an intensified armed struggle; and called on the international community to tighten and widen sanctions.
- March 1978 Mr Smith accepted idea of a new conference provided it does not entail the renegotiation of the internal settlement.
- 1 April 1978 Meeting in Lagos (during President Carter's visit to Nigeria 31 March to 2 April) of representatives of the Front Line States, including the Foreign Ministers of Zambia and Botswana (Angola and Mozambique are not represented), Mr Vance and Sir Sam Falle, British High Commissioner in Nigeria. The Nigerian Foreign Minister, Brigadier Garba, presides.
- 3 April 1978 Mr John Graham (FCO) and Mr Stephen Low, US Ambassador to Zambia, hold a series of consultations with all the parties concerned and the interested governments in the area, to discuss the intention of the two governments to invite all the parties to an early meeting.
- 5 April 1978 Mr Graham, of the Foreign Office, departure to Lusaka and Maputo, accompanied by Stephen Low, US Ambassador to Lusaka, to meet PF leaders.
- 7-16 April 1978 Mr Graham and Mr Low hold talks in Maputo with Mr Nkomo and other representatives of the PF; with the South African government representatives in Johannesburg and Pretoria; and

with representatives of the Rhodesian Executive Council in Salisbury.

- 14-15 April 1978 Meeting between Dr Owen, Mr Vance and Patriotic Front in Dar es Salaam. (accompanied by Lord Carver and General Prem Chand, Representatives of Front Line Presidents and Nigeria). Representatives from the governments of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Nigeria, Tanzania and Zambia are also present as observers. And with representatives of the regime in Salisbury.  
Communiqué issued at the end of the meeting stated that GB and US regarded PF proposals as fundamental deviation from Anglo-American plan, which would have to be negotiated. Rhodesian Ministerial Council (9 portfolios: 18-co ministers) "sworn in".
- 17 April 1978 Subsequent discussions in Pretoria and Salisbury, between Dr Owen, Mr Vance and Executive Council.
- 18 April 1978 Dr Owen informs Parliament that the PF leaders had accepted an invitation to round table talks and the signatories to the Salisbury Agreement had undertaken to give it "serious consideration". In Salisbury's view, this is taken as little signs of progress.
- 20 April 1978 First meeting of the Rhodesian Ministerial Council
- 25 April 1978 Executive Council of Rhodesia interim government replied to the Anglo-US proposal for a round table meeting. It urges the two governments to re-examine their policies "in the light of the racially changed circumstances in Rhodesia" and that it does not believe that a conference on the lines suggested will have any more chance of success than in 1976.
- 2 May 1978 Executive Council call for ceasefire, and lift 16-year ban on ZAPU and ZANU.
- 3 May 1978 Mr Nkomo rejects the ceasefire call and amnesty offer.  
  
A spokesman for Mr Mugabe says that his soldiers will ignore the call for a ceasefire.  
  
UANC criticises the plan for a ceasefire, which it says could become effective only when racial discrimination is removed.
- 4 May 1978 Debate in House of Commons on Rhodesia.  
Dr Owen announces that Mr John Graham will go to Africa to prepare the way for round table talks. He will work closely with Mr Stephen Low and will keep in touch with all the parties.

- President Kaunda agrees in London that there should be round table talks and appeals to Mr Smith to go to the conference table.
- 16 May 1978      The Executive Council announces that there will be a constitutional rather than an executive President in Zimbabwe after independence.
- 26 May 1978      Mr Smith announces at a Press Conference in Cape Town (after talks with Mr R F Botha) that he was confident that a general election would be held before the end of the year at which point he would stand down as Prime Minister.
- 27 May 1978      Speech by Mr Vorster, expressing support for the internal settlement, and plea for international recognition and removal of sanctions.
- 30 May 1978      Executive Council announces “party list” system will be used to elect 72 black MPs in forthcoming election (under this system each party submits list of candidates, electors vote for party of their choice, and seats are then allocated in proportion to votes cast for each party).
- 1-4 June 1978     Mr Graham and Mr Low hold talks with the parties to prepare the way for a round table conference. In Lusaka, they meet ZAPU representatives; Mr Mark Chona, Special Adviser to President Kaunda; and Mr Nkomo.
- 6-14 June 1978    Graham-Low visit to Salisbury to try to persuade Zimbabwe/Rhodesian government to accept the idea of an all-party conference. (Talks with Rev N Sithole, Chief Chirau (ZUPO), Bishop Muzorewa, and the 4 Deputies of the Executive Council.  
Visit to Maputo to try and persuade Mr Mugabe to participate in direct talks with Bishop Muzorewa.
- 13 June 1978      Four Rhodesian African MPs publish a memorandum criticising the internal agreement.
- 15 June 1978      Mr Graham and Mr Low have discussions with a ZANU delegation led by Mr Mugabe, in Maputo.  
Mr Smith, in a BBC Television interview, says the efforts of the transitional administration to achieve a ceasefire are not proving as successful as he had hoped. He calls on Britain to give more support to the transitional administration and to arrange for sanctions to be lifted.
- 16-20 June 1978    Mr Graham and Mr Low have talks with representatives of the Tanzanian Government and of the OAU in Dar es Salaam; with ZAPU officials in Lusaka; with President Khama in Gaborone,

