

## Message Text

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 PRETORIA 4549

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DEPT PASS TO USUN FOR AMB YOUNG ONLY

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1  
TAGS: OVIP (YOUNG, ANDREW)  
SUBJECT: CONVERSATION BETWEEN ANDY YOUNG AND CONNIE MULDER

1. SUMMARY: ONE-HOUR PRIVATE MEETING BETWEEN YOUNG AND MULDER CONDUCTED IN EXCELLENT ATMOSPHERE AND PERMITTED FRANK AND REALISTIC EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON VARIOUS ASPECTS OF US-SA RELATIONS. TALK MAY NOT HAVE CHANGED ANY OF MULDER'S BASIC ATTITUDES BUT CANNOT HELP BUT HAVE HAD FAVORABLE IMPACT ON THIS KEY FIGURE IN AFRIKANER POWER STRUCTURE. BENEFICIAL ASPECT OF VISIT EVIDENT IN COMMENTS BY FOURIE AND MALAN. THIS REPORT NOT SEEN BY YOUNG AND YOU MAY WISH TO GET ADDITIONAL IMPRESSIONS DIRECTLY FROM HIM. END SUMMARY.

2. ANDY YOUNG ASKED THAT I PASS TO YOU MY IMPRESSIONS OF THE MEETING HE HAD WITH MINISTER OF INTERIOR AND INFORMATION CONNIE MULDER ON AUGUST 26. MULDER IS A TOUGH, INFLUENTIAL MEMBER OF VORSTER'S INNER CIRCLE. HE IS GENERALLY REGARDED AS THE FRONT-RUNNER OF THE ASPIRANTS TO SUCCEED VORSTER. HE IS PROBABLY SOMEWHAT MORE LIBERAL THAN HIS PUBLIC IMAGE; BUT IN HIS DESIRE TO BECOME THE NEXT PRIME MINISTER, HE IS CAREFUL TO AVOID GETTING OUT  
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IN FRONT OF AGREED POLICY ON APARTHEID.

3. THE MEETING LASTED ONE HOUR. CONVERSATION MOVED BACK AND FORTH OVER A WIDE VARIETY OF ISSUES IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS. THE MOOD WAS EXCELLENT: RELAXED, OPEN, FRANK AND REALISTIC. THERE WAS NO TRACE OF PERSONAL ANIMOSITY OR RESENTMENT.

4. ANDY OPENED THE CONVERSATION BY REVIEWING THE BACKGROUND TO THE CONTACTS THROUGH JOE RHODES. HE EXPLAINED WHY THIS SPECIAL CHANNEL WAS USED DURING THE DELICATE PERIOD OF THE TRANSITION. IF NOW THE DIALOGUE HAD MOVED BACK TO THE REGULAR LINES OF COMMUNICATION, THIS WAS NOT BECAUSE OF ANY DISSATISFACTION WITH THE EARLIER METHOD. ANDY SAID HE WOULD ALWAYS WELCOME THE OPPORTUNITY TO EXCHANGE VIEWS. MULDER WELCOMED CONTINUATION OF THE DIALOGUE.

5. CONSIDERABLE TIME WAS SPENT ON THE NEW US APPROACH TO SOUTHERN AFRICA, PARTICULARLY SOUTH AFRICA. ANDY DESCRIBED THE THRUST OF THE POLICY AND THE DECISION TO CONVEY THAT POLICY TO PM VORSTER THROUGH VP MONDALE. HE MADE CLEAR THAT OUR STAND ON RHODESIA, NAMIBIA AND SOUTH AFRICA ITSELF IS DESIGNED TO HELP, AND NOT TO HINDER, THE TRANSITION TO MORE OPEN, JUST AND STABLE SOCIETIES IN THIS PART OF THE WORLD. MULDER COMPLAINED THAT THE VP'S REFERENCE TO ONE-MAN ONE-VOTE HAD PROVOKED A STRONG REACTION IN SOUTH AFRICA AND HAD COMPLICATED RATHER THAN EASED THE GOVERNMENT'S TASK OF BRINGING PEOPLE TO ACCEPT CHANGE. ANDY NOTED THAT WHAT THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION WOULD LIKE TO SEE IN SOUTH AFRICA IS BEST SUMMED UP IN THE KEY PHRASE: "PROGRESSIVE TRANSFORMATION OF SOUTH AFRICA TOWARD MAJORITY RULE."

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MULDER REFERRED TO THE MAJOR, REVOLUTIONARY CHANGES WHICH THE GOVERNMENT WAS INTRODUCING IN SOUTH AFRICA'S CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM TO ACCOMMODATE THE COLORED AND INDIAN COMMUNITIES. HE LAMENTED THAT THE OUTSIDE WORLD DID NOT GIVE SOUTH AFRICA RECOGNITION FOR WHAT IT DOES. IF ONLY THE US COULD SEND SOME SIGNAL OF APPROVAL, HE WENT ON, THIS WOULD BE A WELCOM INCENTIVE.

6. MULDER ASKED ABOUT THE PRESSURE TACTICS WHICH THE US IS SAID TO BE APPLYING OR ABOUT TO APPLY. ANDY REPLIED THAT THESE REPORTS ARE NOT WELL FOUNDED. WE HAVE OUR SERIOUS DIFFERENCES. IT IS TRUE THAT WE ARE REVIEWING OUR RELATIONS TOWARD SOUTH AFRICA IN THE LIGHT OF THE POLICY SET FORTH BY VP MONDALE AT VIENNA. BUT SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD REALIZE THAT THERE IS UNDERSTANDING OF SOUTH AFRICA'S PROBLEMS IN THE US. PRESIDENT CARTER BY BACKGROUND AND OUTLOOK UNDERSTANDS BETTER THAN MOST PEOPLE THE COMPLICATED SITUATION WHICH PREVAILS HERE.

