

Mr Powell,
No 10



With the compliments of

THE PRIVATE SECRETARY

Charles

2 Tambo tels + the original message attached. Our people suggest the amendment in the draft telegram.

FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE

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hgh.

OUT TELEGRAM

	Classification CONFIDENTIAL	Caveat	Precedence DESKBY05
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6	TELNO
7	OF 051630Z JUNE 87
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9	INFO IMMEDIATE BONN, PARIS, ROME, WASHINGTON, TOKYO
10	INFO PRIORITY CAPE TOWN
11	
12	MY TELNO 158 AND TELECON HIGH COMMISSIONER/REEVE: SOUTH
13	AFRICA AT VENICE SUMMIT
14	
15	1. IN THE LIGHT OF THE LETTER FROM TAMBO TO SUMMIT PARTICIPANTS
16	(LUSAKA TELSNO 193 AND 194) AN ALTERATION NEEDS TO BE MADE TO THE
17	TEXT OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S LETTER BEFORE YOU DELIVER IT TO
18	<i>HAS BEEN AMENDED</i> MR MULRONEY. PLEASE DELETE FROM THE FOURTH PARAGRAPH OF THE
19	LETTER THE TWO SENTENCES BEGINNING QUOTE I BELIEVE TOO UNQUOTE
20	AND ENDING QUOTE DECLARATIONS OR MEDIATING INITIATIVES UNQUOTE.
21	THESE SHOULD BE REPLACED BY THE SINGLE SENTENCE QUOTE AS FAR AS
22	THE BLACKS ARE CONCERNED OUR OWN RECENT CONTACTS SHOW THAT THEY
23	TOO ARE VERY SCEPTICAL ABOUT THE VALUE OF F FURTHER WESTERN
24	MEDIATING INITIATIVES UNQUOTE.
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26	2. NO (NO) SIGNED ORIGINAL WILL FOLLOW.
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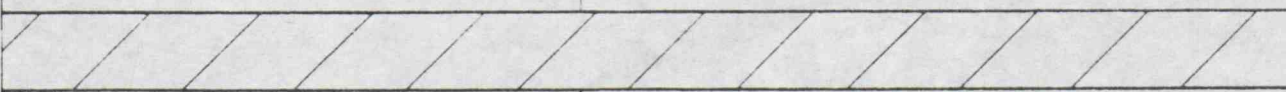
OUT TELEGRAM (CONT)

	Classification CONFIDENTIAL	Caveat	Precedence DESKBY05
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| 9 | PS |
| 10 | PS/MRS CHALKER |
| 11 | PS/PUS |
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For distribution order see Page	Catchword:
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FM LUSAKA

TO DESKBY 051200Z FCO

TELNO 194

OF 051020Z JUNE 87

AND TO IMMEDIATE CAPETOWN, PRETORIA, BONN, OTTAWA, PARIS, ROME

AND TO IMMEDIATE TOKYO, WASHINGTON

AND TO PRIORITY DAR NS SALAAM, GABORONE, HARARE, LUSANDA, MAPUTO

MIPT

MESSAGE FOR PRIME MINISTER FROM PRESIDENT, AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

1. THE TEXT OF MR TAMBO'S LETTER IS AS FOLLOWS:

~~BEGINS~~

I HAVE THE HONOUR TO PRESENT TO YOU THE COMPLIMENTS OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF OUR ORGANISATION, THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, AS WELL AS MY OWN GREETINGS.

SHORTLY, YOU WILL BE ATTENDING THE MEETING OF THE SEVEN WESTERN POWERS WHICH IS SCHEDULED TO TAKE PLACE IN VENICE, ITALY. THIS IS AN IMPORTANT GATHERING WHICH, WE BELIEVE, CANNOT AVOID TOUCHING ON THE TROUBLED ISSUE OF SOUTH AFRICA, HOWEVER BRIEFLY. IT IS IN THIS CONNECTION THAT I THOUGHT IT APPROPRIATE THAT I SHOULD CONVEY TO YOU MY OWN REFLECTIONS ON THIS MATTER.

