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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

15 November, 1982

Dear Idun,

Call on the Prime Minister by Mr Ian Smith: 16 November 1982

/ As requested I attach a brief for the Prime Minister's meeting with Mr Smith.

Yours ever

Jan Holmes

(J E Holmes)
Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq
Private Secretary
10 Downing Street

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MR IAN SMITH'S CALL ON THE PRIME MINISTER: TUESDAY 16 NOVEMBER 1982

POINTS TO MAKE [ALL DEFENSIVE]

Air Force Detainees

1. Concerned about torture allegations. But essentially an internal matter for Zimbabwe to be decided through the Zimbabwean courts. Most of the detainees are Zimbabwean citizens. We therefore have no formal authority to intervene. The Zimbabweans have been left in no doubt about our concern that detainees should be treated fairly and humanely, and be brought to trial soon. Mr Nott made point clear to Mr Mugabe. We made formal protest about ill-treatment of one mono-British Air Force detainee (now released). Air Force detainees now within judicial process. Impressed by the high level of integrity maintained by Zimbabwean courts. Charges against lawyers representing some of the detainees not a helpful development, but the lawyers have been released on bail.

Detainees/Military Assistance

2. Our military assistance to Zimbabwe determined in the light of our national interests viewed as a whole. No decisions have been taken on the size and scope of our future military aid for Zimbabwe. [If pressed: the cutting off of military aid most unlikely to help the case of the detainees.]

Detainees/Development Aid

3. Purpose of our development aid to assist Zimbabwe's economic development and thereby help stability. [If pressed: to attempt to use aid as a means of applying political pressure on Zimbabwe Government would almost certainly prove counter-productive.]

Blocked Funds

4. Unrealistic to expect Zimbabwe Government to relax exchange controls and release blocked funds in the present recession. Zimbabweans have repeatedly said they will relax the controls when they can afford to do so. We have regularly reminded Zimbabwe of our concern at the hardship the exchange controls are causing in some cases, but our influence in this area is very limited.

Aid/Blocked Funds

5. Withholding aid would not help to solve the problems of individuals affected by the present exchange control regulations. [If raised: We are prevented under the Overseas Aid Act from making payment of aid funds direct to individuals.]

One Party State

6. Zimbabwe is an independent country. It is for the Zimbabweans themselves to decide what political system they want. There are provisions in the Lancaster House Constitution for amending the constitution. Mugabe has repeatedly said that he will not introduce one-party system unconstitutionally.

Dual Nationality

7. Again internal Zimbabwean matter. The Bill amending the constitutional provision on dual nationality is not unconstitutional. Zimbabwe Government have stated that no-one would be forced to give up their British nationality or be discriminated against in any way.

MR IAN SMITH'S CALL ON THE PRIME MINISTER: 16 NOVEMBER 1982

ESSENTIAL FACTS

The Republican Front (RF)

1. Ian Smith remains President and leader of the Republican (formerly Rhodesian) Front (RF) and a member of the House of Assembly. The RF took all 20 white roll seats in the independence elections but quickly divided into two camps: vigorous opponents and those prepared to cooperate with the Mugabe Government. An attempt by this latter group to form an alternative 'Democratic Party' failed but earlier this year nine RF MPs broke away to form an unofficial independent group led by Anderson, now one of Mugabe's Ministers of State.

2. The RF is no longer a political force but no effective white leader has emerged to take Ian Smith's place. The whites in general seem to realise that they have no political role as a community and have become apathetic. In the recent white bye-election in Bulawayo (caused by the expulsion of Mr Denis Walker from Parliament following his absence for six months) only 29% of those eligible to vote did so and only 16% voted for the successful RF candidate).

Internal Situation

3. Since independence the Zimbabwe Government's achievements have been impressive; an amalgamated army, a high degree of reconciliation and a burst of economic growth. In recent months,

/ however

however, the underlying problems have re-asserted themselves. Relations between Mugabe's ZANU and Nkomo's ZAPU have deteriorated markedly following the latter's dismissal earlier this year, and although some rapprochement has been achieved recently, deep tensions remain and could quickly worsen if imprisoned ZAPU leaders are brought to trial or Nkomo is arrested (though this possibility seems to have receded somewhat). The Army's cohesion is fragile and a substantial number of ZAPU deserters are engaged in banditry in Matabeleland, Nkomo's tribal base. It is too early to say whether the authorities can successfully contain the situation. Brutality by the security forces (present under Smith) has become increasingly visible and for the first time directed against some whites (e.g. the Air Force officers detained in connection with the attack on Thornhill airbase in July). The economy has been hit by the recession. White confidence is again shaky.

4. Mugabe's role remains crucial. A great deal depends upon his willingness to reassert the policies of reconciliation which brought his Government so much initial success and international goodwill.

White Community

5. White morale has fluctuated widely since independence. Mugabe has often been at pains to reassure the whites of their role in Zimbabwean society and in April appointed three more white ministers to his Government. However, detentions without trial, reports of torture



of Air Force officers, murder of white farmers in Matabeleland, the proposed removal of the right of dual citizenship, and the erratic and vindictive behaviour of the Minister of Home Affairs, Dr Ushewokunze, have done little to maintain white confidence. The rate of white emigration has remained steady at about 1,500 a month, but is far from an exodus. Less than a quarter of the white population at independence has departed.

