

[RHODESIA: POLICY:

ADVANCE COPIES]

DESKBY 220900Z¹⁵⁰ (X-28)
4

PS
PS/SIR I GILMOUR
PS/MR LUCE
PS/PUS
SIR D MAITLAND
MR DAY
MR ASPIN

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

SIR R ARMSTRONG)
MR R L WADE GERY)
MR P M MAXEY) CABINET
MR GOULTY) OFFICE
MR W N WENBAN SMITH)
DIO)

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HD/RHOD DEPT (4)

HD/C AF D
HD/S AF D
HD/UND
HD/PUSD (2)

IMMEDIATE

(Depl)

HD/NEWS DEPT
HE/WAD
PS/SIR I SINCLAIR
MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A

MF

RESIDENT CLERK

GRS 530

S E C R E T

DESKBY SALISBURY 212030Z

FM MAPUTO 211755Z FEB 80

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 120 OF 21 FEBRUARY

INFO TO IMMEDIATE SALISBURY

PRIORITY LUSAKA DAR ES SALAAM GABORONE LAGOS UKMIS NEW YORK
CAPE TOWN WASHINGTON

MIPT: MOZAMBIQUE/RHODESIA

1. SO FAR THE MOZAMBICAN GOVERNMENT HAS NOT ATTACKED US PUBLICLY. SO PRESIDENT MACHEL MIGHT BE HOPING TO INFLUENCE US BY STERN WORDS AND WE MIGHT STILL BE ABLE TO RETAIN HIS COOPERATION. BUT HIS COOPERATION BEFORE HAS SUDDENLY TURNED TO HOSTILITY, WHEN HE THOUGHT THAT WE HAD ACTED DECEITFULLY (VIZ HIS 15 SEPTEMBER 1978 SPEECH AFTER WE HAD BEEN IMPLICATED IN THE SMITH-NKOMO MEETINGS). THIS SEEMS TO HAVE HAPPENED AGAIN.

2. MACHEL WILL FACE A VERY DIFFICULT DECISION: WHETHER TO SUPPORT MUGABE IF HE TRIES TO CONTINUE THE WAR. THE DESPERATE STATE OF THE ECONOMY IN MOZAMBIQUE REQUIRES PEACE. MACHEL HAS COMMITTED HIMSELF TO A MAJOR

CAMPAIGN TO IMPROVE THE LOT OF THE PEOPLE: IF THE WAR RESUMES, THIS IS BOUND TO FAIL, WHICH WOULD RESULT IN HIM LOSING CREDIBILITY AND SUPPORT HERE. HE THEREFORE PROBABLY STILL DEVOUTLY HOPES THAT

THE WAR IS AT AN END (MY TELNO 116 NOT TO ALL) AND FOR AN OUTCOME
IN RHODESIA WHICH HE CAN ACCEPT. BUT HIS SUPPORT FOR MUGABE SEEMS
FIRM: IF HE FAILS TO WIN OUTRIGHT, HE WILL PRESS FOR A MUGABE-NKOMO
COALITION.

3. MACHEL MIGHT STILL ACCEPT A COALITION EXCLUDING MUGABE, BUT ONLY
IF IT EMERGES FROM AN ELECTORAL PROCESS WHICH SEEMS AS FAIR AS
POSSIBLE IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES. HE HAS BEEN IRRITATED BY MUGABE IN
THE PAST, SPECIALLY OVER HIS FAILURE TO ACHIEVE TRUE PF UNITY:
MUGABE'S INSISTENCE ON CAMPAIGNING SEPARATELY COULD HAVE ADDED TO
THIS IRRITATION. HONWANA TOLD ME LAST YEAR, THAT MACHEL HAD A HIGH
REGARD FOR NKOMO AS A VETERAN NATIONALIST POLITICIAN. SO IT IS
ENCOURAGING THAT NKOMO INTENDS TO INFORM MACHEL OF THE SITUATION
(PARA 6 OF SALISBURY TELNO 724): HE SHOULD BE KEPT UP TO THIS.

4. MACHEL WOULD HELP ZANU(PF) OPPOSE MILITARILY ANY S AFRICAN
INVASION OR WHITE COUP. BUT THERE WILL ALSO BE GREAT PRESSURES ON HIM
TO OPPOSE ANY "NEO-COLONIALIST" SOLUTION. BANNING ELECTIONS IN
ANY ZANU(PF) CONTROLLED AREAS WOULD, I THINK, LEAD MACHEL TO
SUPPORT MUGABE IN OPPOSING THE RESULT OF THE ELECTIONS AND EVEN
IN CONTINUING THE WAR (AS LORD SOAMES INFERRED IN SALISBURY TUR).

