

CONFIDENTIAL

FILE (2)

Prime Minister



You may like to see the line proposed.

C.D.P. 3/2.

10 DOWNING STREET

3 February 1986

From the Private Secretary

SOUTH AFRICA: PRESIDENT BOTHA'S SPEECH TO PARLIAMENT

You kindly sent me an excerpt from the Foreign Secretary's speech to the European Community/Front Line States Conference in Lusaka today, dealing with President Botha's recent speech.

As you know the Prime Minister is concerned that our public line on this speech has been rather wan. While acknowledging that the speech falls well short of what we would ideally like to see, she notes that it also contained a good deal that is positive. She also notes the not inconsiderable volume of favourable editorial comment in this country and the welcoming line taken by the United States Administration. She does not wish to say anything in public about the speech which would make the Foreign Secretary's position at the Lusaka meeting more difficult. But she feels that, once that meeting is over, some warming up of our line is in order.

Should she be asked a question about the speech in the House tomorrow afternoon, therefore, her intention will be to reply on the following lines:-

"It was undoubtedly an important statement with some welcome initiatives. One has to be realistic about the constraints and there are several respects in which we would have wished to see a more forthcoming approach. But in all the circumstances I thought it was a constructive and indeed courageous speech."

You may like to inform the Secretary of State of the Prime Minister's intention to speak on these lines if the matter arises.

Charles Powell

Colin Budd Esq
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

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EXCERPT FROM SIR G HOWES SPEECH TO THE EC FLS CONFERENCE,
3 FEBRUARY 1986

CDP
3/2.

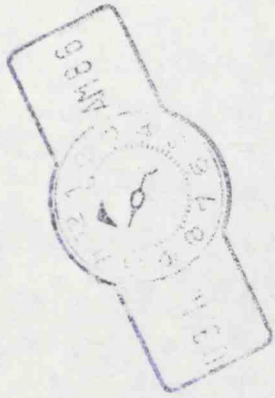
- There are some signs of awareness in South Africa of the need for change. Although President Botha's speech last week falls well short of the requirement of the situation, it shows a developing insight into the direction in which South Africa should be moving.

- President Botha announced some positive steps to be implemented in the next six months. It would be wrong in our discussion not to acknowledge:
 - the restoration of citizenship to its urban blacks who were previously deprived of it;
 - free-hold rights for urban blacks;
 - abolition of discriminatory pass-book system.

- The removal of influx control measures is also fore-shadowed in the speech. We very much hope that this step will be implemented in the near future and that the removal of other apartheid laws will follow speedily.

- But progress is still desperately slow on the essential measures which remain to be implemented: the lifting of the state of emergency, the unconditional release of Mandela and other prisoners, the end of detention without trial and forced relocation, real dialogue in the context of a firm commitment to end apartheid.

- Bishop Tutu said that citizenship is of little value if you can't vote. And of course, he is right. Power-sharing is the central issue and of that there is little sign so far.

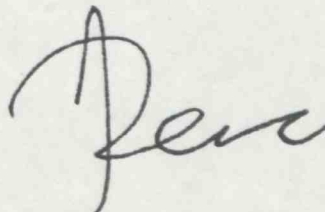


FROM: A Reeve, SAfD
DATE: 31 January 1986
cc: PS/Mrs Chalker
PS/PUS
Mr Meyer, News Department
OADs

PS

PRESIDENT BOTHA'S SPEECH TO THE OPENING OF PARLIAMENT

1. You have seen a copy of the speech.
2. I submit a self-explanatory press line which I believe gives broadly the right weight to the various elements in the speech. It is important that we should commend the legislative steps. Equally, there is no reference in the speech to the confidence building measures of the sort we have consistently proposed and this should be brought out in our comment.
3. I shall be submitting a separate brief on the speech for the EC/FLS meeting.



31 January 1986

A Reeve
Southern African Department

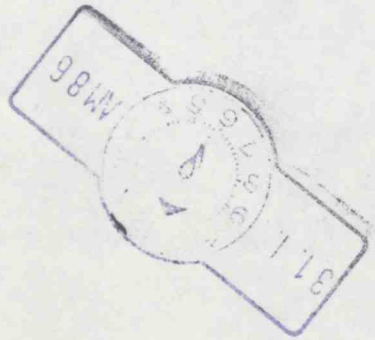
DRAFT STATEMENT ON PRESIDENT BOTHA'S SPEECH

1. We shall be studying President Botha's speech to the South African Parliament with the greatest care. It contains important proposals.

2. We particularly welcome the announcement of legislation in the current Parliamentary session to restore citizenship to those blacks who were earlier deprived of it, to extend freehold property rights to blacks, and to abolish the discriminatory pass book system. These are all concrete steps which have important implications for the future.

3. Among the other measures which are foreshadowed in the speech, we also welcome the President's intention to remove influx control measures. We very much hope that this step will be implemented in the near future and that the removal of other apartheid laws will follow speedily.

4. President Botha states that "a democratic system of government which must accommodate ^{all} ~~the~~ legitimate aspirations of all the South African communities, must be negotiated". This, we believe, is the central issue. Power sharing in South Africa can, in our view, only come about through a genuine dialogue between the government and the leaders who enjoy the support of the different communities in the context of a suspension of violence on all sides. But in addition, concrete steps by the government are needed to create the necessary climate of confidence. For example, the lifting of the state of emergency would greatly help to promote such a climate. We regret that this and other steps for which we have in the past called have not been taken.





10 DOWNING STREET

Prime Minister

This was the
FCO's initial line, and
they are reluctant to
go beyond it while
the Foreign Secretary is at
the Lusaka Meeting.

We don't want to
make his life more
difficult. Equally there is a
risk that the South Africans
will be discouraged.

I think we can hold the
line over the week-end that we
are studying the speech: but we may
have to think again then. CDD 51/11

PRESIDENT BOTHA'S SPEECH: LINE TO TAKE

- We have received a copy.
- It is clearly an important speech.
- We are studying it with the greatest care.
- At first sight, it contains a number of significant proposals.
- { But there are omissions and the key will be how the speech is followed up. }

md



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SOUTHERN AFRICA

PS (2)
PS/MRS CHALKER.

MR CLG MALLABY, CABINET OFFICE

PS/PUS

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

~~MR FERGUSSON~~

SIR J FREELAND

~~MR JOHNSON~~

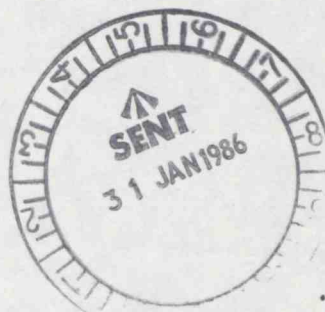
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HD/SAPD

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PRESIDENT'S SPEECH TO PARLIAMENT,

1. I UNDERSTAND YOU HAVE A FULL TEXT. THIS TELEGRAM DEALS WITH OUR INITIAL PUBLIC REACTION. MY TWO FOLLOWING TELEGRAMS CONTAIN COMMENTS ON THE SPEECH.
2. OUR RESPONSE WILL NECESSARILY HAVE TO BE BALANCED AS THE SPEECH DOES NOT GO FAR ENOUGH TO JUSTIFY AN UNRESERVED WELCOME. I AM GLAD THAT TODAY'S ALMOST INSTANTANEOUS LINE FOR THE PRESS IN LONDON IS BY NO MEANS NEGATIVE.
3. SOUTH AFRICAN MINISTERS WILL BE PARTICULARLY ANXIOUS THAT INTERNATIONAL COMMENT ON THE PROPOSAL FOR A NATIONAL STATUTORY COUNCIL SHOULD NOT BLIGHT ITS CHANCES. THEY CLEARLY REGARD IT AS A MAJOR STEP FORWARD, AND I SUGGEST WE ACKNOWLEDGE THIS AS THEIR VIEW. THE COUNCIL IS ONE ELEMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT'S STRATEGY FOR BRINGING BLACKS INTO GOVERNMENT IN A WAY THAT WILL NOT AROUSE MISGIVINGS AMONG AFRIKANERS. (THE OTHER ELEMENT IN THIS IS THE RESTRUCTURING OF THE SYSTEM OF PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT WHICH IS ALSO TOUCHED UPON IN THE SPEECH). SINCE FEW BLACKS ARE LIKELY TO RESPOND FAVOURABLY TO THE PROPOSED COUNCIL HOWEVER WE WOULD BE

TO RESPOND FAVOURABLY TO THE PROPOSED COUNCIL HOWEVER, WE WOULD BE WELL ADVISED TO LET THEM WORK OUT THEIR OWN LINE BEFORE SAYING TOO MUCH OURSELVES. THE POSITION MAY BECOME CLEARER FAIRLY QUICKLY. AT THIS STAGE WE MIGHT SIMPLY SAY THAT WE SHALL AWAIT FURTHER CLARIFICATION OF THIS PROPOSAL WITH INTEREST.

4. IT MAY BE EASIER FOR US TO WELCOME THE SO-CALLED FRAMEWORK FOR THE FUTURE. THIS LENDS ITSELF TO THE COMMENT THAT WE HOPE PRACTICAL WAYS WILL BE DEVELOPED FOR IMPLEMENTING THESE PRINCIPLES SO AS TO REMOVE DISCRIMINATION AND GIVE ALL SOUTH AFRICANS FULL POLITICAL AND INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS.

