

Zimbabwe

PS

PS/LPS

PS/MR LUCE

PS/PUS

MR DAY

SIR A ACLAND

~~SIR L ALLINSON~~

LORD N G LENNOX

MR GILLMORE

HD/S AF D

HD/C AF D

HD/UND

HD/DEFENCE D

MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RM K200A

HD/NEWS D

~~RESIDENT CLERK~~

MR COLLINS DOT

MR R L WADE-GERY

CABINET OFFICE

NO 10 DOWNING STREET

ADVANCE COPY

IMMEDIATE

*[Typists day
S.O.P.]*

OO FCO DESKBY 181600Z

GR 660

CONFIDENTIAL

DESKBY FCO 181600Z

FM SALISBURY 181430Z FEB 82

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 090 OF 18 FEBRUARY.

AND TO PRIORITY MODUK (FOR DI4, DS11, AND DMO)

INFO PRIORITY CAPE TOWN, PRETORIA, LUSAKA, MAPUTO, LILONGWE (DEVDIV).

MY TELNO 089 : GOVERNMENT CHANGES.

1. A CABINET RESHUFFLE HAS BEEN LONG EXPECTED. THE DISMISSAL OF THE ZAPU MINISTERS MEANT THAT IT COULD BE DELAYED NO LONGER. ALTHOUGH SOME OF THE CHANGES EVIDENTLY SURPRISED THE ZANU MINISTERS CONCERNED, WHO WERE PRESENT AT MUGABE'S PRESS CONFERENCE, MUGABE MUST HAVE DECIDED ON THE MAIN ONES EVEN BEFORE THE ROW WITH ZAPU BLEW UP. DISREGARDING THE DISMISSAL OF THE ZAPU MINISTERS, THE POLITICAL AND TRIBAL BALANCE WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT REMAINS FUNAMENTALLY THE SAME AS BEFORE. BUT THEIR GENERAL EFFECT IS TO STRENGTHEN MUGABE'S PERSONAL AUTHORITY OVER THE GOVERNMENT

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2. AS REGARDS THE MAJOR CHANGES, CHIDZERO'S INCREASED RESPONSIBILITY OVER ECONOMIC AFFAIRS SHOULD RESULT IN BETTER CO-ORDINATION OF ECONOMIC POLICY, AND AVOIDANCE IN FUTURE OF BETISES SUCH AS THE RESTRICTIONS NKALA INTRODUCED ON EXPORTS OF PERSONAL EFFECTS. SEKERAMAYI'S MOVE FROM LANDS IS A LOSS FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE LWND RESETTLEMENT PROGRAMME. HE HAS BEEN A CONSISTENT, DECISIVE AND RELIABLE MINISTER WITH WHOM TO DO BUSINESS. THE NEW MINISTER MAHACHI (HIS FORMER DEPUTY) IS MUCH LESS INTELLIGENT AND WILL BE MORE DIFFICULT TO DEAL WITH, DESPITE HIS SUPERFICIAL AFFABILITY. HE ALSO HARBOURS POPULIST TENDENCIES WHICH COULD GIVE DIFFICULTY OVER EG ACCELERATED RE-SETTLEMENT. SEKERAMAYI SHOULD HOWEVER BE AN ASSET IN HIS NEW POST, WHICH WAS DOUBTLESS CREATED TO RELIEVE MUGABE OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR MOST ROUTINE MILITARY MATTERS, AND WILL BE GOOD NEWS FOR BMATT PROVIDED IT DOES NOT REDUCE THEIR ACCESS TO MUGABE HIMSELF. HOVE'S MOVE COMES AS NO SURPRISE; MUGABE WAS DISSATISFIED WITH HIS PERFORMANCE AT HOME AFFAIRS. IT IS SAD, THOUGH NOT REALLY SURPRISING, THAT MUGABE HAS NOT APPOINTED ANOTHER WHITE TO SUCCEED DAVID SMITH AT TRADE AND COMMERCE. HOVE HAS A DEGREE IN COMMERCE, BUT NO PRACTICAL EXPERIENCE, AND HIS TRACK-RECORD AT HOME AFFAIRS IS NOT ENCOURAGING. NKALA'S NEW FUNCTIONS ARE UNCLEAR AND IT LOOKS AS IF HE HAS BEEN DOWN-GRADED. BUT HE HAD BEEN HEARD TO SAY THAT HE WAS UNHAPPY GRAPPLING WITH FINANCE. WE THINK HIS MAIN BRIEF WILL BE TO CRACK DOWN ON FIDDLING IN GOVERNMENT SUPPLIES CONTRACTS. ZVOBGO'S TRANSLATION FROM THE POWERFUL AND IMPORTANT MINISTRY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND HOUSING TO A NEW MINISTRY OF LEGAL AND PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS MUST BE INTERPRETED AS A DEMOTION. BUT HE IS LIKELY TO EXPLOIT TO THE FULL ANY POLITICAL SCOPE WHICH HIS NEW JOB PROVIDES IN THE CONTEXT OF MOVES TOWARDS A ONE PARTY STATE. MUBAKO (MINISTER OF JUSTICE AND CONSTITUTIONAL AFFAIRS) IS LIKELY TO BE ECLIPSED. MUNYARADZI IS QUITE IMPRESSIVE BUT HAD LITTLE SCOPE AS DEPUTY MINISTER OF FINANCE AND HE MIGHT BE A GOOD MINISTER OF HEALTH. (HE IS A SURGEON AND HIS WIFE A SENIOR HOSPITAL SISTER).

