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FOLLOWING TELEGRAM NOW REPEATED TO YOU AT REQUEST OF RES CLERK  
WAS RECEIVED FROM AIRBORN TELEGRAM NO 20 OF 11 JULY 86

C O N F I D E N T I A L (THOUGH MESSAGE RECIVED WITTO CLASS)

TO IMMEDIATE FCO DESKBY 111830Z  
INFO IMMEDIATE MAPUTO, HARARE, LUSAKA, PRETORIA, WASHINGTON,  
CANBERRA

CANBERRA FOR DEREK THOMAS  
SECRETARY OF STATE'S MEETING WITH PRESIDENT MACHEL

SUMMARY

1. THE SECRETARY OF STATE EXPLAINED THE PURPOSE OF HIS MISSION.  
MACHEL ACCEPTED THAT HE WAS ACTING IN GOOD FAITH ON BEHALF OF THE  
EC. HE AGREED TO TRY TO PERSUADE HIS COLLEAGUES IN THE FRONT  
LINE STATES AND OTHER BLACK AFRICAN LEADERS TO TAKE A MORE  
SYMPATHETIC VIEW OF THE MISSION.

DETAIL

2. PRESIDENT MACHEL SUMMARISED HIS MEETINGS WITH THE PRIME MINISTER  
AND THE SECRETARY OF STATE SINCE 1983. SINCE 1985 BRITAIN HAD  
PLAYED A POSITIVE ROLE IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST TERRORISM IN  
MOZAMBIQUE AS A RESULT OF THE POSITIVE STAND TAKEN BY THE PRIME  
MINISTER. HE CITED IN PARTICULAR MILITARY TRAINING AT NYANGA,  
MILITARY COURSES IN THE UK, AND BRITISH HELP IN THE REHABILITATION  
OF THE RAILWAY LINES TO MAPUTO. BRITAIN AND MOZAMBIQUE WERE  
TOTALLY AGREED ON THE NEED TO ABOLISH APARTHEID. WHEN HE  
HAD SEEN THE PRIME MINISTER LAST YEAR SHE HAD BEEN INDIGNANT AT SOUT  
H  
AFRICAN VIOLATIONS OF THE NKOMATI ACCORD. SHE HAD PROMISED TO  
WRITE TO P W BOTHA AND MACHEL HAD BEEN TOLD BY PIK BOTHA THAT  
SHE HAD DONE SO.

3. THE SECRETARY OF STATE SAID THAT BOTH THE PRIME MINISTER AND HE VALUED THEIR MEETINGS WITH MACHEL. HE INFORMED MACHEL OF THE DECISION TO CONTINUE B. MATT TRAINING AT NYANGA FOR ANOTHER YEAR FROM JANUARY 1987 AND TO ADD HELP ON THE BEIRA LINE TO THE HELP WE WERE ALREADY GIVING ON THE LIMPOPO AND NACALA LINES AND AT MAPUTO PORT.

4. THE SECRETARY OF STATE THEN EXPLAINED THE PURPOSE OF HIS MISSION ON BEHALF OF THE EC. IT WAS IMPORTANT TO TRY TO BRING ABOUT CHANGE QUICKLY THROUGH DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE SAG AND BLACK AFRICAN LEADERS. THIS WOULD PRODUCE CHANGE FASTER THAN THE PATH OF VIOLENCE. HE WOULD VISIT SOUTH AFRICA AT THE END OF JULY AND WOULD SEE P W BOTHA TWICE, BRINGING A MESSAGE FROM THE OUTSIDE WORLD THAT APARTHEID MUST GIVE WAY TO A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM. HE WOULD GIVE CREDIT TO THE SAG FOR STEPS ALREADY TAKEN, BUT STRESS THAT THEY MUST GO FURTHER AND FASTER. THE PRESENT PATTERN OF MOUNTING VIOLENCE COULD ONLY PROLONG MISERY. THE BEST WAY FORWARD WOULD BE THROUGH DIALOGUE WITH BLACK AFRICAN LEADERS BASED ON THE FREEING OF MANDELA AND OTHER PRISONERS AND THE UNBANNING OF POLITICAL PARTIES. BRITAIN FIRMLY BELIEVED COMPREHENSIVE SANCTIONS WOULD DO MORE HARM THAN GOOD. THEY WOULD DO HARM TO BLACKS MORE THAN WHITES, TO INDUSTRIAL ECONOMIES INCLUDING BRITAIN, AND, IF SOUTH AFRICA RETALIATED, TO THE FLS INCLUDING MOZAMBIQUE. ALL THIS MIGHT BE WORTH CONSIDERING IF IT WOULD PRODUCE THE RIGHT RESULT, BUT IT WOULD IN FACT ONLY LEAD TO GREATER ISOLATIONISM AND RESISTANCE TO CHANGE. HE WAS AWARE OF THE DIFFICULTY OF HIS MISSION. AFTER INITIAL RELUCTANCE, P W BOTHA HAD NOW AGREED TO MEET HIM. IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT BLACK AFRICAN LEADERS SHOULD DO THE SAME.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE  
COULD NOT TELL BOTHA TO TALK TO THEM IF THEY HAD SHOWN THEMSELVES UNWILLING TO TALK TO HIMSELF.

