

GR 1200  
S E C R E T  
FM LUSAKA 290610Z MAY  
TO IMMEDIATE FCO  
TELNO 310 OF 29 MAY  
INFO ROUTINE WASHINGTON NEW YORK CAPE TOWN PRETORIA

SECRET

4

Prime Minister.

A useful statement  
of American views  
about the Botha  
visit.

VISIT OF SOUTH AFRICAN PRIME MINISTER TO LONDON

A.S.C. 29.  
5

FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF A LETTER, DATED 26 MAY AND CLASSIFIED  
SECRET, FROM THE US ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR AFRICAN  
AFFAIRS, DR CROCKER TO MR SQUIRE:

BEGINS

I WELCOMED THE OPPORTUNITY TO EXCHANGE VIEWS WITH YOU AGAIN IN  
LONDON AND BONN. I KNOW THAT THE P. W. BOTHA VISIT IS NOW  
OCCUPYING MUCH OF YOUR ATTENTION. I WANT TO PASS ALONG OUR  
THOUGHTS -- SOME OF WHICH WE DISCUSSED IN BONN -- ON HOW THE  
VISIT FITS INTO THE BROADER NEGOTIATING PICTURE IN SOUTHERN  
AFRICA.

IN OUR VIEW, P W'S VISIT TO WESTERN EUROPE REPRESENTS IN  
PART THE EMERGENCE OF BOTH SOUTH AFRICA AND BOTHA HIMSELF FROM  
ISOLATION INTO A BROADER AND MORE OPEN WORKABLE RELATIONSHIP  
WITH THE REST OF THE WORLD. IN OUR VIEW, THE NEW RELATIONSHIP  
CUTS BOTH WAYS. IN A SENSE IT CONSTITUTES A SORT OF FRESH  
START FOR SOUTH AFRICA INTERNATIONALLY. AT THE SAME TIME, ALTHOUGH  
THERE IS SOME SENSE OF ACKNOWLEDGEMENT THAT SOUTH AFRICA HAS  
TAKEN SOME POSITIVE STEPS WHICH HAVE EARNED IT AN IMPROVED HEARING  
BY THE REST OF THE WORLD, THAT NEW RELATIONSHIP CAN ONLY DEVELOP  
FURTHER IF SOUTH AFRICA RECOGNIZES THE RENEWED RESPONSIBILITY  
ON ITS OWN PART TO THE REST OF THE WORLD. ACCEPTING THAT PREMISE,  
IT IS INCUMBENT NOW ON US TO NOTE WHAT WE BELIEVE SOUTH AFRICA  
HAS ACCOMPLISHED AND TO POINT ITS LEADERS -- STARTING WITH  
P W BOTHA -- TOWARD WHAT WE BELIEVE MIGHT BE USEFUL NEXT STEPS.

IN THAT REGARD, WE HAVE RECENTLY HAD AN EXCHANGE OF LETTERS  
BETWEEN P W BOTHA AND PRESIDENT REAGAN. IN HIS LETTER OUR  
PRESIDENT EMPHASIZED FOUR POINTS: (1) OUR STRONG CONVICTION  
THAT U.S. POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA (DESPITE SOME DOMESTIC CONTROVERSY)  
IS THE RIGHT ONE AND OUR INTENTION TO CONTINUE WORKING WITH THE  
SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT IN THE INTERESTS OF REGIONAL SECURITY  
AND THE REDUCTION OF SOVIET INFLUENCE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA,  
(2) OUR VIEW OF THE VITAL IMPORTANCE OF HOLDING FIRM ON RESOLUTION  
435 AND THE PARALLEL NECESSITY FOR CUBAN TROOP WITHDRAWAL, (3)  
OUR RESPECT FOR BOTSWANA'S LONG-STANDING POSITION ON CO-EXISTENCE  
WITH THE SAG AND OUR HOPE THAT THE SAG WOULD NOT OVERDO ARM-  
TWISTING FOR A WRITTEN PACT, AND (4) OUR STRONG CONCERN ABOUT  
THE INTERNAL POLICY OF FORCED REMOVALS. (BY THE WAY, THE TERM  
'FORCED REMOVALS' IS BECOMING A TRAP FOR US SINCE THE SAG MAY  
BE MOVING TOWARD 'NON-COERCIVE' MEANS OF FORCING THE SAME RESULT).