- and with Mr Fourie, South African Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in Pretoria.
- 19 June 1978 Mr Nkomo meeting with State Dept officials in Washington: rejects idea of all-party settlement.
- 20 June 1978 Dr Owen holds talks with Mr Mark Chona in London.
- 21-28 June 1978 Mr Graham and Mr Low have meetings in Salisbury with Mr Smith and other officials of the transitional administration.
- 22 June 1978 13 of the 15 African MPs in the Rhodesian Parliament issue a statement calling on all nationalist leaders to agree to attend an all-party conference.
- 23 June 1978 Precipitates Conservative criticism of Labour government's policy: calls for Dr Owen to rule out further talks with PF, and to recognise internal settlement.  
Mr Smith announces in Parliament that the transitional administration is not opposed to attending an all-party conference provided that the arrangements are "constructive" and there is a chance of success.  
Massacre of missionaries at Elim Mission.
- 28-29 June 1978 Mr Graham and Mr Low have talks with President Banda in Malawi and with Mr Nkomo in Lusaka.
- 29 June 1978 US pro-Rhodesian pressure group, led by Senator Jesse Helms, resolution calling for lifting of sanctions by September 1979. Resolution is defeated 48-42.
- 3 July 1978 Mr John Davies, Opposition spokesman on Foreign Affairs, has talks in Lusaka with President Kaunda and Mr Nkomo.
- 4-6 July 1978 Mr Graham and Mr Low talks with Mr Chikerema in Salisbury, with Mr Fourie in Pretoria, and with President Machel and Mr Mugabe in Maputo.
- 5 July 1978 Mr John Davies arrives in Salisbury on fact-finding mission.
- 4-9 July 1978 Bishop Muzorewa pays an official visit to South Africa.
- 5 July 1978 The transitional administration forms a committee of six ministers (three white and three African) to investigate ways of removing racial discrimination. A government spokesman says that it has been accepted in principle that discrimination should be abolished "except where its retention is necessary or desirable in the national interest".

Mr Smith says he still hopes that an all-party conference with the Patriotic Front is possible.

- 6 July 1978 Mr Davis has talks in Salisbury with political leaders, the Security Force Commander and representatives of commerce and industry.
- 6-7 July 1978 Mr Graham and Mr Low talk with Mr Mugabe in Maputo and Mr Nkomo in Lusaka.
- 10-11 July 1978 Mr Graham and Mr Low hold talks with President Kaunda in Lusaka and with President Nyerere in Dar es Salaam.
- 11 July 1978 A spokesman for the Council of OAU Foreign Ministers in Khartoum announces that “while supporting the Patriotic Front in the context of the armed struggle, the Council still maintains that other political groups should be involved in an all-party conference (and) choice of leaders in Zimbabwe is up to the people of Zimbabwe.”
- 12 July 1978 Mr Graham and Mr Low begin discussions in Salisbury, lasting several days, with Mr Smith and members of the transitional administration.
- 17 July 1978 Bishop Muzorewa visit to Washington, to lobby for the lifting of sanctions.
- 19 July 1978 Chief Chirau says that ZUPO would be prepared in principle to attend all-party talks.
- 26 July 1978 US Senate votes by 48-42 against an amendment to the Foreign Aid Bill, providing for the immediate lifting of sanctions. After a conference with the House of Representatives, which also debated a similar amendment, Senators Case-Javitz compromise amendment, calling for sanctions to be lifted by December 31 1978, ‘if the President determined that the Rhodesian government had demonstrated its willingness to attend an all-party conference’ and a new government had been installed following ‘free, internationally supervised elections.’ Approved by the Senate 59-36.

Mr Rowan Cronje, Rhodesian Joint Minister of Manpower and Social Affairs, said at Salisbury news conference, at which the provisional timetable for the election was announced, that UN and OAU observers would be welcome at the election. Polling would be between 4-6 December. A referendum on the Independence Constitution would be held among the white electorate on 20 October.

- 31 July 1978 Mr Shridath Ramphal, Commonwealth Secretary-General, said in Botswana that Britain should take full charge of Rhodesia as a colonial power. He urges Mr Smith to invite the British Government to step in.
- 2 August 1978 During House of Commons debate on Rhodesia, Dr Owen reaffirms the government's determination to achieve a negotiated settlement which will bring an end to the war, and to maintain its policy on sanctions. Conservative attempt to force Government to lift sanctions defeated in House of Commons 171-165.
- 3 August 1978 Case-Javitz Amendment ratified by House of Representatives
- 4 August Dr Owen has talks with Chief Chirau in London.
- 6-16 August 1978 Mr Graham and Mr Low have further talks in Salisbury with Mr Smith, Mr Gabellah, Bishop Muzorewa and Rev N Sithole.
- 8 August 1978 Executive Council announces a partial relaxation of racially discriminatory legislation: all public places (mainly of entertainment) will be open to people of all races and restrictions will be removed on trading and industrial areas, on facilities operated by local authorities and on voting in local government elections. However, hospitals, schools, the government service and residential areas are not included.
- 10 August 1978 Joint committee from both Houses of Congress meets to resolve differences over resolutions concerning lifting of sanctions. Case-Javitz Amendment approved.
- 13 August Dr Owen holds talks with Mr Sithole at the latter's request.
- 200 provincial delegates of the UANC unanimously pass a vote of confidence in Bishop Muzorewa; reject the Anglo-US proposal for an all-party meeting, and decide to expel from the party four senior officials who had criticised Bishop Muzorewa.
- August 1978 Meeting between Brigadier Garba and Julius Nyerere
- 14 August 1978 Mr Smith-Mr Nkomo secret meeting in Lusaka, attended by Brigadier Garba of Nigeria.
- 17 August 1978 Chief Chirau says that ZUPO will fully support the proposal for an all-party conference.
- 18 August 1978 Mr Smith tells a Rhodesian Front rally in Bulawayo that the transitional administration would support an all-party conference if it were convinced that it would be in the interests



