

[RHODESIA: POLICY: ADVANCE COPIES]

28

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

PS/SIR I GILMOUR

PS/MR LUCE

PS/PUS

SIR D MATTLAND

MR DAY

*SIR L ALLINSON*

~~MR ASPIN~~

SIR R ARMSTRONG )

MR R L WADE GERY )

MR P M MAXEY )

MR GOULTY )

MR W N WENBAN SMITH )

DIO )

CABINET  
OFFICE

HD/RHOD DEPT (4)

HD/C AF D

HD/S AF D

~~HD/UND~~

HD/PUSD (2)

HD/NEWS DEPT

HD/WAD

PS/SIR I SINCLAIR

MR FREELAND LEGAL ADVISER RMK200A

MR FIFOOT

IMMEDIATE

IMMEDIATE

CONFIDENTIAL

FM SALISBURY 241226Z MAR 80

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 1139 OF 24 MARCH

INFO PRIORITY WASHINGTON UKMIS NEW YORK EEC POSTS CANBERRA WELLINGTON  
OTTAWA DAR ES SALAAM MAPUTO NAIROBI LAGOS CAPE TOWN GABORONE  
LUANDA

RHODESIA: POLITICAL SITUATION

1. AT THE RECEPTION I GAVE ON 20 MARCH, FORMALLY TO APPOINT THE INCOMING MINISTERS, IT WAS CLEAR THAT THEY WERE FEELING THEIR WAY. THEY WERE ENCOURAGED BY THE ATTITUDE THE PERMANENT SECRETARIES AND THE OTHER LEADING CIVIL SERVANTS WERE ADOPTING TOWARDS THEM. THERE WAS A REALISATION THAT IN THE PERIOD UP TO INDEPENDENCE ON 18 APRIL MINISTERS WOULD NOT BE IN A POSITION TO TAKE DECISIONS OF A POLITICALLY CONTROVERSIAL NATURE (AND NO DEMANDS AT THIS STAGE FOR THE DELEGATION OF POWERS).
2. IN RESPONSE TO A NUMBER OF STRIKES WHICH HAVE BEEN TAKING PLACE IN THE SALISBURY AREA, MUGABE TOLD ME THAT HE HAD NO INTENTION OF LETTING MATTERS GET OUT OF HAND. THE EMPLOYMENT MINISTER, KANGAI, HAS BEEN APPEALING TO THE STRIKERS TO GO BACK TO WORK. THE MORE INTELLIGENT MINISTERS POINTED OUT IN PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS THAT THEIR MAIN PROBLEM OVER THE NEXT FEW WEEKS AND MONTHS WILL BE THE CRISIS OF EXPECTATIONS. THERE IS AN UNDERSTANDING THAT THEY WILL HAVE TO TAKE ACTIONS TO SATISFY THEIR SUPPORTERS THAT THINGS HAVE CHANGED; BUT THAT THE FINANCIAL CONSTRAINTS ARE REAL. THERE WAS CORRESPONDING GRATITUDE FOR OUR PROMPT ACTION IN PROVIDING RHODESIAN DOLLARS 10 MILLION'S WORTH OF CONSTRUCTION ASSISTANCE.
3. THE WHITE COMMUNITY HAVE RESPONDED FAVOURABLY TO STATEMENTS BY MUGABE AND OTHER MINISTERS DESIGNED TO REASSURE THEM. THE CONTINUANCE IN OFFICE OF GENERAL WALLS AND THE APPOINTMENT TO THE CABINET OF DAVID SMITH AND NORMAN HAVE HAD A STABILISING EFFECT. THERE ARE A NUMBER OF DEPARTURES, BUT THESE ARE NOT REALLY AFFECTING THE PRIVATE SECTOR. THE WORRYING FEATURE IS THE POTENTIAL EXODUS OF A LARGE NUMBER OF PEOPLE IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR (MY TELNO 1117). THE WHITES ARE WORRIED THAT MUGABE'S NEW MODERATION MAY BE SKIN DEEP AND DEPENDENT ON OUR OWN PRESENCE HERE. IN GENERAL, HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE THAT THE GREAT MAJORITY OF THE WHITE COMMUNITY WILL STAY AND SEE HOW THINGS WORK OUT PROVIDED THERE IS NOT A SUDDEN AND DRAMATIC EXODUS FROM THE PUBLIC SECTOR.
4. THE KEY ELEMENT FOR THE FUTURE IS THE SUCCESSFUL ACCOMPLISHMENT OF THE PROCESS OF ANNEXING THE THREE ARMIES. LAST WEEK THE



HOW THINGS WORK OUT PROVIDED THERE IS NOT A SUDDEN AND DRAMATIC EXODUS FROM THE PUBLIC SECTOR.

