

SECRET

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Confidential Filing

Relations between Kenya and Uganda.

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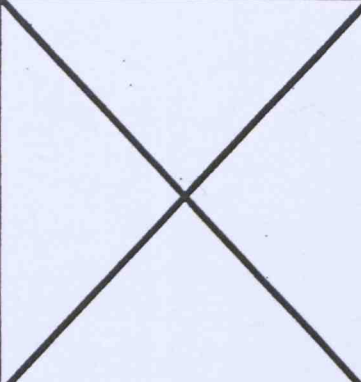
KENYA

See Kenya : Rels / Int Sit

September 1979

Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date
<del>24-9-79</del>							
<del>10-1-80</del>							
<del>18-2-80</del>							
<del>10-9-80</del>							
15-9-80							
29-12-87							
23-3-90							
<p>Series closed</p> <p>PREM 19/3060</p>							

6/13/16 TWA loop

DEPARTMENT/SERIES ..... <i>PREM 19</i> ..... PIECE/ITEM ..... <i>3060</i> ..... (one piece/item number)	Date and sign
Extract details:  <i>Letter from Powell dated 23 March 1990</i>	
CLOSED UNDER FOI EXEMPTION .....	
RETAINED UNDER SECTION 3(4) OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS ACT 1958	<i>15/11/2016</i> <i>O. Gray</i>
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291710Z  
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COMMENT

CONFIDENTIAL  
FM KAMPALA  
TO DESKBY 291500Z FCG  
TELNO 744  
OF 291315Z DECEMBER 87  
INFO IMMEDIATE NAIROBI  
INFO PRIORITY DAR ES SALAAM, LUSAKA, CAIRO

SUMMARY

1. UGANDAN MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS GRATEFUL FOR YOUR MESSAGE OF 23 DECEMBER AND PROVIDES A PERSONAL ACCOUNT OF MUSEVENI'S MEETING WITH MOI ON 28 DECEMBER AT THE KENYAN BORDER. AGREEMENT TO WITHDRAW TROOPS ON BOTH SIDES OF THE BORDER AND TO RESUME NORMAL TRADING ACTIVITIES. UGANDANS HOPE TO ARRANGE A BILATERAL MINISTERIAL MEETING IN KAMPALA IN THE FIRST WEEK OF JANUARY.

DETAIL

2. IN ASKING ME TO THANK YOU FOR YOUR WELCOME MESSAGE OF 23 DECEMBER, MUKIIBI GAVE ME A PERSONAL ACCOUNT OF YESTERDAY'S MEETING BETWEEN PRESIDENTS MOI AND MUSEVENI AT MALABA JUST INSIDE THE KENYAN BORDER. ALTHOUGH THERE HAD BEEN NO JOINT COMMUNIQUE (THE UGANDANS HAD PREPARED A DRAFT BUT THE KENYANS HAD NOT WANTED A COMMUNIQUE) THE OUTCOME OF THE MEETING WAS DESCRIBED BY MUSEVENI AT HIS PRESS CONFERENCE AT TORORO ON HIS RETURN FROM THE MEETING.

3. BOTH MUSEVENI AND MOI HAD OUTLINED WHAT THEY BELIEVED TO BE THE UNDERLYING CAUSES OF FRICTION. MUSEVENI HAD REFERRED TO THE BORDER CLOSURE, THE HARBOURING OF UGANDAN DISSIDENTS, UNWARRANTED QUESTIONING OF NRA INTERNAL POLICY AND HARRASSMENT OF UGANDAN TRADERS AND OFFICIALS. IT HAD BEEN AGREED THAT RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES SHOULD BE NORMALISED BY:-

A) THE REMOVAL OF TROOPS FROM BOTH SIDES OF THE BORDER AND THEIR REPLACEMENT BY POLICE - UGANDANS HAD EXPLAINED THAT THE NRA HAD BEEN IN THE DISTRICT TO COUNTERACT INCURSIONS BY ARMED DISSIDENTS AND THAT SOME MEMBERS OF THE NRA WOULD REMAIN NEAR THE BORDER DUE TO SHORTAGE OF POLICEMEN:

B) RESUMPTION OF NORMAL TRADING ACTIVITIES INCLUDING THE TRANSIT OF PETROL TANKERS, GOODS TRAILERS AND INDIVIDUALS:

C) THE GRANT OF WORK PERMITS TO REPLACEMENT UGANDAN OFFICIALS OF PARASTATAL TRADING ORGANISATIONS: AND

D) INVESTIGATION INTO REPORTS OF THE HARRASSMENT AND DETENTION OF UGANDAN NATIONALS IN KENYA BY A JOINT MINISTERIAL COMMITTEE.

4. MUKIIBI SAID THAT THE KENYANS HAD ORIGINALLY REQUESTED THE DISCUSSION TO BE CONFINED TO BORDER SECURITY AS THEY DENIED UGANDAN ALLEGATIONS OF HARRASSMENT, SUPPORT FOR DISSIDENTS AND RESTRICTIONS ON TRAFFIC. HOWEVER MUSEVENI HAD INSISTED ON DISCUSSION OF TRANSIT TRADE AND ACCESS TO THE SEA BY LANDLOCKED COUNTRIES.