of the country. They would first want to know what was on the agenda.

- 18-20 August 1978 Mr Nkomo and Mr Mugabe meet for a Patriotic Front coordination meeting in Lusaka. Following this, Mr Mugabe flies to Lagos and returns with Brigadier Garba, the Nigerian Foreign Minister, who has talks with the Front leaders and with President Kaunda. Brigadier Garba later flies to Maputo for talks with President Machel. Mr Mugabe announces to the Press that ZAPU and ZANU will soon unify under one leader.
- 20 August 1978 Mr Smith says on television that the “government” needed clarification as to the aim and nature of an all-party conference. He would not discuss the disbandment of the Security Forces at such a meeting.
- 23-25 August 1978 Mr Graham and Mr Low hold talks in Salisbury with Chief Chirau; representatives of the Catholic Archbishops and the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace; and Bishop Muzorewa.
- 24 August 1978 Mr R F Botha, South African Foreign Minister, has talks in Salisbury with members of the Executive Council.
- 31 August 1978 Sithole publicly accuses Mr Smith of negotiating secretly with Nkomo.
- It is announced in London that the Bingham Report on oil supplies to Rhodesia is to be published in full and that it is being referred to the Director of Public Prosecutions.
- 1-2 September 1978 Emergency meeting of Front Line Presidents (Presidents Kaunda, Nyerere, Khama, Neto and Machel) discuss Nkomo-Mr Smith talks. (Also present re the PF leaders and the new Nigerian Commissioner for External Affairs, Major-General H E Adefope). Reaffirm support for Anglo-American plan.
- 2 September 1978 Nkomo reveals details of the meeting on 14 August. He said that he refused Mr Smith’s offer of the chairmanship of the transitional administration. Mr Smith also confirms that the meeting had taken place, but denies having made any specific offer to Mr Nkomo.
- 3 September 1978 Air Rhodesia Viscount civilian aircraft shot down by ZIPRA fighters, using SAM missile. 10 of 18 survivors killed by ZIPRA guerrillas.
- 8 September 1978 Mr Graham and Mr Low have talks with Mr Mugabe in Maputo.

- 9 September 1978 In London, following a review of the situation by Dr Owen, Mr Richard Moose, US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr Anthony Lake, Director of Policy Planning at the US State Dept, Lord Carver, Mr Graham and Mr Low, a statement is issued expressing the conviction of both the British and American Governments that a negotiated settlement can be achieved and their determination to continue to work towards a successful meeting of all the parties.
- 10 September 1978 Mr Smith announces the introduction of martial law in certain areas; and a ban on ZAPU and ZANU inside Rhodesia.
- 11 September 1978 In response to Mr Smith's statement, Mr Nkomo, speaking as President of ZAPU and not as joint leader of the PF, states in Lusaka that an all-party conference is "dead and buried."
- US Senate approves the Foreign Aid Bill.
- 12 September 1978 Mr Edgar Tekere, Secretary-General of ZANU (Mugabe), says in Lusaka that the PF is still committed to negotiations.
- 18 September 1978 The Executive Council announces that it has accepted an invitation from 27 Democratic and Republican Senators to visit the US.
- 22-23 September 1978 Meeting between Prime Minister Callaghan, Dr Owen and President Kaunda in Kano, Nigeria. Fails to inject new impetus.
- 27 September 1978 Speaking at the UN General Assembly Dr Owen says that Britain will live up to her responsibilities as the colonial power in Rhodesia, and would continue efforts to achieve a satisfactory solution on principles endorsed by the UN and approved by the British Parliament. Britain had ruled out the use of force to settle the dispute and had committed herself to seeking a solution through the international community.
- 4 October 1978 State Dept grant visas to Mr Smith and members of the Executive Council for visit to USA, in face of African protest.
- 7-20 October 1978 Meeting between Vance, British Ambassador to Washington, Mr Smith and Sithole: Mr Smith still refuses to attend all-party conference.
- 12 October 1978 Mr Smith concedes in US Foreign Relations Committee that the Rhodesian Executive Council would attend 'an adequately prepared all-party conference' (in compliance with Case-Javitz amendment, and in face of Muzorewa's objections.)
- 13 October 1978 Bishop Muzorewa and Chief Chirau arrive in Washington

