

CONFIDENTIAL



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

Prime Minister

The idea of a letter is a good one. But the draft is horribly long-winded. I started to amend it but gave up.

28 July 1986

I attach an alternative version for you to sign.

Dear Charles

Agree to sign?

CDP 20/7.

The OAU and South Africa

Mrs Chalker has been considering whether to extend our efforts to explain our South African policy to more influential African Heads of State/Government. The Prime Minister has already sent a message (on 10 July) explaining our policies to President Diouf as present Chairman of the OAU. President Sassou-Nguesso of the People's Republic of the Congo is likely to be elected to succeed President Diouf at the OAU Summit opening in Addis Ababa today.

President Sassou-Nguesso is known to take a strong line against South Africa and against economic links with South Africa (for example his Government has closed shops down when it has discovered them selling South African products). Nevertheless Mrs Chalker thinks it would be in our interests to ensure that the President is made fully aware of our policy and the reasons for it. There is no reason to suppose that President Diouf will necessarily do this for us.

I attach accordingly draft telegrams to Addis Ababa containing instructions and the text of a proposed message from the Prime Minister.

Charles - Surely this yours own

will only call for it

a caustic reply especially Robert (unclear)

(R N Culshaw)  
Private Secretary

in view of the

C D Powell Esq  
PS/10 Downing Street

strong line he himself has taken out

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*File*

*DSG (44)*



*cc: PC*

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

*From the Private Secretary*

29 July 1986

THE OAU AND SOUTH AFRICA

Thank you for your letter of 28 July proposing that the Prime Minister should send a message to the President of the People's Republic of Congo, in his role as new Chairman of the OAU.

The Prime Minister sees no point in such a message given what your letter says about President Sassou-Nguesso's strong line on South Africa. She thinks that it would only call forth a caustic reply. She has commented for good measure that, in any case, the draft message was muddled and grovelling and she could not have brought herself to send it.

Charles Powell

R. N. Culshaw, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

*GA*

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# OUT TELEGRAM

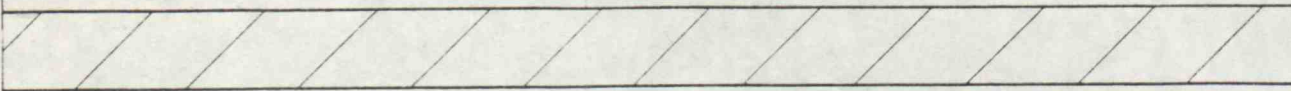
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TC	2	CONFIDENTIAL		
CAVEAT	3			
FM	4	FM FCO		
TO	5	TO DESKBY            Z ADDIS ABABA		
TELNO	6	TELNO		
OF	7	OF            Z JULY 86		
AND TO	8	INFO IMMEDIATE BRAZZAVILLE, KINSHASA, PRETORIA (FOR		
	9	SECRETARY OF STATE'S PARTY)		
	10			
	11			
	12	FCO TELNO 173 AND KINSHASA TELNO 293: OAU AND SOUTH AFRICA		
	13			
	14	1. On the assumption that President Sassou-Nguesso will		
	15	be elected as the new Chairman of the OAU at the opening		
	16	session on 28 July, please arrange to pass to him as soon		
	17	as possible thereafter the message in MIFT from the Prime		
	18	Minister.		
	19			
	20	HOWE		
	21			
	22			
	23	YYYY		
	24	MAIN		
	25	PS		
///	26	PS/MRS CHALKER		
//	27	PS/PUS		
/	28	MR DEREK THOMAS		
	29	MR E FERGUSSON		
YYYY			Catchword: <b>MR REEVE</b>	
MAIN	File number	Dept <b>PRIVATE OFFICE</b>	Drafted by (Block capitals) <b>R N CULSHAW</b>	Telephone no <b>233 4641</b>
ADDITIONAL	Authorised for    Initials    Date/time			
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2 neighbouring countries in May. However [as you will know]

3 the Heads of the European Community Governments meeting

4 at The Hague on 26/27 June came to the view [after the

5 most careful consideration] that [despite all the difficulties]

6 there was still a case for trying once more the road of

7 persuasion in order to bring apartheid to an end through

8 dialogue and a suspension of violence on all sides. We

9 also agreed that the key move that is necessary to promote

10 the genuine dialogue which we all want is for the South

11 African Government unconditionally to release Nelson Mandela

12 and other political prisoners and to lift the ban on the

13 ANC and other political parties. It was agreed that it

14 would be right [to undertake] <sup>a further</sup> [one more] diplomatic initiative

15 to that end and ~~it was accordingly agreed that~~ <sup>for</sup> the British

16 Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, <sup>ro</sup> [should] undertake

17 a mission to Southern Africa in his <sup>a</sup> capacity as President

18 of the European Council of Ministers and with ~~the~~ the full

19 support of the Community.