5. I STILL BELIEVE THAT THE MOST IMPORTANT FACTOR WILL BE MACHEL'S
ASSESSMENT OF WHETHER THE NEW GOVERNMENT IS LIKELY TO CONTINUE TO
POSE A THREAT TO FRELIMO. (THE SOUTH AFRICAN SABRE RATTLING ON
HIS SOUTHERN FRONTIER WILL NOT HAVE HELPED.) IT WILL BE DIFFICULT
ENOUGH TO TRY AND GET HIS SUPPORT FOR A COALITION EXCLUDING MUGABE
AND SUPPORTED BY SMITH, WHOSE FORCES WILL LARGELY BE BASED ON THE
RHODESIAN ONES. BUT IF SUPPORT FOR THE RESISTANCE HERE CONTINUES
IT WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY BE IMPOSSIBLE. IF THE WAR AGAINST FRELIMO
IS CONTINUING ANYWAY, THERE IS LITTLE INCENTIVE FOR HIM TO DESERT
MUGABE (SEE ALSO MY TELNO 101 NOT TO ALL). I THINK IT
ESSENTIAL THAT THE RHODESIANS BE PERSUADED TO STOP SUPPORTING THE
RESISTANCE (SINCE MY TELNO 174 NOT TO ALL MY MLO HAS BEEN TOLD
BY OUR G1 INT IN SALISBURY THAT IT IS ALMOST CERTAINLY CONTINUING.)
SURELY THEY CAN BE BROUGHT TO UNDERSTAND THAT TO STOP IT IS IN THEIR
OWN INTERESTS?

*It may
of course
be the S-
Africans
rather than
the Rhodesians
who are giving
the support.*

6. IN SHORT, IF WE ARE TO HAVE ANY HOPE OF RETAINING MACHEL'S
COOPERATION, I THINK THAT WE MUST REFRAIN FROM BANNING ELECTIONS
IN ANY AREA, STRIVE TO PERSUADE HIM OF OUR IMPARTIALITY AND OF
ZANU'S MISDEEDS (BUT HE IS ONLY LIKELY TO BELIEVE NKOMO) AND
END ONCE AND FOR ALL THE VOICE OF FREE AFRICA BROADCASTS AND
RHODESIAN SUPPORT FOR THE RESISTANCE. GIVEN MACHEL'S SELF-
IMPORTANCE AND THE FORM OF HIS MESSAGE, I HOPE THAT AN EARLY
REPLY CAN COME AS A LETTER FROM THE PRIME MINISTER.

DOBLE

PLEASE NOTE THAT MR DOBLE NOW WANTS BOTH THESE TELES TO BE
DESKRY 223923Z IN FCO IS THAT OK

[RHODESIA: POLICY: ADVANCE COPIES]

105
X-28

PS
PS/SIR I GILMOUR
PS/MR LUCE
PS/PUS
SIR D MAITLAND
MR DAY

IMMEDIATE

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

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MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A

Dep'te
ms

RESIDENT CLERK

GRS 600

CONFIDENTIAL

DESKBY SALISBURY 212000Z

FM MAPUTO 211710Z FEB 88

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 119 OF 21 FEBRUARY

INFO IMMEDIATE SALISBURY

PRIORITY CAPE TOWN LAGOS WASHINGTON UKMIS NEW YORK LUSAKA
DAR ES SALAAM GABORONE LUANDA NAIROBI ADDIS ABABA

MOZAMBIQUE/RHODESIA

1. I HAD AN 80 MINUTE MEETING THIS AFTERNOON WITH PRESIDENT MACHEL AT HIS REQUEST. HE WAS WORRIED, AND BITTER ABOUT HMG. HE ASKED FOR HIS REMARKS TO BE TRANSMITTED URGENTLY TO THE PRIME MINISTER, TO WHOM HE SENT GREETINGS. HE SAID HE WAS SPEAKING FOR THE FLS AND INDEED FOR AFRICA.
2. HIS AIM HAD ALWAYS BEEN PEACE AND A ZIMBABWE WHERE ALL COULD LIVE AS EQUALS, REGARDLESS OF COLOUR; THUS HE HAD BEEN THE MAIN SUPPORTER OF ZANU. WE SHOULD REGARD THEM AS OUR ALLIES IN ENDING SMITH'S REBELLION.
3. HOWEVER, INSTEAD OF AN ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN, THERE WAS A MASSIVE CAMPAIGN AGAINST ZANU AND MUGABE, BY SMITH AND MUZOREWA WITH HMG'S BACKING, ACCUSING HIM OF BEING A RACIST AND A COMMUNIST, WHICH

HE WAS NOT. WHITE EMPLOYERS, MUZOREWA'S ARMY AND THE RHODESIAN FORCES, WERE INTIMIDATING AFRICANS NOT TO VOTE FOR MUGABE. THE CAMPAIGN EXTENDED TO HIS ASSASSINATION. SMITH SAID THAT HE WAS PREPARED TO ACT, IF MUGABE WON THE ELECTIONS - IE PREPARED FOR ANOTHER 1965: S AFRICA THREATENED TO INVADE IF HE WON: WE SAID NOTHING.