20 October 1978	<p>Meeting between US and UK officials with Executive Council at State Department. At conclusion of meeting, Mr Smith announces agreement to five basic points with which the conference will be associated</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>i) provision for holding free and fair elections</li> <li>ii) cease-fire</li> <li>iii) transitional administration</li> <li>iv) formation of armed forces to serve the independent government</li> <li>v) basic principles to be included in the independence constitution, including guarantee of individual rights.</li> </ul>
22 October 1978	Nkomo rejects all-party conference. Endorsed by Kaunda.
November 1978	Mounting pressure on President Carter and Prime Minister Callaghan to endorse an all-party conference.
7 November 1978	US mid-term elections.
7,8,9 November	House of Commons Debate on the Bingham Report. Both Houses of Parliament then vote by large majorities of the renewal of the legislation providing power for the enforcement of UN sanctions against Rhodesia.
8 November 1978	Chief Ndiweni resigns from Transitional Government and calls for the return of Nkomo
15 November 1978	South African Premier PW Botha and R F Botha meeting with members of the Executive Council for talks
16 November 1978	<p>Executive and Ministerial Councils decide it is not possible to meet the 31 December date set down for the transfer of power. A revised election date set for 20 April 1979.</p> <p>The new timetable provides for a white referendum in January on the acceptability of the new constitution, which would then be passed in Parliament at the beginning of March. Nomination day would be at the end of March, leaving one month for campaigning for the elections.</p> <p>Mr Mugabe issues a “death list” of more than 50 Africans associated with the Salisbury regime who would be shot unless they resign their positions.</p> <p>Following his resignation as Joint Minister for Foreign Affairs and Vice-President of ZUPO, Chief Ndiweni announces that he is to form a new political party: the United National Federal Party (UNFP).</p>

- November 1978 Lord Carver and FO team tour of Southern Africa
- 23 November 1978 Mr Callaghan announcement of another initiative: tour of Mr Cledwyn Hughes, to be accompanied by Stephen Low to Nigeria and Southern Africa, to investigate whether conditions were 'right' for convening all-party conference.
- 24 November 1978 A further 27 areas of Rhodesia declared under martial law (introduced on 10 September) bringing about 75% of the country under restriction.
- 29 November –  
12 December 1978 In the course of his mission, in which he is accompanied by US Ambassador Low, Mr Cledwyn Hughes holds discussions with members of the Executive Council (collectively and individually) and other representatives of Rhodesian opinion in Salisbury; with Mr Nkomo and Mr Mugabe; and with all the Front Line Presidents, the Nigerian Head of State and the South African Foreign Minister.
- 30 November 1978 Resignation of Lord Carver as Resident Commissioner designate.
- 12 December 1978 US Senator George McGovern arrives in Salisbury on a fact finding mission.
- 13 December 1978 UN General Assembly adopts resolution condemning the transitional administration and calling for strengthening of sanctions. Britain, the US, France, Canada and West Germany abstain.
- 15 December 1978 Mr Callaghan announces that the government would recommend to Parliament the establishment of a special committee of enquiry into the handling of oil sanctions.
- 2 January 1979 Publication of proposed new Constitution. The country is to be called Zimbabwe-Rhodesia.
- 9 January 1979 Constitutional Referendum campaign opens
- 17 January 1979 Publication of Mr Hughes' report. Mr Callaghan announces in Parliament that he has accepted Mr Hughes' advice that no good purpose would be served by convening a meeting of the parties to the conflict in the immediate future.
- 30 January 1979 Constitutional referendum for white voters. Of the total European electorate of 94,700, 57,269 vote in favour while 9,805 "no" votes are cast. Results declared the following day: 71.5% vote, 85% of which vote in favour.
- 1 February 1979 Referendum rejected by British and American governments.

- 2 February 1979 Eight anti-discrimination Bills passed by Senate at the end of January enter into force.
- 5 February 1979 Executive Council invites Britain and US to send official observers to witness forthcoming elections.
- 10 February 1979 US Senate table formal motion to lift sanctions against Rhodesia by 30 April.
- 12 February 1979 ZIPRA shoot down another Viscount aircraft.
- 6 February 1979 Publication of Conservative Party Manifesto: 'If the Six Principles, which all British Governments have supported for the last 15 years, are fully satisfied following the Rhodesian Elections, the next Government will have a duty to return Rhodesia to a state of legality, move to lift sanctions and do its utmost to ensure that the new independent state gains international recognition.'
- 28 February 1979 Final session of the Rhodesian Parliament in its present form.
- 5 March 1979 Dr Gabellah resigns from ZANU, and quits Ministerial Council.
- 8 March 1979 UN Security Council adopts Resolution 445 condemning the Rhodesian elections and urging member States not to send observers.
- 12 March 1979 Announcement of Zimbabwe/Rhodesia general Election
- 14 March 1979 US Foreign Relations Committee pass motion to send unofficial observers to election.
- 15 March 1979 Prime Minister Callaghan declines to send official British observers.
- 17 March 1979 Executive Council (EXCO) announce general amnesty to ZANLA/ZIPRA
- 22-29 March 1979 Messrs Low and Renwick (of FCO) visit Salisbury, Maputo and Lusaka.
- 28 March 1979 UK Government defeated in vote of no confidence. US Senate vote 66-27 on the McGovern/Hayakawa resolution proposing that observers should be sent to the Rhodesian elections.
- 24 March 1979 Speech by Mrs Thatcher, stating that the Conservative party would judge the election on the basis of the report by a team of party observers.

