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PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH MR GORBACHEV: SOUTHERN AFRICA

1. I WAS ASKED TO CONTRIBUTE SOME NOTES FOR THE MEETING. THESE MAY REQUIRE UP-DATING TOMORROW.

NAMIBIA

2. THE UNITED STATES, SOVIET UNION AND OURSELVES HAVE INVESTED ENORMOUS EFFORTS IN GETTING THE NAMIBIA AGREEMENT, WHICH SHOWS THAT REGIONAL CONFLICTS CAN BE RESOLVED BY NEGOTIATION, AS MR GORBACHEV HAS BEEN SO STRONGLY ADVOCATING. U.S. AND OUR PRESSURE ON PRETORIA SUCCEEDED IN GETTING THEM TO AGREE, AT LAST, THAT UNSCR 435 SHOULD BE IMPLEMENTED.

3. THAT AGREEMENT IS NOW SERIOUSLY THREATENED BECAUSE, AS SOON AS SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES WERE RESTRICTED TO BASE, OVER 1000 ARMED SWAPO CROSSED THE BORDER. IT IS NO USE SWAPO CLAIMING THAT THESE FORCES CAME FROM WITHIN THE TERRITORY. AHTISAARI AND PREM CHAND HAVE CONFIRMED THAT THEY CROSSED THE BORDER IN VIOLATION OF THE AGREEMENT. THE AGREEMENT REQUIRES ALL SWAPO FORCES TO BE NORTH OF THE 16TH PARALLEL. INSTEAD SWAPO UNITS, INCLUDING ARMoured UNITS, ARE ALLEGED TO BE AT XANGONGO, TECHIPA AND ONDJIVA AIRFIELD IN VIOLATION OF THE AGREEMENT: AND ONE SWAPO BATTALION IS REPORTED TO BE A FEW HUNDRED METRES NORTH OF THE BORDER AT BEACON 12. THE RUSSIANS HAVE MILITARY ADVISERS IN ANGOLA. THEY SHOULD VERIFY FOR THEMSELVES.

4. WE CAN GET THE SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY BACK TO THEIR BASES AND SAVE THE AGREEMENT LEADING TO FREE ELECTIONS AND INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNISED INDEPENDENCE FOR NAMIBIA IF AND ONLY IF SWAPO COMPLY AND MOVE THEIR FORCES NORTH OF THE 16TH PARALLEL. WHAT IS REQUIRED IMMEDIATELY IS THE CESSATION OF ANY FURTHER SOUTHWARD MOVEMENT BY SWAPO: OTHERWISE THERE WILL BE A FURTHER ESCALATION AND A DANGER OF THE AGREEMENT ITSELF BEING DESTROYED. ADAMISHIN IS IN LUANDA. WE HOPE HE WILL SEE TO THIS. SECONDLY, SWAPO MUST MOVE NORTH OF THE 16TH PARALLEL AND THIS MUST BE MONITORED. THAT IS SUPPOSED TO BE THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE ANGOLANS, BUT THEY HAVE FAILED TO CARRY IT OUT.

5. THE SOUTH AFRICANS ARE PROPOSING AN URGENT MEETING OF THE JOINT COMMISSION (SOUTH AFRICA, ANGOLA, CUBA, U.S. AND SOVIET UNION) IN NAMIBIA ON FRIDAY. THE PARTICIPANTS NEGOTIATED THESE AGREEMENTS AND MUST SORT THIS OUT.

6. THE MAJOR POWERS HAVE WORKED CLOSELY TOGETHER AND WE MUST CONTINUE TO DO SO. IF SWAPO ARE COMPLYING, AS THEY PRETEND TO BE, THEY CANNOT OBJECT TO UN OBSERVERS. NO COUNTRY IS GOING TO BE PREPARED TO ALLOW 1000 HEAVILY ARMED MEN TO CROSS ITS FRONTIERS. THIS BEHAVIOUR BY SWAPO ATTRIBUTABLE TO A THIRD-RATE LEADERSHIP. IF THEY HAVE POPULAR SUPPORT, THEY HAVE MOST TO LOSE FROM A BREAKDOWN OF THE UN PLAN. A DISASTER IN NAMIBIA WOULD SET BACK ALSO THE CHANCES OF POLITICAL CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

7. (SQUARE BRACKETS BEGIN) IF MR GORBACHEV REPEATS ADAMISHIN'S SUGGESTION FOR AN 'UNCONDITIONAL' CEASEFIRE (SQUARE BRACKETS END) THE SOUTH AFRICANS WILL NOT ACCEPT AN OUTCOME WHICH WOULD LEAVE 1000 ARMED SWAPO WHO HAVE CROSSED THE BORDER IN VIOLATION OF THE AGREEMENT INSIDE NAMIBIA. THEY SHOULD SURRENDER TO UNTAG, WITH THEIR ARMS, AND BE RETURNED TO ANGOLA.

SOUTH AFRICA

8. A CHANGE OF LEADERSHIP AND AN ELECTION ARE NOW IMMINENT. THE PRIME MINISTER HAS TALKED TO PIK BOTHA. SHE WILL BE SEEING BAREND DU PLESSIS IN LONDON ON 24 APRIL. SHE INTENDS ALSO TO TALK TO DE KLERK. HER EFFORTS WILL BE DEVOTED TO SECURING INTERNAL PROGRESS. THAT MEANS THE RELEASE OF MANDELA AND THE OPENING OF NEGOTIATIONS WITH GENUINE BLACK LEADERS, IN THE CONTEXT OF A SUSPENSION OF VIOLENCE ON ALL SIDES. WILL LOOK FOR SOVIET SUPPORT IN THIS. THEY WILL NEED TO USE THEIR INFLUENCE WITH THE ANC. NO ALTERNATIVE TO NEGOTIATION. THE ANC CANNOT WIN MILITARILY. THE STRUGGLE WOULD GO ON INDEFINITELY. CANNOT PROMISE EARLY RESULTS, BUT WILL BE INCREASING THE PRESSURE ON A NEW SOUTH AFRICAN LEADERSHIP TO MOVE FORWARD WITH NEGOTIATIONS INTERNALLY, AS THEY HAVE STARTED DOING EXTERNALLY.

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RENWICK

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