

00 WELLINGTON DESKBY 302200Z

GRS 930

Subject on:
Rhodesia: Situation:
PT 8

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T1302/71T

CONFIDENTIAL

DESKBY 302200Z

FM F.C.O. 302006Z OCT 79

TO IMMEDIATE WELLINGTON

TELEGRAM NUMBER. 254 OF 30 OCTOBER.

MIPT: RHODESIA

TEXT OF MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO MR MULDOON IS AS
FOLLOWS:

I KNOW THAT YOU WILL HAVE BEEN FOLLOWING CLOSELY THE PROGRESS
OF THE RHODESIA CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE. I WOULD LIKE TO GIVE
YOU MY IMPRESSION OF HOW MATTERS NOW STAND.

WE HAVE NOW REACHED AGREEMENT WITH BOTH BISHOP MUZOREWA AND
THE PATRIOTIC FRONT ON AN INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION WHICH PROVIDES
FOR GENUINE MAJORITY RULE, WITH ADEQUATE SAFEGUARDS FOR MINORITIES.

AS YOU WILL KNOW, WE FOLLOWED THIS BY PUTTING FORWARD OUR
PROPOSALS FOR THE PRE-INDEPENDENCE ARRANGEMENTS ON 22 OCTOBER.
THESE INVOLVE THE ASSUMPTION BY BRITAIN OF DIRECT RESPONSIBILITY
FOR RHODESIA IN THE PERIOD LEADING TO INDEPENDENCE. WE ARE
CONTINUING TO TAKE ACTION TO GIVE EFFECT STEP BY STEP TO THE
AGREEMENT WE ALL REACHED AT LUSAKA IN AUGUST. BUT WE WILL ONLY BE
PREPARED TO DO SO UNDER CONDITIONS AND FOR A PERIOD IN WHICH WE CAN
BE CONFIDENT THAT WE WILL BE ABLE TO CARRY OUT THAT RESPONSIBILITY.
WE WILL NOT BE ABLE TO AGREE TO ARRANGEMENTS WHICH GO WELL BEYOND
WHAT WAS AGREED AT LUSAKA - STILL LESS TO ANY ATTEMPTS TO
RE-INTERPRET OR RE-FORMULATE THAT AGREEMENT - OR WHICH WOULD
RENDER THE TASK OF SUPERVISING THE ADMINISTRATION IMPOSSIBLE
FOR US.

IT IS CENTRAL TO OUR CONCEPTION THAT, IN THE INTERIM PERIOD,
THE GOVERNOR SHOULD BE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DAY-TO-DAY ADMINISTRATION.
THE ROLE OF THE POLITICAL LEADERS IN THIS PERIOD WILL BE TO COMMIT
THEMSELVES TO THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN AND NOT TO SEEK TO SET UP
PARALLEL ADMINISTRATIONS OF THEIR OWN OR TO IMPEDE THE GOVERNOR IN
HIS TASK. THERE WILL BE AN ELECTION COUNCIL ON WHICH ALL PARTIES
WILL BE REPRESENTED. THE LONGER THE INTERIM PERIOD LASTS BEFORE

THE PEOPLE OF RHODESIA ARE GIVEN THE CHANCE TO DECIDE THEIR POLITICAL FUTURE FOR THEMSELVES, THE GREATER WILL BE THE RISK OF A BREAK-DOWN OF THE CEASE-FIRE. WE WILL NOT BE PREPARED TO ASSUME RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF RHODESIA FOR LONGER THAN IS NECESSARY TO ENABLE ELECTIONS TO BE HELD IN WHICH ALL THE PARTIES WILL BE ABLE TO PARTICIPATE WITH EQUAL CHANCES OF SUCCESS.

BISHOP MUZOREWA HAS ANNOUNCED HIS ACCEPTANCE OF OUR PROPOSALS. I AM SURE YOU WILL REALISE THAT THIS WAS A DIFFICULT DECISION FOR HIM. HE IS BEING ASKED TO RELINQUISH POWER, TO ENTRUST BOTH EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY TO A BRITISH GOVERNOR, AND TO GO THROUGH ELECTIONS FOR THE SECOND TIME IN 9 MONTHS THIS TIME WITH PATRIOTIC FRONT PARTICIPATION, AND HE HAS AGREED TO DO SO. THERE IS A TENDENCY TO IMAGINE THAT WE ARE ENGAGED IN NEGOTIATIONS ONLY WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT, AND THAT THERE IS NO NEED TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE VIEWS OF THE SALISBURY DELEGATION. THIS IS NOT THE CASE. BISHOP MUZOREWA HAS NOW BEEN PUSHED AS FAR AS IS POSSIBLE IN THIS NEGOTIATION. WE SHALL NOT BE ABLE TO REQUIRE HIM TO DO MORE.