5. THE COMMITMENT TO HELP BLACK SMALL BUSINESS AND THE PROMISE OF EQUAL PROVISION FOR EDUCATION FOR ALL POPULATION GROUPS ARE BOTH WELCOME. WE LOOK NEVERTHELESS FOR FURTHER PROGRESS TOWARDS THE FULL INTEGRATION OF ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF EDUCATION (BLACKS WILL NOT BE SATISFIED ON THIS POINT UNLESS THERE IS A SINGLE MINISTRY).

6. ON MANDELA I IMAGINE THAT YOU MAY WISH TO DEFER ANY IMMEDIATE COMMENT UNTIL WE KNOW MORE ABOUT THE THINKING BEHIND THE SOUTH AFRICAN INITIATIVE. PERHAPS THE MOST WE CAN SAY AT THIS STAGE IS THAT WE ARE CONSIDERING THE IMPLICATIONS AND WOULD WELCOME ANY MOVE WHICH BRINGS MANDELA'S RELEASE NEARER.

MOBERLY

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FM WASHINGTON

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 239

OF 312330Z JANUARY 86

INFO IMMEDIATE CAPE TOWN

INFO ROUTINE UKMIS NEW YORK, BONN, PARIS, OTTAWA

TELECON FERGUSSON/REEVE: U.S./SOUTH AFRICA

1 FERGUSSON TOLD CROCKER EARLY ON 31 JANUARY OF THE LINE WE WERE TAKING IN LONDON ON P W BOTHA'S SPEECH. CROCKER WAS GRATEFUL, BUT WARNED THAT THE ADMINISTRATION WOULD PROBABLY HAVE TO GO SOMEWHAT FURTHER IN THEIR OWN PRELIMINARY COMMENTS. HE AGREED THAT IT WAS ESSENTIAL TO AVOID BOTHA'S REMARKS BEING DISMISSED OUT OF HAND AND SAID THAT THE U.S. WOULD HIGHLIGHT THE POSITIVE ASPECTS WHERE POSSIBLE (TEXT OF SUBSEQUENT STATE DEPARTMENT STATEMENT IS IN MIFT).

2 CROCKER SAID THAT THE AMERICANS HAD NOT EXPECTED THE MANDELA PROPOSAL TO BE MADE IN THIS WAY, AND WOULD NOW BE ANXIOUS (A) NOT TO REJECT IT BUT (B) TO AVOID PUBLICLY COMMITTING THEMSELVES TO PLAYING A ROLE IN IT. THE SOUTH AFRICANS CLEARLY WANTED TO INTERNATIONALISE THE MANDELA PROBLEM, AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN AMBASSADOR HERE HAD GIVEN A VERY CONFUSED HINT THAT THE SAG WOULD INDEED BE LOOKING TO THE AMERICANS TO BECOME CLOSELY INVOLVED. THE GERMANS HAD APPARENTLY ALREADY BEEN APPROACHED RATHER MORE EXPLICITLY.

3 CROCKER SAID THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN RE-COMMITMENT IN PRINCIPLE TO SCR435 WAS TO BE WELCOMED, AND WAS NOT TOO SURPRISED THAT THERE WAS NO MENTION IN THE SPEECH OF A DATE FOR IMPLEMENTATION SUBJECT TO AGREEMENT ON CUBAN WITHDRAWAL (FCO TELNO 29 TO CAPE TOWN). HE WAS DISMISSIVE OF THE PROPOSAL FOR A STATUTORY COUNCIL BUT HOPED TO AVOID SUBSTANTIVE COMMENT.

4 IN EARLIER DISCUSSION ON 30 JANUARY, CROCKER CONFIRMED TO FERGUSSON THAT P W BOTHA HAD SENT A SKILFUL RESPONSE TO PRESIDENT REAGAN'S LETTER. P W SEEMED TO HAVE REACTED WELL TO THE SYMPATHY AND UNDERSTANDING REAGAN HAD SOUGHT TO CONVEY, BUT HE HAD SAID VERY LITTLE ABOUT SPECIFIC SOUTH AFRICAN THINKING. IT HAD BEEN A PHILOSOPHICAL, IDEOLOGICAL REPLY - BUT HAD ALSO TAKEN A RELATIVELY POSITIVE LINE ON COMGEP.

5 CROCKER SAID THAT HE HAD TRIED HARD IN SOUTH AFRICA TO PERSUADE HIS HOSTS TO ACCEPT THAT IT WAS UP TO THEM, NOT THE U.S. (OR UK), TO CREATE A CONTEXT IN WHICH A MORE CONSTRUCTIVE ATMOSPHERE MIGHT EVOLVE BOTH AT HOME AND ABROAD. TO THIS END, CROCKER WAS CONSIDERING PROPOSING A FURTHER ROUND OF U.S./SOUTH AFRICA TALKS. HE SAID (IN CONFIDENCE) THAT ONE IDEA MIGHT BE TO SUGGEST A MEETING WITH PIK BOTHA IN EG LONDON, ALTHOUGH HE WAS WELL AWARE OF THE DIFFICULTIES THIS COULD POSE US: FERGUSSON TOOK NEUTRAL NOTE AND MADE NO COMMITMENT. **CONFIDENTIAL**

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6 CROCKER SEEMED PARTICULARLY CONCERNED BY THE PRESENT EXTENT OF THE INFLUENCE OF VAN DER WESTHUIZEN AND HIS SECURITY APPARATUS OVER THE SAG. HE WAS APPREHENSIVE ABOUT THE IMPLICATIONS FOR BOTH DOMESTIC REFORM AND SOUTH AFRICA'S RELATIONS WITH ITS NEIGHBOURS. THE POTENTIAL FOR TROUBLE AHEAD WITH EG BOTSWANA LOOKED CONSIDERABLE.

7 CROCKER SAID NOTHING TO SUGGEST THAT U.S./ANC CONTACTS WOULD INTENSIFY. ON THE CONTRARY, THE ANC HAD BEEN WARNED THAT EVEN THE EXISTING LEVEL OF CONTACTS WOULD BE AT RISK IF THEY WENT FOR SOFT RATHER THAN HARD TARGETS IN SOUTH AFRICA. THE U.S. HOPED THAT THIS MIGHT ACT AS AT LEAST A MINOR RESTRAINT ON ANC ACTIVITIES.

8 FERGUSSON ALSO BROUGHT CROCKER UP-TO-DATE ON THE EC/FLS MEETING AND COMGEP. WE SHALL REPORT BY BAG ON FERGUSSON'S DISCUSSIONS HERE ABOUT DOMESTIC U.S. ATTITUDES TOWARDS SOUTH

9 SEE MIFT.AFRICA.

WRIGHT

SOUTH AFRICA

LIMITED

S AF D

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UND

ECD(E)

NEWS D

LEGAL ADVISERS

PLANNING STAFF

PS

PS/LADY YOUNG

PS/MRS CHALKER

PS/PUS

MR DEREK THOMAS

MR FERGUSSON

MR JOHNSON

CABINET OFFICE

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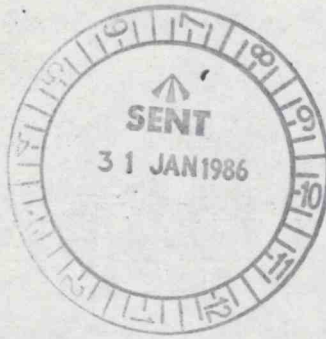
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PRESIDENT'S SPEECH TO PARLIAMENT.

SUMMARY

1. THE STATE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH TO PARLIAMENT (TEXT BY BAG TO OTHER POSTS) IS ON LINES WIDELY ANTICIPATED, CONSOLIDATING AND IMPLEMENTING EARLIER PROPOSALS. ALTHOUGH IT CONTAINS LITTLE NEW IT IS POSITIVE IN TONE AND CONTAINS A NUMBER OF DETAILED PROPOSALS THROUGH WHICH THE GOVERNMENT HOPE TO DRAW BLACKS INTO THE POLITICAL SYSTEM.

2. THE MOST IMPORTANT ELEMENTS ARE THE SO-CALLED FRAMEWORK FOR THE FUTURE, THE PROPOSAL FOR A STATUTORY COUNCIL TO INCLUDE BLACKS AND THE REMARKS ABOUT MANDELA. THERE IS MORE SUBSTANCE THAN IN THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH LAST AUGUST BUT I DO NOT BELIEVE IT GOES FAR ENOUGH BY ITSELF TO MAKE ANY SUBSTANTIAL IMPACT ON BLACK ATTITUDES.

DETAIL

FRAMEWORK FOR THE FUTURE

3. THE PRINCIPLES OUTLINED APPEAR TO BE AN EFFORT TO MEET CALLS FOR A STATEMENT OF INTENT OR BILL OF RIGHTS WITHOUT ANY FORMAL MOVE IN THIS DIRECTION. IT IS PROBABLY AIMED AT MEETING CHIEF

MOVE IN THIS DIRECTION. IT IS PROBABLY AIMED AT MEETING CHIEF BUTHELEZI HALFWAY IN THE HOPE THAT HE WILL BE ENCOURAGED TO COOPERATE WITH THE GOVERNMENT OVER THE MEASURES WHICH THEY ARE NOW PROPOSING.

