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TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 146 OF 11 FEBRUARY 1980

INFO IMMEDIATE TO SALISBURY

PRIORITY TO LUSAKA LUANDA GABORONE MAPUTO LAGOS CAPETOWN

ADDIS ABABA WASHINGTON AND UKMIS NEW YORK.

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE

MIPT : RHODESIA

SERIAL No. T 25/80

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF PRESIDENT NYERERE'S MESSAGE.

BEGINS:-

DEAR MRS THATCHER,

THANK YOU FOR YOUR LETTER OF 16TH JANUARY. I HAVE DELAYED ANSWERING, IN PART BECAUSE I WAS DISTURBED BY YOUR JUSTIFICATION OF THE PRESENCE OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS IN RHODESIA. HOWEVER, I AM HAPPY THAT THESE HAVE NOW BEEN WITHDRAWN, AND I ACCEPT THE ASSURANCES OF YOUR GOVERNMENT THAT ALL SOUTH AFRICAN UNITS HAVE NOW LEFT RHODESIA.

IN YOUR LETTER YOU EXPRESS DISAPPOINTMENT THAT I HAD SHOWN NO RECOGNITION OF THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE GOVERNOR'S ADMINISTRATION - AND YOUR HIGH COMMISSIONER HAS EXPRESSED A SIMILAR REGRET ABOUT THE SPEECH OF MY FOREIGN MINISTER AT THE UNITED NATIONS. YET NEITHER HAVE I CONGRATULATED MUGABE OR NKOMO FOR THE MORE THAN 20,000 PATRIOTIC FRONT TROOPS WHO WENT TO THE ASSEMBLY POINTS SEMI COLON INsofar AS I HAVE REFERRED TO THIS EXTERNALLY IT HAS BEEN IN RESPONSE TO INTEMPERATE ATTACKS ON THESE LEADERS BECAUSE - DESPITE THEIR EFFORTS - THERE ARE STILL SOME PEOPLE WHO WERE ARMED BY THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AND ARE NOT ASSEMBLED.

DURING THE LANCASTER HOUSE CONFERENCE MY COLLEAGUES AND I WORKED IN COOPERATION WITH BRITAIN. WE PUT A GREAT DEAL OF PRESSURE ON THE PATRIOTIC FRONT LEADERS. IN RESPONSE TO THEIR EXPRESSED FEARS ABOUT CERTAIN PROVISIONS OF THE PROPOSED CEASE FIRE AND INTERIM ARRANGEMENTS, I MYSELF REPEATEDLY SAID TO THEM THAT ONCE THE AGREEMENT WAS SIGNED THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WOULD ADHERE TO IT STRICTLY - REGARDLESS OF ANY /POLITICAL

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POLITICAL PREFERENCES THEY MAY HAVE. I AM STILL WILLING TO PUT PRESSURE ON MUGABE AND NKOMO TO ABIDE BY THE AGREEMENT INSOFAR AS THERE IS EVIDENCE THAT THEY ARE BREAKING IT. BUT I CAN ONLY DO THIS IN HONESTY WHEN THE GOVERNOR IS HIMSELF HONOURING THAT AGREEMENT - OR TRYING TO DO SO. MY CONTENTION IS THAT HE IS NOT NOW DOING SO SEMI COLON AND THE PURPOSE OF MY COMPLAINING TO YOU, AND TO OTHER MEMBERS OF THE COMMONWEALTH, IS TO GET THIS RECTIFIED AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE. I WANT THE AGREEMENT TO BE IMPLEMENTED, AND GENUINE ELECTIONS TO BE HELD IN ACCORDANCE WITH IT. I WANT PEACE, BEFORE AND AFTER THE ELECTIONS.

UNDER THE AGREEMENT, THE PATRIOTIC FRONT FORCES WERE TO GATHER AT ASSEMBLY POINTS, AND BE MONITORED THERE. THE VAST MAJORITY HAVE DONE SO SEMI COLON SOME WHO CAME IN LATE DID SURRENDER THEIR ARMS WITHOUT TROUBLE TO THE COMMONWEALTH FORCE. BUT THEN THERE WAS THIS INCIDENT WHICH SHOWED THAT THEY WERE BEING EXPECTED TO SURRENDER THEIR ARMS TO THOSE WHOM THEY REGARD AS THEIR ENEMIES - THE POLICE FOREC, AND THE SO-CALLED RHODESIAN SECURITY FORCES. SINCE THEN I HAVE NOT BEEN SURPRISED THAT THERE HAS BEEN RELUCTANCE. YET MUGABE AND NKOMO HAVE CONTINUED TRYING TO GET THEIR PEOPLE TO COME IN.

