

PRIME MINISTER

SENATOR HELMS

You will have seen from a recent telegram (copy attached) that Senator Helms' call on you has been referred to in the American press. You said at an earlier stage that you wished knowledge of it to be confined to a very small circle and I instructed the FCO accordingly. In view of the press references, however, the FCO would very much like to be able to tell Sir Nicko Henderson about the call - this would be very strictly for his personal information. Can you agree to this?

Yes.

Yes out

13 July 1979

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TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 1874 OF 11 JULY

INFO ROUTINE MIRIMBA SALISBURY.

RHODESIA

1. TODAY'S WASHINGTON POST CARRIES ARTICLE FROM LONDON BY LEONARD DOWNIE AND JAY ROSS UNDER HEADING "THATCHER TO OFFER MUZOREWA PLAN" "SUGGESTS REFORMS IN ZIMBABWE-RHODESIA TO GAIN WORLD ACCEPTANCE"

2. TEXT AS FOLLOWS:

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TODAY SAID IT WILL PROPOSE A NEW PLAN FOR RESTORING ZIMBABWE-RHODESIA TO LEGALITY AND MAKING THE MULTIRACIAL GOVERNMENT OF PRIME MINISTER ABEL MUZOREWA ACCEPTABLE TO THE REST OF THE WORLD.

PRIME MINISTER MARGARET THATCHER'S FOREIGN SECRETARY, LORD CARRINGTON, ANNOUNCED THAT, AS A RESULT OF PRELIMINARY CONSULTATIONS WITH AFRICAN LEADERS, BRITAIN INTENDED "TO MAKE FIRM PROPOSALS OF OUR OWN TO BRING RHODESIA TO LEGAL INDEPENDENCE ON A BASIS WHICH WE BELIEVE SHOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY."

THOSE PROPOSALS WOULD INCLUDE CHANGES IN MUZOREWA'S GOVERNMENT AND CONSTITUTION TO REDUCE THE POWER RESERVED FOR ZIMBABWE-RHODESIA'S 3 PERCENT WHITE MINORITY, ACCORDING TO BRITISH GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS. THEY SAID THATCHER AND CARRINGTON WILL URGE MUZOREWA IN MEETINGS HERE LATER THIS WEEK TO SEEK CHANGES IN CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS PRESERVING WHITE CONTROL OVER THE MILITARY, POLICE, CIVIL SERVICE, JUDICIARY AND THE PROCESS FOR AMENDING THE CONSTITUTION.

LORD HARLECH, BRITAIN'S SPECIAL EMISSARY TO ZIMBABWE-RHODESIA'S BLACK AFRICAN NEIGHBORS AND NIGERIA, FOUND THAT SOME OF THEIR LEADERS MIGHT ACCEPT MUZOREWA'S GOVERNMENT IF SUFFICIENT CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES WERE MADE, ACCORDING TO ONE WELL-INFORMED BRITISH OFFICIAL. THE OFFICIAL WOULD NOT NAME THESE LEADERS.

"THEY DON'T RULE MUZOREWA OUT IF HE DEMONSTRATES THAT HE IS IN CHARGE AND MAKES THOSE CHANGES," THE OFFICIAL SAID. "SOME OF THEM ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THERE HAD TO BE SOME SPECIAL PROTECTION OF WHITES - AS THERE WAS WHEN THEY WERE GRANTED INDEPENDENCE FROM BRITAIN - BUT THEY FELT THE RHODESIAN CONSTITUTION JUST WENT TOO FAR."

OFFICIALS HERE SAY MUZOREWA APPARENTLY DOES NOT BELIEVE THAT HE

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GET THE NECESSARY SUPPORT FROM WHITES TO MAKE THE CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES. BUT THE OFFICIALS ADD THAT THE BRITISH FOREIGN OFFICE HAS RECEIVED AN INFORMAL REPORT THAT SOME INFLUENTIAL WHITES WERE READY TO AGREE TO CHANGES, SO LONG AS THEIR SECURITY WAS NOT COMPROMISED, AND WERE WAITING FOR MUZOREWA TO ASK THEM.

BRITISH OFFICIALS HAVE LITTLE HOPE THAT THE PLAN THEY DEVISE WILL BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE PATRIOTIC FRONT REBELS LED BY JOSHUA NKOMO AND ROBERT MUGABE, WHO ARE CONTINUING THEIR GUERRILLA WAR AGAINST MUZOREWA'S GOVERNMENT FROM BASES IN NEIGHBORING ZAMBIA AND MOZAMBIQUE. ONE SOURCE SAID BRITAIN'S GOAL WOULD BE TO WIN ENOUGH AFRICAN AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR THE BRITISH PLAN TO ISOLATE THE REBELS AND FORCE THEIR DEFEAT OR REPATRIATION.

