

[RHODESIA: POLICY: ADVANCE COPIES]

IMMEDIATE

30

PS/SIR I GILMOUR
PS/LR LUCE
PS/PUS
SIR D MAITLAND
MR DAY *Ryatt*
LORD N G LENNOX
MR ASPIN

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

SIR R ARMSTRONG)
LR 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
PS/UND
HD/PUSD (2)
Ad eAD
HD/NEWS DEPT

HE/WAD
PS/SIR I SINCLAIR
MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A
GR 650

CONFIDENTIAL

FM DAR ES SALAAM 071130Z FEBRUARY 80
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELNO 129 OF 7 FEBRUARY

INFO IMMEDIATE SALISBURY, ADDIS ABABA
INFO PRIORITY LUSAKA, LUANDA, GABORONE, MAPUTO, LAGOS,
CAPE TOWN, UKMIS NEW YORK, WASHINGTON

MY TELNO 125: RHODESIA

1. I HAD AN HOUR WITH PRESIDENT NYERERE THIS MORNING, 7 FEBRUARY. I SPOKE AS INSTRUCTED IN YOUR TELNO 41. PRESIDENT NYERERE REPLIED BY GOING OVER ALL THE OLD GROUND. HE SAID THAT WE HAD NOT LIKED MR MKAPA'S STATEMENT IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL BECAUSE WE P U FOUND IT ONE-SIDED AND BECAUSE IT GAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT THE PF, AND MR MUGABE IN PARTICULAR, HAD DONE NOTHING WRONG. BUT IT WAS OUR APPROACH WHICH WAS ONE SIDED. WE HAD BREACHED THE LANCASTER HOUSE XHREEMENT AND SOUGHT TO JUSTIFY THIS OVER BOTH THE PRESENCE OF SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES AND THE DEPLOYMENT OF THE AUXILIARIES. WHILE WE WERE IN BREACH OF THE AGREEMENT WHAT COULD HE SAY TO MR MUGABE? HE HAD HEARD OF MR NKOMO'S COMPLAINTS, BUT MR NKOMO WAS COMPLAINING ALSO ABOUT THE AUXILIARIES AND THE SECURITY FORCES. HE CRITICISED YOUR STATEMENT IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS OF 6 FEBRUARY BECAUSE HE MAINTAINED THAT WHILE YOU HAD DEPLORED THE ATTACK ON MR MUGABE'S HOUSE, YOU HAD QUALIFIED THIS BY REFERRING TO THE VIOLENCE COMMITTED BY THE ZANLA FORCES (I SAID THAT YOUR STATEMENT ABOUT THE ATTACK ON MR MUGABE'S HOUSE HAD QUITE WHOLLY LEFT ... HAVE GENE ...)

PM seen

Read in full

ADVANCE COPY

IMMEDIATE

FORCES (I SAID THAT YOUR STATEMENT ABOUT THE ATTACK ON MR MUGABE'S HOUSE WAS QUITE UNQUALIFIED - I HAVE SEND COPIES OF THE FULL TEXT OF YOUR STATEMENT TO BOTH THE MFA AND STATE HOUSE).

2. I SAID THAT YOU WERE FULLY AWARE OF HIS STRONG FEELINGS ABOUT SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS AND THE AUXILIARIES. NONETHELESS WAS HE NOT CONCERNED ABOUT THE GROWING CIOLENCE AND INTIMIDATION AND THE THREAT WHICH THIS POSED TO A SATISFACTORY OUTCOME? NYERERE REFUSED TO ANSWER THE QUESTION AND WENT OF INTO ANOTHER ATTACK CLAIMING THAT WE WERE PLANNING TO BAN MR MUGABE'S PARTY. I SAID THAT THIS WAS A COMPLETE MISUNDERSTANDING OF THE NEW POWERS TAKEN BY THE GOVERNOR WHICH WERE INTENDED RATHER TO AVOID HIS HAVING TO TAKE THE EXTREME STEP OF BANNING ANY PARTY. NYERERE DID NOT PERSIST IN HIS ACCUSATION.