SECRET

/BY

BY NOW, THE SAG-BOTSWANA TALKS APPEAR (AS OF FRIDAY, MAY 25) TO BE ON A MORE SOLID FOOTING. BUT THERE REMAINS A GENERAL POINT THAT WE ARE SEEKING TO MAKE: WE CONGRATULATE THE SAG ON THE WILL AND DETERMINATION SHOWN IN NEGOTIATING THE NKOMATI PACT AND IN MAKING IT WORK, WE HOPE OTHER NEIGHBORLY RELATIONSHIPS WILL ALSO CONTINUE TO DEVELOP ON A STRONG AND MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL FOOTING, WE URGE THE SAG TO RECOGNIZE THAT DIFFERENT FORMS OF UNDERSTANDING MAY BE APPROPRIATE WITH EACH NEIGHBOR AND WE HOPE THEY DO NOT HUG THEIR NEIGHBORS SO HARD THAT THEY TURN BLUE OR THEIR EYES POP OUT, AND WE SHARE KAUNDA'S CONCERN THAT THE SAG NOT UNDERMINE ITS OWN CREDIBILITY BY TACTICS OF THREAT AND HUMILIATION.

ON SOUTH AFRICAN INTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS, WE SEE THE NEW CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS AS A STEP FORWARD IN THE SENSE THAT THEY BROADEN PARTICIPATION IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICAL PROCESS. AT THE SAME TIME, THEY DO NOT DEAL WITH THE POLITICAL FUTURE OF THE BLACK AFRICAN MAJORITY. WHAT DOES THE PRIME MINISTER PLAN TO DO ABOUT POLITICAL PARTICIPATION BY THE URBAN AFRICANS? THE RURAL AFRICANS? 'HOMELANDS' WILL NOT DO: EVEN IF ONE ACCEPTED THE PREMISE ON WHICH THEY ARE BASED -- AND WE DO NOT -- THEY FUNCTION VERY BADLY. THE CISKEI IS A PRIME EXAMPLE. AND THE HOMELANDS DO NOT DEAL WITH THE FACT THAT SOUTH AFRICA IS BECOMING MORE AND MORE INTEGRATED ECONOMICALLY. WE, IN OUR DIALOGUE WITH THE SAG, DO NOT OFFER SPECIFIC PRESCRIPTION AND WE STRESS OUR CONVICTION THAT SOUTH AFRICANS HAVE A RIGHT TO SHAPE THEIR OWN FUTURE FREE FROM FOREIGN INTERVENTION. WE ALSO INDICATE THE NEED FOR MOVEMENT AND THE IMPORTANCE OF SOME FORM OF CLEAR SIGNAL ON THE BASIC ISSUE OF BLACK POLITICAL-LEGAL RIGHTS.

YOU WILL FIND, I BELIEVE, THAT THE BOTHAS HAVE COME TO SELL AND TO ASSERT THEMSELVES, NOT TO LISTEN MEEKLY. SOME OF THIS IS STANDARD FORM. IF IT GETS OUT OF HAND, NONE OF US SHOULD LET THEM FORGET THAT THEIR CURRENT OPENINGS, REGIONALLY AND INTERNATIONALLY, ARE THE DIRECT RESULT OF A COURAGEOUS STRATEGIC STANCE TOWARD SOUTHERN AFRICA BEING TAKEN BY WASHINGTON, LONDON AND SOME OTHER WESTERN CAPITALS. IN ITS CURRENT ASSERTIVE BULLISHNESS

THE SAG LEADERSHIP MAY NEED TO BE REMINDED THAT IT COULD NOT HAVE ACHIEVED THESE THINGS ALONE AND CANNOT MAINTAIN THEM EXCEPT BY ENABLING US TO CONTINUE TO BACK AND LEGITIMIZE THE 'PEACE PROCESS'.