IT IS ALSO CLEAR THAT THATCHER'S CONSERVATIVE GOVERNMENT REMAINS COMMITTED TO MUZOREWA AS THE DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED BLACK LEADER OF ZIMBABWE-RHODESIA AND DETERMINED TO FIND A WAY TO GIVE HIS GOVERNMENT LEGAL RECOGNITION.

THATCHER SAID IN A PRESS CONFERENCE IN AUSTRALIA LAST MONTH AND PRIVATELY IN A MEETING WITH U.S. SEN JESSE HELMS (R-N.C.) LAST WEEK THAT BRITAIN'S 13-YEAR OLD ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST ZIMBABWE-RHODESIA WILL BE ENDED WHEN THEY COME UP FOR RENEWAL IN BRITAIN'S CONSERVATIVE-CONTROLLED PARLIAMENT IN NOVEMBER.

SHE IS UNDER HEAVY PRESSURE FROM THE RIGHT WING OF HER PARTY IN BOTH THE HOUSE OF COMMONS AND HOUSE OF LORDS TO END SANCTIONS AND MOVE MORE QUICKLY TO GIVE MUZOREWA'S GOVERNMENT LEGAL RECOGNITION.

BUT HER COMMITMENT TO RESTORE ZIMBABWE-RHODESIA TO LEGALITY HAS BEEN PUBLICLY CRITICIZED BY MUCH OF BLACK AFRICA AND THE REST OF THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH. THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY SUMMIT MEETING NEXT WEEK IN MONROVIA, LIBERIA, IS BOUND TO PRODUCE MORE CRITICISM.

THATCHER COULD FACE ADDITIONAL PROBLEMS WHEN THE COMMONWEALTH NATIONS MEET NEXT MONTH IN LUSAKA, ZAMBIA, THE BASE FOR NKOMO'S GUERRILLAS. LUSAKA HAS SUFFERED FREQUENT MILITARY ATTACKS FROM ZIMBABWE-RHODESIA.

THERE HAVE BEEN FEARS HERE THAT A CONFRONTATION OVER ZIMBABWE-RHODESIA AT THE CONFERENCE, WHICH BOTH THATCHER AND QUEEN ELIZABETH II WILL ATTEND, COULD LEAD TO THE BREAKUP OF THE COMMONWEALTH. BRITAIN'S ECONOMIC TIES WITH NIGERIA, ITS BIGGEST TRADING PARTNER, ALSO ARE THREATENED.

THATCHER TOLD HELMS, THE CHIEF SUPPORTER OF THE MUZOREWA GOVERNMENT IN THE U S SENATE, THAT SHE WAS AFRAID OF THE COMMONWEALTH

MEETING,

MEETING, ACCORDING TO INFORMED SOURCES. SHE TOLD HELMS THAT SHE WANTED TO CONVINCENOUGH BLACK AFRICAN NATIONS TO SUPPORT THE BRITISH PLAN FOR RECOGNIZING ZIMBABWE-RHODESIA TO WIN OVER A MAJORITY OF THE COMMONWEALTH MEMBERS.

ALTHOUGH THE BRITISH PLAN WILL NOT BE COMPLETED AND ANNOUNCED UNTIL AFTER THE COMMONWEALTH MEETING, THATCHER WILL BE CONSULTING WITH THE OTHER HEADS OF GOVERNMENT IN LUSAKA ON ITS LIKELY CONTENTS. HER GOVERNMENT'S HOPE IS TO HAVE THE MOST ACCEPTABLE PLAN POSSIBLE READY BEFORE THE ECONOMIC SANCTIONS COME UP FOR RENEWAL IN PARLIAMENT HERE IN NOVEMBER.

IN HIS ANNOUNCEMENT TODAY OF BRITAIN'S INTENTIONS, CARRINGTON MADE NO MENTION OF THE UNITED STATES. THE PREVIOUS LABOR GOVERNMENT HERE AND THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION HAD JOINTLY DRAWN UP A SETTLEMENT PLAN FOR ZIMBABWE-RHODESIA THAT FAILED TO GAIN ACCEPTANCE. BRITISH GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS SAID THE UNITED STATES WOULD BE CONSULTED BUT THAT THE PLAN LIKELY WOULD BE SOLELY BRITISH.

U.S. OFFICIALS, ATTEMPTING TO FORESTALL ATTEMPTS BY CONSERVATIVES IN CONGRESS TO FORCE RECOGNITION OF THE MUZOREWA GOVERNMENT, HAVE EMPHASIZED IN RECENT MONTHS THAT THE PROBLEM IS BASICALLY A BRITISH ONE NOW AND THE NEXT MOVE WAS UP TO BRITAIN.

IN MAKING HIS ANNOUNCEMENT IN A SPEECH IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS HERE TODAY, CARRINGTON NOTED THAT BRITAIN DID NOT SHARE THE "DISPOSITION IN SOME SECTIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO SEEK TO IGNORE THE CHANGES WHICH HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN RHODESIA TO ARGUE THAT BISHOP MUZOREWA SHOULD BE TREATED IN THE SAME WAY AS THE PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT OF IAN SMITH."

