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Subject: Rhodesia

Duty Clerk

Signature: P 17

PRIME MINISTER'S

PERSONAL MESSAGE

SERIAL No. T11A/80

DESKBY DAR ES SALAAM 161330Z
 DESKBY DELHI 161330Z
 FM F C O 161130Z JANUARY 80
 TO IMMEDIATE DAR ES SALAAM
 TELEGRAM NUMBER 20 OF 16 JANUARY

AND TO IMMEDIATE DELHI (FOR PRIVATE SECRETARY)
 INFO IMMEDIATE SALISBURY, MAPUTO, GABORONE, LUSAKA, LUANDA,
 LAGOS, PRETORIA, WASHINGTON, UKMIS NEW YORK, ADDIS ABABA,
 NAIROBI, KINGSTON, CANBERRA, MONROVIA, ISLAMABAD, EEC POSTS,
 OSLO, STOCKHOLM, HELSINKI, WELLINGTON, ACCRA.

YOUR TELS 44 AND 45: MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT NYERERE.

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF PRIME MINISTER'S REPLY TO THIS MESSAGE WHICH YOU SHOULD DELIVER AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. IN SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSION YOU SHOULD DRAW AS APPROPRIATE ON SALISBURY TELS 152, 156 AND 181. OTHER ADDRESSEES MAY DRAW ON THE TERMS OF THE REPLY AT THEIR DISCRETION IN DISCUSSION WITH GOVERNMENT TO WHICH THEY ARE ACCREDITED.

2. DEAR JULIUS,

THANK YOU FOR YOUR MESSAGE INFORMING ME OF THE SUMMIT MEETING OF FRONT LINE STATES AT BEIRA ON 10 JANUARY AT WHICH DEVELOPMENTS IN RHODESIA WERE DISCUSSED.

I AM GLAD THAT YOU HAVE EXPLAINED YOUR CONCERNS FRANKLY TO ME. I WILL TRY TO ANSWER THEM ONE BY ONE.

WE DON'T BELIEVE THAT THE PRESENCE OF A SMALL NUMBER OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS TO GUARD BEITBRIDGE ON THE BORDER IS CONTRARY TO THE ASSURANCES WHICH WE GAVE. THE BRIDGE IS HALF SOUTH AFRICAN PROPERTY, AND YOU WILL KNOW ITS STRATEGIC AND ECONOMIC SIGNIFICANCE. IT IS INDISPUTABLE THAT A THREAT TO IT EXISTS AND THAT DAMAGE TO THE BRIDGE WOULD HAVE VERY SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES. RHODESIA DEPENDS FOR MOST OF ITS COMMUNICATIONS AND SUPPLIES ON SOUTH AFRICA. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES THE GOVERNOR HAS CONCLUDED THAT THE PRESENCE OF A SMALL CONTINGENT OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS TO GUARD THE BRIDGE IS NECESSARY AND JUSTIFIED. THERE IS A TEAM FROM THE MONITORING FORCE IN THE IMMEDIATE VICINITY AND THIS WILL PROVIDE SATISFACTORY ASSURANCE THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTINGENT WILL BE USED

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EXCLUSIVELY

EXCLUSIVELY FOR PROTECTION OF THE BRIDGE. THERE IS NO QUESTION OF ITS INTERFERING IN RHODESIA AND/OR HAVING ANY INFLUENCE ON THE CONDUCT OR OUTCOME OF THE ELECTIONS. THE GOVERNOR WILL KEEP THE WHOLE MATTER UNDER REVIEW.

LORD CARRINGTON MADE CLEAR AT THE CONFERENCE THAT, IN THIS SHORT PERIOD, THERE WOULD BE NO PURGE OF THE FORCES OF EITHER SIDE. THERE ARE SOUTH AFRICANS IN THE RHODESIAN FORCES, TOGETHER WITH OTHER NATIONALITIES: IN THE SAME WAY THERE ARE SEVERAL NATIONALITIES IN THE PATRIOTIC FRONT'S FORCES, INCLUDING SOME 500 FRELIMO FORCES WITH ZANLA.

