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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

2 July 1979

Dear Bryan,

Rhodesia

*b.a
6/24
47*

In paragraph 3 of Singapore telegram number 225, the Prime Minister asked for advice on a proposed parliamentary reply about Rhodesia and the renewal of sanctions.

The Lord Privy Seal and Lord Harlech recommend that the Prime Minister might reply on the lines of the attached draft and supplementaries; i.e. that the probability that sanctions will not be renewed in November is a parliamentary fact; but the Government will be pursuing with determination its efforts to achieve a solution involving wide international acceptance.

President Nyerere has asked about the Prime Minister's reply to questions in Canberra (Dar-es-Salaam telno 510 - copy enclosed). We propose to instruct our High Commissioner in Dar-es-Salaam on the lines set out in paragraph 2 above. The Prime Minister will wish to be aware that the Foreign Ministers of the Organisation for African Unity will be meeting in Monrovia from 5-13 July and the Heads of State will be meeting from 16-19 July. We have been taking steps to seek to reduce the danger that they will commit themselves to specific actions against the United Kingdom in the event of the non-renewal of sanctions and the granting of legal independence to Rhodesia.

It is also important to our bargaining position in Salisbury, in relation for instance to constitutional change, that we should make clear - as the Prime Minister did in reply to questions in Canberra - that the granting of legal independence to Rhodesia depends on a positive judgement by Her Majesty's Government on the basis of which independence is granted.

I enclose additional supplementaries on questions which may arise over the relationship between the non-renewal of sanctions and our treaty obligations; and the fact that what is at issue in the case of Rhodesia is not recognition but the granting of legal independence.

I am sending a copy of this letter with the enclosures to Martin Vile (Cabinet Office).

Yours etc

Paul
(P Lever)

Private Secretary

B G Cartledge Esq
10 Downing Street
LONDON

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[RHODESIA: POLICY: ADVANCE COPIES]

FLASH

PS
PS/SIR I. GILFLOUR
PS/MR LUCE
PS/PUS
SIR A DUFF
~~MR DAY~~ *W. Wilson*
MR WILLIAMS
~~MR DUFFY~~

+ 23

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET ~~(10)~~

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HE/UND
HD/NEWS D

MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RM K200A

MR STEEL LEGAL ADVISER RM K176

~~RESIDENT OFFICE~~

SIR C ROSE
MR P. M. MAXEY
COL MOIR
MR P. J. FOWLER
DIO } CABINET OFFICE

~~FOR ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENTS UNIT
ADD MR LYNCH CDM
MR SLATER TREASURY~~

GR 828

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FM SINGAPORE 020217Z JUL 79

TO FLASH FCO

TELNO 225 OF 2 JULY

FROM HUNT

PRIME MINISTER'S PRESS CONFERENCE IN CANBERRA ON 1 JULY: RHODESIA.

1. FOLLOWING IS FULL TRANSCRIPT OF PRIME MINISTER'S REPLY TO A QUESTION ABOUT RHODESIA AND SUPERCEDES SECOND PARA OF LAST NIGHT'S TELEGRAM FROM CANBERRA.

2. QUOTE QUESTION. PRIME MINISTER, WHAT IS THE TIMETABLE FOR THE RECOGNITION OF MUZOREWA'S REGIME? AND WAS IT REALLY NECESSARY AS REPORTED IN SOME SECTIONS OF THE AUSTRALIAN MEDIA THIS MORNING FOR OUR PRIME MINISTER, MR FRASER, TO ATTEMPT TO PERSUADE YOU NOT TO BE TOO HASTY IN REACHING YOUR DECISION? UNQUOTE.

