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TO PRIORITY PRETORIA
TELEGRAM NUMBER 083 OF 29 MAY 1981
INFO IMMEDIATE UKMIS NEW YORK
INFO PRIORITY LUANDA, ROUTINE BONN, OTTAWA, PARIS, WASHINGTON,
DAR ES SALAAM, LUSAKA, MAPUTO, GABORONE, LAGOS, SALISBURY
INFO SAVING ADDIS ABABA NAIROBI

BONN TELNO 417 (NOT TO ALL): NAMIBIA - VISIT BY THE PRESIDENT
OF SWAPO

1. MR NUJOMA CALLED ON ME AT HIS OWN REQUEST ON 29 MAY AND HAD TALKS WITH THE DEPUTY SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE COMMONWEALTH ON THE 28TH.
2. NUJOMA GAVE ME A LONG AND BLUNT ACCOUNT OF FAMILIAR SWAPO VIEWS. OUR VETO OF THE SANCTIONS RESOLUTIONS WAS EVIDENCE OF A 'NEGATIVE BRITISH ATTITUDE TO NAMIBIA', DESIGNED TO PROTECT SOUTH AFRICA AND BRITISH INVESTMENTS. THIS SABOTAGED THE NAMIBIA NEGOTIATIONS AND UNDERMINED THE AUTHORITY OF THE UN. THE SOUTH AFRICANS WOULD GO ON RAISING OBJECTIONS TO IMPLEMENTATION OF SCR 435: IN GENEVA THEY COMPLAINED ABOUT UN BIAS, NOW THEY PROFESSED CONCERN FOR PROTECTION OF MINORITIES' RIGHTS. AN INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA COULD NOT ACCEPT SPECIAL PROVISION FOR PARTICULAR MINORITIES BUT WOULD HAVE NO DISCRIMINATORY POLICIES AND WOULD CONTINUE RELATIONS WITH NON-SOUTH AFRICAN COMPANIES IN NAMIBIA, BASED ON NEW AGREEMENTS. EXISTING TRADE PATTERNS WOULD BE CONTINUED, PROVIDED THAT NAMIBIA GOT A FAIRER SHARE OF THE BENEFITS. BUT SWAPO WAS NOT FIGHTING TO PRESERVE THE STATUS QUO AND CONTINUED EXPLOITATION BY SOUTH AFRICAN COMPANIES. SWAPO WOULD IN NO CIRCUMSTANCES ACCEPT ANY RENEGOTIATION OF SCR

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435. NUJOMA DENOUNCED THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION FOR ITS DECLARED POLICY OF SUPPORT FOR SOUTH AFRICA AND FOR APPARENTLY ABANDONING SCR 435. HMG SEEMED TO BE FOLLOWING THE US DOWN THE SAME PATH.

3. IN REPLY I EXPLAINED OUR CONVICTION THAT SANCTIONS WOULD HAVE A TOTALLY NEGATIVE EFFECT ON SOUTH AFRICAN POLICIES AS WELL AS DOING IMMENSE HARM IN AFRICA. IF THERE WAS TO BE A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT IN PREFERENCE TO YEARS OF FIGHTING, IT WAS ESSENTIAL TO PAY HEED TO SOUTH AFRICAN CONCERNS. WE COULD NOT BE SURE WHETHER SOUTH AFRICA COULD BE BROUGHT TO AGREE TO A SETTLEMENT IN ACCORDANCE WITH SCR 435, BUT THE FIVE WERE ACTIVELY SEEKING TO ESTABLISH THIS AND THE POSSIBLE TERMS. THERE WAS NO QUESTION OF RENEGOTIATING 435 OR OF SEEKING TO LIMIT NAMIBIA'S INDEPENDENCE. IF WE COULD WORK OUT TERMS THAT SWAPO, THE FLS AND SOUTH AFRICA COULD ALL ACCEPT, SURELY THIS WAS WORTH THE EFFORT. NUJOMA HOWEVER REPEATED THAT ONLY THE PRESSURE OF SANCTIONS COULD BRING SOUTH AFRICA TO SETTLE AND THAT THE UK AND THE US FOR THEIR OWN REASONS OF SELF-INTEREST WERE OBSTRUCTING THIS. (FULL RECORD BY BAG.)

