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DESKBY 121100Z
FM UKMIS GENEVA 120930Z JAN
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELNO 15 OF 12 JANUARY 1981

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INFO IMMEDIATE CAPETOWN, PRETORIA, CAIRO (FOR PS), PRIORITY
UKMIS NEW YORK, LUANDA, LUSAKA, DAR ES SALAAM, MAPUTO,
SALISBURY, LAGOS, GABORONE, PARIS, BONN, OTTAWA, WASHINGTON

FROM PIM DELEGATION

MY TELNO 14: NAMIBIA: THE PIM

1. THE MEETING TOOK A DISTINCT TURN FOR THE WORSE OVER THE WEEKEND.
THE PROSPECT OF FAILURE SEEMS IMMINENT.

ALTHOUGH SOME TENTATIVE CONTACTS HAD DEVELOPED BETWEEN THE
LESSER INTERNAL PARTIES AND THE FRONT LINE STATES, THE DTA AND
AKTUR HAD BEEN ABLE TO LET OFF STEAM ABOUT IMPARTIALITY,
THERE WERE STILL NO SIGNS OF REAL PROGRESS BY SATURDAY (10 JANUARY).
ON BEHALF OF THE FIVE, ALLINSON SPOKE PRIVATELY TO FOURIE TO PRESS
HIM TO MEET THE FIVE FOR A SERIOUS TALK (WHICH HE HAD HITHERTO
AVOIDED). FOURIE AGREED BUT POINTED OUT THAT, ALTHOUGH HE HAD
PERSONALLY ADMIRERD MCHENRYS SKILL AND ABILITY, THE LATTER'S
NAME WAS AN IRRITANT TO THE MINISTERS. THE SOUTH AFRICAN
GOVERNMENT WAS ALSO VERY ANNOYED WITH THE FRG OVER THEIR
ATTEMPT, ON THE SIDE OF THE MEETING, TO WORK PRIVATELY TO GET
A DEAL FOR THEIR ETHNIC MINORITY DIRECT WITH SWAPO.
FOURIE ADDED THAT HE WAS DUE TO RETIRE IN OCTOBER AND HE WAS NOT
GOING TO STICK HIS NECK OUT AT THIS STAGE IN HIS CAREER. HE HAD TO
REPORT VERY FREQUENTLY TO HIS MINISTERS AND IN ADDITION THE DTA
HAD BEEN VERY UNWILLING TO COME TO GENEVA AND MUST BE TREATED
SERIOUSLY. HE ADDED THAT WHATEVER HAPPENED THERE WOULD BE A
DIFFERENT FORM OF GOVERNMENT IN NAMIBIA ONE WAY OR THE OTHER
BUT WOULD NOT ELABORATE ON THIS.

3. LATER ON SATURDAY THE FIVE MET FOURIE, EKSTEEN AND OTHER
OFFICIALS. FOURIE, DESPITE REPEATED DEMANDS BY US, WOULD NOT,
OR COULD NOT, SAY WHETHER IF WE USED OUR GOOD OFFICES TO RESOLVE
THE ISSUE OF IMPARTIALITY, OTHER PROBLEMS WOULD BE RAISED. HE
WOULD NOT MISLEAD US, HE SAID, WE SHOULD SPEAK TO MUDGE AND DU
PLESSIS: THEY WERE THE IMPORTANT PEOPLE. WE REMINDED HIM THAT
THE SOUTH AFRICANS MUST PLAY THEIR PART TOO. FOURIE SAID HE
WOULD PONDER OUR TALK AND DISCUSS THINGS THINGS WITH URQUHART
ON THE SUNDAY EXPEDITION.

