

Confidential**CONFIDENTIAL**

DEDIP

FM PRETORIA

TO IMMEDIATE FCO LONDON

TELNO 136

OF 191120Z JULY 88

INFO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON , MAPUTO

ADVANCE COPY

WASHINGTON (PERSONAL FOR AMBASSADOR)

MAPUTO (PERSONAL FOR AMBASSADOR)

MIPT : MEETING WITH PIK BOTHA.

1. WHEN I SAW PIK BOTHA TODAY I TOLD HIM THAT I WANTED TO DELIVER AN ORAL MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER.

2. I SAID THAT IN OUR OPINION SOUTH AFRICA WAS ENTERING ANOTHER CRITICAL PERIOD FOR ITS RELATIONS WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD. THERE HAD BEEN A MODEST RESUMPTION OF ECONOMIC GROWTH BUT THE FINANCIAL RESOURCES WERE NOT SUFFICIENT TO SUSTAIN THE COSTS BOTH OF THE WAR IN ANGOLA AND THE INCREASE IN EXPENDITURE ON BLACK EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT. THE REAL THREAT FACING SOUTH AFRICA WAS NOT SO MUCH VIOLENCE AS THE PROSPECT OF GRADUAL ECONOMIC DECLINE. SOUTH AFRICA WAS NOT IN A POSITION WHERE IT COULD AFFORD TO SUFFER FURTHER ECONOMIC DAMAGE AND WE WANTED TO PREVENT THAT. BUT THAT WAS GOING TO DEPEND ON WHAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT DID OR DID NOT DO MEANWHILE.

3. WE DID NOT KNOW WHO WOULD WIN THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN THE UNITED STATES. THE PRIME MINISTER WOULD BE SEEKING TO USE HER INFLUENCE WITH ANY INCOMING U S ADMINISTRATION TO TRY TO ENSURE THAT SENSIBLE POLICIES WERE ADOPTED IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. BUT THE AMOUNT OF LEVERAGE WE COULD EXERT WOULD DEPEND ON WHAT HAPPENED HERE.

4. THE KEY ISSUES WERE ANGOLA/NAMIBIA AND MANDELA. WE WERE GLAD THAT THE SOUTH AFRICANS SO FAR HAD NEGOTIATED POSITIVELY ON ANGOLA/NAMIBIA. IT WAS VITAL THAT THEY SHOULD CONTINUE TO DO SO. ACHIEVEMENT OF A SETTLEMENT DID NOT DEPEND ON THEM ALONE. BUT IF REAL PROGRESS COULD BE MADE TOWARDS A SETTLEMENT BY THE END OF THE YEAR, THAT WOULD HAVE A STABILISING EFFECT ON ANY NEW ADMINISTRATION IN WASHINGTON WHICH WOULD NOT WANT TO THROW AWAY THAT

Confidential

-1-

/MAJOR

5. AS FOR MANDELA, THE PRIME MINISTER HAD RAISED THIS WITH PRESIDENT BOTHA AT CHEQUERS AND, FOUR YEARS LATER, WE WERE STILL TALKING ABOUT HIS RELEASE. THE CELEBRATIONS OF HIS SEVENTIETH BIRTHDAY WITH MANDELA STILL IN PRISON HAD PUT ALL THE EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS UNDER INTENSE PUBLIC PRESSURE. WE CONSISTENTLY HAD SOUGHT TO AVOID LECTURING THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT OR MAKING DRAMATIC PUBLIC DEMANDS ON THEM. THERE WAS A NEED TO SHOW THAT THIS MORE CONSTRUCTIVE APPROACH COULD PRODUCE RESULTS. MANDELA HAD NOW BEEN IN PRISON FOR 26 YEARS. IN NO CIVILISED COUNTRY DID LIFE IMPRISONMENT MEAN IMPRISONMENT TILL THE DAY A MAN DIED. IF MANDELA DIED IN JAIL, THE CONSEQUENCES FOR SOUTH AFRICA, BOTH EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL, WOULD BE DISASTROUS. IF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT AGREED THAT MANDELA MUST NOT BE ALLOWED TO DIE IN JAIL, THEN IT WAS NECESSARY TO FIND A WAY OF GETTING HIM OUT (AND NOT JUST INTO HOUSE ARREST). IF THIS WERE DONE, WE WOULD WANT TO DISCUSS WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT WAYS IN WHICH WE COULD SUPPORT AND WELCOME THE PROCESS.

