

CONFIDENTIAL  
FM WASHINGTON  
TO DESKBY 290900Z FCO  
TELNO 2739  
OF 282315Z OCTOBER 86  
INFO IMMEDIATE BONN  
INFO ROUTINE PRETORIA

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YOUR TELNO 1853: FRG/SOUTH AFRICA

1. JENKINS SAW CROCKER TODAY AND CONFIRMED ARRANGEMENTS AS INSTRUCTED IN PARA 1 OF TUR. CROCKER WAS CONTENT.
2. IN FURTHER DISCUSSION CROCKER APPEARED TO ACCEPT THE LINE OF ARGUMENT IN PARA 2 OF TUR. HOWEVER, HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT HE REMAINED PREOCCUPIED BY THE VACUUM WHICH WAS DEVELOPING IN WESTERN POLICIES TOWARDS SOUTH AFRICA. THIS WAS NOT NECESSARILY A PROBLEM FOR THE NEXT WEEKS OR EVEN MONTHS, BUT IT COULD BECOME ONE IN THE COURSE OF NEXT YEAR. WE NEEDED TO DO SOME LONG RANGE THINKING.
3. CROCKER SAID THAT HE WISHED TO FLOAT TWO IDEAS AT HIS TALKS IN LONDON. FIRST, THE POSSIBILITY OF INSTITUTING REGULAR UK/US/FRG TRILATERAL DISCUSSIONS AT OFFICIAL LEVEL ABOUT SOUTH AFRICA. THE AIM OF THESE MEETINGS MIGHT BE TO COMPARE NOTES ON DEVELOPMENTS THERE ON A REGULAR BASIS, AND DISCUSS POSSIBLE WAYS FORWARD. IF IT PROVED USEFUL, SUCH A FORUM MIGHT SUBSEQUENTLY BE BROADENED TO BRING IN OTHER MAJOR PLAYERS SUCH AS THE JAPANESE. THERE MIGHT ALSO BE ADVANTAGE IN CONDUCTING SUCH MEETINGS FROM TIME TO TIME AT MINISTERIAL LEVEL. WHEN JENKINS COMMENTED THAT IT WOULD BE IMPORTANT AT LEAST INITIALLY TO KEEP ANY REGULAR MEETINGS OF THIS KIND CONFIDENTIAL, CROCKER AGREED, BUT SUGGESTED THAT THERE COULD BE ADVANTAGE, 'AS A FORM OF COVER', IN MEETINGS AT MINISTERIAL LEVEL BECOMING PUBLICLY KNOWN.
4. CROCKER SAID THAT HE ALSO WISHED TO EXPLORE THE POSSIBILITIES FOR ELABORATING A PUBLIC DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES OVER SOUTH AFRICA. SUCH PRINCIPLES SHOULD ATTEMPT TO GO BEYOND IMMEDIATE ISSUES LIKE THE RELEASE OF MANDELA OR THE UN-BANNING OF THE NAC, AND MIGHT COMPRISE IDEAS FOR A POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA. HE AGREED THAT IT WOULD BE IMPORTANT TO AVOID GIVING THE IMPRESSION OF SEEKING TO IMPOSE CONSTITUTIONAL BLUEPRINTS. IN HIS MIND A DECLARATION OF THIS KIND OUGHT TO DEAL WITH THE OBJECTIVES OF A NEW SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT RATHER THAN THE MECHANICS OF SUCH A SYSTEM. HE COULD SEE ADVANTAGE IN DRAWING UP A POSITIVE PLATFORM TO SERVE AS AN INTELLECTUAL BASIS FOR THOSE WESTERN GOVERNMENTS WHICH CHOSE TO BE PARTY TO IT.
5. CROCKER HOPED THAT THESE IDEAS WOULD BE SEEN AS MORE FRUITFUL THAN THOSE OF THE GERMANS WHICH HE CHARACTERISED AS PREMATURE AND UNATTRACTIVE. HE SAW NO SCOPE FOR A NEW ROUND OF MEDIATION AT THIS STAGE, EVEN IF IT WAS IMPORTANT TO KEEP THE CHANNELS TO THE SAG OPEN.

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6. FINALLY, CROCKER SAID THAT HE WOULD WISH TO SAY SOMETHING IN LONDON ABOUT US THINKING ON REGIONAL AID TO SOUTHERN AFRICA. THE ADMINISTRATION WOULD BE PUTTING FORWARD SOME IDEAS BEFORE THE RETURN OF CONGRESS AND WOULD LIKE AS FAR AS POSSIBLE TO CONCERT SUCH IDEAS WITH THEIR ALLIES.

## 7. COMMENT.

CROCKER'S DESIRE TO OPEN UP SOME POLICY OPTIONS IN THE WAKE OF THE US SANCTIONS LEGISLATION IS AT LEAST IN PART THE RESULT OF CONTINUING PRESSURE ON THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND ON HIMSELF PERSONALLY FROM CONGRESSIONAL CIRCLES. THE WASHINGTON POSTS HAS ALLEGED THAT LUGAR (CHAIRMAN OF THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE) PRIVATELY ADVISED SHULTZ IN MID-OCTOBER THAT CROCKER'S DISMISSAL WOULD HELP SMOOTH RELATIONS BETWEEN THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND CONGRESS IN THE WAKE OF THE SANCTIONS VETO OVERRIDE. ALTHOUGH THE STATE DEPARTMENT SUBSEQUENTLY DENIED THAT CROCKER'S FUTURE HAD BEEN DISCUSSED BETWEEN SHULTZ AND LUGAR, LUGAR CERTAINLY APPEARS TO HAVE WARNED SHULTZ THAT CONGRESS WANTED NO FOOT-DRAGGING BY OFFICIALS IN STATE IN PURSUIT OF CONGRESS' NEW US POLICY. CROCKER MENTIONED TO JENKINS THAT HE HAD BEEN PERSONALLY CHARGED BY SHULTZ WITH UNDERTAKING A THOROUGH ANALYSIS OF POSSIBLE WAYS FORWARD IN CONJUNCTION WITH OURSELVES AND THE GERMANS. THERE SEEMS LITTLE DOUBT THAT SHULTZ TOO IS APPREHENSIVE OF PRESSURES WHICH MAY DEVELOP ON THE ADMINISTRATION IN THE MONTHS AHEAD FOR FURTHER ACTION IF THEY ALLOW MATTERS TO DRIFT.

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