- 3 April 1979 Conservative Party names team to observe elections
- 4 April 1979 UK/US join move to lift sanctions
- 5-9 April 1979 Leaders of Front Line States meet in Dar es Salaam and appeal to the PF to close ranks.
- 9 April 1979 Conservative party announce it will recognise Rhodesian government after 'satisfactory elections'  
House of Representatives rejects sending US observers to Zimbabwe/Rhodesia by 190-180 vote.
- 10 April 1979 The white electorate vote for 20 of the 28 white seats. The Rhodesian Front party won all four contested seats as well as the unopposed seats.
- 12-13 April 1979 CIO sponsored assassination attempt on Nkomo, and destruction of ZAPU's headquarters in Lusaka.
- 13 April 1979 Arrival of 'Boyd Commission' (Lord Boyd, Lord Elton, Viscount Colville of Culross, Sir Charles Johnston and Miles Hudson. John Drinkwater, 'apolitical adviser'.)
- 15 April 1979 Commencement of poll for 72 Common Roll seats.
- 17 April 1979 Commencement of Rhodesian ballot
- 21 April 1979 Polling ends
- 23 April 1979 Reverend Sithole calls for independent commission to investigate his charges of irregularity in the election after withdrawing his earlier 'free and fair' statement
- 24 April Election Results announced:
- |                |                          |          |
|----------------|--------------------------|----------|
| UANC           | 1,212,639 votes (67.27%) | 51 seats |
| ZANU (Sithole) | 262,928 votes (14.59%)   | 12 seats |
| UNFP           | 194,446 votes (10.79%)   | 0 seats  |
| NDU            | 18,175 votes (1.00%)     | 0 seats  |
- Following the announcement of the election results Mr Sithole called for a commission of enquiry into "gross irregularities."
- 26 April 1979 OAU declares the Rhodesian election results "null and void".
- 28 April 1979 Presidents Kaunda and Machel meet in Maputo with Mr Nkomo and Mr Mugabe.
- 29 April 1979 Mr Sithole says that the 12 ZANU members would not take part in the establishment of the new government unless an

	independent commission of enquiry investigated his charges of election irregularities.
30 April 1979	Adoption by UN Security Council of a Resolution condemning the April elections in Rhodesia and reiterating the call on member States not to accord recognition to the ensuing government. The UK, US and France abstain.
3 May 1979	Conservative victory in British General Election.
4 May 1979	Rhodesian Parliament dissolved.
6 May 1979	Lord Carrington, new Foreign Secretary, statement: 'I do not think anyone can ignore an election in which 65% of people voted.' Announces that the British Government was committed to restoring Rhodesia to legality if the elections were found to have been free and fair.
7 May 1979	Final 8 white MPs elected. ZANU (Sithole) boycott of all Parliamentary proceedings.
8 May 1979	Members of the new Rhodesian House of Assembly sworn in. Election of Mr John Chirimani as Speaker and Mr Walter Mthinkhulu as Deputy Speaker.
10 May 1979	Bishop Muzorewa as PM designate officially appeals to US for recognition.
10-14 May 1979	Mr Joshua Nkomo visits Lagos.
14 May 1979	Vote in US Senate 75:19 calling on President Carter to lift sanctions within 10 days of formation of black-majority government in Zimbabwe/Rhodesia.
15 May 1979	Opening of the first session of the new British Parliament during the debate on the Queen's speech, Mrs Thatcher, the Prime Minister says that the government's objective is to build on the major change that has taken place in Rhodesia to achieve a return to legality in conditions of wide international recognition.
	US Senate adopts a "sense of the Congress" Resolution calling on President Carter to lift sanctions against Rhodesia.
15-18 May 1979	Visit by Sir Anthony Duff, Deputy Permanent Under-Secretary of State in FCO, to Salisbury.
16 May 1979	Lord Boyd reports to the Prime Minister.

- 18 May 1979 Sir Ian Gilmour, Lord Privy Seal, speaking in the House of Commons, emphasises that the British Government will make a new approach to the problem, taking into account the fundamental change in circumstances inside Rhodesia brought about by the emergence of a black majority in Parliament.
- 20-23 May 1979 Mr Cyrus Vance visits Britain for discussions with Lord Carrington.
- 22 May 1979 Statements by Mrs Thatcher and Lord Carrington in Houses of Commons and Lords. Mrs Thatcher repeats her pre-election undertaking. Lord Carrington indicates that the British Government would be guided by Lord Boyd's conclusions. He announces Mr Derek Day to be envoy to Rhodesia on a frequent 'report back' basis.
- 23 May 1979 Deputation of Commonwealth High Commissioners and Mr Ramphal are told by Lord Carrington that the Thatcher government believed the Rhodesian election had transformed that country's position.
- 24 May 1979 Publication of reports by Lord Boyd and Mr John Drinkwater QC on the results of the Rhodesian elections.
- Announcement in London that Mr Derek Day, Assistant Under Secretary at the FCO, is to go to Salisbury to consult the new Administration.
- Meeting of OAU Liberation Committee warns UK and US against recognition of new regime in Zimbabwe/Rhodesia.
- 26 May 1979 Lord Harlech named as the Prime Minister's special envoy to Africa.
- 29 May 1979 Bishop Muzorewa sworn in as Prime Minister.
- 30 May 1979 Bishop Muzorewa names his 17-man Cabinet. Ian Mr Smith to act as Minister without Portfolio. P K van der Byl, David Smith, William Irvine and Christopher Anderson also included in Cabinet. Bishop Muzorewa himself took on the War and Defence Ministry.
- 31 May 1979 Mr Derek Day arrives in Salisbury.
- Mr Nkomo and Mr Mugabe meet in Dar es Salaam.
- 1 June 1979 Rhodesian constitution comes into effect.
- 2 June 1979 Bishop Muzorewa, as Prime Minister, offers an amnesty to guerrillas but says that Rhodesia will continue to defend