BUT CARRINGTON SAID THAT LORD HARLECH, IN HIS CONSULTATIONS WITH GOVERNMENT LEADERS IN NIGERIA, ZAMBIA, TANZANIA, BOTSWANA, MALAWI, ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE, "FOUND IN AFRICA ENCOURAGING RECOGNITION THAT MAJOR CHANGES HAD TAKEN PLACE "IN ZIMBABWE-RHODESIA WITH THE ELECTION BY BLACK AND WHITE VOTERS OF A MULTI-RACIAL GOVERNMENT.

HE SAID THEY ALSO MADE CLEAR, TO HARLECH THEIR CRITICISMS OF THE NEW RHODESIAN CONSTITUTION AND THEIR "RECOGNITION AND INDEED EVEN A DEMAND THAT A SOLUTION MUST SPRING FROM BRITAIN, AS THE LEGALLY RESPONSIBLE AUTHORITY" FOR ITS FORMER COLONY.

CARRINGTON SAID HARLECH ALSO MET WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AND COMMUNICATED "THE VIEW AND ATTITUDES" OF THE AFRICAN PRESIDENTS AND THE PATRIOTIC FRONT TO MUZOREWA. HE ALSO CONVEYED BRITAIN'S "CONVICTION THAT THE PRESENT SITUATION GIVES US THE OPPORTUNITY TO WORK WITH HIM FOR A LASTING AND GENERALLY ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT," CARRINGTON SAID.

CARRINGTON

CARRINGTON SAID HE BELIEVED THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, THROUGH ITS NEW CONTACTS WITH THE MUZOREWA GOVERNMENT, IS NOW "IN A BETTER POSITION TO INFLUENCE EVENTS IN RHODESIA THAN AT ANY TIME" SINCE IAN SMITH DECLARED WHITE-RUN RHODESIA'S UNILATERAL INDEPENDENCE IN 1965 AND WAS OUTLAWED BY BRITAIN AND THE WORLD.

MANY OBSERVERS FEEL THAT MUZOREWA'S CHANCES TO MAINTAIN POWER ARE DECREASING MARKEDLY AS THE GUERRILLA WAR CONTINUES AND HE FAILS TO GAIN RECOGNITION. LAST MONTH, MUZOREWA LOST HIS ABSOLUTE MAJORITY IN THE RHODESIAN PARLIAMENT WITH THE DEFECTION OF AN EIGHT-MEMBER BLOC LED BY JAMES CHIKEREMA.

WHITE EMIGRATION, WHICH HAD SLOWED EARLIER THIS YEAR, HAS INCREASED AGAIN TO ABOUT 1,400 A MONTH. SINCE WHITES FORM THE BACK BONE OF THE MILITARY AND POLICE FORCES, A CONTINUING EXODUS COULD LOOM MUZOREWA NO MATTER WHAT THATCHER DOES.

ANOTHER POTENTIALLY CRUCIAL TEST WILL COME NEXT MONTH WHEN THE SPRING PLANTING SEASON BEGINS. THERE IS GROWING CONCERN THAT MANY WHITE FARMERS WILL CUT BACK OR STOP PLANTING BECAUSE OF FEARS FOR THEIR SAFETY, WHICH WOULD BE ANOTHER BAD BLOW TO THE ALREADY WEAKENED ECONOMY.

ROBINSON

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UNCLASSIFIED
FM FCO 161420Z JUL 79
TO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON
TELEGRAM NO 850 OF 16 JULY 1979

FOLLOWING FOR AMBASSADOR FROM PRIVATE SECRETARY:

YOUR TELNO 1942: SENATOR HELMS

1. RECORD HAS BEEN SENT BY BAG LEAVING FCO TODAY.

CARRINGTON

FILES
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SIR A DUFF

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No. 10 DOWNING STREET

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10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

16 July 1979

SENATOR HELMS

I am writing to confirm that, as I told you on the telephone, the Prime Minister has agreed that Sir Nicko Henderson may be given, strictly for his personal information, a copy of my note of Senator Helms' recent call on the Prime Minister.

B. G. CARTLEDGE

J. S. Wall, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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ADVANCE COPY

✓ Mr Cartledge No 10

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FM WASHINGTON 132225Z JUL 79

TO IMMEDIATE F.C.O.

TELEGRAM NUMBER 1942 OF 13 JULY.

FOLLOWING PERSONAL FOR CARTLEDGE, NO 10, AND PRIVATE SECRETARY.

SENATOR HELMS.

1. AS STATED IN WASHINGTON TELNO 1874 OF 11 JULY THE WASHINGTON POST EARLIER THIS WEEK REPORTED A MEETING BETWEEN THE PRIME MINISTER AND SENATOR HELMS LAST WEEK. I WOULD BE GRATEFUL FOR ANY RECORD YOU CAN LET ME HAVE OF THIS.

HENDERSON

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Action taken
for
1/9/79