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UNCLASSIFIED  
FM HARARE 261016Z SEP 83  
TO IMMEDIATE FCO  
TELEGRAM NUMBER 809 OF 26 SEPTEMBER.

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TELECON RALPH/RESIDENT CLERK : MUGABE'S SPEECH.

1. THE FULL TEXT OF MUGABE'S STRICTURES ABOUT BRITAIN ON HIS RETURN FROM HIS OVERSEAS TOUR IS AS FOLLOWS:  
BEGINS.

I MUST SAY THAT IN THE CONTEXT OF THAT VISIT I WAS EXTREMELY DISMAYED, IF NOT DISGUSTED, TO DISCOVER THAT IN IRELAND, IN THE UNITED STATES AND IN CANADA THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAD BEEN TRYING TO PRESSURISE OR INFLUENCE THOSE GOVERNMENTS, OR CIRCLES OF THOSE GOVERNMENTS, TO PREVAIL ON US SO THAT THE AIR FORCE MEN WHO WERE DETAINED COULD BE RELEASED. I TOOK EXCEPTION TO THAT. I HAD PREVIOUSLY CALLED THE BRITISH HIGH COMMISSIONER TO TELL HIM THAT WE TAKE GREAT EXCEPTION TO INTERVENTION BY HIS GOVERNMENT ON THAT ISSUE.

WE ARE A SOVERIGN GOVERNMENT, A SOVERIGN STATE, AND WE THEREFORE OBJECT TO INTERFERENCE BY BRITAIN. IT WOULD APPEAR THAT BRITAIN HAS CREATED A SITUATION, OR WANTS TO CREATE A SITUATION, WHERE EVERY MOMENT A WHITE MAN IS ARRESTED HERE FOR SECURITY REASONS OR DETAINED FOR THOSE REASONS, SHE CAN INTERVENE, TRY TO PRESSURISE US TO DO THE ONE THING OR THE OTHER. THIS IS A VERY, VERY UNDESIRABLE DEVELOPMENT. IT IS A DEVELOPMENT WHICH I MUST ADMIT HAS AFFECTED OUR RELATIONS. I AM NOT HAPPY AT ALL TO RUN A GOVERNMENT WHICH MRS THATCHER FEELS SHE CAN MANIPULATE IN ONE DIRECTION OR ANOTHER. WE HAVE DONE AS MUCH AS ANY GOVERNMENT COULD HAVE BEEN EXPECTED TO DO IN OUR SITUATION. IN FACT WE HAVE OVER-STRETCHED OURSELVES, OUR RULES AND MORALE PRINCIPLES, OUR GENERAL BEHAVIOUR TO ACCOMMODATE PEOPLE OF BRITISH EXTRACTION IN THIS COUNTRY.

LET IT NOT BE FORGOTTEN THAT THE WHOLE OF THE WHITE COMMUNITY IN THIS COUNTRY, EXCEPT FOR A FEW - THE SO CALLED MAN OF BRITISH EXTRACTION - SUPPORTED UDI, SUPPORTED A REVOLT IN THIS COUNTRY, REVOLTED EVEN AGAINST THE QUEEN. THESE MEN, WHETHER THEY ARE AIR FORCE MEN OR OTHER MEN WE HAVE ARRESTED (AND THIS IS NOT THE FIRST TIME THIS HAS OCCURRED) WHO WERE IN THE ARMED FORCES, OR IN THE POLICE FORCE, SUPPORTED THE IAN SMITH REGIME, WORKED AGAINST US, WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR MASSACRES OF OUR PEOPLE AS THEY BOMBED OUR CAMPS.

BUT AT THE END OF THAT WAR WE AGREED THAT BYEGONES WOULD BE BYEGONES. TODAY A HANDFULL OF AIR FORCE MEN WE HAVE DETAINED HAVE BECOME MOST PRECIOUS CITIZENS. ONLY YESTERDAY THEY REJECTED THE QUEEN. ONLY YESTERDAY THEY STOOD AGAINST BRITAIN: BUT BECAUSE WE HAVE ARRESTED THEM, WE BLACKS ARRESTED THEM, WE HAVE COMMITTED A GRIEVOUS OFFENCE. AND IN CERTAIN CIRCLES (THE JULIAN AMERYS) IT IS SUGGESTED THAT AID TO ZIMBABWE SHOULD BE WITHDRAWN.