5. MOI'S ATTITUDE TO THE CLOSURE OF THE BORDER HAD BEEN INCONSISTENT. HE HAD FIRST DENIED THAT THE KENYANS HAD CLOSED THE BORDER AND CLAIMED THAT DIFFICULTIES WERE DUE TO THE RELUCTANCE OF KENYAN DRIVERS TO ENTER UGANDA. BUT HE WAS UNABLE TO EXPLAIN WHY NINE UGANDAN FUEL TANKERS DRIVEN BY UGANDANS HAD BEEN HELD UP UNTIL THE DAY OF THE MEETING. MUKIIBI CLAIMED THAT UGANDAN DRIVER WAS BEATEN UP BY KENYAN SECURITY FORCES IN THE PRESENCE OF MUHWEZI, UGANDAN DIRECTOR OF INTERNAL SECURITY, WHILE BEING TAKEN TO EXPLAIN TO MOI WHY HE AND COLLEAGUES HAD BEEN UNABLE TO COLLECT FUEL DESTINED FOR UGANDA.

6. FINALLY MUKIIBI SAID THAT KAMBWAGYE, DESIGNATED AS UGANDAN CONSUL IN MOMBASA, WHO IS ACTING AS CHARGE D'AFFAIRES IN NAIROBI HAD BEEN CHARGED WITH ARRANGING FOR A MEETING OF THE MINISTERIAL COMMITTEE IN KAMPALA IN THE FIRST WEEK OF JANUARY. MUKIIBI BELIEVES THAT HE IS IN TOUCH WITH KIPLAGAT. MEANWHILE THE UGANDANS ARE CLOSELY MONITORING THE SITUATION AT THE BORDER AND THE FLOW OF TRANSIT GOODS. MUKIIBI PROMISED TO LET ME HAVE AN UPDATE AT THE END OF THE WEEK.

COMMENT

7. I DID NOT GET THE IMPRESSION FROM MUKIIBI THAT THE MEETING WAS PARTICULARLY CORDIAL BUT THE UGANDANS ARE SATISFIED THAT THE MEETING HAS HELPED TO DEFUSE THE TENSE SITUATION. THEY NOW AWAIT PROOF THAT MOI'S ASSERTION THAT TRANSIT TRADE WILL NOT BE INTERRUPTED RESULTS IN THE RESUMPTION OF THE FLOW OF GOODS PARTICULARLY PETROL FROM MOMBASA. UGANDAN NEWSPAPERS HAVE CONFINED THEMSELVES TO REPORTING MUSEVENI'S PRESS CONFERENCE WHICH FOLLOWED THE LINES OF PARA 3 ABOVE.

MARCH

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MR FAIRWEATHER		1
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FOR THE ATTENTION OF MR POWELL, NO 10 DOWNING ST  
COMMENT

CONFIDENTIAL

FM NAIROBI

TO DESKBY 291700Z FCO

TELNO 718

OF 291316Z DECEMBER 87

INFO IMMEDIATE KAMPALA

INFO ROUTINE DAR ES SALAAM, LUSAKA

DUR TELNO 718: KENYA/UGANDA: MEETING BETWEEN MOI AND MUSEVENI

1. I HAVE SPOKEN TO KIPLAGAT WHO WAS PRESENT AT THE MALABA SUMMIT MEETING YESTERDAY.
2. KIPLAGAT SAID THAT THE DECISION TO MEET MUSEVENI HAD BEEN TAKEN BY MOI HIMSELF. THE PRESIDENT HAD REACHED THE CONCLUSION THAT, GIVEN MUSEVENI'S CENTRALISED SYSTEM, THEY WOULD HAVE TO START WITH A MEETING AT THE TOP. AFTER THAT IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO REVERT TO THE PREFERRED KENYAN SOLUTION OF RESTORING CLOSE LINKS AT WORKING LEVEL.
3. THE MEETING HAD CONCENTRATED ON SECURITY AND THE BORDER PROBLEMS. THE KENYANS HAD ADVOCATED THE RESTORATION OF REGULAR ADMINISTRATIVE CONTACTS. THE DC BUSIA HAD TESTIFIED TO THE FACT THAT, BEFORE THE CLASHES, HE HAD SENT 3 INVITATIONS TO HIS UGANDAN OPPOSITE NUMBER WITH NO REPLY. MUSEVENI TICKED THE UGANDAN OFF. THERE WAS ONLY LIMITED DISCUSSION OF UGANDAN DISSIDENT ACTIVITY BECAUSE MUSEVENI CLAIMED THAT THE "BANDITS" HAD BEEN CRUSHED.
4. THE MEETING HAD NOT BEEN EASY. MUSEVENI HAD BEEN NERVOUS AND HAD REITERATED SOME OF THE WILDER UGANDAN STATEMENTS. MOI HAD BEEN FIRM AND SURPRISINGLY RESTRAINED. BUT GENERALLY, THE MEETING HAD GONE OFF SATISFACTORILY.
5. I GAINED THE IMPRESSION THAT THE KENYANS HAD AGREED TO THE MEETING FOR THE SAKE OF AFRICAN SOLIDARITY, AND NO DOUBT TO HELP KALUNDA OUT. IT WAS CLEARLY NOT A JOYOUS OCCASION. BUT KIPLAGAT WAS RELIEVED THAT IT HAD GONE OFF WITHOUT A MAJOR ROW. DAY-TO-DAY CO-OPERATION CAN NOW BE REBUILT, AND GOODS SHOULD MOVE MORE EASILY, BUT THE ANTI-PATHY REMAINS.

JOHNSON

YYYY

ADVANCE 15

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FM KAMPALA

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TO IMMEDIATE FCO TEL NO 399 OF 15 SEP

AND IMMEDIATE TO NAIROBI

INFO ROUTINE K. HARTOUM DAR ES SALAAM, WASHINGTON

SAVING TO PARIS

YOUR TEL NO 195: (NOT TO PARIS):

*[Handwritten mark]*UGANDA/KENYA/SUDAN RELATIONS.

