



10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

13 December 1982

Dear Nicholas,

Thank you for your letter of 3 December, enclosing a copy of a letter from Mr. Walker and a memorandum about the talk which I had with you both on 19 October.

Following that meeting I have of course written to you twice and to Mr. Walker once. I do not have anything further to add now. We are continuing to follow the situation in Zimbabwe with close attention and some anxiety and our examination of some of the points made by Mr. Walker at our meeting, as recorded by myself at the time, continues.

You refer to recent events in Zimbabwe involving Mr. Ian Smith. We have made clear to the Zimbabwe Government that, while we recognise that this is an internal matter, we are concerned about recent actions taken against Mr. Smith.

Yours ever
Margaret

Nicholas Winterton, Esq., M.P.

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PRIME MINISTER

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1. MR. GOW
2. PRIME MINISTER

I AGREE, WHOLEHEARTEDLY,
WITH ALL THAT JOHN COLES SAYS,
AND WITH THE LETTER TO
NICHOLAS WINTERTON. MR. WALKER
Zimbabwe) IS ABUSING THE PRIVILEGE
WHICH YOU GRANTED TO HIM.

The latest letter (Flag A) from Mr. Winterton encloses what purports to be a note of the conversation which he and Mr. Walker had with you about Zimbabwe in your room at the House on 19 October. It lists 24 points and ends with the statement that "the meeting terminated with a promise to investigate the points that had been raised".

Jan. 10/12/62

I do not think that you should be tied to someone else's record of the meeting. As my own letter (Flag B) written to the FCO on the same day as the meeting makes clear, your undertaking was much more general. It was that we would make further enquiries; we would try to get at the facts and expose them; and we would ensure that the matters listed in my letter (primarily the situation of the detainees) would be examined.

You wrote to Mr. Winterton on 1 November (Flag C) setting out detailed information about the detainees. You wrote to him again on 10 November (Flag D) about exchange controls - and you wrote to Mr. Walker on the same day (Flag E) about dual citizenship and exchange controls.

Now Mr. Winterton invites you to respond to Mr. Walker's 24 point memorandum. In my view that is a scarcely reasonable way of exploiting your willingness to receive Mr. Walker. If you want me to commission a point by point reply, I shall of course do so. But I would be concerned about the use that might be made of it, in the future, if not now. Many of the matters he covers are strictly within the internal competence of the Zimbabwe Government. While I think it quite right for us to consider our policy towards Zimbabwe in the light of recent developments (and as you know this review is in hand), I do not think it wise to expose all our thinking in a letter which will be passed on to Mr. Walker in Zimbabwe.

/ I think

I think you have given Mr. Winterton and Mr. Walker a generous amount of your time and attention. Mr. Walker's comment that your letter of 1 November conveys "a very changed attitude to the one portrayed at the time of my visit" is disobliging.

I hope, therefore, that you will agree to send Mr. Winterton a letter on the lines of the attached draft.

A.J.C.

8 December 1982

NICHOLAS R. WINTERTON, M.P.
(Macclesfield)

? CF



3rd December 1982 NRW/cmh

Rt. Hon. Mrs Margaret Thatcher MP
10 Downing Street
LONDON SW1

R4/12
Mrs

Dear Margaret,

Following a meeting which Mr Denis Walker, ex Republican Front MP, and I had with you some time ago, I forwarded a brief paper summarising some of the issues which we discussed, and you were kind enough to respond.

Mr Walker and I have now produced a much more detailed memorandum, covering that meeting, which I hope you will find time to study, and to which in due course you will be able to respond.

There is no doubt that the situation in Zimbabwe continues to deteriorate, as a number of us sadly predicted, and it is very typical that one of the major Zimbabwe papers, a mere mouthpiece of Mr Mugabe, and his regime, should start to criticise you for interfering in matters relating to human rights in Zimbabwe. I trust you will pay not the slightest attention to this criticism.

I look forward to hearing from you in due course.

The Rt Hon Ian Smith was held for some time after his return from Europe and the United States and has had his passport confiscated. I am sure that this is of the sort of constabularian which had your support at Lancaster House!