UNDER THE AGREEMENT, THE SMITH ARMY WAS SUPPOSED TO BE CONFINED TO THE BASES LAID DOWN, AND MONITORED IN PLACE. THE AUXILIARIES WERE SUPPOSED TO BE TREATED AS PART OF THE REBEL ARMY, AND ALSO MONITORED WHILE CONFINED TO THEIR BASES. THUS ALL FOUR ARMIES WOULD HAVE BEEN TREATED, UNDER THE AGREEMENT, IN THE SAME WAY - EXCEPT FOR THE MUCH LARGER NUMBER OF BASES FOR SMITH'S FORCES. ALL WOULD HAVE BEEN REMOVED FROM THE PEOPLE. NONE COULD INTIMIDATE ANYONE.

BUT THE CONFINEMENT OF THE SMITH/MUZOREWA FORCES HAS NOT HAPPENED. EVEN BEFORE HE BAGN COMPLAINING BITTERLY AND VERY LOUDLY ABOUT SOME PATRIOTIC FRONT FORCES WHO HAD NOT ASSEMBLED, THE GOVERNOR BEGAN 'DEPLOYING' THE SMITH FORCES. INDEED, IT IS NOW UNCLEAR WHETHER THESE WERE EVER CONFINED TO THEIR BASES.

RECENTLY IT HAS BECOME PUBLIC KNOWLEDGE THAT THE AUXILIARIES ARE NOT CONFINED TO THEIR BASES AT ALL. THE GOVERNOR'S SPOKESMAN HAS HIMSELF NOW SAID "... THE DISTRICT AUTHORITIES ARE USING THEM TO HELP RESTORE NORMAL LOCAL FACILITIES DISRUPTED BY THE WAR. THEY ARE, FOR EXAMPLE, PLAYING AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN THE RE-OPENING OF RURAL ROADS, THE RESTORATION OF CATTLE DIPS, AND THE RESUMPTION OF EDUCATIONAL AND HEALTH SERVICES". /OTHER

OTHER REPORTS GO INTO FURTHER DETAILS ABOUT THE ACTIVITIES OF THE AUXILIARIES SEMI COLON AND THEY ARE NOT REASSURING.

MRS THATCHER SEMI COLON THE AUXILIARIES MAY HAVE BEEN OFFICIALLY INCORPORATED IN THE RHODESIAN SECURITY FORCES IN JULY 1979, BUT THEY WERE RECRUITED AS A PRIVATE ARMY OF BISHOP MUZOREWA AND THEY STILL OWE THEIR ALLEGIANCE TO HIM JUST AS MUCH AS THE PATRIOTIC FRONT GUERRILLAS OWE IT TO ZANU OR ZAPU. SOME OF THE AUXILIARIES, WHEN STILL OPERATING OPENLY FOR THE BISHOP, WERE TRAINED BY IDI AMIN IN UGANDA. YET NOW THEY ARE BEING OFFICIALLY USED BY THE GOVERNOR AS IF THEY WERE AN ACCEPTABLE 'VOLUNTEER FORCE' WHICH IS AND HAS ALWAYS BEEN POLITICALLY NEUTRAL SEMI COLON WHEN THEY COMMIT CRIMES IT IS NOT REGARDED AS A BREACH OF THE CEASE FIRE BUT AS AN ORDINARY CRIMINAL MATTER EXCLAMATION.

THE AUXILIARIES MUST BE RETURNED TO THEIR BASES, AS IS REQUIRED - QUITE SPECIFICALLY FOR ALL RHODESIAN FORCES - UNDER THE AGREEMENT. UNLESS THIS IS DONE THE GOVERNOR HAS NO BASIS ON WHICH HE CAN CRITICISE OTHERS FOR NOT ABIDING BY THE LANCASTER HOUSE AGREEMENT.