1. I SPOKE ACCORDINGLY TO ALLIMADI ON 12 SEPTEMBER. HE ASKED ME TO ASSURE YOU THAT HE AND THE GOVERNMENT OF UGANDA ACCEPTED WITHOUT RESERVATION THAT THE DOCUMENT WAS A FORGERY.
2. THE MINISTER REMAINS EXTREMELY WORRIED ABOUT RELATIONS WITH KENYA PARTICULARLY OVER COFFEE AND EXILED DISSIDENTS. HE SAID THAT IF GUERRILLA GROUPS ORGANISED IN KENYA CROSSED THE BORDER IT WOULD LEAD TO WAR. I ASKED WHAT HAD HAPPENED TO THE STATEMENT HE HAD INTENDED TO ISSUE ON RELATIONS WITH KENYA AND THE SUDAN. HE SAID THAT SECOND AND COOLER THOUGHTS HAD PREVAILED AND THAT A PUBLIC SLANGING MATCH WOULD NOT HELP EITHER PARTY. FOR THIS REASON HE HAD BEEN MUCH UPSET BY THE UGANDA TIMES EDITORIAL ATTACKS ON KENYA AND HE GAVE ME THE TEXT IN MIFT OF A STATEMENT HE HAD PUT OUT THAT DAY (PUBLISHED IN THE UGANDA TIMES THE FOLLOWING DAY) DISSOCIATING HIMSELF FROM THE PRESS ATTACKS. IN ALL THE CIRCUMSTANCES THIS IS A MAJOR CONCILATORY GESTURE AND I WOULD HOPE THAT IF THE STATEMENT IS NO PUBLICISED IN NAIROBI WE COULD FIND SOME WAY OF BRINGING IT TO THE ATTENTION OF THE KENYA GOVERNMENT.
3. ALLIMADI SAID HIS PERMANENT UNDER SECRETARY IS TO GO TO KENYA FOR BILATERAL TALKS ON 18 SEPTEMBER. THE MINISTER ALSO TOLD ME THAT HE PLANS IN HIS CAPACITY AS CHAIRMAN OF THE U P C ELECTORAL COMMITTEE, TO MAKE A PUBLIC APPEARANCE NEXT WEEK WITH THE LEADER OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY TO DEMONSTRATE THEIR UNITY OF APPROACH TO THE STEPS BEING TAKEN TOWARDS HOLDING EARLY ELECTIONS. WE AGREE THAT SUCH A DEMONSTRATION MIGHT ALSO BE HELPFUL TO RELATIONS WITH KENYA IN THAT MUCKAOF THE ANIMOSITY THERE IS DIRECTED AGAINST OBOTE'S ROLE IN UGANDAN POLITICS.



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4. THE TEXT IN MIFT REFERS TO TWO RECENT EDITORIALS IN THE UGANDA TIMES, WHICH IS MORE OR LESS AN OFFICIAL GOVERNMENT ORGAN. ON 4 SEPTEMBER IN AN EDITORIAL ENTITLED "MOI'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS UGANDA", MOI WAS DESCRIBED AS BEING "DRUNK WITH PATERNALISM" AND GIVING ADVICE ABOUT UGANDA AFTER HAVING "PLACED HIMSELF ON A DREAMY PEDESTAL AND ASSUMED THE AIRS OF AN ELDER BROTHER". THE EDITORIAL INEVITABLY REFERRED TO KENYA'S LACK OF CONCERN WITH EVENTS IN UGANDA DURING AMIN'S TIME AND TO GIVING "DIPLOMATIC BLESSING TO THAT REGIME OF TERROR". IT CLAIMED THAT KENYA FRANTICALLY TRIED TO PROP UP THE AMIN REGIME DURING THE WAR OF LIBERATION AND REFERRED TO KENYAN SUPPORT FOR "THE LULE CLIQUE". IN Q CONCLUSION IT SAID "WE KNOW OUR REAL FRIENDS AND WE KNOW OUR REAL ENEMIES WHATEVER GARB THEY ADORN". ON THE FOLLOWING DAY AN EDITORIAL IN SAME NEWSPAPER, AFTER GIVING CREDIT TO THE FOREIGN AID GIVEN IN KARAMOJA ESPECIALLY BY THE FRENCH, CRITICISED A MEMBER OF THE FRENCH AID TEAM FOR GIVING A FOREIGN JOURNALIST AN INTERVIEW WHICH WAS CARRIED BY A KENYAN NEWSPAPER. THE FRENCHMAN WAS QUOTED AS DESCRIBING THE UGANDA ARMY AS ILL-TRAINED AND ILL-DISCIPLINED BUSH RAIDERS. THE EDITORIAL MAINTAINED THAT IF THE FRENCH HAD ENCOUNTERED DIFFICULTIES THEY SHOULD HAVE USED THE NORMAL DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS. THE COMMENTS OF THE FRENCHMAN TOUCHED VERY MUCH ON UGANDA'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS AND HE SHOULD HAVE DISCIPLINED HIMSELF, PARTICULARLY AS HE IS IN UGANDA AS A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT. THE UGANDANS AND THE FRENCH WANT TO MAINTAIN CLOSER RELATIONS BUT THESE MUST BE BASED ON RESPECT FOR EACH OTHER'S INDEPENDENCE.

FLACK

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"WITH THE LEADER OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY TO DEMONSTRATE

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Kenya

GR 60

UNCLASSIFIED

FM NAIROBI 101343Z SEPT 80

TO ROUTINE F.C.O.

