

PS *Ops*
PS/SIR I GILMOUR
PS/MR LUCE
PS/PUS
SIR D MAITLAND
MR DAY
MR ASPIN

Subject file
Rhodesia - Sit - Pt 15

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

SIR R ARMSTRONG)
MR R L WADE GERY)
MR P M MAXEY) CABINET
MR GOULTY) OFFICE
MR W N WENBAN SMITH)
DIO)

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. 136/82

mr

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HD/RHOD DEPT (4)
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HD/PUSD (2)

HD/NEWS DEPT
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PS/SIR I SINCLAIR
MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A

RESIDENT CLERK

CONFIDENTIAL
ZLSKBY FCC AND SALISBURY 231600Z
FM MAPUTO 231335Z FEB 82
TO IMMEDIATE FCC
TELEGRAM NUMBER 127 OF 23 FEBRUARY
INFO TO IMMEDIATE SALISBURY PRIORITY DAR ES SALAAM LUSAKA UKMIS NEW YORK

MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT MACHEL

1. MIPT

YOUR EXCELLENCY
ON FEBRUARY 21, I RECEIVED HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S CHARGE D'AFFAIRES IN MAPUTO TO INFORM HIM OF OUR ANXIETIES IN RELATIONS TO THE GRAVE EVENTS IN ZIMBABWE. AFTER THIS MEETING, I THOUGHT IT NECESSARY TO INFORM YOU OF THESE ANXIETIES IN WRITING.

THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE DEVOTES ITS GREATEST EFFORTS IN THE DEFENCE OF PEACE, TO THE CREATION OF A CLIMATE OF PEACE AND STABILITY, GOOD NEIGHBOURLINESS AND COOPERATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. BECAUSE WE HAVE LIVED THROUGH SIXTEEN YEARS OF WAR, WE VALUE PEACE AS SOMETHING VERY PRECIOUS IN LIFE AND AS A FUNDAMENTAL CONDITION FOR THE PROSPERITY AND WELLBEING OF PEOPLES.

PROSPERITY AND WELLBEING OF PEOPLES.

YOUR EXCELLENCY IS AWARE OF THE ROLE THAT WE HAVE PLAYED, IN THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN ZIMBABWE AND IN THE SEARCH FOR MEANS TO RE-ESTABLISH PEACE, FREEDOM AND EQUALITY BETWEEN MEN IN THAT COUNTRY.

IN RELATION TO ZIMBABWE THE EXCLUSIVE AIMS OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE ARE TO CONTRIBUTE TOWARDS:

- THE END OF THE RACIST REBELLION AGAINST THE BRITISH CROWN;
- THE END OF THE RACIST COLONIAL SYSTEM OF DOMINATION;
- THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A ZIMBABWE TRULY INDEPENDENT, DEMOCRATIC, STABLE AND PROSPEROUS, HAVING GOOD RELATIONS WITH ITS NEIGHBOURS AND ACTING FOR THE PROSPERITY AND PEACE OF THE REGION.

THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE HAS NEVER SOUGHT AND IS NOT SEEKING TO CHOOSE THE LEADERSHIP OR THE ROAD TO POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT FOR ZIMBABWE. OUR STATE CONSIDERS THAT THESE ARE THE EXCLUSIVE AND INALIENABLE RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE, RIGHTS TO BE EXERCISED WITHOUT ANY EXTERNAL INTERFERENCE, PRESSURE OR THREATS WHATEVER. THESE RIGHTS ARE INTIMATELY LINKED TO THE DIGNITY AND HONOUR OF A PEOPLE AND ITS STATE.

WE HAVE ALWAYS OPPOSED ANY RACIST POLICY WHATSOEVER. WHEN WE SPEAK OF EQUALITY OF MAN, WE ARE NOT REFERRING TO SOME VAGUE, ABSTRACT ASPIRATION, BUT TO A CONQUEST, HARD-WON BY OUR PEOPLE.

ON NUMEROUS OCCASIONS, WE HAVE STATED, BOTH TO YOUR GOVERNMENT AND ITS PREDECESSORS, THAT WE CONSIDERED THE ZIMBABWE LIBERATION MOVEMENT, NAMELY THE PATRIOTIC FRONT IN ITS TWO COMPONENT PARTS, AS AN ALLY OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT. THE PATRIOTIC FRONT, WEAPONS IN HAND AND WITH THE SACRIFICE OF ITS FREEDOM FIGHTERS' LIVES SOUGHT TO PUT AN END TO THE REBEL REGIME. IT SOUGHT TO DESTROY THE REGIME WHICH BROKE ITS OATH OF ALLEIGANCE TO THE BRITISH CROWN. IT SOUGHT TO DESTROY THE REGIME WHICH OFFENDED AGAINST INTERNATIONAL MORALITY AND THE LEGALITY OF THE CROWN, BY HANGING THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE, HER MAJESTY'S SUBJECTS.

