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PRIME MINISTER'S

GRS 690

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DESKBY 301200Z

FM FCO 301050Z AUG 79

TO IMMEDIATE DAR ES SALAAM

TELEGRAM NUMBER 237 OF 30 AUGUST

YOUR TELNO 695: RHODESIA

*subject file
Rhodesia Situation
- Pt 8*

PERSONAL MESSAGE

SERIAL No. *1919/79T*

1. PLEASE TRANSMIT THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO PRESIDENT NYERERE. IN DOING SO YOU SHOULD SAY THAT THE PRIME MINISTER LOOKS FORWARD TO SEEING HIM OVER DINNER ON 14 SEPTEMBER.

BEGINS

THANK YOU FOR YOUR MESSAGE ABOUT RHODESIA. I AM GLAD TO BE KEEPING IN TOUCH AND GRATEFUL TO YOU FOR SETTING OUT YOUR THOUGHTS IN ADVANCE OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE. I LOOK FORWARD TO SEEING YOU IN LONDON ON 14 SEPTEMBER, TO DISCUSS THE POSITION THEN REACHED AT THE CONFERENCE.

YOU RAISED THE QUESTION OF THE PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION OF THE WHITE COMMUNITY. I FULLY UNDERSTAND THE POINT YOU MAKE, BUT WE HAVE TO HAVE REGARD TO THE REALITY OF THE SITUATION IN RHODESIA, BOTH IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE, AND IN THE LIGHT OF WHAT IS LIKELY TO BE PRACTICABLE. I DO NOT IN FACT REGARD IT AS UNREASONABLE THAT (FOR THE FIRST FEW YEARS AFTER INDEPENDENCE ONLY) THERE SHOULD BE PROVISION FOR THE ELECTION OF A NUMBER OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE MINORITY COMMUNITY BY THAT COMMUNITY THEMSELVES. SUCH A PROVISION HAS BEEN A COMMON FEATURE OF MOST PREVIOUS ATTEMPTS TO ACHIEVE A SETTLEMENT. A PROVISION OF THIS SORT IS BY ITS NATURE TRANSITIONAL; AND IT MUST NOT OPERATE IN SUCH A WAY AS TO ALLOW THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE MINORITY TO EXERT A BLOCKING POWER OVER A WIDE RANGE OF LEGISLATION. THIS WOULD BE UNPRECEDENTED: I MADE CLEAR AT LUSAKA MY VIEWS ON THIS POINT

I MUCH AGREE WITH YOUR SECOND POINT. WE DO INDEED INTEND TO ACT AT THE CONFERENCE AS THE DE-COLONISING POWER. WE HAVE CONVENED A CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE AND ITS TASK WILL BE TO REACH AGREEMENT ON THE INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION FOR ZIMBABWE. WE ARE - DELIBERATELY - ADOPTING A STEP BY STEP APPROACH: UNLESS WE SEEK TO BUILD UP AREAS OF AGREEMENT BEFORE MOVING ON TO TACKLE OTHER DIFFICULTIES, WE SHALL GET NOWHERE. WE HAVE PUT FORWARD OUTLINE PROPOSALS FOR A CONSTITUTION. IF THERE IS A MEASURE OF AGREEMENT ON THAT OUTLINE, WE SHALL BE READY TO BRING FORWARD AS NECESSARY MORE DETAILED PROPOSALS.

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ONCE PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE TOWARDS AGREEMENT ON THE INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION, WE CAN MOVE ON TO DISCUSS THE MANNER IN WHICH IT SHOULD BE IMPLEMENTED. THE FIRST POINT MUST BE ACCEPTANCE BY THE PARTIES THAT NEW ELECTIONS WILL BE HELD, PROPERLY SUPERVISED UNDER THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S AUTHORITY. WE HAVE EXERCISED THAT AUTHORITY BEFORE AND COMMONWEALTH OBSERVERS WOULD BE PRESENT TO SEE HOW IT WAS EXERCISED ON THIS OCCASION. AS I SAID IN LUSAKA, WE ARE PREPARED TO CARRY OUT OUR RESPONSIBILITY IN THIS AND IN OTHER RESPECTS. THE ARRANGEMENTS FOR NEW ELECTIONS MUST PERMIT THE PARTIES TO PARTICIPATE IN THEM WITH AN EQUAL CHANCE OF SUCCESS. IT WILL BE OUR RESPONSIBILITY TO ENSURE THAT THAT IS SO; AND THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE COMMONWEALTH TO WITNESS THE MANNER IN WHICH THE ELECTIONS ARE CARRIED OUT.

THERE IS ONE PARTICULAR WAY IN WHICH WE NEED YOUR HELP IN THIS VENTURE. THE SUCCESS OR FAILURE OF OUR DETERMINED EFFORT TO ACHIEVE A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT IS LIKELY TO DEPEND ON THE INFLUENCE YOU AND THE OTHER COMMONWEALTH AFRICAN LEADERS ARE ABLE TO EXERT. IT WILL BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO GET BISHOP MUZOREWA AND HIS COLLEAGUES TO ACCEPT DIFFERENT CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS ON THE KEY ISSUES AND TO AGREE THAT NEW ELECTIONS SHOULD BE HELD. THERE WILL BE NO CHANCE OF AGREEMENT IF, FOR THEIR PART, THE LEADERS OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT REJECT, AS THEY HAVE DONE IN THEIR STATEMENT IN DAR ES SALAAM, THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS AND ITS AUTHORITY TO SUPERVISE ELECTIONS. I NOTE THAT MR MUGABE IS ALREADY SAYING THAT HE EXPECTS THE CONFERENCE TO FAIL.

IT IS OUR INTENTION AT THE CONFERENCE TO ACT AS SUGGESTED IN YOUR MESSAGE. WE MUST SEEK TO GET AS MUCH AGREEMENT AS POSSIBLE FROM BOTH SIDES. WE ARE DETERMINED TO TRANSFER POWER ON THE BASIS OF A CONSTITUTION WHICH WE CAN DEFEND AS A DEMOCRATIC DOCUMENT AND WHICH THE REST OF THE WORLD WILL RECOGNISE AS SUCH. THAT IS EXACTLY OUR APPROACH. BOTH SIDES WILL I HOPE REALISE THAT IT IS LIKELY TO BE COSTLY FOR THEM IF THEY SEEK TO FRUSTRATE A POLITICAL SOLUTION ON THESE LINES.

WARM PERSONAL REGARDS

CARRINGTON

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