

FM HARARE

TO DESKBY 101230Z FCO

TELNO 284

OF 101125Z JULY 86

IEFO IMMEDIATE LUSAKA, PRETORIA, WASHINGTON

SECRETARY OF STATE'S MEETING WITH MR MUGABE

SUMMARY

1. THE SECRETARY OF STATE EXPLAINED REASONS FOR A FURTHER PUSH FOR NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. MUGABE EXPRESSED SCEPTICISM ABOUT PROSPECTS OF SUCCESS. ONLY PRESSURE WOULD MOVE THE SOUTH AFRICANS, IN THE FORM OF SANCTIONS AND MILITARY ACTION BY THE ANC. HE QUESTIONED BRITISH MOTIVES: THE SECRETARY OF STATE REFUTED THIS FIRMLY.

DETAIL

2. THE SECRETARY OF STATE EXPLAINED THE REASONS FOR HIS MISSION ON BEHALF OF THE EC. DIALOGUE WOULD BRING CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA MORE QUICKLY THAN ALTERNATIVE PATH OF MOUNTING VIOLENCE, WHICH WOULD SLOW CHANGE. THE SAG HAD AN ENORMOUS CAPACITY TO RESIST SUCH PRESSURES. WE SHOULD TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE CHANGES ALREADY OCCURRING IN SOUTH AFRICA AND ENCOURAGE THE PROGRESSIVE ELEMENTS THERE TO PRESS FOR MORE. A NUMBER OF ECONOMIC MEASURES HAD ALREADY BEEN TAKEN AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA, AND THE EC WERE STUDYING FURTHER MEASURES IN CASE THEY WERE NEEDED. BUT A FURTHER ATTEMPT AT DIALOGUE WAS ESSENTIAL. SANCTIONS WOULD NOT BRING DOWN THE REGIME QUICKLY, AND THE SAG WOULD RETALIATE, IN PARTICULAR AT ZIMBABWEAN TRANSPORT ROUTES. OUR OBJECTIVE ASSESSMENT WAS THAT THE SAG WOULD BE MORE FIRMLY ENTRENCHED AS A RESULT OF COMPREHENSIVE SANCTIONS AND THAT GREAT DAMAGE WOULD BE DONE TO THE FLS AND THE BLACK POPULATION. HE HAD NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT THE DIFFICULTY OF HIS MISSION, BUT THOUGHT A FURTHER ATTEMPT TO OBTAIN THE RELEASE OF MANDELA, UNBANNING OF THE ANC ETC, ESSENTIAL.

3. MUGABE SAID HE DID NOT UNDERSTAND HOW WE EXPECTED TO SUCCEED WHERE THE EPG, WHICH HAD DONE AN EXCELLENT JOB, HAD FAILED. THE SECRETARY OF STATE AGREED THAT THE GROUP HAD DONE A GOOD JOB: BUT THE EC THOUGHT A FURTHER EFFORT BY THE EC IN CONSULTATION WITH OTHER INDUSTRIALISED COUNTRIES WOULD REINFORCE THE ATTEMPT TO GET THE SAG TO MOVE. COMPREHENSIVE SANCTIONS WOULD NOT ACHIEVE THIS. MUGABE SAID THAT WE WERE APPROACHING SOUTH AFRICA WITH A WHITE FLAG: THERE WAS NO MOTIVE FOR THE SAG TO MOVE IN SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES. THE SECRETARY OF STATE SAID THAT PRESSURE WAS PROVIDED BY MEASURES ALREADY IN POSITION AND THE KNOWLEDGE THAT OTHER MEASURES WERE BEING STUDIED. AS THE PRIME MINISTER HAD EXPLAINED IN HER LETTER, EXPLICIT THREATS WERE LIKELY TO PRODUCE A PERVERSE REACTION.

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4. MUGABE SAID THAT IN THE ABSENCE OF REAL MEASURES WE COULD ONLY KNEEL BEFORE THE ARCHITECTS OF APARTHEID AND PLEAD FOR REASON. ONLY YESTERDAY THE PRIME MINISTER HAD AGAIN BEEN EMPHASISING HER TOTAL OPPOSITION TO SANCTIONS. THE SECRETARY OF STATE REMINDED HIM OF THE MEASURES WHICH HAD ALREADY BEEN TAKEN. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT GENUINELY BELIEVED THAT COMPREHENSIVE ECONOMIC SANCTIONS WOULD HAVE THE NET EFFECT OF STRENGTHENING THE SAG WHILE HARMING EVERYBODY ELSE.

