

GRS 420

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FM BONN

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 624

OF 181120Z JULY 86

INFO ROUTINE PARIS, WASHINGTON, PRETORIA, LUSAKA

*Charles - we  
must take up  
this other  
and keep in touch  
with Kohl  
not*

SOUTH AFRICA: CHANCELLOR KOHL'S VIEWS

1. WHEN I SAW KOHL TODAY HE SAID THAT IF THERE WAS GOING TO BE ANY SHIFT IN THE BRITISH POSITION ON SANCTIONS HE HOPED THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT LEARN OF IT FROM THE NEWSPAPERS. I SAID I WAS SURE THERE WAS NO QUESTION OF THIS HAPPENING, AND READ HIM THE KEY SENTENCE FROM YOUR SPEECH IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON 16 JULY. TODAY'S GERMAN PRESS HAD EXAGGERATED.

2. KOHL SET OUT HIS GENERAL POSITION, REFERRING NOW AND AGAIN TO POINTS HE HAD EVIDENTLY MADE AT THE HAGUE. SOUTH AFRICA HELD SOME STRONG CARDS, INCLUDING THE ECONOMIC DEPENDENCE OF HER NEIGHBOURS AND THE 600,000 PORTUGUESE. THE LAAGER MENTALITY WAS THE PROBLEM. THE WAY THEY HAD TREATED YOU SO FAR WAS ABSURD AND CHILDISH. AS KOHL'S MOTHER USED TO SAY TO HIM, SLAM THE DOOR IF YOU LIKE, BUT REMEMBER THAT YOU GOING TO HAVE TO OPEN IT AGAIN. KOHL TOLD ME IN GREAT CONFIDENCE (PLEASE PROTECT) THAT HE HAD SENT A TRUSTED MESSENGER TO TALK TO BOTHA. HE OUGHT TO BE THANKING HIS LUCKY STARS THAT THE PRESIDENCY HAD PASSED TO BRITAIN JUST AT THIS MOMENT. THE EC HAD NO FOREIGN MINISTER (AND THIS INCLUDED THE GERMAN) MORE SUITABLE AND BETTER EQUIPPED TO CARRY OUT SUCH A MISSION. KOHL WANTED NOTHING MORE THAN THAT IT SHOULD SUCCEED. ON HOLIDAY OR NOT, HE WAS READY TO HELP AT ANY TIME AND TO PRESERVE THE GREATEST DISCRETION ABOUT IT. A TELEPHONE CALL TO HIS OFFICE HERE WOULD BE ENOUGH.

3. AS TO HOW THIS MIGHT BE BROUGHT ABOUT, KOHL HAD TWO THOUGHTS. FIRST, IT WAS NOT REASONABLE TO EXPECT MANDELA TO RENOUNCE VIOLENCE IN EXCHANGE FOR RELEASE. BUT HE MIGHT BE GOT TO SAY THAT IF RELEASED HE WOULD BE WILLING TO TAKE PART IN NEGOTIATIONS, AND KOHL'S HUNCH WAS THAT BOTHA MIGHT REGARD THIS AS GOOD ENOUGH. SECOND, KOHL DID NOT BELIEVE THAT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT AND THE INTERNAL PARTIES WOULD SUCCEED IF THEY WERE HELD IN SOUTH AFRICA ITSELF. THE TABLE HAD TO BE MOVED ELSEWHERE: WHETHER TO

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LONDON, GENEVA OR ANYWHERE ELSE WAS NOT IMPORTANT. THE POINT WAS TO GET THE TALKS OUT OF THE COUNTRY. A PROPOSAL ON THESE LINES WOULD, KOHL THOUGHT, BE HARD FOR BOTH TO REJECT.

4. KOHL SPOKE RATHER DISMISSIVELY OF THE ANC. THEY WERE A MOTLEY LOT, AND THEIR LEADERS DID NOT REALLY WANT MANDELA RELEASED: IN PRISON HE WAS A USEFUL MARTYR, OUT OF PRISON HE WOULD BE A COMPETITOR FOR THEM.

5. KOHL SAID THAT ANGLO-GERMAN COLLABORATION ON THIS PROBLEM WAS ALL THE MORE IMPORTANT BECAUSE THE MOOD IN PARIS WAS BECOMING SO UNPREDICTABLE AND DECISIONS INCREASINGLY DICTATED BY INTERNAL POLITICAL AND ELECTORAL CONSIDERATIONS.

#### COMMENT

6. I THINK IT WOULD BE WISE TO MAINTAIN NO LESS CLOSE CONTACT WITH KOHL THAN I KNOW HAS BEEN THE CASE BETWEEN YOU AND GENSCHER.

BULLARD

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CCP  
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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

*Prime Minister*

*Dear Charles*

23 July 1986 *It looks as*

South Africa: Chancellor Kohl's Views

Thank you for your letter of 21 July.

*though we shall  
need to seek  
Chancellor Kohl's help  
before the  
Foreign Secretary's  
first and  
second  
meetings  
with  
President  
Botha.*

In Dr Teltschik's absence, the right person to talk to in Chancellor Kohl's office is Immo Stabreit (telephone number Bonn 562210). He is an Under-Secretary on secondment from the German Foreign Ministry.

You also asked for the Foreign Secretary's views on how Chancellor Kohl's offer of help with President Botha can most effectively be taken up in relation to Sir Geoffrey's forthcoming visit to South Africa. Chancellor Kohl has of course already taken action in that he has sent a trusted messenger to talk to Botha (paragraph 2 of Bonn telegram number 624). In the Foreign Secretary's view, it could well be helpful for similar action to be taken between Sir Geoffrey's first meeting with State President Botha today and the second meeting on 29 July.

*EDP  
23/7*

The precise terms of the message to be conveyed by an emissary on behalf of Chancellor Kohl cannot be decided in advance of Sir Geoffrey's first meeting. But it is likely to be on the following lines: What the Community are asking of the South African Government is tangible progress (ie the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners; and the unbanning of the ANC and other political parties). In the absence of such movement, there will inevitably be Community pressure at the end of the three month EC grace period for further measures against South Africa; and if Sir Geoffrey's visit produces nothing the British Government is bound to come under intense Commonwealth pressure to acquiesce in decisions at the Commonwealth Review meeting on 3 - 5 August. A lot therefore rests on the outcome of the Foreign Secretary's second meeting with State President Botha on 29 July.

Particularly at this crucial juncture, it would be very helpful if you could keep us informed about any exchanges you may have with Chancellor Kohl's office.

*Yours ever  
Adrian Cusack*

(R N Culshaw)  
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq  
PS/10 Downing Street

S. AFRICA  
RELATIONS

PT 12



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FILE

CJ2 ABY



10 DOWNING STREET

*From the Private Secretary*

21 July 1986

**SOUTH AFRICA: CHANCELLOR KOHL'S VIEWS**

The Prime Minister has seen a copy of Bonn telegram number 624 reporting Chancellor Kohl's views on South Africa.

The Prime Minister is as keen as Chancellor Kohl to remain in close touch about South Africa, and indeed I have been speaking to Dr. Teltschik on the telephone, although he has now gone on holiday. Is there anyone particular you would advise me to deal with in his absence?

The Prime Minister thinks that we should take up Chancellor Kohl's offer of help with President Botha. She should be grateful for advice on how the Foreign Secretary thinks this offer can most effectively be taken up in relation to his own forthcoming visit to South Africa.

CHARLES POWELL

C. R. Budd, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

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