NATIONAL STATUTORY COUNCIL

4. THERE WAS NO BLACK RESPONSE TO THE IDEAS OUTLINED AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 1985 PARLIAMENT FOR AN INFORMAL FORUM FOR CONSULTATION WITH BLACKS. THE GOVERNMENT HAVE NOW DECIDED TO TAKE THE INITIATIVE BY ESTABLISHING A STATUTORY COUNCIL. THE ANNOUNCEMENT IS CHARACTERISTICALLY IMPRECISE BUT THE GOVERNMENT THEMSELVES SEE THIS AS A SIGNIFICANT STEP FORWARD JUSTIFYING SUCH DESCRIPTIONS AS QUOTE DRAMATIC AND FAR REACHING UNQUOTE. BLACKS MAY NOW HAVE A DIRECT VOICE IN THE PREPARATION OF LEGISLATION ON MATTERS WHICH DO NOT AFFECT ONLY THEIR OWN COMMUNITY. THE PROPOSAL IS LIMITED TO PROVISION FOR THEM TO QUOTE CONSIDER AND ADVISE ON MATTERS OF COMMON CONCERN UNQUOTE. BUT THIS IS SEEN BY BOTH THE GOVERNMENT AND RIGHT WING CRITICS AS THE FIRST STEP TOWARDS REAL POWER SHARING.

MANDELA

5. ALTHOUGH THE REFERENCE TO MANDELA (AN ADDITION TO THE OFFICIAL TEXT OF THE SPEECH) MAKES NO COMMITMENTS IT MAY BE A SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENT. FURTHER ENQUIRY WILL BE NECESSARY TO PROBE THE PRESIDENT'S INTENTIONS BUT HE APPEARS TO BE RE-OPENING OPTIONS FOR MANDELA'S RELEASE. THE ANNOUNCEMENT WOULD MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR THE GOVERNMENT TO SET MANDELA FREE WITHOUT A PROMISE TO RENOUNCE VIOLENCE IF, AS A RESULT OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN INVITATION FOR NEGOTIATION WITH INTERESTED GOVERNMENTS, THERE IS PROGRESS OVER A POSSIBLE PRISONER EXCHANGE INVOLVING DU TOIT (THE SOUTH AFRICAN OFFICER HELD IN ANGOLA, WHO MAY BE THE KEY DESPITE REFERENCES TO SAKHAROV AND SHCHARANSKY).).

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAMME

6. AS EXPECTED:

(A) REVISED CITIZENSHIP PROVISIONS

(B) FREEHOLD FOR BLACKS

(C) A UNIFORM IDENTITY DOCUMENT TO REPLACE THE OLD BLACK PASS

(D) A NEW SYSTEM OF PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT TO REPLACE THE

EXISTING SYSTEM OF ELECTED PROVINCIAL COUNCILS WHICH WILL END

THIS YEAR AND TO AUGMENT THE REGIONAL SERVICES COUNCILS WHICH

ARE ABOUT TO BE INTRODUCED (IT IS EXPECTED THAT THE PROVISION WILL

BE MADE FOR PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATORS TO HAVE ADVISORY COUNCILS

COMPRISING REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL COMMUNITIES ALTHOUGH PROBABLY

NOT DIRECTLY ELECTED)

(E) REPEAL OF DISCRIMINATORY PREFERENCE PROVISIONS IN IMMIGRATION

POLICY THAT HAVE OPERATED SPECIFICALLY AGAINST THE INDIAN COMMUNITY.

(F) EXTENSION OF ADDITIONAL POWERS TO THE SELF GOVERNING STATES.

THIS MAY BE DESIGNED TO TRANSFER CERTAIN POWERS FOR WHICH

HOMELANDS HAVE TILL NOW HAD TO WAIT FOR FULL INDEPENDENT STATUS.

POSSIBLY (ALTHOUGH THIS IS LESS LIKELY) IT MAY ALSO BE LINKED WITH

HOMELANDS HAVE TILL NOW HAD TO WAIT FOR FULL INDEPENDENT STATUS. POSSIBLY (ALTHOUGH THIS IS LESS LIKELY) IT MAY ALSO BE LINKED WITH IDEAS FOR CLOSER COOPERATION BETWEEN NATAL AND KWAZULU. (G) PROVISIONS TO AMEND UNNECESSARY RESTRICTIONS ON SMALL BLACK BUSINESSES FOLLOWING A RECENT REPORT BY THE PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL.

7. IT IS SIGNIFICANT THAT THE REFERENCE TO INFLUX CONTROL MEASURES AND ORDERLY URBANISATION IS ONLY TO MEASURES THAT WILL QUOTE FOLLOW SHORTLY UNQUOTE. THIS SUGGESTS DELAY IN LEGISLATION UNTIL THE NEXT SESSION. MOREOVER ANY RESERVATION ABOUT REMOVING EXISTING INFLUX CONTROL MEASURES IN THEIR ENTIRETY WOULD BE DEEPLY DIS-APPOINTING FOR BLACKS.

EDUCATION

8. THE COMMITMENT TO THE EQUAL PROVISION OF EDUCATION FOR ALL POPULATION GROUPS IS A RE-STATEMENT OF PROMISES MADE LAST YEAR. THE REFERENCE TO A SINGLE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT IS TO THE COORDINATING MINISTRY (UNDER F W DE KELRK) ESTABLISHED LAST YEAR. THERE IS NOTHING TO INDICATE THAT THE GOVERNMENT INTEND TO REVISE THE SYSTEM UNDER WHICH WHITE, COLOURED, INDIAN AND BLACK EDUCATION IS EACH DEALT WITH BY DIFFERENT MINISTERS.

STATE OF EMERGENCY

9. IT IS DISAPPOINTING THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS NOT FELT ABLE TO LIFT THE STATE OF EMERGENCY ALTHOUGH A REFERENCE TO THE RETURN OF GREATER CALM AND THE NEED FOR EMERGENCY MEASURES DECREASING LEAVES THE DOOR OPEN FOR THEM TO DO SO.

EXTERNAL RELATIONS

10. SOUTH AFRICAN PROPOSALS FOR REGIONAL SECURITY COOPERATION ARE NOT NEW AND SEEM UNLIKELY TO BE TAKEN UP. MORE ATTENTION MAY BE DEVOTED TO THE IMPLIED THREAT IN THE REFERENCE TO SOUTH AFRICAN MEASURES TO SELF DEFENCE. THIS MAY BE INTENDED IN PART AS EX-POST FACTO JUSTIFICATION FOR EARLIER ACTION AGAINST NEIGHBOURS BGT WILL WORRY BOTSWANA.

NAMIBIA

11. THE SPEECH TAKES US NO FURTHER FORWARD BUT THERE MAY BE AN OPPORTUNITY FOR THE STATE PRESIDENT TO ENLARGE ON HIS REFERENCE TO 435 AND THE PROCESS OF CURAN WITHDRAWAL WHEN HE SPEAKS IN NEXT WEEK'S DEBATE.

12. AFTER THE SPEECH AMBASSADORS WERE BRIEFED BY THE FOREIGN MINISTER. SEE MIFT.

MOBERLY

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SOUTHERN AFRICA

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MR CLG MALLABY, CABINET OFFICE

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MIPT: PRESIDENT'S SPEECH TO PARLIAMENT

SUMMARY

1. IN BRIEFING AMBASSADORS, THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS SAID THAT THE GOVERNMENT INTENDED TO TRY AND WIN WIDE SUPPORT FOR THEIR PROPOSALS, INCLUDING A SPECIAL STATEMENT IN ALL THE LOCAL SUNDAY NEWSPAPERS. HE POINTED TO THE PROPOSED NEW COUNCIL AS THE FIRST STEP TOWARDS INSTITUTIONALISED POWER SHARING, AND CALLED THIS THE MOST IMPORTANT SINGLE ANNOUNCEMENT IN THE SPEECH.

DETAIL

2. PIK BOTHA READ OUT THE TEXT OF A GOVERNMENT STATEMENT TO APPEAR IN THE SUNDAY NEWSPAPERS (CONFIDENTIAL TILL THEN). THIS DECLARES THAT THE GOVERNMENT ARE COMMITTED TO POWER SHARING, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL, A COMMON SYSTEM OF JUSTICE AND THAT NO SOUTH AFRICAN WOULD BE EXCLUDED FROM FULL POLITICAL RIGHTS. BLACKS ARE TO HAVE A VOICE IN GOVERNMENT. THE PASS SYSTEM IS TO BE SCRAPPED

ARE TO HAVE A VOICE IN GOVERNMENT. THE PASS SYSTEM IS TO BE SCOPED BY 1 JULY AND EXISTING INFLUX CONTROL MEASURES ABOLISHED. (SIGNIFICANTLY HE GAVE NO DATE FOR THE PROPOSED CHANGES IN INFLUX CONTROL AND DID NOT USE THE WORD QUOTE ALL UNQUOTE). THE STATEMENT CONCLUDES THAT THE WHEEL OF REFORM IS TURNING AND URGES EVERYONE TO SHARE IN THE FUTURE OF THE NEW SOUTH AFRICA.

