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Mr Nove,
SPD
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FCO 281709Z JAN 80

TO IMMEDIATE CANBERRA

TELEGRAM NUMBER 64 OF 28 JANUARY 1980

AND TO IMMEDIATE SALISBURY PRETORIA LUSAKA MAPUTO GABORONE

DAR ES SALAAM LAGOS NAIROBI WELLINGTON KINGSTON WASHINGTON

UKMIS NEW YORK

MY TELNO 46 (NOT TO ALL): RHODESIA: MESSAGE FROM THE AUSTRALIAN FOREIGN MINISTER.

PLEASE PASS THE FOLLOWING REPLY FROM ME TO THE DEA FOR TRANSMISSION TO ANDREW PEACOCK (WHO I UNDERSTAND HAS LEFT FOR HIS ASIAN TOUR)

BEGINS

DEAR ANDREW,

THANK YOU FOR YOUR LETTER OF 21 JANUARY IN WHICH YOU TOLD ME OF THE APPROACHES YOUR PRIME MINISTER HAD RECEIVED FROM PRESIDENT NYERERE AND PRESIDENT KAUNDA ABOUT THE SITUATION IN RHODESIA. IT WILL COME AS NO SURPRISE TO YOU TO KNOW THAT MARGARET THATCHER AND I HAVE HAD VERY SIMILAR MESSAGES.

WE HAVE ALREADY DEALT, IN A REPLY TO JULIUS NYERERE, WITH THE MAIN ISSUES TO WHICH YOU REFER. I AM ARRANGING FOR YOU TO RECEIVE A COPY.

I RECOGNISE THE CONCERN WHICH THE LIMITED SOUTH AFRICAN PRESENCE AT BEITBRIDGE CAUSED AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS. BUT ONE HAS TO REMEMBER THAT THE FORMER INTERNAL PARTIES, BLACK AND WHITE, ATTACHED VERY CONSIDERABLE IMPORTANCE TO THE PROTECTION OF THE BRIDGE DURING THE DIFFICULT AND DANGEROUS PERIOD OF ESTABLISHING THE CEASEFIRE, AND THE SOUTH AFRICANS THEMSELVES HAVE A PERFECTLY VALID INTEREST IN THE DEFENCE OF THE BRIDGE. HOWEVER WE HAVE NOW STATED PUBLICLY THAT RHODESIAN FORCES WILL TAKE OVER THE PROTECTION OF THE NORTH END OF THE BRIDGE AS SOON AS ALTERNATIVE ARRANGEMENTS CAN BE MADE. I HOPE THAT THIS WILL DEFUSE THE ISSUE WHICH IS OF NO INTRINSIC IMPORTANCE AND HAS ONLY SERVED TO DIVERT ATTENTION AWAY FROM THE VERY REAL PROBLEMS WHICH THE GOVERNOR FACES OVER COMPLIANCE WITH THE CEASEFIRE.

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THERE HAVE CERTAINLY BEEN PROBLEMS WITH THE AUXILIARIES. THE GOVERNOR HAS TAKEN ACTION TO INVESTIGATE AND CONTROL THEIR ACTIVITIES AND THE NUMBER OF COMPLAINTS RECEIVED ABOUT THEIR ACTIVITIES BY THE CEASE-FIRE COMMISSION HAS DECLINED.

AS YOU KNOW, THE LANCASTER HOUSE AGREEMENTS SPECIFICALLY AUTHORISES THE GOVERNOR TO MAKE USE OF THE RHODESIAN FORCES TO DEAL WITH VIOLATIONS OF THE CEASE-FIRE AGREEMENT. NO-ONE CAN REASONABLY COMPLAIN WHAT HE HAS BEEN FORCED TO DO SO BY PERSISTANT BREACHES OF THE CEASE-FIRE, MAINLY BY MUGABES FORCES.

NYERERE'S POINT ABOUT THE NUMBER OF LOCATIONS FOR THE PF TO ASSEMBLE FRANKLY SHOWS HOW OUT OF TOUCH HE IS WITH DEVELOPMENTS. THERE HAS BEEN NO REQUEST FROM THE PATRIOTIC FRONT FOR EXTRA ASSEMBLY PLACES. INDEED THEY AGREED TO REDUCE THE NUMBER FROM SIXTEEN TO FOURTEEN.

YOU SUGGEST THAT ANY JUDGEMENT OF THE ELECTIONS WILL HAVE TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE POINT RAISED BY KAUNDA AND NYERERE. YOU WILL, I AM SURE, RECOGNISE THAT THEY REPRESENT ONLY ONE SIDE OF THE COIN. THERE ARE A CONSIDERABLE NUMBER OF MATTERS ON WHICH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT ARE AT FAULT. SEVERAL THOUSAND MEMBERS OF ZANLA FORCES HAVE FAILED TO ASSEMBLE. DAILY BREACHES OF THE CEASE-FIRE, INCLUDING CROSS-BORDER MOVEMENT AND INTIMIDATION OF RURAL VOTERS CONTINUE. IT HAS ONLY BEEN UNDER SUSTAINED PRESSURE FROM US THAT MUGABE HAS FINALLY AGREED TO RELEASE THE POLITICAL DETAINEES WHOM HE HAS BEEN HOLDING IN CONTRAVENTION OF THE AGREEMENTS.