WE HAVE WORKED WITH THE ZIMBABWE LIBERATION MOVEMENT, ESPECIALLY, GIVEN THE CIRCUMSTANCES, WITH ZANU-FP. WE HAVE ALWAYS SOUGHT TO TRANSMIT TO THEM OUR CONCERN THAT THE STRUGGLE SHOULD NOT BECOME A RACIAL WAR, THAT THE WHITES SHOULD NOT BE REGARDED AS THE TARGET

WARRANT TO THEM OUR CONCERN THAT THE STRUGGLE SHOULD NOT BECOME RACIAL WAR, THAT THE WHITES SHOULD NOT BE DEFINED AS THE TARGET. WE CAN SAY THAT WE HAVE FOUND THE GREATEST RECEPTIVENESS TO THIS ADVICE. ZANU-FP WAS ABLE TO WAGE WAR WITHOUT MAKING THE WHITE MAN ITS TARGET. IT WAS ABLE TO PREVENT THE WAR OF LIBERATION BECOMING A RACIAL WAR, WHICH WAS THE OBJECTIVE OF THE REBELS. EVEN AFTER SUCH BARBAROUS MASSACRES AS THOSE AT NYAZONIA AND CHIMBOIC, AS WELL AS SO MANY OTHERS, WHICH FOR ALL TIME WILL BE A DISHONOUR FOR THE MEN WHO ORDERED THEM AND CARRIED THEM OUT, ZANU-FP DID NOT ALLOW ITSELF TO FALL INTO THE TRAP OF RACIAL VENGEANCE.

THE LANCASTER HOUSE TALKS TOOK PLACE WITH OUR SUPPORT. ALL THE PARTIES MADE PLEDGES AT THESE TALKS, ESPECIALLY HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT WHICH COMMITTED ITSELF TO GUARANTEEING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THESE PLEDGES.

RESOLUTION NO 460 WAS APPROVED AT THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL, WITH THE APPROVAL OF HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT. THIS RESOLUTION REAFFIRMS THE PRINCIPLES AGREED ON AT LANCASTER HOUSE AND DEMANDS THAT ADDITIONAL MEASURES BE TAKEN TO ENSURE THAT THE PROCESS AGREED TO IN LONDON IS CARRIED OUT.

HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT, IN VOTING FOR THE RESOLUTION, HAS UNDERTAKEN A PLEDGE OF HONOUR.

SANCTIONS WERE LIFTED. THE CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT CAME INTO EFFECT. THE PROSPECT OF PEACE AROSE IN OUR REGION.

TODAY THE PROSPECT OF PEACE, THE HOPE FOR FAIR, DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS IN ZIMBABWE AND THE HOPE FOR A TRULY INDEPENDENT AND UNITED ZIMBABWE, CONTRIBUTING TO PROSPERITY, COOPERATION AND PEACE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, ARE VANISHING.

DAILY, THROUGHOUT THE TERRITORY, SOLDIERS OF THE FORMER REBEL ARMY, AUXILIARIES, SETTLERS AND MERCENARIES CARRY ARMS AND MOVE FREELY. ONLY THE ZANLA AND ZIPRA FORCES ARE CONFINED AS WAS AGREED.

THE CONFINEMENT OF THE ARMED FORCES OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT EXCLUSIVELY, AND HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT'S DEPLOYMENT, AS LEGAL FORCES, OF FORCES WHICH IN THE RECENT PAST COMMITTED TREASON AGAINST THE CROWN, CONSTITUTE EXTREMELY GRAVE FACTS. IT IS A HUMILIATION TO THE DIGNITY OF THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS TO BE TREATED AS DEFEATED FORCES, AS A REBEL FORCE THAT MUST BE CONFINED. IT IS DANGEROUS TO ENTRUST THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR MILITARY PATROLLING AND THE DEFENCE OF THE BORDERS TO FORCES WHICH

CONTINUED. IT IS DANGEROUS TO ENTRUST THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR MILITARY PATROLLING AND THE DEFENCE OF THE BORDERS TO FORCES WHO HAVE COMMITTED THE CRIME OF TREASON, WHICH HAVE COMMITTED WAR CRIMES AND CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY AND HAVE CARRIED OUT AGGRESSION AGAINST NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES.