THE PRIME MINISTER ANSWERED: QUOTE. THERE IS NOT A STRICT TIMETABLE ON RECOGNITION OF RHODESIA. WE ARE CLEARLY ANXIOUS TO TAKE AS MANY NATIONS WITH US AS POSSIBLE. I THINK MOST NATIONS REALISE THAT SOMETHING DIFFERENT HAS HAPPENED IN RHODESIA WITH THE HOLDING OF THESE ELECTIONS. THERE WERE ELECTIONS IN WHICH THERE WAS ONE PERSON

THESE ELECTIONS. THERE WERE ELECTIONS IN WHICH THERE WAS ONE PERSON ONE VOTE FOR FOUR DIFFERENT POLITICAL PARTIES AND IN WHICH 65 PER CENT OF THE PEOPLE TURNED OUT TO VOTE. NOW THAT IS QUITE GOOD IN ANY NATION ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD. IT IS PARTICULARLY GOOD IN A NATION IN AFRICA. NOW A NUMBER OF PEOPLE ARE BEING SLIGHTLY CRITICAL OF THE CONSTITUTION. MOST PEOPLE REALISE THAT THE HOLDING OF THESE ELECTIONS AND THEIR SUCCESS AND THE TURNOUT WERE IN FACT AN EVENT WHICH NO ONE CAN IGNORE, AND THAT SOMETHING VERY DIFFERENT HAS HAPPENED IN RHODESIA. NOW THAT IS THE BASIS ON WHICH TO BUILD.

SOME PEOPLE ARE BEING CRITICAL OF THE CONSTITUTION. EVERYONE ACCEPTS THERE IS A MAJORITY OF BLACK AFRICANS IN THE RHODESIAN PARLIAMENT AND THAT WE HAVE A BLACK PRIME MINISTER AND THAT THEREFORE THERE IS A BLACK MAJORITY GOVERNMENT. A NUMBER OF PEOPLE WOULD HOLD THAT PERHAPS THERE ARE TOO MANY WHITE PEOPLE IN POSITIONS WITHIN THAT PARLIAMENT AND WILL OBJECT TO THERE BEING PERHAPS 28 OUT OF A HUNDRED. THAT IS WHAT I HAVE HEARD ^{AS} SOME PEOPLE SAY.

NO ONE QUESTIONS THAT THERE IS A MAJORITY OF BLACK RHODESIANS IN PARLIAMENT, A MAJORITY OF BLACK MINISTERS IN THE CABINET AND A BLACK PRIME MINISTER. NOW STARTING FROM THAT BASIS IT MEANS THAT THERE IS A POSSIBILITY OF GETTING SOME AGREEMENT ON GOING FORWARD.

I WOULD SAY THIS VERY VERY FIRMLY. UNFORTUNATELY, THERE IS STILL TERRORISM OPERATING. WE MUST MAKE CERTAIN THAT THE BULLET DOES NOT BEAT THE BALLOT AND THAT THEREFORE THOSE PEOPLE WHO ARE STILL OPERATING TERRORISM DO NOT HAVE A VETO OVER ANY CONSTITUTION WHATSOEVER. THAT ULTIMATELY WHAT WE GET IN RHODESIA MUST BE WHAT THE PEOPLE OF RHODESIA THEMSELVES WANT. NOW IT IS IN THAT SPIRIT THAT WE ARE TRYING TO CONSULT WITH ALL OUR COMMONWEALTH PARTNERS AND SOME OUTSIDE THE COMMONWEALTH AND OF COURSE WITH AMERICA ON THE BEST WAY OF GOING FORWARD.

NOW THERE IS NOT A STRICT TIMETABLE FOR RECOGNITION. AS YOU KNOW PRESIDENT CARTER HAS SOME PROBLEMS OVER THE RESOLUTIONS ON SANCTIONS AND BRITISH SANCTIONS WOULD LAPSE IN NOVEMBER AND WE DOUBT VERY MUCH WHETHER A RENEWAL OF SANCTIONS WOULD GO THROUGH THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT. THAT GOES FOR SANCTIONS. RECOGNITION IS A SLIGHTLY WIDER PROBLEM AND COULD TAKE JUST A LITTLE BIT LONGER. UNQUOTE.

3. IN ANSWER TO QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE, THE PRIME MINISTER DOES NOW WISH TO TAKE A DEFENSIVE LINE. SHE IS CONSIDERING RESPONDING TO QUESTIONS ABOUT THE RENEWAL OF SANCTIONS ON THE FOLLOWING LINES:

THE SITUATION WE NOW HAVE IN RHODESIA IS THAT 65.