THERE IS AN ALTERNATIVE. IF THE GOVERNOR WISHES TO HAVE THE AGREEMENT AMENDED, SO THAT HE CAN USE THE AUXILIARIES - AND THE SECURITY FORCES - FOR 'RECONSTRUCTION' OR MAINTAINING LAW AND ORDER, THEN HE COULD NEGOTIATE THIS WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT LEADERS. THEN IF AUXILIARIES ARE DIGGING WELLS, P.F. FORCES CAN LEAVE THE ASSEMBLY POINTS AND DIG WELLS SEMI COLON IF THE SMITH FORCES ARE USED FOR MONITORING BORDERS, THEN THE P.F. FORCES CAN BE BROUGHT OUT OF THE ASSEMBLY POINTS TO MONITOR OTHER BORDERS. BUT THE GOVERNOR'S PRESENT ONE-SIDED RELAXATION OF VITAL PARTS OF THE LONDON AGREEMENT IS COMPLETELY UNACCEPTABLE.

WE ALL KNEW THAT THE CEASE FIRE ARRANGED IN LONDON WAS BASED ON TRUST. LORD CARRINGTON EMPHASIZED THIS ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS. WE ALL KNEW ALSO THAT ALL THOSE INVOLVED WOULD HAVE DIFFICULTIES - THE GOVERNOR, PETER WALLS, SMITH, MUZOREWA, NKOMO, AND MUGABE. IT WAS OUR EXPECTATION THAT WE WOULD HELP EACH OTHER, AND THEM, TO DEAL WITH THOSE DIFFICULTIES. MUGABE AND NKOMO HAVE EACH BEEN TRYING. EVEN AFTER SO MUCH HAS HAPPENED THEY HAVE BROADCAST APPEALS TO THEIR PEOPLE WHO HAVE NOT ASSEMBLED, CALLING UPON THEM TO DO SO. SUNDAY'S B B C NEWS REPORTED THAT NHONGO'S SIMILAR BROADCAST IN SHONA IS BEING REPEATED FIVE TIMES A DAY FOR THREE DAYS.

YET STILL NOTHING IS BEING DONE ABOUT THE AUXILIARIES OR THE SMITH FORCES. THERE ARE NO APPEALS TO THEM TO GO BACK TO THEIR BASES. ON THE CONTRARY THEIR ACTIONS ARE DEFENDED BY THE GOVERNOR EXCLAMATION

FURTHER, THE 'RHODESIAN COMBINED OPERATIONS HEADQUARTERS' - CONSISTING ENTIRELY OF SMITH'S COMMANDERS - PUTS OUT AN EMOTIVELY WORDED DAILY 'WAR COMMUNIQUE' JUST AS IF NOTHING HAD HAPPENED. WHAT WOULD BE THE REACTION OF BRITAIN IF MUGABE PUT OUT A 'WAR COMMUNIQUE' - EVEN ONCE? BUT WHY SHOULD HE NOT, WHEN PETER WALLS' PEOPLE DO SO? BUT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WILL NOT ISSUE A WAR COMMUNIQUE BECAUSE NOW, THANKS TO THE COMMONWEALTH, THE WAR WAGING IS COMPLETELY ONE SIDED. IS THIS PART OF THAT AGREEMENT?

YOUR HIGH COMMISSIONER SAID ON ONE OCCASION THAT THE GOVERNOR NEEDED HIS EMERGENCY POWERS, INCLUDING PRESS CENSORSHIP, BECAUSE THERE WAS A DANGER OF INFLAMMATORY MATERIAL BEING CIRCULATED. THE FLAGRANT BIAS OF THESE WAR COMMUNIQUES (NEXT WORD UNDERLINED) IS INFLAMMATORY MATERIAL. SO IS THE GOVERNOR'S OWN CONSTANT REITERATION OF THE ALLEGATION - IMPLIED WHEN NOT SAID - THAT MUGABE AND HIS FORCES ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR ALMOST ALL THE CONTINUED KILLINGS. IT IS SAID THAT WHEN HENRY II OF ENGLAND EXCLAIMED "'WHO WILL FREE ME FROM THIS TURBULENT PRIEST'" HE DID NOT MEAN BECKET TO BE KILLED SEMI COLON BUT HE WAS MURDERED ALL THE SAME. EIGHT OF THE ELEVEN ATTACKS ON POLITICAL LEADERS HAVE BEEN DIRECTED AGAINST ZANU PEOPLE SEMI COLON IS THIS INCLUDED IN THE BALANCE OF CEASE FIRE VIOLATIONS? I CAN CONGRATULATE THE POLICE ON PICKING UP THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ATTACK ON MUGABE'S HOUSE SEMI COLON THEY WERE AUXILIARIES. THESE HAVE BEEN DISOWNED BY THE BISHOP, BUT THERE HAS BEEN NO OFFICIAL SUGGESTION THAT THEY SHOULD HAVE BEEN IN BASES ANYWAY.