Yours ever
Nicholas

6 St. Nicholas Close,
Tingrith, Milton Keynes, Bucks.
Telephone: Toddington 3178
MK17 9EL
18th November, 1982.

Dear Nicholas,

Thank you for your letter dated 23rd November, 1982 and for being so kind as to look over the draft of the points raised with Mrs. Thatcher. I have enclosed two copies of the amended paper. I would be most grateful if you would please pass one copy on to Mrs. Thatcher.

The letter you received from the Prime Minister dated 1st November, I do feel conveys a very changed attitude to the one portrayed at the time of my visit. To use the phrase "somewhat different" when comparing my list of Zimbabwe detainees to the British Government record is, I feel, a little extravagant to put it mildly. The only difference is as follows:-

British Government List

Sgt. Lochran (Not on my list)
Flt. Lt. Barrington Lloyd (Also not on my list)

My List

Colin English (Not on British Government list)
Mr. Harper-Ronald (Now released)

Also there is a difference of 10 in respect of the total number being detained as reported by the Minister of State For Defence, bringing the total down to 425.

You will recall that at the time I handed over my list, that I made the point that my information source was limited. I feel that my records for an independent individual were incredibly accurate.

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As for the 33 Whites on record, it is obvious that people detained for a few days or one or two weeks are not being included in this number i.e. as in the case of a group of bowlers, Mrs. Cauvin, the Airways official detained because of the delay in the flight on which Mr. Mugabe was a passenger, the pilot whose plane crashed into Kariba, a group of weekend hunters in the eastern districts etc. The full list I know, will run into a much higher figure.

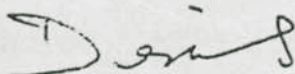
I shall shortly be seeing a member of the Zimbabwe Airforce, one of the Airmen who has recently been released. I hope to get a first hand account from him and so hope to give you more details later on.

I must thank you for your comments in the House in response to the Member from Waltham Forest. I am also most entruged about your comments re. the Falklands - some time I hope I shall hear more from you on this topic.

Finally, I must congratulate you about your predictions concerning De Lorian.

My best wishes to you.

Yours sincerely,



W.D. WALKER

Encl.

POINTS MADE AT MEETING WITH MRS. THATCHER
ON TUESDAY 19TH OCTOBER, 1982, AT 3.45 P.M.
IN HER PARLIAMENTARY OFFICE

1. Detention List

A list of those believed to be in detention was handed to Mrs. Thatcher. It was pointed out that it was difficult to get an accurate list because of the lack of information. It was understood that a statement had been made by a minister in the Zimbabwe Government that 435 people were in detention. Reference was made to Minister Nott's negotiations in respect to the Zimbabwe Airmen who were being held and whose names were included on the list.

2. Matron of Childrens Home Arrested and Tortured

The arrest and torture of Mrs. Cauvin, the Matron of the Queen Elizabeth Childrens Home in Bulawayo. A copy of a newspaper article was presented in which it stated that when Mrs. Cauvin was released, both her hands and feet were heavily bandaged to cover extensive cigarette burns apparently inflicted while she was under interrogation at Stops Police Camp in Bulawayo.

3. Gestapo Style of Police

The new security force set up by the often referred to anti-White Minister of Home Affairs, Dr. Herbert Ushewokunze is causing alarm among Whites. It has a handpicked membership of Zimbabwe Republic Police, under the command of a Sergeant Masawe. This force has been described as a Gestapo secret police. It is understood that they often function without warrants of arrest and often without the knowledge of the Commissioner of Police. The newspaper article relating to the plight of Mrs. Grace Cauvin referred to an impeccable source, outlining some of the savage activities of this group.

4. British Training Officers Moved from Matabeleland

Complaints had been received from British Officers in the training force who were moved from Matabeleland to Harare so to conceal the harrassment of the local Matabeleland population by Government forces.

5. North Korean Trained Fifth Brigade

In spite of a decision by the Zimbabwe Parliament to reduce the number of military personnel, after the consolidation of the former three armies, the question was raised in respect to the need and purpose of a completely new Fifth Brigade which has been trained by North Koreans.

6. White Emigration

The relatively rapid withdrawal by whites in Mocambique was compared to the considerable number of whites who were still to be found in Zimbabwe. This had been achieved by making them economic prisoners in Zimbabwe. Personal belongings such as furniture under four years of age and all electrical home appliances had to be abandoned. Each family was only allowed a total of £1 000 if they wished to leave Zimbabwe to settle elsewhere.