5. ON TRANSPORT LINKS, MUGABE SAID THAT THE RECENT DECISION TO STEP UP THEIR MILITARY OPERATIONS IN SUPPORT OF THE TRANSPORT LINKS WAS COSTING ZIMBABWE MUCH MONEY. THE SOUTH AFRICANS WERE ALREADY USING MILITARY FORCE AGAINST ZIMBABWE AND HER TRANSPORT LINKS. IF SOUTH AFRICA DISRUPTED THE ZIMBABWEAN LINK SOUTHWARDS IT WOULD ALSO COST ZIMBABWE A LOT OF MONEY, BUT DID NOT THINK THEY WOULD BE ANY WORSE OFF. ON THE OTHER HAND, HE DID NOT THINK SOUTH AFRICA COULD SURVIVE IF WE ALL, INCLUDING THE COMMONWEALTH, THE EC AND INDUSTRIALISED COUNTRIES COMBINED FORCES AGAINST APARTHEID. THE SECRETARY OF STATE SAID THAT HE DID NOT THINK ZIMBABWE HAD AN EFFECTIVE CHOICE BETWEEN EXPENDITURE ON DEFENDING HER LINKS IN THE PRESENT SITUATION AND EXPENDITURE TO REPLACE THE SOUTH AFRICAN TRANSPORT LINK IN THE EVENT OF SOUTH AFRICAN RETALIATION. THERE WOULD SIMPLY BE A MASSIVE INCREASE IN THE EXPENDITURE NEEDED. THE CORE OF SOUTH AFRICA WOULD SURVIVE SANCTIONS AND THE SITUATION WOULD PERSIST FOR YEARS.

6. MUGABE SAID THAT ZIMBABWE WOULD BE HIT HARD, BUT IF A NEW SITUATION WERE PRODUCED IN SOUTH AFRICA IT WOULD BE WORTH IT. THEY WOULD HAVE TO OPEN THE MAPUTO LINK, BUT THERE WOULD BE SOME RESULTING ADVANTAGES. ZIMBABWE COULD FEED HERSELF AND WOULD SURVIVE, ALTHOUGH HER INDUSTRY WOULD BE BIT. SHE WOULD NOT BE HIT AS HARD AS BOTSWANA, LESOTHO AND SWAZILAND. MRS THATCHER SHOULD NOT SPEAK ON BEHALF OF ZIMBABWE. IF SHE CONFINED HER STATEMENTS TO THE LOSSES WHICH BRITAIN WOULD SUFFER, WHICH HE ACKNOWLEDGED, SHE WOULD BE MORE CREDIBLE.

7. THE SECRETARY OF STATE SAID THAT IT WOULD TAKE A LONG TIME BEFORE A NEW SITUATION WAS PRODUCED IN SOUTH AFRICA. WE CERTAINLY DID EXPRESS OUR WORRY ABOUT THE ECONOMIC EFFECTS ON OURSELVES OF SANCTIONS. BUT MORE IMPORTANTLY, OUR CALCULATION OF THE NET ET GENERAL EFFECT WAS THAT IT WOULD BE NEGATIVE. SO WE THOUGHT THAT A FURTHER EFFORT MUST BE MADE TO PERSUADE THE SOUTH AFRICANS.

8. MUGABE SAID THAT HE DID NOT THINK WE WOULD SUCCEED. HE SUSPECTED THAT THE UK HAVING GOT THE SUPPORT OF THE EC WAS NOW TRYING TO DIVERT THE WORLD FROM SANCTIONS. THE SECRETARY OF STATE DENIED THIS. HE SAID THAT ALL THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL ACCEPTED THAT THE EFFECT OF COMPREHENSIVE SANCTIONS WAS LIKELY TO BE NEGATIVE, AND THEREFORE THOUGHT THAT A DIFFERENT WAY SHOULD BE TRIED.

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9. MUGABE SAID THAT WITHOUT THE THREAT OF SANCTIONS (OR MILITARY ACTION ON THE PART OF THE WEST, WHICH HE RULED OUT,) THE SOUTH AFRICANS WOULD NOT MOVE. HE RELUCTANTLY BELIEVED THAT MILITARY ACTION BY THE ANC/PAC WAS NECESSARY. BUT THE REST OF THE WORLD WHICH BELIEVED IN A NON-VIOLENT METHOD SHOULD ADOPT EFFECTIVE NON-VIOLENT MEASURES. A COMBINATION OF THIS AND THE CAMPAIGN BY THE ANC WOULD ONE DAY DELIVER THE GOODS. THE MOMENTUM WOULD GROW STRONGLY OVER THE FOLLOWING YEAR, 45,000 LIVES HAD BEEN LOST IN FREEING ZIMBABWE: THE TOLL IN SOUTH AFRICA WOULD BE GREATER.