One-Party State

6. Public references to the one party state have continued, but in somewhat lower key. Mugabe undoubtedly favours a one-party system, because he considers multi-party politics divisive in the Zimbabwe context. But he has repeatedly said that he will not introduce constitutional change unconstitutionally.

7. The Zimbabwe constitution provides for the right to form (and belong to) political parties for a period of 10 years. This provision cannot be changed before then except by a unanimous vote of Parliament. The constitution also provides for separate representation in 20 white roll constituencies. This provision cannot be changed for a period of 7 years except by unanimous vote.

Detainees

8. Over 30 whites (and numerous blacks) have been detained under Zimbabwe's emergency power regulations (which were inherited from UDI) during the past year. Twenty of the detainees have been released.

9. The white detainees fall into two categories: those suspected of political offences, and Air Force personnel suspected of sabotage at Thornhill air base. In several cases South African complicity is suspected. As well as several blacks, some of the white AFZ officers and a white civilian MP, Mr Stuttaford (acquitted and released on 10 October), are believed to have been tortured or ill-treated in some way. British ministers have on several occasions raised the question of detainees with Zimbabwean ministers and pressed that they should be brought to trial without delay. During his visit in September, Mr Nott told Mr Mugabe of our concern about reports of torture against the Air Force personnel.

10. The position of the Air Force personnel has improved in the last few weeks. Torture has stopped and several officers have been released. There is no evidence that the witch hunt against Air Force officers is continuing. The seven officers still detained have now appeared before a magistrate indicating that the judicial process has started. Although the Air Force detainees seem unlikely to come to trial much before early February 1983, this is by no means unusual for the Zimbabwean legal system.

11. On 12 November two of the lawyers representing some of the detainees were arrested and charged before magistrates under the Law and Order Maintenance Act on two counts: making 'subversive' statements likely to bring authorities into disrepute; and with contempt of court. The charges arise from allegations by the



lawyers during a recent press conference that their clients had been tortured. A police request for travel documents to be confiscated was refused and the lawyers continue to hold their passports. One of them, Hartmann, is a mono-UK national. The lawyers are themselves legally represented and have been remanded on bail of Z\$5,000 each until 26 November. This may be extended.

12. As for the civilian detainees, all have access to legal representation and receive visits from their families. A group of four (the Bertrand case) were tried and convicted (as it happens by a white judge) in May 1982 of conspiracy to commit acts of terrorism and sabotage and are now serving prison sentences.

13. The maltreatment of detainees is all the more disappointing after the initial success of Mugabe's policy of reconciliation. By and large, however, the Zimbabwe Government's record on human rights has been satisfactory; and the courts have maintained a high level of integrity.

Dual Nationality

14. The Zimbabwe Government recently introduced a bill which would abolish the right for Zimbabweans to hold dual nationality as provided for in the constitution. However, the constitution may be amended provided there is a two-thirds affirmative vote in the Senate and affirmative vote by 70 members of the House of Assembly. If the present proposals become law, those who

presently hold British nationality in Zimbabwe will still be permitted to do so. The Zimbabwe Government has stated that individuals will not be penalised if they opt for non-Zimbabwean citizenship. Moreover, should an individual renounce his British citizenship in order to acquire Zimbabwean citizenship, he may, under the British Nationality Act, reclaim it as of right.

Blocked Funds

15. Since independence, the Zimbabwe Government have been forced by balance of payments difficulties to maintain their strict exchange controls, inherited from UDI. Some relaxations have been made (eg. current income may now be remitted to the UK) but in other respects the controls have been tightened (eg. restrictions on the export of personal and household effects). The Zimbabwe Government have assured us that the restrictions are maintained through economic necessity rather than as a matter of principle and that they will relax the controls as soon as financial circumstances permit. These are matters of internal economic policy over which we have no influence. We have, however, taken every opportunity to point out the difficulties which the controls are causing, particularly for elderly emigrants and people on low fixed incomes.

Central African Department
Foreign and Commonwealth Office
15 November 1982

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Zimbabwe



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

12 November, 1982

John Smith

*Agreed.
RB*

Call by Mr I Smith on 16 November

As requested, we shall be letting you have a short brief on Monday for Mr Smith's call the following day.

We think it might be advisable to decide on a line to take if news of the call becomes public and to brief the High Commissioner in Harare accordingly. I enclose a draft telegram, on which I should be grateful for comments.

*Yours ever,
R B Bone*

(R B Bone)
Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq
Private Secretary
10 Downing Street

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OUT TELEGRAM

	Classification and Caveats RESTRICTED	Precedence/Deskby IMMEDIATE
1	ZCZC	
2	GRS	
3	RESTRICTED	
4		
5		
6	FM FCO 121700Z NOVEMBER 82	
7	TO IMMEDIATE HARARE	
8	TELEGRAM NUMBER	
9	CALL ON PRIME MINISTER BY IAN SMITH	
10	1. You should know that the Prime Minister has agreed to a	
11	request from Ian Smith to call on her on 16 November. We shall	
12	initiate no publicity. If asked we shall take the line that	
13	it is normal practice for the Prime Minister to receive from	
14	time to time leaders from friendly countries of political	
15	parties whether in the Government or Opposition. If pressed	
16	we shall add that there is no significance about the timing	
17	of this call. You should take a similar line in answer to any	
18	local enquiries.	
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20	PYM	
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