

G 199/19

LPT 435/19

OO FCO

OO SALISBURY

GRS 907A

SECRET

FM CAPE TOWN EMBASSY 191535Z FEB 80

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TEL NO 15/// 134 OF 19 FEBRUARY

INFO IMMEDIATE SALISBURY

ROME TEL NO 1 TO CAPE TOWN

attached.

RHODESIA: POLITICAL SITUATION

1. AS PIK BOTHA IS LEAVING THIS AFTERNOON FOR A VISIT TO EUROPE FROM WHICH HE WILL NOT RETURN UNTIL THE WEEKEND I THOUGHT IT BEST TO SUGGEST ANOTHER SESSION WITH HIM TODAY IN ORDER TO GO OVER THE POINTS IN THE TUR WITH HIM. HE FOR HIS PART TOOK THE OPPORTUNITY TO HAND OVER TO ME MR P W BOTHA'S REPLY TO THE PRIME MINISTER (MY TEL NO 131) AND TO LET OFF STEAM TO ME ABOUT THE HOSTILE ATTITUDES OF SOUTH AFRICA'S NEIGHBOURS (SEE BELOW).

2. ON THE MAIN POINTS IN PARAGRAPHS 3-7 IN THE TURSPIK HAD THE FOLLOWING TO SAY:-

(A) HE WAS GLAD TO HAVE YOUR COMMENTS AND, FOR THE MOST PART, AGREED WITH THEM.

(B) HE DID NOT, HOWEVER, THINK THAT A GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY IN WHICH ALL THE PARTIES ARE REPRESENTED WAS A STARTER. IT HAD BEEN TRIED IN ANGOLO AND HAD NOT WORKED. THE RHODESIAN SECURITY FORCES WOULD NOT ACCEPT A GOVERNMENT INCLUDING MUGABE AND MUGABE HIMSELF WOULD PROBABLY NOT WANT TO TAKE PART IN IT.

(C) THE SOUTH AFRICANS' PRESENT CALCULATIONS WERE THAT MUZORENA

** The list of Mr Botha's reply is on its way. The S. Africans have accepted labels for the second half of March: they have moved v. fast. And*

Read in full.

(19)

1707
Hd Rhodesia Dlx
(10)

H.S. Afr. S.

Hd PWD (2)

IMMEDIATE
PS
PS/LPS
PS/An huce
PS/1. PWD
Su Dist. Stand
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RC

ADVANCE COPY

~~Not D-S~~

THE 1980 APPEALS PRESENT CALCULATIONS WERE THAT MUZOREWA WOULD GET 39 SEATS, MUGABE 39 AND NKOMO 17-18. IF THE GOVERNOR COULD "TIGHTEN THE SCREWS" EVEN FURTHER ON ZANLA TO STOP THEIR INTIMIDATION MUZOREWA MIGHT IMPROVE HIS POSITION BY A FURTHER 10% TO 15% AND THIS WOULD MAKE A DECISIVE DIFFERENCE. ALREADY THERE WERE SIGNS THAT THE URBAN "INTELLECTUAL" BLACKS WERE REACTING AGAINST ZANLA'S INTIMIDATION AND BRUTALITIES AND WERE MOVING TOWARDS MUZOREWA. IF, AS SEEMED POSSIBLE, SITHOLE COULD PICK UP 4 OR 5 SEATS AT THE EXPENSE OF NKOMO AND MUZOREWA COULD IMPROVE HIS POSITION A LITTLE MORE, THE CHANCES OF PERSUADING NKOMO TO JOIN WITH MUZOREWA WOULD BE THAT MUCH IMPROVED. HE HOPED, THEREFORE, THAT WE WOULD ENSURE THAT MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE, INDEED ALL OF THE "NON-INTIMIDATION PARTIES", RECEIVED AS MUCH PUBLICITY AS POSSIBLE. AS HE HAD MENTIONED TO ME THE OTHER DAY, IT SEEMED TO HIM THAT MUGABE WAS GETTING TOO MUCH PUBLICITY AND MUZOREWA TOO LITTLE.

(D) HE AGREED THAT IN THE IMMEDIATE AFTERMATH OF THE ELECTION THE ATTITUDE OF THE WHITES WOULD BE CRUCIAL AND HE WAS REALLY WORRIED ABOUT IT. IT WAS VERY IMPORTANT IN THIS CONTEXT THAT WE SHOULD NOT GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT WE INTENDED TO CUT AND RUN AS SOON AS THE ELECTION WAS OVER. MR MULDOON'S RECENT STATEMENT, WHICH HE HAD SEEN ON TELEVISION HERE, THAT THE NEW ZEALANDERS INTENDED TO DO JUST THAT WOULD MAKE THE WHITES VERY NERVOUS, SINCE IT WAS GENERALLY THOUGHT THAT THE NEW ZEALANDERS WERE CLOSE TO US.