3. THE ONE REALLY EXTRAORDINARY AND WORRYING NEW APPOINTMENT IS THAT OF USHEWOKUNZE AS MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS. ALTHOUGH HIS RETURN TO THE GOVERNMENT WAS WIDELY EXPECTED (MUGABE IS SAID TO BE FOND OF HIM) THE APPOINTMENT TO THIS POST OF A MAN NAMED IN COURT NOT LONG AGO IN CONNECTION WITH A PARTICULARLY GRISLY SERIES OF MURDERS OF WHITE FARMERS NEAR FORT VICTORIA SEEMS ALMOST UNBELIEVABLE. MUGABE'S MOTIVE MAY BE TO SHAKE UP THE POLICE WHOM HE DISTRUSTS. THE EFFECT HOWEVER IS LIKELY

~~GRIEVLY SERIES OF MURDERS OF WHITE FARMERS NEAR FORT VICTORIA SEEMS ALMOST UNBELIEVABLE. MUGABE'S MOTIVE MAY BE TO SHAKE UP THE POLICE WHOM HE DISTRUSTS. THE EFFECT HOWEVER IS LIKELY TO BE A SHOCK TO THE MORALE OF THE REMAINING WHITES IN THE POLICE FORCE, AND OF THE WHITE COMMUNITY AS A WHOLE, AND POSSIBLY A STEEP DECLINE IN POLICE EFFICIENCY. A SURPRISING APPOINTMENT AT A TIME WHEN THE ARMY'S LOYALTIES MAY BE UNDER STRAIN. BUT WE HAVE NO REASON TO SUPPOSE THAT MUGABE FELT OBLIGED TO MAKE IT IN TERMS, FOR EXAMPLE, OF SATISFYING RADICAL PARTY OPINION.~~

4. THE REMAINING GOVERNMENT CHANGES ARE UNIMPORTANT. MASANGO (TRANSPORT) IS PLEASANT BUT UNTRIED. MUMBENGEGWI WAS UNIMPRESSIVE AS DEPUTY MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND IS UNLIKELY TO ACHIEVE FAME IN HIS NEW JOB AS MINISTER FOR WATER RESOURCES AND DEVELOPMENT. MRS CHITEPO IS NO POLITICAL HEAVYWEIGHT BUT QUITE A GOOD ADMINISTRATOR.

5. CONTRARY TO EXPECTATION, MANGWENDE WAS DISAPPOINTINGLY NOT MOVED FROM THE FOREIGN MINISTRY. THE POSITION OF SHAMUYARIRA (WHO WAS THOUGHT TO BE A POSSIBLE CONTENDER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS) HAS NOT BEEN SUBSTANTIALLY AFFECTED BY LOSING TOURISM AND GAINING POSTS AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS.

6. THE NEW MINISTRIES SEEM LIKELY TO CAUSE ADMINISTRATIVE CONFUSION, AT LEAST INITIALLY. FOR EXAMPLE ZVOBGO, MUBAKO AND THE POLITICALLY POWERFUL SPEAKER (MNTASA) LEGAL / CONSTITUTIONAL / PARLIAMENTARY FIELD, AND NKALA SEEMS LIKELY TO BE INVOLVED IN DEMARCATION DISPUTES WITH MANY OF HIS COLLEAGUES.

7. THERE MAY BE FURTHER CHANGES IF OTHER ZAPU MINISTERS ELECT TO LEAVE THE GOVERNMENT.

BYATT

BT

NNNN

DB 181530Z

[SOUTHERN AFRICA] [ADVANCE COPIES]

16-17

PS

MR COLLINS DOT

PS/~~MR T GILMORE~~ LPS

MR R L WADE-GERY
CABINET OFFICE

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NO 10. DOWNING STREET

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SIR L ALLINSON

LORD N G LENNOX

MR ~~ROBERT~~ GILLMORE

HD/S AF D

HD/C AF D

HD/UND

HD/DEFENCE D

MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RM K200A

HD/NEWS D

RESIDENT CLERK

Typists

GR 830

CONFIDENTIAL

DESKBY 181530Z

FM SALISBURY 181345Z FEB 82

TO IMMEDIATE F C O

TELEGRAM NUMBER 088 OF 18 FEBRUARY

INFO IMMEDIATE MODUK (FOR DIA, DS11 AND DMO), CAPETOWN, LUSAKA
AND PRIORITY PRETORIA MAPUTO LILONGWE AND WASHINGTON.

