

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T 35A/80

CONFIDENTIAL

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GRS 1312

*Subject file - Rhodesia - Sit
- Pt 15.*

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FM FCO 1030Z FEB 80

TO IMMEDIATE LAGOS

TELEGRAM NUMBER 218 OF 21 FEBRUARY

AND TO IMMEDIATE SALISBURY PRIORITY LUSAKA, ABIDJAN, KINSHASA,
NAIROBI, LILONGWE, ACCRA, FREETOWN, LUANDA, ADDIS ABABA,
WASHINGTON, UKMIS NEW YORK.

RHODESIA: MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT SHAGARI

1. PLEASE PASS THE FOLLOWING REPLY FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO
PRESIDENT SHAGARI AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

DEAR MR PRESIDENT

THANK YOU FOR YOUR LETTER OF 14 FEBRUARY. I AM GLAD THAT
YOU FEEL ABLE TO SHARE YOUR CONCERN WITH ME AT THIS CRUCIAL TIME.
I NEVER DOUBTED THAT THE TASK THAT WE SET OURSELVES AT LUSAKA
WOULD BE DIFFICULT. INDEED IT IS, BUT WE ARE DETERMINED TO DO
OUR UTMOST TO ENSURE THAT ELECTIONS ARE HELD IN CIRCUMSTANCES AS
FAIR AS WE CAN MAKE THEM.

THESE LAST STAGES ARE THE MOST CRUCIAL AND THE MOST
DIFFICULT. POLITICAL PASSIONS ARE HIGH IN RHODESIA.
ALLEGATIONS AND COUNTER-ALLEGATIONS WILL INEVITABLY FLY. WE
SHALL NEED TO KEEP A COOL HEAD IF WE ARE TO DISCHARGE OUR TASK
AND WE SHALL RELY MUCH ON THE SUPPORT AND UNDERSTANDING OF FRIENDS
LIKE NIGERIA. I THEREFORE PARTICULARLY WELCOME YOUR ASSURANCE
THAT YOU REMAIN READY TO WORK CLOSELY WITH US IN ACHIEVING A
PEACEFUL AND ORDERLY TRANSFER OF POWER IN ZIMBABWE.

IT WAS ALWAYS CLEAR THAT THE AGREEMENTS REACHED AT THE
LANCASTER HOUSE CONFERENCE WOULD ONLY WORK IN PRACTICE IF ALL
THE PARTIES ABIDED BY WHAT HAD BEEN AGREED. A CRUCIAL
ELEMENT IS THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT. IN
THE WESTERN PARTS OF THE COUNTRY, WHERE MR NKOMO'S FORCES WERE
ACTIVE, THE CEASEFIRE IS WORKING WELL. VERY FEW OF HIS FORCES
HAVE FAILED TO ASSEMBLE AND IN CONSEQUENCE VERY FEW RHODESIAN
SECURITY FORCES, INCLUDING AUXILIARIES, ARE DEPLOYED IN THAT

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AREA. IN THE EASTERN PART OF THE COUNTRY HOWEVER, THE SITUATION IS FAR LESS SATISFACTORY. SEVERAL THOUSAND OF MR MUGABE'S ZANLA FORCES HAVE BEEN INSTRUCTED TO REMAIN OUTSIDE THE ASSEMBLY PLACES, TO ENGAGE IN POLITICAL ACTIVITY AND TO IGNORE ANY BROADCAST INSTRUCTIONS TO THE CONTRARY. THIS IS CONFIRMED BY STATEMENTS WHICH SOME OF THE ZANLA PERSONNEL HAVE MADE TO OUR OWN POLICE ADVISERS AND TO THE MONITORING FORCE. THE CEASEFIRE IS FAR FROM BEING FULLY EFFECTIVE IN THESE AREAS AND IN CONSEQUENCE IT HAS REMAINED NECESSARY FOR SOME OF THE SECURITY FORCES, INCLUDING AUXILIARIES, TO BE DEPLOYED THERE.

FURTHERMORE OUR ELECTION SUPERVISORS, WHO ARE DEPLOYED AROUND THE COUNTRY, REPORT WIDESPREAD INTIMIDATION OF VOTERS IN LARGE AREAS OF EASTERN RHODESIA. OTHER PARTIES ARE PREVENTED FROM CAMPAIGNING. THEIR CANDIDATES HAVE BEEN ABDUCTED. INDIVIDUALS HAVE BEEN THREATENED WITH VIOLENCE OR DEATH IF THEY DO NOT VOTE FOR ZANU(PF) AND TOLD THAT THE WAR WILL START AGAIN IF ZANU(PF) DO NOT WIN THE ELECTIONS. ALL THE OTHER PARTIES, INCLUDING MR NKOMO'S HAVE PROTESTED VIGOROUSLY TO THE GOVERNOR ABOUT THIS.

