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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

20 December 1982

How Todd

Zimbabwe: Call on the Prime Minister by Mr Garfield Todd

As background for Mr Todd's call on the Prime Minister on 21 December, I attach a copy of the note of Mr Onslow's conversation with Mr Todd on 17 December. Mr Todd presented a mixed picture:

- i) Most whites had now settled down, but morale was mixed. They had confidence in Mugabe, but were worried by the behaviour of some of his radicals, particularly the Home Affairs Minister, Ushewokunze. Ian Smith retained the support of few whites: most whites had become politically apathetic;
- ii) Mugabe remained suspicious of Nkomo, but relations between the parties had improved. One serious remaining problem was the continued detention of the ZANU military leaders, Dabengwa and Masuku;
- iii) The security situation in Matabeleland had also improved although incidents of violence, including occasional murder, continued;
- iv) BMATT and our other military assistance was greatly valued by the Zimbabweans and particularly the white community.

I also attach a personality note on Mr Todd.

How Todd
R B Bone

(R B Bone)
Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq
10 Downing Street

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NOTE OF CONVERSATION BETWEEN MR ONSLOW AND SENATOR GARFIELD TODD:
10 AM FRIDAY 17 DECEMBER 1982

1. Senator Todd opened by saying that his main problem at the moment was the drought in Matabeleland which was endangering his cattle. Elsewhere in Zimbabwe there had been a reasonable amount of rain, so that agricultural production would probably be maintained.
2. Mr Onslow explained that Mr Pym much regretted that his very full diary simply did not allow space to see Mr Todd on this occasion. He hoped that Mr Todd would come in from time to time, when we would be delighted to see him, but perhaps he could give us a little more notice of any future visits to London.
3. Mr Todd said his own days of political power in Zimbabwe were over, but he felt he still had a useful rôle. He was active in the Senate, where he had frequently spoken critically about some aspects of Government policy. He kept in close touch with both Mugabe and Nkomo and, being trusted by both sides, often acted as go-between in ZANU/ZAPU politics. This was probably his most important function. He regarded his appointment as Senator by Mugabe as being a reward for the constructive part he had played in bringing the sides together at Lancaster House.
4. On the state of white morale, Mr Todd said that most whites had now settled down but there were inevitably mixed feelings. Whites were generally confident of Mugabe's leadership and policies, but worried by the actions of some of his Ministers, particularly Ushewokunze. For example, it was unsettling for the whites to hear a speech by Mugabe confirming the importance of the private sector, only to be followed the next day by a contradictory harangue by one of his junior Ministers. But Mugabe's position was very secure and he had a good core of capable men around him. Zimbabwe was particularly fortunate to have a man of the calibre of Chidzero in charge of the economy.
5. The further restrictions on holiday travel allowances were particularly depressing for whites, since this made them feel even

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more cut off. Another common concern was future employment prospects for their children in Zimbabwe, given the substantial Africanisation of posts which had taken place. But it was encouraging that Mugabe had said publicly that the balance between whites and blacks in the civil service was now about right and that future selection would be purely on the basis of merit.

..

6. On the security situation in Matabeleland, Mr Todd felt that things were very much better although incidents of violence, including occasional murder, continued. He put the main cause of the violence down to the abundance of weapons lying around after the war and widespread unemployment of people previously under arms.

7. As to Ian Smith, Mr Todd said that he was supported by few whites, but it is disappointing that they have done nothing to find anyone to replace him. Most whites had become politically apathetic. Emigration of whites was falling and there was some new immigration including a few former residents. In his experience, most whites felt it would be more difficult for them to adjust to life in new countries rather than to the changed circumstances in Zimbabwe.

8. On the reported torture of the Air Force officers, Mr Todd said that he had spoken out forcefully against such practices and would continue to fight against any form of injustice in Zimbabwe. He had made his views plain to Mugabe. He had confidence in the independence of the judiciary, many of whom he knew personally.