THE FUNCTIONING, WITH THE SANCTION OF HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNOR, OF THE SO-CALLED COMBINED OPERATIONS HEADQUARTERS, THE DAILY ISSUING BY THE HEADQUARTERS OF WAR COMMUNIQUES, THE TERM 'TERRORISTS' USED OFFICIALLY IN THESE COMMUNIQUES FOR THOSE WHO FOUGHT AGAINST THE REBELLION AND FOR THEIR COUNTRY'S INDEPENDENCE, ARE FACTS WHICH HUMILIATE THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS AND IMPEDE THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF MUTUAL CONFIDENCE AND PEACE IN ZIMBABWE.

WE HAVE NOTED THAT DISCRIMINATORY MEASURES ARE TAKEN AGAINST THE PATRIOTIC FRONT COMPONENTS, ESPECIALLY AGAINST ZANU-PF.

AS AN EXAMPLE, WE CALL ATTENTION TO THE FACT THAT ZANU-PF HAS SYSTEMATICALLY BEEN HELD RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CONDUCT OF ITS SYMPATHISERS, TO THE POINT WHERE AREAS OF HUGE SUPPORT FOR THIS PARTY ARE THREATENED WITH EXCLUSION FROM THE ELECTORAL PROCESS.

IN CONTRAST, NO MEASURES ARE CONSIDERED AGAINST THE PARTY OF WHICH THOSE WHO CONFESSED RESPONSIBILITY FOR ONE OF THE ASSASSINATION ATTEMPTS AGAINST THE ZANU-PF PRESIDENT ARE MEMBERS.

THIS EXAMPLE DEMONSTRATES THE DOUBLE STANDARDS OF THE BRITISH AUTHORITIES IN RHODESIA.

PARTICULARLY OFFENSIVE TO THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE WAS THE FACT THAT THE POLICE AT SALISBURY AIRPORT CONFISCATED AND PHOTOCOPIED A LETTER FROM THE LEADERSHIP OF ZANU PF TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE.

WE HAVE NOTED THE INCREASE IN ARMED ATTACKS AND ASSASSINATION ATTEMPTS AGAINST THE MOST PROMINENT LEADERS OF ZANU-PF, ESPECIALLY ITS PRESIDENT, MR ROBERT MUGABE.

WE NOTE THAT TERRORIST FORCES, COMPOSED OF MERCENARIES OF VARIOUS ORIGENS, INCLUDING MOZAMBIKAN, ARE STILL STATIONED IN RHODESIA, PLANNING, ORGANISING AND LAUNCHING OPERATIONS AGAINST THE TERRITORY OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE, WITH WHICH HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT MAINTAINS DIPLOMATIC AND FRIENDLY RELATIONS.

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WE NOTE THAT THE ZRBC BROADCASTING STATION IN SALISBURY CONTINUES TO BROADCAST FROM ITS STUDIOS A PROGRAMME ENTITLED "A VOZ DA AFRICA LIVRE", WHICH CONSTITUTES A DIRECT APPEAL FOR THE OVERTHROW BY VIOLENT AND SUBVERSIVE MEANS, OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE. THE CONTINUATION OF THESE BROADCASTS IS CONTRARY TO THE ASSURANCE GIVEN US BY THE OFFICE OF HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNOR. IT CONSTITUTES A FLAGRANT INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF A STATE WITH WHICH HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT HAS FRIENDLY RELATIONS. IT CONSTITUTES A HOSTILE ACT.

WE NOTE THAT GREAT DIFFICULTIES HAVE BEEN CREATED FOR THE RETURN OF REFUGEES. LESS THAN A WEEK FROM THE ELECTIONS, THE GREAT MAJORITY OF REFUGEES STILL CANNOT RETURN TO THEIR COUNTRY TO PARTICIPATE IN THE ELECTORAL PROCESS.

WE NOTE THE CONCENTRATION OF THE FORCES OF THE OLD REBEL RHODESIAN REGIME ON OUR BORDERS AND WE HAVE NOTED THE VIOLATION OF OUR AIR SPACE BY THE AIRCRAFT OF THE OLD REBEL AIR FORCE. THIS CONCENTRATION OF TROOPS AND THESE VIOLATIONS OF OUR AIR SPACE ARE TAKING PLACE AT A TIME WHEN THE AUTHORITY OF THE BRITISH CROWN IS ALREADY REESTABLISHED IN THE TERRITORY. THEY CONSTITUTE ACTS OF HOSTILITY AGAINST A GOVERNMENT WHICH HAS FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED KINGDOM.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

THIS SET OF CIRCUMSTANCES, WHICH IS NOT AN EXHAUSTIVE LIST, IS A MATTER OF GRAVE CONCERN. IT BECOMES EVEN MORE SO WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT'S ANNOUNCEMENT THAT IT WILL INTERVENE IN RHODESIA AND ITS LAUNCHING OF A PUBLIC CAMPAIGN TO CREATE PRETEXTS AND JUSTIFICATIONS FOR DIRECT AGGRESSION AGAINST THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE.

