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DESKBY 251600Z FCO AND SALISBURY

FM LUSAKA 251500Z FEB 80

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 221 OF 25 FEBRUARY

AND TO IMMEDIATE SALISBURY

INFO IMMEDIATE DAR ES SALAAM, MAPUTO.

INFO PRIORITY GABORONE, LAGOS, UKMIS NEW YORK, CAPE TOWN.

Read in full

(Mr Shore seems to have spoken well.)

MR PETER SHORE'S CONVERSATION WITH PRESIDENT KAUNDA

1. I TOOK MR SHORE TO CALL ON PRESIDENT KAUNDA THIS MORNING. IN A BRIEF OPENING PASSAGE KAUNDA REFERRED TO HIS CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE PRIME MINISTER IN WHICH HE HAD SET OUT HIS "ANXIETIES". THESE WERE ON FAMILIAR LINES (THE DEPLOYMENT OF AUXILIARIES, THE GOVERNOR'S SUBORDINATION TO GENERAL WALLS, AND THE FAILURE TO "CONFINE" THE SECURITY FORCES IN KEEPING WITH THE "SPIRIT" OF LANCASTER HOUSE) BUT HIS MAJOR PREOCCUPATION WAS WITH THE PRESENCE OF AND THREAT POSED BY SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES IN RHODESIA. HE EMPHASISED THAT MUCH HAD BEEN ACHIEVED AND IT WOULD BE TRAGIC IF AT THIS STAGE ALL WAS TO BE LOST BECAUSE OF THE SOUTH AFRICANS' ROLE.

2. MR SHORE REPLIED IN SPIRITED FASHION. WHILST HIS INITIAL VISIT TO SALISBURY HAD BEEN SHORT HE HAD BEEN IMPRESSED BY THE WAY IN WHICH THE THREE MAJOR PARTIES

(A) ALL THOUGHT THEY WOULD WIN AND

(B) ALL THOUGHT THAT THEY WERE BEING PARTICULARLY DISCRIMINATED AGAINST.

IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION FROM KAUNDA MR SHORE SAID THAT MUZOREWA CERTAINLY FELT DISCRIMINATED AGAINST IN THAT HE COMPLAINED THAT THE GOVERNOR HAD FAILED TO MAKE USE OF THE POWERS WHICH HE HAD TO CONTROL OTHERS WHO WERE MISBEHAVING. MR SHORE WENT ON TO DRAW ON A CONVERSATION IN WHICH CHINAMANO HAD INSTANCED TO HIM THE VICTORIA AREA, MOASHONALAND AND MANICALAND AS AREAS WHERE DUE TO ZANLA'S ACTIVITY (AND TO A LESSER DEGREE THE ACTIVITIES OF THE AUXILIARIES) HIS PARTY HAD BEEN VIRTUALLY UNABLE TO CAMPAIGN. KAUNDA APPEARED TO PAY VERY CLOSE ATTENTION TO WHAT MR SHORE HAD TO SAY ABOUT INTIMIDATION AND TO BE GENUINELY IMPRESSED BY THE EVIDENCE OF SPECIFIC CONVERSATIONS.

3. TURING TO THE QUESTION OF THE GOVERNOR'S DEPENDENCE ON GENERAL WALLS AND THE WHITE ESTABLISHMENT MR SHORE SAID THAT IT HAD BEEN A MATTER WHICH HE HAD INITIALLY FELT CONCERN ABOUT. BUT HIS VISIT TO SALISBURY HAD PERSUADED HIM THAT IN CRITICAL AREAS THE GOVERNOR HAD INDEPENDENT SOURCES OF INFORMATION, EG THE ELECTION COMMISSION AND THE COMMONWEALTH MONITORING FORCE, WHICH

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/ALLOWED

ALLOWED HIM TO HAVE A SUFFICIENTLY CLEAR VIEW OF THE SITUATION ON THE GROUND AND WHICH DEFINITELY PROVIDED HIM WITH THE CAPACITY TO CHECK ON ANY SPECIFIC INSTANCE (HE CITED THE COMMONWEALTH MONITORING FORCE REPORT ON THE INCIDENT AT ASSEMBLY POINT BRAVO WHERE THE RSF HAD BEEN SHOWN TO BE AT FAULT AS A RESULT OF AN INDEPENDENT REPORT AND THE ELECTION COMMISSIONER'S REPORT ON CONDITIONS AT MOUNT DARWIN WHICH HAD CORRECTED AN EARLIER RHODESIAN SITUATION REPORT). HE ALSO USED THE GOVERNOR'S RESPONSE TO THE ARREST OF MR GARFIELD TODD AS A FURTHER ILLUSTRATION OF THE GOVERNOR'S ABILITY TO ACT WHEN INFORMED OF A SITUATION BUT ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE GOVERNOR COULD NOT BE EXPECTED TO OVERSEE THE ACTIONS OF EVERY STATE EMPLOYEE. MR SHORE HAD NO DOUBT ABOUT THE BRITISH PURPOSE AND WILL TO BRING ABOUT FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS, AND TOOK THE VIEW THAT THE ORIGINAL PF AS A UNIT WOULD OBTAIN A MAJORITY OF THE SEATS CONTESTED.