THE FACT IS THAT THE GOVERNOR IS WALKING A TIGHTROPE. HE CAN ONLY WORK BY PERSUASION, NOT BY FORCE. HE HAS TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE INTERESTS OF THE INTERNAL PARTIES AS WELL AS THE PF - AND IT IS IMPORTANT TO REMEMBER THAT THE FORMER DO NOT HAVE AN INTERNATIONAL LOBBY WHICH AUTOMATICALLY REPEATS AND AMPLIFIES THEIR EVERY COMPLAINT AS IS THE CASE WITH THE PF. THE SETTLEMENT CANNOT WORK WITHOUT THEIR ACTIVE SUPPORT AND COOPERATION. THERE HAVE BEEN TIMES DURING THE PAST FEW WEEKS WHEN THEY HAVE COME CLOSE TO LOSING PATIENCE WITH THE SETTLEMENT.

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IN THE MEANTIME, I HOPE THAT YOU WILL SUPPORT OUR EFFORTS TO KEEP THESE ISSUES OUT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL. OR IF THAT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO KEEP THE TEMPERATURE DOWN. THE LANCASTER HOUSE AGREEMENTS ESTABLISHED THE CEASE-FIRE COMMISSION AND THE ELECTION COUNCIL, ON WHICH NKOMO AND MUGABE ARE OF COURSE REPRESENTED. THEY ARE THE PROPER BODIES FOR RESOLVING THE PROBLEMS WHICH INEVITABLY ARISE IN IMPLEMENTING THE SETTLEMENT. I BELIEVE THAT A SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING AND THE SORT OF ONE-SIDED RESOLUTION WHICH IT WOULD BE LIKELY TO PRODUCE COULD DO NOTHING BUT HARM: INDEED IT COULD PUT AT RISK ALL THAT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED. WE SHALL LOOK TO THOSE WHO SHARE OUR INTEREST IN BRINGING THE PROCESS TO A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION TO EXERCISE THE GREATEST RESTRAINT AND IMPARTIALITY BETWEEN THE PARTIES.

WE LOOK FORWARD TO DISCUSSING ALL THIS WITH MALCOLM FRASER NEXT WEEK.

PETER CARRINGTON

ENDS

CARRINGTON

F I L E S

RHOD D	OID
OADS	NEWS D
NAD	PS
	PS/SIR I GILMOUR
PUSD	PS/MR LUCE
PLANNING STAFF	PS/MR RIDLEY
ES & SD	PS/MR HURD
	PS/MR MARTEN
CCD	PS/PUS
FRD	SIR D MAITLAND
EID (E)	
UND	MR HANNAY
LEGAL ADVISERS	LORD N G LENNOX
(MR FREELAND)	MISS BROWN
(MR FIFOOT)	MR DAY
ECON D	MR FERGUSSON
PCD	MR ASPIN
DEF D	MR MILLS
IPD	CPO

ADDITIONAL DISTRIBUTION
RHODESIA POLICY

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FM F C O 221556Z JAN 80
TO PRIORITY CANBERRA
TELEGRAM NUMBER 46 OF 22 JANUARY

M I P T

RHODESIA - MR PEACOCK'S MESSAGE TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE

1. FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM MR PEACOCK, UNCLASSIFIED BY AUSTRALIANS, WAS DELIVERED BY AUSTRALIAN ACTING HIGH COMMISSIONER TO SECRETARY OF STATE ON 21 JANUARY.

BEGINS

DEAR LORD CARRINGTON,

I AM WRITING TO LET YOU KNOW THAT MALCOLM FRASER HAS RECEIVED AN ORAL MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT NYERERE AND A TELEPHONE CALL FROM PRESIDENT KAUNDA CONCERNING THE SITUATION IN RHODESIA. I UNDERSTAND THAT PRESIDENT NYERERE HAS WRITTEN TO MRS THATCHER ON THE SAME MATTERS.

WHAT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA SINCE ITS RETURN TO LEGALITY HAS BEEN NOTHING LESS THAN REMARKABLE. MY ADMIRATION GOES TO ALL THOSE WHO, BY A GENUINE COMMITMENT TO THE AIMS OF LANCASTER HOUSE, HAVE CO-OPERATED TO BRING ABOUT THIS RESULT.

WHAT WE ARE LOOKING TO IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA NOW IS A PROCESS WHICH WILL LEAD TO A GENERAL INTERNATIONAL ACCEPTANCE OF THE NEW NATION, AND SO CONTRIBUTE TO THE STABILITY OF THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN REGION. IN THIS THE SUPPORT OF THE 'FRONT LINE' STATES WILL BE CRITICAL. THE ISSUES RAISED BY PRESIDENTS NYERERE AND KAUNDA ARE THEREFORE ONES WHICH ALL WESTERN AND COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES SHOULD CONSIDER CAREFULLY, AS THEY COULD AFFECT A MATTER OF GREAT CONCERN TO US.