FIRST OF ALL, I WOULD LIKE TO ASSURE YOU OF MY SINCERE APPRECIATION OF THE FACT THAT YOU HAVE SPOKEN REPEATEDLY OF YOUR REPUGNANCE FOR THE APARTHEID SYSTEM AND YOUR HOPES TO SEE IT BROUGHT TO AN END. I AM CERTAIN THAT WE SHARE A COMMON DESIRE TO SEE SOUTH AFRICA TRANSFORMED INTO A NON-RACIAL DEMOCRACY AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AND WITH THE MINIMUM OF BLOODSHED AND DESTRUCTION. THE MATTER AT ISSUE IS HOW IS THIS TO BE ACHIEVED.

THROUGHOUT ITS CAMPAIGN DURING THE RECENT WHITES-ONLY ELECTIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA, AND SINCE, THE BOTHA REGIME SOUGHT TO AFFIRM IN THE CLEAREST TERMS POSSIBLE, ITS COMMITMENT TO THE PERPETUATION OF THE APARTHEID SYSTEM. IT WON A LANDSIDE VICTORY ON THE BASIS OF THIS PLATFORM.

FRANKLY, I HAVE NOT BEEN SURPRISED BY THE KILLINGS CARRIED OUT BY PRETORIA'S COMMANDOS AND AGENTS IN BOTSWANA, ZAMBIA, ZIMBABWE, SWAZILAND AND MOZAMBIQUE BEFORE AND SINCE THESE ELECTIONS. I EXPECT THAT MORE OF THESE ATTACKS OUTSIDE THE BORDERS OF OUR COUNTRY WILL TAKE PLACE, RESULTING IN FURTHER BRUTAL MURDERS OF NATIONALS OF THESE COUNTRIES, AS HAS ALREADY HAPPENED.

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I AM EQUALLY CERTAIN THAT THE CAMPAIGN OF REPRESSION AGAINST THE TRADE UNIONS, CHURCHES, HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANISATIONS AND OTHERS WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA WILL REACH NEW LEVELS OF INTENSITY, AS WILL THE ATTEMPTS TO ASSASSINATE AS MANY OF OUR MEMBERSHIP AND SOUTH AFRICAN REFUGEES AS POSSIBLE, WHEREVER THEY MAY BE. IT WAS FOR SUCH THAT BOTHA SOUGHT A RENEWED MANDATE FROM WHITE SOUTH AFRICA, WHICH HE DELIBERATELY FRIGHTENED WITH STORIES ABOUT IMAGINED ANC PLANS TO DISRUPT THE WHITE ELECTIONS BY FORCE OF ARMS.

AT THE SAME TIME, BOTHA IS TALKING ABOUT NEGOTIATING WITH THE AFRICAN MAJORITY THROUGH A COUNCIL WHICH WILL BE CREATED SOON. I THINK THE PRIME MINISTER SHOULD BE CLEAR THAT NO GENUINE LEADERS OR REPRESENTATIVES OF THIS AFRICAN MAJORITY WILL PARTICIPATE IN THESE 'NEGOTIATIONS'. THIS IS PRECISELY BECAUSE NONE OF THESE ARE WILLING TO APPEASE BOTHA BY ALLOWING THEMSELVES TO BE DRAWN INTO A FRUITLESS EXERCISE OF TINKERING WITH APARTHEID AND ACCEPTING TO BE COOPTED AS JOINT ADMINISTRATORS OF A SYSTEM OF RACIAL DOMINATION.