MY IPT: ZANU/ZAPU CRISIS

1. THE DISMISSAL OF NKOMO AND HIS 3 SENIOR COLLEAGUES FROM THE GOVERNMENT IS A MOST UNWELCOME PRELUDE TO YOUR VISIT TO ZIMBABWE IN A WEEK'S TIME. IT IS TOO EARLY TO PREDICT WITH ANY CERTAINTY WHAT THE CONSEQUENCES WILL BE. MUGABE IS CLEARLY TRYING TO LIMIT THEM; STRESSING THAT ZAPU AS A PARTY IS NOT TO BE REGARDED AS BLAMEWORTHY AND THAT ITS SENIOR MEMBERS NOT MENTIONED AT HIS PRESS CONFERENCE YESTERDAY HAD 'NOTHING TO FEAR'.

2. IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT ZANU HAVE, SINCE THEIR 3-DAY CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING AT THE END OF LAST YEAR, BEEN DETERMINED TO

2. ~~IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT ZANU HAVE, SINCE THEIR 3-DAY CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING AT THE END OF LAST YEAR, BEEN DETERMINED TO PRESS HARDER ON ZAPU AND SPEED PROGRESS TOWARDS A ONE-PARTY STATE, PREFERABLY BY ABSORPTION OF ZAPU. MUGABE, PERHAPS SO AS NOT TO BE OVERTAKEN WITHIN THE PARTY, SEEMS IF ANYTHING TO HAVE SET THE NEW PACE HIMSELF SINCE HIS RETURN FROM LONDON. APPARENTLY NKOMO REACTED ADVERSELY, TELLING MUGABE IN EARLY FEBRUARY THAT HE WOULD NOT PURSUE TALKS ABOUT UNITING THE PARTIES WHILE THE PRIME MINISTER CONTINUED TO MAKE HARSH PUBLIC SPEECHES. THE DISCOVERY OF THE MAIN ARMS CACHES ON ZAPU FARMS NEAR BULAWAYO CAME ALMOST IMMEDIATELY AFTERWARDS. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT MUGABE, WHO WE BELIEVE OFTEN RECEIVES HIGHLY COLOURED INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENT FROM HIS PARTY MACHINE, REALLY BELIEVED THAT SOME CONSPIRACY WAS AFOOT. MORE LIKELY, HE AND HIS SENIOR PARTY ADVISERS, PARTLY MOTIVATED BY LONG-STANDING PERSONAL AND POLITICAL ANIMOSITIES, SAW AN OPPORTUNITY TO DISCREDIT NKOMO AND SPLIT ZAPU, AND SEIZED IT.~~

3. THEY MAY YET SUCCEED. WE KNOW THAT THERE HAS BEEN MUCH DISSATISFACTION WITH NKOMO'S LEADERSHIP WITHIN ZAPU OVER THE PAST YEAR. ⁸²⁷⁵ A NEW LEADERSHIP WILL NOT NECESSARILY BRING ZANU'S OBJECTIVE OF A ONE-PARTY STATE ANY NEARER; ZAPU CRITICISM OF NKOMO HAS TENDED TO BE THAT HE WAS TOO COOPERATIVE TOWARDS ZANU. APPARENTLY THE GOVERNMENT'S PRESENT INTENTION IS NOT TO BAN ZAPU OR DETAIN NKOMO, BUT TO LEAVE HIM AND THE OTHER DISMISSED MINISTERS AT LIBERTY UNTIL THEY CAN BE BROUGHT TO TRIAL ON CRIMINAL CHARGES. THEY WILL HOPE MEANWHILE TO KEEP OTHER ZAPU AND EX-ZIPRA OFFICE HOLDERS IN PLACE (THE SWEETS OF OFFICE MAY HELP), THEREBY STRAINING THE COHESION OF ZAPU AND REDUCING NKOMO'S STANDING AND INFLUENCE. ONCE NKOMO IS OUT OF THE WAY THEY MAY HOPE TO RESUME WITH A SUCCESSOR NEGOTIATIONS TO MERGE ZANU AND ZAPU. BUT THEY MAY FIND IT DIFFICULT TO UNEARTH EVIDENCE ADEQUATE TO SECURE CONVICTION FOR ANY DRAMATIC OFFENCE SUCH AS TREASON. ^{THEN - CONSULTAL} 5-117855-7 OR CONVICTION FOR SOME MORE OR LESS TECHNICAL OFFENCE WOULD BE HIGHLY EMBARRASSING FOR THEM; PRESSURE FOR DETENTION COULD THEREFORE BUILD UP LATER. ZANU MAY ALSO UNDERESTIMATE NKOMO'S INFLUENCE WITH THE ORDINARY PEOPLE IN MATABELELAND, WHO, I UNDERSTAND, GREET HIM ALMOST AS A ROYAL PERSONAGE.