3. AS REGARDS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NATIONAL STATUTORY COUNCIL, BOTHA ADMITTED THAT THE CABINET WERE UNDER NO ILLUSION ABOUT THE DIFFICULTY UNTIL NOW OF BRINGING BLACK LEADERS TO TALK. BUT MINISTERS ARE DETERMINED THAT BLACK LEADERS SHOULD BE GIVEN A REAL VOICE HENCEFORTH IN GOVERNMENT. THE NEW COUNCIL WOULD BE ABLE TO START FUNCTIONING AS SOON AS LEGISLATION WAS PASSED. NOT ONLY WOULD THE COUNCIL DISCUSS DAY TO DAY MATTERS, THEY WOULD ALSO ADVISE ON A FUTURE CONSTITUTIONAL DISPENSATION PROVIDED SUFFICIENT BLACKS COULD BE PERSUADED TO PARTICIPATE.

4. ON MANDELA HE SAID THE PRESIDENT'S ANNOUNCEMENT HAD BEEN MADE LARGELY IN RESPONSE TO PRESSURE FROM OTHER GOVERNMENTS. THE PRESIDENT WAS NOT MAKING AN ADDITIONAL PRE-CONDITION. THE POSITION WAS STILL THAT MANDELA COULD BE RELEASED IF HE RENOUNCED VIOLENCE. BUT THE GOVERNMENT WERE ALSO WILLING TO EXPLORE ANOTHER POSSIBLE OPTION. IT WAS OPEN TO ANY INTERESTED GOVERNMENT (NOT CONFINED TO THOSE HOLDING THE PRISONERS MENTIONED BY THE PRESIDENT I.E. SOVIET AND ANGOLAN GOVERNMENTS) TO TAKE THIS UP IF THEY WISHED TO DO SO. IF THE OFFER WAS NOT TAKEN UP THEN THE POSITION WOULD REVERT TO THE PRESENT ONE.

COMMENT

5. PIK BOTHA'S BRIEFING DOES NOT ADD GREATLY TO WHAT IS ALREADY APPARENT FROM THE SPEECH ITSELF. BUT HIS EMPHASIS ON THE NATIONAL STATUTORY COUNCIL SHOWS THE IMPORTANCE ATTACHED BY THE GOVERNMENT TO THIS INITIATIVE. ALTHOUGH GUARDED IN ANSWERING QUESTIONS ABOUT THE MANDELA OFFER HE WENT OUT OF HIS WAY TO INVITE OTHER GOVERNMENTS TO RESPOND. THE SOUTH AFRICANS CANNOT REALISTICALLY EXPECT A FAVOURABLE REACTION FROM MOSCOW. MY ASSUMPTION IS THAT DU TOIT MAY BE A KEY TO THE NEW MOVE.

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Ref: B8/6/1

South African Embassy

31st January 1986

Prime Minister
An interesting
idea.
COP
31/1

Mr Charles Powell
Private Secretary to
the Prime Minister
No. 10 Downing Street
LONDON SW1

Dear Charles,

We were informed this morning that there was an Addendum (attached) to the prepared text of the State President's Address at the Opening of Parliament in Cape Town this morning.

You will notice that it relates to Mr Nelson Mandela and will no doubt interest the Prime Minister.

Yours sincerely
L.

LEO H. EVANS
MINISTER

Optimum
100%
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Addendum

HONOURABLE MEMBERS WILL BE AWARE THAT I MADE AN OFFER LAST YEAR WHICH COULD HAVE SET MR NELSON MANDELA FREE. THE PRINCIPLE INVOLVED IN THIS OFFER WAS NOT DESIGNED AS A PARTICULAR CONDITION FOR A PARTICULAR PERSON. IT APPLIES EQUALLY TO ALL OF US AND IT IS ASSUMED THAT THE PRINCIPLE IS SUBSCRIBED TO IN ALL CIVILIZED COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD. THE PRINCIPLE SIMPLY PROSCRIBES THE USE OF VIOLENCE TO ACHIEVE POLITICAL OBJECTIVES. MR MANDELA IS THEREFORE, IN EFFECT, BEING JAILED BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY AND ITS AFFILIATE, THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS. FOR OBVIOUS REASONS, IT SUITS THEM THAT HE REMAINS IN PRISON. THEY HAVE MUCH TO GAIN WHILE HE REMAINS WHERE HE IS. IN THE MEANTIME, THE CONTINUATION OF VIOLENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA AFFECTS ALL SOUTH AFRICANS. THE GOVERNMENT CANNOT ABDICATE ITS RESPONSIBILITY FOR MAINTAINING ORDER AND ENDING VIOLENCE AND THE GOVERNMENT DOES NOT INTEND DOING SO WHETHER MR MANDELA IS RELEASED OR NOT.

I AM CONSCIOUS OF THE FACT THAT MR MANDELA HAS BEEN IN PRISON FOR A LONG TIME AND THAT HE IS NOW IN HIS SIXTIES. I HAVE GIVEN THIS MATTER MUCH THOUGHT. I STATED LAST YEAR THAT, IN PRINCIPLE, I WOULD BE PREPARED TO CONSIDER HIS RELEASE ON HUMANITARIAN GROUNDS.

BUT I THINK ALSO OF CAPTAIN WYNAND PETRUS JOHANNES DU TOIT AT PRESENT HELD IN AN ANGOLAN PRISON.

I THINK ALSO OF PERSONS LIKE ANDREI SAKHAROV AND ANATOLY SHCHARANSKY. A SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE BETWEEN MR MANDELA AND ANDREI SAKHAROV, FOR EXAMPLE, IS THAT UNLIKE THE ACTS OF VIOLENCE AND SABOTAGE OF WHICH MR MANDELA WAS FOUND GUILTY, THE ACTS WHICH MR SAKHAROV COMMITTED WERE NON-VIOLENT EXPRESSIONS OF OPINION. MR SAKHAROV HAS, MOREOVER, INDICATED THAT HE WOULD AGREE, IF ALLOWED TO LEAVE THE USSR, NOT TO CRITICISE THE SOVIET UNION ON ANY SUSTAINED OR MAJOR BASIS.

FOR MANY YEARS, ANATOLY SHCHARANSKY WAS THE SUBJECT OF CONTINUOUS HARASSMENT, SURVEILLANCE AND INTERROGATION BY THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES. IN MARCH 1977, HE WAS ARRESTED BY THE SOVIET SECRET POLICE AND DETAINED IN MOSCOW'S LEFORTOVO PRISON UNTIL HIS TRIAL IN JULY 1978. CONVICTED ON CHARGES OF 'TREASON' AND 'ANTI-SOVIET AGITATION AND PROPAGANDA', HE WAS SENTENCED TO THIRTEEN YEARS IN PRISON AND LABOUR CAMPS. HIS PRESENT STATE OF HEALTH GIVES RISE FOR SERIOUS CONCERN.

I SHOULD NOW LIKE TO POSE THE FOLLOWING VERY IMPORTANT QUESTION:

IF I WERE TO RELEASE MR NELSON MANDELA ON HUMANITARIAN GROUNDS, COULD CAPTAIN WYNAND DU TOIT, ANDREI SAKHAROV AND ANATOLY SHCHARANSKY NOT ALSO BE RELEASED ON HUMANITARIAN GROUNDS?

A POSITIVE RESPONSE TO THIS QUESTION COULD CERTAINLY FORM THE BASIS OF NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN INTERESTED GOVERNMENTS.

ADDRESS BY STATE PRESIDENT P W BOTHA DMS ON THE OCCASION OF

THE OPENING OF THE THIRD SESSION OF THE EIGHTH PARLIAMENT

OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

31 JANUARY 1986

MR SPEAKER, MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

THE FOUNDING OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA A QUARTER OF A CENTURY AGO SEVERED THE LAST REMAINING TIES WITH OUR COLONIAL PAST.

THROUGH THIS IMPORTANT STEP TO FURTHER THE IDEAL OF SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONHOOD, WE SET THE STAGE FOR THE REMARKABLE PROGRESS WHICH HAS BEEN MADE IN MAJOR AREAS OVER THE PAST 25 YEARS.

IN A WORLD WHERE FREEDOM IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY RARE, OUR COUNTRY TODAY IS A SYMBOL OF THE EXPANSION OF FREEDOM, OF THE UPHOLDING OF FREEDOM OF RELIGION AND FREE ENTERPRISE, SUSTAINED BY EQUAL RIGHTS BEFORE AN INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY.

THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA IS THEREFORE A POWERFUL BASTION AGAINST COMMUNIST DOMINATION AND ENSLAVEMENT. THE REPUBLIC IS ALSO AN IMPORTANT SUPPLIER OF EXPERTISE, DEVELOPMENT AID, TECHNOLOGY AND NECESSITIES OF LIFE TO AFRICA, AND STRATEGIC MINERALS TO THE WORLD.

SHOULD THIS REPUBLIC PERISH, A ONE-PARTY DICTATORSHIP WILL SEVER THIS ARTERY AND DESTROY THESE FREEDOMS.

YET, THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA FROM ABROAD HAS GREATLY INTENSIFIED. ON THE ONE HAND IT HAS TAKEN THE FORM OF AN INCREASED ARMED THREAT. THIS IS PROVEN BY AMONG OTHER THINGS, THE STOCKPILING OF ADVANCED ARMAMENTS IN CERTAIN NEIGHBOURING STATES AND TERROR ATTACKS ACROSS OUR BORDERS. ON THE OTHER HAND, THERE WERE INTENSIFIED ATTEMPTS TO ISOLATE US IN ALL SPHERES.

