

**Confidential**

CONFIDENTIAL

FM PRETORIA

TO DESKBY 150800Z FCO

TELNO 145

OF 141645Z JULY 86

INFO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON, PARIS, BONN

ms

CALL ON SOUTH AFRICAN FOREIGN MINISTER  
SUMMARY

1. THE SOUTH AFRICAN FOREIGN MINISTER EXPRESSED HIS CONCERN THAT WESTERN PRESSURES ON SOUTH AFRICA TO RELEASE MANDELA AND UNBAN THE ANC IGNORED THE VERY REAL DIFFICULTIES. THERE WOULD BE LITTLE HOPE FOR YOUR MISSION UNLESS PROGRESS WERE MADE ON THE RENUNCIATION OF VIOLENCE AND PROTECTION OF FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS FOR MINORITIES.

DETAIL

2. FERGUSSON AND I CALLED ON PIK BOTHA ON 14 JULY. KILLEN AND VON HIRSCHBERG WERE ALSO PRESENT THOUGH THEY SAID LITTLE. OUR DISCUSSION WAS FRANK BUT THE TONE WAS FRIENDLY THROUGHOUT.

3. FERGUSSON BEGAN BY DESCRIBING THE BACKGROUND TO YOUR MISSION. HE STRESSED YOUR PRESIDENCY STATUS AS THE REPRESENTATIVE OF ALL EC GOVERNMENTS, AND ALSO YOUR COMMITMENT TO FINDING A PEACEFUL SOLUTION WHICH WOULD BRING AN END TO THE SPIRAL OF VIOLENCE. FERGUSSON UNDERLINED THE PERCEPTION BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY THAT THE RELEASE OF MANDELA AND OTHER POLITICAL PRISONERS AND THE UNBANNING OF THE ANC AND OTHER PARTIES WERE CRUCIAL IN BREAKING THE SEQUENCE OF VIOLENCE, COUNTER-REPRESSION AND PRESSURE FOR SANCTIONS. PIK BOTHA TOOK A CAREFUL NOTE OF THE TIMETABLE FOR INTERNATIONAL CONSULTATIONS ON SOUTH AFRICA AND ACKNOWLEDGED THE INTENSE BUILD-UP OF PRESSURE FOR SANCTIONS. FERGUSSON ALSO OUTLINED THE OUTCOME OF YOUR VISITS TO LUSAKA, HARARE AND MAPUTO. HE EXPRESSED REGRET THAT THE COMMONWEALTH GROUP HAD COME TO A PREMATURE END AND ASKED WHETHER THERE WAS ANY MESSAGE HE COULD TAKE BACK TO YOU IN PREPARATION FOR YOUR MISSION.

4. PIK BOTHA VOICED WARM APPRECIATION FOR ALL THE PRIME MINISTER WAS DOING TO AVOID VIOLENCE AND PUNITIVE SANCTIONS. THE LATTER WOULD ONLY INCREASE THE LEVEL OF VIOLENCE AND PLAY INTO THE HANDS OF MOSCOW AND THE COMMUNIST ELEMENTS IN THE ANC. HOWEVER, HIS MAIN CONCERN WAS THE WAY THE EC MANDATE HAD BEEN PHRASED. IT IGNORED THE FORMIDABLE SECURITY DANGERS INHERENT IN SIMPLY RELEASING MANDELA AND UNBANNING THE ANC. WHITE SOUTH AFRICANS FEARED THAT THE DEMANDS WHICH THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WERE PLACING ON SOUTH AFRICA WOULD LEAD INEVITABLY TO PLACING THE ANC IN POWER AND THUS DESTROY THE CHANCE OF CREATING A SOCIETY IN WHICH WHITES WOULD RETAIN ANY RIGHTS. IT SEEMED THAT TWO ALTERNATIVES FACED SOUTH AFRICA, EITHER TO SURRENDER TO THE ANC OR TO PERSEVERE WITH THE GOVERNMENT'S OWN PROGRAMME OF REFORM, SLOW THOUGH THIS WAS, AND ACCEPT THAT SANCTIONS WOULD BE IMPOSED ON THEM. THE LATTER COURSE AT LEAST HELD OUT SOME HOPE AND WOULD BE THE ONE THEY WOULD CHOOSE.

**Confidential**

# Confidential

5. WHEN FERGUSSON POINTED OUT THAT YOUR MISSION WAS AN ATTEMPT TO FIND A THIRD ALTERNATIVE, PIK BOTHA REPLIED THAT IF THERE WAS TO BE ANY HOPE FOR A SOLUTION, SOUTH AFRICA NEEDED THE SUPPORT OF WESTERN LEADERS SUCH AS MRS THATCHER, PRESIDENT REAGAN AND CHANCELLOR KOHL ON TWO POINTS:

- (I) RENUCIATION OF THE USE OF VIOLENCE BY ANY GROUP AS A MEANS OF OBTAINING POLITICAL CHANGE.
- (II) INCORPORATION OF FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS WITHIN ANY FUTURE CONSTITUTION.

THESE SHOULD BE THE TWO MAIN ISSUES FOR YOUR MEETING WITH THE STATE PRESIDENT. WITHOUT PROGRESS ON THEM HE FEARED YOUR MISSION WOULD NOT SUCCEED. HE ADDED IN PASSING THAT HE WOULD NOT ADVISE YOU TO LAY TOO MUCH EMPHASIS WITH THE STATE PRESIDENT ON TIME CONSTRAINTS, REAL THOUGH HE RECOGNISED THEM TO BE.