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I HAVE SAID ON VARIOUS OCCASIONS THAT WE ARE GRATEFUL FOR BRITISH AID WHICH AMOUNTED TO ABOUT DOLLARS 134 MILLION ALL TOLD, AID IN THE MILITARY SPHERE AND AID THROUGH OTHER SUBSIDIARY PROGRAMMES. WE ARE GRATEFUL FOR THAT AID. BUT IS THAT AID GIVEN TO US SO WE DO NOT EXERCISE RIGHT AS A STATE, SOVERIGN RIGHT, IN DEFENCE AND PROTECTION OF OUR OWN SECURITY HERE, SO WE DO NOT ARREST THOSE WE BELIEVE TO BE A SECURITY RISK? THEN THAT AID CAN GO, CLEARLY CAN GO.

BUT LET US LOOK AT THAT AID AND HOW WE HAVE USED IT, AND LET US ALSO EXAMINE WHAT ZIMBABWE HAS DONE TO AID BRITAIN IN OUR SITUATION. THAT AID COMES TO US IN ORDER TO ENABLE US TO ACQUIRE LAND WHICH BRITISH SETTLERS HAVE OCCUPIED, AND ARE STILL OCCUPYING. WE GET IT, PART OF IT, AND ON A 50/50 BASIS WE OPERATE WITH BRITAIN TO ACQUIRE LAND. WE BUY THE LAND FROM THE BRITISH SETTLERS, SO THE AID (PART OF IT) GOES BACK TO THE BRITISH SETTLERS. LET THAT POINT BE CLEAR. THAT IS IN THE ONE SPHERE. WE AGREED BECAUSE WE HAVE THAT MAGNANIMITY AS A COUNTRY TO ASSUME CERTAIN RESPONSIBILITIES WHICH BRITAIN SHOULD HAVE ASSUMED. WE DO NOT HAVE ANY MORAL BASIS ON WHICH WE CAN BE EXPECTED TO PAY PENSIONS TO RETIRED MEN FROM THE FORCES WHO WERE FIGHTING US YESTERDAY AND KILLING OUR PEOPLE - OUR ENEMIES. I WOULD BE INTERESTED MYSELF TO KNOW A SITUATION, WHERE THOSE WHO FOUGHT ON HITLER'S SIDE, ARE BEING GIVEN PENSIONS BY ANY COUNTRY.

BUT ZIMBABWE IS DOING THAT, AND WE HAVE BEEN PAYING MILLIONS AND MILLIONS OF DOLLARS A YEAR BY WAY OF PENSIONS TO BRITISH SETTLERS WHO FOUGHT AND KILLED US YESTERDAY, A MORAL DUTY WE DO NOT HAVE AT ALL: BUT BECAUSE WE ACCEPT THAT THE PAST IS GONE, WE ARE DOING THAT. IF THAT IS NOT AID TO BRITAIN, BECAUSE THAT SHOULD BE A BRITISH RESPONSIBILITY, THEY SERVED A COLONIAL REGIME, THEY DID NOT SERVE US, THESE PEOPLE. MOST OF THE YEARS FOR WHICH THEY QUALIFIED FOR PENSIONS WERE UDI YEARS. BUT WE DO NOT LOOK AT THAT. BRITAIN SHOULD NOT PROVOKE US INTO EXAMINING OUR RELATIONS WITH THEM.

AND, IF REALLY THE ISSUE IS THAT WE HAPPEN TO HAVE BRITISH SETTLERS HERE, OR PART OF OUR POPULATION COMPRISES THOSE PEOPLE MRS THATCHER AND HER GOVERNMENT REGARD AS THEIR CHARGES AND WHICH PEOPLE MUST THEREFORE NOT EVER BE TOUCHED BY US BECAUSE IF WE ARREST SOME OF THEM ON VALID BASIS BRITAIN BECOMES ANNOYED, THREATENS US WITH A WITHDRAWAL OF AID, SHOULD ZIMBABWE REALLY CONTINUE TO HAVE A BASIS OF THAT NATURE WHICH WILL LEAD TO A CONFLICT? HAVE WE DONE WRONG BY ENCOURAGING THESE PEOPLE TO REMAIN IN OUR COUNTRY? DOES MRS THATCHER WANT THEM IN BRITAIN? IF SO, SHE SHOULD LET US KNOW AND WE WILL FACILITATE THEIR GOING TO BRITAIN, SO A PROBLEM WILL NOT CONFRONT US TOMORROW.