QUOTE. THE SITUATION WE NOW HAVE IN RHODESIA IS THAT 65 PER CENT OF THE ADULT POPULATION HAVE VOTED, ON THE BASIS OF ONE PERSON, ONE VOTE, AND CHOOSING BETWEEN FOUR POLITICAL PARTIES, FOR A BLACK PRIME MINISTER, A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK GOVERNMENT AND A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK PARLIAMENT. WE HAVE THEREFORE A DIFFERENT SITUATION THAT CANNOT BE IGNORED. IT MAY BE THAT SOME FURTHER CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE WILL BE CONSIDERED BEFORE RECOGNITION AND HMG WILL BE CONSULTING FULLY ALL THOSE CONCERNED. NO DECISION HAS BEEN TAKEN YET, BUT ON THE BASIS OF THE PRESENT SITUATION I DOUBT WHETHER PARLIAMENT WOULD APPROVE THE RENEWAL OF SANCTIONS WHEN THEY FALL DUE FOR RENEWAL IN NOVEMBER. UNQUOTE.

4. GRATEFUL IF THIS LINE AND POSSIBLE SUPPLEMENTARY ANSWERS COULD BE CONSIDERED URGENTLY.

HENNINGS

[This ltr has been passed to Delhi]

NNNN

[R.C has received a copy]

DRAFT PARLIAMENTARY REPLY

"The situation we now have in Rhodesia is that 65% of the adult population have voted, on the basis of one person, one vote, and choosing between four political parties, for a black Prime Minister, a predominantly black government and a predominantly black Parliament. There is therefore a different situation on which we must seek to build. There has been criticism of the Constitution; and it remains to be seen if progress can be made towards ending the war. Our objective is to try to bring about conditions in which legal independence can be granted to Rhodesia with wide international acceptance."

DESKBY 021200Z
[RHODESIA: POLICY: ADVANCE COPIES]

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PS
PS/SIR I. GILGOUR
PS/MR LUCE
PS/PUS
SIR A DUFF
~~MR WILLIAMS~~
MR WILLIAMS

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET (3)

HD/RHODESIA D (3)
HD/EAD
HD/C AF D
HD/S AF D

SIR C ROSE
MR P.H. MAXEY
COL MOIR
MR P J FOWLER
DIO } CABINET OFFICE

HD/UND
HD/NEWS D
HD/WAD
MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RM K200A
MR STEEL LEGAL ADVISER RM K176
RESIDENT CLERK

FOR ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENTS DT
ADD MR LYNCH ODM
MR SLATER TREASURY

GR 450
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[Files]

IMMEDIATE

DESKBY FCO 021200Z

FM DAR ES SALAAM 020900Z JULY 79
TO IMMEDIATE FCO

ADVANCE COPY

TELNO 510 OF 2 JULY

INFO IMMEDIATE LAGOS, GABORONE, MAPUTO, LUSAKAJUULUANDA,
MIRIMBA SALISBURY, LILONGWE, CANBERRA
PRIORITY WASHINGTON, UKMIS NEW YORK, PRETORIA

RHODESIA

1. ON THE INSTRUCTIONS OF PRESIDENT NYERERE, WHO IS IN MWANZAN UNTIL TOMORROW, MISS WICKEN ASKED TO SEE ME THIS MORNING. SHE SAID THAT THE PRESIDENT HAD HEARD WITH DEEP CONCERN THE REPORT OF A STATEMENT MADE BY THE PRIME MINISTER IN CANBERRA TO THE EFFECT THAT THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT WOULD NOT RENEW SANCTIONS AGAINST RHODESIA WHEN THEY LAPSED IN NOVEMBER. IT APPEARED FROM THE REPORTS THAT MRS THATCHER WAS MAKING A DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE REMOVAL OF SANCTIONS AND RECOGNITION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF BISHOP MUZOREWA. SO FAR AS THEY WERE CONCERNED THERE WAS NO DISTINCTION. (WITH PARA 4 OF MY TELNO 398 IN MIND, I REMARKED THAT THE PRESIDENT HAD PREVIOUSLY PUT THE POINT TO ME RATHER LESS CATEGORICALLY, THOUGH HIS BROAD SENSE WAS THE SAME). MISS WICKEN WENT ON THAT PRESIDENT NYERERE FELT THAT AS REPORTED MRS THATCHER'S STATEMENT WAS INCOMPATIBLE WITH WHAT LORD HARLECH HAD SAID TO HIM ABOUT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT NOT YET HAVING TAKEN ITS DECISIONS. IF IN FACT WE HAD DECIDED TO REMOVE SANCTIONS IN NOVEMBER "WHAT WAS THE POINT OF THEIR GOING TO LUSAKA FOR THE CHOICE". MISS WICKEN ENDED