7. One Party State and Media Control

After the first year of the new Government there was a swift change following Mr. Mugabe's statement at the Commonwealth Parliamentary Seminar held in Harare during April, 1981. During the session on the state and party politics, the plans for a one party state were announced. This was followed by a Government takeover of all newspapers and control of radio and television.

8. Good support in the First Year

The Republican Front attitude towards the new Government in the first twelve months was to support the new administration. Also a member of the Republican Front at his own expense, toured the main cities of Canada with one of Mr. Mugabe's staunch political supporters, in an endeavour to sell the new state of Zimbabwe and to boost trade. The co-operation between opposing political parties prior to the announcement of the intended one party state was very good.

9. Reaction of other Political Parties

Following Mr. Mugabe's announcement to form a one party state, members of other political parties made an expressed wish to meet, and later did meet members of the former ruling party, the Republican Front, to discuss how this latest Government objective could be averted constitutionally, as a one party state Government would be unconstitutional and contrary to the agreement reached at Lancaster House.

10. Meetings in Resistance to a One Party State

Meetings held with members of the Republican Front by other political groups were always at their own request and always in the open. The main objective was to ensure that the country did not fall into and become part of the communist empire under a one party dictatorship.

11. Arrest and Torture of Wally Stuttaford, M.P.

The arrest and ten months detention and torture of Mr. Wally Stuttaford, M.P. His subsequent re-arrest and release. Also his successful court action against government. It was not known at the time where he was residing or whether he would be detained further.

12. Retrospective Legislation

Contrary to the Lancaster House Agreement and Bill of Rights, retrospective legislation has now been passed in Zimbabwe forbidding the payment to Mr. Wally Stuttaford M.P. compensation for his illegal imprisonment and torture. He won his case in the High Court of Zimbabwe.

13. Concern over Three Witnesses

Concern was expressed over the plight of the three witnesses Monwadisa Malumisa, Anthony Madhlela and Nephath Madhlela, who in spite of intimidation and reported torture had not been prepared to give false information in the High Court concerning Wally Stuttaford M.P. These three men had acted most honourably but their future safety was feared for as they had been re-detained after the Court hearing in Harare.

Lack of Publicity for Black Zimbabweans in Trouble

Concern was expressed about the lack of publicity given especially to black Zimbabweans who were now being held in detention without trial. It was accepted that white detainees often have friends and relatives outside of Zimbabwe who were doing their best to give publicity to their case.

15. The Churches' Attitude

The question was raised as to what stand the Churches were taking about the apparent loss of liberty and civil rights of Zimbabwe citizens. It was stated that since the media control by government, it was no longer possible to get a true picture of the Church attitude.

It was however known that following a letter sent to the Pope about the detention of Mr. Wally Stuttaford M.P. and general concern about Zimbabwe, that all Roman Catholic Bishops were recalled to Rome. Also the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission had now taken an open stand against the Government in respect to the detention of Zimbabwe citizens. A reply was received to the letter that was sent to the Pope, expressing that he appreciates the grave material and moral problems that Zimbabwe is now facing.

16. Doubt over Whites Killed in Matabeleland

In spite of extremely good relations between Matabele peoples and the white population living in Matabeleland, it was expressed that it was hard to believe that whites had in fact been murdered by Matabele dissidents, especially after the reported incident of a group of persons believed at first by Government forces to be Matabele dissidents but afterwards were found to be a government pseudo dissident team. When the group was later released, it was reported that they were all killed by an angry local population because of their attempt to masquerade and mislead. From the incidents of white murders in this region, it is thought that there is an attempt to turn the white population against the local Matabele peoples.

17. Illegal Seizure of Property and Assets

Through the Emergency Powers, power had been given to a Minister of the Zimbabwe Government to declare a citizen an enemy of the State and that the said Minister could confiscate the whole of a person's property and assets without recourse to the courts, which is against the intention and spirit of the Lancaster House Agreement. The Bickle case was given as an example.

18. Many are unaware of what is happening in Zimbabwe

Because of a complete media black-out by Government on the many repressive measures involving some sections of the Zimbabwe population, for many citizens within that country, life has not changed a great deal.

