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*MooBA to see
CPM discussed with Lord Carrington
(today) MA 11/2*

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

11 February 1980

Dear Michael,

Rhodesia

We spoke about Lord Soames's growing concern at the scale of intimidation practised by Mugabe's ZANLA forces. I enclose copies of Salisbury telegrams 467 and 486 describing this. It has reached a point at which Nkomo and Muzorewa have been unable to campaign in certain areas: one of Nkomo's candidates has been abducted and murdered. Although there have also been (well published) problems with the activities of the auxiliaries, these have not been remotely comparable to the scale of ZANLA's activities.

To deter intimidation, the Governor has already required all the parties to renew the pledge given at Lancaster House to campaign peacefully, and has also enacted an Ordinance which gives him the power to impose limited penalties on any party which is guilty of activities in breach of the agreement. These include the power to ban meetings in certain areas; to suspend a candidate from campaigning; and, in the last resort, to ban a party from participating in elections in certain districts.

However, the Governor has reached the conclusion that these powers alone will not be a sufficient deterrent to ZANLA. All the other parties remain deeply concerned by the problem and are pressing for more vigorous action. The problem is described in Salisbury telegram 525, a copy of which I enclose. Lord Soames's fear is that, unless action is taken, either Nkomo or Muzorewa may refuse to participate further in the elections. This could face us with a very difficult situation and delay our withdrawal from Rhodesia. The Governor therefore intends to make a further Ordinance which would enable him to declare, in relation to a particular district or area, that it was not possible to hold fair elections because of continuous intimidation and violence. Whether or not it eventually proved necessary to use the powers would depend on the performance of ZANLA in the meantime, though you will note that the Governor believes that he would almost certainly have to use them, in some areas.

/Lord Carrington

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Lord Carrington has told the Governor that he agrees that he should make the proposed Ordinance. While it will certainly be alleged, if the powers are used, that the purpose is discrimination against Mugabe, the Ordinance in itself is in fact non-discriminatory and can apply to any party. The alternative of banning ZANU is more likely to cause an international reaction and could lead to Mugabe's withdrawal from the elections. Lord Carrington has emphasised to the Governor the importance of obtaining an assurance that Muzorewa and Nkomo will accept the Ordinance (since their voters would be affected too) and also of persuading Nkomo to speak privately to certain African Heads of Government to explain the need for this measure to them. This would be a considerable help in moderating or at least confusing the reactions of African governments. The intention is that the Ordinance would be made this week after the Governor has consulted the main political leaders.

yours ever
Rodric Lyne

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