NO NEGOTIATIONS CAN TAKE PLACE UNTIL THE PRETORIA REGIME ACCEPTS THAT THE PURPOSE OF SUCH NEGOTIATIONS IS TO TRANSFORM SOUTH AFRICA INTO A DEMOCRATIC COUNTRY. BOTHA'S ATTEMPTS TO DISCOVER 'MODERATE' AFRICAN LEADERS, WHO WILL NEGOTIATE WITH HIM FOR LESS THAN THIS, WILL NOT PRODUCE ANYBODY WITH EVEN AN IOTA OF LEGITIMACY IN THE EYES OF THE MAJORITY OF OUR PEOPLE. HOWEVER MUCH HE TRIES TO SUPPRESS THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT, ITS PLACE AMONG OUR PEOPLE WILL NOT BE FILLED BY INDIVIDUALS WHOM BOTHA APPOINTS AS THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THESE MILLIONS.

I AM INTERESTED THAT THE WESTERN POWERS SHOULD JOIN FORCES WITH US, AFRICA, THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT AND THE UNITED NATIONS TO END THE APARTHEID SYSTEM IN SOUTH AFRICA IN THE SHORTEST TIME POSSIBLE. IT WOULD BE VERY USEFUL IF, IN THIS REGARD, THE DISTINGUISHED LEADERS DUE TO MEET IN VENICE, COULD AGREE TO CERTAIN COMMON POSITIONS.

ONE OF THESE WOULD BE THAT THEY ARE AT ONE WITH US IN PURSUING THE OBJECTIVE OF A UNITED, DEMOCRATIC AND NON-RACIAL SOUTH AFRICA, WHOSE CONSTITUTION WOULD GUARANTEE THE RIGHTS OF ALL INDIVIDUALS, UPHOLD THE RULE OF LAW AND ENSURE THAT EACH PERSON HAS THE RIGHT TO VOTE, ON AN EQUAL BASIS. IT IS ONLY WHEN THIS IS ACHIEVED THAT VIOLENCE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, ALL OF WHICH EMANATES FROM THE APARTHEID SYSTEM, WOULD CEASE.

THE SECOND WOULD BE THAT THEY BELIEVE THAT NEGOTIATIONS CAN ONLY BE MEANINGFUL IF THEY ARE SERIOUSLY INTENDED TO PRODUCE THIS RESULT. I FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT IT WOULD ADVANCE THE COMMON CAUSE IF THE WESTERN POWERS THUS UNDOUBTFULLY DISTANCED THEMSELVES FROM ALL EFFORTS TO PERPETUATE THE APARTHEID SYSTEM IN ANY SHAPE OR FORM, AND UPHOLD AS EQUALLY LEGITIMATE AND NECESSARY IN OUR OWN COUNTRY, THE DEMOCRATIC PRACTICES WHICH OBTAIN IN THEIR OWN COUNTRIES.

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AT OUR MEETING LAST YEAR, THE HON SIR GEOFFREY HOWE AND I AGREED THAT THE UNCONDITIONAL RELEASE OF NELSON MANDELA AND OTHER POLITICAL PRISONERS WOULD MAKE AN IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION TO THE SPEEDY RESOLUTION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN QUESTION. THE PRIME MINISTER MAY SEE FIT TO RAISE THIS MATTER WITH HER COLLEAGUES IN VENICE, TO GET THE MEETING TO MAKE THIS CALL AND TO CONSIDER WAYS IN WHICH THE LEADERS COULD ACT JOINTLY TO SECURE THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF THESE EMINENT REPRESENTATIVES OF OUR PEOPLE.

FINALLY, MADAME PRIME MINISTER, I MUST MAKE THE POINT THAT I REMAIN CONVINCED THAT CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA WILL NOT COME WITHOUT INTENSE AND SUSTAINED PRESSURE AGAINST THE APARTHEID REGIME. AS THE PRIME MINISTER KNOWS, THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS HAS CONSISTENTLY ADVOCATED THE IMPOSITION OF COMPREHENSIVE SANCTIONS AGAINST APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA. DESPITE OUR DISAGREEMENTS OF THIS SCORE, I WOULD LIKE TO WELCOME THAT WE AGREE THAT NO TYRANNICAL SYSTEM HAS EVER BEEN BROUGHT TO AN END WITHOUT PRESSURE AND STRUGGLE.