4. KAUNDA WENT ON TO ASK ABOUT THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE BRITISH PRESENCE AND ON BEING TOLD THAT IT WOULD BE LIKELY TO BE A PHASED PROCESS ASKED WHAT WOULD THEN HAPPEN TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES AT THE VARIOUS LOCATIONS IN WHICH THEY WERE KNOWN TO BE IN RHODESIA. MR SHORE SAID THAT IN HIS VIEW THE INITIAL DEPLOYMENT OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS TO THE NORTH END OF BEIT BRIDGE HAD BEEN "CRAZY" BUT A LOT OF WATER HAD FLOWN UNDER THAT BRIDGE AND OTHERS SINCE. HE HAD LOOKED VERY HARD IN RHODESIA FOR EVIDENCE OF DEPLOYMENT OF SOUTH AFRICAN UNITS BUT HAD NOT FOUND ANY. FRANKLY HE WOULD BE VERY SURPRISED IF THEY WERE THERE IN ANY NUMBER AS IT WOULD SO DISADVANTAGE SOUTH AFRICA AND BRITAIN IF ANY UNIT WAS FOUND. MOREOVER, IT SHOULD NOT BE DIFFICULT TO UNCOVER SUCH UNITS GIVEN THE LARGE NUMBER OF OBSERVERS OF VARIOUS DESCRIPTIONS ON THE GROUND. KAUNDA SAID THAT SOUTH AFRICA COMPLICATED THE POSITION. THEY WERE INHERENTLY ANTI-MARXIST AND HE FEARED WHAT THEY WOULD DO IF IT BECAME APPARENT THAT THE COMBINED PATRIOTIC FRONT HAD WON THE ELECTION AND PROPOSED TO FORM A GOVERNMENT COALITION. MR SHORE SAID HE DOUBTED VERY MUCH IF SOUTH AFRICA WOULD ACT OPENLY AGAINST THE WHOLE WEIGHT OF WORLD OPINION. KAUNDA RESPONDED THAT SUCH CRITICISMS HAVE NOT STOPPED THEM BOMBING IN NAMIBIA AND ZAMBIA AND MR SHORE SAID THAT WHILST HE UNDERSTOOD THE PRESIDENT'S ANGER HE THOUGHT THAT THE SITUATION WOULD BE VERY DIFFERENT ONCE ONE HAD REACHED THE ELECTORAL STAGE. CHONA INTERVENED TO ASK WHAT MR SHORE MEANT BY "OPEN" INTERFERENCE BY SOUTH AFRICA. WOULD IT NOT BE EASIER TO HIDE THEM IN RHODESIAN UNIFORM? MR SHORE SAID THAT A TROJAN HORSE OF THIS NATURE WOULD BE EQUAL TO A SECOND UDI. IN HIS VIEW THE EUROPEAN POPULATION DID NOT HAVE THE WILL TO SUSTAIN A SECOND UDI AS THE BITTER EXPERIENCE OF THE FIRST UDI HAD BROUGHT THEM TO THE POSITION THEY NOW OCCUPIED. KAUNDA SAID THAT HE "HOPED AND PRAYED" THAT MR SHORE WAS RIGHT AS "WE HAVE A GREAT OPPORTUNITY AND OUR FEAR IS THAT WE SHALL LOSE IT". MR SHORE ARGUED THAT SURELY THIS WAS A GREAT STRENGTH AS THE FEAR OF LOSING THE OPPORTUNITY WAS COMMON TO ALL PARTIES. KAUNDA

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CONCLUDED BY SAYING THAT SOUTH AFRICA, LIKE ZAMBIA, SHOULD PLEDGE ITSELF TO RESPECT THE OUTCOME OF THE ELECTIONS AND NOT TAKE IT UPON THEMSELVES TO JUDGE THE DEGREE TO WHICH LAW AND ORDER MUST BREAKDOWN IN ORDER TO JUSTIFY INTERVENTION. I TOLD KAUNDA OF OUR APPROACH TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT, IN WHICH WE HAD REMINDED THEM OF OUR OBJECTIONS TO ANY EXTERNAL INVOLVEMENT IN THE RHODESIAN PROCESS.

5. COMMENT (UNDERLINED) THIS WAS AN ENCOURAGING MEETING AND I THANKED MR SHORE FOR HIS CONDUCT OF IT. KAUNDA RAISED NO NEW POINTS AND WHILST HE DWELT ON SOUTH AFRICA, AND I JUDGED HIS CONCERN TO BE GENUINE, THE IMPRESSION WE ALL GAINED WAS THAT HE WAS RE-STATING HIS POSITION AND FEARS MAINLY FOR THE RECORD RATHER THAN DEMANDING ANY FURTHER ACTION ON OUR PART OR THREATENING ACTION ON HIS PART AT THIS STAGE. THE MEETING WAS VERY WARM IN TONE WITH KAUNDA LISTENING VERY CLOSELY TO MR SHORE. HE WAS NOT COMBATIVE AND APPEARED TO WANT REASSURANCE. HE WAS TOTALLY UNEMOTIONAL AND THERE WAS NO SIGN WHATSOEVER THAT HE WANTED TO DO ANYTHING FURTHER TO ROCK THE BOAT. I SOUNDED CHONA ON ZAMBIAN PARTICIPATION IN THE FLS SUMMIT BUT RECEIVED A CRYPTIC REPLY.

NEILSON

FILES

RHOD D	DEF D
OADS	IPD
NAD	OID
FUSD	NEWS D
PLANNING STAFF	PS
CCD	PS/LPS
FRD	PS/MR LUCE
ECD (E)	PS/MR RIDLEY
UND	PS/MR HURD
LEGAL ADVISERS	PS/MR MARTEN
(MR FREELAND)	PS/PUS
ECON D	SIR D MAITLAND

SIR A ACLAND
LORD N G LENNOX
MR DAY
MR FERGUSSON
MR ASPIN
MR MILLS
CPO

ADDITIONAL DIST
RHODESIA POLICY