

SUBJECT

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PRIME MINISTER'S

PERSONAL MESSAGE

SERIAL No. T 8 A / 80

THE STATE HOUSE,
DAR ES SALAAM,
TANZANIA.

12th January, 1980.

Mrs. Margaret Thatcher,
The Prime Minister,
10 Downing Street,
London, S.W.1.

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Dear Mrs. Thatcher,

As you will have heard, there was a Front-Line States Summit Meeting at Beira on 10th January. We were discussing developments in Rhodesia since the arrival in Salisbury of the British Governor, and in particular a series of actions by, or with the endorsement of, the British authorities there which seem to us to be in breach of the letter and the spirit of the Lancaster House Agreement.

We agreed that while each Government may wish to make a direct approach to the British Government, I should also write to you on behalf of all five states because the Lancaster House Agreement followed from the discussions and agreement at Lusaka in which you were personally involved. Indeed it was partly the Lusaka discussions, and your own commitment to the agreement reached there, which gave us confidence that any agreement reached in London would be carried out honourably by Britain.

In particular, my colleagues and I considered and wish to protest about the following British actions which are a breach of the letter and the spirit of the Lancaster House Agreement.

1. The presence of South African troops in Rhodesia, contrary to assurances given in London, and since repeated in a printed interview given by Lord Carrington. That South African troops are 'guarding Beit Bridge' is now admitted by the British Governor, who says he has authorised this intervention. We believe that there are other South African Forces elsewhere in the territory; this is also implied by some of the reported statements of the South Africans themselves.

2. When the Patriotic Front leaders were proved to be correct in their statements that the seven days for the

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Assembly of their Forces was too short, and the number of Assembly Points inadequate because they had more than the 16,000 troops estimated by the British, the Governor failed to act according to the assurances given in London. He did not increase the number of Assembly Points; nor did he act with 'common-sense' and in a spirit conducive to the success of the Cease Fire and the build-up to the elections. When some thousands of Patriotic Front soldiers were still moving to the agreed Points after the dead-line, the Governor responded by declaring an 'amnesty' on condition that they surrendered their weapons, as if they were rebels graciously being pardoned. Even worse, it now appears that the Governor expects them to surrender their weapons to their enemies and not to the Monitoring Forces. Already a number of Freedom Fighters trying to join their colleagues in the Assembly Points have been shot and killed in cold blood.

3. During the period of Assembly, the Governor twice called upon the Smith/Muzorewa troops to deal with what he alleged were specific breaches of the peace. Within two or three days after the 'deadline', and even less time after his 'amnesty offer', the Governor then announced the 'deployment' of the Smith/Muzorewa troops to deal with what were sometimes called 'armed gangs' and sometimes 'the 3,000 Patriotic Front troops who have not reported in'. There is apparently no specific incident they were supposed to deal with; they are being used 'to keep the peace' in direct contravention of the Lancaster House Agreement which says that they will be confined to their quarters at Company Level throughout the Cease Fire period. It was a group of these Smith/Muzorewa Forces which killed the Patriotic Front soldiers who were going to an Assembly Point. The Governor is reported to have regretted the deaths but said the Rhodesians were 'acting within their rights' in the murders!

4. The Salisbury Auxiliary Forces - i.e. armed supporters of Bishop Muzorewa - were supposed to have been incorporated into the Salisbury Army and confined like them to their quarters in accordance with the Cease Fire Provisions of the London Agreement. Instead they have been left at large, and are in fact now moving into and occupying the areas left vacant by the Patriotic Front Forces when these moved to the Assembly Points in accordance with that Agreement. These

Auxiliary Forces are now terrorising and intimidating the people of those areas. Further, the Patriotic Front Forces in the Assembly Points are themselves being gradually encircled by the Forces of their racist enemies; their fears of such a thing happening were rejected in London on the grounds that the Salisbury Forces would also be confined to barracks and would be Monitored there. No action has been taken by the Governor against the Auxiliary Forces or any other of the Smith/Muzorewa troops; neither the Patriotic Front Forces under his command, nor any others, have been used to rectify this situation.

As far as we can gather, at no point has the Governor called upon the Cease Fire Commission - on which both sides are represented - to consider a serious breach of the Cease Fire. Yet the Agreement lays down this procedure, and says that it is the Commission which should deal with such Cease Fire violations or should advise the Governor how to act.

5. On the political side, Bishop Muzorewa went back to Salisbury to begin political campaigning even before the Conference was over. The Patriotic Front leaders are apparently expected to get the Governor's permission to return to their homeland. Joshua Nkomo himself has already been told once to postpone his planned arrival, because it would clash with a rally by the Bishop's supporters. Some ZANU leaders have also been told they could not return as planned. One of the persons not so far allowed to return home is the ZANU Director of Elections. We understand that some of the Patriotic Front leaders have now been told that they will not be allowed to return home on either a Saturday or a Sunday! Once again this is a clear political interference on the side of the Bishop and the Salisbury group of nationalists.

6. There are many similar but smaller evidences of gross bias by the British authorities in Salisbury. But the important thing is that all these incidents mean that Britain is itself now dishonouring the Agreement which was reached under its Chairmanship in London. Further, the Commonwealth at Lusaka, and the Security Council when it lifted sanctions, entrusted to the British Government the responsibility of seeing that the London Agreement was impartially enforced. It is not being so enforced.

As I told your High Commissioner on 11th January, and repeated at my later Press Conference, the Front Line States

agreed to accept any Government elected in Rhodesia by free and fair elections. But that condition has always existed; it still does. Those elections cannot be free and fair if South African troops are in Rhodesia; the very presence of such troops is intimidation and an indication of that Government's intentions if the Patriotic Front Parties should win the election despite everything. The elections will not be free and fair if the Smith/Muzorewa Forces are allowed to roam at large and to intimidate the people now that they have been 'deployed' by the Governor. Indeed, the whole peace-making exercise will break down if the present bias continues to be practiced and if the terms of the Lancaster House Agreement are not enforced.

Mrs. Thatcher, my colleagues and I cannot believe that you are yourself a party to any of the actions which call into question Britain's good faith since Lusaka. Lord Carrington and his Deputy are, I know, both out of Britain on other business, which also preoccupied them before they left. It may be, therefore, that these matters - important as they are - escaped their attention, and that you yourself have therefore been left in ignorance of the grave danger which exists consequent to the dishonouring of the London Agreement. I am now appealing to you to give this matter your personal attention so as to save the opportunity for peace in Southern Africa which your own actions created.

Yours sincerely,

Julius K. Nyerere