5. PRESIDENT MACHEL SAID THIS MESSAGE WAS CLEAR. HE GAVE AN ACCOUNT OF HIS MEETINGS WITH P W AND PIK BOTHA OVER THE PAST YEAR. HE HAD TOLD PIK THAT THE BOERS HAD FOUGHT BRITAIN TO ACHIEVE THEIR INDEPENDENCE AND FREEDOM; YET THEY WERE NOW DENYING THE SAME RIGHT TO OTHERS. PIK HAD TOLD HIM LAST AUGUST THAT THE SAG WANTED TO ABOLISH THE PASS LAWS, ESTABLISH SINGLE CITIZENSHIP, BRING REPRESENTATIVE LEADERS TOGETHER TO DISCUSS THE FUTURE, ACT JOINTLY WITH MOZAMBIQUE AGAINST SANCTIONS, AND RELEASE MANDELA IF HE WOULD RENOUNCE VIOLENCE. MACHEL HAD WELCOMED THE FIRST THREE POINTS BUT HAD SAID MOZAMBIQUE COULD NOT HELP OVER SANCTIONS AS IT COULD NOT IMPOSE ITS VIEWS ON THE REST OF THE WORLD. IT WAS A MISTAKE TO BASE CITIZENSHIP ON COLOUR. BLACKS AND WHITES SHOULD BE BROUGHT TOGETHER TO THE TOP OF THE MOUNTAIN TO SEE THAT THE WHOLE COUNTRY WAS ONE. IT SHOULD NOT BE FRAGMENTED ON TRIBAL LINES AND BOTH APARTHEID AND THE HOMELANDS MUST BE ABOLISHED. PIK BOTHA HAD AGREED WITH THIS ANALYSIS BUT ASKED FOR MORE TIME.

6. MACHEL ASKED WHAT ROLE THE SECRETARY OF STATE WANTED HIM TO PLAY. THE SECRETARY OF STATE ASKED HIM TO SUSTAIN THE CASE HE WAS ALREADY PUTTING TO THE SAG. CHANGES MUST BE BROUGHT ABOUT WITH THE AGREEMENT OF BLACK AND WHITE LEADERS THROUGH DIALOGUE. THE SAG HAD TO UNDERSTAND THAT APARTHEID WAS DOOMED AS PRESSURES WOULD ONLY INCREASE SO LONG AS IT REMAINED. THEREFORE PIK BOTHA SHOULD RECAPTURE HIS COURAGE, REINVIGORATE P W BOTHA AND GIVE DIALOGUE A CHANCE.