YOU DEAL NEXT WITH THE ASSEMBLY PROCESS. THE PERIOD OF SEVEN DAYS WAS AGREED BY ALL THE PARTIES TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE, AND EMBODIED IN THE CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT WHICH THEY SIGNED. THE GOVERNOR APPLIED THIS AGREEMENT FLEXIBLY AND MANY PF GROUPS ASSEMBLED PEACEFULLY DURING THE PERIOD IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE DEADLINE. SUBSEQUENTLY SOME 20 OUTSTANDING GROUPS OF THE PF FORCES HAVE BEEN PERSUADED TO COME TO THE ASSEMBLY POINTS BY THE PF COMMANDERS AND THE MONITORING FORCE. YOU ASKED WHY THE GOVERNOR HAS NOT INCREASED THE NUMBER OF ASSEMBLY POINTS. THE ANSWER IS THAT THE ACCOMMODATION AT EXISTING ASSEMBLY PLACES HAS PROVED ADEQUATE AND THE PF HAVE THEMSELVES NOT REQUESTED ANY ADDITIONAL PLACES. INDEED, WITH THE FULL AGREEMENT OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT'S COMMANDERS, IT HAS BEEN DECIDED TO CLOSE TWO ASSEMBLY PLACES BECAUSE OF THE VERY SMALL NUMBERS PRESENT AT THEM. THE CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT MADE CLEAR THAT ANY FORCES WHICH DID NOT ASSEMBLE BY THE DEADLINE WOULD BE UNLAWFUL. I HAVE ALREADY EXPLAINED THAT THE GOVERNOR APPLIED THE DEADLINE FLEXIBLY. HOWEVER, THERE HAVE ALSO BEEN A NUMBER OF SMALL AND RECALCITRANT ARMED GROUPS WHO HAVE NOT OBEYED THE INSTRUCTIONS OF THEIR OWN COMMANDERS TO COMPLY WITH THE CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT. WHERE ARMED GROUPS HAVE FAILED TO COMPLY WITH LAWFUL ORDERS FROM THE GOVERNOR AND THEIR OWN COMMANDERS INCIDENTS HAVE OCCURRED. FORTUNATELY THESE HAVE BEEN FEW. IN THE CASE OF THE PARTICULAR INCIDENT WHICH YOU RAISED WITH OUR HIGH COMMISSIONER, THE PATRIOTIC FRONT'S OWN MILITARY COMMANDERS HAVE INDICATED THAT THE ARMED GROUP CONCERNED HAD FAILED TO OBEY THEIR ORDERS.

YOU ALSO DEAL WITH THE USE OF THE RHODESIAN SECURITY FORCES BY THE GOVERNOR. DURING THE ASSEMBLY PERIOD, THE RHODESIAN FORCES DISENGAGED TO AVOID CONTACT WITH THE PF FORCES, AND REMAINED IN THE

VICINITY OF THEIR BASES IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE LANCASTER HOUSE AGREEMENT. DURING THIS PERIOD THE GENERAL LEVEL OF VIOLENCE AND LAWLESSNESS GREATLY INCREASED. THEN AND SUBSEQUENTLY SERIOUS BREACHES OF THE CEASEFIRE HAVE TAKEN PLACE, IN THE FORM OF CROSS-BORDER INFILTRATION OF PF FORCES, FAILURE TO ASSEMBLE AND ACTS OF VIOLENCE AND INTIMIDATION. THE GOVERNOR HAS, AS REQUIRED BY THE AGREEMENTS, USED THE POLICE TO DEAL WITH THESE INCIDENTS IN THE FIRST PLACE. HE HAS ALSO MADE FULL USE OF THE PF COMMANDERS AND LIAISON OFFICERS TO DEFUSE DANGEROUS SITUATIONS. THE POLICE HAVE, HOWEVER, NOT ALWAYS BEEN ABLE TO COPE WITH THE TASK. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES AND TO DEAL WITH INSTANCES OF BANDITRY, THE GOVERNOR HAS AUTHORISED THE USE OF RHODESIAN FORCES IN SUPPORT OF THE POLICE. HE HAS ALSO BEEN COMPELLED ON VARIOUS OCCASIONS TO DEPLOY FORCES TO THE BORDER AREAS TO DEAL WITH CONTINUING INFILTRATION OF PF FORCES, IN VIOLATION OF THE CEASEFIRE AGREEMENTS. WE ARE DISCUSSING WITH PRESIDENT MACHEL AND HIS ADVISERS HOW WE CAN COOPERATE TO LIMIT THIS INFILTRATION, WHICH THEY DO NOT DENY IS CONTINUING.

