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10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

Vear Prime Minister.

In your letter of 10 January you explained in very forthright terms your concern over parts of my letter. I am sorry that you understood it in the way you explain. It was not what I intended to convey.

ANC bases in Zimbabwe. Our High Commission has always reported that this is your policy. Nor is there any question at all of my seeking to threaten Zimbabwe on behalf of South Africa. On the contrary, I have frequently and consistently urged restraint upon President Botha, and have made plain that we would take the most serious view of any resort to force against Zimbabwe by South Africa. I believe that our action has had some effect and I fully intend to keep up the pressure. We have also repeatedly made clear our horror and distress at the serious loss of life within South Africa. Our aim, as agreed at the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting is to see a suspension of violence on all sides and to support the work of the Eminent Persons Group as they carry out their very difficult task.

I know you will have seen Christopher Soames and I expect he will let me have an account of the way you see events in Southern Africa shaping up. I am sure it is important for us to keep closely in touch, and to explain our concerns candidly and directly. I hope that in the

light of this letter, you will agree that we should keep up our regular exchange of correspondence in the months ahead.

With very best wishes for 1986,

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10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary 22 January 1986

MR. MUGABE'S LETTER

I enclose a signed reply from the Prime Minister to Mr. Mugabe's letter of 10 January. You will wish to telegraph the text to Harare so that Lord Soames can mention it at his meeting on 23 January.

(C. D. POWELL)

Colin Budd, Esq., Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SWIA 2AH

THIS IS A COPY. THE ORIGINAL IS RETAINED UNDER SECTION 3 (4) OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS ACT

Dear Charles,

Zimbabwe/South Africa

As requested in your letter of 16 January, I enclose a draft reply to Mr Mugabe's letter of 10 January, which the Foreign Secretary discussed with the Prime Minister on 19 January.

As the Foreign Secretary explained, it would be very useful if the Prime Minister were to reply before Lord Soames' private dinner with Mr Mugabe on 23 January. Mr Mugabe has already mentioned the Prime Minister's message to him, and he could (if the Prime Minister agrees) use the opportunity to say that he had caused Mugabe's unhappiness to be relayed to London; and that he had now heard from the Prime Minister herself of her concern that he had interpreted her December letter in a way which was not intended. Lord Soames could go on to say that he understood the Prime Minister wished to set the record straight immediately.

I should also mention that subsequent reports have, as the Foreign Secretary also explained, thrown more light on the question of Zimbabwean Government support for ANC attacks on South Africa, which I mentioned in my letter to you of 20 December. Some Zimbabwean officials appear to have exceeded their brief (perhaps in part as a result of deception by ANC commanders); and ANC guerrillas in Zimbabwe may have had some help from ZANU party members. However, we believe that the Zimbabwean Government still hold to their policy of not allowing the ANC to mount military operations from Zimbabwean territory, and that the landmine operation in the Northern Transvaal was carried out without their knowledge. Indeed it appears that this operation severely embarrassed the Zimbabwean Security Minister, who subsequently had 21 ANC members removed from Harare and Bulawayo to Zambia. While this does not of course excuse Mugabe's reaction to the Prime Minister's letter, it may go some way to explain why he is feeling particularly sensitive on this issue at present.

The Foreign Secretary attaches importance to the inclusion of the second sentence in the second paragraph of the proposed message to Mugabe: he is anxious to counter any suspicion the Zimbabweans may have that reporting from the High Commission has accused them of harbouring the ANC in Zimbabwe.

Yours ever, Colin Budd

(C R Budd) Private Secretary I know you will have seen Christopher Soames and I expect he will let me have an account of the way you see events in Southern Africa shaping up.

I am sure it is important for us to keep closely in touch, and to explain our concerns candidly and directly. I hope that in the light of this letter, you will agree that we should keep up our regular exchange of correspondence in the months ahead.

With very best wishes for 1986.

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10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

16 January 1986

MESSAGE TO THE PRIME MINISTER FROM MR MUGABE

You have, I think, a copy of Mr Mugabe's message of 10 January to the Prime Minister. I think it would be sensible to send a reply and I should be grateful if you could let me have a draft in due course.

C D POWELL

Colin Budd, Esq., Foreign and Commonwealth Office

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