CONFIDENTIAL

Prime Minister
Duty Clerk 14/3

Foreign and Commonwealth Office
London SW1A 2AH

It has been given one week only. I see no reason why he should stay here indefinitely. MT

14 March 1983

Dear John,

Nkomo

You asked for a summary of where we stand. This letter also covers the points raised in your letter of 14 March about President Kaunda's State Visit, at least in a preliminary way.

The best way of avoiding a protracted stay by Mr Nkomo would be a speedy agreement to his return to Zimbabwe. The prospects at present are not good. Mr Nkomo is taking the line in public that he is determined to return, but he presumably hopes that he can use his stay here in order to bring pressure for favourable terms. Mr Mugabe is probably more flexible than his public position (threat of a trial, no talks before return) suggests, but he is unlikely to smooth Nkomo's path.

It is possible that if Mr Nkomo became convinced that HMG would not help him and that his negotiations with Mr Mugabe would not get anywhere while he remained in London, he might decide to return to a neighbouring African state. However, he would be well aware that his personal safety would be at considerable risk there. And none of Zimbabwe's neighbours would be keen to receive him.

It is true that President Kaunda is an old friend of Mr Nkomo. If Mr Nkomo pressed him he might feel obliged to grant asylum. However, there are already indications that Zambia would try to avoid this. President Kaunda has been at pains since Zimbabwe's independence to remain neutral in Mr Nkomo's quarrel with Mr Mugabe, and to repair his relations with the latter as much as possible. He will be very loathe to depart from this approach, and to run the risk of Zimbabwean retaliation. At the same time President Kaunda has a strong interest in encouraging reconciliation, and we may well be able to use his presence here next week in some way. We are considering how it should be raised and what we should seek from the President.

/Ministers

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Ministers are being consulted on whether, as officials believe, we should now try to find out informally more about the thinking of both Nkomo and Mugabe to put us in a better position to decide how to play our hand. The view at official level is also that we should not give Nkomo any encouragement to think that we might be prepared to help him, and that, at least at this stage, any request to call on Ministers should be declined and FCO officials should not initiate contact. We have kept the Zimbabwean authorities informed and their reaction has been calm. I attach a factual annex.

I am copying this letter, and annex, to Tony Rawsthorne (Home Office).

Yours ever

John Holmes

(J E Holmes)
Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq
10 Downing Street

ANNEX

NKOMO: DEVELOPMENTS 12 AND 13 MARCH

1. Mr Nkomo arrived in Lodnon on Sunday morning accompanied by two aides. He had given us only an indirect and general indication of his intentions beforehand. At the airport he was treated as a private citizen and was met only by immigration and special branch. Contrary to press reports he had a valid Zimbabwe passport and applied to stay for three weeks. He was given temporary admission for one week. There was no question of asylum. In response to a request from the immigration officers for an undertaking, Nkomo said that he did not intend to engage in politics. He is now in a hotel.

2. Mr Nkomo gave a press conference at the airport in fairly unprovocative terms. He said that he wanted to return to Zimbabwe as soon as it was safe to do so and hoped for a meeting in London with representatives of the Zimbabwe Government. He refused to comment on his plans while here. The Zimbabwean Minister of Information who was passing through London also gave a press conference in which he said that negotiations about Mr Nkomo's future could only take place in Harare.

Zimbabwe

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary 15 March 1983

NKOMO

The Prime Minister was grateful for your letter of 14 March summarising the present position with regard to Mr. Nkomo's presence in this country.

The Prime Minister has commented that Mr. Nkomo has been allowed to enter the United Kingdom for one week only and that she sees no reason why he should stay here indefinitely.

I am copying this letter to Tony Rawsthorne (Home Office).

A. J. COLES

J.E. Holmes, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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cc R.J.

Prime Minister

You agreed with the Foreign Secretary today that it would be right to extend Mr. Nkomo's permission to stay until 12 April.

A. J. C. 16/3

PRIME MINISTER

MR NKOMO

in box

You have seen a copy of the Foreign Secretary's minute of 16 March to me about Mr. Nkomo who, as you know, was granted temporary admission for one week when he arrived at Heathrow on 13 March. When Mr. Nkomo was interviewed by immigration officials he said that he wanted to stay for perhaps three weeks. He did not at that time, or subsequently, give any indication that he wanted to stay permanently in the United Kingdom, nor has he raised the question of the grant of asylum here.

