

GRS 660A  
CONFIDENTIAL  
ECLIPSE

CONFIDENTIAL

DESK BY FCO 140900Z JAN 1981  
DESK BY UKMIS GENEVA 140900Z JAN 1981  
FM CAPE TOWN EMBASSY 140745Z JAN 81

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TEL NO 006 OF 14 JANUARY

INFO IMMEDIATE UKMIS GENEVA, PRETORIA, CAIRO (FOR PRIVATE SECRETARY), WASHINGTON, PARIS, BONN, OTTAWA  
INFO LUSAKA, LUANDA, MAPUTO, GABORONE, DAR ES SALAAM, LAGOS, SALISBURY, ADDIS ABABA, FREETOWN, UKMIS NEW YORK

MY TEL NO 005: NAMIBIA

1. STRIKING FEATURES OF PIK BOTHA'S PERFORMANCE IN TALKING TO THE CAPE TOWN FIVE YESTERDAY (13 JANUARY) WERE HIS QUIET CONFIDENCE AND CALM Demeanour. THERE WAS NONE OF THE USUAL BOMBAST OR HECTORING TONE. IT WAS AS IF HE WERE SAYING: YOU FIVE MAY HAVE PROBLEMS AS A RESULT OF THE IMPASSE REACHED IN GENEVA BUT I AM NOT WORRIED. IT WAS ALSO NOTICEABLE THAT THE EXCHANGES BETWEEN HIM AND MY AMERICAN COLLEAGUE WERE WARMER AND MORE CONCILIATORY ON BOTH SIDES THAN I HAVE WITNESSED BEFORE. I CANNOT HELP WONDERING WHETHER CHESTER CROCKER HAS NOT BEEN TALKING IN SIMILAR TERMS TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN AMBASSADOR AS HE HAS BEEN TO OUR EMBASSY (WASHINGTON TEL NO 106 - NOT TO ALL).
2. PIK ALSO EMPHASISED EVEN MORE STRONGLY THAN BEFORE THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT WERE ABDICATING THEIR RESPONSIBILITY FOR TAKING DECISIONS ON NAMIBIA IN FAVOUR OF THE INTERNAL PARTIES, PARTICULARLY THE D T A. IT IS IN THIS SENSE THAT I THINK WE MUST TAKE THE SUGGESTIONS THAT WE HAVE HEARD RECENTLY FROM VARIOUS SOURCES TO THE EFFECT THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT HAD DECIDED TO GET SHOT OF NAMIBIA. TO BORROW A PHRASE FROM CHURCHILL THEY HAVE IN FACT DECIDED ONLY TO BE UNDECIDED AND TO LET MATTERS TAKE THEIR COURSE WHICHEVER THAT MAY BE. SHOULD THE INTERNAL PARTIES OPT FOR A UN-SUPERVISED ELECTION P W BOTHA CAN THEN TELL HIS OWN ELECTORATE THAT THIS WAS NOT HIS DECISION. EQUALLY SHOULD THE INTERNAL PARTIES COURT A HOSTILE INTERNATIONAL REACTION WHICH WOULD REBOUND ON SOUTH AFRICA BY HOLDING OUT FOR THE IMPOSSIBLE AND PLAYING FOR MUCH MORE TIME HE MAY HOPE TO ENGAGE THE SYMPATHY OF THE NEW AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION BY EXPLAINING EARNESTLY THAT IT WAS NOT HIS FAULT AND HE HAD DONE HIS BEST TO GET MUDGE TO SEE REASON.

CONFIDENTIAL

13.



## CONFIDENTIAL

3. AS I SEE IT, MUCH WILL NOW DEPEND ON THE WAY IN WHICH THE NEW AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION WILL REACT. THEY MAY HOPE TO TAKE THEIR TIME IN DECIDING WHAT TO DO. ON THE OTHER HAND THE PRESSURES IN THE U N ARE LIKELY TO BE SUCH THAT THEY WILL HAVE TO MAKE UP THEIR MINDS QUICKLY. IF MY ANALYSIS OF WHY THE SOUTH AFRICANS ARE PLAYING THINGS SO COOLLY IS CORRECT, THE RESULT OF THE AMERICAN ELECTION IS MAINLY RESPONSIBLE. FOR THAT REASON I SEE EVERY REASON TO PUT THE ONUS ON THE AMERICANS OF COMING UP WITH SOME NEW IDEAS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. WE DID AS MUCH OURSELVES WHEN THE NEW CONSERVATIVE GOVERNMENT ASSUMED OFFICE AND IT IS NOW THEIR TURN. EITHER TREY SHOULD WORK OUT SOME NEW INITIATIVE IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE SOUTH AFRICANS AND THE FRONT LINE STATES OR SHOULD QUICKLY DISABUSE THE SOUTH AFRICANS OF THE IDEA THAT SOMETHING NEW IS IN THE OFFING.

4. I AM NOT SUGGESTING THAT THE REST OF THE FIVE SHOULD WITHDRAW FROM THE SCENE: I DOUBT IF WE COULD DO THAT EVEN IF WE WANTED TO AND THERE IS TOO MUCH AT STAKE FOR US TO DISSOCIATE OURSELVES FROM THE SEARCH FOR AGREEMENT. BUT I DO BELIEVE THAT WE SHOULD BRING EVERY PRESSURE WE CAN ON THE AMERICANS TO TAKE UP THE RUNNING.

5. IT FOLLOWS FROM THE ABOVE THAT UNTIL WE HAVE SEEN HOW THE AMERICANS REACT TO SUCH AN APPROACH I AM INCLINED TO THINK WE SHOULD NOT (NOT) BRING SIR LAURENS VAN DER POST INTO PLAY HERE (YOUR TELEGRAM NO 8 TO UKMIS GENEVA). AS YOU KNOW, I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT HE HAS INFLUENCE WITH CERTAIN MEMBERS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT, BUT FROM PIK'S BEHAVIOUR YESTERDAY IT IS ALSO CLEAR TO ME THAT FOR THE MOMENT THE SOUTH AFRICANS ARE MORE LIKELY TO PAY ATTENTION TO AMERICAN VIEWS THAN TO OUR OWN. WE SHOULD THEREFORE CONCENTRATE ON GETTING THE AMERICANS TO ACCEPT THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR EXERTING INFLUENCE ON THE SOUTH AFRICANS IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE.

LEAHY

[COPIES SENT TO NO 10 DOWNING STREET]

NAMIBIA STANDARD  
S AF D  
OADS  
UND  
NAD  
ECD  
ERD  
CABINET OFFICE

2

CONFIDENTIAL