

SUBJECT  
CC MASTER  
OPS

PRIME MINISTER'S  
PERSONAL MESSAGE  
SERIAL No. T 129 B/86

CONFIDENTIAL

49175 - 1

OCMIAN 9175  
CONFIDENTIAL  
RR ADABA  
FM FCOLN TO DAKAR  
101445Z JUL  
GRS 1000

CONFIDENTIAL  
FM FCO  
TO IMMEDIATE DAKAR  
TELNO 141  
OF 101445Z JULY 86  
INFO ROUTINE ADDIS ABABA

MIPT: OAU AND SOUTH AFRICA: MESSAGE  
FOLLOWING IS TEXT:

BEGINS: I RECALL WITH PLEASURE OUR TALK LAST FEBRUARY, AND WANTED TO SHARE WITH YOU MY THOUGHTS ON THE GRAVE SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA WHILE LETTING YOU KNOW HOW WE IN BRITAIN SEE THE NEXT STEPS. I FEEL THAT IT IS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT THAT WE SHOULD BOTH KEEP IN CLOSE TOUCH WHILE YOU ARE CHAIRMAN OF THE OAU AND BRITAIN HOLDS THE PRESIDENCY OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY.

I WAS DISAPPOINTED, AS I AM SURE YOU WERE, BY THE BREAKDOWN OF THE MISSION UNDERTAKEN BY THE COMMONWEALTH GROUP OF EMINENT PERSONS. IT IS SAD THAT HAVING ACHIEVED SO MUCH THEY SHOULD AT THE LAST HAVE BEEN FRUSTRATED BY THE OBDURACY OF PRESIDENT BOTHA'S GOVERNMENT. THE THREE SOUTH AFRICAN RAIDS ON NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES ANGERED US ALL.

SINCE THEN THE HEADS OF EUROPEAN COMMUNITY GOVERNMENTS HAVE BEEN CONSIDERING WHAT MORE WE CAN AND SHOULD DO TO BRING ABOUT A CHANGE IN THE ATTITUDE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT. WE ALL BELIEVE THAT OUR OBJECTIVE MUST CONTINUE TO BE TO BRING APARTHEID TO AN END THROUGH DIALOGUE AND A SUSPENSION OF VIOLENCE ON ALL SIDES. THAT IS ALSO THE OBJECTIVE OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

THE QUESTION THE HEADS OF THE EUROPEAN GOVERNMENT ASKED

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49175 - 1

EACH OTHER ONCE AGAIN AT THE HAGUE ON 26-27 JUNE WAS THIS: IS THE PROMOTION OF DIALOGUE NOW A HOPELESS CAUSE, OR IS THERE STILL A CASE FOR TRYING ONCE MORE THE ROAD OF PERSUASION BEFORE WE RESIGN OURSELVES TO THE PROSPECT OF SOUTH AFRICA BEING CAUGHT UP INEVITABLY IN A RISING TIDE OF VIOLENCE?

I HAVE BEEN PROFOUNDLY CONCERNED AT RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA. THE REIMPOSITION OF THE STATE OF EMERGENCY AND THE INTERNAL MEASURES GOING WITH IT THREATEN FURTHER VIOLENCE AND INTER-RACIAL CONFLICT. I AM DETERMINED THAT EVERYTHING POSSIBLE SHOULD BE DONE TO AVERT THAT CATASTROPHE, AND TO BRING APARTHEID TO AN END BY PEACEFUL MEANS LONG HYPHEN THAT, I BELIEVE, IS THE QUICKEST WAY LONG HYPHEN THROUGH NEGOTIATION AND NOT CONFLICT.

THE QUESTION IS WHETHER THAT ROUTE IS STILL POSSIBLE. A CRUCIAL FACTOR MUST BE THE ATTITUDE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT. MY READING OF THE AFRIKANER CHARACTER IS QUITE CLEAR: IF WE ARE TO AVOID DRIVING PRESIDENT BOTHA AND HIS PEOPLE INSIDE THE LAAGER, WITH ALL THE THREAT OF MOUNTING BLOODSHED THAT THAT WOULD IMPLY, THEN IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT WE SHOULD DEMONSTRATE OUR DISAPPROVAL OF THE POLICIES OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT WITHOUT CAUSING THEM TO REACT IN SUCH A WAY AS TO RULE OUT DIALOGUE AND COMPROMISE.

IT WAS WITH THOSE THOUGHTS IN MIND THAT I APPROACHED MY MEETING LAST MONTH WITH MY EUROPEAN COMMUNITY COLLEAGUES. WE REACHED AGREEMENT ON THE MOST EFFECTIVE ACTION THAT WE COULD TAKE AT THIS STAGE.

