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FM FCO 201940Z FEB 80

TO IMMEDIATE CANBERRA

TELEGRAM NUMBER 97 OF 20 FEBRUARY

INFO IMMEDIATE SALISBURY DAR ES SALAAM LUSAKA WASHINGTON UKMIS NEW YORK

P S TO PRIME MINISTER
10 DOWNING ST

YOUR TELNOS 128 136 AND 137 (NOW REPEATED TO OTHERS) RHODESIA.

1. I WILL SEE MR PEACOCK AT 11.30 ON 22 FEBRUARY. I CANNOT UNFORTUNATELY GIVE HIM LUNCH BUT MR BLAKER WILL DO SO. WE SHALL KEEP IN TOUCH WITH THE HIGH COMMISSION HERE ON THE DETAILS.

2. OUR INTERPRETATION OF NYERERE'S POSITION IS VERY DIFFERENT FROM THAT OF MR FRASER. SINCE THE MEETING OF FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS ON 10 JANUARY NYERERE HAS TAKEN THE LEAD IN ORCHESTRATING A CAMPAIGN AGAINST OUR ADMINISTRATION OF RHODESIA. HIS AIMS SEEM TO HAVE BEEN: (A) TO EXONERATE MUGABE FROM ANY BREACHES OF THE AGREEMENTS. THIS VIEW IS NOT SHARED BY ANY PARTY IN RHODESIA INCLUDING NKOMO. (WE ARE REPEATING TO YOU SALISBURY TELNO 724 CONTAINING LORD SOAMES' REPORT OF HIS LATEST CONVERSATION WITH NKOMO ON WHICH YOU MAY DRAW IN TALKING TO MR FRASER).

(B) TO WIN THE MAXIMUM INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR QUOTE HIS UNQUOTE CANDIDATE IN THE ELECTIONS: IE MUGABE: AND

(C) TO PREPARE THE GROUND FOR REFUSING TO ACCEPT THE RESULTS OF ANY ELECTIONS WHICH DO NOT BRING MUGABE TO POWER.

TO ACHIEVE THESE AIMS HE HAS TAKEN THE INITIATIVE IN PROMOTING ACTION AT THE OAU AND THE UN WITH THE AIM OF DISCREDITING OUR STEWARDSHIP IN RHODESIA. HIS LATEST MESSAGE TO THE PRIME MINISTER SHOWS THAT HE IS ALMOST ENTIRELY IMPERVIOUS TO MASSIVE BREACHES OF THE AGREEMENTS PERPETRATED BY MUGABE'S SUPPORTERS WHILE CONTINUING TO MAKE ALLEGATIONS ABOUT THE AUXILIARIES WHICH ARE NOT SUPPORTED BY ANY INDEPENDENT EVIDENCE. WE HAVE REPEATED TO YOU THE PRIME MINISTER'S REPLY TO THIS LATEST MESSAGE ON WHICH YOU MAY ALSO DRAW IN SPEAKING TO MR FRASER.

3. PLEASE TELL MR FRASER THAT THE PRIME MINISTER AND I ARE GRATEFUL FOR HIS INTERVENTIONS WITH KAUNDA AND NYERERE. THE PRIME MINISTER HAS RECEIVED A MESSAGE FROM KAUNDA EXPRESSING THE DESIRE TO RESTORE CORDIALITY AND CO-OPERATION IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS. THE PRIME MINISTER WILL BE RESPONDING APPROPRIATELY AND WILL RECIPROCATATE KAUNDA'S DESIRE TO KEEP IN CLOSE TOUCH OVER RHODESIA DURING THE CRUCIAL FEW WEEKS WHICH LIE AHEAD.

