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**RELEASE IN FULL**PAGE 01     PRETOR 04002 01 OF 03 171943Z  
ACTION AF-00INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-07 EUR-00 SS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00  
H-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 COME-00 HA-09 L-03  
TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 NRRC-01 INRE-00 BIB-01  
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P-02 T-01 /064 W  
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FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3749  
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY MASERU  
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO  
AMEMBASSY GABORONE  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
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AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
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AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 01 OF 03 PRETORIA 04002

E.O. 12356: N/A  
TAGS: PREL, SF, UR  
SUBJECT: SOVIET AND SOUTH AFRICAN ACADEMICS MEET1. SUMMARY: JOHN BARRATT, DIRECTOR OF THE SOUTH  
AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, GAVE US A  
READOUT MARCH 16 ON THE MARCH 6-8 MEETING HOSTED BY  
THE ROBERTS CENTER OUTSIDE OF LONDON. SOME SEVEN  
SOVIETS, LED BY AFRICA INSTITUTE DIRECTOR ANATOLY  
GROMYKO, SEVEN SOUTH AFRICANS, AND SEVEN BRITISH,  
ALMOST ALL ACADEMICS, PARTICIPATED.  
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**REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior  
Reviewer**

PAGE 02     PRETOR 04002 01 OF 03 171943Z

2. THE SOVIETS MADE THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

-- THEY STRONGLY FAVOR NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENTS OF  
OUTSTANDING INTERNATIONAL ISSUES BUT WILL NOT  
WITHDRAW THEIR SUPPORT FOR THE ANC OR ARMED STRUGGLE-- THE ELIMINATION OF APARTHEID IS A PROBLEM FOR  
SOUTH AFRICANS TO RESOLVE. THE SOVIETS SUPPORT THE  
CONCEPT OF "ONE MAN - ONE VOTE" AND BELIEVE APARTHEID

MUST BE ELIMINATED VIA A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT.

-- WHILE THEY RECOGNIZE THE IMPORTANCE TO SOUTHERN AFRICA OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY THEY WILL NOT WITHDRAW THEIR SUPPORT FOR INTERNATIONAL SANCTIONS.

-- THERE IS CONSIDERABLE ROOM FOR ECONOMIC COOPERATION BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE SOVIET UNION BUT ONLY AFTER APARTHEID HAS BEEN ELIMINATED. END SUMMARY

3. BARRATT SAID THE MEETING WAS LOOSELY STRUCTURED; NO PAPERS WERE PRESENTED AND THE MEETING CONSISTED OF OPEN DISCUSSION. ABOUT 65& OF THE TIME WAS DEVOTED TO INTERNAL SOUTH AFRICAN DEVELOPMENTS AND 35& TO REGIONAL AFFAIRS. OTHER TOPICS COVERED IN ADDITION TO THOSE MENTIONED BELOW INCLUDED NAMIBIA/ANGOLA, SOUTH AFRICAN ATTITUDES TOWARD GREAT POWER INVOLVEMENT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA (MOST OF THE DISCUSSION WAS ON THE SOVIET ROLE); CHANGES IN ATTITUDES TOWARD THE SOVIETS IN SOUTH AFRICA; AND IMPLICATIONS OF THE NEW THINKING IN MOSCOW. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 03      PRETOR 04002 01 OF 03 171943Z

4. BARRATT SAID SOVIET COMMENTS WERE FREE OF IDEOLOGICAL CONTENT OR RHETORICAL POSTURING. HE WAS SURPRISED AT HOW WELL INFORMED THEY WERE ON SOUTH AFRICA, EVEN TO THE POINT OF MAKING JOKES ABOUT EVENTS LIKE AWB LEADER EUGENE TERREBLANCHE AND HIS INVOLVEMENT WITH SUNDAY TIMES COLUMNIST JANI ALLEN. THE SOVIETS WERE MUCH BETTER INFORMED ON MOZAMBIQUE AND ANGOLA THAN WERE THE SOUTH AFRICANS. GROMYKO FOCUSED ON GENERAL POLICY AND DID NOT GET INVOLVED IN DISCUSSIONS ON SPECIFICS. BARRATT SAID THAT ALTHOUGH SOME OF GROMYKO'S JUNIORS APPEARED TO BE MORE INTELLIGENT, GROMYKO WAS NONETHELESS IMPRESSIVE AND CLEARLY IN CHARGE OF HIS GROUP.

