





South African Embassy LONDON

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

Jear Charles,

15 May 1986 time Amoto

An important speech, though in the word corded language. You wight note the parager will have whethered. CBP 1875.

As you are aware the Commonwealth Eminent Persons' Group is in Cape Town at present. It has met with the Government. In confidence I can tell you that it will meet with Mr Nelson Mandela tomorrow and then again with Government Ministers including the State President.

This Afternoon the State President made a very important speech which should be read in this context and in that of the prevailing domestic climate.

The Ambassador, Dr Worrall, is attending the meetings in South Africa and has told me that the context of the speech is an important backdrop to the contacts that are taking place at the moment.

He is very satisfied that the Eminent Persons' Group initiative is "on track". We, of course, hope that over the next few days it will continue to be able to make constructive progress.

Chargé d'Affaires a.i.

BEFORE THE PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL IN CAPE TOWN ON 15 MAY 1986 Mr Chairman and members of the Council: The President's Council serves as a symbol of mutual understanding among peace-loving South Africans. Constitutionally, the President's Council has a very important role to play, particularly when Parliament is not unanimous regarding the contents of proposed legislation. For this reason, I deem it appropriate to take this opportunity to speak on a few matter which are of paramount importance to South Africa as a whole. It has become evident to me that disinformation and the propagation of blatant untruths by enemies of South Africa give rise to uncertainty and confusion about the Government's constitutional intentions. In this process the fact that the Government is committed to negotiated reform is exploited. This confusion is also exarbated by continued visits from abroad by official and non- official groups who interfere in South Africa's domestic affairs. Some of these groups are well- intentioned, but the activities of others have only one effect and that is to compound the confusion. To the extend that unsolicited interference increase, increased resistance against confusion and misconceptions will be required of South Africans. We do not want to break off our foreign relations, but the unsolicited interference sometimes reach proportions which undeniably prove that some countries want to conceal their domestic problems behind meddling in our problems. Consequently, there are questions in the minds of South Africans who wish to live together peacefully in this country. Often a false impression is being created that the Governments is failing to maintain and protect that which was built up to the advantage of the country over many generations, as well as that we are on the road of abdication. I reject this fase impression. We will not allow the spiritual and material heritage built up over 300 years to simply fall into the hands of a revolutionary power clique. The powers of stability and responsibility are greater than the forces of disorder. I deem it essential to spell out clearly and explicitly the point of view of the Government in regard to reform and negotiation. I have often stated that the South African Government is committed to peaceful negotiated political and socioeconomic reform, to achieve and maintain stability and progress for the Republic

of South Afirca. We do what we believe to be just and not because we are pressurised to do so. It has become something of a clicke to say that whenever a country experiences a period of reform there is bound to be uncertainty. This is often accompanied by doubt concerning the Government's ability to effectively administer the process of reform and to guarantee and acceptable solution. This uncertainty and doubt are compounded when a Government embarks upon a programme of major reform in the most important fields of human actority. Such uncertainty is in our case increased by forces of intimidation, destruction and revolution. This uncertainty and doubt have, understandably so, induced many people to insist that the Government should be specific, not only as regards the direction of the process of reform, but also as regards the contents of the end result. On the other hand there are people, including many who have consistently demanded meaningful negotiated change, who demand of the Government to issue a declaration of intent. The argument is used that this should be done so as to provide impetus to the negotiating process which must result in such meaningful change. However, many of the people in this category, as well as others who do not belong to this category, have stated that the Government should not be prescriptive in any sense. In addition they require that the agenda for negotiation should be open- ended. Clearly there is a real risk that if the Government should comply with the request for a declaration of intent, it would stand accused of being prescriptive. To complicate matters even further, some people and institutions have laid down certain preconditions which they require to be met even before they enter into a process of negotiation. Others subscribe to political models and concepts that cannot be applied to the South African situation in their classical meaning. Some individuals are attempting to gain support for contemptuous disloyalty to our country in other countries. THE GOVERNMENT As far as the Government is concerned it remains adamant that it is prepared to negotiate with citizens of South Africa, provided that they do not resort to violence as a means of attaining their political and other goals, or call in foreign agencies to support them. The Government is not a minor party in so- called faction fighting.

