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PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T117B/86

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FM FCO
TO FLASH PRETORIA
TELNO 81
OF 271900Z JUNE 86

EUROPEAN COUNCIL: SOUTH AFRICA

1. PLEASE GIVE THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO
PRESIDENT BOTHA JUST AS SOON AS POSSIBLE:

BEGINS

DEAR MR PRESIDENT,

I HAVE JUST GOT BACK TO LONDON FROM THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL IN
THE HAGUE AND WANT TO LET YOU HAVE STRAIGHTAWAY AN ACCOUNT OF OUR
DISCUSSION OF SOUTH AFRICA. I AM ASKING OUR AMBASSADOR TO HAND
OVER TO YOU THE TEXT OF THE COUNCIL'S CONCLUSIONS. THESE, AND
NOTHING ELSE, ARE WHAT ALL TWELVE GOVERNMENTS AGREED AND PUT
THEIR NAMES TO, WHATEVER OTHER CLAIMS YOU MAY HEAR.

OF COURSE, THERE ARE PASSAGES WHICH WILL BE UNWELCOME TO
YOU. BUT OVERALL THE THRUST AND INTENTION IS POSITIVE: A
DESIRE TO HELP FIND A PEACEFUL WAY FORWARD IN SOUTH AFRICA. WE
AGREED A NUMBER OF ADDITIONAL MEASURES TO ASSIST BLACK SOUTH
AFRICANS. THE COMMUNITY HAS ALSO ASKED GEOFFREY HOWE TO VISIT
SOUTH AFRICA TO SEE IN WHAT WAYS WE CAN HELP THE PROCESS OF
NEGOTIATION, ON WHICH YOU HAVE TOLD US YOU HOPE TO EMBARK.

DESPITE THE INITIAL WISH OF A MAJORITY OF MEMBER STATES TO
PROCEED IN IMMEDIATE ADOPTION OF MEASURES AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA,
HELMUT KOHL AND I - WITH HELP FROM MR CAVACO SILVA - RESISTED
THIS. WE BROUGHT OUR COLLEAGUES TO ACCEPT THAT CONSIDERATION

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SHOULD BE DEFERRED, AND CONSULTATIONS HELD WITH THE US, JAPAN AND OTHERS. WE WERE EMPHATIC THAT YOU SHOULD NOT BE PRESENTED WITH AN ULTIMATUM.

A GREAT DEAL NOW TURNS ON THE SUCCESS OF GEOFFREY HOWE'S MISSION. NATURALLY I HOPE YOU WILL EXTEND A WELCOME TO HIM AND ASSUME THAT YOU WILL SEE HIM YOURSELF. HE WILL BE IN TOUCH WITH YOUR FOREIGN MINISTER TO DISCUSS ARRANGEMENTS AND TIMING. YOU WILL APPRECIATE THAT IT WILL BE ESSENTIAL FOR HIM TO HAVE ACCESS TO ALL SHADES OF OPINION IN SOUTH AFRICA, INCLUDING MR MANDELA.

I MOST EARNESTLY HOPE THAT DURING THIS PERIOD YOU WILL DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO AVOID ANY ACTIONS THAT MIGHT HAZARD THE DELICATE PROCESS THAT WE ARE TRYING TO PUT IN PLACE. INDEED I HOPE YOU WILL BE ABLE TO ADOPT TANGIBLE MEASURES TO DEMONSTRATE THAT YOUR REFORMIST POLICIES ARE STILL ON COURSE, PARTICULARLY YOUR INTENTION TO GRANT POLITICAL RIGHTS TO BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS. THE STEP WHICH WOULD DO MORE THAN ANYTHING TO UNDERLINE THIS INTENTION WOULD BE THE RELEASE OF MR MANDELA. THIS WOULD ALSO DO MUCH TO REASSURE THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

I HOPE THAT WE CAN USE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO ACHIEVE THE PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS WHICH I KNOW YOU EARNESTLY SEEK.

