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PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. 795/86

CONFIDENTIAL
FM CAPE TOWN
TO DESKBY 201730Z FCO
TELNO 283
OF 201535Z MAY 86

MIPT : SOUTH AFRICAN RAIDS : MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT BOTHA

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT :

BEGINS

DEAR PRIME MINISTER

YOU WILL RECALL THAT I WROTE TO YOU ON 29 APRIL 1986 ABOUT TWO ISSUES WHICH REMAIN A SOURCE OF CONSIDERABLE CONCERN TO ME AND MY GOVERNMENT. THE FIRST RELATED TO THE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT OF A CONTINUATION OF THE PERPETRATION OF VIOLENCE ACCOMPANYING THE DEMAND FOR MR MANDELA'S RELEASE OR A SUBSEQUENT RESURGENCE OF GENERAL VIOLENCE IN THE COUNTRY AS A FORM OF PRESSURE IN THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS. I SAID THAT NOT ONLY THE ANC BUT OTHER PARTIES AS WELL, OR ELEMENTS WITHIN THEM, WERE ENGAGED IN A CAMPAIGN OF VIOLENCE AND THAT WE NEEDED TO BE SATISFIED THAT AT LEAST THEIR LEADERSHIP AS WELL AS THE ANC LEADERSHIP WOULD HONOUR COMMITMENTS TO END THEIR VIOLENCE.

I REALISE THAT IN EXCHANGES WITH YOUR AND OTHER GOVERNMENTS, WE HAVE ALTERNATED THE USE OF WORDS SUCH AS 'SUSPEND', 'END', AND 'CESSATION OF' IN RELATION TO 'VIOLENCE'. IT IS NOT, TO MY MIND, THE CHOICE OF A PARTICULAR WORD BUT THE CONCEPT OF TERMINATING VIOLENCE AS A MEANS OF ACHIEVING POLITICAL OBJECTIVES WHICH IS RELEVANT. I AM SURE THAT YOU COULD NO MORE SUPPORT THE NOTION THAT VIOLENCE SHOULD BE DISCONTINUED ONLY FOR AS LONG AS NEGOTIATIONS

TAKE PLACE, THAN I ASSUME YOU COULD ACCEPT THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT WOULD REINSTITUTE 'APARTHEID' UNLESS THE NEGOTIATIONS WERE CONCLUDED TO ITS SATISFACTION.

MY GOVERNMENT BELIEVES THAT UNACCEPTABLE PRINCIPLES SHOULD NOT BE ADVANCED AS CONDITIONS FOR DISCUSSIONS. TO USE VIOLENCE OR THE THREAT OF VIOLENCE AS A BARGAINING COUNTER IS UNACCEPTABLE TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT.

I INTIMATED PREVIOUSLY THAT I DID NOT WANT TO FIND MYSELF IN A SITUATION OF HAVING TO REINSTATE MEASURES IN ORDER TO CONTROL A POSSIBLE RESURGENCE OF VIOLENCE AND DISCOVER, AS YOU ACKNOWLEDGE MIGHT HAPPEN, THAT SOME GOVERNMENTS WOULD SEE SUCH A DEVELOPMENT, DESPITE OUR ACTING IN GOOD FAITH AND WITHIN REASON, AS AN EXCUSE FOR FURTHER PUNITIVE MEASURES.

THE OTHER MATTER WAS THAT OF THE AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE ANC. I SAID THAT THERE WAS AN URGENT NEED FOR GOVERNMENTS WHICH SHARED YOUR VIEWS OF TERRORISM PUBLICLY TO DENOUNCE THE ANC AND I URGED THE HEADS OF GOVERNMENT PRESENT AT THE SUMMIT MEETING IN TOKYO TO REJECT VIOLENCE AS A MEANS OF ACHIEVING POLITICAL OBJECTIVES.

TO DATE I HAVE RECEIVED NO RESPONSE FROM YOU ON THESE TWO ISSUES.