THERE ARE VARIOUS REASONS FOR THIS CAMPAIGN. ONE IS THE FACT THAT EVOLUTIONARY REFORM DOES NOT SERVE THE DESIGNS OF LEFTIST REVOLUTIONARIES. THE CAMPAIGN IS SUSTAINED BY CALCULATED LIES ABOUT THE SOUTH AFRICAN REALITIES WHICH HAVE WITH DOUBTFUL MOTIVES BEEN SPREAD ACROSS THE WORLD FOR SO MANY DECADES. ATTEMPTS ARE CONTINUALLY BEING MADE TO BELITTLE EACH STEP FORWARD AND TO BRAND ALL GOVERNMENT INITIATIVES AS MERELY COSMETIC, WHILE CONDITIONS MORE APPALLING THAN THOSE OSTENSIBLY PREVAILING IN SOUTH AFRICA ARE SANCTIMONIOUSLY TOLERATED ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD.

NEVERTHELESS, WE REAFFIRM OUR CONTINUED COMMITMENT TO PEACEFUL INTERNATIONAL CO-EXISTENCE THROUGH CO-OPERATION AND NEGOTIATION. THIS APPLIES TO ALL NATIONS, BUT PARTICULARLY TO SOUTHERN AFRICA.

IN THIS REGARD, I WISH TO EMPHASIZE THAT THERE CAN BE NO PEACE AND STABILITY IN OUR REGION AS LONG AS COUNTRIES KNOWINGLY HARBOUR TERRORISTS WHO PLAN AND EXECUTE ACTS OF TERROR AGAINST A NEIGHBOURING STATE.

SOUTH WEST AFRICA

AS FAR AS SOUTH WEST AFRICA IS CONCERNED, THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA REMAINS PREPARED TO IMPLEMENT RESOLUTION 435, PROVIDED AGREEMENT CAN BE REACHED ON CUBAN WITHDRAWAL FROM ANGOLA. ONLY THEN WILL THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA REDUCE ITS TROOPS IN TERMS OF THE AGREED ARRANGEMENTS. IN THIS AREA, LASTING PEACE, PROGRESS AND FREEDOM CAN ONLY PREVAIL IF TERRORISM GIVES WAY TO NEGOTIATION AND CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT SUCH AS DESIRED BY THE INTERNAL PARTIES.

AGREEMENT

I ONCE AGAIN EXTEND A HAND OF FRIENDSHIP TO OUR NEIGHBOURS. LET US COME TO AN AGREEMENT ON THE SPECIFIC RULES OF THE GAME REGULATING THE CONDUCT OF NEIGHBOURS TOWARDS ONE ANOTHER, RULES THAT ARE HONOURED BY ALL CIVILISED NATIONS.

THESE INCLUDE THE WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN FORCES FROM THE REGION, THE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES, REGIONAL CO-OPERATION ON COMMON PROBLEMS, AN UNEQUIVOCAL BAN ON SUPPORT FOR VIOLENCE ACROSS NATIONAL BOUNDARIES, AND TOLERANCE IN THE REGION.

THE GOVERNMENTS OF THIS REGION SHOULD GIVE TANGIBLE EXPRESSION TO SUCH A COMMON DESIRE FOR PEACE AND STABILITY.

I WANT TO PROPOSE, THEREFORE, THAT WE GIVE URGENT AND SERIOUS CONSIDERATION TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PERMANENT JOINT MECHANISM FOR DEALING WITH MATTERS OF SECURITY, PARTICULARLY THREATS TO THE PEACE AND PROSPERITY OF OUR SUBCONTINENT.

IT MAKES NO DIFFERENCE IN WHICH CAPITAL THE SECRETARIAT OF SUCH A BODY WILL BE LOCATED. WHAT MATTERS IS THAT THE COUNTRIES IN THE REGION SHOULD FIND A WAY TO PROMOTE OUR JOINT SECURITY, TO EVERYONE'S ADVANTAGE.

SHOULD THIS OFFER BY THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA BE IGNORED OR REJECTED, WE WOULD HAVE NO CHOICE BUT TO TAKE EFFECTIVE MEASURES IN SELF-DEFENCE TO PROTECT OUR COUNTRY AND POPULATION AGAINST THREATS.

SOUTHERN AFRICA - AND THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA IN PARTICULAR - CAN PLAY A KEY ROLE IN THESE LAST 15 YEARS OF THE 20TH CENTURY IN UNLOCKING THE RESOURCES OF AFRICA.

THE UNTAPPED RESERVES OF OUR COUNTRY AND OUR REGION HAVE THE POTENTIAL TO GIVE NEW LIFE TO THE WHOLE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. WE HAVE THE NATURAL RESOURCES AND A STRONG ECONOMY. WITH THE ADDITIONAL POTENTIAL OF OUR POPULATION, WE ALSO HAVE THE ABILITY TO PROMOTE PEACE AND PROGRESS IN THE REGION.

WE ACCEPT UNEQUIVOCALLY THAT THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA IS PART OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. WE HAVE NO WISH TO ISOLATE OURSELVES FROM THE WORLD, PARTICULARLY NOT FROM AFRICA OF WHICH WE FORM AN INTEGRAL PART.

REGARDING PRESSURE FROM ABROAD AGAINST THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA, WE ACCEPT THAT NOT ALL THE PRESSURE IS NECESSARILY MALICIOUS. INDEED, EVERY COUNTRY IN THE WORLD HAS THE RIGHT TO GIVE PRIORITY TO ITS OWN NATIONAL INTERESTS. WE ALSO RESERVE THAT RIGHT FOR OURSELVES.

BUT I WISH TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT WE DO NOT NEED PRESSURE TO WALK THE ROAD OF REFORM AND JUSTICE.

WE DO IT OUT OF CONVICTION. WE HAVE THE CAPACITY, THE WILL AND THE FAITH TO MEET OUR CHALLENGES.

AS WE DEVELOP THE TREMENDOUS POTENTIAL AND GOODWILL IN OUR VARIOUS COMMUNITIES, AND THE TALENTS OF OUR PEOPLE, WE WILL HELP CREATE A POWERFUL FUTURE FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA.

IT IS SO THAT WE HAVE HAD TO DEAL WITH UNREST WITHIN THE COUNTRY WHICH HAS UNNECESSARILY CLAIMED LIVES, AND HAS INFLICTED TOO MUCH DAMAGE ON THIS COUNTRY.

ALLOW ME ONCE AGAIN TO EXPRESS MY SYMPATHY WITH THE SUFFERING OF ALL THOSE AFFECTED. NO GOVERNMENT CAN PERMIT SUCH VIOLENCE, WHICH HAS OFTEN RESULTED IN THE BRUTAL MURDER OF INNOCENT MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN. WE WERE THEREFORE OBLIGED TO DECLARE A STATE OF EMERGENCY IN ABOUT 13 PER CENT OF OUR MAGISTERIAL DISTRICTS.

I AM GREATLY ENCOURAGED BY THE GREATER CALM THAT IS BEGINNING TO RETURN. NATURALLY THERE WILL BE FURTHER EFFORTS TO CREATE UNREST IN 1986. THE LEFTIST REVOLUTIONARY ELEMENTS WHICH ARE CONTROLLED FROM ABROAD, WILL DEVELOP AND ATTEMPT TO IMPLEMENT NEW STRATEGIES AND TACTICS.

WE WILL CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN ORDER WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF CIVILISED NORMS. OUR SECURITY FORCES HAVE STRICT ORDERS IN THIS REGARD. THUS WE WILL PROMOTE A CLIMATE IN WHICH NEW HOPE FOR ALL OUR COMMUNITIES CAN GROW AND THE NEED FOR EMERGENCY MEASURES WILL DECREASE.

THE INSTITUTIONS OF GOVERNMENT THAT CAME INTO BEING IN TERMS OF THE 1983 CONSTITUTION PROVED WITHIN A YEAR THAT OUR VARIOUS COMMUNITIES CAN TAKE PART EFFECTIVELY AND PEACEFULLY IN JOINT DECISION-MAKING AT THE CENTRAL LEVEL.

THROUGH THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS, THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE COLOURED AND INDIAN COMMUNITIES WERE ABLE TO ASSIST IN ENSURING THAT PROBLEMS IN THEIR RESPECTIVE COMMUNITIES RECEIVED THE NECESSARY ATTENTION. THEY WERE PERSONALLY INVOLVED IN THE ACTIVE ALLEVIATION OF SUCH PROBLEMS.

OUR MULTILATERAL CO-OPERATION AGREEMENTS IN VARIOUS FIELDS WITH NEIGHBOURING STATES ARE ALSO PROVING SUCCESSFUL.

I WELCOME THIS POSITIVE ATTITUDE.

EDUCATION

I SHOULD LIKE TODAY TO REPEAT THE GOVERNMENT'S COMMITMENT TO EQUAL PROVISION OF EDUCATION FOR ALL POPULATION GROUPS. THE PROCESS OF REFORM, AIMED AT ACHIEVING THIS, IS IN FULL PROGRESS IN THE EDUCATION FIELD.

ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT STEPS WAS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SINGLE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT FOR GENERAL POLICY FOR ALL COMMUNITIES. THROUGH THE MEDIATION OF THIS DEPARTMENT, AFTER COMPREHENSIVE CONSULTATION, THE OVERALL GUIDELINES FOR THE PROVISION OF EDUCATION, ARE BEING LAID DOWN. THESE INCLUDE THE EQUITABLE ALLOCATION OF RESOURCES TO THE VARIOUS COMMUNITIES.