WE HAD NO DOUBT THAT THE KEY MOVE THAT WAS NECESSARY TO PROMOTE THE GENUINE NATIONAL DIALOGUE WHICH WE ALL WANT WOULD BE FOR THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT UNCONDITIONALLY TO RELEASE NELSON MANDELA AND OTHER POLITICAL PRISONERS AND TO LIFT THE BAN ON THE ANC, PAC AND OTHER POLITICAL PARTIES. DESPITE THE OBVIOUS DIFFICULTIES INVOLVED WE DECIDED TOO THAT IT WAS RIGHT TO UNDERTAKE ONE MORE DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVE TO THAT END. IT WAS ACCORDINGLY AGREED THAT GEOFFREY HOWE SHOULD TRAVEL SOON TO SOUTHERN AFRICA, IN HIS CAPACITY AS PRESIDENT OF THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL OF MINISTERS AND WITH THE FULL SUPPORT OF THE COMMUNITY, TO CARRY OUT THIS MISSION. AS A FIRST STEP, HE GOES THIS WEEK

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TO LUSAKA AND HARARE, AND WE ARE NOW CONSIDERING DATES PROPOSED BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT FOR HIS VISIT THERE.

IT WAS ALSO AGREED THAT DURING THE NEXT THREE MONTHS IN SUPPORT OF THAT MISSION THE TWELVE WOULD ENTER INTO CONSULTATIONS WITH THE OTHER INDUSTRIALISED COUNTRIES ON FURTHER MEASURES WHICH MIGHT BE NEEDED, COVERING IN PARTICULAR A BAN ON NEW INVESTMENT AND ON THE IMPORT OF COAL, IRON, STEEL AND GOLD COINS FROM SOUTH AFRICA. THIS DECISION TO CONSULT OTHER INDUSTRIALISED COUNTRIES ABOUT POSSIBLE FURTHER MEASURES WAS, OF COURSE, TAKEN BECAUSE IF MEASURES ARE TO BE EFFECTIVE IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT THEY SHOULD HAVE THE SUPPORT OF THE INDUSTRIALISED COUNTRIES AS A WHOLE.

AN IMPORTANT OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS ALL THESE ISSUES WILL ARISE WHEN THE SEVEN COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT DIRECTLY INVOLVED WILL FORMALLY REVIEW THE REPORT OF THE EMINENT PERSONS GROUP IN EARLY AUGUST, SHORTLY AFTER THE OAU SUMMIT. I REALISE THAT OAU LEADERS WILL HAVE SOUTHERN AFRICA AT THE TOP OF THEIR AGENDA. I HOPE NEVERTHELESS THAT UNDER YOUR GUIDANCE THE OUTCOME OF THE OAU SUMMIT WILL NOT BE SUCH AS TO PREJUDICE THE CHANCES OF A CONSTRUCTIVE OUTCOME TO THE COMMONWEALTH REVIEW MEETING. IN ANY CASE, I HOPE THAT THIS ACCOUNT OF MY VIEWS ON THE SITUATION AND THE PROSPECTS FOR A PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEMS THAT SO CONCERN US BOTH WILL BE HELPFUL TO YOU IN YOUR PREPARATIONS FOR THE ADDIS MEETING.

ON A RELATED TOPIC, MAY I SAY THAT I FOLLOWED WITH INTEREST THE DEVELOPMENTS AT THE UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL SESSION ON AFRICA IN NEW YORK WHICH ENDED ON 1 JUNE. I HAVE HEARD OF THE CONSTRUCTIVE WAY IN WHICH THE SENEGALESE DELEGATION HELPED TO EDGE THE CONFERENCE TOWARDS ITS SATISFACTORY OUTCOME, AND I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT YOUR OWN STATESMANLIKE ADDRESS IN PLENARY WAS ESSENTIAL IN SETTING THE POSITIVE TONE FOR THE SESSION. IT WAS MOST ENCOURAGING THAT AN AGREED RESOLUTION WAS FINALLY ACHIEVED, WHICH OUTLINES CLEARLY THE NATURE AND SERIOUSNESS OF AFRICA'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND THE MEANS BY WHICH THEY CAN BE RESOLVED. I WOULD LIKE TO EXPRESS THE APPRECIATION OF MY OWN GOVERNMENT FOR THE PERSONAL ROLE YOU PLAYED IN THESE IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENTS.

WITH KIND REGARDS AND WARM MEMORIES OF YOUR VISIT.