TELEGRAM NO. 483 OF 10 SEPTEMBER 1980

INFO ROUTINE TO KAMPALA AND DAR ES SALAAM.

KENYA/ UGANDA RELATIONS

1. THE FURY OVER THE UGANDA TIMES CRITICISM OF PRESIDENT MOI SHOWS LITTLE SIGN OF ABATING. THE STANDARD'S FRONT PAGE LEAD ARTICLE REPORTS CALLS BY SENIOR KENYAN POLITICIANS AND KANU OFFICIALS FOR THE CLOSURE OF THE BORDER BETWEEN KENYA/UGANDA AND THE RETURN OF ALL UGANDAN RESIDENTS IN KENYA TO THEIR HOMELAND. TANZANIA'S ROLE IS ALSO BITTERLY CRITICISED. THE PAPER'S EDITORIAL ONCE AGAIN ATTACKS OBOTE AND THE MILITARY COMMISSION. WILLIAMS

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ADVANCED



*Kenya*

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MR ADAMS  
SIR L ALLINSON

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RR DAR ES SALAAM

IMMEDIATE

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FM NAIROBI 090900Z SEP  
TO IMMEDIATE FCO  
TEL NO 479 OF 9 SEPTEMBER 1980  
INFO KAMPALA DAR ES SALAAM

KENYA/UGANDA RELATIONS.

1. KENYAN MINISTERS AND PRESS HAVE REACTED WITH FURY TO REPORTS OF A RECENT EDITORIAL IN THE UGANDA TIMES PERSONALLY CRITICISING PRESIDENT MOI.



2. THE EDITORIAL WAS REPORTED IN SATURDAYS KENYA PRESS AND IS QUOTED AS REFERRING TO MOI 'BEING DRUNK WITH PATERNALISM' WHICH PLACES HIM ON A 'DREAMY PEDESTAL'. THE ARTICLE EXPRESSES DOUBTS ABOUT MOI'S SINCERITY AND ACCUSES KENYA OF HAVING HELPED CONSOLIDATE THE AMIN COUP AND HAVING SUPPORTED THE LULE AND BINAISA REGIMES FOR ITS OWN REASONS.

3. THE FIRST OFFICIAL KENYAN REACTION CAME IN THE FORM OF A FIRM BUT MODERATE STATEMENT FROM THE MFA.

4. THIS HAS NOW BEEN FOLLOWED BY A SERIES OF INTEMPERATE EDITORIALS IN THE LOCAL PRESS AND MINISTERIAL COUNTER ATTACKS. THE FOREIGN MINISTER, ROBERT OUKO, SPEAKING IN NYANZA ON 7 SEPTEMBER SAID 'KENYA SHOULD NOT BE USED AS A SCAPEGOAT TO HIDE THEIR (UGANDAN GOVERNMENT) WICKED ACTS AGAINST THEIR OWN PEOPLE'. HE WENT ON TO SPEAK OF MOI IN ADULATORY TERMS. NJONJO HAS NOW ENTERED THE FRAY WITH A SPEECH WHICH IS THE LEAD STORY IN THE STANDARD ('WHO IS THIS OBOTE?' - NJONJO. NJONJO IS QUOTED AS DESCRIBING OBOTE AND THE MILITARY COMMISSION AS BEING 'TANZANIAN PLOYS IN ATTACKING MOI'. HE DESCRIBED THE COMMISSION AS 'IMPOSTER AND NON ELECTED SOLDIERS'.

WILLIAMS

IMMEDIATE

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GR 350

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DESKBY 091245Z SEP

FM NAIROBI 091230Z SEP

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TEL NO 481 OF 9 SEPTEMBER 1980

INFO IMMEDIATE KAMPALA KHARTOUM

INFO ROUTINE DAR ES SALAAM WASHINGTON

*mo*

KAMPALA TEL NO 391: UGANDA/KENYA/SUDAN RELATIONS.

1. WE HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO DISCOVER ANY HIGH COMMISSION PAPER WITH THE REFERENCE A/K/DA/73 (PARA 2 OF TUR) NOR HAVE I EVER RECEIVED ANY PERSONAL LETTER FROM PRESIDENT MOI. WE HAVE NO KNOWLEDGE OF ANY 1973 DEFENCE PACT AND THE 1964 MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING DOES NOT RUN TO 30 SECTIONS. IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES WE CAN ONLY CONCLUDE THAT THE LETTER IN ALLIMADI'S POSSESSION IS A FORGERY BY SOMEONE WHO SEES ADVANTAGE IN EMBITTERING ANGLO/UGANDAN RELATIONS.

2. ALLIMADI HAD SOME JUSTIFICATION IN REFERRING TO KENYA PUTTING UP OBSTACLES TO THE EXPORT OF UGANDAN COFFEE SINCE IT HAS BEEN PUBLICLY ANNOUNCED THAT IT IS NO LONGER BEING CARRIED BY KENYA RAILWAYS. THE OFFICIAL REASON IS SECURITY BUT WE SUSPECT THE REAL MOTIVE MAY BE THE HIGHER PROFITS ACCRUING FROM ROAD TRANSPORT ARRANGEMENTS. AS REPORTED IN MY TEL NO 475 THERE IS NO EVIDENCE THAT THE KENYAN GOVERNMENT ARE SUPPORTING UGANDAN DISSIDENTS IN ILLEGAL ACTIVITIES ALTHOUGH THEY GIVE LEGITIMATE SANCTUARY TO A NUMBER OF UGANDAN OPPONENTS OF THE PRESENT REGIME. AS IT HAPPENS WE UNDERSTAND THAT LULE ARRIVED AT NAIROBI AIRPORT THIS MORNING (BY BA).

