

ADVANCE COPIES

15

SUBJECT cc OPS MASTER

SOUTHERN AFRICA

PS  
PS/MR RIPPIND  
PS/PUS  
MR FERGUSON  
SIR J FREELAND  
MR JOHNSON  
MR O'NEILL  
ED/SAFD  
ED/CAFD  
ED/UND  
ED/NEWS DEPT  
*H. C. C.*  
~~RESIDENT OFFICE~~

MR CLG MALLABY, CABINET OFFICE

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

IMMEDIATE  
ADVANCE COPY  
SENT  
8 OCT 1985  
15-11-85

PRIME MINISTER'S  
PERSONAL MESSAGE  
SERIAL No. 1730/85

CONFIDENTIAL  
FM DAR ES SALAAM  
TO IMMEDIATE FCO  
TELNO 331  
OF 080815Z OCTOBER 85

LETTER FROM PRESIDENT NYERERE TO THE PRIME MINISTER:

SOUTH AFRICA : ECONOMIC SANCTIONS.

1. WE HAVE TODAY BEEN HANDED A LETTER, DATED 7 OCTOBER, FROM PRESIDENT NYERERE TO MRS THATCHER. TEXT IS AS FOLLOWS:-

QUOTE

DEAR MARGARET,

I AM WRITING THIS LETTER WITH GREAT DIFFIDENCE, BUT WITH SINCERITY AND GOOD WILL. WE NEED YOUR HELP. AND WHEN I SAY 'WE', I MEAN THE WORLD IN GENERAL, AND AFRICA IN PARTICULAR.

YOU HELPED US TO END MINORITY RULE IN RHODESIA, AND BROUGHT YEARS OF VIOLENCE TO A VIRTUAL END. YOU CAN HELP US TO END APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA, AND TO BREAK THE CYCLE OF VIOLENCE WHICH STEMS FROM IT.

I KNOW THAT BRITAIN IS NOT A COLONIAL POWER IN SOUTH AFRICA. BUT ITS IMMENSE INVESTMENTS IN THAT COUNTRY GIVE YOU A POWER WHICH NO OTHER COMMONWEALTH LEADER HAS - AND INDEED WHICH IS POSSESSED BY NO OTHER LEADER IN THE WORLD, WITH THE POSSIBLE EXCEPTION OF PRESIDENT REAGAN. THE PURPOSE OF THIS LETTER IS TO PLEAD WITH YOU TO USE THAT POWER, ALBEIT THE POWER OF INFLUENCE, TO HELP US BRING APARTHEID TO AN END WITHOUT A CONTINUING AND INCREASINGLY INTOLERABLE LEVEL OF VIOLENCE.

WE ARE APPEALING TO YOU TO JOIN THE REST OF THE COMMONWEALTH IN APPLYING ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA. WE ARE NOT ASKING FOR COMPREHENSIVE MANDATORY SANCTIONS UNDER CHAPTER VII OF THE U.N. CHARTER - MUCH AS WE WOULD LIKE THESE TO BE ADOPTED. AND THERE ARE TWO REASONS WHY WE ARE NOT ASKING SO MUCH.

FIRST, YOU ARE NOT READY FOR COMPREHENSIVE MANDATORY SANCTIONS. YOU MAY GENUINELY BELIEVE THAT THEY WOULD DO UNACCEPTABLE DAMAGE TO BRITISH INTERESTS AND THE BRITISH ECONOMY, AND CAUSE MORE UNEMPLOYMENT WHEN YOU ARE SEEKING TO REDUCE IT.

SECONDLY, MANDATORY SANCTIONS WOULD REQUIRE A RESOLUTION OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, AND IF YOU FEEL STRONGLY ENOUGH AGAINST THEM YOU WOULD BE FORCED TO USE THE BRITISH VETO. THAT WOULD GREATLY DAMAGE OUR CAUSE BY HELPING THE WORLD BELIEVE THAT WE ARE NOT SERIOUS.

SECURITY COUNCIL, AND IF YOU FEEL STRONGLY ENOUGH AGAINST THEM YOU WOULD BE FORCED TO USE THE BRITISH VETO. THAT WOULD GREATLY DAMAGE OUR CAUSE BY SENDING THE WRONG SIGNAL TO SOUTH AFRICA - AND MIGHT AT THE SAME TIME DO POLITICAL HARM TO BRITAIN'S STANDING IN THE WORLD. AND IN ANY CASE, EVEN IF YOU WERE READY FOR COMPREHENSIVE MANDATORY SANCTIONS, THE LIKELY VETO BY THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA WOULD SEND THAT SAME MESSAGE OF ENCOURAGEMENT TO THE RULERS OF SOUTH AFRICA AND OF DESPAIR TO THE VICTIMS OF APARTHEID.

WE ARE ASKING YOU TO JOIN US IN APPLYING A MEANINGFUL PACKAGE OF SELECTIVE SANCTIONS. I AM NOT SUGGESTING THAT IT IS POSSIBLE TO DEVISE ANY SANCTIONS PACKAGE WHICH WOULD BE TOTALLY PAINLESS TO BRITAIN: SOME PRICE INEVITABLY HAS TO BE PAID IF WE ARE TO HASTEN THE END OF APARTHEID AND ITS VIOLENCE. BUT THERE ARE THINGS WHICH YOU COULD JOIN IN, WITHOUT INTOLERABLE DIFFICULTY. YOU COULD:-

- 1) STOP BUYING AND PROHIBIT THE SALE IN BRITAIN OF THE KRUGERAND.
- 2) STOP THE IMPORTATION INTO BRITAIN OR BRITISH TERRITORIES OF WINES OR AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS FROM SOUTH AFRICA.
- 3) CUT AIR TRAVEL LINKS.
- 4) BAN ALL NEW INVESTMENTS OR REINVESTMENTS IN APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA, AND TAKE ACTIONS TO ENCOURAGE INVESTMENTS IN THE SALCC AREA.
- 5) BAN THE EXPORT OF ALL COMPUTERS AND OTHER MODERN TECHNOLOGICAL EQUIPMENT TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT AND ANY OF ITS SUBSIDIARY ORGANISATIONS.
- 6) STRENGTHEN THE APPLICATION OF THE GLENEAGLES AGREEMENT.

A SANCTIONS PACKAGE OF THIS KIND, COMING FROM THE COMMONWEALTH SUMMIT CONFERENCE, WOULD SEND A MESSAGE TO BOTH THE LEADERS AND THE VICTIMS OF APARTHEID. IT WOULD DISCOURAGE THE FORMER, AND GIVE HEART TO THE LATTER. BUT WHETHER SUCH A POSITIVE MESSAGE GOES TO SOUTH AFRICA FROM THE COMMONWEALTH DEPENDS SOLELY ON BRITAIN, AND REALLY ON YOU PERSONALLY. I SAY THIS AFTER HEARING OF THE STAND OF AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND ON THIS ISSUE, AND AFTER MY RECENT VERY USEFUL AND ENCOURAGING TALKS WITH PRIME MINISTER MULRONEY OF CANADA.

MARGARET: WE NEED YOUR HELP. HELP THE COMMONWEALTH TO SEND A MESSAGE OF HOPE, OF NON-RACIALISM, AND OF PEACE, TO THE VICTIMS OF APARTHEID.

AS ALWAYS, THIS LETTER COMES TO YOU WITH WARM REGARDS AND MY VERY BEST WISHES TO YOU PERSONALLY.

YOURS SINCERELY,

JULIUS K NYERERE.

UNQUOTE.

2. ORIGINAL FOLLOWS BY BAG.

SANKEY

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