ccording to the law the Government represents the State. Any reform proposals must be made bearing this in mind. NEGOTIATION Negotiation of necessity implies that participants should accept that not all their requirements are likely to be met; it implies a willingness to listen, to discuss and seek solutions. But these solutions will result from deliberations by South Africans in the interest of South Africans. Essentially it is a process of give and take during which people are required, on the one hand, to scale down their demands and, on the other, to be lenient when required to make concessions to satisfy reasonable demands. It is in this spirit that the Government approaches the process of negotiation and I want to appeal to all who have made the choice for peacefull and constitutional change, to display a similar disposition. Having said this, I am constrained to decline requests to bespecific about the end product precisely because it must be a product of negotition. We are at present dealing in Parliament with a number of measures which are the results of such negotiation. I referred to these measures during my opening address of Parliament as well as during the discussions on the budget vote of the Sate President. I personally and my Government have gone very far to meet the legitimate demands of various South African communities. But excessive demands can very easily lead to excessive reactions. Im am not at the disposal of people who make such excesive demands. NORMS AND VALUES Consequently, in the interest of South Africa and our various population groups, I want to spell out emphatically certain important principles which are not negotiable. FIRSTLY, whatever negotiated solutions we can produce will have to be implemented by Parliament since negotiated reform must be implemented constitutionally. This includes the possibility of general elections or a referendum. In the case of drastic deviation from already accepted policies. SECONDLY, the Government subscribes to certain fundamental norm and values by which it will be guided throughout the process of negotiation in the belief that a negotiated settlement is only possible within the parameters of these norms and values. It will also be guided by these norms and values while it

cntinues to govern the country as a civilised state. These normsand values include the following which will have to be intrenched in any new dispensation: The realisation of the democratic ideal since it is the Government's accepted principle that only democratic institutions can meet he demands of justice and fairness. This means that a democratic dispension of government which must accommodate the legitimate political aspirations of all South Africa's communities must be designd and implemented. Such a dispensation must take cognisance of and reflect the multi- cultural nature of the South African society and must provide for visible and effective protection of minority groups and the rights against domination and for self- determination for such groups and communities. South Africa is a country of miniorities and a multicultural societ. Its diversity is a fact that must be accepted. The Government is committed to devise such democratic solutions in co- operation with South Africans who are also committed to peacefull and democratic solutions and who reject violence as a means of achieving political goals. In this respect it in the Government's conviction that only purposeful broadening of democracy of the South African society at large and accompaning socioceconomic reform can ensure lasting peace and stability. Adherence to Christian values and civilised norms with recognition and protection of freedom of faith and worship. This principle is a cornerstone of our existece as a civilised state. Maintenance of the sovereignty and the integrity of the Republic of South Africa. This requires well diciplined and suitably equipped Security Forces. It means that South Africa must be able to protect the integrity of its borders, as well as to defend its peoples against internationally organised terrorism and to maintain law and order. Nobody must underestimate our determination in this egard. A a rgional power in Southern Africa, this is our indisputable duty. The sanctity and indivisibility of law and the just application therof, the independence of the judiciary and the equality of all under the law. Liberty as a cornerstone of true democracy which must manifest itself on different levels.

Firstly, on the personal and individual level which also implies respect for and the protection of the human dignity, life and property of all. Secondly, liberty on the group and community level which implies respect for and the promotion and protection of the right to elf-determination of population groups and peoples. Thirdly, liberty on the state and national level to safeguard the integrity and freedom of the country and to secure the protection of our citizens through the application of civilised standards of justice, order and security. True democracy for the Republic of South Africa and all it's peoples, individually and collectively, must recognise each of these components of freedom since the absence of such recognition will diminish, not increase, the freedom of our peoples. Purtberance of private enterprise and effective competition as well as confidence in our economy. Elimination of discrimination implying selection for unfavourable treatment or prejudicial action on the basis of race, cultural affiliation or religious conviction. National Council In view of these preconditions for peaceful negotiation and co-existence, I announced that I wantto institute a National Council. I envisage that the purpose of the Council could be the following: to provide opportunity for participation in the planning and preparation of a new constitutional dispensation: to provide a say to Black South Africans in governmental processes on an interim basis; and to further sound relations among all and the human dignity, rights and freedoms of all. The Bill which makes this Council possible has now been drawn up and it will shortly be published y the Minister concerned for comment, before it is submitted to Parliament for discussion. Appeal I wish to make an urgent appeal to all responsible South Africans to now assist the Government in a balanced way and with great responsibility, to place and keep South Africa on the road to progress, stability and security. This can only be effected by means of constitutional

action. Radicalism from whichever quarter cannot make a contribution. I would however shirk my responsibility if I do not state clearly that the Governmen is adament to maintain order. People who perpetrate violence must take note that if they do not renounce violence, they will inevitably face the full power at the disposal of the State, which has not nearly been applied to the full-In future there must be no misunderstanding about this. It is my deepest wish that senseless violence be abandoned now. I plead with the public media to assist in this regard. There is no reason for panic, but there is reason for responsible action. South Africa is worth much more than those who play with its highest interests in a reckless manner. Let us each consider our next step. Let us ensure orderly co-existence. Let us build a new South Africa. EINE

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From the Private Secretary

15 May 1986

SOUTH AFRICA

I enclose a copy of a letter which
I have received from the South African Charge
d'Affaires, covering a copy of President
Botha's speech this afternoon.

(Charles Powell)

Colin Budd, Esq., Foreign and Commonwealth Office.