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10 DOWNING STREET

*From the Private Secretary*

8 July 1986

OAU AND SOUTH AFRICA .

BF // Thank you for your letter of 7 July enclosing a draft message from the Prime Minister to President Diouf about the situation in South Africa. This may issue with the minor amendments marked on the enclosed copy.

Charles Powell

A C Galsworthy Esq CMG  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

7 July 1986

Dear Charles,

OAU and South Africa

President Diouf of Senegal recently asked both Mr Raison and Sir John Thomson whether he could be briefed on how we see the situation in South Africa. Our Ambassador at Dakar has now recommended that it would be to our advantage to do this (President Diouf is Chairman of the OAU, which is having a summit meeting on 28-30 July) and that a message from the Prime Minister would make the maximum impact.

The Foreign Secretary recommends that the Prime Minister should agree to send such a message. President Diouf is an important figure on the African scene. He is also moderate. At the UN Special Session on Africa President Diouf spoke appreciatively of his meeting with the Prime Minister during his visit here in February, and recalled in particular what she had told him of the establishment of COMGEP.

We therefore have an opportunity to encourage President Diouf to use whatever moderating influence he may have to discourage any discussion at the OAU Summit which might pre-judge the outcome of the COMGEP review. At the same time, the Prime Minister could share with him Commonwealth and European concern about the situation in Southern Africa and ask for his encouragement and support for the Secretary of State's mission. We cannot expect to alter President Diouf's commitment to sanctions against South Africa. But we can ensure that he has a clear grasp of our thinking. He respects our experience in the area and will listen to and reflect on anything we have to say.

A message from the Prime Minister could also usefully refer to the helpful role which President Diouf played at the UN Special Session. That the conference went a good deal better than it might have done was due in no small part to the important role played by President Diouf. As OAU President, he presented the African case in a statesmanlike way, and throughout the Senegalese led the Africans constructively.

I attach draft telegrams to Dakar. We should aim to get any message to President Diouf in good time before the OAU summit.