We need to decide before the week-end how to resolve Mr. Nkomo's application for permission to stay as a visitor. I think it important to do this in a way that does not precipitate any claim for indefinite stay or for asylum, and agree with the Foreign Secretary that the right course is to grant Mr. Nkomo permission to stay as he has asked. As Mr. Nkomo said his proposed stay would be for "perhaps three weeks", I think it would be reasonable and natural to give him permission to stay until 12 April (i.e. one month from his arrival).

There would be considerable legal difficulties in extending for a further three weeks the period of temporary admission since such admission is designed to enable the immigration officer to complete his examination and make any further necessary enquiries. We could not plausibly argue that further enquiries lasting another three weeks were needed and continuation of temporary admission would therefore open the possibility of legal challenge. (The relevant provision in the Immigration Act says than an immigrant is deemed to have been given indefinite leave to enter if a decision is not taken within twelve hours of the end of any necessary examination).

I am therefore minded to authorise immigration officers to admit Mr. Nkomo as an ordinary short-term visitor until 12 April. This authority would be endorsed in his passport in the ordinary way and would enable us to return the passport to him, thus removing the considerable potential embarrassment that the Zimbabwean authorities might ask us to hand it over to them. We should treat Mr. Nkomo's two compatriots in the same way.

I am copying this minute to the Foreign Secretary, and with copies of his minute to me, to the Attorney General and Sir Robert Armstrong.

hold

16 March 1983

CONFIDENTIAL

cc RJ

FCS/83/54

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR HOME AFFAIRS

Mr Nkomo

1. I have been considering how we can best manage the problems raised by the presence here of Mr Nkomo.

2. My preference would be for us now to adopt as detached an attitude as possible. Mr Nkomo may well be hoping to use us as a means of pressure on the Zimbabwe Government to allow his return on terms favourable to himself. We shall have to be ready to discuss the whole question of Zimbabwe's internal problems with President Kaunda during his visit next week. But in general I think it would be most unwise to allow ourselves to be drawn into playing a role in Zimbabwean internal affairs, and I think it important not to give either Nkomo or Kaunda any encouragement to think that we would be prepared to do so.

3. On the length of his stay, I agree with the Prime Minister (John Coles's letter of 14 March) that we should not lead Nkomo to think that he can stay here indefinitely. Equally, I do not think we need be too worried about allowing him to remain for a further short period if that is what he wishes. The reaction of the Zimbabwe Government has so far been calm. I think we should avoid giving the impression that we are fussed.

4. My suggestion therefore is that we allow Mr Nkomo to remain for the three weeks he has requested, and that we make every effort to keep out of his political troubles. It may be possible to learn of his plans through private and informal contacts. But I have instructed FCO officials not

/to take

to take the initiative in making official contact with him, and if he asks to call on Ministers (he has not yet done so) I certainly think we should decline.

5. I am copying this minute to the Prime Minister.

(FRANCIS PYM)

Foreign and Commonwealth Office
16 March 1983

Zur Debre
Relations, p.5

cc AP

(2)

Prime Minister

To note.

A.J.C. 18/3

THE PRIME MINISTER

MR NKOMO

I have seen a copy of the Foreign Secretary's minute of 16th March to the Home Secretary and the Home Secretary's minute to you of the same date.

with PM

I agree with the Home Secretary's view that there would be considerable legal difficulties in extending for a further 3 weeks the period of temporary admission. The propriety of so acting would be extremely questionable. If Mr. Nkomo and his two compatriots are admitted as ordinary short-term visitors until 12 April, it should not be overlooked that they have the right to apply for an extension of the period at any time before 12 April and that if such an application were refused, they would then have the right to appeal to an adjudicator under the Immigration Act 1971 (unless the Secretary of State were prepared to certify under s.14(3) of the Act "that the appellants' departure from the UK would be conducive to the public good, as being in the interests of relations between the UK and any other country or for other reasons of a political nature"). We should therefore have to look very carefully at any such application in the circumstances prevailing at that time. An appeal to the adjudicator could cause embarrassment.

I am copying this minute to the Foreign Secretary, the Home Secretary and Sir Robert Armstrong.

M.H.

17 March, 1983

Zimbabwe: UK Relations
Pt 3

FILE SOW

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

18 March, 1983

Mr. Nkomo

The Prime Minister has seen the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary's minute of 16 March and the Home Secretary's minute of the same date. I shall be showing the Prime Minister over the weekend the Attorney General's minute of 17 March.

