

GRS 750

**CONFIDENTIAL**

AMENDED DISTRIBUTION 4/6

CONFIDENTIAL

FM WASHINGTON

TO PRIORITY FCO

TELNO 1463

OF 302030Z MAY 86

INFO ROUTINE CAPETOWN, LUSAKA, HARARE, GABORONE

INFO SAVING UKMIS NEW YORK

WASHINGTON TELNO 1406: US/SOUTH AFRICA

SUMMARY

1. PRESIDENT YET TO REPLY TO PW BOTHA. PUBLIC AND CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST IN SOUTH AFRICA INTENSIFYING. STATE APPREHENSIVE.

DETAIL

2. HARRIS (DEPUTY DIRECTOR, SOUTHERN AFRICAN AFFAIRS) TOLD US ON 30 MAY THAT THE PRESIDENT'S RESPONSE TO P W BOTHA'S LETTER HAD STILL NOT ISSUED. A ROBUST DRAFT HAD BEEN CLEARED BY SHULTZ AND POINDEXTER AND WAS NOW BEING CONSIDERED IN THE WHITE HOUSE.

BUT, HARRIS ADDED IN STRICT CONFIDENCE, STATE WERE AWARE OF SOME FURTHER INFORMAL CONTACTS ON THE RIGHT-WING NET BETWEEN P W BOTHA AND THE PRESIDENT. IT WAS THEREFORE POSSIBLE THAT THE TEXT WOULD NOW BE WATERED DOWN.

3. HARRIS SAID THAT STATE WOULD BE DISAPPOINTED BY SUCH AN OUTCOME. HE ADDED THAT IT WOULD BE MOST USEFUL TO KNOW THE CONTENTS OF POST-RAID EXCHANGES BETWEEN THE PRIME MINISTER AND BOTHA SINCE IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT THE SOUTH AFRICANS SHOULD NOT BE IN A POSITION TO DIVIDE THE US AND THE UK. SUCH INFORMATION COULD BE PASSED AT A HIGH LEVEL (EG ARMACOST OR POINDEXTER) AND WOULD BE CAREFULLY PROTECTED (THERE IS NOTHING IN UKMIS NEW YORK TELNO 550 TO INDICATE THAT RECENT EXCHANGES WERE DISCUSSED IN ANY DETAIL WITH SHULTZ: GRATEFUL FOR INSTRUCTIONS).

4. HARRIS CONFIRMED THAT STATE'S ASSESSMENT WAS THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN RAIDS WERE CONTINUING TO HAVE A MAJOR IMPACT ON PUBLIC AND CONGRESSIONAL OPINION. STATE FEARED THAT THIS WOULD BE COMPOUNDED BY THE VIOLENCE LIKELY TO MARK THE SOWETO ANNIVERSARY NEXT MONTH, AND BY THE SWINGING NEW REPRESSIVE MEASURES EXPECTED TO BE INTRODUCED BY THE SAG NEXT WEEK (HARRIS SAID THAT THESE MEASURES WERE AT THE TOP OF THE IMMEDIATE US AGENDA WITH THE SAG, ALONG-SIDE GROWING CONCERNS ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS DURING DETENTION).

**CONFIDENTIAL**

15.

## CONFIDENTIAL

5. HARRIS ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE PRESIDENT HAD SO FAR SAID NEXT TO NOTHING ABOUT RECENT SOUTH AFRICAN DEVELOPMENTS. STATE WERE RECOMMENDING THAT HE SHOULD SOON TRY TO TAKE THE INITIATIVE, AND THE NSC APPEARED TO AGREE, BUT ELEMENTS IN THE WHITE HOUSE WERE URGING THAT HE SHOULD KEEP HIS POWDER DRY UNTIL CONGRESSIONAL PRESSURES HAD INTENSIFIED. SPEAKING PERSONALLY, HARRIS JUDGED THAT SOME IN THE WHITE HOUSE SUSPECTED THAT THIS MIGHT PROVE TO BE AN ISSUE THE PRESIDENT SIMPLY COULD NOT WIN, AND ONE ON WHICH HIS PROFILE SHOULD THEREFORE REMAIN LOWER THAN THE STATE DEPARTMENT ADVISED.