(E) HE WAS NOT SO SURE THAT MUGABE MIGHT NOT DECIDE TO PULL OUT BEFORE THE ELECTION, PARTICULARLY IF HIS PROSPECTS IN RELATION TO MUZOREWA SEEMED TO BE ON THE WANE. THIS UNDERLINED THE WISDOM OF OUR DECISION NOT TO BAN HIM AS SUCH AND TO CONCENTRATE INSTEAD ON LOCAL ACTION TO PUT AN END TO INTIMIDATION. BUT IT WAS STILL POSSIBLE THAT MUGABE MIGHT TRY TO FORCE US TO TAKE ACTION AGAINST HIM.

3. PIK WENT ON TO TALK ABOUT SOUTH AFRICA'S RELATIONS WITH BOTSWANA, MOZAMBIQUE, LESOTHO AND ZAMBIA. HE SAID THAT THE SAG NOW INTENDED TO PUT THE SCREWS ON THEM ALL TO STOP HARBOURING ANC TERRORISTS. HE HAD, FOR EXAMPLE, SPOKEN TO FOREIGN MINISTER MOGWE THE OTHER EVENING AND HAD SAID THAT UNLESS BOTSWANA GOT RID OF THE ANC PEOPLE IN HER MIDST THE SOUTH AFRICANS WOULD GO IN AND TAKE THEM OUT THEMSELVES. HE HAD GONE ON TO TELL MOGWE THAT IF BOTSWANA WISHED TO TAKE SOUTH AFRICA TO THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL ON THIS THE SAG WOULD WELCOME IT BECAUSE IT WOULD GIVE THEM AN OPPORTUNITY TO CLOSE THE BORDER WITH BOTSWANA. MOGWE HAD RUNG HIM BACK TO SAY THAT

OPPORTUNITY TO CLOSE THE BORDER WITH BOTSWANA. MOGWE HAD RUNG HIM BACK TO SAY THAT HE WAS INVESTIGATING THE MATTER. PIK WONDERED WHETHER WE COULD USE OUR INFLUENCE WITH THE BATSWANA. HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT THEY WERE ALSO DELIVERING A STRONG MESSAGE THE MOZAMBIQUE GOVERNMENT TODAY EXPLAINING THAT UNLESS THEY STOPPED HARBOURING MEMBERS OF THE ANC THERE WOULD BE NO FURTHER ECONOMIC COOPERATION FROM SOUTH AFRICA. THE ANC WERE, HE SAID, INFILTRATING FROM MOZAMBIQUE INTO SWAZILAND AND KING SOBHUZA WAS IN FEAR AND TREMBLING OVER THEIR ACTIVITIES. THE SAG WERE ALSO INTENDING TO TELL THE ZAMBIANS THAT THEY COULD NOT HAVE ANY FURTHER SUPPLIES, SINCE THEY HAD NOT PAID THEM FOR WHAT THEY HAD ALREADY RECEIVED. THE SAG CERTAINLY DID NOT INTEND TO DONATE THEM WHILE ZAMBIA KEPT SPITTING IN THEIR FACE. BY THIS TIME PIK HAD WARMED TO HIS THEME AND I WAS, THEREFORE, SOMEWHAT RELIEVED WHEN HE SAID THAT THE SAG WOULD NOT DO ANYTHING "HARSH OR EXPLOSIVE, SINCE THIS IS NOT OUR WAY". BUT HE SOMEWHAT BELIED THIS LAST REMARK BY SAYING THAT SOUTH AFRICA HAD REALLY HAD ENOUGH OF SOVIET ACTIVITIES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND IF NOBODY ELSE WOULD STAND UP TO THEM, THEY WOULD. ON THE OTHER HAND THEY HAD NO INTENTION OF BECOMING INVOLVED IN A STRAIGHT WHITES VERSUS BLACKS WAR; THERE WERE PLENTY OF BLACKS WHO WOULD SUPPORT THEM (HE DID NOT ELABORATE).

4. THE EARLIER PART OF OUR CONVERSATION ON RHODESIA WAS, I BELIEVE, VERY USEFUL. THE SECOND PART WAS RATHER LESS SO, PARTICULARLY AS PIK BECAME MORE EXCITED AS HE WENT ON. FOR THIS LAST REASON I AM INCLINED TO LAY OFF A BIT IN CONSIDERING THE IMPLICATIONS OF WHAT HE SAID. IT IS, NEVERTHELESS, CLEAR THAT THE SOUTH AFRICANS ARE GETTING FED UP WITH THE WAY IN WHICH THEIR CLOSE NEIGHBOURS TRY TO HAVE IT BOTH WAYS IN ACCEPTING SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE WHILST ATTACKING SOUTH AFRICA IN PUBLIC.

5. MAY I LEAVE IT TO THE DEPARTMENT TO DECIDE WHETHER TO PASS ON THE GIST OF PARAGRAPH 3 TO OTHER POSTS?

LEAHY

CCN PSE AMEND TELNO TO READ 134

NNNN