IF ANY ONE PARTY IS SEEN TO GET AWAY WITH SYSTEMATIC BREACHES OF THE AGREEMENTS AND OTHER COMMITMENTS ACCEPTED AT LANCASTER HOUSE THERE IS A REAL DANGER THAT THE OTHER PARTIES WILL FEEL NO LESS FREE TO ACT IRRESPECTIVE OF THE AGREEMENT. THAT WOULD PLACE IN JEOPARDY ALL THAT WAS ACHIEVED AT THE COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING IN LUSAKA AND SUBSEQUENTLY. THE GOVERNOR HAS REPEATEDLY STRESSED TO ALL THE POLITICAL LEADERS THE CRUCIAL IMPORTANCE OF PUTTING AN END TO INTIMIDATION AND OF COMPLYING STRICTLY WITH THE TERMS OF THE LANCASTER HOUSE AGREEMENTS. I VERY MUCH HOPE THAT YOU WILL USE YOUR INFLUENCE TO URGE ON MR MUGABE THE RISKS OF THE COURSE WHICH HIS PARTY IS FOLLOWING IN MUCH OF THE COUNTRY.

ANOTHER SOURCE OF OBVIOUS CONCERN IS THE ATTACKS OR ATTEMPTED ATTACKS ON POLITICAL LEADERS. THE GOVERNOR AND THE POLICE HAVE THESE DANGERS VERY MUCH IN MIND. MR MUGABE IS GIVEN FULL PROTECTION BY HIS OWN BODYGUARDS AND BY THE RHODESIAN POLICE UNDER ARRANGEMENTS MADE BY THE GOVERNOR AND AGREED WITH

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MR MUGABE PERSONALLY. THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR ONE OF THE ATTACKS ON HIM HAVE BEEN ARRESTED. INVESTIGATIONS CONTINUE TO FIND THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SECOND. THE POLICE ARE ALSO GIVING FULL PROTECTION TO THE OTHER POLITICAL LEADERS.

I WOULD LIKE TO COMMENT ON SOME OF THE PARTICULAR POINTS WHICH YOU RAISED IN YOUR LETTER. WE HAVE LOOKED INTO THE ALLEGATIONS THAT THERE ARE MORE THAN 3,000 SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS IN THE RHODESIAN DEFENCE FORCES. THERE ARE A FEW HUNDRED SOUTH AFRICANS IN THE RHODESIAN FORCES, AS THERE ARE FOREIGNERS IN THE PATRIOTIC FRONT FORCES. WE MADE CLEAR AT LANCASTER HOUSE THAT WE WOULD NOT SEEK TO 'PURGE' THE FORCES OF EITHER SIDE DURING THE INTERIM PERIOD, THOUGH SEVERAL HUNDRED MEMBERS OF FRELIMO WERE RECENTLY REPATRIATED TO MOZAMBIQUE AT PRESIDENT MACHEL'S REQUEST.

I HAVE DEALT ABOVE WITH THE REASON FOR CONTINUED DEPLOYMENT OF AUXILIARIES IN THE EASTERN PART OF RHODESIA. I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT THEY ARE NOT ACTING AS 'BULLY BOYS' FOR ONE OF THE PARTIES IN THE ELECTION. THEY ARE INTEGRATED INTO THE RHODESIAN SECURITY FORCES. OVER THE PAST SIX WEEKS THE COMMONWEALTH MONITORING FORCE HAVE DEVOTED A MAJOR PART OF THEIR EFFORTS TO MONITORING THE AUXILIARIES. THEY HAVE COVERED VIRTUALLY EVERY AUXILIARY DETACHMENT AND HAVE INTERVIEWED THE LOCAL POPULATION. THEIR GENERAL CONCLUSION IS THAT, WITH VERY FEW EXCEPTIONS, ALL OF WHICH HAVE BEEN SUBJECT TO DISCIPLINARY ACTION OR ACTION BY THE COURTS, THE AUXILIARIES ARE FULFILLING THEIR ROLE AS PART OF THE DEFENCE FORCES AND ARE NOT ENGAGING IN POLITICAL ACTIVITY. A NUMBER OF COMPLAINTS MADE BY MR MUGABE ABOUT THE AUXILIARIES ARE BEING INVESTIGATED IN DETAIL. BY CONTRAST, THE UNASSEMBLED ZANLA FORCES ARE NOT SUBJECT TO ANY MONITORING.