BUT OUR ECONOMY SUSTAINED THES BRITISH CITIZENS EVERY DAY - OUR SERVICES - EDUCATION, HEALTH AND OTHERS - ARE SUSTAINING THESE THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE WE HAD REGARDED AS ZIMBABWEANS. BUT APPARENTLY BRITAIN STILL REGARES THEM AS HER OWN CHARGES. IF SO, THEN BRITAIN MUST PAY US SOMETHING TO SUSTAIN THEM HERE. BECAUSE WE ARE AIDING BRITAIN IN KEEPING THEIR BODIES AND SOULS INTACT. I AM SAYING THIS BECAUSE WE FEEL THERE HAS NOT BEEN SUFFICIENT RESPONSE FROM BRITISH CIRCLES, GOVERNMENTAL CIRCLES, TO WHAT WE HAVE TRIED TO DO HERE. WE CANNOT, MERELY BECAUSE A PERSON IS OF BRITISH STOCK, WHERE SUCH A PERSON IS A THREAT TO OUR SECURITY HERE, FEAR TO ARREST HIM BECAUSE TO DO SO IS TO PROVOKE MRS THATCHER AND HER GOVERNMENT. MY GOVERNMENT IS NOT MADE OF THAT KIND OF WEAK STEEL. WE HAVE FOUGHT A WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE. WE HAVE A RIGHT TO OUR SOVEREIGNTY. WE DO NOT ACCEPT ANY INTIMIDATION FROM ANY QUARTER, ANY MANIPULATION BY ANYBODY, BIG OR SMALL. ZIMBABWE IS ZIMBABWE. MY GOVERNMENT STANDS BY ITS PRINCIPLES THAT IN ZIMBABWE WE SHALL PURSUE THINGS OUR OWN WAY.

CAN BRITAIN LAY OFF ITS HANDS FROM ZIMABABE. IF THEY WANT TO CONTINUE TO BE FRIENDS WITH US, WE WILL BE FRIENDS. BUT IF THEY ARE WORKING TO DISSASSOCIATE THEMSELVES WITH US, WELL WE ARE WILLING THAT DISSASSOCIATION OCCURS. I HAVE HAD TO SAY THIS BECAUSE I FEEL TERRIBLY UNHAPPY ABOUT THE ATTITUDE THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN ADOPTING ON THIS QUESTION THAT AFFECTS OUR SECURITY. WHO DOES NOT KNOW HERE THAT THE MEN WE HAVE INHERITED IN THE ARMY, THE AIR FORCE, CIO, POLICE, WERE WORKING WITH SOUTH AFRICA YESTERDAY, AND THAT SOME OF THEM ARE STILL WORKING WITH SOUTH AFRICA? HAVE WE DONE WRONG BY NOT DISMISSING AND DISCHARGING THEM ALL, AND BY ALLOWING THEM AN OPPORTUNITY TO ADJUST?

WELL, THAT IS IT. THAT IS OUR POSITION.

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FM HARARE 261535Z SEP 83

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 810 OF 26 SEPTEMBER

INFO IMMEDIATE NEW YORK (FOR SECRETARY OF STATE'S PARTY)

PRIORITY WASHINGTON

X MY TELNO 809 (NOT TO ALL): MUGABE

1. MUGABE LAUNCHED INTO THIS DIATRIBE AT THE END OF A RAMBLING HOUR-LONG ACCOUNT OF HIS TOUR OF IRELAND, THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA. IT WAS NOT PROVOKED BY QUESTIONING FROM JOURNALISTS, THOUGH HE MUST HAVE KNOWN THAT HE WOULD AGAIN BE ASKED ABOUT THE AIR FORCE OFFICERS. HE WAS CLEARLY VERY WORKED-UP INDEED: IT WAS AN INTEMPERATE, IRRATIONAL AND EMOTIONAL PERFORMANCE IN WHICH ALL THE PENT-UP GRIEVANCES AND FRUSTRATIONS FROM RIGHT BACK TO LANCASTER HOUSE CAME POURING OUT. HIS REMARKS WERE SPLASHED ALL OVER THE FRONT PAGE OF TODAY'S HERALD, WHICH ALSO PUBLISHED A SLAVISH EDITORIAL ECHOING MUGABE'S STRICTURES. NO DOUBT WE WILL RECEIVE MORE STICK IN THE LOCAL MEDIA OVER THE NEXT FEW DAYS.