WITH BEST WISHES,
YOURS SINCERELY,
MARGARET THATCHER
ENDS

HOWE
LIMITED
HD/SAFD
PS
PS/MRS CHALKER
PS/PUS
MR. FERGUSSON
MR. REEVE

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10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

27 June 1986

Dear Colm,

EUROPEAN COUNCIL: SOUTH AFRICA

I enclose a message from the Prime Minister to President Botha about the outcome of the discussions on South Africa at the European Council, together with the conclusions. I should be grateful if this could be telegraphed flash to Cape Town this evening for immediate delivery to President Botha late tonight or early tomorrow morning.

The text has not been seen by the Foreign Secretary though draws upon a draft which Tony Reeve prepared.

Yes surely
C D Powell
C D POWELL

Colin Budd, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

SECRET

MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO THE HON. P. W. BOTHA

Dear Mr. President,

I have just got back to London from the European Council in the Hague and want to let you have straightaway an account of our discussion of South Africa. I am asking our Ambassador to hand over to you the text of the Council's conclusions. These, and nothing else, are what all twelve governments agreed and put their name to, whatever other claims you may hear.

Of course there are passages which will be unwelcome to you. But overall the thrust and intention is positive: a desire to help find a peaceful way forward in South Africa. We agreed a number of additional measures to assist black South Africans. The Community has also asked Geoffrey Howe to visit South Africa to see in what ways we can help the process of negotiation, on which you have told us you hope to embark.

Despite the initial wish of a majority of member states to proceed in immediate adoption of measures against South Africa, Helmut Kohl and I - with help from Mr. Cavaco Silva - resisted this. We brought our colleagues to accept that consideration should be deferred, and consultations held with the US, Japan and others. We were emphatic that you should not be presented with an ultimatum.

A great deal now turns on the success of Geoffrey Howe's mission. Naturally I hope you will extend a welcome to him and assume that you will see him yourself. He will be in touch with your Foreign Minister to discuss arrangements and timing. You will appreciate that it will be essential for

him to have access to all shades of opinion in South Africa, including Mr. Mandela.

I most earnestly hope that during this period you will be able to adopt tangible measures to demonstrate that your reformist policies are still on course, particularly your intention to grant political rights to black South Africans. The step which would do more than anything to underline this intention would be the release of Mr. Mandela,

This would also do much to reassure the international community.

I hope that we can use this opportunity to achieve the peaceful negotiations which I know you earnestly seek.

With best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

Margaret Thatcher

TEXT OF STATEMENT ON SOUTH AFRICA MADE BY THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL AT
THE HAGUE ON 27 JUNE 1986

1. The European Council is gravely concerned about the rapid deterioration of the situation and the increasing levels of violence in South Africa. The reimposition of the State of Emergency and the indiscriminate arrest of thousands of South Africans can only further delay the start of a genuine national dialogue on South Africa's future, which is so urgently needed if a peaceful solution of the country's problems is to be found. Furthermore extensive censorship has been imposed on the media, the European Council believes that the present policies of the South African Government can only lead to increasing repression, polarisation and bloodshed.
2. Against this background, the European Council has re-examined the Twelve's policy towards South Africa. It reaffirms that the main goal of this policy is the total abolition of apartheid. To support the process of non-violent change in South Africa and to emphasise their deep concern about the recent course of events, the Heads of State and Government have decided to take additional action.
3. The European Council has declared itself in favour of a concerted European programme of assistance to the victims of apartheid, encompassing both Community and national action, in order to maximise the effectiveness of Europe's contribution in this field. In this connection the European Council has agreed on an increase in financial and material assistance to the victims of apartheid, in particular those affected by the disturbances in Crossroads and to political prisoners, including those arrested in connection with the recent reimposition of the State of Emergency.
4. The European Council is convinced that the commencement without delay of a national dialogue with the authentic leaders of the black populations is essential to halt a further escalation of violence and allow negotiations leading to a truly democratic and non-racial South Africa.

This dialogue cannot take place as long as recognised leaders of the black community are detained and their organisations are proscribed.

In this context the European Council calls on the South African Government:

- to unconditionally release Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners

- to lift the ban on the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and other political parties.

5. In the meantime in the next three months the Community will enter into consultations with the other industrialised countries on further measures which might be needed covering in particular a ban on new investments, the import of coal, iron, steel and gold coins from South Africa.

6. The European Council decided to ask the future UK Presidency Foreign Minister to visit Southern Africa, in a further effort to establish conditions in which the necessary dialogue can commence.