PL

PLEASE ACCEPT, MADAME PRIME MINISTER, THE ASSURANCES OF MY ESTEEM.

OLIVER R TAMBO
PRESIDENT, ANC

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TO DESKBY 051200Z FCO

TELNO 193

OF 051020Z JUNE 87

AND TO IMMEDIATE CAPETOWN, PRETORIA, BONN, OTTAWA, PARIS, ROME

AND TO IMMEDIATE TOKYO, WASHINGTON

AND TO PRIORITY DAR ES SALAAM, GABORONE, HARARE, LUANDA, MAPUTO

VENICE SUMMIT; MESSAGE FOR PRIME MINISTER FROM PRESIDENT, AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC)

SUMMARY

1. MIFT GIVES THE TEXT OF A LETTER TO THE PRIME MINISTER, AS A PARTICIPANT IN THE VENICE SUMMIT, FROM MR TAMBO ABOUT SOUTH AFRICA. SIMILAR MESSAGES HAVE GONE TO OTHER SUMMIT COUNTRY REPRESENTATIVES HERE. THE LETTER, DATED 4 JUNE, REFERS TO RECENT DEVELOPMENTS CONCERNING SOUTH AFRICA AND CALLS ON THE VENICE PARTICIPANTS TO ADOPT 'CERTAIN COMMON POSITIONS'. THESE LATTER WOULD REPRESENT A DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES FOR POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA, WHICH THE ANC WISH THE SUMMIT PARTNERS TO ACCEPT AS THE BASIS FOR 'MEANINGFUL' CONSTITUTIONAL NEGOTIATIONS. MR TAMBO WANTS TO SEE THE ISSUE OF SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICAL PRISONERS RAISED. THE LETTER IS MODERATE AND CAREFULLY TAILORED, EG ON SANCTIONS.

DETAIL

2. THABO MBEKI, ANC'S DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION, CALLED ON THE DHC YESTERDAY EVENING, 4 JUNE, TO HAND OVER MR TAMBO'S MESSAGE (ORIGINAL FOLLOWS BY BAG). THE MESSAGE TO US AND OTHERS HAS NOT BEEN MADE PUBLIC HERE.

3. MBEKI DECLINED TO ELABORATE ON THE LETTER, PROABLY, IN PART, BECAUSE IT REPRESENTS THE OUTCOME OF PROTRACTED DISCUSSIONS AMONGST THE DIFFERENT INTEREST GROUPS WITHIN THE ANC. THE MESSAGE REPRESENTS A VICTORY FOR THE MODERATE ELEMENTS. IT MAY BE INTENDED TO COUNTER BALANCE ANY MESSAGE FROM MR BOTHA TO THE SUMMIT ATTEMPTING TO GAIN SUPPORT FOR FRESH INITIATIVES BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT ON CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS FOR THE BLACK POPULATION. THE TEXT CAREFULLY PLAYS DOWN THE ISSUE OF VIOLENCE. T THE LETTER CALLS FOR 'INTENSE AND SUSTAINED PRESSURE AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA' BUT FALLS SHORT OF CALLING ON BRITAIN TO IMPOSE COMPREHENSIVE SANCTIONS. (COMMENT: INTERESTINGLY, THE LETTER SENT TO THE GERMANS DOES CALL ON THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO INTRODUCE SUCH.)

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3. MR TAMBO DOES NOT ASK FOR A REPLY TO HIS MESSAGE BUT IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF, FOLLOWING THE SUMMIT, YOU COULD AGREE TO OUR BRIEFING THE ANC, INFORMALLY AND IN GENERAL TERMS, ABOUT ANY DISCUSSION THERE ON SOUTH AFRICA.

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