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4. DURING THE EXPEDITION HOWEVER FOURIE HAD NOTHING SIGNIFICANT TO ADD. WHEN OTHERS IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN DELEGATION AND INTERNAL PARTIES WERE PRESSED FOR THEIR REAL REQUIREMENTS, THE IDEA OF A DECLARATION OF INTENT OR GUARANTEE WAS MENTIONED VAGUELY BUT STRESS REMAINED ON THE ISSUE OF CONFIDENCE.
5. UNDER PRESSURE, WHICH FINALLY HAD TO COME FROM THE UK DELEGATION - OTHER EFFORTS FAILING - MUDGE AGREED TO MEET THE FIVE ON SUNDAY EVENING. HE TOLD US FRANKLY THAT HE WAS ONLY WILLING TO PARTICIPATE IN AN ELECTION IF HE HAD AN EQUAL CHANCE WITH SWAPO OF WINNING, AND DID NOT BELIEVE THIS WAS POSSIBLE UNLESS HE HAD MORE TIME - THE CLEAR IMPLICATION WAS YEARS RATHER THAN MONTHS. HE PROFESSED SOME INTEREST IN SUGGESTIONS OF AN ENHANCED IMPARTIALITY PACKAGE WITH THE IMPLEMENTATION DATE PUT BACK FOR A MONTH OR SO, AND PROMISED TO TALK TO US AGAIN ON MONDAY (QW JANUARY) AFTER FURTHER REFLECTION.
6. THE FIVE THEN MET DU PLESSIS AND VAN ZYL OF AKTUR. DU PLESSIS WAS FEELING ILL AND THE MEETING ENDED INCONCLUSIVELY BUT IT WAS ABUNDANTLY CLEAR THAT AKTUR WANTED GUARANTEES FOR ETHNIC MINORITIES (TO THE EXTENT OF THE OLD VETO POWER FOR EACH RACIAL GROUP IN THE TURNHALLE CONSTITUTION) BESIDES WISHING FOR FURTHER IMPARTIALITY MEASURES, AND TO RAISE QUESTIONS ABOUT DMZ AND OTHER MATTERS. THEY PROFESSED NOT TO WANT TO WRECK THE MEETING BUT THEIR VIEWS WERE SUCH AS TO PUT THEIR PRESENCE HERE IN QUESTION.
7. URQUHART HAS TOLD US IN CONFIDENCE THAT FOURIE IS EXTREMELY DEPRESSED AND SAYS THAT IMPARTIALITY MEASURES ALONE WOULD NOT MEET THE CASE AND GUARANTEES FOR MINORIES BY THE FRONTLINE STATES, OAU, NIGERIA, AND SOUTH AFRICA ARE NEEDED . URQUHART IS CONTEMPLATING CUTTING THE MEETING SHORT TODAY SINCE HE SEES NO WAY OUT, AND HAS TOLD FOURIE SO.
8. THE FIVE HAVE REVIEWED THE SITUATION AND CAN SEE LITTLE HOPE OF PROGRESS NOR EVEN HOW TO BRING THE PIM TO A CLOSE WITHOUT DESTROYING THE WHOLE INITIATIVE.
9. THE FIVE WILL MAKE ANOTHER EFFORT WITH FOURIE THIS MORNING POINTING OUT THAT NEITHER MUDGE NOR DU PLESSIS HAS RESPONDED TO OUR APPROACH (AS SUGGESTED TO US BY FOURIE) IN A WAY WHICH OFFERS ANY REAL HOPE OF PROGRESS. WE WILL GO OVER OUR ENHANCED IMPARTIALITY PACKAGE ORALLY BUT IN MORE DETAIL WITH HIM AND PRESS HIM TO GET HIS SIDE'S AGREEMENT TO IT.
10. AT THE SAME TIME REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FIVE HERE RECOMMEND AN URGENT MESSAGE (MIFT) FROM HEADS OF GOVERNMENT TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRIME MINISTER SINCE THE PIM APPEARS TO BE IN GRAVE

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DANGER OF COLLAPSE WITH NO WAY FORWARD IN SIGHT. TO BE EFFECTIVE THIS WOULD HAVE TO BE DELIVERED TODAY. EVEN IF, AS APPEARS FROM THEIR PERFORMANCE HERE THERE IS LITTLE HOPE OF THE SOUTH AFRICANS AGREEING TO IMPLEMENTATION, IT IS OUR JOINT VIEW THAT WE NEED TO BE ABLE TO SAY IN PRIVATE TO THE FRONT LINE STATES AND NIGERIA THAT WE HAVE MADE A DIRECT ATTEMPT WITH THE SAG.

11. GIVEN THE FAILURE OF THE SOUTH AFRICANS TO DELIVER ANYTHING HERE AND THE IMMINENCE OF LIKELY GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION, IF THERE IS ANY POSSIBILITY OF SECURING A REAL CHANGE OF HEART THERE WOULD BE SOME MERIT IN CONSIDERATION BEING GIVEN TO THE PRIME MINISTER TELEPHONING P W BOTHA PERSONALLY TO REINFORCE THE FIVE'S MESSAGE. AT THIS STAGE NEITHER THE AMERICANS NOR THE GERMANS HAVE MUCH POSSIBILITY OF INFLUENCE WITH BOTHA SO THAT EFFECTIVELY IF ANYONE IS TO SPEAK IT HAS TO BE THE BRITISH.

12. DURING THE COURSE OF THE DAY WE SHALL BE CONSIDERING, AS IS URQUHART, IF THERE IS ANY WAY IN WHICH THE PIM CAN BE BROUGHT TO A CLOSE ON 14 JANUARY IN A WAY WHICH WOULD PRESERVE THE GROUND GAINED IN PREVIOUS ATTEMPTS AND ALSO THE UNDERSTANDING AND GOODWILL OF THE FRONT LINE STATES. FOR THE MOMENT NO EFFECTIVE ANSWERS HAVE SURFACED.

13. SEE MIFT FOR TEXT OF RECOMMENDED DRAFT MESSAGE.

MARSHALL

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