3. YOU WILL HAVE SEEN FROM MY TEL NO 479 THE BITTER RESENTMENT CAUSED HERE BY THE PERSONAL ATTACKS IN THE UGANDA TIMES ON PRESIDENT MOI. ADMITTEDLY THERE IS AN ELEMENT OF ONEUPMANSHIP AMONGST MINISTERS IN DEMONSTRATING THE GREATEST DEGREE OF OUTRAGE BUT EVEN ALLOWING FOR THAT THERE IS STILL MUCH GENUINE ANGER AT WHAT IS SEEN AS AN OFFICIALLY SUPPORTED ATTACK ON KENYA. THE MAJORITY OF SENIOR CABINET MINISTERS ARE SCHEDULED TO TRAVEL TO PEKING WITH THE PRESIDENT AT THE END OF THIS WEEK AND WE CAN ONLY HOPE THAT WITH THEIR DEPARTURE SOME OF THE HEAT WILL GO OUT OF THIS EXCHANGE.

WILLIAMS.

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GR 300

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FM KAMPALA 081315Z SEP

TO IMMEDIATE FCO TEL NO 391 OF 8 SEP

AND IMMEDIATE TO NAIROBI, KHARTOUM

INFO ROUTINE WASHINGTON

SAVING TO DAR ES SALAAM

*The latest evidence of  
the serious deterioration of relations  
in East Africa.*

*Print*

OUR TEL NO 379: UGANDA/KENYA/SUDAN RELATIONS

1. FOREIGN MINISTER ALLIMADI SUMMONED ME TODAY. HE SPOKE OF A FURTHER DETERIORATION IN RELATIONS WITH KENYA IN THE FORM FIRST OF FURTHER KENYAN OBSTACLES TO THE EXPORT THROUGH KENYA OF UGANDAN COFFEE WHICH IS EFFECTIVELY THE COUNTRY'S ONLY FOREIGN EXCHANGE EARNER AND SECOND OF THE KNOWLEDGE AND TOLERANCE ON THE PART OF BOTH THE KENYAN AND SUDANESE GOVERNMENTS OF THE ILLEGAL ACTIVITIES OF UGANDAN DISSIDENTS IN THEIR TERRITORIES. IN SOME 48 HOURS HE WOULD PUT OUT A PUBLIC STATEMENT DETAILING THESE COMPLAINTS.

2. ALLIMADI WENT ON TO SAY THAT THERE WAS SOME EVIDENCE OF BRITISH INVOLVEMENT THOUGH HE WOULD NOT MENTION THIS IN HIS STATEMENT. HE ALLOWED ME A QUICK GLANCE OF WHAT APPEARED TO BE A PHOTOCOPY OF A LETTER DATED 11 AUGUST FROM PRESIDENT MOI TO THE BRITISH HIGH COMMISSIONER IN NAIROBI. THIS QUOTED A HIGH COMMISSION REFERENCE A/K/DA/73 AND REFERRED TO THE CONCLUSION OF A MILITARY PACT BETWEEN KENYA AND THE SUDAN WITH REGARD TO "THE VEXED UGANDA QUESTION" AND WENT ON TO REMIND HMG OF THEIR OBLIGATIONS UNDER THE 1973 DEFENCE PACT, SECTION 30.

3. I SAID THAT IF THE DOCUMENT WERE NOT A FORGERY THERE MUST BE AN INNOCENT EXPLANATION OF IT. HMG WERE CERTAINLY NOT ENGAGED IN ANY SECRET ACTIVITIES HOSTILE TO UGANDA. HE KNEW VERY WELL OF THE VARIOUS FORMS OF ASSISTANCE WE WERE GIVING HIS GOVERNMENT OF WHICH I NEVERTHELESS REMINDED HIM IN DETAIL.

*(It clearly is: see over)*

CONFIDENTIAL

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4. ALLIMADI SAID THAT IF I COULD PROVIDE HIM WITH ANY INFORMATION ABOUT PRESIDENT MOI'S ALLEGED LETTER HE WOULD BE GRATEFUL. HE HOPED THAT UGANDA'S FRIENDS WOULD USE THEIR INFLUENCE TO MODERATE KENYAN AND SUDANESE HOSTILITY. IF IT WERE TO COME TO CLOSING THEIR BORDER WITH KENYA, UGANDA WOULD BE THE MAIN SUFFERER BUT NOT THE ONLY ONE. KENYA WOULD LOSE THE BENEFIT OF UGANDAN ELECTRICITY SUPPLIES AND TRANSIT FOR HER EXPORTS TO ZAIRE, RWANDA AND BURUNDI.

5. I SHOULD BE GRATEFUL FOR INSTRUCTIONS ON WHAT I MAY SAY TO ALLIMADI ABOUT THESE MATTERS AND IN RESPONSE TO MUWANGA'S EARLIER APPROACH (OUR TUR).

FCO PLEASE PASS SAVING DAR ES SALAAM.