4. NYERERE'S POSITION IS VERY DIFFERENT. HE WAS CONSISTENTLY UNHELPFUL DURING THE LANCASTER HOUSE CONFERENCE. THERE IS NO DOUBT IN MY MIND THAT HE IS ENTIRELY COMMITTED TO MUGABE'S VICTORY IN THE ELECTIONS AND WILL NOT ACCEPT A RESULT WHICH DOES NOT BRING MUGABE TO POWER. THIS IS MAKING ANY RATIONAL DIALOGUE WITH HIM EXTREMELY DIFFICULT, IN CONTRAST TO THE POSITION WITH E.G. MACHEL AND KAUNDA.

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/ THE PRIME MINISTER

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THE PRIME MINISTER HAS DEALT PATIENTLY AND AT LENGTH WITH NYERERE'S CONCERNS IN THE TWO LENGTHY MESSAGES WHICH SHE HAS SENT HIM. NYERERE FOR HIS PART SEEMS UNABLE TO ACCEPT THAT MUGABE AND HIS SUPPORTERS ARE BREAKING THE AGREEMENTS BY CARRYING OUT INTIMIDATION ON A MASSIVE SCALE. IF ONE TRACES NYERERE'S ACTIONS SINCE EARLY JANUARY ONE FINDS A PATTERN OF CAREFULLY ORCHESTRATED OPPOSITION TO OUR ADMINISTRATION, RUNNING THROUGH THE MEETINGS OF FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS AT BEIRA IN EARLY JANUARY; THE SUBSEQUENT MEETING OF THE OAU LIBERATION COMMITTEE IN DAR ES SALAAM; THE DESPATCH OF MR MKAPA (FOREIGN MINISTER) ON A MISSION THROUGH AFRICA AND CUBA TO WIN SUPPORT FOR OPPOSITION TO OUR ADMINISTRATION; THE MEETING OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL IN NEW YORK; AND FINALLY THE OAU MINISTERIAL MEETING IN ADDIS ABABA. IN ALL THESE TANZANIA HAS TAKEN THE LEAD AGAINST US, ACCUSING THE GOVERNOR OF BIAS WHILE EXONERATING MUGABE AND HIS PARTY FROM ANY BLAME. IN EFFECT NYERERE HAS BEEN WAGING MUGABE'S ELECTION CAMPAIGN ON THE INTERNATIONAL LEVEL.

5. THE PICTURE INSIDE RHODESIA IS VERY DIFFERENT (AS WE HOPE THE AUSTRALIANS WILL REALISE FROM THE BRIEFINGS GIVEN TO THEIR HIGH COMMISSION HERE, THE MATERIAL WHICH WE AND SALISBURY HAVE SENT YOU, AND THE REPORTS OF THEIR OWN OBSERVERS). YOU SHOULD DRAW ON APPROPRIATE MATERIAL INCLUDING THE PRIME MINISTER'S REPLY TO NYERERE TO BRING MR FRASER UP TO DATE. IN PARTICULAR YOU SHOULD EMPHASISE:

(A) THE SCALE OF ZANLA INTIMIDATION, AND NKOMO'S VIEWS ON IT:

(B) THE FACT THAT THE LANCASTER HOUSE AGREEMENTS DO NOT REQUIRE THE RHODESIAN FORCES TO BE QUOTE CONFINED TO BARRACKS UNQUOTE. THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THEY WOULD REMAIN IN THE VICINITY OF THEIR COMPANY BASES HAVE NOT BEEN MET, BECAUSE ZANLA HAVE FAILED TO ASSEMBLE ALL THEIR FORCES. THERE ARE SEVERAL THOUSAND AT LARGE IN THE EASTERN PART OF THE COUNTRY. THEY HAVE BEEN INSTRUCTED TO STAY OUTSIDE THE ASSEMBLY AREAS BY THE ZANU(PF) LEADERSHIP:

(C) THE AUXILIARIES ARE CLOSELY MONITORED BY THE COMMONWEALTH MONITORING FORCE. ALL COMPLAINTS AGAINST THEM ARE INVESTIGATED, AND VERY FEW ARE FOUND TO BE WARRANTED. THE PROBLEM OF THE AUXILIARIES IS INSIGNIFICANT IN COMPARISON WITH THAT PRESENTED BY ZANLA INTIMIDATION:

(D) THE PICTURE IN RELATION TO MR NKOMO'S FORCES IS QUITE DIFFERENT. THEY HAVE ASSEMBLED AND ARE OBSERVING THE CEASEFIRE. MR NKOMO IS AS WORRIED AS OTHER POLITICAL

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LEADERS ABOUT ZANLA INTIMIDATION. HIS CANDIDATES HAVE BEEN ABDUCTED AND HE HAS BEEN PREVENTED FROM CAMPAIGNING IN LARGE PARTS OF THE COUNTRY:

(E) THE POLICE ARE INVESTIGATING THE RECENT CHURCH BOMBINGS. IT COULD BE WRONG TO JUMP TO CONCLUSIONS BEFORE THE INVESTIGATIONS ARE COMPLETE.

6. YOU SHOULD GO ON TO EXPLAIN TO MR FRASER THAT THE MAIN RISK AT PRESENT IS THAT, BECAUSE OF THE SCALE OF ZANLA INTIMIDATION, OTHER PARTIES INSIDE RHODESIA WILL REFUSE TO ACCEPT THE OUTCOME OF THE ELECTIONS AS FAIR. THIS WOULD PUT AT RISK ALL THAT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED. IT WAS MADE QUITE CLEAR AT LANCASTER HOUSE THAT ANY PARTY WHICH PRACTISED SYSTEMATIC INTIMIDATION WOULD RISK FIRM ACTION AGAINST IT. THIS WARNING WAS OF DECISIVE IMPORTANCE IN GETTING THE INTERNAL PARTIES TO SIGN THE AGREEMENT. IT IS THEREFORE ESSENTIAL THAT THE GOVERNOR SHOULD NOT ALLOW MUGABE TO GET AWAY WITH BREAKING HIS COMMITMENTS. WHETHER THE GOVERNOR HAS TO USE THE POWERS WHICH HE HAS TAKEN WILL DEPEND UPON ZANLA'S BEHAVIOUR BETWEEN NOW AND THE ELECTIONS. BUT MR FRASER SHOULD BE UNDER NO ILLUSION THAT LORD SOAMES IS UNDER VERY HEAVY PRESSURE TO DO SO FROM ALL THE PARTIES INSIDE RHODESIA INCLUDING NKOMO.

7. I LOOK FORWARD TO DISCUSSING THESE POINTS MORE FULLY WITH MR PEACOCK. IN THE MEANTIME, I HOPE THAT MR FRASER WILL RECOGNISE THAT NYERERE'S VIEW OF THE SITUATION IN RHODESIA REALLY IS DISTORTED AND BASED ON PARTIAL AND INACCURATE INFORMATION FROM MUGABE. HE CAN REASSURE NYERERE THAT OUR AIM REMAINS TO HOLD THE FAIREST POSSIBLE ELECTIONS AND THAT WE WILL HAND OVER POWER TO WHATEVER GOVERNMENT EMERGES FROM SUCH ELECTIONS. WE HOPE SIMILARLY THAT NYERERE WILL MAKE CLEAR THAT HE WILL NOT SUPPORT ANY PARTY WHICH SEEKS TO RETURN TO THE WAR AFTER ELECTIONS. WE SHALL BEAR IN MIND MR FRASER'S SUGGESTION THAT PRESIDENT TITO'S FUNERAL WOULD BE AN OPPORTUNITY FOR DISCUSSION WITH KAUNDA AND NYERERE.

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ECD(E)
UND
LEGAL ADVISERS
(MR FREELAND)
ECON DEPT

DEF D
IPD
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NEWS D
PS
PS/SIR I GILMOUR
PS/MR LUCE
PS/MR RIDLEY
PS/MR HURD
PS/MR MARTEN
PS/PUS
SIR D MAITLAND
SIR A ACLAND

LORD N G LENNOX
MR DAY
MR FERGUSSON
MR ASPIN
MR MILLS
CFO

ADDITIONAL DIST.
RHODESIA POLICY