6. PIK BOTHA SAID THAT HE WAS GRATEFUL TO HAVE THIS MESSAGE. HE WOULD RELAY IT TO THE STATE PRESIDENT AND TRY TO MAKE USE OF IT WITH HIS OTHER COLLEAGUES. PERSONALLY HE AGREED THAT MANDELA WAS FAR MORE DAMAGING TO SOUTH AFRICA IN JAIL THAN IF HE WERE FREE. HE WOULD GO ON WORKING FOR HIS RELEASE AND HOPED THAT I WOULD KEEP IN TOUCH ALSO WITH THE MINISTER FOR JUSTICE, WITH WHOM HE KNEW I HAD DISCUSSED THE MATTER, AND WHO WAS OF THE SAME OPINION. BUT EACH TIME THE POSSIBILITY WAS CANVASSED, THE SECURITY CHIEFS ARGUED THAT THEY HAD WITH DIFFICULTY GOT INTERNAL DISTURBANCES UNDER CONTROL. IF MANDELA WERE RELEASED, THERE WAS LIKELY TO BE A FURTHER OUTBREAK OF VIOLENCE. IF THAT HAPPENED THE GOVERNMENT WOULD BE HANDING THE NEXT ELECTION ON A PLATE TO THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY. I SAID THAT IF MANDELA DIED IN PRISON, THERE WOULD BE A MUCH GREATER OUTBREAK OF VIOLENCE AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT WOULD GET NONE OF THE POSITIVE RESULTS THAT COULD BE OBTAINED FROM HIS RELEASE. PIK BOTHA SAID THAT IF MANDELA'S RELEASE WERE DECIDED, IT WOULD HAVE TO BE AS AN INTERNAL DECISION, WHICH MUST NOT APPEAR TO BE TAKEN UNDER EXTERNAL PRESSURE. I SAID THAT WE HAD ALWAYS AVOIDED TRYING TO PRESSURISE THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT PUBLICLY THROUGH THREATS OF SANCTIONS ETC. IF THE SOUTH AFRICANS DECIDED TO RELEASE HIM, WE WOULD WANT TO DISCUSS WITH THEM WAYS IN WHICH WE MIGHT WELCOME THAT STEP.

7. I ADDED THAT, APART FROM THE POSSIBILITY THAT THERE MIGHT BE A DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION IN WASHINGTON IN THE NEW YEAR, THERE WERE ALSO TENSIONS WITHIN THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT. THE EXECUTION OF THE SHARPEVILLE SIX OR PASSAGE IN ITS PRESENT FORM OF THE LEGISLATION ON FOREIGN FUNDING WOULD BE CERTAIN TO TRIGGER FURTHER NEGATIVE ACTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA. PIK BOTHA SAID THAT HE WAS WELL AWARE OF THIS. SO FAR AS THE SHARPEVILLE SIX WERE CONCERNED, HE CONSIDERED THAT THE FIRST TWO ACCUSED WERE GUILTY OF MURDER ON ANY COUNT. HE WAS WORRIED ABOUT THE OTHER CASES AND HAD INTERVENED BEYOND WHAT WAS PROPER FOR HIM TO DO IN THE JUDICIAL PROCESS. THE FOREIGN FUNDING BILL WAS UNLIKELY TO PASS IN ITS PRESENT FORM. IN ANY EVENT THERE WOULD BE NO INTERFERENCE WITH FUNDS COMING INTO SOUTH AFRICA FOR BONA FIDE HEALTH, EDUCATION, WELFARE AND DEVELOPMENT PURPOSES. I SAID THAT IF ATTEMPTS WERE MADE BY THE SAG TO DECIDE WHAT WAS AND WAS NOT BONA FIDE ASSISTANCE, THERE WOULD BE TROUBLE. THOSE WHO OPPOSED SANCTIONS WERE THE MORE ATTACHED TO POSITIVE MEASURES. PIK BOTHA TALKED ABOUT POSSIBLE LEGISLATION ON THE LINES OF THE U S FOREIGN AGENTS REGISTRATION ACT, WHICH REQUIRES RECIPIENTS TO DISCLOSE WHERE FOREIGN MONIES ARE RECEIVED FROM AND WHAT THEY ARE SPENT ON. IN ANY EVENT, HE ASSURED ME, THERE WAS NO LIKELIHOOD OF THE BILL BEING PASSED IN THE NEAR FUTURE IN ITS PRESENT FORM.

8. I SAID THAT ONE DEVELOPMENT WE DID WELCOME WAS THE IMPROVEMENT WHICH HAD BEEN BROUGHT ABOUT, AND TO WHICH WE HAD TRIED TO CONTRIBUTE, IN SOUTH AFRICA'S RELATIONS WITH MOZAMBIQUE. IT WAS IN THE INTERESTS OF BOTH COUNTRIES TO GET BACK TO THE NKOMATI ACCORD. PIK BOTHA SAID THAT HE WAS VERY PLEASED WITH THE PROGRESS MADE SO FAR. PRESIDENT BOTHA HAD TOLD OTHER MINISTERS THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO MORE MILITARY SUPPORT FOR RENAMO. THE CAHORA BASSA TALKS HAD GONE WELL. IF THE NEXT MEETING OF THE JOINT SECURITY COMMISSION PRODUCED POSITIVE RESULTS, PIK BOTHA THEN WANTED TO WORK TOWARDS A MEETING BETWEEN CHISSANO AND P W BOTHA, PERHAPS ALSO INVOLVING PRESIDENT BANDA, AT THE CAHORA BASSA DAM. THAT WOULD BE THE KEY TO GETTING HIS OWN PRESIDENT FIRMLY COMMITTED TO GETTING BACK TO THE NKOMATI AGREEMENT.

9. F C O PLEASE ADVANCE TO NO. 10 DOWNING STREET.

RENWICK

DISTRIBUTION.

LIMITED.

HD/CAF

HD/NEWS

HD/PUSD

HD/PLANNERS

PS

PS/MRS CHALKER

PS/PUS

MR MUNRO

MR FAIRWEATHER.

-3-

Confidential