FLACK

[REPEATED AS REQUESTED]

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Extract from record of meeting between the <sup>Kenya</sup> PM  
and the President of Kenya at No 10 on 18.2.80  
at 1220 hrs

### East Africa

Referring to Kenya's relations with her neighbours, President Moi said that the situation in Uganda was very fluid. There was a hostile attitude to the Tanzanian troops there. He had therefore hoped that President Nyerere would ask Britain or fellow members of the Commonwealth to help train the new Ugandan Army. President Nyerere had sought to arrange a meeting to discuss regional co-operation, including relations with Uganda before his (President Moi's) State Visit to Britain in June 1979. He had again suggested a meeting in Nairobi on 8 February. President Moi said he wanted good relations with Tanzania but did not see the usefulness of such a meeting. President Nyerere was a changed man; this was 'not the Julius we knew'. He had been meddling in the Seychelles, Ethiopia, the Comoros and even in Zanzibar. The Ugandans were obliged to pay £6 million per month for the privilege of keeping the Tanzanian troops in Uganda. But Kenya was strong and had no worries about Tanzanian interference. Even Kaunda had become bitter about President Nyerere's attitude. This was an additional reason for Britain to restore the best possible relations with Zambia. Kenya would be happy to help in any way possible.



GR 530

PM

Kenya

CONFIDENTIAL

FM KAMPALA 101230Z JAN

TO PRIORITY FCO TEL NO 20 OF 10 JAN

REPEATED PRIORITY NAIROBI , WASHINGTON

AND SAVING TO DAR ES SALAAM

FROM NASON

CALL ON THE PRESIDENT: UGANDA/KENYA RELATIONS

1. IN THE MIDDLE OF OUR DISCUSSION OF DEFENCE MATTERS BINAISA SUDDENLY HARANGUED ME ABOUT RELATIONS BETWEEN UGANDA AND KENYA. HE HAD TRIED HIS BEST TO ESTABLISH GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF KENYA BUT HAD RECEIVED NO RESPONSE FROM THEM. HE WAS COMPLETELY BAFFLED BY THEIR ATTITUDE ("WHAT DO THEY WANT ME TO DO?"). HE WAS NO COMMUNIST AND HE, A QC, HAD NO INTENTION OF KEEPING THE PRESIDENTIAL SEAT WARM FOR OBOTE, A MAN WHO HAD NO UNIVERSITY DEGREES. HE COULD ONLY CONCLUDE THAT THE KENYANS FELT VERY GUILTY OVER THEIR RELATIONSHIP WITH AMIN AND WERE EMBARRASSED.

2. DURING THE PERIOD OF HIS PRESIDENCY HE HAD SENT THREE CABINET MINISTERS WITH PERSONAL MESSAGES TO MOI. HE HIMSELF HAD BROUGHT A FOURTH MESSAGE WHEN HE HAD GONE TO NAIROBI. BUT MOI HAD SENT HIM "NOT EVEN A MESSENGER BOY". FURTHERMORE THE KENYA GOVERNMENT PERMITTED LULE AND PEOPLE LIKE SERUMAGA TO RESIDE IN NAIROBI AND TO WORK AGAINST HIS GOVERNMENT. SUCH PEOPLE HAD SENT BACK YOUNG BOYS OVER THE BORDER WITH ARMS AND INSTRUCTIONS TO KILL. HE NOW PROPOSED TO TRY TO TAKE THE INITIATIVE BY SENDING A RESIDENT MINISTER OF NAIROBI WHETHER OR NOT THE KENYA GOVERNMENT RECIPROCATED, AND HE WAS ALREADY CONSIDERING ONE OR TWO NAMES FOR THE JOB. IF KENYA CONTINUED TO REBUFF HIM HE WOULD HAVE TO GO ALONG WITH TANZANIA. HE DID NOT PARTICULARLY WANT TO, BUT HE WOULD HAVE NO ALTERNATIVE.



3. HE SPOKE AT LENGTH OF THE OBSTACLES THE KENYA GOVERNMENT WERE PUTTING IN THE WAY OF UGANDA'S TRADE OUTLET TO MOMBASA. HE ACCUSED KENYA MINISTERS OF DELIBERATELY PROMOTING ROAD TRANSPORT (WHICH WAS PRIVATELY OWNED AND PROFITABLE FOR THEM AND THEIR FRIENDS) TO RAILWAY TRANSPORT (WHICH WAS PUBLICLY OWNED BUT CHEAPER AND MORE EFFICIENT. THE OBVIOUS TRADE ROUTE FOR UGANDA WAS VIA MOMBASA BUT IF THE KENYANS CONTINUED TO MAKE TRANSPORTATION DIFFICULT FOR UGANDA THEN THE LATTER WOULD HAVE TO SEEK OTHER OUTLETS VIA TANZANIA WHICH COULD NEVER REPLACE MOMBASA BUT WOULD AT LEAST ALLEVIATE THE PROBLEM.

4. IN REPLY TO MY QUESTION HE ADMITTED THAT THINGS HAD NOT GONE WELL AT ARUSHA. AT THE CONFERENCE TABLE HE HAD ASKED WHETHER HE COULD SPEAK FRANKLY AND THE OTHER TWO HAD AGREED. HE HAD THEREUPON RAISED WITH MOI SOME COMPLAINTS WHICH THE UGANDA GOVERNMENT HELD AGAINST THE KENYA GOVERNMENT. MOI HAD REACTED ANGRILY AND HAD ACCUSED BINAISA OF TELLING LIES. BINAISA HAD THEREUPON WITHDRAWN HIS COMMENTS AND SOUGHT A LESS OPEN AND MORE CIRCUMSPECT METHOD OF TRYING TO REACH SOME SORT OF UNDERSTANDING WITH MOI. ALTHOUGH HE DID NOT SAY SO SPECIFICALLY, HE DOES NOT SEEM TO HAVE SUCCEEDED.

