

SOUTHERN AFRICA

PS

PS/MR RIFKIND

PS/PUS

MR FERGUSSON

SIR J FREELAND

MR JOHNSON

MR O'NEILL

ED/SAFD

ED/CAFD

ED/UND

ED/NEWS DEPT

CONFIDENTIAL

MR CLG MALLABY, CABINET OFFICE

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET



FROM PRETORIA 291110Z
 TO IMMEDIATE FCO
 TELEGRAM NUMBER 153 OF 29 JULY 1985
 INFO IMMEDIATE HELSINKI (FOR S OF S PARTY)

INFO PRIORITY EC POSTS, WASHINGTON, UKMIS NEW YORK, OTTAWA,
 CANBERRA, LUANDA, LUSAKA, DAR ES SALAAM, MAPUTO,
 GABORONE AND HARARE.

SOUTH AFRICA INTERNAL

1. AFTER TEN DAYS OF THE STATE OF EMERGENCY I WOULD DESCRIBE
 THE BALANCE SHEET AS FOLLOWS:

- (A) BLACK UNREST IS BEING CONTAINED BUT NOT STIFLED
 DESPITE THE ARREST OF WELL OVER 1000 ACTIVISTS.
- (B) THEIR GRIEVANCES ARE FELT MORE KEENLY THAN EVER BY
 BLACKS THEMSELVES, AND NO LESS IMPORTANTLY HAVE BEEN
 BROUGHT TO THE ATTENTION OF THE WHITES AS NEVER BEFORE.
- (C) MOST WHITES ARE EITHER PERPLEXED OR APPREHENSIVE BUT
 HAVE SCARCELY BEEN TOUCHED IN THEIR DAILY LIVES.
- (D) FROM THE GOVERNMENT'S POINT OF VIEW, REACTIONS ABROAD
 ARE VERY SERIOUS, INCLUDING THE SECURITY COUNCIL VOTE
 ON VOLUNTARY MEASURES AND WORRYING SIGNS OF THE INTER-
 NATIONAL BANDWAGON AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA STILL GATHERING
 SPEED.
- (E) RESTORING ORDER IS THE GOVERNMENT'S FIRST PRIORITY.
 THEY APPEAR NOT TO HAVE DECIDED WHAT TO DO AFTER THAT,
 FOR WHICH THE PROSPECTS REMAIN UNCERTAIN.

2. ADVICE FROM MODERATES OF EVERY BACKGROUND IS UNMISTAKABLE:
 THE GOVERNMENT MUST FOLLOW THE EMERGENCY BY A FRESH ATTEMPT AT
 POLITICAL REFORM AND NEGOTIATION WITH THE BLACKS. THE GOVERN-
 MENT THEMSELVES SEEM TO BE THINKING IN THOSE TERMS. MINISTERS
 HAVE SPOKEN OF THE NEED FOR DIALOGUE ONCE ORDER IS RESTORED IN
 THE TOWNSHIPS

HAVE SPOKEN OF THE NEED FOR DIALOGUE ONCE ORDER IS RESTORED IN THE TOWNSHIPS.

3. MY GUESS IS THAT THEY ARE AGONISING OVER HOW TO RESTART THE POLITICAL PROCESS AND PREVENT MATTERS SLIPPING FURTHER OUT OF CONTROL. DOUBTLESS THERE ARE HAWKS AND DOVES, RELATIVELY SPEAKING, WITHIN THE CABINET. THE INTERNAL DEBATE WILL BE NOT ONLY HOW FAR BUT HOW FAST TO GO. ALSO WHETHER IT IS BETTER TO MAKE SOME DRAMATIC MOVE OR CONTINUE MOVING STEP BY STEP. VILJOEN, WHO DEALS WITH BLACK AFFAIRS, IS QUOTED AS SAYING THAT THE GOVERNMENT ARE PRESSING ON WITH IDEAS FOR COMMON CITIZENSHIP AND CHANGES IN INFLUX CONTROL (I MAY LEARN MORE WHEN I SEE HIM SHORTLY).

4. THE DIFFICULTY TO PUT IT MILDLY IS THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAVE TO GRASP SEVERAL NETTLES AT THE SAME TIME. THE FIRST IS WHAT THEY MAY BE PREPARED TO OFFER THE BLACKS. HERE THE MOST CANVASSED OPTION IS A DECLARATION OF INTENT ABOUT POLITICAL RIGHTS. HOWEVER NOT ONLY HAVE THE GOVERNMENT TILL NOW REFUSED ANY SUCH STATEMENT AS AN OPENING GAMBIT BUT IT WOULD BE AN UNCHARACTERISTIC BOWING TO PRESURE FROM A LEADERSHIP WHOSE APPROACH TO REFORM HAS ALWAYS BEEN SLOW AND CAUTIOUS. SECONDLY, FAR MORE IS AT ISSUE THAN POLITICAL RIGHTS. THE UNREST AND VIOLENCE STEM LARGELY FROM PAST LAWS, INFERIOR EDUCATION, TOTALLY INADEQUATE HOUSING AND SO ON. EVERY GRIEVANCE IS LINKED TO A MULTITUDE OF OTHER GRIEVANCES. EVERY REFORM INCREASES THE APPETITE OF BLACKS FOR FURTHER REFORM. SUCH IS THE LEGACY OF THE PAST.