YOU WILL ALSO FIND THE BOTHAS IN A FUND-RAISING MOOD. THEY ARE FINDING THEIR PEACE DIPLOMACY COSTLY AND WILL PUSH FOR INDICATIONS THAT WESTERN NATIONS ARE SERIOUS ABOUT BACKING THE PROCESS ECONOMICALLY. THIS IS ESPECIALLY THE CASE FOR MOZAMBIQUE ABOUT WHICH I FOUND PIK GENUINELY CONCERNED IN OUR MAY 25 MEETING. THE PORTUGUESE SHARE THAT CONCERN. YOU MAY FIND PIK AND P W PROPOSING A COORDINATED WESTERN ECONOMIC PLAN TO BOLSTER SOUTHERN AFRICA'S ECONOMIES AND SUPPORT PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE. SUCH AMBITIOUS THOUGHTS PROBABLY NEED TO BE HANDLED WITH DEXTERITY SO WE DO NOT CONVEY THE IMPRESSION THAT WE ARE ONLY IN IT FOR THE RIDE.

SECRET -2

/ 1 found.

## SECRET

I FOUND PIK QUITE RELAXED ABOUT THE BLS RELATIONSHIPS AND SURPRISINGLY POSITIVE ON ZIMBABWE. THE CURRENT SAG LINE ON ZIMBABWE APPEARS ABOUT RIGHT BUT IT MIGHT BE WORTHWHILE TO PROBE IN HOPE THAT THE RIGHT THINGS ARE REITERATED.

ON NAMIBIA AND ANGOLA, I SUSPECT YOU WILL FIND THE BOTHAS FULLY ENMESHED IN THE LOGIC OF OUR EFFORT. THAT IS, THEY TOO RECOGNIZE THAT THE MPLA IS CAUGHT IN A SERIES OF VICIOUS CIRCLES WHICH CAN ONLY BE BROKEN WHEN AND IF THEY OPEN A DIALOGUE WITH UNITA. THEY ARE FAR LESS IMAGINATIVE IN THINKING ABOUT HOW TO HELP THE MPLA DEAL WITH THE DILEMNA, BUT APPEAR TO RECOGNIZE FULLY THE IMPORTANCE OF MAINTAINING THE DISENGAGEMENT. I BELIEVE WITH SOME CAREFUL STAGE MANAGEMENT ON OUR PART THEY ARE PREPARED TO MOVE TOWARD A NAMIBIA CESSATION OF FIGHTING AS WELL. WHILE PRESSURES MOUNT, THEY ARE NOT UNHAPPY AT CONTINUING THE MPC/SWAPO MINUET. I FOUND PI SOLID ON THE CONCEPT OF CUBAN WITHDRAWAL AND REALISTIC ABOUT THE NEED FOR ANY NAMIBIA SETTLEMENT TO BE "'ACCEPTABLE INTERNATIONALLY'", BUT PERHAPS LESS REALISTIC ON WHAT THAT MEANS IN PRACTICE. IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO REMIND THE SAG ONCE AGAIN OF THE IMPORTANCE OF MAINTAINING MOVEMENT THAT IS CONSISTENT (AND SEEM TO BE CONSISTENT) WITH RESOLUTION 435 WHILE WE WAIT FOR THE BIGGER PIECES TO FALL INTO PLACE. I WILL OF COURSE LET YOU KNOW HOW WE STAND WITH THE MPLA AFTER LUSAKA IN THE EVENT THERE ARE FURTHER POINTS TO BE MADE ON HOW THE SAG CAN HELP TRIGGER THE NECESSARY DECISIONS IN LUANDA. I SENSED THAT THEY RECOGNIZE THE LIMITS OF SIMPLY CONTINUING TO PRESS THE MPLA'S BACK AGAINST THE WALL, BUT DO NOT HAVE A CLEAR SENSE OF WHAT ELSE TO DO AND THAT APPROACH COMES NATURALLY.

ENDS.

JOHNSON

LIMITED

SAFD

PS

PS/MR RIFKIND

PS/PUS

SIR J LEAHY

MR SQUIRE

<sup>3</sup>  
SECRET