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NEGOTIATIONS VS. VIOLENCE  
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5. THE SOVIETS PLACED HEAVY EMPHASIS ON THE IMPORTANCE OF NEGOTIATED POLITICAL SETTLEMENTS. THEY SEEMED TO WORK ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT SOVIET-US COOPERATION, WHICH PRODUCED THE ANGOLAN/NAMIBIAN ACCORD, WOULD CONTINUE. HOWEVER, WHILE THEY SAID THAT IN SOME COUNTRIES LIKE MOZAMBIQUE THERE ARE INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS THAT WOULD WARRANT SOVIET INVOLVEMENT IN RESOLVING THE CONFLICT, THE SOVIETS

SHOULD NOT REPEAT NOT BECOME INVOLVED IN PROMOTING A SETTLEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA ITSELF. THAT IS STRICTLY AN INTERNAL SOUTH AFRICAN ISSUE FOR SOUTH AFRICANS TO RESOLVE. THEY DISTINGUISHED BETWEEN PASSIVE SUPPORT FOR A SETTLEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA AND ACTIVE SUPPORT FOR SETTLEMENTS IN OTHER AREAS.

6. GROMYKO SAID THE SOVIETS ARE OPPOSED TO TERRORISM (THE SOVIETS DID NOT DEFINE "TERRORISM") AND WILL LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 04      PRETOR 04002 01 OF 03 171943Z

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PAGE 01     PRETOR 04002 02 OF 03 171945Z  
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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 02 OF 03 PRETORIA 04002

E.O. 12356: N/A  
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SUBJECT: SOVIET AND SOUTH AFRICAN ACADEMICS MEET

ENCOURAGE THE ANC TO PURSUE A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT  
IN SOUTH AFRICA, BUT THEY WILL NOT WITHDRAW THEIR  
SUPPORT FOR THE ANC OR FOR ARMED STRUGGLE. THE ONUS  
IS ON SOUTH AFRICA TO GET A NEGOTIATION PROCESS WITH  
THE ANC GOING. ONLY THEN CAN THE ANC BE EXPECTED TO  
GIVE UP VIOLENCE. NOTE: BARRATT ADDED THAT PIK  
BOTHAS RECENT COMMENT TO THE PRESS THAT THE SOVIETS  
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PAGE 02     PRETOR 04002 02 OF 03 171945Z

ARE DISTANCING THEMSELVES FROM THE ANC WAS THEREFORE  
AN ERRONEOUS INTERPRETATION OF THE SOVIET POSITION.  
END NOTE.

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SANCTIONS

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7. THE SOVIETS DID NOT BACK OFF FROM THEIR SUPPORT FOR SANCTIONS DESPITE THE STRESS THEY PLACED ON THE IMPORTANCE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY TO ALL OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. THEY ADMITTED SANCTIONS ARE NOT EFFECTIVE, BUT CLAIMED THAT SANCTIONS ARE AN INTERNATIONAL ISSUE AND THE SOVIETS ARE COMMITTED TO SUPPORT SANCTIONS.

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ECONOMIC TIES  
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8. THE SOVIETS SAID THERE WOULD BE CONSIDERABLE SOVIET INTEREST IN DEVELOPING ECONOMIC TIES WITH SOUTH AFRICA, INCLUDING COOPERATION ON MINERALS AND MINING EXPERTISE AND TRADE, BUT ONLY AFTER APARTHEID HAS ENDED. THE SOVIETS SAID THAT THEY HAVE BEEN CUT OFF FROM THE WORLD ECONOMY AND THEY NEED TO GET INVOLVED. BARRATT NOTED THAT THE SOVIETS MADE IT CLEAR THAT THEY WERE NOT INTERESTED IN A SOCIALIST SYSTEM IN SOUTH AFRICA.

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MOZAMBIQUE ET AL  
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PAGE 03      PRETOR 04002 02 OF 03 171945Z

9. THERE WAS NO GENERAL DISCUSSION OF PIK BOTHA'S RECENT PROPOSAL FOR GREAT POWER MEDIATION OF THE MOZAMBIKAN CONFLICT; HOWEVER IN PRIVATE SOME OF THE SOVIETS EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR AN EFFORT TO RESOLVE THE CIVIL WAR. OVERALL, HOWEVER, THE SOVIETS DID NOT SEEM VERY INTERESTED IN MOZAMBIQUE. SIMILARLY THERE WAS ALMOST NO MENTION OF ZIMBABWE. THE BLS COUNTRIES WERE NOT DISCUSSED AT ALL.