9. Mr Onslow said that the arbitrariness of some Government actions and the prolonged delays in bringing people to court were causing us considerable problems in terms of public and parliamentary opinion. It would be helpful if speeches, such as those Mr Todd has made in the Senate, could be given wider publicity, eg by the Zimbabwe High Commission in London. Otherwise the field is left open to people such as Ian Smith and Mr Van Der Byl.

10. Mr Todd said that BMATT and our other military assistance was greatly valued by the Zimbabweans and particularly the white community. It was seen as evidence of our good faith.

11. On internal politics, Mr Todd said that Mugabe remained suspicious of Nkomo, but that relations between the parties had improved. The continued detention of Dabengwa and Masuku caused problems. He had made his view known that it would be a serious mistake not to give them an open trial. There is no suggestion that they had been tortured. He had advised his ZAPU connections that if the men were found guilty and justice had been seen to be done, then they should accept it with good grace. But ZAPU should be doing more for Dabengwa and Masuku, by raising funds for the engagement of a good defence lawyer.
12. Mr Todd described Ushewokunze as a disaster. He had written to Mugabe about him. Party pressure was the only conceivable reason for Mugabe keeping Ushewokunze in the Home Affairs Ministry. But Ushewokunze is no fool and had been a good Minister of Health. Very few people could have achieved so rapidly the integration of blacks and whites in hospitals. Mr Onslow said that it would be very constructive for Zimbabwe's image if Ushewokunze were replaced. Mr Todd said that whilst the Government remained as strong as it is, they should have no fear of taking a strong stand against the radicals.
13. Mr Onslow asked about South Africa's attitude towards Zimbabwe. Mr Todd said that he could not understand why South Africa wanted to destabilise. But the change of attitude had come following Mugabe's landslide victory in 1980, which they had not expected. The South Africans had a 'chosen race' mentality and this was the greatest obstacle to better relations. Mr Onslow said that there had perhaps been some sign of a change for the better in South Africa but it is a long, slow process. If they continue to behave as they are, eg by carrying out pre-emptive strikes in neighbouring territories, they could get themselves into the same sort of trouble as the Israelis. Tension within South African society are perhaps reflected in the South African Government's desire to settle the Namibia question.
14. Referring to his visit to Zimbabwe in the New Year, Mr Onslow said that he hoped to encourage further visits by influential figures of different shades of opinion and background. It would

help if the Zimbabwe Government themselves helped to stimulate such visits. Perhaps Mr Todd might mention this to Mugabe when a suitable opportunity arose.

15. Mr Todd said that although he was a good personal friend of the British High Commissioner, Mr Byatt, he had not been able to see him as much as he would have liked recently. He had, for example, had to decline a number of invitations to High Commission functions. He thought highly of the American Ambassador in Harare, Mr Keeley. Mr Todd had been instrumental in encouraging Nkomo to help in the search for the hostages (who include two Americans).

Central African Department
Foreign and Commonwealth Office
17 December 1982

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TODD, REGINALD STEPHEN GARFIELD

Born 13 July 1908 in Invercargill, New Zealand. Educated in New Zealand, South Africa and the USA, becoming a Doctor of Divinity at Butler University, USA. Went to Rhodesia, 1934 as superintendent of Dadaya Mission, Shabani, a post he retained until 1953. Bought a cattle ranch nearby where he still lives, and where he takes a great interest in the running of the mission.

Entered Parliament in 1946. Involved in a court case for beating African girls at his mission school, but found not guilty. Became Prime Minister of Rhodesia, 1953. Replaced as Prime Minister in 1958 after right-wing pressure built up inside his Cabinet against his dictatorial conduct of policy and his promotion of African advancement. Failed to be re-elected to Parliament. Associated himself with the NDP in 1960 and thereby destroyed his reputation among the Europeans.