6. WHEN FERGUSSON POINTED OUT THAT IF NEGOTIATIONS BROKE DOWN THE ANC WOULD INEVITABLY RENEW VIOLENCE, PIK BOTHA ACCEPTED THIS BUT EMPHASISED THE PRESENTATIONAL PROBLEM OF LANGUAGE LIKE 'SUSPENSION' WHICH IMPLIED THAT NEGOTIATION WOULD BE HELD UNDER THREAT OF RENEWED VIOLENCE.

7. HE ADDED THAT ONE DAY MANDELA WOULD BE RELEASED AND THE ANC UNBANNED. MODERATE BLACKS WERE ASKING FOR THIS AS A CONDITION FOR PARTICIPATION IN THE GOVERNMENT'S PROCESS OF POLITICAL REFORM. IT WAS THE MAIN REMAINING OBSTACLE FOR BUTHELEZI. THE GOVERNMENT WAS CONSIDERING THIS POSSIBILITY, BUT IT COULD ONLY HAPPEN IN CONDITIONS WHICH DID NOT LEAD TO THE GOVERNMENT LOSING CONTROL. HE WAS VISIBLY NERVOUS AT THE RISK OF OUR RAISING FORMALLY THE POSSIBILITY OF SEEING MANDELA BEFORE YOUR CALL ON THE STATE PRESIDENT.

8. PIK BOTHA STRESSED HIS DISAPPOINTMENT OVER THE FAILURE OF THE TOKYO SUMMIT TO RESPOND TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN REQUEST FOR ENDORSEMENT OF FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS. FERGUSSON SAID THAT IT HAD BEEN A MISTAKE TO PUT AN ISSUE OF THIS SORT AT THE LAST MOMENT TO THE ECONOMIC SUMMIT. PIK BOTHA CLAIMED TO HAVE RECEIVED A REPORT THAT AT TOKYO YOU HAD ARGUED ACCEPTANCE OF MINORITY RIGHTS MIGHT BE PERCEIVED AS ACCEPTANCE OF APARTHEID. IN FACT, THE PROTECTION OF MINORITY RIGHTS WAS A NECESSARY ELEMENT IN THE STRUCTURE OF POWER-SHARING AND WOULD BE CONSISTENT WITH POWER BEING IN THE HANDS OF A MAJORITY COALITION OF INTERESTS.

9. SEPARATE TELS COVER DISCUSSION OF SOUTH AFRICA'S RELATIONS WITH ITS NEIGHBOURS AND DETAILS OF YOUR PROGRAMME.

10. FCO PLEASE REPEAT FURTHER AS NECESSARY.

MOBERLY

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

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

CABINET OFFICE

COPIES TO:-

GS SEC(2)

MOD

ASSESSMENTS STAFF CABINET OFFICE

MR MALLABY CABINET OFFICE

-2-

# Confidential

**CONFIDENTIAL**

CONFIDENTIAL

FM PRETORIA

TO DD 150300Z FCO LONDON

TELNO 146

OF 141645Z JULY 86

INFO IMMEDIATE GABERONES

INFO PRIORITY WASHINGTON, HARARE, LUSAKA, MAPUTO, MASERU, MBABANE

**SOUTH AFRICA'S RELATIONS WITH ITS NEIGHBOURS .****BOTSWANA**

1. FERGUSSON RAISED SOUTH AFRICA'S RELATIONS WITH BOTSWANA IN SOME DETAIL WITH KILLEN, DIRECTOR-GENERAL, DFA, AND SUBSEQUENTLY TOOK UP THE POINT AGAIN DURING HIS CALL ON THE FOREIGN MINISTER ON 14 JULY. ON BOTH OCCASIONS HE MADE CLEAR YOUR PERSONAL CONCERN IN THE LIGHT OF REPRESENTATIONS BY THE BOTSWANAN FOREIGN MINISTER. BOTH KILLEN AND PIK BOTHA INSISTED THAT THEY HAD EVIDENCE THAT THE PERPETRATORS OF MUCH RECENT VIOLENCE HAD TRANSITED THROUGH BOTSWANA. THE BOTSWANAN AUTHORITIES HAD CLOSED THEIR EYES TO THIS.

**MOZAMBIQUE.**

2. PIK BOTHA ADDED THAT THE SAME WAS TRUE OF THE MOZAMBICAN AUTHORITIES. A NUMBER OF TERRORISTS WERE ABLE TO TRANSIT THROUGH MAPUTO AIRPORT. VELOSO HAD RECENTLY SUGGESTED A FURTHER BILATERAL MEETING BUT PIK BOTHA HAD REPLIED THAT THERE WAS NO POINT AT THIS STAGE. HE WAS SERIOUSLY CONSIDERING SUSPENDING ASSISTANCE TO MOZAMBIQUE.

**ZIMBABWE.**

3. PIK BOTHA ALSO SPOKE BITTERLY ABOUT MUGABE'S PRESSURE FOR SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA. SOUTH AFRICAN AUTHORITIES WERE PREPARING PLANS FOR SCALING DOWN TRANSPORT FACILITIES USED BY ZIMBABWE. FERGUSSON QUESTIONED WHETHER MUGABE'S RHETORIC SHOULD BE TAKEN AT ITS FACE VALUE AND POINTED OUT THE RISKS ARISING FROM THE RATCHET EFFECT OF ONE SIDE RESPONDING TO THE PROVOCATION OF THE OTHER. PIK BOTHA RECOGNISED THAT THIS WAS A POSSIBLE CONSEQUENCE BUT SAID THAT THE SANCTION THREATS HAD GONE ON FOR TOO LONG.

MOBERLY.

**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

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

CABINET OFFICE

**COPIES TO:-**

GS SEC(2) MOD  
ASSESSMENTS STAFF CABINET OFFICE  
MR MALLABY CABINET OFFICE

**CONFIDENTIAL**