20

21 [As you will also know,] Sir Geoffrey Howe is now in South

22 Africa on the second <sup>stage</sup> leg of his mission. During the first

23 <sup>stage</sup> leg he was able to explain to President Kaunda, Prime Minister

24 Mugabe and President Machel that the European Community's

25 purpose is to make a further effort to try to promote dialogue

26 between the South African Government and representatives

27 of the black population, and that his mission sought to

28 build on the work of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group.

29 He explained that we are proceeding on the following basis:

30

/// 31 - the present situation in South Africa cannot go on.

// 32 Apartheid must give way to a non-racial fully representative

/ 33 society as soon as possible.

34 - the South African Government has recently taken some



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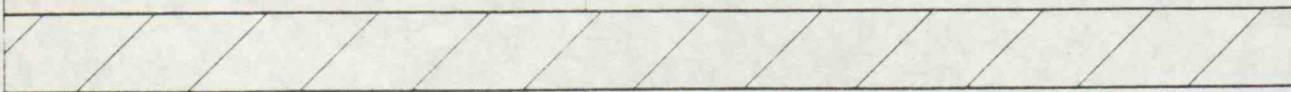
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 steps towards the removal of apartheid. This should be  
 acknowledged. But the changes need to be [much] faster and *more*  
 far reaching.  
 - negotiations will end apartheid more quickly and spare  
 more lives. Violence will slow change and prolong misery  
 for years to come.  
 - the Community, including Britain, have already  
 implemented a number of measures. They are studying certain  
 further measures in case they might be needed. The idea  
 that quote one last push unquote from outside, through  
 comprehensive sanctions, would bring down apartheid is  
 sadly an illusion.  
 - it is essential to take every chance to advance dialogue.  
 The option of peaceful negotiations will not be available  
 indefinitely.  
 The main purpose of Sir Geoffrey Howe's current visit to  
 Southern Africa is to concentrate on the position of the  
 South African Government which is the key to progress.  
 He has made it clear that if, when the results of his visits  
 to the area have been assessed, it is apparent that they  
 have not led to tangible and substantial progress in South  
 Africa, [then *further measures may be needed* he would regard agreement on further measures  
 as likely to be necessary.] As well as visiting several  
 other countries in the region, Sir Geoffrey Howe remains  
 willing to see as wide a range as possible of leaders of  
 black African opinion including ANC leaders.  
 We shall [of course] (with our Community partners) be  
 assessing [the progress of the mission] once Sir Geoffrey Howe  
 returns from Southern Africa. We shall also [in accordance  
 with the agreement at The Hague] continue consultations  
 with the other industrialised countries on further measures

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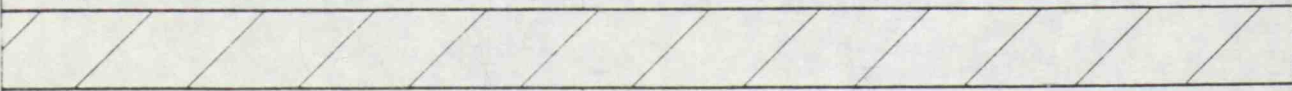
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which might be needed covering in particular the ban on new investment and the import on coal, iron, steel and gold coins from South Africa. The decision of the European Community to consult other industrialised countries was of course taken because if measures are to be effective in bringing about change in South Africa it is essential that they should have the support of the industrialised countries as a whole.

There will be an important opportunity to discuss all these issues when the Seven Commonwealth Heads of Government directly involved, including Britain, will formally review the report of the Eminent Persons Group in early August. I expect Sir Geoffrey Howe's report on his visits to Southern Africa to will provide an important input to the meeting, in particular on the South African Government's attitude. This important meeting takes place shortly after the OAU Summit is over. I realise that you and the other OAU leaders will have Southern Africa at the top of your Agenda. I hope that under your guidance the outcome of the OAU Summit will help to promote friendly understanding and cooperation between member countries of the OAU and of the European Community on this important question and contribute to a constructive outcome to the Commonwealth Review Meeting. I strongly believe that any divisions between us will be of benefit only to those who are resisting change in South Africa. In any case I hope that this account of my views and of the continuing efforts of Britain and the European Community to find a peaceful solution to the South African problem will be helpful to you.