The lack of freedom under the law often only becomes apparent when an innocent member of the public gets into trouble with the authorities as had happened recently to a white pilot. His plane had developed a mechanical fault and crashed into Lake Kariba. In spite of a most heroic effort by the pilot to save his three passengers, all black officials drowned. Before he could even complete his report on the accident, he was immediately thrown into jail.

19. What has happened to the Former Black Politicians

There was an enquiry concerning some of the former internal black politicians who had been held in high esteem. As the media was now state-controlled, it was not possible to assess what had become of them and least of all to assess their political support.

20. How Britain can Help

One of the most positive ways to help Zimbabwe along a more democratic path was to persuade the Zimbabwe Government to drop all moves towards a one party state with an emphasis that this change in policy must not happen, if at all, before the next general election. This view was shared in America some weeks before Mr. Mugabe made his new announcement which has changed the timing for the establishment of the one party state. Previously the plan was to bring in a one-party state without delay.

21. Elections before a One-Party State

If it was possible to hold new elections without too much intimidation before the formation of a one-party state, there was still an outside chance that a multi-party government would emerge, a government that in all probability would be pro-western.

22. Zimbabwe Government Attitude to W.D. Walker

Concerning the position of W.D. Walker, a request to the Speaker had been made asking for details of the intention of Government following the arrest of W.E. Stuttaford. Walker indicated his surprise to receive a letter from Harare in reply to his, stating that the matter could not be discussed, especially as he had requested to know Government's attitude as he wished to take up his seat in Parliament.

23. Warning not to Return

Walker had received, it was stated, two letters from German politicians after they had had breakfast with Mr. Mugabe, advising him of the danger that he would put himself into should he decide to return to Zimbabwe, with a strong recommendation that he should not return at this stage.

24. Seat Lost in Zimbabwe Parliament

Concerning the latest position of W.D. Walker, it was made clear that he now believed that he no longer held a seat in that Parliament because it was his understanding that there was to be a by-election very shortly for the Bulawayo North Constituency. It was a surprise that no communication had been received from the Secretary to Parliament in spite of the fact that the Secretary had a contact address for him in the United Kingdom.

25. Points raised to be Investigated

The meeting terminated with a promise to investigate the points that had been raised. It was pointed out that it was clear that Mr. Mugabe's Government was not upholding the spirit of the Lancaster House Agreement which may be largely due to some of Mr. Mugabe's extreme Ministers and elements in his government. Pressure from the British Government may well assist him to keep his ministers in line to the over-all benefit of Zimbabwe's political future.

MONWADISA MALUMISA
ANTHONY MADHLELA
NEPHAT MADHLELA

18th October, 1982.

The above three were arrested on 10th December, 1981 and released on the 24th July 1982, after being coerced to give false evidence in the court concerning Mr. Wally Stuttaford M.P. who was also arrested on the 10th December. Although all three men had withstood torture and duress, they still refused to give fake evidence against Mr. Stuttaford. Immediately after the trial, all three were re-detained.

A Zimbabwe Government statement two weeks ago claimed that there were now 435 people in detention. Under the Emergency Powers, they are being held without charge and trial.

The following are only a few of the names of persons known. The majority of the detainees are persons whose names have not been disclosed.

Airforce Personnel

Air Vice-Marshal Hugh Slatter
Wing Commander Peter Briscoe
Air Commodore Philip Pile
Julian Lewis-Walker
Cox John
Neville Weir

Persons who may still be in detention

Neville Forrester
Colin English
John Moore
Kevin Hinton
Peter Loots
David Rautenbach
Mick Conolly

It is known that a number of black Airforce personnel with others, were also arrested.

Former C.I.O. Members - April, 1982

Evans
Hartlebury
Harper-Ronald

Others who are known to be in detention

Musa Mhlonga - 26th March, 1982
Demisa Debengwa - March, 1982
Lookout Musuku - March, 1982
Thomas Chinhengo
Moore Gatsi
Cephas Dube - 8th April, 1982
Advance Ntombeni - 8th April, 1982

Peter Carlsson - farmer Lower Gwelo - murdered 30/9/82, believed by 4
National Army men

Gino Forgiarini - Manager of Shangani Saw Mills - murdered 4/10/82,
believed by two National Army men