IN THE MEANTIME FURTHER EVIDENCE HAS BEEN PRODUCED INDICATING THAT CERTAIN COUNTRIES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA CONTINUE TO HARBOUR TERRORISTS. THESE ARE THE ELEMENTS THAT ARE NOT INTERESTED IN ANY REFORM. THEY ARE NOT INTERESTED IN MY GOVERNMENT'S STATED INTENTION TO REMOVE RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND MY GOVERNMENT'S COMMITMENT TO POWER SHARING.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN SECURITY FORCES WERE LEFT WITH NO OPTION BUT TO ATTACK THE TERRORIST OPERATIONAL CENTRE AND TERRORIST TRANSIT FACILITY IN HARARE, A TERRORIST TRANSIT FACILITY IN BOTSWANA AND A TERRORIST OPERATIONAL CENTRE NEAR LUSAKA IN ZAMBIA.

REPRESENTATIONS HAVE BEEN MADE TO THE GOVERNMENTS CONCERNED TO CURTAIL THE ACTIVITIES OF THE ANC INSIDE THEIR TERRITORIES AND IN PARTICULAR THE PLANNING AND EXECUTION OF VIOLENCE FROM THEIR TERRITORIES. THEY WERE REQUESTED TO TAKE APPROPRIATE MEASURES TO PREVENT THE INFILTRATION OF TERRORISTS FROM THEIR TERRITORIES. THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT HAS ISSUED FREQUENT WARNINGS THAT IT WILL HAVE TO TAKE ACTION IF GOVERNMENTS TOLERATE THE HARBOURING OF TERRORISTS ENGAGED IN VIOLENT ACTIONS AGAINST CIVILIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

ON 31 JANUARY THIS YEAR, I PROPOSED THAT THE COUNTRIES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA GIVE URGENT AND SERIOUS CONSIDERATION TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PERMANENT JOINT MECHANISM FOR DEALING WITH MATTERS OF SECURITY, PARTICULARLY THREATS TO PEACE AND PROSPERITY IN OUR SUB-CONTINENT.

MY GOVERNMENT STANDS READY TO COME TO AN UNDERSTANDING WITH ALL OUR NEIGHBOURS IN REGARD TO THE PROHIBITION OF SUPPORT FOR CROSS-BORDER VIOLENCE OR THE PLANNING OF SUCH VIOLENCE.

IT CANNOT BE EXPECTED OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT TO CONTINUE WITH ITS REFORM PROCESS WHILE TERRORIST FORCES REMAIN ADAMANT THAT THEY ARE NOT INTERESTED IN A NEGOTIATING PROCESS BUT WILL CONTINUE WITH THEIR VIOLENCE UNTIL POWER IS HANDED OVER TO THEM IN ORDER THAT THEY CAN RULE THE COUNTRY ON THE BASIS OF NORMS AND STANDARDS WHICH NO ONE IN THE FREE WORLD CAN SUPPORT AND WE IN SOUTH AFRICA DO NOT ACCEPT.

WHEN YOU ISSUED YOUR STATEMENT IN TOKYO ON THE NECESSITY TO COMBAT ALL FORMS OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM, MY GOVERNMENT SUBSCRIBED TO YOUR VIEWS AND MEASURES. WE BELIEVE THAT OUR ACTIONS ARE IN LINE WITH YOUR PROPOSALS TO END THE EVIL OF TERRORISM.

I TRUST YOU WILL BE ABLE TO CONDEMN THE USE OF VIOLENCE AS A MEANS OF ACHIEVING POLITICAL OBJECTIVES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

YOURS SINCERELY
P W BOTHA

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MOBERLY

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CFPOAN 0496

NNNN

CONFIDENTIAL

FM CAPE TOWN

TO DESKBY 201730Z FCO

TELNO 283

OF 201535Z MAY 86

CC/PC

please keep in file No 10 T'd below

MIPT : SOUTH AFRICAN RAIDS : MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT BOTHA

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT :

BEGINS

A most concerning message. COP 2075.

DEAR PRIME MINISTER

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[Complete non sense] TO DATE I HAVE RECEIVED NO RESPONSE FROM YOU ON THESE TWO ISSUES.