THE RHODESIAN FORCES ARE CLOSELY MONITORED. ALLEGATIONS THAT THEY HAVE BREACHED THE CEASEFIRE WILL BE INVESTIGATED. IT WAS ACKNOWLEDGED AT THE LANCASTER HOUSE CONFERENCE THAT THE AUXILIARIES WERE PART OF THE RHODESIAN FORCES AND UNDER THEIR COMMAND. THEY ARE REQUIRED TO OBEY THE CEASEFIRE IN THE SAME WAY AS OTHER FORCES. SUCH COMPLAINTS AS HAVE BEEN MADE AGAINST THEM ARE BEING INVESTIGATED AND APPROPRIATE ACTION WILL BE TAKEN.

YOU EXPRESS CONCERN ABOUT ALLEGED RESTRICTIONS IN THE WAY OF THE RETURN OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT'S LEADERS. IT IS NOT THE CASE THAT OBSTACLES HAVE BEEN PUT IN THE WAY OF THEIR RETURN OR THAT THEY HAVE BEEN PREVENTED FROM RETURNING ON SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS. AS YOU WILL KNOW, MR. NKOMO RETURNED AT HIS OWN CHOICE ON SUNDAY, 13 JANUARY, WHEN A LARGE RALLY HAD BEEN ORGANISED IN SALISBURY. HOWEVER, THE GOVERNOR HAS TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE CONSEQUENCES FOR PUBLIC ORDER OF MAJOR PUBLIC MEETINGS AND MANIFESTATIONS SUCH AS NATURALLY ACCOMPANY THE RETURN OF THE LEADING POLITICAL FIGURES.

MAY I DRAW YOUR ATTENTION TO THE VERY REAL DANGER WHICH ARISES FROM THE CONTINUING BREACHES OF THE CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT BY ZANLA FORCES. INFILTRATION OF ZANLA FORCES HAS CONTINUED ON A LARGE SCALE SINCE THE AGREEMENTS CAME INTO FORCE. OTHER ZANLA FORCES HAVE STAYED OUTSIDE THE ASSEMBLY PROCESS, AND THERE IS EVIDENCE OF ARMED

INTIMIDATION OF PEOPLE IN RURAL AREAS. WELL OVER THREE-QUARTERS OF THE INCIDENTS REPORTED DURING AND SINCE THE ASSEMBLY PROCESS HAVE BEEN ATTRIBUTABLE TO ZANLA. AT THE SAME TIME, THE VOICE OF ZIMBABWE HAS CONTINUED TO BROADCAST INFLAMMATORY MATERIAL, INCLUDING ATTACKS ON "BRITISH COLONIAL TROOPS": AND ZANU CONTINUE TO DETAIN 70 LEADING MEMBERS OF THEIR OWN MOVEMENT WHO HAVE PETITIONED US TO SECURE THEIR RELEASE SO THAT THEY CAN TAKE PART IN THE ELECTIONS.