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SOUTH AFRICA  
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10. THE SOVIETS DID NOT SEEM IMPRESSED OR INTERESTED IN INDIVIDUAL REFORM MEASURES. INSTEAD THEY TALKED OF A "SETTLEMENT" IN THE POLITICAL CONTEXT, ALTHOUGH THEY RECOGNIZED THIS "SETTLEMENT" COULD TAKE PLACE OVER A PERIOD OF TIME. THEY SUPPORTED STRONGLY THE CONCEPT OF "ONE MAN-ONE VOTE." THEY ALSO RECOGNIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF PROVIDING SOME GUARANTEES FOR MINORITIES.

11. BARRATT SAID HE WAS CONCERNED THAT SOME SOUTH AFRICANS ARE DEVELOPING EXAGGERATED EXPECTATIONS ABOUT CHANGES IN SOVIET POLICY TOWARD SOUTH AFRICA. IN FACT, SOVIET POLICY TOWARD SOUTH AFRICA HAS ONLY CHANGED AS PART OF A WORLDWIDE SHIFT IN SOVIET POLICY. SOUTHERN AFRICA HAS NOT MOVED UP THE SOVIET PRIORITY LIST NOR IS SOUTH AFRICA A MAJOR AREA OF ATTENTION WITHIN THE SOVIET UNION. THE SOVIETS ARE NOT PREPARED TO NORMALIZE RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA, NOR ARE THEY READY FOR OPEN DIPLOMATIC CONTACTS WITH SOUTH AFRICA, ALTHOUGH THEY DO WELCOME CONTACTS OF THE TYPE THAT OCCURRED IN THE CONTEXT OF THE ANGOLAN/NAMIBIAN NEGOTIATIONS. BARRATT SAID

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PAGE 04      PRETOR 04002 02 OF 03 171945Z

THERE MAY BE MORE PRESS EXCHANGES, BUT THESE WILL NOT HAPPEN QUICKLY OR EASILY. THE SOVIET TEAM EVADED QUESTIONS ON THE PROSPECTS FOR MORE ACADEMIC CONTACTS LIKE THE LONDON MEETING.

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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 03 OF 03 PRETORIA 04002

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PARTICIPANTS  
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12. IN ADDITION TO BARRATT, THE SOUTH AFRICAN  
PARTICIPANTS INCLUDED PHILIP NEL, DIRECTOR OF THE  
INSTITUTE OF SOVIET STUDIES AND WILLIE BREYTENBACH,  
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PAGE 02      PRETOR 04002 03 OF 03 171948Z

BOTH OF STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY; DEON GELDENHUYS OF RAND AFRIKANS UNIVERSITY; DION FOURIE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA; CHRIS SAUNDERS, MANAGING DIRECTOR OF A SUGAR COMPANY; AND MICHAEL SPEYSER, AN ASSISTANT TO ANGLO-AMERICAN CHAIRMAN GAVIN RELLY.

13. THE BRITISH CONTINGENT INCLUDED PROF. JACK SPENCE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LEICESTER; JAMES BARBER OF THE UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM; CHRISTOPHER COKER OF THE LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS; CHRISTOPHER WILLS OF THE WILLS FAMILY TRUST; AND MRS. MERLE LITON, A RESEARCH FELLOW WITH THE INVESTOR RESPONSIBILITY RESEARCH CENTER IN WASHINGTON. ANOTHER PARTICIPANT WAS WILLIAM GUTTERIDGE, A RETIRED PROFESSOR FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF ASTON, WHO PROMOTED THE MEETING IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE ROBERTS CENTER.

14. THE CHAIRMAN WAS SIR JOHN KILLICK, FORMER BRITISH AMBASSADOR TO MOSCOW AND NATO.

15. THE SOVIET CONTINGENT CONSISTED OF 7 SOUTHERN AFRICAN SPECIALISTS FROM THE AFRICA INSTITUTE LED BY DIRECTOR ANATOLY GROMYKO.

16. THE CONFERENCE TOOK PLACE AT A HOTEL IN COBHAM IN SURREY, ABOUT 30-45 MINUTES OUTSIDE OF LONDON.

17. NOTE: THIS MEETING SHOULD NOT BE CONFUSED WITH THE MARCH 8-10 MEETING ON SOUTHERN AFRICA OF GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND POLITICIANS AT WILTON PARK IN LONDON. HOLMES

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