As you know, the Home Secretary explained to Cabinet yesterday his intention to authorise immigration officers to admit Mr. Nkomo (and his two companions) as an ordinary short term visitor until 12 April. The Prime Minister agrees with this procedure.

I am copying this letter to Roger Bone (Foreign and Commonwealth Office), Henry Steel (Law Officers' Department) and Richard Hatfield (Cabinet Office).

A. J. COLES

Colin Walters, Esq.,
Home Office

Zimbabwe
BIT

file

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

21 March 1983

MR. NKOMO

The Prime Minister has noted the contents of the Attorney General's minute of 17 March.

A. J. COLES

Henry Steel, Esq., C.M.G., O.B.E.

FCO

010

From: THE PRIVATE SECRETARY

CONFIDENTIAL

Prime Minister

Agree that we should continue to grant Mr. Nkomo further monthly extensions of stay on request and review the position at the end of October.

A.J.C. 29/7.

Yes MT

HOME OFFICE
QUEEN ANNE'S GATE
LONDON SWIH 9AT

28 July 1983

DEAR JOHN

The Home Secretary has been considering how best to manage Mr Nkomo's continued presence in this country. As you will know, the Prime Minister agreed in May that we should grant him 3 further monthly extensions of stay and that his position should be re-examined at the end of July. Mr Nkomo has now contacted the Immigration Service to say that his future plans are uncertain but that he would appreciate a further month's stay. He has been granted an extension to 13 August 1983, the last under present arrangements.

Our treatment of Mr Nkomo as a temporary visitor has so far gone smoothly. After the initial interest generated by his arrival in this country his continued presence here has generated only sporadic comment in the media. We understand that his presence has not had any adverse effects on our relations with the Zimbabwean authorities.

In these circumstances there seems everything to be gained by continuing to grant Mr Nkomo monthly extensions of stay for the time being and avoiding an application from him either for asylum here as a refugee or permission to remain indefinitely. The Home Secretary therefore proposes that we should continue to grant Mr Nkomo further monthly extensions of stay on request and review the position again at the end of October. The Foreign Secretary, who has been consulted, agrees with the proposal and I should be grateful to know whether the Prime Minister is content with the proposed arrangement.

I am copying this letter to Roger Bone (Foreign and Commonwealth Office).

Yours sincerely

Hugh Taylor

H H TAYLOR

J Coles, Esq

CONFIDENTIAL

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10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary 29 July 1983

Nkomo

Thank you for your letter to John Coles of 28 July. The Prime Minister agrees that we should continue to grant Mr. Nkomo further monthly extensions of stay on request and review the position again at the end of October.

I am copying this to Roger Bone (Foreign and Commonwealth Office).

W. F. S. RICKETT

H.H. Taylor, Esq.,
Home Office.

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(2)

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

24 October 1983

Prime Minister.

!

A. J. C. 24/10

Dear John,

Zimbabwe: Mr Joshua Nkomo

You may have seen from the press that Mr Nkomo arrived again in the UK on 23 October. The background is as follows.

Mr Nkomo informed our High Commissioner in Harare in late September that he was considering a short visit to London some time in October to finalise his autobiography. Ministers here and at the Home Office took note of this intention and agreed that we should not seek to deter him.

He arrived at Heathrow without further warning on 23 October accompanied by two aides and was admitted for one month. So far as we are aware his intention remains to concentrate on his private business. We do not envisage having any official contact with him.

Yours ever

Roger Bone

(R B Bone)
Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq
10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL

From: THE PRIVATE SECRETARY

Zimbabwe

HOME OFFICE
QUEEN ANNE'S GATE
LONDON SWIH 9AT

12 April 1983

N. B. P. R.

A. J. C. 13/4.

Dear John,

JOSHUA NKOMO

You will wish to know that, in accordance with the agreement reached between the Prime Minister, the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary and the Home Secretary, Mr Nkomo was located at a London hotel and advised that his present leave to enter was shortly due to expire.

Mr Nkomo welcomed the reminder and asked that he and his two colleagues be given a further month's leave to remain. The passports were accordingly endorsed until 13 May 1983. The immigration officer was unable to gain any indication of Mr Nkomo's intentions for the future.

Yours sincerely,

Lesley Pallett.