BOTH PRESIDENTS MENTIONED THE PRESENCE OF SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES IN RHODESIA, AND INDICATED THAT IN THEIR OPINION THIS PRESENCE WAS NOT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE UNDERSTANDINGS REACHED AT LANCASTER HOUSE. OUR OFFICIALS HAVE ALREADY DISCUSSED THE PURPOSE OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS IN RHODESIA, AND WE HAVE BEEN GIVEN SOME INDICATION OF THE NUMBERS WHO MAY BE PRESENT. WE HAVE NOTED YOUR OFFICIALS' COMMENTS ABOUT THE LIMITED IMPACT SUCH TROOPS COULD HAVE, BUT WE ARE AWARE OF THE PARTICULAR SENSITIVITY OF AFRICAN LEADERS TO

ANYTHING INVOLVING SOUTH AFRICA. THE PRESENCE OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS, AND THE USE OF SOUTH AFRICAN DEFENCE FACILITIES, WILL CLEARLY CONTINUE TO BE A POINT OF ARGUMENT, WHICH MUST RAISE FOR EXAMINATION THE POSSIBILITY OF FINDING MORE ACCEPTABLE ALTERNATIVES.

ANOTHER POINT RAISED BY BOTH PRESIDENTS WAS THE ACTIVITIES OF THE AUXILIARIES. OUR OWN REPORTS FROM SALISBURY INDICATE THAT THERE HAVE BEEN PROBLEMS IN THIS REGARD, BUT THAT NOT ALL THE FACTS HAVE BEEN ESTABLISHED. I UNDERSTAND THE GOVERNOR IS INVESTIGATING SOME OF THE INCIDENTS INVOLVING THE AUXILIARIES, AND I TRUST THAT THESE INVESTIGATIONS WILL CLARIFY WHAT HAS TAKEN PLACE.

PRESIDENT NYERERE ALSO REFERRED TO THE ACTIVITIES OF THE RHODESIAN FORCES, TO WHAT HE SAID WAS A NEED FOR MORE TIME AND LOCATIONS TO ASSEMBLE FOR THE PATRIOTIC FRONT GUERRILLAS, TO DIFFICULTIES HE SAID HAD BEEN PLACED IN THE WAY OF THE RETURN OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT LEADERS, AND PROPOSED A MEETING OF SELECTED COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT IN LONDON. PRESIDENT KAUNDA FOR HIS PART, EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT THE NON-OBSERVANCE OF THE CEASEFIRE BY SOME ELEMENTS OF ZANLA.

IT IS PROBABLE THAT, GIVEN THE COMPLEX SITUATION IN RHODESIA, OTHER CHARGES AND COUNTER-CHARGES WILL BE MADE BY THE RHODESIAN PARTIES AND THEIR SUPPORTERS. WE CANNOT SAY IN ADVANCE WHAT SUBSTANCE THERE WILL BE TO THEM, OR WHAT IMPACT THEY MAY HAVE ON THE PROCESS LEADING TO THE INDEPENDENCE OF ZIMBABWE. I DO THINK, HOWEVER, THAT THE PRESENCE OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS IN PARTICULAR, AND ALSO THE ACTIVITIES OF THE AUXILIARIES, ARE ISSUES THAT SOME WILL USE TO CALL INTO QUESTION THE 'FREE AND FAIR' NATURE OF THE ELECTION PERIOD, AND PERHAPS TO DRAW BACK FROM THE FULL INTERNATIONAL ACCEPTANCE AND RECOGNITION WHICH WE ALL WANT THE NEW ZIMBABWE GOVERNMENT TO RECEIVE.

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CLEARLY ON THESE ISSUES YOUR INFORMATION WILL BE FAR MORE COMPLETE THAN OURS CAN BE. WHATEVER COMMENTS I MAKE WILL HAVE TO BE READ AGAINST THIS FACT. THERE WILL HOWEVER COME A TIME WHEN ALL COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES WILL BE ASKED TO SUPPORT, AND WILL WANT TO SUPPORT, THE SOLUTION AND THE OUTCOME OF THE ELECTIONS IN RHODESIA. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE BE ABLE TO DO THIS WITHOUT RESERVATION, AND IT IS PRINCIPALLY WITH THIS IN MIND THAT I WRITE TO YOU NOW TO SET OUT WHAT HAS BEEN SAID TO US AND WHAT OUR REACTION HAS BEEN.

MALCOLM FRASER IS LOOKING FORWARD TO THE OPPORTUNITY OF TALKING TO YOUR PRIME MINISTER ON THESE ISSUES.

YOURS SINCERELY,
(ANDREW PEACOCK)

ENDS

2. TEXT OF REPLY FOLLOWS A S A P.

CARRINGTON

FILES

SPD

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PS/MR BLAKER

MR MURRAY

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