7. MACHEL SAID HE HAD SUGGESTED (LAST YEAR) THAT MANDELA AND HIS COLLEAGUES SHOULD BE BROUGHT TO MAPUTO WHERE THEY COULD SPEAK FREELY TO PIK BOTHA AND HIS COLLEAGUES. PIK HAD SAID HE WOULD CONSIDER THIS. MACHEL SAID HE HAD ALSO URGED PRESIDENT REAGAN THAT THE US SHOULD TALK WITH THE ANC AND MANDELA. THE ANC WAS A POPULAR MOVEMENT WHICH COULD NOT BE IGNORED: TAMBO AND MANDELA WERE NATIONALISTS, NOT COMMUNISTS. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT SHOULD RECOGNISE THAT 24 MILLION BLACKS IN SOUTH AFRICA SUPPORTED SANCTIONS BECAUSE THEIR SITUATION COULD BE NO WORSE THAN IT WAS ALREADY. THOUSANDS WERE ALREADY APPLYING SANCTIONS THROUGH STRIKES WHICH WERE CAUSING FACTORIES AND MINES TO CLOSE. THE SAG COULD ONLY EXERCISE CONTROL THROUGH THE BAYONET. BUT THE POWER OF THE PEOPLE COULD NOT BE IMPRISONED FOREVER. EVERYONE WISHED TO SEE A GRADUAL AND PEACEFUL TRANSITION IN SOUTH AFRICA WITHOUT DAMAGE TO THE COUNTRY'S PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY. BUT IT WAS ALREADY BEING DESTROYED.

8. THE WHITES IN SOUTH AFRICA WERE DIVIDED. BUSINESSMEN, THE BRITISH AND JEWISH COMMUNITIES AND SOME BOERS WERE AGAINST APARTHEID. PIK BOTHA WANTED RAPID CHANGE NOW BUT THE MILITARY PREVENTED IT. THE SECRETARY OF STATE'S VISIT WOULD BE COMPROMISED BY THEM. EVEN IF THE SAG TOOK SOME MEASURES AS A RESULT OF THE LATTER VISIT, THE MILITARY, WOULD DISTORT THEM. P W BOTHA WAS THEIR PRISONER. THE NKOMATI ACCORD WAS BEING VIOLATED BY THE MILITARY, NOT BY PW OR PIK BOTHA. A PLAN HAD BEEN DEVISED BETWEEN CHIRAC, HOUPHUIET-BOIGNY, AND P W BOTHA FOR BOTHA TO VISIT THE IVORY COAST TO SEE HOW A NON-RACIAL AFRICAN COUNTRY FUNCTIONED. ESTABLISHMENT OF EMBASSIES WAS ENVISAGED. AN ADVANCE PARTY HAD GONE TO THE IVORY COAST TO MAKE DETAILED ARRANGEMENTS BUT THE PLAN HAD BEEN DELIBERATELY RUINED BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY AND THE VISIT HAD BEEN CANCELLED.

9. THE SECRETARY OF STATE SAID THAT HE WISHED TO LEAVE A MESSAGE WITH THE SAG THAT THE WHOLE WORLD BELIEVED DIALOGUE BASED ON THE RELEASE OF MANDELA AND OTHER PRISONERS WAS THE ONLY WAY FORWARD. IT WAS NOT TRUE, AS MUGABE HAD SUGGESTED, THAT HIS MISSION WAS ONLY INTENDED TO GAIN TIME. AGAINST THE PERSPECTIVE OF HISTORY THERE WOULD BE NO POINT IN TRYING TO SAVE A FEW WEEKS OR MONTHS. HIS MISSION WAS TO CONVINCING THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT ON BEHALF OF ALL THE INDUSTRIALISED COUNTRIES THAT THIS WAS ALMOST THEIR LAST CHANCE. HE HOPED MACHEL WOULD PERSUADE HIS COLLEAGUES IN THE FRONT LINE STATEX OF THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE MISSION. THE PRIME MINISTER AND HE HAD HEEDED THE ADVICE OF MACHEL AND OTHERS TO TALK TO THE ANC. THE FIRST CONTACT HAD BEEN IN LUSAKA IN FEBRUARY, FOLLOWED BY MINISTERIAL CONTACT TWO WEEKS AGO. IT WAS NOW ESSENTIAL THAT HE SHOULD BE ABLE TO TALK TO THE ANC SO THAT HE COULD TELL THE SAG TO DO THE SAME.

10. MACHEL SAID THE SECRETARY OF STATE SHOULD TALK TO THE ANC OUTSIDE SOUTH AFRICA AND TO MANDELA, BISHOP TUTU AND BOESAK IN SOUTH AFRICA. HE WOULD TRY TO PERSUADE THEM NOT TO REGARD THE SECRETARY OF STATE AS A TRAITOR TO THEIR CAUSE. THE SECRETARY OF STATE SHOULD MAKE IT CLEAR TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT THAT IF THEY DID NOT MOVE THEY WOULD EMBARRASS BRITAIN, THE US AND THE FRG.

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