10. THE SECRETARY OF STATE SAID THAT THE SAG COULD HOLD OUT FOR A VERY LONG TIME: THEY WERE IN NO WAY COMPARABLE TO THE PREVIOUS RHODESIAN GOVERNMENT.

11. MUGABE ASKED WHETHER THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WISHES TO SEE A TRUE NON-RACIAL GOVERNMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA, WHICH WOULD INEVITABLY BE PREDOMINANTLY BLACK. HE STRONGLY DOUBTED THIS SEEING THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S PREVIOUS HISTORY IN RHODESIA. THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY SOMETIMES ADOPTED RACIST POSTURES. HE WONDERED WHETHER WE WOULD NOT IN FACT CONSIDER THAT A CHANGE TO BLACK RULE IN SOUTH AFRICA WOULD BE DISADVANTAGEOUS TO US.

12. THE SECRETARY OF STATE SAID THAT IF MUGABE READ THE PRIME MINISTER'S LETTER HE WOULD SEE THAT WE WERE STRONGLY IN FAVOUR OF CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA. HE TOTALLY EXCLUDED THE SUGGESTION OF RACISM IN THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY'S APPROACH. OUR APPROACH WAS BASED ON A CLEAR ANALYSIS OF THE SITUATION. HE SHOULD GIVE CREDIT TO THE PRIME MINISTER FOR HAVING WORKED AT LUSAKA FOR ZIMBABWEAN INDEPENDENCE: THIS ALONE SHOULD SHOW THAT WE HAD NOT BEEN AFRAID OF BLACK MAJORITY RULE. THE PRIME MINISTER APPROACHED THE SOUTH AFRICAN SITUATION IN THE SAME WAY AS SHE HAD THE ZIMBABWEAN ONE. SHE WANTED TO ACHIEVE THE BREAKTHROUGH WHICH WE ACHIEVED FOR ZIMBABWE AT LUSAKA. SHE BELIEVED THAT THE LONGER THE DELAY IN RELEASING MANDELA, THE LONGER THE TRAGEDY WOULD CONTINUE. WE KNEW THE SAG WOULD BE HARD TO SHIFT BUT WE HAD TO TRY, BECAUSE ONLY THIS WOULD BRING QUICKER CHANGE.

13. MUGABE SAID THAT WE WOULD HAVE TO AGREE TO DIFFER ON THE ANALYSIS. THESE DIFFERENCES WOULD BE PUBLIC, BUT THEY SHOULD NOT UNDERMINE THE GENERALLY FRIENDLY RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UK AND ZIMBABWE. HE THEN LAUNCHED INTO A LENGTHY ATTACK ON THE UNITED STATES, ON THE GROUNDS THAT IT SOUGHT TO TIE ITS AID PROGRAMME TO THE BEHAVIOUR OF THE COUNTRIES CONCERNED, AND WAS NOW DEMANDING AN APOLOGY FROM ZIMBABWE FOR THE SPEECH MADE

-3-
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AT THE US NATIONAL DAY PARTY LAST WEEK. ZIMBABWE COULD NOT ACCEPT SUCH CONDITIONALITY. THE SECRETARY OF STATE SAID THAT WE WERE FRIENDLY WITH BOTH THE US AND ZIMBABWE AND NATURALLY HOPED THAT ANY DISAGREEMENT COULD BE RESOLVED QUICKLY. HE AGREED THAT WE SHOULD SPEAK CANDIDLY TO EACH OTHER BUT WISHED TO EMPHASISE THAT MUGABE SHOULD NOT CHALLENGE THE GOOD FAITH OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT OR THE PRIME MINISTER. MUGABE SAID THAT HE APPRECIATED OUR HAVING MADE KNOWN OUR VIEWS: OF COURSE HE WOULD TELL US WHEN HE DISAGREED WITH THEM, BUT WE COULD CONTINUE TO DISCUSS THEM.

14. NOW SEE MIFT (NOT TO ALL).

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-4-
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