2. MUGABE HIMSELF CLEARLY NURSES A STRONG RESENTMENT AGAINST US, BLAMING US NOW FOR, AS HE SEES IT, TURNING OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES AGAINST HIM. BUT I DETECT NO SIGN OF A GENERAL ANIMOSITY ON THE PART OF ZIMBABWEAN MINISTERS OR OFFICIALS. I HAD AN ENTIRELY AMICABLE TALK WITH MNUNGAGWA (MINISTER OF STATE FOR SECURITY) OVER LUNCH TODAY, AT WHICH HE HIMSELF RAISED MUGABE'S STATEMENT AND DISCUSSED THE PROBLEM UNEMOTIONALLY. ANDERSON, ONE OF THE WHITE MINISTERS, TOLD MUS THIS MORNING THAT HE THOUGHT THE DUST WOULD SETTLE FAIRLY QUICKLY. NOW THAT MUGABE HAS LET OFF STEAM HE MAY INDEED COOL DOWN. I THINK IT IMPORTANT THAT WE SHOULD GIVE HIM EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO DO SO. WE ARE ACCORDINGLY PLAYING THINGS DOWN WITH THE MEDIA, DIPLOMATIC COLLEAGUES AND OTHERS. ALTHOUGH MUGABE'S ATTACK WAS THOROUGHLY PROVOCATIVE AND UNREASONABLE, IT SEEMS IMPORTANT NOT TO REACT IN A WAY WHICH WOULD ONLY PROLONG THE ACRIMONY.

3. I AM TAKING WHATEVER OPPORTUNITIES PRESENT THEMSELVES TO COUNSEL MODERATION ON THE ZIMBABWEANS. I HAVE SPOKEN TO DENIS NORMAN, WHO WILL BE SEEING MUGABE BEFORE CABINET TOMORROW MORNING, AND AM SEEKING AN APPOINTMENT WITH THE ACTING FOREIGN MINISTER TOMORROW AFTERNOON, AT WHICH I SHALL SEEK TO CORRECT SOME OF THE MISCONCEPTIONS AND DISTORTIONS IN MUGABE'S STATEMENT, REITERATE THAT WE HAVE NOT (R) NOT THREATENED TO CUT OFF AID, BUT AGAIN POINT OUT THAT WHETHER THE ZIMBABWEANS LIKE IT OR NOT, THE AIR FORCE OFFICERS WILL REMAIN AN IRRITANT AS LONG AS THEY STAY IN DETENTION. I SHALL OF COURSE ALSO RECIPROCATATE MR MUGABE'S WISH (EXPRESSED ALMOST AS AN AFTER-THOUGHT YESTERDAY) FOR CONTINUED GOOD RELATIONS.

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Zimbabwe: Relations

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4. I DOUBT THAT MUGABE'S TIRADE WILL ACTUALLY AFFECT THE LENGTH OF THE DETENTION OF THE REMAINING AIR FORCE OFFICERS, OVER WHICH I BELIEVE THAT HIS MIND HAS FOR SOME TIME BEEN MADE UP (MY TELNO 749). HE IS CLEARLY CONVINCED OF THEIR GUILT AND DETERMINED THEY SHOULD REMAIN IN DETENTION FOR "SOME TIME" AS HE PUT IT, REGARDLESS OF INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE. I SHALL SEEK TO ENCOURAGE WISER COUNSELS, BUT I AM NOT OPPOTIMISTIC ABOUT AN EARLY RELEASE.

5. PERHAPS MORE WORRYING IS THE DAMAGE WHICH MUGABE'S REMARKS WILL DO TO WHITE CONFIDENCE. CASTING DOUBT ON THE LOYALTY OF THE WHITE COMMUNITY AS A WHOLE WAS UNFORTUNATE. LAND RESETTLEMENT AND PENSIONS ARE PARTICULARLY EMOTIVE SUBJECTS, AND HIS STATEMENTS ON THESE SCORES WILL RAISE FEARS LOCALLY ABOUT THE GOVERNMENT'S INTENTIONS.

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