4. THE KEY ELEMENT FOR THE FUTURE IS THE SUCCESSFUL ACCOMPLISHMENT OF THE PROCESS OF AMALGAMATING THE THREE ARMIES. LAST WEEK THE MILITARY AMALGAMATION COMMITTEE UNDER GENERAL WALLS RAN INTO SEVERE DIFFICULTY AS A RESULT OF THE ATTITUDE BEING ADOPTED BY JUNIOR Z A N L A COMMANDERS, IN PARTICULAR ON THE QUESTION OF DEMOBILISATION. THEY WERE ARGUING THAT NONE OF THE Z A N L A FORCES IN THE ASSEMBLY AREAS (NOW AMOUNTING TO OVER 20,000 MEN FOR Z A N L A ALONE) SHOULD BE DEMOBILISED UNTIL PART OF THE RHODESIAN REGULAR FORCES HAD BEEN DEMOBILISED. WALLS MEANWHILE HAS BEEN PRESSING AHEAD WITH PLANS TO DEMOBILISE VIRTUALLY ALL THE SECURITY FORCE AUXILIARIES, THE DISTRICT SECURITY ASSISTANTS AND MUCH OF THE FARM MILITIA OVER THE NEXT SIX TO EIGHT WEEKS. THIS WILL INVOLVE THE DEMOBILISATION OF SOME 25,000 MEN. THE Z I P R A COMMANDERS HAVE BEEN REACTING TO WHAT THEY REGARD AS ATTEMPTS BY Z A N L A TO GAIN A MILITARY ADVANTAGE; AND TO THE POLITICAL SLIGHT TO NKOMO OVER THE ELECTIONS TO THE SENATE (WHEN Z A N U (P F) ALLOWED ONLY ONE PATRIOTIC FRONT NOMINEE - NSIKA - TO BE ELECTED).

5. FOLLOWING MY TALK WITH MUGABE ON THURSDAY AND WALLS' SUBSEQUENT MEETING WITH HIM ON FRIDAY, THE IMMEDIATE PROBLEMS IN THE AMALGAMATION COMMITTEE SEEM TO HAVE BEEN OVERCOME. BUT THERE ARE MANY DIFFICULTIES AHEAD, INCLUDING THE RETURN OF THE Z I P R A FORCES IN ZAMBIA; AND ABOVE ALL THE EXTENT TO WHICH IT WILL NOW BE POSSIBLE TO ACHIEVE THE PROGRESSIVE DEMOBILISATION OF A GOOD MANY OF THOSE IN THE ASSEMBLY PLACES.

6. APART FROM THE LOCAL INDUSTRIAL TROUBLES, SOMETIMES SPONSORED BY LOCAL Z A N U (P F) ACTIVISTS, THERE HAVE BEEN ONE OR TWO INCIDENTS OF INCURSIONS INTO WHITE FARMS. Z A N U (P F) HAVE BOUGHT TWO FARMS IN THE ARCTURUS AREA AND SOME OF THE Z A N L A ELEMENTS WORKING ON THEM HAVE RETAINED THEIR ARMS. FOLLOWING AN INCIDENT INVOLVING AN ELDERLY WHITE FARMER (MR WILLOUGHBY) ON 22 MARCH WENGO WENT TO THE AREA YESTERDAY TO GET THEM UNDER CONTROL. THIS PROBLEM IS STILL CAUSING CONCERN. IN GENERAL, HOWEVER, THE GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN TRYING HARD TO CONTAIN THE PROBLEMS WHICH HAVE ARISEN; AND THOSE WHICH HAVE OCCURRED HAVE NOT SO FAR BEEN ON A SCALE LARGER THAN COULD REASONABLY HAVE BEEN ANTICIPATED FOLLOWING THE POLITICAL UPHEAVALS OF THE LAST FEW WEEKS.

7. IT HAS IN CONSEQUENCE BEEN POSSIBLE FOR WALLS AND MUGABE TO AGREE THAT THERE SHOULD BE A MASSIVE REDUCTION IN THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE CALL-UP OF WHITE RESERVISTS. THE CALL-UP OF PERSONS UNDER 25 IS BEING ABOLISHED IMMEDIATELY. TRAINED RESERVISTS BETWEEN 25 AND 38 WILL BE FORMALLY LIABLE FOR 30 DAYS MILITARY SERVICE UP TO THE END OF THE YEAR; AND THOSE IN THE 38 TO 50 AGE GROUP FOR 15 DAYS SERVICE. IN PRACTICE, THE MAJORITY OF THE PERSONS CONCERNED WILL REMAIN ON STAND-BY. THOUGH SOME OF THE MORE TECHNICALLY QUALIFIED RESERVISTS MAY BE CALLED UP IN THIS PERIOD. THIS WILL COMBINE A MASSIVE REDUCTION IN THE OVERALL EFFECT OF THE CALL-UP WITH AN ARRANGEMENT GIVING ADEQUATE FLEXIBILITY IN TERMS OF QUALIFIED RESERVISTS IF THE NEED SHOULD ARISE.

FCO PASS ALL

SOAMES

IMMEDIATE

NNNN