

SOUTHERN AFRICA

PS
 PS/MR RIFKIND
 PS/PUS
 MR FERGUSSON
 SIR J FREELAND
 MR JOHNSON
 MR O'NEILL
 HD/SAFD
 HD/CAFD
 HD/UND
 HD/NEWS DEPT
 RESIDENT CLERK

MR CLG MALLABY, CABINET OFFICE

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

15.11.84

CONFIDENTIAL

FM WASHINGTON

TO DESKBY 100700Z FCO

TELNO 2543

OF 092345Z SEP 85

INFO DESKBY 100700Z LUXEMBOURG (FOR PS/MR RIFKIND)

INFO IMMEDIATE LAGOS (FOR PRIVATE SECRETARY)

INFO IMMEDIATE PRETORIA

INFO PRIORITY OTHER EC POSTS, HARARE, LUSAKA, LUANDA, DAR ES
 SALAAM, MAPUTO, GABARONE, MASERU, MBABANE, UKMIS
 NEW YORK

MIPT, US/SOUTH AFRICA

SUMMARY

1. CROCKER MAINTAINS THAT THERE WILL BE NO CHANGE IN US OPPOSITION
 TO MANDATORY UN SANCTIONS.

DETAIL

2. SOME NEW POINTS EMERGED WHEN CROCKER BRIEFED REPRESENTATIVES OF EUROPEAN AND LATIN AMERICAN EMBASSIES THIS EVENING ON THE MEASURES ANNOUNCED BY PRESIDENT REAGAN EARLIER IN THE DAY. HE STRESSED THAT THE COURSE CHOSEN BY THE PRESIDENT OFFERED THE ADMINISTRATION THE BEST CHANCE OF PUTTING A DIVISIVE DOMESTIC DEBATE BEHIND THEM. HE COULD NOT YET ASSESS CONGRESSIONAL REACTION BUT BOTH SENATOR DOLE (MAJORITY LEADER) AND SENATOR LUGAR (CHAIRMAN, FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE) HAD SAID PUBLICLY THAT THE PRESIDENT'S ACTION REMOVED THE NEED FOR LEGISLATION.

3. CROCKER DETECTED GROWING PUBLIC RECOGNITION IN THE US THAT IT WOULD NOT HELP THE VICTIMS OF APARTHEID TO DESTROY THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY. HE THOUGHT THAT US ALLIES WOULD SHARE THIS VIEW. THE ADMINISTRATION HOPED THAT THE MEASURES ANNOUNCED BY THE PRESIDENT INCLUDED ELEMENTS WHICH WOULD PROVE ATTRACTIVE TO THE ALLIES AS A DEFENSIBLE BASIS FOR POLICY OVER THE COMING MONTHS.

4. CROCKER NOTED THAT THE INTRODUCTION OF MEASURES BY EXECUTIVE ORDER RATHER THAN BY LEGISLATION GAVE THE PRESIDENT MORE FLEXIBILITY IN DECIDING WHEN THE MEASURES SHOULD BE LIFTED. FRASURE (US EMBASSY, LONDON, WHO IS ATTENDING A US AFRICA CHIEFS OF MISSION CONFERENCE HERE) ADMITTED TO US PRIVATELY THAT THE ONLY IMPORTANT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE EXECUTIVE ORDER AND THE CONGRESSIONAL BILL WERE THAT THE THREAT OF FURTHER MEASURES AFTER 12 MONTHS HAD BEEN DROPPED AND THE BAN ON THE IMPORT OF KRUGER-

CONFERENCE WERE REPORTED TO BE PRIVATELY THAT THE ONLY IMPORTANT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE EXECUTIVE ORDER AND THE CONGRESSIONAL BILL WERE THAT THE THREAT OF FURTHER MEASURES AFTER 12 MONTHS HAD BEEN DROPPED AND THE BAN ON THE IMPORT OF KRUGER-RANDS HAD BEEN DEFERRED PENDING CONSULTATION WITH GATT PARTNERS. CROCKER SAID THAT US LEGAL ADVICE ON THIS WAS NOT CLEAR BUT THE ADMINISTRATION HOPED TO FIND A WAY FORWARD WITHOUT VIOLATING THEIR INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS.

5. CROCKER CLAIMED THAT THERE WOULD BE NO CHANGE IN US POLICY IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL. THEY DID NOT WANT TO GO DOWN THE ROAD OF MANDATORY SANCTIONS, NOT LEAST BECAUSE AS A MATTER OF PRINCIPLE THEY DID NOT WANT THE SECURITY COUNCIL, WITH THE SOVIET VETO, TO DETERMINE THE CONDUCT OF US FOREIGN POLICY. (COMMENT: IT WILL, NEVERTHELESS, BE VERY DIFFICULT FOR THE ADMINISTRATION TO VETO A SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION IMPOSING MANDATORY SANCTIONS SIMILAR TO THE MEASURES JUST ANNOUNCED BY THE PRESIDENT.)

6. ASKED ABOUT REAGAN'S LETTER TO BOTHA, CROCKER SAID THAT ITS TONE WAS CONSTRUCTIVE BUT SAD. REAGAN WARNED THAT THE POLITICAL FRAMEWORK FOR RELATIONS BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE WEST WOULD BE FURTHER DAMAGED IF THE CYCLE OF VIOLENCE AND REPRESSION IN SOUTH AFRICA WERE NOT BROKEN. ON REGIONAL ISSUES, REAGAN REITERATED THE US APPROACH, STRESSING THE NEED FOR LESS CROSS-BORDER VIOLENCE AND THE DIPLOMATIC SOLUTION OF DISPUTES. HE TOUCHED ON MOZAMBIQUE AND THE NECESSITY FOR KEEPING THE NKOMATI PROCESS ON THE RIGHT TRACK. ON NAMIBIA/ANGOLA HE STRESSED THE NEED FOR A CONSTRUCTIVE REPLY FROM THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT TO THE PROPOSALS PUT TO THEM LAST MARCH.

7. CROCKER COULD GIVE NO DETAILS OF THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE PROPOSED ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON SOUTH AFRICA. THE INTENTION WAS THAT IT SHOULD INCLUDE A WIDE CIRCLE OF DISTINGUISHED AMERICANS WHO WOULD MEET PERIODICALLY FOR CONSULTATIONS AND DIALOGUE WITH THE ADMINISTRATION. THEY WOULD PRODUCE AT LEAST ONE REPORT BUT, UNLIKE THE KISSINGER COMMISSION ON CENTRAL AMERICA, WOULD NOT NECESSARILY DISBAND THEREAFTER.

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