WE HAD DECIDED TO REMOVE SANCTIONS IN NOVEMBER "WHAT WAS THE POINT OF THEIR GOING TO LUSAKA FOR THE CHOGM". MISS WICKEN ENDED BY SAYING THAT SHE EXPECTED THE PRESIDENT TO ASK TO SEE ME ON HIS RETURN FROM MWANZA.

2. I ASKED MISS WICKEN TO CLARIFY WHAT SHE HAD SAID ABOUT GOING TO LUSAKA AND SHE REPEATED THAT WHILE THEY RECOGNISED THAT RHODESIA WAS ONLY ONE ITEM ON THE AGENDA OF CHOGM IT WAS SO IMPORTANT FOR THEM THAT IT WOULD NOT BE UNDERSTOOD IF THEY WERE TO ATTEND IN THE AFTERMATH OF A DECISION BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO LIFT SANCTIONS.

3. I SAID THAT THE REPORT I HAD HEARD OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S STATEMENT (AND I HAD NOT YET ANY INFORMATION ABOUT ITS ACCURACY) HAD SOUNDED MORE LIKE A POLITICAL PREDICTION ABOUT VIEWS IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS THAN A STATEMENT OF POLICY. MISS WICKEN SAID THAT THIS DID NOT HELP. SUCH A PREDICTION COMING FROM THE PRIME MINISTER HAD THE SAME EFFECT AS A STATEMENT OF POLICY. I DEMURRED AND WENT OVER AGAIN WITH MISS WICKEN ALL THE POINTS IN YOUR TELNO 350 TO LUSAKA WHICH MADE CLEAR THAT WE HAD NOT YET REACHED ANY FIRM CONCLUSIONS. MISS WICKEN WAS NOT MUCH CONVINCED AND ARGUED THAT EVEN IF THE DIFFICULTY OF REVOTING SANCTIONS IN PARLIAMENT IN NOVEMBER HAD TO BE ADMITTED, THE PRIME MINISTER SHOULD AT THE SAME TIME HAVE MADE CLEAR THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAD STILL NOT DECIDED WHAT IT WAS GOING TO DO OR TRY TO DO.

4. I SHOULD BE GRATEFUL FOR GUIDANCE ON WHAT I SHOULD SAY TO PRESIDENT NYERERE WHEN SUMMONED TO REACH ME NOT LATER THAN 0800Z TOMORROW 3 JULY.

MOON

NNNN

SUPPLEMENTARIES

1. If asked about the renewal of sanctions in November:

"I pointed out in Canberra the parliamentary fact that it is doubtful whether a renewal of sanctions would be approved by the British Parliament. Our objective is to bring about a situation in which legal independence can be granted and sanctions lifted with wide international acceptance."

2. Would not the non-renewal of sanctions put us in breach of our obligations under the United Nations Charter?

What we are aiming for is a solution which would enable us to grant legal independence to Rhodesia and lift sanctions in a context of wide international acceptance.

[As necessary] The renewal of sanctions under Section 2 of the Southern Rhodesia Act (1965) requires an affirmative vote in both Houses of Parliament.

3. Why has Britain not yet recognised Bishop Muzorewa's government?

In the case of Rhodesia, the question is not one of recognition but of the granting of legal independence, for which Britain has a constitutional responsibility. Our intention is to bring Rhodesia to independence with the widest possible international acceptance.

- 2 JUL 1979