THE RHODESIAN POLICE ARE, IN GENERAL, DISCHARGING A DIFFICULT ROLE WITH COMMENDABLE FAIRNESS. THE GOVERNOR HAS RECEIVED VERY FEW COMPLAINTS ABOUT THEM AND MR NKOMO HAS PRIVATELY COMMENDED THEIR CONDUCT TO HIM. AN ENCOURAGING DEVELOPMENT IS THAT THE POLICE HAVE IN A NUMBER OF AREAS BEEN UNDERTAKING JOINT PATROLS WITH DETACHMENTS OF THE ASSEMBLED PATRIOTIC FRONT FORCES.

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I UNDERSTAND THE CONCERN WHICH LEADS YOU TO SUGGEST THAT THE SIZE OF THE COMMONWEALTH MONITORING FORCE SHOULD BE INCREASED AND THAT IT SHOULD BE INVOLVED IN SECURITY DUTIES ON THE GROUND. HOWEVER, I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT IT WOULD BE EITHER PRACTICABLE OR POSSIBLE. THE SIZE AND THE ROLE OF THE MONITORING FORCE WAS AN ISSUE WHICH WAS DISCUSSED AT GREAT LENGTH, AND WAS SETTLED, AT LANCASTER HOUSE. IT WAS MADE CLEAR THEN THAT THE FORCE WOULD NOT BE AN INTERVENTION FORCE BUT THAT ITS ONLY FUNCTION WOULD BE TO MONITOR THE CEASEFIRE AND REPORT BREACHES. WE HAVE TO STICK CAREFULLY TO WHAT WAS AGREED BY THE PARTIES AT LANCASTER HOUSE. THE PRESENT FORCE IS FULLY ADEQUATE FOR ITS PURPOSE AND IS REPORTING CEASEFIRE BREACHES, THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR WHICH IS CLEARLY INDICATED IN THE ATTRIBUTIONS AGREED UNANIMOUSLY BY THE CEASEFIRE COMMISSION.

WITH THE ELECTIONS NOW JUST A WEEK AWAY WE SHALL CONTINUE TO DO OUR VERY BEST TO MAKE THEM AS FAIR AS WE CAN IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES. AS YOU WILL KNOW, WE ARE SENDING OUT MORE THAN 500 BRITISH POLICEMEN TO HELP IN THE SUPERVISION OF THE POLLING STATIONS. THIS IS IN ADDITION TO THE SUBSTANTIAL BRITISH STAFF ALREADY IN RHODESIA WITH OUR ELECTION COMMISSIONER. WE ARE ALSO PROVIDING FULL FACILITIES FOR THE COMMONWEALTH OBSERVERS.

I HOPE THAT THIS LETTER WILL ASSUAGE SOME OF THE CONCERNS WHICH YOU EXPRESSED AND WILL HELP YOU TO UNDERSTAND OUR DIFFICULTIES AND ANXIETIES AS WE EMBARK ON THE FINAL STAGES OF OUR TASK IN LEADING ZIMBABWE TO INDEPENDENCE.

I AM SURE THAT WE SHALL HAVE YOUR UNDERSTANDING AND SUPPORT. IT WOULD BE A TREMENDOUS HELP IF YOU AND FELLOW LEADERS IN AFRICA COULD MAKE QUITE CLEAR THAT YOU WOULD NOT SUPPORT ANY PARTY WHICH SOUGHT TO RESTART THE WAR AFTER THE ELECTIONS. THIS WOULD GIVE ALL PARTIES IN RHODESIA THE ASSURANCE THAT THE VERDICT OF THE PEOPLE WILL BE ACCEPTED AND THAT THE JUDGEMENT OF AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS ON THE ELECTIONS WILL NOT BE DEPENDENT ON WHICH CANDIDATE WINS.

I LOOK FORWARD TO REMAINING IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH YOU.

CARRINGTON

FILES
RHOD DEPT
OADS
NAD
FUSD
PLANNING STAFF
CCD
FRD
ECD(E)
UND
LEGAL ADVISERS
(MR FREELAND)
ECON DEPT

DEF D
IPD
OID
NEWS D
PS
PS/SIR I GILMOUR
PS/MR LUCE
PS/MR RIDLEY
PS/MR HURD
PS/MR MARTEN
PS/FUS
SIR D MAITLAND
SIR A ACLAND

LORD N G LENNOX
MR DAY
MR FERGUSSON
MR ASPIN
MR MILLS
CPO

ADDITIONAL DIST.
RHODESIA POLICY

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