MRS L PALLETT

John Coles Esq

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GRS 260

CONFIDENTIAL
DESKBY 131400Z HARARE, YAOUNDE
FM F C O 121220Z MAR 83
TO IMMEDIATE HARARE
TELEGRAM NUMBER 122 OF 13 MARCH
AND TO IMMEDIATE YAOUNDE (FOR THE ATTENTION OF PS/MR ONSLOW)
INFO IMMEDIATE LAGOS GABORONE LUSAKA CAPETOWN PRETORIA PARIS
BONN WASHINGTON ACCRA BANJUL DAR ES SALAAM FREETOWN KAMPALA
LILONGWE MASERU MBABANE NAIROBI PORT LOUIS VICTORIA.

REF FCO TELNO 120 TO HARARE: NKOMO.

1. NKOMO DULY ARRIVED WITH TWO AIDS. HE HAD A ZIMBABWE PASSPORT AND APPLIED TO STAY FOR THREE WEEKS. HE WAS GIVEN TEMPORARY ADMISSION FOR ONE WEEK. THERE WAS NO QUESTION OF ASYLUM. IN REPONSE TO A REQUEST FROM THE IMMIGRATION OFFICER (ON INSTRUCTIONS) FOR AN UNDERTAKING, NKOMO SAID THAT HE DID NOT INTEND TO ENGAGE IN POLITICS. HE ACKNOWLEDGED, WITHOUT COMMENT, A MESSAGE FROM MR TINY ROWLANDS OFFERING TO ACT AS GO-BETWEEN WITH MINISTER OF INFORMATION (WHO ARRIVE IN LONDON AT ABOUT THE SAME TIME, EN ROUTE TO FRANKFURT). NKOMO WAS NOT GIVEN ANY VIP TREATMENT AND WAS MET ONLY BY IMMIGRATION AND SPECIAL BRANCH.

2. HE GAVE A PRESS CONFERENCE TO THE 30/40 PRESS CORRESPONDENTS AT THE AIRPORT. ON INFORMATION SO FAR AVAILABLE, THIS WAS NOT TOO PROVOCATIVE. HE SAID HE WANTED TO RETURN TO ZIMBABWE AS SOON AS THIS WAS SAFE AND HOPED FOR A MEETING IN LONDON WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF ZIMBABWE GOVERNMENT. HE REFUSED TO COMMENT ON HIS PLANS WHILE IN LONDON.

3. PLEASE INFORM THE ZIMBABWEAN AUTHORITIES.

PYM

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FM GABORONE 111200Z MAR 83

TO FLASH FCO

TELNO 46 OF 11 MARCH 1983

AND TO FLASH HARARE

INFO IMMEDIATE CAPETOWN, PRETORIA AND LUSAKA.

YOUR TELNO 042: NKOMO

1. I HAVE JUST SEEN HIM, ACCOMPANIED BY MPOTOKWANE AND ADOLF HIRSCHFELDT, HEAD OF SPECIAL BRANCH AT HIS SAFE HOUSE.

2. I SPOKE AS INSTRUCTED ABOUT THE FUGITIVE OFFENDERS ACT. HE LISTENED CAREFULLY, THEN ASKED WHETHER HE COULD HAVE THE TEXT. I TOLD HIM THAT I COULD NOT HAND IT OVER NOW BUT I WENT THROUGH IT AGAIN CAREFULLY. THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT HE UNDERSTOOD IT FULLY. BUT APART FROM ASKING ME AGAIN AT THE END FOR SOMETHING IN WRITING, HE ASKED ONLY ONE QUESTION ABOUT IT (SEE BELOW).

3. I ASKED HIM WHETHER HE COULD TELL ME WHAT HIS TRAVEL PLANS WERE AND THEIR TIMING. HE DECLINED TO DO SO.

4. I TOLD HIM THAT TIME WOULD BE REQUIRED IN LONDON TO CONSIDER THE QUESTION OF HIS ENTRY OF HIS GOING TO THE UK IF THAT WAS STILL IN HIS MIND AND ASKED HIM NOT TO SET OFF ON SUCH A JOURNEY WITHOUT SOME FURTHER INDICATION FROM ME OR FROM SOMEONE ELSE IN ANY OTHER PLACE THAT HE MAY BE IN. HE DID NOT RESPOND AND SO I ASKED HIM FOR AN ASSURANCE ON THIS POINT. HE DECLINED TO GIVE ONE. I TOLD HIM CLEARLY AND FIRMLY THAT I THOUGHT HE WAS BEING VERY UNWISE. HE MUST REALISE THE DIFFICULTY OF THE SITUATION AND THE EMBARRASSMENT THAT COULD BE CAUSED ALL ROUND IF HE TOOK SUCH A STEP. HE ACKNOWLEDGED THE SENSITIVITY OF THE SITUATION BUT SAID THAT HE HAD TAKEN MANY DECISIONS IN HIS LIFE WHICH WERE THOUGHT UNWISE AT THE TIME BUT SUBEQUENTLY PROVED RIGHT. DESPITE FURTHER PRESSURE FROM ME HE WOULD NOT BUDGE AND GAVE NO UNDERTAKING. BUT HE DID NOT SAY THAT HE WOULD TRAVEL TO THE UK.

