

CONFIDENTIAL

FM WASHINGTON

TO DESKBY 210800Z FCO

TELNO 1650

OF 202330Z JUNE 86

INFO PRIORITY PARIS, BONN, ROME, CAPE TOWN, THE HAGUE, OTTAWA

INFO PRIORITY TOKYO, CANBERRA

*Time limit  
It is very  
short. It is  
monstrous*

YOUR TELNO 1116: US/SOUTH AFRICA

1 MINISTER PUT THE POINTS CONTAINED IN TUR TO CROCKER ON 20 JUNE.

2 CROCKER MADE CLEAR THAT HE WAS NOT EXPECTING CRITICAL CONGRESSIONAL ACTION IN THE SHORT TERM. ALTHOUGH THE HOUSE'S ADOPTION OF THE DELLUMS BILL (MY TELNO 1630) INTRODUCED A NEW DIMENSION, LUGAR WAS STILL NOT PLANNING SENATE HEARINGS UNTIL THE SECOND OR THIRD WEEK OF JULY. GIVEN THE DELLUMS DEVELOPMENT, IT WAS BY NO MEANS CLEAR WHAT MEASURES THE SENATE WOULD BE CONSIDERING. MANY COMMITTEES WOULD DOUBTLESS GET INVOLVED, BUT LUGAR WAS LIKELY TO BE THE KEY PLAYER.

*Foreign office  
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wait for  
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can.*

3 CROCKER DID NOT DISGUISE THE FACT THAT PRESSURE FOR ACTION BY THE ADMINISTRATION WAS MOUNTING. BUT THE 1985 PLOY OF THE PRESIDENT'S EXECUTIVE ORDER COULD NOT BE REPEATED: CONGRESS WOULD WISH TO BE ON THE RECORD THIS TIME ROUND. NEVERTHELESS, CONGRESS WAS STILL IN SOME DISARRAY ON THE SUBJECT AND THE ADMINISTRATION EXPECTED TO BE ABLE TO HOLD THE LINE FOR THE TIME BEING - SO LONG AS US ALLIES WERE EQUALLY RESOLUTE. IN CROCKER'S VIEW, THE GREAT NEED NOW WAS FOR THE CLOSEST POSSIBLE WESTERN COORDINATION. IT WOULD BE FATAL FOR US EITHER TO UNDERCUT ONE ANOTHER, OR TO BE PICKED OFF INDIVIDUALLY (CROCKER SAID THAT THE AMERICANS WOULD BE MAKING THESE POINTS AT A HIGH LEVEL TO THE FRENCH ON 23 JUNE, AND LATER NEXT WEEK TO THE JAPANESE). A JOINT APPROACH TO WHATEVER ADDITIONAL PRESSURES WERE NOW APPROPRIATE WOULD ALSO HAVE FAR MORE IMPACT ON THE SOUTH AFRICANS.

4 CROCKER SUGGESTED THAT WE SHOULD URGENTLY CONSIDER HOW BEST TO ACHIEVE SUCH COORDINATION (HE SHOWED SOME INTEREST IN THE REPORTS OF KOHL'S SUPPORT FOR A US/FRANCE/UK/FRG SUMMIT - BONN TELNO 524). WITH THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL MEETING ON 26/27 JUNE TIME WAS SHORT. CROCKER WONDERED WHETHER A POSSIBLE OUTCOME TO THAT MEETING COULD BE A CONCLUSION THAT FINAL DECISIONS ON FUTURE ACTION SHOULD NOT BE TAKEN WITHOUT SEEKING A COORDINATED APPROACH WITH THE NON-EC MEMBERS OF THE SUMMIT SEVEN (IDEALLY, WITH HMG IN ITS PRESIDENCY CAPACITY ENTRUSTED WITH THE COORDINATION ON BEHALF OF THE EC). DAVIDOW SUGGESTED THAT SUCH TACTICS MIGHT ALSO MAKE IT EASIER TO AGREE ON MORE LIMITED MEASURES, ON THE GROUNDS THAT ANY STEPS TAKEN WITH US SUPPORT WOULD CUT FAR MORE ICE WITH THE SAG THAN WHATEVER COUNTRIES SUCH AS DENMARK OR IRELAND MIGHT DECIDE FOR THEMSELVES. AN APPROACH ALONG THESE LINES WOULD ALSO HAVE THE MERIT OF HELPING THE US ADMINISTRATION TO KEEP THE INITIATIVE AWAY FROM CONGRESS, AND WOULD PRESUMABLY ALSO HELP THE UK WITHIN THE COMMONWEALTH. BUT THE FIRST PRIORITY SEEMED TO BE TO CLEAR THE HURDLE OF THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL WITHOUT LAUNCHING WHAT RISKED BECOMING A SERIES OF UNCOORDINATED, LEAP-FROGGING STEPS.

