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OO UKMIS NEW YORK

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TO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON

TELEGRAM NUMBER 927 OF 22 JUNE

AND IMMEDIATE TO PARIS, BONN, OTTAWA

INFO IMMEDIATE PRETORIA, UKMIS NEW YORK

ROUTINE LUSAKA, LUANDA, SALISBURY, GABORONE, MAPUTO,

DAR ES SALAAM, LAGOS, NAIROBI

SAVING ADDIS ABABA

*You may like to be aware  
of this in the context of your  
talks later in the week with*

*Rh Bush.*

*Ph*

MY TELNO 916: NAMIBIA - US POLICY

1. WE HAVE AS YOU KNOW MADE REPRESENTATIONS RECENTLY TO THE AMERICANS ON SEVERAL CHANNELS (SEE EG MY TELS NOS 881, 904 AND MTUR) ASKING FOR A FULLER ACCOUNT OF CLARK'S TALKS IN CAPE TOWN AND WINDHOEK AND URGING THE AMERICANS TO DISPLAY MORE WILLINGNESS TO INFORM AND CONSULT THEIR PARTNERS IN THE FIVE. IN ADDITION TO THIS GENERAL CONCERN, WE ARE NOW INCREASINGLY ANXIOUS ABOUT THE PROSPECT OF A DEFINITIVE DECISION BY THE AMERICANS AT THE END OF THIS MONTH EITHER TO OPT OUT OF THE NEGOTIATIONS OR TO PRESS ON WITH FRESH PROPOSALS FOR PRESENTING TO THE FRONT LINE STATES (FLS) AND SWAPO: AND THAT THE AMERICANS PLAN TO CONVEY THIS DECISION TO THEIR PARTNERS IN THE FIVE, THE SOUTH AFRICANS AND THE FLS AT ABOUT THE SAME TIME, POSSIBLY ALSO WITH A PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT (PRETORIA TELNO 214). IF THE AMERICANS STICK TO THIS TIME TABLE, WE SHALL FACE SERIOUS PROBLEMS.

2. ACCORDINGLY WE INTEND TO ARRANGE A MEETING BETWEEN MR LUCE AND THE U S AMBASSADOR ON 22 OR 23 JUNE AT WHICH MR LUCE PROPOSES TO SPEAK ON THE FOLLOWING LINES:

A) WE CONTINUE TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE NEED FOR THE AMERICANS TO TAKE THE LEAD WITH THE SOUTH AFRICANS AT THIS STAGE, AND

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WELCOME THEIR WILLINGNESS TO DO SO. IF THE AMERICANS CANNOT GET SOUTH AFRICA ON BOARD, NO ONE CAN.

- B) WE ALSO ATTACH UTMOST IMPORTANCE TO CONTINUED COHESION AND JOINT EFFORT BY THE FIVE AND HOPE THE AMERICANS WILL BOTH INFORM AND CONSULT WITH THEIR FOUR PARTNERS IN SUCH A WAY AS TO ADVANCE THIS OBJECTIVE. FOR THIS REASON WE PARTICULARLY WELCOMED THE PROMISE AT THE END OF MR HAIG'S MESSAGE OF 10 JUNE TO ME (MY TELNO 882) TO 'GET BACK TO US' AFTER JUDGE CLARK LEFT CAPE TOWN.
- C) HOWEVER WE STILL HAVE NO INFORMATION ABOUT THE SUBSTANCE OF MR CLARK'S TALKS IN CAPE TOWN AND WINDHOEK, AND THUS LACK ANY BASIS ON WHICH TO MAKE OUR OWN PARALLEL ASSESSMENT OF THE PROSPECTS FOR AGREEMENT ON A SETTLEMENT.
- D) CROCKER'S RECENT TESTIMONY TO A CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE REPORTED IN THE UK PRESS ON 18 JUNE AND US MESSAGES TO FLS GOVERNMENTS AND THE FIVE (EG DAR ES SALAAM TELNO 178, GABORONE TELNO 131) READ WITH WHAT WE HAVE GLEANED ELSEWHERE (PRETORIA TELNO 214) SUGGEST THAT THE AMERICANS MAY BE PLANNING TO TAKE DECISIONS AT THE END OF THIS MONTH WITHOUT PRIOR CONSULTATION WITH THEIR PARTNERS AND THEREAFTER TO CONVEY IT BOTH TO THEIR PARTNERS AND TO THE FRONT LINE STATES GOVERNMENTS, WITH OR WITHOUT A PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT (INFORMING THE FLS WOULD ANYWAY BE TANTAMOUNT TO ANNOUNCING THE DECISION PUBLICLY).
- E) WHATEVER DECISION THE AMERICANS MIGHT TAKE, IT WILL HAVE VERY SERIOUS AND WIDE-RANGING IMPLICATIONS FOR THE UK AND THE REST OF THE FIVE. WE OURSELVES NEED TO MAKE OUR OWN JUDGEMENT ABOUT THE FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR AN AGREEMENT: AND WE NEED AT LEAST AS MUCH TIME AS THE AMERICANS FOR STUDYING THE EVIDENCE FROM THE CLARK MISSION BEFORE REACHING ANY CONCLUSIONS. MOREOVER MUCH WILL DEPEND ON THE PRESENTATION OF THE DECISION TO THE AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS AND PUBLICLY. A DECISION TO DISCONTINUE THE NEGOTIATIONS WOULD COMPEL ALL THE FIVE TO MAKE DIFFICULT AND DELICATE DECISIONS ABOUT THEIR FUTURE