After initial hesitation came out strongly against 1971 proposals and helped organise support for ANC, especially on the financial and propaganda side. Following violent strike in Shabani was detained with daughter Judith during first week of test of acceptability in January 1972 and taken to Gwelo prison. Judith went on hunger strike and was force fed. Subsequently allowed to return to his farm and confined there. Allowed to visit South Africa for health reasons in late 1974 and to visit Britain for one months in February 1976. Released from restriction in June in late 1974 and to visit Britain for one months in February 1976. Released from restriction in June 1976. A member of the Nkomo delegation to the 1976 Geneva Conference. Appointed by Mugabe as Senator, 1980. Highly regarded by the nationalists, and exercises some influence behind the scenes. Finds it harder to let bygones be bygones

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than most blacks, and would like to see African advancement speeded up. Showing his age, but charming company and a fascinating raconteur.

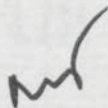
He is married with three daughters. The eldest, Judith, is now married to a lawyer, the Hon Richard Acton. They are returning to live in Zimbabwe. His wife, Grace, does a lot of work at the farm and mission and is also on the board of the Mass Media Trust. They have a second house in Bulawayo.

PRIME MINISTER

MR. GARFIELD TODD

You said last week that you would see him. We found it difficult to arrange a time before Thursday. But he has now sent the attached rather anguished letter. We have therefore arranged for him to come in at 1030 hours tomorrow.

A.P.C.



20 December 1982



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

Mr. Coles

Garfield Todd
has confirmed. Will
join full p.m. ~~at~~ or
put in explanatory
letter.

ES.

20/12.



10 DOWNING STREET

Caroline

Before I put this to the I.R.,
is there any chance of putting
him in before Tuesday evening -
given the tone of the letter?

A.T.C. ^{20.}/₁₂

10.30 TUESDAY, 21st.

TELEPHONE: (01) 730 5723

95, Ebury Street,
London, SW1W 9QU

December 19th, 1982

The Rt. Hon, the Prime Minister,
No 10 Downing Street,
London.

Prime Minister
We could not get him in
before his departure. I
attach a reply.

A.S.C. 2/12

Dear Prime Minister,

H.E. the High Commissioner for Zimbabwe has told me that you would be ready to see me on Thursday next. I am so deeply distressed that I will not be able to meet you because I leave by BA on Tuesday evening and this flight brings me home to my family on Christmas eve.

Over the years I have had the pleasure of meeting all the Male C.P. Prime Ministers from Attlee and Churchill onwards and I am devastated that I am not to see the First Lady. I may well come to London again in two or three years and if at that time the Prime Minister could grant me an interview I will come to see you.

So many of us throughout the Commonwealth are deeply concerned for our people in Britain ... my family's link was severed in 1865 ... and we wish you all very well. British aid to Zimbabwe is of the utmost significance and importance.

Yours sincerely,

Garfield Todd.

Garfield Todd

83 67755,



10 DOWNING STREET

John Coles

Mr. Gow
Mr. Todd
refuses to
Zimbabwe on
Tuesday
C.I.

Mr Garfield Todd

Mr John Farr MP telephoned this morning with a request, which he was making on behalf of Garfield Todd, that the Prime Minister should see him while he is in London.

I understand that Mr Todd can be contacted through the Rhodesian High Commission in London.

Carline

The I.R. said yesterday that she would see Mr. Todd if he came with John Farr. Pl. discuss.

IAN GOW
16.12.82

A.S.C. 17/12

Mr. Gow to see

A.F.C. $\frac{16}{12}$

John Coles ✓

Prime Minister

I do not think you have time to see all these people.

I do not propose to name this.

Agree? Yes not
A.F.C. $\frac{15}{12}$

Peter Bottomley, PPS to Cranley Onslow, telephoned to say that Garfield Todd was in London at the moment, and is due to have drinks with Cranley Onslow this evening at 7.30 p.m.

At a meeting of the British/Zimbabwe group at the House this afternoon, the question of whether the Prime Minister would be seeing Mr Todd as she had seen Mr Smith when he was in London, came up.

Peter Bottomley just wanted the message to be passed on, and told me that Mr Todd is staying at 95 Ebury Street, (tel: 730-5723) should anyone wish to contact him.

Tessa
15.12.82