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YOURS SINCERELY
P W BOTHA

ENDS

MOBERLY

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CFPOAN 0496

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{ PASSED OTHER SUCS }

CONFIDENTIAL



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

29 May 1986

Dear Charles

EDB 29/5

Message from President Botha to the
Prime Minister

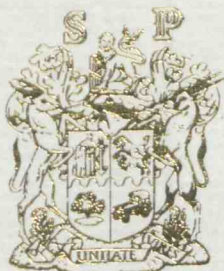
/ Cape Town telegram no 283 of 20 May contained the text of President Botha's letter of 19 May to the Prime Minister. I now enclose the signed original of the letter.

Done over
R N Culshaw

(R N Culshaw)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
PS/10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL



Tuynhuys
Cape Town

19 May 1986

Dear Prime Minister

You will recall that I wrote to you on 29 April 1986 about two issues which remain a source of considerable concern to me and my Government. The first related to the implications for the South African Government of a continuation of the perpetration of violence accompanying the demand for Mr Mandela's release or a subsequent resurgence of general violence in the country as a form of pressure in the negotiating process. I said that not only the ANC but other parties as well, or elements within them, were engaged in a campaign of violence and that we needed to be satisfied that at least their leadership as well as the ANC leadership would honour commitments to end their violence.

I realise that in exchanges with your and other governments, we have alternated the use of words such as "suspend", "end", and "cessation of" in relation to "violence". It is not, to my mind, the choice of a particular word but the concept of terminating violence as a means of achieving political objectives which is relevant. I am sure that you could no more support the notion that violence should be discontinued only for as long as negotiations take place, than I assume you could accept that the South African

Government would re-institute "apartheid" unless the negotiations were concluded to its satisfaction.

My Government believes that unacceptable principles should not be advanced as conditions for discussions. To use violence or the threat of violence as a bargaining counter is unacceptable to the South African Government.

I intimated previously that I did not want to find myself in a situation of having to reinstate measures in order to control a possible resurgence of violence and discover, as you acknowledge might happen, that some Governments would see such a development, despite our acting in good faith and within reason, as an excuse for further punitive measures.

The other matter was that of the aims and objectives of the ANC. I said that there was an urgent need for Governments which shared your views of terrorism publicly to denounce the ANC and I urged the Heads of Government present at the Summit Meeting at Tokyo to reject violence as a means of achieving political objectives.

To date I have received no response from you on these two issues.

In the meantime further evidence has been produced indicating that certain countries in Southern Africa continue to harbour terrorists. These are the elements that are not interested in any reform. They are not interested in my Government's stated intention to remove racial discrimination and my Government's commitment to power sharing.

The South African Security Forces were left with no option but to attack the terrorist operational centre and terrorist transit facility in Harare, a terrorist transit facility in Botswana and a terrorist operational centre near Lusaka in Zambia.

Representations have been made to the Governments concerned to curtail the activities of the ANC inside their territories and in particular the planning and execution of violence from their territories. They were requested to take appropriate measures to prevent the infiltration of terrorists from their territories. The South African Government has issued frequent warnings that it will have to take action if Governments tolerate the harbouring of terrorists engaged in violent actions against civilians in South Africa.

On 31 January this year, I proposed publicly that the countries of Southern Africa give urgent and serious consideration to the establishment of a permanent joint mechanism for dealing with matters of security, particularly threats to peace and prosperity in our sub-continent.

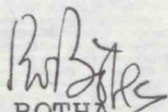
My Government stands ready to come to an understanding with all our neighbours in regard to the prohibition of support for cross-border violence or the planning of such violence.

It cannot be expected of the South African Government to continue with its reform process while terrorist forces remain adamant that they are not interested in a negotiating process but will continue with their violence until power is handed over to them in order that they can rule the country on the basis of norms and standards which no one in the free world can support and we in South Africa do not accept.

When you issued your statement in Tokyo on the necessity to combat all forms of international terrorism, my Government subscribed to your views and measures. We believe that our actions are in line with your proposals to end the evil of terrorism.

I trust that you will be able to condemn the use of violence as a means of achieving political objectives in Southern Africa.

Yours sincerely


P W BOTHA
STATE PRESIDENT OF THE
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

The Right Hon Margaret Thatcher, MP
Prime Minister
10 Downing Street
LONDON

S. AFRICA

RELATIONS

P 7 9