- herself.
- 3 June 1979 Front Line States meeting in Dar es Salaam; also attended by Nigerian Foreign Minister.
- 4 June 1979 Renewed air/ground strikes into Mozambique
- 7 June 1979 President Carter announces that the US will continue to impose sanctions as the recent elections do not comply with the requirements of the Case-Javitz amendment.
- 11 June 1979 Lord Harlech leaves London for tour of African states. He visits Botswana, Lusaka, Tanzania, Mozambique, Malawi, Angola and Nigeria. Returns to London 4 July 1979.
- 12 June 1979 US Senate rejects (52:41) Carter Administration compromise proposal that sanctions would not be lifted until 1 December.
- 13 June 1979 US Senate support for a rider on a military bill calling on the US Administration to lift sanctions immediately.
- 15 June 1979 Bishop Muzorewa visit to Republic of South Africa for talks with Prime Minister Botha and Foreign Minister (R F Botha)
- 18-24 June 1979 Mr Richard Luce MP visits Zaire, Senegal, Ivory Coast and Liberia.
- 20 June 1979 Mr James Chikerema resigns from UANC to form the Zimbabwe Democratic Party.
- 25 June 1979 Lord Harlech and Mr Day report to Lord Carrington. Mr Jeffrey Davidow named as US unofficial envoy to Rhodesia.
- 26 June 1979 Opening of Rhodesian Parliament, boycotted by 12 ZANU (Sithole) MPs.
- 28 June 1979 US House of Representatives votes 350-37 in favour of a Bill, initiated by Representatives Solarz and already approved unanimously by the Foreign Affairs Committee, calling for the termination of sanctions against Rhodesia on 15 October unless President Carter determines that it is against US interests to do so.
- 2-4 July 1979 Lord Harlech meets Bishop Muzorewa, Chief Ndiweni, Rev. Sithole, Mr Ian Mr Smith and General Walls in Salisbury.
- 5 July 1979 Lord Harlech reports to Lord Carrington on his discussions.
- 8 July 1979 Bishop Muzorewa visit to Washington.

- 10 July 1979 Lord Carrington informs the House of Lords that Britain has a constitutional responsibility to achieve a proper basis for Rhodesian independence. It is the government's intention, when consultations have been completed, to make firm proposals to bring Rhodesia to legal independence on a basis which Britain believed would be acceptable to the international community.
- 11 July 1979 Bishop Muzorewa meets President Carter and Mr Vance, together with Congressional and other leaders in Washington, to put the case for lifting US sanctions against Rhodesia.
- 11 July 1979 Liberian Government announces that no representatives from the Rhodesian administration, nor anyone who had participated in the internal settlement in Rhodesia, would be permitted to enter Liberia to attend the OAU summit.
- 12-14 July 1979 Bishop Muzorewa visits London at his own request for talks with the Prime Minister and Lord Carrington.
- 21 July 1979 The 16<sup>th</sup> meeting of the Heads of State of the OAU adopt a resolution calling on member states to "apply effective cultural, political, commercial and economic sanctions against any State which accords recognition of the illegal racist minority regime in Zimbabwe or lifts the mandatory sanctions against it in violation of the UN Security Council resolutions". The resolution recognises the PF as "the sole, legitimate and authentic representative of the people of Zimbabwe". Five countries – Cameroon, Ivory Coast, Lesotho, Liberia and Zaire – enter reservations on this section.
- 23 July 1979 ZANU (Sithole) file a High Court petition alleging corrupt and illegal practices during the Rhodesian elections.
- 25 July 1979 Mrs Thatcher says in the House of Commons that the British Government is now engaged in a process of consultation with a view to bringing Rhodesia to legal independence with the widest possible international acceptance. It will put forward proposals, based on the six principles which have been supported by successive governments, after further consultations at the Meeting of Commonwealth Heads of Government in Lusaka.
- 30 July 1979 The Prime Minister formally acknowledges the 'Boyd Report' in written response to Lord Boyd. Joint US Senate/House of Representative Committee agree that President Carter is required to end sanctions by 15 November 1979 unless it is against the national interest.

1 August 1979

Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference convenes in Lusaka.

