

FROM: Sir J Leahy
DATE: 28 November 1983

Mr Coles

CC: Sir R Armstrong
PUS
Mr Ingham
Mr Goldsmith

DRAFT COMMUNIQUE ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

As expected the passage on Southern Africa in the Communique took up more of the time of the Drafting Committee than anything else. The original draft, which had been prepared by the Secretariat, was not too bad and we could have agreed to it with only one or two changes but in the event the African, Indian and some Caribbean representatives were intent on "hotting it up" ^{and} we ran into a lot of trouble. Apart from pressing for more colourful language about the South Africans, they were intent on trying to get the two Commonwealth members of the Contact Group (Canada and ourselves) to measure our distance from the Americans and to bring pressure to bear on the Americans to drop linkage etc. They were also insistent on condemning the recent constitutional changes introduced by the South African Government as fraudulent and designed to "entrench and strengthen apartheid", even though as I discovered later there was hardly a person in the room, apart from myself, who had even read the constitutional proposals. With some help from the Canadians and by dint of a hard slog we were able to get some amendments made to meet these difficulties. I would not wish to pretend, however, that the resultant text is satisfactory: far from it, it is not the sort of language that we would dream of putting our name to in any other circumstances.

You may like to draw the Prime Minister's attention to the following particular points:

2.) Paragraph 4 (Heads of Government expressed their indignation ...)

13 "Acts of aggression" (third line) and "which endangered international peace and security" (~~ninth~~ ^{seventh} line), came close to the language of Chapter VII of the UN Charter which we normally try to avoid but

I think we can probably wear these phrases, and do not suggest that the Prime Minister need challenge them. The paragraph is, of course, thoroughly unbalanced in that it makes no attempt to recognise that there are other sources of violence in Southern Africa ie that perpetrated by the "Liberation Movements".

3rd Paragraph ("Heads of Government ^{recalled} ~~recorded~~ their view"...)

14 We spent a lot of time on this paragraph, because we thought it quite wrong to go along with those who condemned the constitutional proposals out of hand. It is not that we approve of them but merely that we think it necessary to suspend judgement about what they pretend, as Sir Geoffrey Howe explained in his recent speech to the RCS. Hence, the formula, "the overwhelming majority of Heads of Government", which indicates divided opinions.

4th Paragraph ("Heads of Government were of the view that only the eradication of apartheid"...)

15 This is a new paragraph inserted by the Africans. We abstained on a similar formula not long ago in the United Nations because we did not think it right to try to prescribe to the South Africans the precise form that new constitutional changes should take, ie there could conceivably be some other constitutional arrangement than one man one vote. However, as we did not have the possibility of recording an abstention on this occasion, we thought it right to go along with the majority despite our reservations.

5th Paragraph ("Heads of Government agreed that Namibia...")

16 The last sentence of this paragraph follows closely the wording of the final paragraph of the UN Security Council Resolution for which we recently voted in the United Nations. Although in a sense it foreshadows sanctions it is careful not to commit us to them, and I believe we can live with it.

6th Paragraph ("In support of SCR 539)(1983)...")
Last sentence but one

16 This is another ~~paragraph~~ ^{passage} inserted by the Africans. As originally drafted it urged the other members of the Contact Group to try to exercise their influence on the Americans to drop linkage.



We succeeded in getting it amended to this relatively innocuous form.

7th Paragraph ("Heads of Government re-affirmed their commitment to uphold...")

17

This paragraph on sport is more or less all right. We would have liked to have had the words "with satisfaction" removed from the last sentence, since the English member of the Federation (the Commonwealth Games Council for England) abstained on the CGF's new code of conduct, together with the New Zealand Association. However, the New Zealand Association thought that it was not worth making a fuss about and since the wording of the sentence fell short of actually endorsing what the CGF had done we went along with it.

8th Paragraph ("In the continuing struggle"...))

18

This was a paragraph inserted by the Africans, as a follow-up to Sir L Pindling's suggestion in the Executive Committee session this morning. The original wording referred specifically to propaganda conducted by South Africa and its friends in the United States and other Western Industrialised countries. We got it changed and though I do not much like it I think we can live with it.

2 remaining paragraphs

19/20

There are no problems about these.

Leahy
John Leahy

NDL $\frac{28}{u}$
h-a

From: BUS

Date: 28 November 1983

Sir J Leahy

cc: PS/No 10✓
Sir R Armstrong
Mr Squire
Mr Goldsmith
CAFD
SAFD

MR SAM NUJOMA

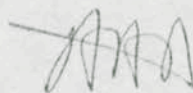
1. As arranged, I saw Mr Nujoma in the Conference Centre this morning. He was accompanied by a member of his Executive Committee whom I had met in Luanda and who is, I think, responsible for foreign affairs.
2. Mr Nujoma spoke with considerable passion and no doubt with a good deal of exaggeration. His message was simple: pressure must be brought on South Africa to implement the UN Resolutions on Namibia and the only countries who could do it were the United States and Britain. Britain, however, was reluctant to use her influence because of her commercial interests and investment in South Africa. Britain paid lip service to UN Resolutions, but was unwilling to do anything to see them implemented. He referred to the supply of radar to South Africa which he said was being used to direct South African planes to attack Angola. He compared the struggle against South Africa with the struggle against Hitler and Mussolini. He said that Britain would be seriously judged by history for the failure to make the South Africans shift their position, and this would not be forgotten by future generations of Africans.
3. The whole question of the Cubans and linkage was irrelevant. It was for the independent government of Angola to decide who they wanted in their country. He pooh-pooh'ed the idea of an African or regional force to replace the Cubans to give the Angolans some security. He repeated that it was entirely for the Angolans to decide.

/4. I

4. I countered all this as best I could. I said that we did our best individually and through the Contact Group to influence the South Africans. We thought it right to maintain a dialogue with them and Mr Botha was coming to London as part of his European tour. We firmly supported the UN Resolutions calling for the independence of Namibia and we wanted to see them implemented. We did not accept the validity of linkage and that was made clear by our votes in the UN. Nevertheless, the problem of the Cubans was a reality. We were scrupulous in not supplying arms to Africa. The radar equipment was for peaceful purposes. Mr Nujoma must give us credit for our de-colonisation policy. If we were in sole charge of Namibia and were in the driving seat, Namibia would be independent like Kenya, Tanzania and Zimbabwe and all our other territories. In this case, however, we were not solely responsible and were not in the driving seat, and our influence was ^{not} paramount but we did our best. Mr Nujoma did not seem impressed!

5. He said that he would be touring Europe in December visiting Spain, Italy, Germany (but not France); he had an invitation from friends in Britain and would be there probably from 19 to 22 December. During that time, he would like to call on the Prime Minister or Sir Geoffrey Howe so that they could hear his views. I of course made no commitment at all but merely said that I noted his plans. He will be in contact with our Embassy in Luanda or High Commission in Lusaka to give firm details.

6. Finally, he said that he was grateful for the scholarships which had been offered to some of his people, but would like more.



Antony Acland

P.S. Mr Nujoma maintained that appalling things were being done by the South Africans to destroy Namibia. People were being oppressed and many were being killed. He said that poison gas mortar shells had been used in certain places. Wild life and livestock were being driven away. The coasts were being greatly over-fished so that stocks were now totally depleted - and more in this vein.