THE CROWN REPRESENTATIVE'S TACIT APPROVAL OF HOSTILE ACTIONS UNDERTAKEN AGAINST OUR COUNTRY FROM RHODESIAN TERRITORY, THE SOUTH AFRICAN THREATS, THE CONCENTRATION OF FORCES ON OUR BORDERS, THE SENDING OF SOUTH AFRICAN ARMoured CARS TO RHODESIAN TERRITORY UNDER THE OLD PRETEXT THAT THEY ARE NEEDED TO CARRY BALLOT BOXES - THESE THINGS OBLIGE US TO DEMAND A CLARIFICATION

OF HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT'S POSITION.

WE THEREFORE CALL UPON HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT TO DO THE FOLLOWING:

1. FULFIL ITS DUTY TO GUARANTEE THE PHYSICAL SAFETY AND FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT OF THE ELECTION CANDIDATES, IN PARTICULAR OF THE LEADERS AND CANDIDATES OF THE COMPONENTS OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT, WHO HAVE ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS BEEN THE TARGET OF ASSASSINATION ATTEMPTS AND DISCRIMINATORY MEASURES.
2. FULFIL ITS DUTY OF GUARANTEEING THE PEACEFUL DEVELOPMENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS PROCESS AND PREVENT INTERNAL OR EXTERNAL FORCES FROM JEOPARDISING BY VIOLENCE THIS PROCESS OR ITS RESULT.
3. FULFIL ITS OBLIGATIONS IN TERMS OF THE INTERNATIONAL NORMS WHICH REGULATE PEACEFUL AND FRIENDLY RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES BY ORDERING THE TERMINATION OF HOSTILE ACTION AGAINST THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE AND OTHER STATES BORDERING ON RHODESIA.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

IN THE TERRITORY OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE, THERE ARE STILL MORE THAN 5,000 ARMED COMBATANTS OF ZANU-PF. THESE COMBATANTS REMAIN IN OUR TERRITORY BECAUSE OF THE EXTREMELY SHORT PERIOD OF TIME ALLOWED FOR REGROUPING AND BECAUSE OF THE OBSTACLES PLACED IN THE WAY OF THEIR RETURN TO RHODESIA.

THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE ASSUMED THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR CONTROLLING THESE FORCES, IN LINE WITH THE CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT.

IT WILL, HOWEVER, BE VERY DIFFICULT TO CONTINUE TO ASSUME THIS RESPONSIBILITY IN THE CASE OF FOREIGN INTERFERENCE OR AGGRESSION IN ZIMBABWE, IN THE CASE OF INTERNAL ATTEMPTS TO UPTURN BY FORCE THE DEMOCRATIC ELECTORAL PROCESS OR ITS RESULTS, OR IF THERE IS A CONTINUATION OF ATTEMPTS TO KILL THE LEADERS OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT. IT WILL BE DIFFICULT TO IMPEDE AN

ATION TO VIOLENCE, IT WILL BE DIFFICULT TO IMPEDE AN
UNDERSTANDABLE DECISION BY THESE FORCES TO JOIN THEIR COMPATRIOTS
TO PROTECT THE LIVES OF THEIR LEADERS AND DEFEND THE INTEGRITY OF
THEIR COUNTRY.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

ON TRANSMITTING TO YOU THE GRAVE CONCERNS OF OUR GOVERNMENT, I
WOULD LIKE TO REAFFIRM OUR DECISION TO COOPERATE IN EVERY
POSSIBLE WAY TO GUARANTEE THE SUCCESS OF FREE AND DEMOCRATIC
ELECTIONS, TO ENSURE THE EMERGENCE OF A ZIMBABWE WHICH IS TRULY
INDEPENDENT, UNITED, STABLE, DEMOCRATIC AND PEACEFUL, WITH
RELATIONS OF GOOD NEIGHBOURLINESS AND COOPERATION, A ZIMBABWE
WHICH IS A FACTOR FOR PEACE AND PROSPERITY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

GIVEN THE GRAVITY OF THE MATTERS REFERRED TO IN THIS LETTER, I
WILL TRANSMIT ITS CONTENTS TO THE PRESIDENTS OF THE FRONT LINE
STATE, THE HEADS OF STATES OR GOVERNMENT OF THE OTHER PERMANENT
MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL, THE CHAIRMEN OF
THE ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN UNITY AND NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT AND
THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION.

I ASK YOU EXCELLENCY TO TRANSMIT TO HER MAJESTY MY CORDIAL
GREETINGS; PLEASE RECEIVE MY COMPLIMENTS AND HIGHEST REGARDS.

SAMORA MOISES MACHEL
PRESIDENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE

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