REAL PROGRESS HAS ALSO BEEN MADE IN THE QUALITY OF EDUCATION FOR BLACK COMMUNITIES.

INVESTIGATIONS AND PROJECTS WHICH HAVE BEEN LAUNCHED, COVER, AMONG OTHER THINGS, THE IMPROVED PROVISION OF EDUCATION FOR PUPILS IN RURAL AREAS, MANAGEMENT TRAINING FOR PRINCIPALS AND HEADS OF DEPARTMENTS, A BRIDGING PERIOD TO BRING CHILDREN TO SCHOOL-READINESS, A SYSTEM TO PROMOTE CAREER EDUCATION AND A COMPREHENSIVE EFFORT TO IMPROVE THE ACADEMIC AND PROFESSIONAL QUALIFICATIONS OF TEACHERS.

PROGRAMMES AIMED AT ACTIVE PROGRESS TOWARDS THE GOAL OF PARITY IN THE PROVISION OF EDUCATION WILL BE ANNOUNCED IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. THIS WILL EXERT SUBSTANTIAL PRESSURE ON THE TREASURY IN FUTURE.

DURING THE COMING YEAR MEASURES WILL BE TAKEN IN ORDER TO EXTEND THE PARTICIPATION OF ALL CONCERNED IN EDUCATION. FURTHER ANNOUNCEMENTS ON THE CONTINUED REFORM OF OUR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM CAN BE EXPECTED SHORTLY.

THE GOVERNMENT, IN CONSULTATION WITH LEADERS IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION, IS FURTHERMORE DETERMINED TO CREATE STRUCTURES DURING THIS YEAR WHICH WOULD SOON REALISE EQUAL STANDARDS OF EXAMINATION AND CERTIFICATION OF QUALIFICATIONS FOR ALL COMMUNITIES.

THE ECONOMY

IN THE ECONOMIC FIELD 1985 WAS, IN MANY RESPECTS, NOT AN EASY YEAR FOR THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA. THE INSTABILITY OF THE AGRICULTURAL SECTOR WAS EXACERBATED BY THE DROUGHT OF THE PAST FEW YEARS.

IN ADDITION, THE RESTRICTIVE ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL FACTORS RESULTED IN SMALLER PROFITS AND A HIGHER DEBT AND INTEREST BURDEN FOR SOME SECTORS OF AGRICULTURE.

WE HAVE BEEN HEARTENED BY THE ABUNDANT RAIN IN MOST REGIONS WHICH HAVE NOW BROUGHT IMPROVED PROSPECTS.

ALTHOUGH THE CURRENT CONDITIONS ARE MORE FAVOURABLE, IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT THE AGRICULTURAL SECTOR BE BUILT UP AGAIN TO ENSURE AN ADEQUATE FOOD SUPPLY FOR A GROWING POPULATION.

THE ADAPTATION OF THE TRADITIONAL LAND-USE PRACTICES IN THE SELF-GOVERNING STATES SHOULD ALSO MAKE A SUBSTANTIAL CONTRIBUTION TO THIS.

THERE WERE POSITIVE DEVELOPMENTS ON THE ECONOMIC FRONT THAT SHOULD MAKE US ALL MORE OPTIMISTIC.

AN OUTSTANDING HIGHLIGHT IN THIS FIELD WAS THE EXCELLENT EXPORT PERFORMANCE ACHIEVED DURING 1985. THE LATEST TRADING STATISTICS REFLECT THE SHARP UPSWING IN OUR EXPORTS. THE ESTIMATED INCREASE IN THE VOLUME OF EXPORTS FOR 1985 (GOLD EXCLUDED) IS ABOUT 24 PER CENT, COMPARED TO THE CORRESPONDING PERIOD DURING 1984. IN CONTRAST, THE VOLUME OF IMPORTS FOR THE SAME PERIOD DECLINED BY ABOUT 15 PER CENT. THE CURRENT ACCOUNT OF THE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS RECOVERED FROM A DEFICIT OF R1,4 BILLION IN 1984 TO A SURPLUS OF ABOUT R7 BILLION IN 1985.

THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA STILL PLACES A HIGH PREMIUM ON THE ROLE OF EXPORTS IN ITS ECONOMIC GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT PROCESS. THE GOVERNMENT CONTINUES TO PROMOTE OUR STATUS AS AN IMPORTANT AND RELIABLE TRADING PARTNER. THIS ENTAILS NOT ONLY MAINTAINING AND STRENGTHENING EXISTING MULTILATERAL TRADING AGREEMENTS, BUT ALSO THE PROMOTION OF BILATERAL AND COUNTER-TRADING TRANSACTIONS.

THE SUCCESS THUS FAR ACHIEVED WITH MONETARY AND FISCAL POLICY IS REFLECTED IN, AMONG OTHER THINGS, THE CONSIDERABLE IMPROVEMENT ON THE CURRENT ACCOUNT OF THE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS AND THE DECLINE IN INTEREST RATES. IN THIS WAY A NEW BASIS HAS BEEN PROVIDED FOR ECONOMIC GROWTH.

THE LATEST INDICATIONS ARE THAT THE BUSINESS CYCLE REACHED ITS LOWEST POINT IN THE SECOND HALF OF 1985 AND THAT A NEW GROWTH PHASE IS NOW BEGINNING.

THE GOVERNMENT IS CONCERNED ABOUT THE HIGH RATE OF INFLATION, AND THE COMBATTING THEREOF CONTINUALLY RECEIVES ATTENTION AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL.

THE GOVERNMENT IS AWARE OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES STILL FACING SOME COMMUNITIES. NEVERTHELESS, GOOD PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE IN ALLEVIATING THESE CIRCUMSTANCES DURING THE PAST YEAR.

THIS IS EVIDENT, AMONG OTHERS, FROM THE REFORMS IMPLEMENTED IN THE LABOUR FIELD, AND THE EMPHASIS PLACED ON THE PROVISION OF HOUSING, THE UPGRADING OF BLACK RESIDENTIAL AREAS AND THE ADVANCEMENT OF ENTREPRENEURSHIP.

THE LEGISLATIVE PROGRAMME

THE PROPOSED LEGISLATIVE PROGRAMME AND OTHER PLANNED ACTIONS FOR THE COMING SESSION, CONFIRM THE GOVERNMENT'S COMMITMENT TO THE CREATION OF A FRAMEWORK FOR EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES.

AMONG THE MOST IMPORTANT MATTERS THAT WILL BE TRANSLATED INTO LEGISLATION DURING THIS SESSION, ARE THE FOLLOWING:

- RESTORING SOUTH AFRICAN CITIZENSHIP TO BLACK PERSONS WHO PERMANENTLY RESIDE IN THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA, BUT WHO FORFEITED THEIR CITIZENSHIP AS A RESULT OF THE CONDITIONS OF INDEPENDENCE OF TRANSKEI, BOPHUTHATSWANA, VENDA AND CISKEI:
- EXTENSION OF THE POWERS OF THE SELF-GOVERNING STATES:
- THE INVOLVEMENT OF BLACK COMMUNITIES IN DECISION MAKING: →
- FREEHOLD PROPERTY RIGHTS FOR MEMBERS OF BLACK COMMUNITIES: AND →
- A UNIFORM IDENTITY DOCUMENT FOR ALL POPULATION GROUPS.

PROPOSED LEGISLATION WHICH WILL AFFECT ALL COMMUNITIES, EXTEND DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES, AND PROMOTE FREE ENTERPRISE, INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING:

- THE AMENDMENT OF THE IMMIGRATION SELECTION POLICY BY REPEALING DISCRIMINATORY PREFERENCE PROVISIONS:
- THE RESTRUCTURING OF THE SYSTEM OF PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT TO INVOLVE ALL COMMUNITIES: AND →
- LEGISLATION AUTHORISING THE LIFTING, SUSPENDING OR AMENDING OF UNNECESSARY RESTRICTIONS ON ENTREPRENEURSHIP, PARTICULARLY WITH REGARD TO THE INFORMAL SECTOR.

IN THIS REGARD I REQUESTED THAT A BILL BE PRESENTED TO PARLIAMENT THIS YEAR, WHICH WILL EMPOWER THE STATE PRESIDENT TO FACILITATE THE PARTICIPATION OF THE SMALL ENTREPRENEUR IN THE ECONOMY THROUGH THE SUSPENSION OF UNNECESSARY RESTRICTIVE MEASURES.

ANY ACTION IN THIS REGARD WILL BE RESTRICTED IN SCOPE AND SUBJECT TO PARLIAMENTARY APPROVAL. IT IS INTENDED ONLY TO BE APPLIED IN THE INTEREST OF ECONOMIC PROGRESS, COMPETITION AND THE CREATION OF JOB OPPORTUNITIES.

OTHER MEASURES THAT WILL FOLLOW SHORTLY INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING:

- THE DRAFTING OF LEGISLATION TO REMOVE EXISTING INFLUX CONTROL MEASURES WHICH APPLY TO SOUTH AFRICAN CITIZENS IN THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA. THE PRESENT SYSTEM IS TOO COSTLY AND HAS BECOME OBSOLETE.
- THE GOVERNMENT IS IN FAVOUR OF MEASURES WHICH WILL FACILITATE ORDERLY URBANISATION. INFLUX CONTROL IS CLOSELY LINKED TO URBANISATION, AND IN THIS REGARD THE

GOVERNMENT HAS NOTED THE CONTENTS OF THE REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL ON AN URBANISATION STRATEGY FOR THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA.