THERE SEEM TO ME TO BE TWO POSSIBLE EXPLANATIONS OF THE GOVERNOR'S ATTITUDES AND ACTIONS. FIRST IS THAT HE REALLY BELIEVES THAT THE SMITH ADMINISTRATION AND POLICE WHICH HE INHERITED, AND THE PETER WALLS FORCES AND AUXILIARIES WHO HAVE OFFICIALLY ACKNOWLEDGED HIM, HAVE SOMEHOW NOW BECOME NEUTRAL AND FIT IMPLEMENTORS OF HIS DESIRE TO BE IMPARTIAL AND TO SUPERVISE A FREE AND FAIR ELECTION, WHILE THE PATRIOTIC FRONT FORCES HAVE NOT UNDERGONE A SIMILAR TRANSFORMATION. /THIS WE

THIS WE CANNOT ACCEPT. WHEN THE CONFERENCE WAS ON IN LONDON THIS WAS NOT WHAT WAS ENVISAGED. THE GOVERNOR WENT TO SALISBURY WITH SOME BRITISH OFFICIALS BECAUSE THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WERE WILLING TO ACCEPT (NEXT WORD UNDERLINED) THEM AS NEUTRAL, AND WERE OFFICIALLY REASSURED THAT THERE WOULD BE ENOUGH OF THEM TO SUPERVISE THE ACTIVITIES OF THE RHODESIAN CIVIL SERVICE AND THE POLICE. (THE RHODESIAN FRONT ARMY AND AUXILIARIES WERE TO BE CONFINED TO THEIR BASES AND BE MONITORED THERE). IT WAS BRITAIN WHICH DECIDED HOW MANY BRITISH OFFICIALS SHOULD GO TO RHODESIA, AND HOW MANY COMMONWEALTH MONITORS THERE SHOULD BE SEMI COLON THERE IS STILL TIME TO INCREASE EITHER OR BOTH OF THESE EXTERNAL GROUPS.

IS IT POSSIBLE THAT THE ARREST OF GARFIELD TODD, ON THE AMAZING GROUNDS THAT HE WAS "ASSISTING AND FAILING TO REPORT TERRORISTS" BECAUSE HE MAY HAVE TALKED TO A ZANLA MAN, WILL HAVE BROUGHT THE GOVERNOR TO REALISE WHAT IS HAPPENING ALL THE TIME? MR TODD HAS SAID HE BELIEVES THE ARREST IS REALLY BECAUSE ^{HE} HAS BEEN SAYING THAT THE AUXILIARIES AND THE SMITH FORCES SHOULD BE CONFINED TO THEIR BASES, AND THAT THE GOVERNOR IS BREAKING THE AGREEMENT BY ALLOWING THEM TO BE OUT. THERE HAS BEEN NO CONTACT BETWEEN MR TODD AND MYSELF SEMI COLON HE IS THERE ON THE SPOT AND CAN SEE WHAT THESE FORCES ARE REALLY DOING.

THE OTHER POSSIBLE EXPLANATION OF THE GOVERNOR'S ACTIONS IS THAT HE HAS BEEN UNABLE TO KEEP THE SMITH FORCES INSIDE THEIR BASES, OR THE AUXILIARIES INSIDE THEIRS - I . E. THAT THE GOVERNOR'S INSTRUCTIONS ARE NOT BEING CARRIED OUT. I ACCEPT THAT THIS IS POSSIBLE SEMI COLON IN ONE SENSE IT IS A MORE ACCEPTABLE EXPLANATION TO ME THAN THE IDEA THAT BRITIAN , THROUGH ITS REPRESENTATIVE, IS ACTING IN BAD FAITH. BUT YOU ASSURED ME IN LONDON THAT PETER WALLS HAD GIVEN YOU AN ASSURANCE THAT HE WOULD OBEY A BRITISH GOVERNOR.