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COMMENT

5 SEEN FROM HERE, CROCKER'S THINKING HAS ITS ATTRACTIONS AND SEEMS CONSISTENT WITH THAT BEHIND PARA 7 OF TUR AND YOUR TELEGRAM 514 TO TOKYO. IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF WE COULD LET HIM HAVE A FURTHER INDICATION OF YOUR THINKING EARLY NEXT WEEK, PARTICULARLY AS REGARDS THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL.

6 AS FOR CROCKER'S ASSESSMENT OF CONGRESSIONAL PRESSURES, WE JUDGE THAT THE SENATE IS UNLIKELY TO PASS ANY SANCTIONS PROPOSAL BEFORE THE SUMMER BREAK (15 AUGUST TO 8 SEPTEMBER), ALTHOUGH LUGAR'S HEARINGS (AT WHICH SHULTZ, AMONG OTHERS, IS EXPECTED TO TESTIFY) WILL DOUBTLESS ATTRACT WIDE PUBLICITY. WE UNDERSTAND THAT ALTHOUGH LUGAR HAS YET TO MAKE UP HIS MIND ABOUT SANCTIONS, HE IS NOW THINKING THAT QUOTE SOMETHING FURTHER NEEDS TO BE DONE UNQUOTE. EVEN IF THE SENATE DID PASS A BILL BEFORE 15 AUGUST, IT WOULD STILL HAVE TO GO TO CONFERENCE WITH THE DELLUMS BILL, WHICH STANDS NO CHANCE OF BEING ACCEPTED IN ITS PRESENT FORM. BARRING DRAMATIC NEW DEVELOPMENTS, THERE SEEMS LITTLE PROSPECT OF NEW SANCTIONS LEGISLATION EMERGING IN THE NEXT THREE MONTHS.

7 THAT SAID, AS I HAVE POINTED OUT BEFORE, THERE ARE EVIDENT DOMESTIC PRESSURES ON THE WHITE HOUSE, WITH AN ELECTION LOOMING AND WITH THE PRESIDENT'S ADVISERS CONSCIOUS THAT LAST YEAR HE WAS SEEN AS BEING ON THE DEFENSIVE ON THIS ISSUE. WE KNOW THAT THOUGHT IS BEING GIVEN TO HAVING THE PRESIDENT TAKE A HIGHER PROFILE (MORE CRITICAL OF THE SAG), ALTHOUGH STATE ARE STILL UNDERSTANDABLY APPREHENSIVE OF THE PRESIDENT'S PERSONAL VIEWS. SIMILARLY, CROCKER DID NOT RULE OUT THE POSSIBILITY OF A PRESIDENTIAL EMISSARY, ABOUT WHICH THERE HAS BEEN SPECULATION IN THE PRESS, ALTHOUGH HE WAS CERTAIN THAT NOW WAS NOT THE MOMENT TO LAUNCH SUCH A TACTIC.

8 OUR ASSESSMENT THEREFORE REMAINS THAT, IF THE PRESSURE CONTINUES TO MOUNT, THERE WILL BE A LIMIT TO HOW LONG THE ADMINISTRATION CAN IN PRACTICE HOLD THE LINE. BUT A KEY FACTOR IN ALL THIS WILL BE WHAT STEPS THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY OR THE COMMONWEALTH TAKE: THERE ARE NO SIMILAR DEADLINES LOOMING FOR THE AMERICANS, ALTHOUGH SHULTZ'S ADVISORY COMMITTEE ALWAYS COULD SET THE CAT AMONG THE PIGEONS BY ISSUING AN INTERIM REPORT, AND NEXT MONTH'S VISITS BY FRASER AND OBASANJO COULD HAVE THEIR OWN REPERCUSSIONS. SIMILARLY, IF THE AMERICANS DID CONCLUDE THAT THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND/OR THE COMMONWEALTH WERE INTENDING TO INTRODUCE NEW MEASURES, THE PRESIDENT MIGHT SEE ADVANTAGE IN TAKING AN INITIATIVE OF HIS OWN.

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

NAD  
PS  
PS/LADY YOUNG  
PS/MRS CHALKER  
PS/PUS  
MR DEREK THOMAS  
MR FERGUSSON  
MR REEVE  
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