

TEXT OF A LETTER DATED 4 MARCH 1986 ADDRESSED BY  
MR R.F. BOTHA TO MR H. VAN DEN BROEK IN RESPONSE TO AN  
AIDE MEMOIRE DATED 3 MARCH HANDED OVER TO MR BOTHA

*Prime Minister  
Underlined passages  
only. I suggest  
COP  
4/3*

Quote

Dear Colleague,

I refer to the Aide Memoire dated 3 March 1986 which was delivered to me on behalf of the Twelve.

The South African Government is concerned at the apparent lack of understanding on the part of the Twelve of the issues involved in South Africa at this time. Surely the Twelve must be in a position to make a realistic assessment of the Soviet Union's designs in Southern Africa.

Although the South African Government has been encouraged by the acknowledgement on the part of individual members of the Twelve of positive elements in the South African State President's address of 31 January 1986, there are nevertheless disturbing aspects in the attitude of the Twelve especially towards the underlying causes of the disturbances in the country.

Once again I appeal to European Governments to take a wider and more balanced view of what is happening in South and Southern Africa. The greater the pressure exerted by Western Governments, the less likely are the chances of getting the leaders of all the communities of South Africa to the conference table and the less likely are we of establishing a new constitutional order in South Africa. The South African Government has clearly stated that "apartheid" is disappearing. We have stated that we accept power-sharing by all the communities up to the highest level of Government (if the Twelve are able to devise "progress" in the abolition of "apartheid" more "significant" than a decision to share power with the other South African communities, we should like to be informed of it). We accept equal treatment for the protection of the fundamental rights of individuals as well as of minorities; the sanctity and indivisibility of law and the just application thereof; equality before the law; protection of human dignity, life, liberty and property of all, regardless of colour, race, creed or religion; a democratic system of Government, which must be negotiated and which must accommodate all legitimate political aspirations of all the South African communities; participation by all South Africans in Government through their elected representatives; sharing of power between all communities but also the devolution of power as far as possible and the protection of minority rights, without one group dominating another.

The South African Government has, moreover, introduced far-reaching measures in the economic, social and political field, removing racial discrimination.

The Twelve must be aware that there are elements both within and outside of South Africa who simply refuse in principle to support a peaceful resolution of the problems facing South Africa. According to these elements it makes no difference what agreement the South African Government and Black Leaders, who seek a peaceful solution, arrive at. They are opposed to a system of Government which does not constitute a one-party State, nationalisation of property and the means of production and a Government-controlled press. What I am trying to point out to you is the fact that it is simply not true that the violence has arisen out of grievances, but has been purposely instigated, inter alia, to draw the support of the West to bring about South Africa's isolation as a part of their strategy to introduce an ideological order into South Africa which would not tolerate fundamental human rights and freedoms.

While we accept that there are grievances which need to be addressed and which must be addressed, the West must come to realise that what is now at stake in South Africa is a struggle between the forces working towards a political order based on accepted norms and standards and forces opposed to a new democratic order.

Negotiation is the key to the resolution of our internal problems. But I see in the Aide Memoire handed to me, no appeal to the other parties in South Africa who must participate, to engage in such negotiations. The South African Government has been striving for months to encourage them to do so and has repealed or amended one discriminatory measure after another in an attempt to secure their cooperation but why should they negotiate when members of the international community such as the Twelve are doing their negotiating for them?

What we need from you now is a moratorium on counter-productive measures. The South African Government urges you to use your influence to persuade the other South African parties to respond to the South African Government's appeals for dialogue in order to come to an agreement on a new constitutional order encompassing norms and values which all civilised nations can support. You know that this is what I have been urging for some time now and you know that this was the thrust of the speech of the South African State President of 31 January 1986.

The situation in Angola gives rise for serious concern. A massive Cuban expeditionary force is, after ten years, still inside that country to sustain the Government in Luanda against the wishes of the people. They are there in contravention of the Alvor Agreement. The Government in Luanda is being

constantly supplied with new and increasingly more sophisticated weapons by the Soviet Union. Over the two years the Soviet Union has injected at least US (dollars) 2 billion in military equipment into Angola. There is evidence that the numbers of Cuban troops are being increased and that Soviet involvement through tactical and other advisors is growing. Moreover, it is expected that a major new offensive, on a larger scale than the offensive of late last year, is being prepared against UNITA's headquarters at Jamba and that it will commence in May/June of this year.

The turn of events in Angola is a matter of great importance for the future of the sub-continent as a whole. There are alternatives available to the leadership in Luanda if they really desire peace. South Africa cannot be held responsible for the civil war which is raging in that country. Surely the Twelve must know that UNITA has been fighting for freedom in Angola for more than twenty years. The Twelve also ought to know that the South African Government complied in good faith with the Lusaka Agreement of 16 February 1984, despite the Angolan Government's inability to contain SWAPO's incursions across the Namibian border.

By pursuing the military option, the MPLA is progressively impoverishing the land and its people. The struggle ultimately is between those who wish to live in peace and who seek progress and those who wish to impose their will and ideology on an unwilling majority. What is required in Angola is reconciliation. This is not an unattainable goal. The strategy which the Soviet Union is following in Angola can no longer be in doubt. They require a subjugated Angola to extend their influence along the west coast of Africa, south and north of Angola. If the Soviet Union succeeds in its aims in Angola, no country in Southern Africa will be safe from Soviet encroachment. The leaders of the countries immediately north of Angola are deeply concerning about this threat. If you do not believe me, why do you not ask them yourselves? Urgent action is required to ward off this threat. I would urge you to use your influence to achieve and end to the new imperialism which threatens us all.