5. THE BURDEN OF HIS MESSAGE WAS A PLEA FOR HMG TO DO WHAT THEY COULD TO PERSUADE KENYA TO MEET UGANDA AT LEAST HALF WAY. OTHER COUNTRIES, SUCH AS FRANCE AND GERMANY, DID NOT COMMAND THE SAME RESPECT AND INFLUENCE IN KENYA AS DID THE U K. I SAID THAT I THOUGHT OUR MISSION IN NAIROBI AND THAT OF THE UNITED STATES WERE DISCREETLY TRYING TO DO THIS. HE REPLIED THAT HE HOPED WE WOULD "KEEP HAMMERING AWAY". I SAID THAT AS FAR AS THIS MISSION IN KAMPALA WAS CONCERNED WE TOO WERE NON-PLUSSED BY THE ATTITUDE OF THE KENYA GOVERNMENT WHO SEEMED INTENT ON DRIVING UGANDA INTO THE EMBRACE OF TANZANIA  
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TO PRIORITY FCO

TEL NO 566 OF 24 SEPTEMBER 1979

INFO PRIORITY KAMPALA DAR ES SALAAM AND ODA

MIPT: KENYA/UGANDA RELATIONS.

1. TODAY'S DAILY NATION UNDER FRONTPAGE HEADLINES 'BINAISA SLAMS KENYAN LEADERS' REPORTS UGANDA RADIO BROADCAST OF A RECENT SPEECH MADE BY PRESIDENT BINAISA AT MBALE, IN WHICH HE ACCUSED KENYAN OFFICIALS 'IN VERY HIGH PLACES' OF SMUGGLING COFFEE OUT OF UGANDA, AND ALSO ATTACKED THE KENYA PRESS FOR PRINTING 'A TISSUE OF LIES' ABOUT HIM AND THE EVENTS AT A RALLY AT IGANGA ON 21 SEPTEMBER (SATURDAYS NAIROBI PRESS REPORTED SOME SHOOTING INCIDENTS AT THAT RALLY WHEN THREE CHILDREN WERE SAID TO HAVE DIED). REPORT SAYS THAT BINAISA DECLARED THAT SOME ELEMENTS AMONG THE KENYA LEADERSHIP WERE CONDUCTING UNDERHAND ACTIVITIES AGAINST THE UNLF GOVERNMENT BECAUSE IT WAS PREVENTING THEM FROM EXPLOITING UGANDA'S WEALTH. BINAISA SAID THAT THOSE PEOPLE WERE COLLABORATING WITH TRADERS WHO HAD ACQUIRED WEALTH ILLEGALLY IN UGANDA, AND WITH SOME ANTI GOVERNMENT ELEMENTS, TO DISRUPT UGANDA'S PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT FOR THEIR OWN SELFISH ENDS.

2. THE DAILY NATION EDITORIAL MAKES A ROBUST REFUTATION OF PRESIDENT BINAISA'S CHARGES WHICH IT DESCRIBES AS 'PUERILE AND UNCONVINCING ALLEGATIONS'. EDITORIAL SAYS THAT THE UGANDA NATIONAL CONSULTATIVE COUNCIL, WHICH IS RULING THE COUNTRY IN DICTATORIAL FASHION, HAS MORE ENIMIES THAN FRIENDS, AND THAT THE MAJORITY OF UGANDANS ARE UNHAPPY AT THE MANNER IN WHICH DEMOCRACY IS BEING BENT TO THE WHIMS OF A HANDFUL OF PEOPLE WHO ARE RUNNING THE COUNTRY IN A WAY THAT SUITS THEM AND THEIR FRIENDS IN TANZANIA. IT IS UGANDANS WHO GO ABOUT THEIR BUSINESS IN NAIROBI IN EXPENSIVE CARS. AS FOR SMUGGLING, UGANDA'S COFFEE CROP IS BEING SHIPPED OUT VIA TANZANIA, TO PAY THE COST OF MAINTAINING THE TANZANIAN TROOPS. EDITORIAL SAYS THAT KENYA HAS FOR MANY YEARS BORNE A HEAVY BURDEN IN CARING FOR UGANDAN REFUGEES, BUT WILL CONTINUE TO HELP ITS NEIGHBOUR GET BACK ON ITS FEET. IT DISMISSES BINAISA'S CHARGES AGAINST THE KENYA PRESS, AS BEING REMINISCENT OF AMINS PRACTICE.



3. THE STANDARD ALSO HAS AN EDITORIAL ABOUT LAWLESSNESS IN UGANDA WHICH IT ATTRIBUTES TO, FIRST, THE LOOTING BY UGANDAN EXILES AND TANZANIAN TROOPS WHO CAME IN AS LIBERATORS (JOINED BY UGANDAN CIVILIANS); SECOND THE UNLFS INTERNAL SQUABBLES WHICH PREVENTED IT GAINING EFFECTIVE CONTROL OF THE WHOLE COUNTRY; THIRD THE FAILURE TO WIN BAGANDA SUPPORT AFTER PROFESSOR LULE WAS OUSTED; AND FOURTH, THE HAUNTING SHADOW OF IDI AMIN AND HIS ASSORTED SOLDIERY WHO ARE NOT YET ACCOUNTED FOR.

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TO PRIORITY FCO

TEL NO 565 OF 24 SEPTEMBER 1979

INFO PRIORITY KAMPALA DAR ES SALAAM AND ODA

KENYA/ UGANDA RELATIONS.