4. NUJOMA DECLINED THE OFFER OF FURTHER TALKS WITH OFFICIALS. BUT ON HIS DEPARTURE WE REITERATED THAT THE US IN CONSULTATION WITH THE REST OF THE FIVE WERE ACTIVELY EXPLORING WITH THE SOUTH AFRICANS POSSIBILITIES OF NEW IDEAS FOR WAYS FORWARD AND THAT IF WE CONCLUDED THESE IDEAS OFFERED REASONABLE CHANCES OF PROGRESS THE FIVE WOULD THEN WISH TO DISCUSS THEM WITH FLS AND SWAPO.

5. WE UNDERSTAND FROM THE COMMONWEALTH DEPUTY SECRETARY-GENERAL (PLEASE PROTECT) THAT IN HIS TALKS WITH HIM NUJOMA EXPRESSED CONCERNS VERY SIMILAR TO THOSE AIRED IN HIS TALKS WITH GENSCHER (BONN TUR). HIS MAIN POINTS WERE 'COMPLETE DISTRUST' OF THE US AND OF SOUTH AFRICAN INTENTIONS: STRONG RESISTANCE TO ANY IDEA OF A CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE: AND STRONG HOSTILITY TO ANY IDEA THAT NAMIBIA SHOULD BE OBLIGED TO BE A NEUTRAL STATE. HOWEVER, NUJOMA CONVEYED SOME IMPRESSION THAT HE MIGHT NOT BE

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WHOLLY NEGATIVE TO THE IDEA OF SOME CONSTITUTIONAL ASSURANCES OR GUARANTEES, WITH AN INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA POSSIBLY PROMISING TO ABIDE BY UN AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL DECLARATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, AND PERHAPS ALSO COMMITTING ITSELF TO A DEMOCRATIC FORM OF GOVERNMENT. IT WAS TAKEN FOR GRANTED (BUT NOT EXPLICITLY STATED) THAT A SWAPO GOVERNMENT OF AN INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA WOULD JOIN THE COMMONWEALTH.

6. WE SHALL BRIEF PARTNERS IN THE FIVE AND THE TEN ON NUJOMA'S VISIT EARLY NEXT WEEK.

7. NEWS DEPARTMENT HAVE TAKEN THE FOLLOWING LINE:

'THE SECRETARY OF STATE HAD NEARLY AN HOUR'S DISCUSSION WITH THE PRESIDENT OF SWAPO AND HIS DELEGATION IN WHICH THEY REVIEWED THE STATE OF THE NAMIBIA NEGOTIATIONS AND THE PROSPECTS FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT IN ACCORDANCE WITH SCR 435. LORD CARRINGTON AND MR NUJOMA GAVE FRANK EXPOSITIONS OF THEIR CONCERNS AND EXPECTATIONS. IT WAS AGREED THAT SWAPO AND THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WOULD CONTINUE TO KEEP IN TOUCH.'

UNATTRIBUTABLE: 'MR NUJOMA STATED THE SWAPO VIEW THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT WOULD AGREE TO A SETTLEMENT ONLY IF PUT UNDER PRESSURE OF SANCTIONS BY THE WEST, AND REGRETTED THE WESTERN VETOES IN APRIL. LORD CARRINGTON EXPLAINED HMG'S CONVICTION THAT SANCTIONS WOULD NOT HELP TOWARDS A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT BUT WOULD SPELL THE COLLAPSE OF THE FIVE'S EFFORTS. HE STRESSED THE FIVE'S DETERMINATION TO PRESS FORWARD WITH THEIR CURRENT EXPLORATION OF POSSIBLE NEW IDEAS DESIGNED TO PROMOTE EVENTUAL AGREEMENT.'

CARRINGTON

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