

CONFIDENTIAL

FM WASHINGTON

TO DESKBY 170900Z FCO

TELNO 2650

OF 170001Z OCTOBER 86

INFO IMMEDIATE BONN

INFO ROUTINE PARIS, TOKYO, PRETORIA

PS.

~~BONN TELNO 2650 (NOJ. TO ALL), FRG/SOUTH AFRICA~~

1. CROCKER TOLD MINISTER ON 16 OCTOBER THAT THE GERMAN EMBASSY HAD ALERTED HIM TO THIS POSSIBLE GERMAN INITIATIVE ON SOUTH AFRICA. AS SET OUT IN A PAPER PROVIDED IN CONFIDENCE TO THE STATE DEPARTMENT BY THE GERMANS (COPY FOLLOWS BY JAG - PLEASE PROTECT), A THREE PHASE PLAN OF ACTION WAS ENVISAGED.

2. THE FIRST PHASE WOULD CONSIST OF A CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE UK (QUOTE BEING THE EC PRESIDENCY, BUT NOT ACTING IN THIS CAPACITY UNQUOTE) AND ATTENDED BY THE US, FRG, JAPAN AND, IDEALLY, FRANCE. THIS CONFERENCE, IN CONSULTATION WITH THE FLS, WOULD AGREE A SET OF BROAD PRINCIPLES FOR A FUTURE SOUTH AFRICA. AN OBJECTIVE OF THIS PHASE WOULD BE TO PERSUADE THE SAG TO FREE MANDELA AND UNBAN THE ANC. THE SECOND PHASE WOULD THEN TAKE THE SHAPE OF A CAMP DAVID-STYLE CONFERENCE CHAIRED BY THE US, WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF THE SAG AND ANC, TO NEGOTIATE THE ABOLITION OF APARTHEID, THE INTRODUCTION OF POWER-SHARING BY THE BLACK MAJORITY, THE SETTLEMENT OF MINORITY RIGHTS AND SO ON. THE THIRD PHASE WOULD BE A REVIEW CONFERENCE TO ENSURE THAT THE AGREEMENTS REACHED IN PHASE TWO HAD BEEN FAITHFULLY IMPLEMENTED.

*But South Africa is a
sovereign state*

3. CROCKER WAS CLEARLY WORRIED THAT THIS ILL THOUGHT-OUT PROPOSAL WOULD BACKFIRE. AT THE SAME TIME HE WAS CONCERNED THAT SOME ELEMENTS IN THE ADMINISTRATION MIGHT SEE IN IT AN OPPORTUNITY TO REGAIN THE INITIATIVE. HE HAD TOLD THE GERMAN EMBASSY ON 15 OCTOBER THAT HE WANTED TO DISCUSS THEIR PROPOSAL WITH THEM IN FURTHER DETAIL BEFORE KOHL'S VISIT. HE INFERRED THAT WE, TOO, WOULD HAVE OUR DOUBTS ABOUT THE COURSE THE GERMANS WERE PROPOSING TO TAKE, AND HOPED THAT WE WOULD BE WILLING TO RAISE THESE WITH THEM URGENTLY (HE ASSURED THAT THE GERMANS MUST ALREADY HAVE ALERTED US TO THEIR IDEAS). THAT SAID, HE FELT THAT THE PROPOSAL WAS NOT ALL BAD: INDEED, THE CONCEPT OF AGREEING A SET OF POLITICAL PRINCIPLES HELD SOME ATTRACTION, SINCE IT WOULD PROVIDE EVIDENCE OF WESTERN ACTIVITY AND HELP TO STAVE OFF DOMESTIC CRITICISM. THE AMERICANS WERE ALSO ATTRACTED TO TRILATERAL ACTIVITY. BUT IT WOULD HAVE TO BE WORKED OUT IN DETAIL AMONGST OFFICIALS FIRST AND HAVE REALISTIC OBJECTIVES. HE WAS PLANNING TO BE IN EUROPE IN THE NEXT FORTNIGHT AND WONDERED WHETHER A MEETING BETWEEN HIMSELF, FERBUSSON AND SULTANA COULD USEFULLY BE ARRANGED. HE WOULD BE GRATEFUL FOR AN EARLY REACTION TO THIS SUGGESTION.

4. CROCKER SAW NO PROSPECT OF DEFLECTING KOHL ALTOGETHER. BUT HE SAW MERIT IN ENCOURAGING HIM TO BROACH HIS IDEA ONLY IN GENERAL TERMS DURING HIS VISIT TO WASHINGTON, AND NOT TO MAKE ANY FORMAL PROPOSALS UNTIL THERE HAD BEEN A CHANCE FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION.

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