4. AT ONE END OF THE SPECTRUM THINGS COULD GO AS ZANU APPEAR TO HOPE, AT THE OTHER THERE COULD BE A PROGRESSIVE WITHDRAWAL OF ZAPU AND ZIPRA MEN FROM THE GOVERNMENT AND THE ARMY MAKING MATABELELAND VIRTUALLY UNGOVERNABLE AND PERHAPS SUBJECT TO SMALL SCALE GUERRILLA ACTIVITY, AND PULLING THE AMALGAMATED ARMY APART LEAVING THE GOVERNMENT WITH LITTLE BUT THE FIFTH BRIGADE WHICH THE NORTH KOREANS ARE TRAINING (AND WHICH WE BELIEVE IS STILL NOT IN A STATE

KOREANS ARE TRAINING (AND WHICH WE BELIEVE IS STILL NOT IN A STATE TO OPERATE EFFICIENTLY).

5. MY GUESS IS THAT THINGS WILL MUDDLE ALONG BETWEEN THESE TWO EXTREMES, AND PROBABLY NEARER TO THE FIRST THAN THE ~~(SKEWED)~~ AN EARLY INDICATOR WILL BE WHETHER THE TWO REMAINING ZAPU CABINET MINISTERS RESIGN, AS NKOMO HAS IMPLIED THEY SHOULD (AND AS I EXPECT THEY MAY), AND WHETHER THE SENIOR EX-ZIPRA ARMY OFFICERS DO LIKEWISE (AT THE MOMENT, DESPITE MUTTERED THREATS LAST WEEK, THEY SEEM TO BE STAYING PUT: THEY ARE FOR THE MOMENT LEADERLESS SINCE GENERAL MASUKU IS IN JAPAN DISCUSSING PURCHASE OF ARMY VEHICLES).

6. ANOTHER INDICATOR WILL BE POPULAR REACTION TO THE NEWS OF NKOMO'S DISMISSAL. LITTLE IS VISIBLE IN SALISBURY SO FAR: A BRISK MIDDAY SHOWER SEEMS TO HAVE PUT PAID TO NOT VERY ENERGETIC EFFORTS TO MARSHALL A ZANU CROWD. NO NEWS OF ANY DRAMATIC REACTION IN BULAWAYO YET. GENERAL SHORTISS (BMATT) IS BY CHANCE THERE TODAY ON AN INTRODUCTORY VISIT, AND REPORTS THAT THE SITUATION THERE IS CALM. HE RETURNS TOMORROW NIGHT AND I SHALL REPORT OVER THE WEEKEND IF HE HAS ANYTHING SIGNIFICANT TO ADD.

7. I SUSPECT THAT IN ANY CASE WE ARE AT THE END OF A PHASE IN ZIMBABWE'S POLITICAL LIFE. I DO NOT EXPECT MUGABE TO CHANGE HIS BASIC POLICIES. BUT HE AND ZANU NOW CLEARLY FEEL STRONG ENOUGH TO INSIST THAT "RECONCILIATION" MUST BE MORE ON THEIR TERMS. IF THE NEXT FEW WEEKS PROVE THEM TO BE RIGHT, THEY WILL WANT TO SPEED UP THE PACE OF CHANGE. THAT WOULD NOT HELP WHITE MORALE. ON THE OTHER HAND THE DIRECTION OF CHANGE MIGHT BE ALTERED, IF AT ALL, IN WAYS OF WHICH WE WOULD APPROVE: A SUCCESSFUL SHOWDOWN WITH NKOMO AND ZAPU WOULD SO STRENGTHEN MUGABE'S POLITICAL POSITION THAT HE MIGHT FEEL BETTER ABLE TO PURSUE PRAGMATIC POLICIES.

BYATT

CCN: PARA 3. LINE K

LINE 3 YEAR. BUT A NEW LEADERSHIP....

LINE 15: CONVICTION FOR ANY DRAMATIC OFFENCE SUCH AS TREASON.

THEN ACQUITTAL OR CONVICTION FOR SOME.....
PARA 5.

LINE 2: EXTREMES, AND PROBABLY NEARER TO THE FIRST THAN THE SECOND AN EARLY INDICATOR WILL.....

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