

CONFIDENTIAL

RECORD OF A MEETING BETWEEN THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE PRESIDENT
OF KENYA AT 10 DOWNING STREET ON 18 FEBRUARY 1980 AT 1220 HOURS

Present:

The Prime Minister	President Moi
The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary	The Hon. Charles Njonjo, EGH, MP
Mr. Richard Luce, M.P.	The Hon. Dr. R.J. Ouko, MP
Mr. D.M. Day	The Hon. Dr. Z.T. Onyonka, MP
Mr. J.A. Robson	The Hon. K.N.K. Biwott, MP
Mr. Michael Alexander	The Hon. G.G. Kariuki, MP
Mr. Charles Anson	Mr. J.G. Kiereini
	HE Mr. Shadrack Kimalel

Rhodesia

After welcoming President Moi, the Prime Minister asked the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary to speak on the current situation in Rhodesia. The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary said he first wished to thank the Kenyan Government for their forthright support for HMG's policies on Rhodesia during and after the Lancaster House Conference. The Kenyan contingent in the monitoring force had been a great success. We were grateful for Kenya's counsels of moderation in the OAU and with fellow members of the Commonwealth. But there was now a serious threat to a successful outcome in Rhodesia because of the high level of intimidation, particularly from ZANU(PF) in Eastern Province. The Governor had had to take powers to counter this. It would be intolerable if Mr. Nkomo and Bishop Muzorewa felt compelled to withdraw from the election, leaving the field to Mr. Mugabe's followers who were the main source of intimidation. Assuming all parties went forward and the poll was successfully carried through, it was still impossible to predict the result. Perhaps nobody would win; and perhaps that would be the best outcome. The danger was that Mr. Mugabe might not accept this, if the poll went against him. The most satisfactory result might be one in which Mr. Nkomo was persuaded to form a coalition government; and one which Mr. Mugabe might be willing to join later.

/President Moi

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

- 2 -

President Moi said Kenya hoped that all the parties would join in a government for an independent Zimbabwe. Political support in Zimbabwe depended on tribal groupings, and this made a coalition of all parties the most desirable. He was aware that President Nyerere had been helping Mr. Mugabe. He would give such support as he could to Mr. Nkomo (with whom he had spoken on the telephone the previous day). Mr. Nkomo was the key to the formation of a national government. The Prime Minister said that President Machel had also been helpful.

President Moi said that a satisfactory outcome on Rhodesia was essential. It would be decisive for Namibia and for Southern Africa as a whole. If things went wrong in Rhodesia this would be equally decisive, in the opposite sense: first for Zaire, and perhaps also for Zambia. It was therefore most important that the British Government should continue to give full support to President Kaunda so that he could abandon his project to obtain arms from the Soviet Union. It would be a serious setback if the Russians secured a base in Zambia. He understood why Britain had found it difficult to supply arms to Zambia, but he feared that this might have been a mistake. We must avoid creating an Ethiopian situation by default. The Prime Minister suggested that Kaunda's fears might be allayed if Mr. Nkomo came to power. The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary commented that it had been the Rhodesian attack on the Zambian bridges, to which President Kaunda wrongly believed we were privy, that had marred our relations with Zambia.

The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary said that, despite the serious current difficulties, we should take heart at what had been achieved since the Lancaster House Conference. Dr. Ouko agreed and said that he had spoken out in defence of Britain at the OAU Meeting in Addis Ababa. The moderates were by no means beaten. After a discussion of the numbers of seats the parties might win, President Moi said that it was vital that Mr. Nkomo, Bishop Muzorewa and Mr. Smith should secure enough seats to form a coalition. If they held together, Mr. Mugabe must lose.

CONFIDENTIAL

/Olympic Games

Olympic Games

Turning to other matters, the Prime Minister welcomed Kenya's decision not to take part in the Olympic Games in Moscow. President Moi said that he had asked the Kenya Sports Council not to take part because the Soviet Union had created conditions which made it impossible for Kenya to participate. They had violated the principle of territorial integrity. The Government's decision, which was supported by Kenya's sportsmen, was final. It would not be changed unless the Soviet Union withdrew from Afghanistan.

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.

Visit to the United States

The Prime Minister said that she had been glad of this opportunity to discuss matters frankly and in confidence. She hoped the President would have a successful visit to Washington. President Moi said that he looked forward to this. He wished to make clear that contrary to press reports, Kenya was willing to make available to the Americans defence facilities only and not bases.

21 February 1980

The meeting ended at 1300.