Nonetheless as regards South West Africa/Namibia, in a sincere endeavour to facilitate the establishment of peace and stability in the region, the South African State President intends to make the following statement before a joint sitting of the South African Parliament to be convened on 4 March 1986:

"Just about eight years ago, the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 435 which was intended to provide a definite programme for the independence of South West Africa/Namibia. Those who know the history of this matter know that the fact

that the territory has not yet attained independence cannot be laid at South Africa's door. The last remaining obstacle to the implementation of the international settlement plan is the continuing threat posed to South West Africa/Namibia and to our region by the presence of the Cubans in Angola. Despite the progress which has been made in bilateral discussion since October 1984 when Angola agreed in principle to the withdrawal of the Cubans in conjunction with the implementation of the settlement plan, the Angolan Government has yet to agree to a satisfactory timetable for Cuban withdrawal. The people of South West Africa/Namibia have waited long enough for independence. In a serious attempt to facilitate a resolution of this difficult problem, I propose that 1 August 1986 be set as the date for commencement of implementation of the settlement plan based on United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 (1978), provided a firm and satisfactory agreement can be reached before that date on the withdrawal of the Cubans."

I trust that the European Twelve will find it possible to support this statement as a significant attempt to attain a peaceful resolution of the Namibian/Angolan Imbroglia.

The South African State President also intends to announce the early lifting of the state of emergency in those districts of South Africa where it is still in operation. At the same time he will make a further appeal to discuss a new constitutional order for South Africa. The South African Government trusts that the Twelve will support this appeal clearly and unambiguously.

If the proponents of violence should take advantage of the lifting of the state of emergency and continue their acts of lawlessness and violence, then clearly the South African Government will have to take appropriate steps to protect the lives and property of its citizens even if it means declaring a state of emergency once again in the areas affected.

In addition, the South African Government intends to introduce legislation, in line with legislation elsewhere in the world, to deal with situations of unrest without declaring a state emergency.

Yours sincerely,

R.F. BOTHA

Unquote



## PRESS RELEASE

### STATEMENT BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN STATE PRESIDENT, MR P W BOTHA BEFORE A JOINT SITTING OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN PARLIAMENT ON 4 MARCH 1986

#### SOUTH WEST AFRICA/NAMIBIA

"Just about eight years ago, the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 435 which was intended to provide a definite programme for the Independence of South West Africa/Namibia. Those who know the history of this matter know that the fact that the territory has not yet attained independence cannot be laid at South Africa's door. The last remaining obstacle to the implementation of the international settlement plan is the continuing threat posed to South West Africa/Namibia and to our region by the presence of the Cubans in Angola.

"Despite the progress which has been made in bilateral discussions since October 1984 when Angola agreed in principle to the withdrawal of the Cubans in conjunction with the implementation of the settlement plan, the Angolan Government has yet to agree to a satisfactory timetable for Cuban withdrawal.

"The people of South West Africa/Namibia have waited long enough for independence.

"In a serious attempt to facilitate a resolution of this difficult problem, I propose that 1 August 1986 be set as the date for commencement of implementation of the settlement plan based on United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 (1978), provided a firm and satisfactory agreement can be reached before that date on the withdrawal of the Cubans."

#### STATE OF EMERGENCY

"The violent and lawless circumstances which required the Government last year to declare a State of Emergency in certain magisterial districts is known to honourable members. Sporadic and isolated instances of violence are however still being instigated in different parts of the country. Nevertheless, the situation has improved to the point where I can announce that in the near future, probably this Friday, a proclamation will be issued which will lift the State of Emergency in those magisterial districts where it still applies.

"In order to place the authorities in a position to deal with ongoing instances of unrest without subjecting the population to the inconvenience of a State of Emergency, existing legislation will be reviewed and amendments proposed during the present parliamentary session to provide the authorities with the statutory powers required to protect lives and property effectively. In the meantime, security forces will maintain the order and protection of communities in terms of existing laws.

"I am taking this step in the genuine hope that all South Africans will solve their differences peacefully and show understanding for one another. Violence instigated in peaceful communities does not result in anything constructive and only creates unnecessary suffering.

"For its part the Government is dealing with legitimate grievances with a view to their elimination. In addition, I have also announced a clear basis on which all South Africans who denounce violence can come to the conference table in order to jointly negotiate a new constitutional dispensation for our country.

"I ask all South Africans to respond positively to this appeal. I believe we owe it to ourselves and we owe it to the peaceful process of positive political development in South Africa."

MINISTER (INFORMATION)  
SOUTH AFRICAN EMBASSY  
LONDON

4 MARCH 1986







10 DOWNING STREET  
SW1A 2AA

*From the Private Secretary*

4 March 1986

Thank you for your letter of 4 March enclosing a copy of a letter to the Netherlands Foreign Minister, responding to a European Community Aide Memoire handed to your Foreign Minister on 2 March. I am drawing the letter, as well of course as the announcements relating to the early lifting of the state of emergency and to the date for implementation of Security Council Resolution 435, to the Prime Minister's attention.

(Charles Powell)

L. H. Evans, Esq.

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*South African Embassy*  
LONDON

CCPC

4 March 1986

Mr Charles Powell  
Private Secretary to the  
Prime Minister  
No 10 Downing Street  
LONDON SW1A

*Dear Charles,*

I attach a copy of a letter dated 4 March 1986 addressed to the Dutch Foreign Minister in response to an EEC Aide Memoire handed to the South African Foreign Minister on 2 March.

In view of the importance of the general content of this letter and, in particular, the announcements relating to a date for implementation of Security Council Resolution 435 and the early lifting of the State of Emergency, I wonder if you could bring it to the attention of the Prime Minister.

*Yours sincerely*  
*L H Evans*

L H Evans  
CHARGE D'AFFAIRES a i