DID WE REALLY BELIEVE ELECTIONS SUCH AS THESE COULD BE CALLED FREE AND FAIR? WHAT WAS HMG'S ROLE IN RHODESIA? THERE WERE TWO POWERS, US AND THE RHODESIANS: THE LATTER WERE IN CONTROL. YET WE HAD PLANNED WITH SMITH AND S AFRICA THAT MUGABE HAD TO LOSE THE ELECTIONS THEN THE FRONTIER WOULD BE CLOSED AND ZANLA DESTROYED: RHODESIAN AND S AFRICAN TROOPS WERE POISED ALONG THE MOZAMBICAN FRONTIER. IF NECESSARY, WE WOULD ORGANIZE A COUP TO EXCLUDE MUGABE. MUZOREWA EVEN INSULTED HIMSELF AND MOZAMBIQUE, WITH OUR AUTHORITY, BY CITING IT AS THE EXAMPLE OF WHAT WOULD HAPPEN IF MUGABE WON. AFTER ALL HE HAD DONE FOR THE SUCCESS OF LANCASTER HOUSE AND TO GET ZANU TO TAKE PART IN ELECTIONS, OUR ACTIONS AMOUNTED TO A BETRAYAL OF MOZAMBIQUE'S TRUST.

4. HE HAD AGREED TO MILITARY LIAISON. OUR MLO WAS GIVEN UNPARALLELLED FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT HERE. WHAT WAS THE POINT OF HIS OFFICE IN SALISBURY? WHAT WOULD AFRICA SAY, IF HIS REPRESENTATIVES WERE JUST SITTING IN SALISBURY WATCHING THE DESTRUCTION OF ZANU AND THE KILLING OF MUGABE? MILITARY LIAISON HAD MEANT THE SEALING OF FRONTIERS. HE WAS PREVENTING 5000 TRAINED ZANLA TROOPS FROM ENTERING RHODESIA. BUT WE DID NOTHING ABOUT ATTACKS ON MOZAMBIQUE. CONTRARY TO OUR ASSURANCES, VOICE OF FREE AFRICA WAS STILL OPERATING YESTERDAY AND THE RHODESIANS CONTINUED TO VIOLATE MOZAMBICAN AIRSPACE AND SUPPORT THE 'RESISTANCE' HERE. WHAT SORT OF COOPERATION WAS THIS? RHODESIA AND S AFRICA WOULD USE THE RESISTANCE AS A PRETEXT FOR INVADING MOZAMBIQUE. OUR ACTIONS WERE LEADING TO A CIVIL WAR AND A RACIAL WAR, IN WHICH THE BLACK RHODESIAN SOLDIERS WOULD TURN INTO THE MOST BRUTAL KILLERS OF WHITES. WE WERE FANNING TRIBALISM BY PLAYING OFF ONE LEADER AGAINST ANOTHER (HE DID NOT MENTION NKOMO ONCE).

5. I DENIED THESE ACCUSATIONS, BUT FEAR I MADE LITTLE IMPRESSION. WE HAD CERTAINLY NOT AUTHORISED MUZOREWA TO INSULT MOZAMBIQUE. WE WERE ORGANIZING AS FAIR ELECTIONS AS POSSIBLE IN DIFFICULT CIRCUMSTANCES. THE FINDINGS OF THE CEASEFIRE COMMISSION AND OF OUR POLICE AND ELECTORAL COMMISSIONERS SHOWED ZANU TO BE TO BLAME FOR MOST OF THE VIOLENCE: ALL THE OTHER LEADERS WERE PRESSING US TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT ZANU(PF) INTIMIDATION. WE WERE NOT TRYING TO PROMOTE OR BLOCK ANY LEADER. WE WERE AS APPALLED AS HIM BY THE ATTEMPTS ON MUGABE'S LIFE: THE DEATH OF

APPALLED AS HIM BY THE ATTEMPTS ON MUGABE'S LIFE: THE DEATH OF
A LEADER COULD SHATTER THE CEASEFIRE QUICKER THAN ANYTHING. SCOTLAND
YARD POLICE WERE GUARDING EACH OF THEM. I WAS VERY DISTURBED BY THE
NEWS OF THE RESISTANCE: THE GOVERNOR HAD INVESTIGATED AND ASSURED
US THAT RHODESIAN SUPPORT FOR IT HAD STOPPED.

6. HOWMANA SAID THAT THIS SUMMED UP THE PROBLEM. THEY KNEW FROM
BITTER EXPERIENCE THAT THE INFORMATION GIVEN TO THE GOVERNOR ON THE
RESISTANCE WAS FALSE. THE GOVERNOR IN GOOD FAITH WAS ACTING ON
FALSE RHODESIAN INFORMATION IN OTHER FIELDS.

7. SEE MIFT NOT TO ALL.

DOBLE

NNNN

SENT /RECD AT 211847Z SMAP/
ATC