IT IS ESSENTIAL TO OUR STRATEGY IN THIS PHASE OF THE CONFERENCE THAT WE SHOULD FIRST SEEK AGREEMENT ON THE GENERAL PROPOSALS WE HAVE PUT FORWARD FOR THE INTERIM PERIOD. IF THESE ARE ACCEPTED, WE WILL BE ABLE TO PROCEED TO THE FINAL PHASE OF THE CONFERENCE. THIS WILL INVOLVE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE COMMANDERS ON BOTH SIDES, UNDER OUR CHAIRMANSHIP ON A CEASE-FIRE AND ITS OBSERVANCE. THE RHODESIAN SECURITY FORCES IN THIS PERIOD WILL BE UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF THE GOVERNOR ASSISTED BY A BRITISH MILITARY ADVISER. THE POLICE WILL BE SUPERVISED BY THE GOVERNOR, WHO WILL HAVE A POLICE ADVISER AND SUPPORTING STAFF. THE COMMANDERS OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WILL BE RESPONSIBLE TO THE GOVERNOR, IN RELATION TO THE MAINTENANCE OF THE CEASE-FIRE. THERE WILL BE A CEASE-FIRE COMMISSION, UNDER THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE GOVERNOR'S MILITARY ADVISER, ON WHICH THE COMMANDERS OF BOTH SIDES WILL BE REPRESENTED. THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR DEALING WITH BREACHES OF THE CEASE-FIRE WILL IN THE FIRST INSTANCE REST WITH THEM. THERE WILL ALSO NEED TO BE ARRANGEMENTS FOR MONITORING THE CEASE-FIRE.

AS WE HAVE MADE CLEAR, OBSERVERS FROM ANY COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES WHO WISH TO SEND THEM WILL BE INVITED TO OBSERVE THE ELECTIONS AND TO WITNESS THE WAY IN WHICH WE CARRY OUT OUR RESPONSIBILITY. BISHOP MUZOREWA WILL NOT, HOWEVER, BE

PREPARED TO ACCEPT ANY ROLE IN RELATION TO SUPERVISION OF THE
CEASE-FIRE FOR GOVERNMENTS WHICH ARE ALREADY COMMITTED TO
SUPPORT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT.

WE ARE CLOSER TO A SOLUTION THAN WE HAVE EVER BEEN BEFORE.
THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE PLAN WE HAVE PUT FORWARD AND PREVIOUS
PROPOSALS WHICH HAVE BEEN MADE FOR A SETTLEMENT IS THE
VERY IMPORTANT ONE THAT WE ARE IN A POSITION TO PUT THIS PLAN INTO
EFFECT. WE HOPE THAT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WILL AGREE TO
PARTICIPATE AND WE SHALL BE INTENSIFYING OUR EFFORTS TO GET
THEM TO DO SO. IT WILL NOT, HOWEVER, BE POSSIBLE
TO PUT INTO EFFECT SOME OTHER PLAN, AND IT WOULD BE FATAL TO THE
CHANCES OF SUCCESS IF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WERE LED TO BELIEVE
THAT IT MAY BE.

I WOULD LIKE TO MAKE ONE FINAL POINT. BISHOP MUZOREWA HAS
ACCEPTED THE INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION. HE IS PREPARED TO HAND
OVER POWER TO A BRITISH GOVERNOR, AND HE IS READY TO FACE
NEW ELECTIONS. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES I WOULD BE MISLEADING YOU
IF I LED YOU TO BELIEVE THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WOULD CONSIDER
IT REASONABLE THAT RHODESIA SHOULD REMAIN IN A STATE OF ILLEGALITY
IF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT ARE NOT PREPARED TO PUT THEIR POLITICAL
SUPPORT TO THE TEST IN ELECTIONS UNDER OUR AUTHORITY.

I HOPE THAT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WILL ACCEPT THE SINCERITY
OF OUR INTENTIONS AND OUR DETERMINATION TO ENSURE THE IMPARTIALITY
OF THE ELECTION PROCESS, AND THAT THEY WILL BE PREPARED TO
PARTICIPATE IN THE ELECTIONS. IN THAT EVENT, FOR THE FIRST
TIME IN THE LONG HISTORY OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS, A SOLUTION WILL BE
WITHIN OUR GRASP. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IS DOING ALL IT CAN
TO FULFIL ITS PART OF THE LUSAKA AGREEMENT, AND I HOPE THAT I CAN
COUNT ON YOUR CONTINUED SUPPORT.

CARRINGTON

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