5. NKOMO ASKED WHETHER IF HMG AGREED TO HIS GOING TO THE UK THIS WOULD OVERRIDE THE FUGITIVE OFFENDERS ACT. I SAID NO: THAT ACT WOULD REMAIN A RISK FOR HIM SO LONG AS HE WAS IN THE UK.

6. WHEN I LEFT I REPEATED TO MPOTOKWANE AND TO HIRSCHFELDT MY DISMAY AT HIS REACTION ABOUT TRAVEL AND THE EFFECT THAT THIS MIGHT HAVE WHEN I REPORTED IT. I STRESSED THE POINT THAT WE SHOULD NOT BE EXPECTED TO RUSH A DECISION AND NEEDED ABOVE ALL TIME. MPOTOKWANE AND HIRSCHFELDT WENT BACK TO SEE NKOMO, POSSIBLY BY PRIOR ARRANGEMENT, AND I HOPE THAT THEY WILL HAVE RELAYED THIS TO HIM AGAIN.

CONFIDENTIAL

/7.

7. MPOTOKWANE, WHO IS AN EX HIGH COMMISSIONER IN LONDON, HAD DEALT WITH THE MEDIA THE PREVIOUS DAY ON EXTRADITION AND WAS OBVIOUSLY WELL INFORMED ABOUT THE MACHINERY IN THE UK, HE GAVE ME HIS PERSONAL VIEW THAT NKOMO WOULD NOT BE UNDUELY WORRIED ABOUT THE THREAT OF EXTRADITION FROM THE UK SINCE HE BELIEVED THAT THE CHARGES AGAINST HIM COULD NOT BE SUSTAINED. MPOTOKWANE CLEARLY HAD IN MIND THAT A PRIMA FACIE CASE WOULD NOT BE MADE BEFORE A MAGISTRATE IN THE UK. BUT THE QUESTION ASKED BY NKOMO AND HIS OUTBURST (SEE BELOW) PUTS A QUERY AGAINST THIS.

8. THROUGHOUT NKOMO WAS UNCOMMUNICATIVE. I HAD TO MAKE ALL THE RUNNING AND HE SHOWED NO DESIRE TO PROLONG THE CONVERSATION OR ASK QUESTIONSM. I GATHERED FROM MPOTOKWANE SUBSEQUENTLY THAT THIS HAS BEEN HIS STYLE DURING THIS VISIT.

9. I HAD LITTLE CHANCE TO JUDGE HIS STATE OF MIND AND HEALTH. MPOTOKWANE SAID THAT HE SEEMED TO BE IN REASONABLE HEALTH. HE DID NOT SEEM DISTURBED EXCEPT THAT WHEN I FIRST WENT THROUGH THE FUGITIVE OFFENDERS ACT HE STOPPED ME ANGRILY, SAYING THAT THIS WAS THREATENING HIM AND HE WOULD NOT HAVE IT, ETC, BUT HE SOON CALMED DOWN.

10. SINCE THE MEETING I HAVE PRESSED MPOTOKWANE FOR NEWS OF TRAVEL PLANS. HE WAS VERY HESITANT BUT TENTATIVELY THOUGHT THAT NKOMO WAS UNLIKELY TO TRAVEL TODAY. I WOULD NOT LIKE TO RELY ON THAT.

JONES

ZIMBABWE
LIMITED

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MR SQUIRE

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PRIME MINISTER

Nkomo

The Home Secretary's office rang to confirm that they will make the following announcement if and when Mr. Nkomo arrives in this country:-

> "Mr. Nkomo will be given temporary admission for a week pending consideration of his position."

The Home Office feel that they would have no grounds for refusing entry to Mr. Nkomo. They have also said that they would have to consider any appeal for asylum that he might make. There is a note in the Hot Box about the situation in Zimbabwe and on Mr. Nkomo's position.

WM

MT

11 March 1983