C D Powell Esq  
10 Downing Street

*Yours ever,*  
*A C Galsworthy*  
(A C Galsworthy)  
Private Secretary

# OUT TELEGRAM

		Classification	Caveat	Precedence
	↓	<b>CONFIDENTIAL</b>		<b>IMMEDIATE</b>
ZCZC	1	ZCZC		
TC	2	CONFIDENTIAL		
CAVEAT	3			
FM	4	FM FCO		
TO	5	TO IMMEDIATE DAKAR		
TELNO	6	TELNO		
OF	7	OF 1800Z JULY 86		
AND TO	8	INFO ROUTINE PARIS, ADDIS ABABA		
	9			
	10			
	11	YOUR TELNO 156: OAU AND SOUTH AFRICA		
	12	1. MIFT contains the text of a message from the Prime Minister		
	13	to President Diouf. Please deliver as soon as possible.		
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	19	MAIN		
	20	SOUTH AFRICA LIMITED		
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///	26	MR DEREK THOMAS		
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YYYY			Catchword:	NNNN
MAIN	File number	Dept <b>SAFD</b>	Drafted by (Block capitals) <b>W K PRENDERGAST</b>	Telephone no <b>233 5189</b>
ADDITIONAL	Authorised for despatch by:      Initials      Date/time			
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ZCZC	1	ZCZC		
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TO	5	TO IMMEDIATE DAKAR		
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OF	7	OF 051715Z JULY 86		
AND TO	8	RFI ROUTINE ADDIS ABABA		
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	12	FOLLOWING IS TEXT:		
	13	BEGINS: I RECALL WITH PLEASURE OUR TALK LAST FEBRUARY, AND WANTED		
	14	TO SHARE WITH YOU MY THOUGHTS ON THE GRAVE SITUATION IN SOUTH		
	15	AFRICA WHILE LETTING YOU KNOW HOW WE IN BRITAIN SEE THE NEXT		
	16	STEPS. I FEEL THAT IT IS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT THAT WE SHOULD		
	17	BOTH KEEP IN CLOSE TOUCH WHILE YOU ARE CHAIRMAN OF THE OAU AND		
	18	BRITAIN HOLDS THE PRESIDENCY OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY.		
	19	I WAS DEEPLY DISAPPOINTED, AS I AM SURE YOU WERE, BY THE		
	20	BREAKDOWN OF THE MISSION UNDERTAKEN BY THE COMMONWEALTH GROUP OF		
	21	EMINENT PERSONS. IT IS VERY SAD THAT HAVING ACHIEVED SO MUCH		
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	23	PRESIDENT BOTHA'S GOVERNMENT. THE THREE SOUTH AFRICAN RAIDS ON		
	24	NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES WERE A SHOCK WHICH ANGERED US ALL.		
	25	SINCE THEN THE HEADS OF EUROPEAN COMMUNITY GOVERNMENTS HAVE		
///	26	BEEN CONSIDERING WHAT MORE WE CAN AND SHOULD DO TO BRING ABOUT A		
//	27	CHANGE IN THE ATTITUDE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT. WE ALL		
/	28	BELIEVE, WITH THE SAME PROFOUND CONVICTION, THAT OUR OBJECTIVE		
	29	MUST CONTINUE TO BE TO BRING APARTHEID TO AN END THROUGH DIALOGUE		
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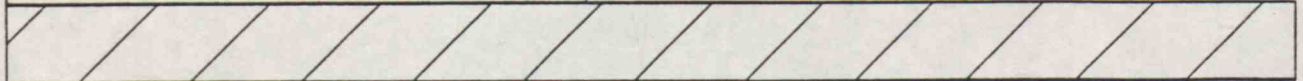
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2 AND A SUSPENSION OF VIOLENCE ON ALL SIDES. THAT IS ALSO THE  
3 OBJECTIVE OF THE COMMONWEALTH.  
4 THE QUESTION THE HEADS OF THE EUROPEAN GOVERNMENT ALL ASKED  
5 EACH OTHER ONCE AGAIN AT THE HAGUE ON 26-27 JUNE WAS THIS: IS THE  
6 PROMOTION OF DIALOGUE NOW A HOPELESS CAUSE, OR IS THERE STILL A  
7 CASE FOR TRYING ONCE MORE THE ROAD OF PERSUASION BEFORE WE RESIGN  
8 OURSELVES TO THE PROSPECT OF SOUTH AFRICA BEING CAUGHT UP  
9 INEVITABLY IN A RISING TIDE OF VIOLENCE?  
10 ~~I AM SURE THAT I DO NOT HAVE TO TELL YOU THAT I HAVE BEEN~~  
11 PROFOUNDLY CONCERNED AT RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA. THE  
12 REIMPOSITION OF THE STATE OF EMERGENCY AND THE FURTHER INTERNAL  
13 MEASURES GOING WITH IT ARE A RECIPE FOR AN EVEN SWIFTER UPWARD  
14 SPIRAL OF REPRESSION AND VIOLENCE AND INTER-RACIAL CONFLICT. I  
15 AM UTTERLY DETERMINED THAT EVERYTHING POSSIBLE SHOULD BE DONE TO  
16 AVERT THAT LOOMING CATASTROPHE, AND TO BRING APARTHEID TO AN END  
17 BY PEACEFUL MEANS LONG HYPHEN THAT, I BELIEVE, IS THE QUICKEST  
18 WAY LONG HYPHEN THROUGH NEGOTIATION AND NOT CONFLICT.  
19 THE QUESTION IS WHETHER THAT ROUTE IS STILL POSSIBLE. A  
20 CRUCIAL FACTOR MUST BE THE ATTITUDE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN  
21 GOVERNMENT. MY READING OF THE AFRIKANER CHARACTER IS QUITE  
22 CLEAR: IF WE ARE TO AVOID SIMPLY DRIVING PRESIDENT BOTHA AND HIS  
23 PEOPLE INSIDE THE LAAGER, WITH ALL THE THREAT OF MOUNTING  
24 BLOODSHED THAT THAT WOULD IMPLY, THEN IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT WE  
25 SHOULD DEMONSTRATE OUR DISAPPROVAL AND CONDEMNATION OF THE  
26 POLICIES OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT WITHOUT CAUSING THEM TO  
27 REACT IN SUCH A WAY AS TO RULE OUT DIALOGUE AND COMPROMISE.  
28 IT WAS WITH THOSE THOUGHTS IN MIND THAT I APPROACHED MY  
29 MEETING LAST MONTH WITH MY EUROPEAN COMMUNITY COLLEAGUES. AFTER  
30 LONG DISCUSSION WE REACHED AGREEMENT ON THE MOST EFFECTIVE ACTION  
31 THAT WE COULD TAKE AT THIS STAGE.  
32 WE HAD NO DOUBT THAT THE KEY MOVE THAT WAS NECESSARY TO  
33 PROMOTE THE GENUINE NATIONAL DIALOGUE WHICH WE ALL WANT WOULD BE  
34 FOR THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT UNCONDITIONALLY TO RELEASE

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OUT TELEGRAM (CONT)