WHEN THE NEW IRANIAN PRESIDENT FINDS THAT HE DOES NOT HAVE THE POWER TO DO WHAT HE BELIEVES SHOULD BE DONE, HE SAYS SO.

WE ALL KNOW THAT HE WANTS TO GET THE AMERICAN HOSTAGES OUT AND THAT HE INTENDS TO GO ON TRYING SEMI COLON WE CAN HELP HIM.

IN THE MEANTIME HE HAS SAID 'ENOUGH IS ENOUGH' OVER THE ARREST OF ONE OF HIS MINISTERS. LET LORD SOAMES SAY THAT HE WANTS ALL THE FORCES BACK IN THE BASES LAID DOWN FOR THEM UNDER THE LONDON AGREEMENT. LET HIM GIVE AS MUCH PROMINENCE TO SUCH DEMANDS /MADE TO

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MADE TO THE RHODESIAN SECURITY FORCES AND THE AUXILIARIES AS TO THOSE DEMANDS HE IS MAKING ON ZANLA. THEY MAY NOT ALL GO SEMI COLON BUT AT LEAST WE SHALL KNOW WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE BREAKING OF THE AGREEMENT. YET INSTEAD, THE GOVERNOR IS JUSTIFYING ACTIONS DIRECTLY CONTRARY TO THAT AGREEMENT.

I AM NOT ASKING THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT SHOULD DENOUNCE THE GOVERNOR, OR REPRIMAND HIM. I AM SIMPLY ASKING THAT THE SMITH FORCES, AND THE AUXILIARIES, SHOULD GO BACK TO THEIR BASES IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE AGREEMENT. I BELIEVE THAT SUCH AN ACTION WILL RADICALLY CHANGE THE SITUATION, AND I WILL THEN BE ABLE TO RE-EMPHASIZE THE NEED FOR THE PATRIOTIC FRONT ALSO TO ABIDE BY THE AGREEMENT. IF, AFTER HE HAS SO ORDERED, THE GOVERNOR THEN NEEDS TO CALL UPON THE SUPPORT OF THE POLICE, LET HIM DO SO IN AN EVEN-HANDED MANNER, CALLING IMPARTIALLY UPON ALL THE FORCES WHO ARE OBEYING THE AGREEMENT.

I DID ENVISAGE THAT DURING THE INTERIM YOU MIGHT FIND REASON TO ASK US OF THE FRONT LINE STATES TO APPEAL TO THE PATRIOTIC FRONT TO KEEP THE TERMS OF THE LANCASTER HOUSE AGREEMENT. SEVERAL TIMES I PROMISED YOU THAT IF THE OCCASSION AROSE, WE WOULD DO SO. BUT I MUST ADMIT THAT I NEVER EXPECTED THAT I WOULD FIND IT NECESSARY TO APPEAL TO YOU TO ASK YOUR GOVERNOR TO KEEP THE TERMS OF THE AGREEMENT. THERE IS STILL TIME TO RECTIFY THIS PRESENT TERRIBLE SITUATION.

LET ME ADD, FINALLY, THAT I HAVE MADE NO REFERENCE TO THE PRESS REPORTS THAT THE GOVERNOR INTENDS TO CALL-UP ALL WHITE RESERVISTS SO THAT THEY ARE AROUND 'TO KEEP THE PEACE' ON POLLING DAYS. EVEN NOW I CANNOT BELIEVE THAT HE WOULD DO SOMETHING SO OBVIOUSLY PROVOCATIVE, WHICH WOULD SO CLEARLY INTIMIDATE THE AFRICAN VOTERS, AND WOULD BE SO CLEARLY DIRECTED AGAINST THE INTERESTS OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT CANDIDATES OF BOTH PARTIES.

I SEND MY PERSONAL GOOD WISHES TO YOU
YOURS SINCERELY

ENDS
MOON

FILES
RHOD DEPT
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NAD
PUSD
PLANNING STAFF
CCD
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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
CPO

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