5. THIRDLY, NO PROMISES OR STATEMENTS WILL HELP UNLESS THE GOVERNMENT CAN FIND BLACKS WITH WHOM TO TALK. MINISTERS HAVE CLAIMED SOME PROGRESS WAS BEING MADE THROUGH PRIVATE CONTACTS WITH INDIVIDUAL LEADERS. NOBODY WHOM I HAVE CONSULTED PUTS MUCH FAITH IN THIS. MOREOVER, THE STATE OF EMERGENCY HAS ENORMOUSLY REDUCED WHATEVER HOPE THERE WAS OF A QUIET DIALOGUE ON THE GOVERNMENT'S TERMS. THERE IS NO CHANCE OF LEADING BLACKS COMING FORWARD UNLESS THE GOVERNMENT HOLD OUT GREATER HOPE OF ADVANCEMENT OVER POLITICAL RIGHTS AND IN OTHER WAYS. THE GOVERNMENT HAVE ONLY THEMSELVES TO BLAME FOR LOCKING UP MANY (BUT BY NO MEANS ALL) OF THOSE WHO CAN CLAIM TO BE AT ALL REPRESENTATIVE OF BLACK OPINION.

6. I WOULD NOT EXPECT TOO MUCH FROM A MEETING LIKELY TO TAKE PLACE IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND BISHOP TUTU. THE MEETING NONETHELESS IS SIGNIFICANT IN ITSELF. IT WOULD NOT HAVE HAPPENED 3 MONTHS AGO. IMPROBABLE AS IT SEEMS, HOWEVER, THE GOVERNMENT MAY EVENTUALLY FIND THEY HAVE LITTLE ALTERNATIVE BUT TO TALK TO PEOPLE HITHERTO REGARDED AS UNACCEPTABLE, SUCH AS ANY MORE MODERATE UDF LEADERS AND, AT LOCAL LEVEL, CIVIC ASSOCIATIONS WHO SPEAK FOR BLACKS IN THE TOWNSHIPS.

7. THE BIGGEST SINGLE STEP THE GOVERNMENT COULD TAKE TO TRANSFORM THE SITUATION WOULD BE TO RELEASE MANDELA. THIS WOULD BE AN ENORMOUS LEAP IN THE DARK. IT MIGHT ONLY EXCITE THE TOWNSHIPS BEYOND ANYTHING YET SEEN. I WOULD NOT RULE IT OUT AS PART OF A PACKAGE ONCE THE GOVERNMENT CAN POINT TO DIALOGUE BETWEEN BLACK AND WHITE HAVING STARTED. BUT PERSONALLY I WOULD BE SURPRISED TO SEE THE GOVERNMENT RELEASE MANDELA UNCONDITIONALLY AS A FIRST STEP.

8. THE HOPE MUST BE THAT HAVING TAKEN MEASURES AGAINST UNREST

8. THE HOPE MUST BE THAT HAVING TAKEN MEASURES AGAINST UNREST AT SUCH POLITICAL COST, THE GOVERNMENT WILL SEE THE EMERGENCY AS AN OPPORTUNITY FOR A NEW STEP FORWARD. THEY WILL HAVE REASSURED THEIR WHITE CONSTITUENTS BY HAVING ACTED DECISIVELY TO RESTORE LAW AND ORDER. THERE ARE SOME SIGNS OF WHITE OPINION COMING TO ACCEPT THE NEED FOR MORE EXTENSIVE REFORM; THE RECENT REPORT ON APARTHEID BY A GOVERNMENT RESEARCH INSTITUTE, AN OPINION POLL SHOWING A MAJORITY OF WHITES IN FAVOUR OF A BLACK CHAMBER IN PARLIAMENT, LIBERAL VIEWS AMONG AFRIKANER STUDENTS AT STELLENBOSCH, URGINGS FROM THE BUSINESS SECTOR. SOME OF MY COMMUNITY COLLEAGUES AGREE WITH ME THAT THE GOVERNMENT MIGHT EVEN BRING THEMSELVES TO ISSUE A STATEMENT OF INTENT WITHOUT APPEARING TO BACKTRACK ON THEIR PREVIOUS INSISTENCE THAT THIS CAN ONLY FOLLOW CONSULTATION WITH BLACKS. MINISTERS COULD MAKE A VIRTUE OF NECESSITY BY CLAIMING OR PRETENDING THAT ENOUGH HAS ALREADY EMERGED FROM PRIVATE EXCHANGES IN RECENT WEEKS TO JUSTIFY A STATEMENT DRESSED UP AS REFLECTING BLACK OPINION. WE SHOULD NOT EXCLUDE THIS POSSIBILITY, ALTHOUGH THE ODDS ARE STILL AGAINST IT.

9. IN ANY CASE THE FIRST STEP IS TO RE-ESTABLISH ORDER IN THE TOWNSHIPS. LITTLE IF ANYTHING CAN BE ACHIEVED UNTIL THE EMERGENCY POWERS ARE LIFTED.

MOBERLY