- A WHITE PAPER IS BEING PREPARED IN WHICH THE GOVERNMENT'S REACTION TO THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL WILL BE SET OUT, AND GUIDELINES WILL BE FORMULATED FOR A CLEAR AND WORKABLE STRATEGY IN RELATION TO URBANISATION.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

- I HAVE GIVEN INSTRUCTIONS THAT THE HIGHEST POSSIBLE PRIORITY MUST BE GIVEN TO THE FORMULATION OF A SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PLAN FOR THE LESS DEVELOPED AREAS AND COMMUNITIES. SUCH A PLAN, TO BE SUBMITTED TO ME, IS BEING DRAWN UP IN CONSULTATION WITH THE COMMUNITIES AND THE GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS CONCERNED.

- IN ORDER TO PROMOTE OUR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, OUR EXPORT TRADE, AND THE CREATION OF EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES FOR OUR PEOPLE, WHITE PAPERS CONCERNING THE REFINING OF SOUTH AFRICA'S MINERALS, AND OUR ENERGY POLICY, WILL BE TABLED DURING THIS SESSION.

- THE FIRST REGIONAL SERVICES COUNCIL WILL BE ESTABLISHED IN THE NEAR FUTURE, THROUGH WHICH JOINT DECISION-MAKING BETWEEN ALL COMMUNITIES WILL BE EXPANDED, AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE LESS DEVELOPED AREAS WILL BE STIMULATED.

FRAMEWORK FOR THE FUTURE

IN ADDITION TO THESE CONCRETE REFORM STEPS, THE GOVERNMENT HAS THROUGH THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATION ALSO BECOME CONSCIOUS OF MORE BLACK ASPIRATIONS AND NEEDS.

THIS HAS PLACED THE GOVERNMENT IN A POSITION WHERE IT IS POSSIBLE TO OUTLINE THE FRAMEWORK FOR FURTHER CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT TO BROADEN THE DEMOCRACY. THIS ENTAILS THE FOLLOWING BASIC GUIDELINES:

* WE ACCEPT AN UNDIVIDED REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA WHERE ALL REGIONS AND COMMUNITIES WITHIN ITS BOUNDARIES FORM PART OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN STATE, WITH THE RIGHT TO PARTICIPATE IN INSTITUTIONS TO BE NEGOTIATED COLLECTIVELY.

* WE ACCEPT ONE CITIZENSHIP FOR ALL SOUTH AFRICANS, IMPLYING EQUAL TREATMENT AND OPPORTUNITIES.

* WE BELIEVE IN THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE LAW AS THE BASIS FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUALS AS WELL AS GROUPS. WE BELIEVE IN THE SANCTITY AND INDIVISIBILITY OF LAW AND THE JUST APPLICATION THEREOF.

* THERE CAN BE NO PEACE, FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY WITHOUT LAW. ANY FUTURE SYSTEM MUST CONFORM WITH THE REQUIREMENTS OF A CIVILIZED LEGAL ORDER, AND MUST ENSURE ACCESS TO THE COURTS AND EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW.

* WE BELIEVE THAT HUMAN DIGNITY, LIFE, LIBERTY AND PROPERTY OF ALL MUST BE PROTECTED, REGARDLESS OF COLOUR, RACE, CREED OR RELIGION.

* WE BELIEVE THAT A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT, WHICH MUST ACCOMMODATE ALL LEGITIMATE POLITICAL ASPIRATIONS OF ALL THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNITIES, MUST BE NEGOTIATED.

* ALL SOUTH AFRICANS MUST BE PLACED IN A POSITION WHERE THEY CAN PARTICIPATE IN GOVERNMENT THROUGH THEIR ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES.

WE HAVE OUTGROWN THE OUTDATED COLONIAL SYSTEM OF PATERNALISM AS WELL AS THE OUTDATED CONCEPT OF APARTHEID.

THE PEOPLES OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA FORM ONE NATION. BUT OUR NATION IS A NATION OF MINORITIES. GIVEN THE MULTICULTURAL NATURE OF SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY, THIS OF NECESSITY IMPLIES PARTICIPATION BY ALL COMMUNITIES IN THE SHARING OF POWER BETWEEN THESE COMMUNITIES BUT ALSO THE DEVOLUTION OF POWER AS FAR AS POSSIBLE AND THE PROTECTION OF MINORITY RIGHTS, WITHOUT ONE GROUP DOMINATING ANOTHER.

COMMITTED AS WE ARE TO THESE NORMS AND VALUES, WE WILL HAVE TO DEFEND THE SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY AGAINST THE FORCES OF ANARCHY WHICH SEEK TO SEIZE A MONOPOLY OF POWER AND ULTIMATELY RULE THIS NATION, THROUGH THE USE OF FORCE, BY AN EXCLUSIVE POLITICAL CLIQUE. THAT WILL MAKE A MOCKERY OF LIBERTY.

LIBERTY IS A CORNERSTONE OF TRUE DEMOCRACY AND MANIFESTS ITSELF ON THREE DIFFERENT LEVELS IN OUR SOCIETY.

FIRSTLY, ON THE PERSONAL AND INDIVIDUAL LEVEL, RESPECT FOR AND THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN DIGNITY, LIFE, LIBERTY AND PROPERTY OF ALL.

IN NO COMPARABLE COUNTRY OF THE WORLD HAS SO MUCH BEEN DONE FOR THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC UPLIFTMENT OF UNDERPRIVILEGED COMMUNITIES AS HAS BEEN THE CASE IN THIS COUNTRY IN THE SHORT SPACE OF A FEW DECADES.

SECONDLY, LIBERTY ON THE GROUP AND COMMUNITY LEVEL, WHICH IMPLIES RESPECT FOR AND THE PROMOTION AND PROTECTION OF THE SELF-DETERMINATION OF POPULATION GROUPS AND PEOPLES, WHETHER ON A REGIONAL OR NATIONAL BASIS OR WHETHER UNDER RURAL OR URBAN CONDITIONS.

IN AN AFRICA PLAGUED BY CIVIL WAR AND GENOCIDE, THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA STANDS AS A SYMBOL OF HOPE FOR ALL MINORITY COMMUNITIES.

THIRDLY, LIBERTY ON THE STATE AND NATIONAL LEVEL, TO SAFEGUARD THE INTEGRITY AND FREEDOM OF OUR COUNTRY, AND TO SECURE THE PROTECTION OF OUR CITIZENS THROUGH THE APPLICATION OF CIVILIZED STANDARDS OF JUSTICE, ORDER AND SECURITY.

TRUE DEMOCRACY FOR THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA AND ALL ITS PEOPLES, INDIVIDUALLY AND COLLECTIVELY, MUST RECOGNIZE EACH OF THESE COMPONENTS OF FREEDOM. THE ABSENCE OF SUCH RECOGNITION WILL DIMINISH, AND NOT INCREASE, THE FREEDOM OF OUR PEOPLES.

I HAVE ALREADY STATED THAT I AM WILLING TO CONSIDER THE RESTRUCTURING AND THE FUNCTIONS OF THE PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL TO MAKE PROVISION FOR THE PARTICIPATION BY LEADERS OF BLACK COMMUNITIES, SHOULD THE NEED EXIST AMONG THEM TO PARTICIPATE IN THAT COUNCIL.

I NOW WISH TO ANNOUNCE THAT I INTEND TO NEGOTIATE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NATIONAL STATUTORY COUNCIL, WHICH WILL MEET UNDER MY CHAIRMANSHIP.

I PROPOSE THAT THIS COUNCIL SHOULD CONSIST OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT, REPRESENTATIVES OF THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE SELF-GOVERNING NATIONAL STATES, AS WELL AS LEADERS OF OTHER BLACK COMMUNITIES AND INTEREST GROUPS.

PENDING THE CREATION OF CONSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES JOINTLY TO BE AGREED UPON FOR OUR MULTI-CULTURAL SOCIETY, THIS COUNCIL SHOULD CONSIDER AND ADVISE ON MATTERS OF COMMON CONCERN, INCLUDING PROPOSED LEGISLATION OF SUCH MATTERS.

THIS COUNCIL CAN MEET UNDER THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE STATE PRESIDENT AS OFTEN AS NEEDED.

CONCLUSION

IT IS COMMON CAUSE THAT WE HAVE NOT YET FULLY ACHIEVED ALL THESE GOALS TO WHICH I HAVE REFERRED. YET WE HAVE UNDENIABLY MADE SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS, AS EVIDENCED BY MAJOR ONGOING CONSTITUTIONAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC REFORM.

THOSE WHO OPPOSE THIS APPROACH OF EVOLUTIONARY REFORM KNOW THAT THE ALTERNATIVE IS REVOLUTIONARY CHAOS. FORTUNATELY, BETWEEN THEM AND SUCH CHAOS, STAND MODERATE AND REASONABLE SOUTH AFRICANS.

LET THERE BE NO DOUBT, HOWEVER, REGARDING OUR SINCERITY AND DEDICATION TO FULFIL OUR COMMITMENTS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE DICTATES OF THESE NORMS AND VALUES.