3. I SAID THAT WHENEVER I RAISED THE PROBLEM OF BREACHES OF THE AGREEMENT BY ZANLA THE ANSWER I RECEIVED WAS ALWAYS BY WAY OF A REFERENCE TO THE CONDUCT OF THE AUXILIARIES. THE TWO SITUATIONS WERE NOT PARALLEL. THE AUXILIARIES WERE PART OF THE GOVERNOR'S FORCES AND THEY WERE CLOSELY MONITORED. THE ZANLA FORCES RESPONSIBLE FOR INTIMIDATION WERE NOT. WHILE SOME OBJECTED TO THE AUXILIARIES ENGAGING IN VILLAGE WORKS, SUCH AS DIGGING WELLS, BECAUSE THIS MIGHT BE REGARDED AS A FORM OF ELECTIONEERING, THIS WAS NOT AT ALL THE SAME TKIND OF THING AS PREVENTING THE HOLDING OF ELECTION MEETINGS. NO-ONE WAS SAYING THAT THEY WERE UNABLE TO ELECTIONEER BECAUSE OF THE AUXILIARIES. NYERERE BRUSHED THIS ASIDE AND PRETENDED TO ASTONISHMENT AND ANGER THAT THE AUXILIARIES SHOULD BE PERFORMING TASKS OF THE KIND I HAD MENTIONED.

4. NYERERE THEN SPOKE AT SOME LENGTH AND CONFUSEDLY ABOUT THE FEARS OF THE WHITE PEOPLE IN RHODESIA OF A PF VICTORY, AND SOUGHT TO QUOTE REMARKS BY SIR A PARSONS TO MR MKAPA IN NEW YORK IN SUPPORT OF WHAT HE SAID. THE THRUST OF HIS ARGUMENT SEEMED TO BE THAT A MAIN REASON FOR OUR TRYING TO RIG THE ELECTIONS IN FAVOUR OF BISHOP MUZOREWA, AND PARTICULARLY AGAINST MR MUGABE, WAS TO MEET LOCAL WHITE FEARS. I SAID THAT WE WERE NOT AFRAID OF FREE ELECTIONS AND REPEATED THAT WE WOULD RESPECT THE RESULT. THE THREAT TO FREE ELECTIONS WAS COMING NOT FROM US BUT FROM THOSE PEOPLE WHO WERE NOT PERMITTING FREE ELECTIONEERING IN THEIR AREAS. IF THIS WENT ON AND THESE PEOPLE WERE NOT DISCOURAGED, IT COULD BE VERY DANGEROUS.

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5. TOWARDS THE END NYERERE SOFTENED HIS TONE SOMEWHAT. HE ADVANCED HIS USUAL ARGUMENT ABOUT HAVING SUPPORTED US IN THE PAST AND HAVING GONE OUT ON A LIMB IN DOING SO, AND THE DIFFICULT SITUATION IN WHICH HE NOW FOUND HIMSELF. HE SAID THAT HE WAS BOUND TO SAY THAT THERE HAD BEEN "SOME MIS-JUDGEMENTS" ON THE PART OF THE GOVERNOR. HE CITED THE FACT THAT THE AMERICANS HAD VOTED IN FAVOUR OF THE RECENT SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION AS EVIDENCE THAT EVEN SOME OF OUR FRIENDS THOUGHT THIS. HE SAID THAT HE STILL WANTED TO SEE THE AGREEMENT IMPLEMENTED AND WOULD RECOGNISE THE RESULT, PROVIDING THE ELECTIONS WERE FREE AND FAIR, WHOEVER WON. I SAID THAT AS FAR AS WE WERE CONCERNED THE ELECTIONS WOULD BE FREE AND FAIR. IF THEY WERE NOT, IT WOULD BE THE FAULT NOT OF US BUT OF OTHERS.

6. NYERERE SAID AT THE END THAT WE SHOULD NOT GO ON COMPLAINING SO LOUDLY AND PUBLICLY ABOUT MR MUGABE. THIS COULD BE DANGEROUS. I TOOK HIM TO MEAN THAT IT COULD ENCOURAGE VIOLENCE AGAINST MR MUGABE. IT MAY REFLECT MY OWN REMARKS TO MISS WICKEN YESTERDAY ABOUT THE DANGERS OF EXTREME STATEMENTS PROVOKING AND ENCOURAGING VIOLENCE GENERALLY (IT WAS CLEAR AT A NUMBER OF POINTS THAT NYERERE HAD BEEN FULLY BRIEFED ON MY TALK WITH MISS WICKEN).

MOON

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