6. STATE EXPECT THE KENNEDY/GRAY 1986 ANTI-APARTHEID BILL (WASHINGTON TELNO 1389) TO BE MARKED UP ON 4 JUNE AND TO REACH THE FLOOR OF THE HOUSE BY MID-MONTH. THEIR UNDERSTANDING IS THAT ELEMENTS FROM THE TOUCHER DELLUMS BILL (WOODLEY'S 10 APRIL TELELETTER TO HUMFREY, SAFD) MAY THEN BE ADDED. AND THEY NOW THINK IT LIKELY THAT QUOTE SERIOUS UNQUOTE SANCTIONS PROPOSALS WILL PASS IN THE HOUSE BEFORE THE SUMMER RECESS. AS FOR THE SENATE, HARRIS SAID THAT STATE WERE PRESENTLY PICKING UP WORRYING INDICATIONS THAT A NUMBER OF PAST SUPPORTERS OF THE ADMINISTRATION ON SOUTH AFRICA WERE HAVING SECOND THOUGHTS. THE ADMINISTRATION WOULD STICK TO THEIR GUNS AS LONG AS THEY COULD, BUT THERE CLEARLY WERE GROUNDS FOR CONCERN ABOUT THE CONGRESSIONAL PROSPECTS.

7. HARRIS SAID THAT THE ISSUE MIGHT IN ANY CASE COME TO A HEAD IN CONGRESS BEFORE THE AUTUMN, GIVEN THE KENNEDY/WEICKER ATTEMPT TO ATTACH A SOUTH AFRICAN AMENDMENT TO THE TAX BILL (WOODLEY'S 13 MAY TELELETTER TO PRENDERGAST, SAFD). IN THE INTERESTS OF THE TAX BILL ITSELF, SENATOR PACKWOOD WAS SO FAR FIGHTING HARD AGAINST AMENDMENTS OF ANY SORT, BUT MORE BAD NEWS FROM SOUTH AFRICA COULD TIP THE BALANCE. IF SO, THE KENNEDY/WEICKER PROVISION SEEMED LIKELY TO PASS - WHICH WOULD HAVE A SUBSTANTIAL DISINVESTMENT IMPACT.

8. STATE ARE ALSO CONCERNED ABOUT THE REPERCUSSIONS OF TUTU'S CURRENT VISIT, AND OF THE QUOTE WITNESS TO APARTHEID UNQUOTE FILM (HARRIS FEARED THAT THE FILM COULD PROVE PARTICULARLY EXPLOSIVE).

2  
CONFIDENTIAL

/ 9.

# CONFIDENTIAL

9. MEANWHILE, SEVERAL OTHER DEVELOPMENTS IN THE PIPELINE ENSURE THAT THE REVIVAL OF INTEREST IN SOUTH AFRICA DOES NOT DISSIPATE. SHULTZ'S ADVISORY COMMITTEE ARE HOLDING TWO DAYS OF OPEN HEARINGS ON 2/3 JUNE. SHULTZ HIMSELF WILL BE ADDRESSING A SOUTH AFRICA WORKING GROUP CONFERENCE OF RELIGIOUS GROUPS NEXT WEEK. BOESAK IS ABOUT TO ARRIVE. THE FORD FOUNDATION IS SHORTLY TO HOST A CONFERENCE ON SOUTH AFRICA'S FUTURE WHICH WILL BRING TOGETHER BOTH WHITE CONSERVATIVES AND THE ANC (MBEKI WILL BE CALLING ON STATE). AND OPPENHEIMER'S SOUTH AFRICA BEYOND APARTHEID GROUP WILL BE HERE IN MID-JUNE.

10. IN SHORT, A RECEPTIVE ATMOSPHERE FOR ANY NEWS - GOOD OR BAD - OUT OF SOUTH AFRICA OR THE EPC EXERCISE.

WRIGHT

SOUTH AFRICA

LIMITED

S AF D

C AF D

UND

ECD(E)

NEWS D

LEGAL ADVISERS

PLANNING STAFF

CCD

CONS D

SCD

PUSD

DEF D

PS

PS/LADY YOUNG

PS/MRS CHALKER

PS/PUS

MR DEREK THOMAS

MR FERGUSSON

MR REEVE

CABINET OFFICE

COPIES TO:-

GS SEC(2) MOD

ASSESSMENTS STAFF CABINET OFFICE

COPIES SENT TO  
No. 10 DOWNING STREET

3

# CONFIDENTIAL