WE SHALL DO SO DESPITE THE CRITICISM OF THOSE WHO UNDERESTIMATE OR REFUSE TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE COMPLEXITY OF OUR REALITIES.

THERE ARE NO EASY AND SIMPLE SOLUTIONS TO OUR CHALLENGES, AND NO READY EXAMPLES AND MODELS FOR US TO REPRODUCE. IN ADDITION, THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT HAS TO PROVE THAT TRUE DEMOCRACY IS CAPABLE OF APPLICATION IN OUR

MULTI-CULTURAL SOCIETY.

WE ARE DETERMINED TO ADDRESS OUR CHALLENGES. WE SINCERELY BELIEVE IN CO-OPERATIVE CO-EXISTENCE FOR ALL SOUTH AFRICANS. LET US UNITE TO MAKE THIS POSSIBLE.

MR SPEAKER

IT IS MY PRAYER THAT THE BLESSING OF ALMIGHTY GOD WILL GUIDE AND SUPPORT YOU IN YOUR WORK AND DELIBERATIONS.

I NOW DECLARE THIS THIRD SESSION OF THE EIGHTH PARLIAMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA DULY OPENED.

ISSUED BY:

THE MINISTER (INFORMATION)
SOUTH AFRICAN EMBASSY
LONDON

31 JANUARY 1986

Chairman: Thank you very much for coming to this rather curious press conference which precedes the main one. Sir Geoffrey Howe, the Foreign Secretary, will make a short opening statement and then will take your questions. Sir Geoffrey.

Sir Geoffrey Howe: At the end of this, which is the first ever meeting between the European Community and the front line states, I'm delighted to be able to tell you that we've had very useful and worthwhile discussions.

We've examined...examined exhaustively many aspects of Southern Africa's tragically complex problems. There are no easy solutions and we certainly haven't found them, but together with my Community colleagues I'll have benefited immensely from the many insights gained from exchanges with African ministers both inside and outside the meeting.

Our ways have been illuminated in particular by the humanity and wisdom of President Kaunda whom I look forward to meeting again later today. We're all very grateful to him and to Professor Gombe^a for the hospitable and efficient way in which the conference has been organised.

At the core of our discussions has been South Africa. From the rich diversity of 18 nations we've found unity around the following propositions - that apartheid must go, that it must go soon and that it must go in reality not just in name. It's against those bench marks that President Botha's latest proposals must be judged.

The first opinion has to be that while they reflect some awareness of the need for change, and here credit should be given where credit is due, they fall well short of what is required; we need to see how the changes foreshadowed will be implemented in practice. Naturally there

Report No. 16697Continuation No. 2

are differences of opinion about the most effective means of sustaining pressure to end apartheid and to bring independence to Namibia and peace to the region generally.

The British view is that it would be unpardonable to succumb to a fatalism that abandons the solution of Southern Africa's problems to force of arms. We cannot allow the wheel of violence to spin out of control.

Against the odds we have therefore to press the case with unflagging vigour for dialogue and peaceful change. That's why we attach such importance to the forthcoming mission of the Eminent Persons Group, established in Nassau last year at the Commonwealth Conference. That's why I decided that one of my officials should talk to the ANC to convey a message of peace, to argue against violence and to press the case for dialogue. Britain believes in opening channels of influence, not closing them through boycotts.

Perhaps the most significant insight from this meeting is the shared perception that there is a choice for South Africa, between, on the one hand, a further descent into violence, and on the other, towards reconciliation of the races. Britain together with its Community partners will do all in its power to see that the right choice is made.

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Report No. 16697

Page 3

Reporter: Sir Geoffrey, what did you..what did you..what did your official gather from the ANC in response to your point of view?

Sir Geoffrey: Well, I don't make a habit of disclosing the outcome of discussions of that kind in any detail, particularly when it's the first contact of that kind, but obviously they took the opportunity of putting across their point of view, of the conditions to which they attached importance, if there was to be progress towards dialogue in South Africa. We took the opportunity, as I said in my statement, of emphasising our view that violence stands in the way of dialogue, and that dialogue is necessary for the prospect of reconciliation there. We also emphasised the importance that we attach, together with all our Commonwealth partners, to the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group, and they indicated that they too were prepared to give that group a chance, which I think is important.

Reporter: When they said..sorry, Clark, Daily Telegraph.. they're prepared to give it a chance, was there any debate about the possibility of a truce in their arms struggle?

Sir Geoffrey: We would not, in a first contact of this kind anyway, I think, begin discussing specific proposals in the context of the Commonwealth Group, because we're at great pains to emphasise that the Commonwealth Group is a Commonwealth initiative proceeding under its own steam and under its own guidance.

Reporter:.....made quite a strong point about the non.. the European non-support of certain armed groups in the region. (Remainder of question inaudible).

Sir Geoffrey: Well, I've told them precisely the opposite.

We can't prevent Mr. Zisimbe* coming to Britain as a private citizen, but if he does do that he certainly won't come to be received by the British Government and I don't know where the impression has come abroad that that would happen. It certainly will not happen.

P. Gregson: Sir Geoffrey, as you say this is a ... Peter Gregson of Reuters, this is the first conference... the first meeting of its kind between Europe and the front line states, could you briefly say what you think you got out of it, how you see it going and do you see an impetus coming from this to put further pressure on South Africa or ...

Sir Geoffrey: I think actually it may sound an oddly naive thing to say but I think that a conference of this kind, which is not, as it were, assembled under some urgent, instant, decision-taking timetable, does give a real opportunity for the different perceptions of... the proceedings are characterised much more by the style of the European Community, soaking as it were an informal exchange of views, or by Commonwealth conferences at their best, so there was a great deal of real discussion and exchange of views and very little formal speech-making, and I think that it has helped everyone concerned, to recognise the sincerity of the commitment to change in South Africa and to understand the reasons which underlie our difference of approach and I think that it has enlarged the scope for dialogue to have a chance. I don't want to sound starry-eyed at all, but I think that the sincerity with which we pressed the case for dialogue, built on the need for dialogue in South Africa, if South Africa itself is to make the changes that are necessary. I think that that's a thought that has matured in the conference.

Reporter: ... Talking to delegates and participants over the last 24 hours, the conference .. this meeting has been portrayed as sending a signal to Pretoria by its very ..(interference).. South Africa's got a classic track record as being deaf, dumb and blind to diplomatic

Report No. 16697

Page 5.

signals - what .. how do you think this might make ... might be a different one, and how might it be received in Pretoria?

Sir Geoffrey: I'm always reluctant to attach specific importance to specific signals and specific instant responses, I think that the whole process of promoting change in South Africa is a continuous process, in which all kinds of occasions and arguments have their different parts to play. I think the fact that we were able here to discuss our responses to President Botha's speech last week, the fact that I was able to draw attention to some of its positive aspects, and yet to underline the need to see how the changes foreshadowed are going to be implemented, I think all that has helped to strengthen the fragile framework in which understanding can grow.

Reporter: ... Sir Geoffrey, the different members of the African Delegation and even some Europeans, said that Britain was a bit isolated in its position and ... in other words were generally being stubborn in avoiding the strongly worded communique and a few other measures such as setting a time limit before action could be taken - would you say that during this meeting Britain's position in regard to those issues has changed somewhat?

Sir Geoffrey: Well, I think that it's an agreeable change that your question should come in the form of Britain .. being a bit isolated. The tendency always to seek a conclusion which poses Britain in a position of isolation is one which is to be resisted, particularly when there's no evidence to justify it. I think the interesting thing about this is the extent to which we've all been taking part in a pretty common assessment of the outlook, there's been no pressure here for timetables or programmes of change, there's been substantial agreement on the whole process and I think that that underlines the point that Britain's position in our approach to the problems of Southern Africa, is now set firmly in the context of

Report No. 16697

Page 6.

of the Commonwealth Accord and the European Luxembourg Declaration of last September and we've all ... the entire conference here has given its support to the importance of the Commonwealth initiative which I think is the key thing.

Reporter: Both the Commonwealth Accord and the Luxembourg Agreement say that at a certain point - I think the Commonwealth sets a time limit of six months from January and Luxembourg is more open, for other measures to be taken.

I know that the French have said, well, they foresee taking more restrictive measures. Do you think that in line with both those Accords that Britain in a year's time or in a more open framework if there is no progress taken in South Africa could then, at that time, back some kind of restrictive measures?

Sir Geoffrey: Well, there's no change in our position as recorded in the Luxembourg Agreement and in the Commonwealth Agreement. You're quite right in pointing out that both those statements say that the question of measures would fall to be reconsidered at a later stage, and you'll find that's precisely echoed in the communique that comes out from here. There's no change in the position on this.

Reporter: Sir Geoffrey, were you personally disappointed that apart from yourself and two others, most of the European countries sent only (Deputies) and not...

Sir Geoffrey: No, what I've tried to do is to explain that even within the Community itself we don't by any means always get a full turn-out. It's very difficult to get a full team of soldiers on parade and I think it's important that our front line state partners here should not regard the nature of the turn-out as indicating any lack of importance. But I was obviously glad that I was able to come myself; it certainly underlines the importance that we attach to the problems of Southern Africa.

Report No. 16697

Page 7.

Chairman: I think possibly now the Press Conference
may be about to convene, so thank you very much for coming
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Brackets denote indistinct word

* phonetic spelling*

STH AFRICA Relations Pt 2