2 August 1979

Nigerian Government announces it will nationalise BP interests in the country

12 ZANU members their seats in the Zimbabwe/Rhodesia House of Assembly

Mrs Thatcher says that the British Government is wholly committed to genuine black majority rule in Rhodesia. Britain accepted constitutional responsibility for granting legal independence. The present Rhodesian constitution was defective in certain important respects. The British Government's objective was to establish independence on the basis of a constitution comparable with constitutions agreed with other countries.

President Nyerere of Tanzania calls for a ceasefire in Rhodesia, a fresh constitution, and elections.

In relation to the situation in Rhodesia, the Commonwealth Heads of Government:

Confirm that they are wholly committed to black majority rule for the people of Zimbabwe;

Recognise, in this context, that the internal settlement constitution is defective in certain important respects;

Fully accept that it is the constitutional responsibility of the British Government to grant legal independence to Zimbabwe on the basis of majority rule;

Recognise that the search for a lasting settlement must involve all parties to the conflict;

Are deeply conscious of the urgent need to achieve such a settlement and bring peace to the people of Zimbabwe and their neighbours;

Accept that independence on the basis of majority rule requires the adoption of a democratic constitution including appropriate safeguards for minorities;

Acknowledge that the Government formed under such an independent constitution must be chosen through free and fair elections properly supervised under British Government authority, and with Commonwealth observers;

Welcome the British Government's indication that an

appropriate procedure for advancing towards these objectives would be for them to call a Constitutional Conference to which all parties would be invited; and

Consequently, accept that it must be a major objective to bring about the cessation of hostilities and an end to sanctions;

- 8 August 1979 Z/R security forces attack ZIPRA target in Botswana.  
Mr Derek Day returns to London to brief Lord Carrington on Bishop Muzorewa's reaction.
- 12 August 1979 Mr Derek Day returns to Salisbury for talks with Government for constitutional Conference to be held the following month.
- 14 August 1979 British Government announces it will convene a Constitution Conference in London in September aimed at ending the conflict in Zimbabwe/Rhodesia.  
  
Outline proposals for an independent constitution published.
- 15 August 1979 Zimbabwe/Rhodesia Government and PF invited to send 12 delegates each to the Conference.  
Zimbabwe Government accepts invitation.  
ZANLA and ZIPRA forces clash in the Midlands
- 20 August 1979 PF announces it will attend the Conference in London
- 22 August 1979 Zimbabwe/Rhodesian Air force jets strike against Mulungushi and Solwezi, Zambia
- 4 September 1979 Advance delegation from Zimbabwe arrives in London
- 5 September 1979 Deputy Prime Minister (Mr David Smith) arrives in London
- 6 September 1979 Zimbabwe security forces strike against bases in Mozambique
- 7 September 1979 Zimbabwe Prime Minister and delegation arrive in London
- 7-9 September 1979 Meeting of Non-Aligned Movement in Havana, attended by Patriotic Front.
- 9 September 1979 Lord George-Brown arrives in Salisbury on fact-finding tour
- 10 September 1979 Formal opening of Lancaster House Conference in London.  
Further clashes between ZIPRA and ZANLA forces in 7 Tribal Trust Lands
- 14 September 1979 British and Patriotic Front draft Constitutions published.

- 17 September 1979 Donald McHenry appointed US Ambassador to the UN.
- 18 September 1979 Patriotic Front issue own plan for transitional arrangements.
- 21 September 1979 Zimbabwe/Rhodesia government announces acceptance 'in principle' of British constitutional proposals in return for the lifting of sanctions (11:1 vote). Acceptance by secret ballot.
- 24 September 1979 Liberal Party Conference in Margate.  
Patriotic Front accept 20% proportion of reserve representation for whites
- 26 September 1979 Bishop Muzorewa visit to Vienna for talks with Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky
- 27 September –  
2 October 1979 Security forces raids into Mozambique
- 2 October 1979 Labour Party Conference in Brighton.  
Lord Carrington proposes third Constitutional draft. Delegates given until 8 October to decide.
- 3 October 1979 Death of John Giles, legal draftsman to Zimbabwe/Rhodesian delegation in London.
- 5 October 1979 Bishop Muzorewa accepts expanded British draft constitution (11:1). Announces will also accept new elections.
- 7 October 1979 Mr Smith return to Salisbury to brief Rhodesian Front caucus
- 8 October 1979 Lord Carrington demands formal decision from Patriotic Front by 11 October.  
Lord Jellicoe, former leader of House of Lords, arrives in Salisbury
- 10 October 1979 Conservative Party Conference
- 12 October 1979 Lord Carrington postpones Lancaster House Conference indefinitely. However, privately indicates Britain will be prepared to offer financial aid for land settlement/redistribution schemes.
- 13 October 1979 Mr Smith returns to London
- 15 October 1979 Lord Carrington schedules press conference, at which he announces he is entering bilateral negotiations with Bishop Muzorewa.
- 16 October 1979 Meeting between Lord Carrington and Sir Shridath Ramphal.