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7. ANDY REVIEWED HIS PROJECTION OF THE LEADERSHIP ROLE SOUTH AFRICA COULD AND SHOULD PLAY IN THIS PART OF THE CONTINENT. HE NOTED THAT SA'S INDUSTRIAL CAPACITY MAKES IT THE NATURAL SUPPLIER OF FINISHED PRODUCTS FOR ALL OF THE COUNTRIES SOUTH OF ZAIRE. EXISTING ECONOMIC TIES WITH RHODESIA AND MOZAMBIQUE HOLD THEM TO SOUTH AFRICA. EVEN A LEFT-OF-CENTER BLACK GOVERNMENT IN SALISBURY WOULD REMAIN HIGHLY DEPENDENT ON SA. SOUTH AFRICA COULD BUILD PRAGMATICALLY ON SUCH GOVERNMENTS IN MOZAMBIQUE AND ZIMBABWE TO IMPROVE ITS INTERNATIONAL IMAGE. FURTHERMORE, SETTLEMENTS IN ZIMBABWE AND NAMIBIA WOULD OPEN DOORS TO THE COUNTRIES BEYOND WHICH ARE ALSO SUFFERING FROM THE INSTABILITY IN RHODESIA. PROGRESS ON EXTERNAL PROBLEMS SHOULD FACILITATE TACKLING INTERNAL PROBLEMS IN A MEANINGFUL WAY. THE INTER-RELATIONSHIP AND THE POTENTIAL FOR CONSTRUCTIVE ACTION OFFERED SA THE OPPORTUNITY TO MOVE OUT OF THE BELEAGUERED SITUATION IT FOUND ITSELF IN.

8. MULDER ASKED WHETHER SOUTH AFRICANS EXAGGERATED THE COMMUNIST THREAT. ANDY SAID THAT IN HIS JUDGMENT THEY DO. HE DESCRIBED THE SOVIETS' INABILITY TO UNDERSTAND AFRICAN TRIBALISM, THEIR ARROGANCE IN  
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DEALING WITH AFRICANS, AND THE PREDICAMENTS THEY WORK THEMSELVES INTO AS REFLECTD IN THE HORN TO UNDERSCORE

THIS POINT. HE WAS CAREFUL TO NOTE THAT THE SOVITS UNDOUBTEDLY CONTINUE TO FISH IN TROUBLED WATERS, BUT IT IS SIGNIFICANT THAT THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS ARE KEEPING THEM AND OTHERS WHO WOULD EXPLOIT THE SITUATION IN ZIMBABWE FROM ENGAGING IN DIRECT SUPPLY OPERATIONS TO THE LIBERATION FORCES. SOUTH AFRICA HAS MORE TO FEAR FROM FRUSTRATED BLACK NATIONALISM THAN COMMUNIST INTERVENTION. HE OBSERVED THAT IF CURRENT ANGLO-AMERICAN EFFORTS IN RHODESIA FAIL, IT WILL MEAN THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE US FROM AFRICA FOR ANOTHER DECADE EXCEPT PERHAPS IN NIGERIA AND ANGOLA BECAUSE OF OIL.

9. ANDY ALSO DEALT AT SOME LENGTH WITH BLACK ATTITUDES IN THE UNITED STATES IN RELATION TO OUR ECONOMIC SITUATION. HE TOUCHED ON THE EXPERIENCE WITH RACE RELATIONS IN ATLANTA IN THE EARLY 1960S TO SHOW HOW WHITE AND BLACK LEADERS OF A COMMUNITY CAN CREATE AN ATMOSPHERE WHERE FEARS ARE PUT TO REST AND A NEW CONFIDENCE BUILT ON THE SHARING OF ECONOMIC BENEFITS.

10. DURING THE DISCUSSION OF SOUTH AFRICA'S PROBLEMS WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD, ANDY NOTED THAT A STEP WHICH WOULD GREATLY HELP ITS IMAGE IS ALLOWING SUCH WELL-KNOWN BLACK FIGURES AS WINNIE MANDELA AND STEVE BIKO TO RETURN TO THEIR HOMES OR TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY IF THEY SO DESIRED. (ANDY REPEATED THE REQUEST TO JUSTICE MINISTER JIMMY KRUGER WHO HAS DIRECT RESPONSIBILITY FOR BANNINGS AND DETENTIONS.)

11. ANDY HAS NOT SEEN THIS MESSAGE. HE MAY WISH TO SUPPLEMENT IT WITH HIS OWN IMPRESSIONS.

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12. POSTSCRIPT: SIGNIFICANTLY, BRAND FOURIE VOLUNTEERED TO ME LAST NIGHT HE THOUGHT ANDY'S VISIT HAD BEEN VERY HELPFUL. PERSONAL CONTACT WITH THE MAN HAD SHOWN HIM TO BE QUITE DIFFERENT FROM HOW HE HAS BEEN PORTRAYED THROUGH THE MEDIA. THE SAME MESSAGE HAS FILTERED THROUGH MILITARY CHANNELS TO DATT BASED ON CONTACT WHICH ANDY HAD WITH CHIEF OF DEFENSE FORCE GENERAL MAGNUS MALAN AT DINNER LAST MONDAY NIGHT. PRESS INTERVIEW WHICH ANDY GAVE TO EDITOR OF LEADING AFRIKANER DAILY DIE TRANSVALER RECEIVED PROMINENT COVERAGE.  
BOWDLER

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