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RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA, FUTURE INTENTIONS REGARDING NAMIBIA AND THEIR POSTURE IN THE UN AND ELSEWHERE.

- F) SIMILARLY A US DECISION TO PRESS ON WITH TRYING TO NEGOTIATE NEW PROPOSALS WITH FLS AND SWAPO WOULD REQUIRE CONSULTATION WITH AND DECISIONS BY THE REST OF THE FIVE WHO WOULD NEED TO MAKE THEIR OWN JUDGEMENTS ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF SECURING INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT TO WHATEVER THE SOUTH AFRICANS ARE NOW PROPOSING. WE ASSUME THAT THE AMERICANS WOULD WISH, PERHAPS NEED, THEIR PARTNERS TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE NEXT PHASE OF NEGOTIATIONS, IF THEIR DECISION GOES THAT WAY. THIS TOO WOULD REQUIRE TIME AND EXTENSIVE CONSULTATIONS.
- G) FOR ALL THESE REASONS WE THINK IT ESSENTIAL THAT THE AMERICANS SHOULD ALLOW ADEQUATE TIME, IE SOME WEEKS BETWEEN REACHING THEIR OWN CONCLUSIONS AND CONVEYING THEM TO THE FLS OR SOUTH AFRICA, IN WHICH TO INFORM THEIR PARTNERS FULLY OF THE STAGE THEY HAVE REACHED IN THEIR TALKS WITH THE SOUTH AFRICANS AND INTERNAL PARTIES AND TO CONSULT THEM ABOUT THE HANDLING OF THE NEXT STAGE, WHATEVER THAT MIGHT BE.
- H) IT WOULD GREATLY HELP OUR OWN PROCESS OF ASSESSMENT AND CONTINGENCY PLANNING TO HAVE A MUCH FULLER ACCOUNT OF THE CAPE TOWN AND WINDHOEK TALKS, IF NECESSARY IN ADVANCE OF AN INDICATION OF THE CONCLUSIONS WHICH THE AMERICANS ARE LIKELY TO DRAW FROM THEM.
- I) WE ARE LETTING OUR OTHER PARTNERS KNOW IN GENERAL TERMS OF THIS APPROACH.

3. WE ALSO HOPE FOR AN OPPORTUNITY TO SPEAK, PROBABLY AT MINISTERIAL LEVEL, TO CLARK AND EAGLEBURGER WHO ARE IN LONDON IN TRANSIT DURING THE MORNING OF 25 JUNE. MEANWHILE PLEASE SPEAK SIMILARLY AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO THE STATE DEPARTMENT AT WHATEVER LEVEL YOU JUDGE WOULD BE MOST EFFECTIVE IN ENSURING THAT THE MESSAGE IS RECEIVED AND UNDERSTOOD.

4. BONN, PARIS, OTTAWA: PLEASE INFORM YOUR GOVERNMENTS IN GENERAL TERMS OF OUR CONCERNS AND TELL THEM THE GIST OF



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WHAT WE ARE SAYING TO THE AMERICANS. YOU SHOULD HOWEVER AVOID GIVING THE IMPRESSION THAT WE ARE ASKING THEM TO MAKE SIMILAR REPRESENTATIONS, WHILE NOT OF COURSE DISCOURAGING THEM FROM DOING SO IF THEY WISH.

5. HARE'S REMARKS, REPORTED IN YOUR TELNOS 1875 AND 1881, (RECEIVED AFTER THE FOREGOING WAS DRAFTED), CONTAIN SOME MODERATELY REASSURING ELEMENTS, BUT LAST SENTENCE OF 1875 SEEMS TO REINFORCE OUR MISGIVINGS.

CARRINGTON

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