- Arrival in London of South African Foreign Minister, RF 'Pik' Botha.
- 17 October 1979 British Government puts transitional proposals to delegations.  
'Pik' Botha meeting with Mrs Thatcher and Lord Carrington.  
Arrival of General Sir Peter Walls.
- 18 October 1979 Patriotic Front accepts constitution 'if (they) are satisfied beyond doubt about the vital issues of the transitional government.' Patriotic Front confirms British and American assurances on land issue 'go a long way to alleviate (their) concern over the whole land question'.
- 21 October 1979 Chief Justice of Zimbabwe/Rhodesia arrives in London to attend talks.
- 22 October 1979 Lord Carrington issues 13 paragraph proposal for transitional arrangements. (British governor will assume direct control.)
- 28 October 1979 Bishop Muzorewa accepts the British proposals for transitional arrangements.
- 1 November 1979 Lord Carrington announces he is prepared to extend the transitional period by approximately two-three weeks.
- 2 November 1979 Lord Carrington presents amplified 41-point transitional plan.
- 5 November 1979 Bishop Muzorewa formally accepts 41 point plan.  
Zimbabwe/Rhodesian Government cuts rail link to Zambia for maize imports
- 7 November 1979 Lord Gilmour informs House of Commons that Mrs Thatcher will not seek to renew sanctions legislation, but most will remain in force.  
Lord Gilmour introduces legislation to enable Government to implement portions of the Constitution, appointment of a British governor and to hold elections.
- 9 November 1979 British government announces it is prepared to contribute to a Commonwealth monitoring force.
- 10-  
11 November 1979 President Kaunda visits London and has meetings with Mrs Thatcher and Lord Carrington. Also meets Patriotic Front and Secretary General Ramphal
- 11 November 1979 Mr Smith and part of Zimbabwe/Rhodesia delegation return to Salisbury from London

- 13 November 1979 Independence Bill enacted in House of Commons
- 14 November 1979 House of Lords approves Bill for independence for Zimbabwe/Rhodesia.  
President Carter informs Congress he is prepared to lift sanctions after arrival of British Governor and the process of elections has commenced.
- 15 November 1979 Rhodesian Front caucus supports London Constitution  
Travel ban lifted on Zimbabwean/Rhodesians  
British and Patriotic Front delegations accept plans for transitional period: Britain to house and feed returning guerrilla fighter during transitional period. British Governor to control civil service, and police and defence force.
- 16 November 1979 Lord Carrington introduces 10 point Ceasefire proposal.
- 18 November 1979 Bishop Muzorewa and delegation return to Salisbury, via Johannesburg.
- 20 November 1979 President Kaunda mobilizes Zambia for war situation against Zimbabwe/Rhodesia.
- 24 November 1979 Lord Carrington publishes amplified ceasefire proposals.
- 26 November 1979 Bishop Muzorewa's delegation formally accepts ceasefire proposals.  
Patriotic Front visit Dar-es-Salaam for meeting with Front Line Presidents.
- 28 –
- 30 November 1979 RF 'Pik' Botha visits London.  
PW Botha announces South African forces have been operating in Zimbabwe/Rhodesia 'for some time'.
- 3 December 1979 Acting Chairman of Bishop Muzorewa's delegation informs Lord Carrington, he is departing for Salisbury.  
Lord Carrington obtains Order in Council giving Mrs Thatcher authority to select the British Governor.  
Also applies for another Order In Council to give British legal authority to introduce a new Zimbabwe/Rhodesian Constitution.
- 6 December 1979 Lord Soames named British Governor.
- 8 –
- 9 December 1979 Zimbabwe/Rhodesian security forces launch major raids into Mozambique and Zambia.

- 11 December 1979 Zimbabwe/Rhodesia Constitutional Amendment Bill is passed in both Houses of Parliament in Britain  
Lord Carrington announces Lord Soames' departure for Salisbury; also that the expanded (now 1,200) Commonwealth Monitoring force will be at the 15 assembly points.
- 12 December 1979 Lord Soames arrives in Salisbury as Governor of Rhodesia  
UDI ends.  
Sanctions lifted by Britain.
- 13 December 1979 British establishment of ceasefire monitoring headquarters in Salisbury
- 14 December 1979 Lord Carrington ultimatum to Patriotic Front that ceasefire arrangements must be agreed by 15 December.
- 15 September 1979 Lord Soames given authority to create more assembly points.  
Mrs Thatcher and Lord Carrington leave for official visit to the United States  
US lifts sanctions against Rhodesia.
- 17 December 1979 PF initial ceasefire agreement
- 21 December 1979 Agreement signed at Lancaster House for a cease-fire between Government of Zimbabwe/Rhodesia and PF, and new Constitution.
- March 1980 Election in Zimbabwe/Rhodesia.  
Victory for Mugabe.

**Sources:**

Zimbabwe/Rhodesia: Chronological Table of Events (Zimbabwe Rhodesian Information Office)

Chronology of Events, The Foreign Office

Papers of Sir John Biggs Davison, House of Lords Records Office, BD/1/424 Rhodesia 1979.

David Owen: *Time to Declare*

David Owen: *Speaking Personally to Kenneth Harris*

Michael Charlton: *The Last Colony in Africa. Diplomacy and Independence of Rhodesia*

Cyrus Vance: *Hard Choices*

Lord Carrington: *Reflect on Things Past*

Jeffrey Davidow: *A Peace in Southern Africa: The Lancaster House Conference on Rhodesia 1979*