In conclusion may I say that I hope we shall have the opportunity to meet during your Chairmanship of the OAU.



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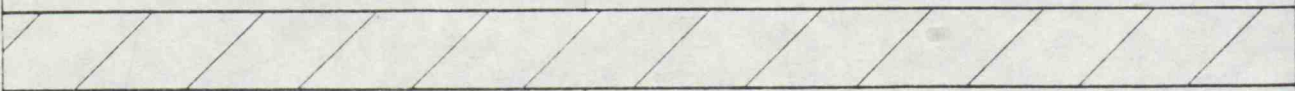
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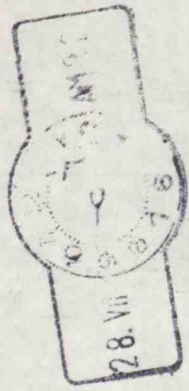
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 Yours sincerely,  
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10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

SUSPENDED

Dear

Following your appointment as Chairman of the OAU, on which I congratulate you, I should like to take this early opportunity to explain to you my Government's views on the situation in Southern Africa. I know the very great importance which this situation has for the members of the OAU. I can assure you that we in Britain and in Europe are no less concerned by the violence in South Africa, and no less determined to see apartheid brought to an early end.

At the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in Nassau last October, we decided to appoint a Group of Eminent Persons to encourage the evolution of a political dialogue in South Africa. The Group made a good deal of progress over the ensuing months. Indeed at one time it seemed possible that they would succeed in their task. Sadly, their mission failed following raids by the South African Government on neighbouring countries, which we condemned in the severest possible terms.

When the Heads of European Community Governments met in late June, we decided that it was nonetheless worth making a further attempt to create the conditions for dialogue and negotiation in South Africa. We were agreed that the most important step towards that goal would be the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners and the lifting of the ban on the ANC and other political parties. The Heads of Government also agreed that Sir

Geoffrey Howe should undertake a mission to Southern Africa on behalf of the European Community in his capacity as President of the European Council of Ministers.

Sir Geoffrey Howe paid a first visit to Southern Africa some two some weeks ago, during which he held meetings with President Kaunda, President Machel and Prime Minister Mugabe. He explained to them that his mission was an attempt to build upon the work of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group and that he was guided by the following principles:

- apartheid must give way to a non-racial society as soon as possible.
- the steps already taken by the South African Government towards the removal of apartheid should be acknowledged, but faster and more far-reaching changes will be required.
- negotiations offer the best prospect of ending apartheid quickly and of reducing loss of life. Violence, on the other hand, will only slow change and prolong misery.
- while the European Community has already implemented a number of measures against South Africa, the idea that "one last push" from outside through comprehensive sanctions will bring down apartheid is an illusion.
- every chance should be taken to advance dialogue. The opportunity to hold peaceful negotiations should be taken while it is still available.

Over the last week, Sir Geoffrey Howe has visited both South Africa itself as well as Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland and also held further talks with President Kaunda. He has not seen as many leaders of black opinion in South Africa as he would like but remains ready to meet them, including ANC leaders. I have not yet received an account of his visit.

We shall want to assess the outcome of Sir Geoffrey's mission carefully with our European Community partners. We are also holding consultations with other industrialised countries on further measures against South Africa which might be needed if there is no tangible and substantial progress. The European Heads of Government identified a ban on new investment and on the import of coal, iron, steel and gold coins from South Africa as steps which might need to be taken. We are consulting other Governments because it is clear that no measures will be effective unless they have support of the industrialised countries as a whole.

The situation in Southern Africa will also be considered by seven Commonwealth Heads of Government, including the United Kingdom, when they meet to review the report of the Eminent Persons Group in early August. Each of the countries attending that meeting is of course also a member of other regional groups such as the OAU, the Non-Aligned Movement and, in our own case, the European Community. Our discussions and decisions in the Commonwealth context will have to take account of our obligations and undertakings as members of these other groups. I hope that we shall agree in confirming our determination to work for the earliest possible start to negotiations in South Africa, against the background of a suspension of violence by all sides.

I hope that this brief account of my views and of the continuing efforts of Britain and the European Community to promote a peaceful solution to the problems of South Africa will be of help to you. I should be happy to arrange for more detailed briefing and discussions with members of your Government were you to judge that useful.

I send you my best wishes.

President Sassou-Nguesso