*Prime Minister* (2)

*Am. Pres.*

1. TODAY'S KENYA PRESS HAS FRONTPAGE STORIES AND EDITORIALS WHICH CONSTITUTE A DETERIORATION IN THE PUBLIC STATE OF KENYA/UGANDA RELATIONS (SUMMARY IN MIFT).
2. IT IS PARTICULARLY UNFORTUNATE THAT THERE SEEMS TO BE WIDE MISUNDERSTANDING AT THE TOP LEVEL IN BOTH GOVERNMENTS, WITH NEITHER SIDE PREPARED TO TAKE AN INITIATIVE TO IMPROVE MATTERS, AND THIS LATEST SLANGING MATCH ONLY MAKES THINGS WORSE. KAMPALA TEL NO 469 TO FCO REPORTS PRESIDENT BINAISA'S VIEW ABOUT THE KENYAN OFFER OF POLICE TRAINING. THE KENYAN VERSION WOULD BE THAT WHEN PRESIDENT BINAISA PASSED THROUGH NAIROBI IN AUGUST ON HIS RETURN FROM THE LUSAKA CONFERENCE, PRESIDENT MOI EXPLICITLY CONFIRMED TO BINAISA THAT KENYA'S PREVIOUS OFFER, MADE SHORTLY AFTER LULE HAD BECOME PRESIDENT, THAT KENYA WOULD MAKE AVAILABLE POLICE TRAINING COURSES IN THEIR COLLEGES FOR UGANDANS STILL STOOD. WHEN PRESIDENT MOI SPOKE ABOUT THIS TO WATTS (NAIROBI TEL NO 488 OF 13 AUGUST TO FCO) HE APPEARED TO BE IN NO DOUBT THAT FOLLOWING HIS TALK WITH BINAISA THE NEXT STEP WOULD BE FOR THE UGANDA GOVERNMENT TO MAKE CONTACT WITH THE KENYANS TO FOLLOW UP HIS OFFER. WHEN UGANDA INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF POLICE BARLOW VISITED NAIROBI FOR INTERPOL CONFERENCE IN EARLY SEPTEMBER HE TOLD US THAT HE THOUGHT THAT THE ORIGINAL KENYAN OFFER OF ASSISTANCE OVER POLICE TRAINING MADE TO THE LULE GOVERNMENT WOULD HAVE TO BE EXPLICITLY RECONFIRMED IF BINAISA'S GOVERNMENT WAS TO BE ABLE TO TAKE IT UP (SEE LE BRETON'S RECORD OF CONVERSATION WITH BARLOW OF 6 SEPTEMBER, COPIED TO KAMPALA BUT NOT TO FCO). MOI'S TALK WITH BINAISA WOULD SEEM TO HAVE BEEN THE CONFIRMATION BARLOW WAS ASKING FOR.
3. IT SEEMS TO US ALMOST MASOCHISTIC THAT BINAISA SHOULD NOW SAY THAT HE WOULD LIKE KENYA TO MAKE A FORMAL OFFER OF ASSISTANCE, AND THAT ONLY THEN WOULD UGANDA GLADLY CONSIDER IT. WE DO NOT THINK IT REALISTIC THAT WE SHOULD USE OUR INFLUENCE WITH THE KENYANS AT THIS STAGE TO URGE THEM TO TAKE ANY FURTHER INITIATIVE TOWARDS UGANDA, PARTICULARLY IN THE LIGHT OF PRESIDENT BINAISA'S LATEST REPORTED

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OUTBURST. IT APPEARS TO BE MUCH MORE INCUMBENT ON THE UGANDANS TO TAKE THE NEXT STEP, IF ONLY BY SEEKING CLARIFICATION FROM THE KENYANS OF THE STATUS AND NATURE OF THEIR OFFER OF ASSISTANCE. WE SHALL HOWEVER CONTINUE TO ENCOURAGE THE KENYANS TO RECOGNIZE THAT THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE INTERNAL SITUATION IN UGANDA THROUGH STRENGTHENING AND EXPANSION OF THE POLICE IS VIRTUALLY A PRECONDITION FOR GENERAL ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION AND THE RESTORATION OF NORMAL COMMERCIAL ACTIVITY THERE WHICH IS WHAT THE KENYANS ARE LOOKING FOR.

4. WITH REGARD TO UGANDAS CONTINUING NEED FOR POLICE UNIFORMS, A LEADING NAIROBI MANUFACTURER HAS TOLD US THAT HE WOULD BE WILLING TO GIVE IMMEDIATE PRIORITY TO MAKING SEVERAL THOUSAND UNIFORMS FOR UGANDA IF SOMEONE WILL GIVE HIM A FIRM ORDER (KAMPALA TEL NO 465 TO FCO REFERS).

5. THE SAME GOES FOR LANDROVERS, SINCE THE GENERAL MANAGER OF LEYLAND KENYA LTD HAS TOLD US THAT HE IS WILLING TO GIVE UGANDA PRIORITY IN EARLY DELIVERY OF LOCALLY ASSEMBLED LANDROVERS IF AN ORDER IS PLACED (KAMPALA TEL NO. MODEV 68 TO ODA ALSO REFERS).

6. IN GENERAL THE KENYANS ARE STILL READY TO CO OPERATE WILLINGLY WITH UGANDA OVER PROVISION OF ANY SERVICES ON A NORMAL COMMERCIAL BASIS, IE PROVIDING THAT UGANDA WILL PAY THE COSTS. BUT KENYANS ARE NOT PREPARED TO PROVIDE SERVICES FREE, ON GROUNDS OF UGANDAS POVERTY, WHEN THEY KNOW THAT UGANDA IS BEING OBLIGED TO MAKE HEAVY PAYMENTS TO TANZANIA FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF TANZANIAN TROOPS THERE, AND WHEN UGANDAS NORMAL IMPORT AND EXPORT TRADE SEEMS TO BE BEING DIVERTED AWAY FROM KENYA TO TANZANIA TO SUIT TANZANIAN INTERESTS.

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