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 I realize that OAU leaders will have Southern Africa at the top of their agenda. I hope nevertheless that under your guidance the outcome of the OAU Summit will not be such as to prejudice the chances of a constructive outcome to the Commonwealth review meeting. In any case, I hope that

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 NELSON MANDELA AND OTHER POLITICAL PRISONERS AND TO LIFT THE BAN ON THE ANC, PAC AND OTHER POLITICAL PARTIES. DESPITE THE OBVIOUS DIFFICULTIES INVOLVED WE DECIDED TOO THAT IT WAS RIGHT TO UNDERTAKE ONE MORE DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVE TO THAT END. IT WAS ACCORDINGLY AGREED THAT GEOFFREY HOWE SHOULD TRAVEL SOON TO SOUTHERN AFRICA, IN HIS CAPACITY AS PRESIDENT OF THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL OF MINISTERS AND WITH THE FULL SUPPORT OF THE COMMUNITY, TO CARRY OUT THIS MISSION. AS A FIRST STEP, HE GOES THIS WEEK TO LUSAKA AND HARARE, AND WE ARE NOW CONSIDERING DATES PROPOSED BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT FOR HIS VISIT THERE.  
 IT WAS ALSO AGREED THAT DURING THE NEXT THREE MONTHS IN SUPPORT OF THAT MISSION THE TWELVE WOULD ENTER INTO CONSULTATIONS WITH THE OTHER INDUSTRIALISED COUNTRIES ON FURTHER MEASURES WHICH MIGHT BE NEEDED, COVERING IN PARTICULAR A BAN ON NEW INVESTMENT AND ON THE IMPORT OF COAL, IRON, STEEL AND GOLD COINS FROM SOUTH AFRICA. THIS DECISION TO CONSULT OTHER INDUSTRIALISED COUNTRIES ABOUT POSSIBLE FURTHER MEASURES WAS, OF COURSE, TAKEN BECAUSE IF MEASURES ARE TO BE EFFECTIVE IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT THEY SHOULD HAVE THE SUPPORT OF THE INDUSTRIALISED COUNTRIES AS A WHOLE.  
 AN IMPORTANT OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS ALL THESE ISSUES WILL ARISE WHEN THE SEVEN COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT DIRECTLY INVOLVED WILL FORMALLY REVIEW THE REPORT OF THE EMINENT PERSONS GROUP IN EARLY AUGUST, SHORTLY AFTER THE OAU SUMMIT. ~~BECAUSE OF THE DIFFICULT AND DELICATE NATURE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN PROBLEM, I FEEL THAT ANY MAJOR DISCUSSION OF THE REPORT BEFORE THE OUTCOME OF THE REVIEW IS KNOWN COULD PROVE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE. I VERY MUCH HOPE, HOWEVER, THAT THIS ACCOUNT OF MY VIEWS ON THE SITUATION AND THE PROSPECTS FOR A PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEMS THAT SO CONCERN US BOTH WILL BE HELPFUL TO YOU IN YOUR PREPARATIONS FOR THE ADDIS MEETING.~~  
 ON A RELATED TOPIC, MAY I SAY THAT I FOLLOWED WITH GREAT INTEREST THE DEVELOPMENTS AT THE UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL SESSION ON AFRICA IN NEW YORK WHICH ENDED ON 1 JUNE. I HAVE HEARD OF THE

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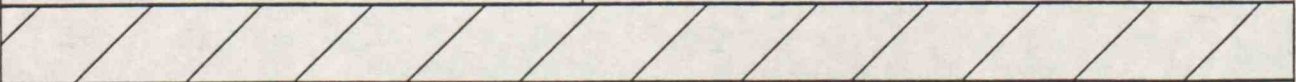
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2	CONSTRUCTIVE AND ENERGETIC WAY IN WHICH THE SENEGALESE DELEGATION
3	HELPED TO EDGE THE CONFERENCE TOWARDS ITS SATISFACTORY OUTCOME,
4	AND I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT YOUR OWN WISE AND STATESMANLIKE ADDRESS
5	IN PLENARY WAS ESSENTIAL IN SETTING THE POSITIVE TONE FOR THE
6	SESSION. IT WAS MOST ENCOURAGING THAT AN AGREED RESOLUTION WAS
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9	THEY CAN BE RESOLVED. I WOULD LIKE TO EXPRESS THE WARM
10	APPRECIATION OF MY OWN GOVERNMENT FOR THE PERSONAL ROLE YOU
11	PLAYED IN THESE IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENTS.
12	WITH KIND REGARDS AND WARM MEMORIES OF YOUR VISIT.
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18	MAIN DISTRIBUTION
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