AT LUSAKA IT WAS AGREED THAT THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR CARRYING THROUGH A RESOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM OF RHODESIA FELL TO BRITAIN. WE HAVE TAKEN ON THAT DIFFICULT RESPONSIBILITY. I WAS THEREFORE A LITTLE DISAPPOINTED THAT YOUR LETTER CONTAINED NO RECOGNITION OF THE REMARKABLE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE GOVERNOR'S ADMINISTRATION OVER THE PAST FOUR WEEKS. LEGALITY HAS BEEN RESTORED. THE MONITORING FORCE HAS BEEN DEPLOYED. AFTER MANY YEARS OF SERIOUS FIGHTING, MILITARY ACTIVITY HAS BEEN DRASTICALLY REDUCED. OVER 20,000 MEMBERS OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT'S FORCES HAVE REPORTED TO ASSEMBLY POINTS, WHERE THEIR NEEDS ARE BEING MET BY THE MONITORING FORCE AND THE BRITISH AUTHORITIES. THE CEASEFIRE COMMISSION IS FUNCTIONING AND GOOD COOPERATION HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED BETWEEN THE PATRIOTIC FRONT'S MILITARY COMMANDERS AND THE GOVERNOR'S ADVISERS. CROSS BORDER MILITARY LIAISON ARRANGEMENTS HAVE BEEN MADE WITH THE GOVERNMENTS OF MOZAMBIQUE, ZAMBIA AND BOTSWANA.

ON THE POLITICAL FRONT, RESTRICTIONS ON ZANU AND ZAPU WERE LIFTED AS SOON AS THE LANCASTER HOUSE AGREEMENTS WERE SIGNED. ARRANGEMENTS FOR REGISTRATION OF PARTIES AND NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES HAVE BEEN MADE AND A DATE FOR THE ELECTIONS SET. THE ELECTION COMMISSIONER AND HIS STAFF ARE SUPERVISING PREPARATIONS FOR THE ELECTIONS. AS YOU KNOW, MR. NKOMO HAS RETURNED TO SALISBURY TOGETHER WITH THE WHOLE OF ZAPU'S LEADERSHIP. MANY LEADING MEMBERS OF ZANU ARE NOW ALSO RETURNING TO SALISBURY.

CONSIDERABLE PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE TOWARDS NORMALISING RHODESIA'S RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBOURS AND RESTORING COMMUNICATIONS. ZAMBIA AND MOZAMBIQUE HAVE OPENED MILITARY LIAISON OFFICES IN SALISBURY. ARRANGEMENTS HAVE BEEN SET IN HAND FOR AN EARLY START ON THE RETURN OF REFUGEES ON A BASIS AGREED WITH THE NEIGHBOURING STATES, THE UNHCR AND THE ICRC. WITHIN RHODESIA, RESTRICTIONS HAVE BEEN RELAXED, AN AMNESTY DECLARED AND A LARGE NUMBER OF DETAINEES RELEASED.

I HOPE THAT YOU WILL GIVE FULL WEIGHT TO THESE REMARKABLE ACHIEVEMENTS AND CONTRAST THEM WITH THE SITUATION WHICH PREVAILED A FEW WEEKS AGO OR WITH THAT WHICH WOULD HAVE PREVAILED HAD WE NOT BEEN ABLE TO BRING THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE TO A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION. I ALSO HOPE THAT YOU AND YOUR COLLEAGUES AMONG THE FRONT LINE STATES WILL DO EVERYTHING IN YOUR POWER TO ENSURE THAT ZANU AND ITS FORCES COMPLY WITH THE TERMS OF THE AGREEMENTS SIGNED AT LANCASTER HOUSE.

I SHALL ASK SIR PETER MOON TO CONTINUE TO KEEP IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH YOU AND YOUR ADVISERS, TO KEEP YOU INFORMED OF PROGRESS IN SALISBURY.

PLEASE DON'T HESITATE TO CONTACT ME AGAIN IF YOU FEEL CONCERNED. WE HAVE COME SO FAR, WE CANNOT FALTER NOW.

YOURS SINCERELY

MARGARET THATCHER

CARRINGTON

FILES

REOD D
OADS
NAD

PUSD
PLANNING STAFF
ES & SD
NENAD
CCD
FRD
EID (E)
UND
LEGAL ADVISERS
(MR FRENBLAND)
(MR FIFCOT)
ECON D
PCD
DEF D
IPD

OID
NEWS D
PS
PS/SIR I GILMOUR
PS/MR LUCE
PS/MR RIDLEY
PS/MR HURD
PS/MR MARTEN
PS/PUS
SIR D MAITLAND

MR HANNAY
LORD N G LENNOX
MISS BROWN
MR DAY
MR FERGUSSON
MR ASPIN
MR MILLS

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