Original on: Commonwealth: CHEM Bilaterals Truly 79 CONFIDENTIAL NOTE OF A MEETING BETWEEN THE PRIME MINISTER AND PRESIDENT NYERERE OF TANZANIA HELD AT MULUNGUSHI VILLAGE, LUSAKA AT 1530 ON TUESDAY 31 JULY Present: Prime Minister President Nyerere Foreign and Commonwealth The Hon. B. Mkapa Secretary H.E. Mr. Daniel Mloka Mr. C. A. Whitmore Mr. B. G. Cartledge Rhodesia The Prime Minister said that the aim of the British Government was to bring Rhodesia back to legality under genuine black majority rule. The question was how to achieve that aim. The British Cabinet had not yet taken a decision: Britain wished to wait for the CHGM. President Nyerere had been very helpful in letting Lord Harlech have his views. He had attended the meeting of Front Line States the previous day. And he would be opening the Conference's debate on Southern Africa. Could he help on the problem of how the British Government should accomplish its objective? President Nyerere said that there should be no difference between Africa and Britain about the objective of genuine majority rule for Rhodesia. As the Prime Minister had said, the problem was how to get there. The Conference should try to agree upon this aim, and then all should pull their weight together on the means of achieving it. But they would have to rely heavily on the Prime Minister. The United Kingdom had the responsibility for achieving the objective. The others could only help. The Prime Minister agreed that the responsibility for bringing Rhodesia back to legality was Britain's. This was one of the three main points on which Lord Harlech's and Mr. Luce's consultations had shown that there was general agreement. The second was that as a result of the elections something different had happened in Rhodesia on which it was possible to build. Third, there was widespread criticism of the present Rhodesian constitution. This focussed on the provisions for a blocking mechanism for the whites and for the public service commissions. It would be helpful to know how the Front Line

/President Nyerere

States saw the matter generally.

President Nyerere said that he could summarise very simply the position which the Front Line States had agreed upon the previous night. They did not believe that a situation had yet been reached in Rhodesia where there was a government that should be recognised and sanctions lifted. More positively, they thought that Britain should look at the constitution, whether the present one or a new one. It was not so much a matter of whether there had been free and fair elections: it was the constitution that was the main problem. There was no difficulty about making provision in the constitution to reserve seats for minorities. Tanzania's independence constitution had done this, though subsequently the minorities had come to feel that there was no need for such an arrangement and the constitution had been amended accordingly. Moreover, he saw the value of public service commissions which were intended to stop excessive interference by the executive. The problem with the present Rhodesian constitution, however, was the particular powers which were entrenched for the white minority. He hoped that the Prime Minister would be able to help progress to be made to a point where the Commonwealth countries could say that the constitution proposed for Rhodesia was a democratic one that they could support. There should then be fresh elections, and some method would need to be devised to satisfy the Commonwealth that the elections were free and fair. They might need to be supervised by the Commonwealth or by the UK. If the Commonwealth agreed on a constitution and it was announced that fresh elections would be held on the basis of the constitution, that would be enough to allow him to say that he no longer supported the war and to persuade the Patriotic Front to stop hostilities. He could not guarantee that the Patriotic Front would then cease fighting, but the fact was that they could not continue the war without the support of the Front Line States. This was how the Front Line States were approaching the problem, and he would be speaking in this sense when he opened the Conference's debate on Southern Africa.

The <u>Prime Minister</u> said that if President Nyerere addressed the Conference in such terms, she would be able to make much the same speech as she had made in the House of Commons on 25 July. It might then be possible to move forward. At the moment, Rhodesia was bleeding to death, with 500 deaths a week. But if Rhodesia could be brought back to legality and sanctions lifted, the prize for Rhodesia itself and for its neighbours was enormous. She could help feed the surrounding countries and she had raw materials to export. Britain recognised that once independence had been granted, an independent country could follow what constitutional course it wished. But the blacks in Rhodesia wanted to keep the confidence of the whites who could help sustain the Rhodesian economy. This admirable approach was an indication of their maturity.

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The Prime Minister added that she did not want to see an exodus of Rhodesians of any kind.

When President Nyerere asked the Prime Minister whether she had the power to achieve the British Government's objective on Rhodesia, the Prime Minister said that she had to carry her Cabinet and the British Parliament with her. In response, <u>President Nyerere</u> said that if anybody had the power to solve the problem, it was Britain.

## Uganda

In response to the Prime Minister's enquiry about developments in Uganda, President Nyerere said that a new phase had begun and Uganda was trying to settle down. Professor Lule, who had been a personal friend, had expected him to back him with the Tanzanian army. President Binaisa was now in power, and Tanzania would help him. The fact was that Tanzania was stuck in Uganda, where the local army and police were ineffective. He would pull out if someone else would take over. Keeping the Tanzanian army in Uganda was very expensive. But there was no alternative to staying on for the time being.

## Namibia

President Nyerere said that SWAPQ, who had been represented at the Front Line meeting on the previous evening, wanted peace in Namibia. Elections had taken place there, but they had done nothing towards the implementation of the U.N. plans. Tanzania would help the U.N. Secretary-General as far as they could.

The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary said that when the Conservative Government had come to power, they had felt that they had a card to play with the South African government because they had not been associated with what the South Africans regarded as the duplicity of the Five. He had therefore seen the South African Foreign Minister, Mr. Pik Botha, and had persuaded him not to reject the U.N. plan. But Mr. Botha was concerned about the inter-If these difficulties could be overcome, he would stick with the plan. pretation of aspects of the plan. Sir James Murray, who had been appointed to speak for the Five, was going to South Africa for further discussions. There was therefore a chink of light.

President Nyerere said that he would put it no higher than that.

The discussion ended at 1600.

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