

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL
 FM PRETORIA
 TO DESKBY 071730Z FCO
 TELNO 225
 OF 071530Z AUGUST 1986
 INFO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON

MT

WASHINGTON TELNO 2052

US/SOUTH AFRICA: MESSAGE FROM P W BOTHA

1. THE SUMMARISED VERSION OF THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER DOES NOT SUGGEST TO ME MAJOR NEW THINKING. THE SOUTH AFRICANS HAVE OF COURSE PICKED UP THE FORMULA MENTIONED BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE, WITH THEIR PREFERENCE FOR ABANDONING VIOLENCE AS ALREADY INDICATED TO US PRIVATELY BY PIK BOTHA AND HIRSCHBERG. THEY ALSO APPEAR TO HAVE RESURRECTED THE IDEA OF SOME ENDORSEMENT OF BASIC PRINCIPLES WHICH THEY TRIED UNSUCCESSFULLY ON WESTERN LEADERS JUST BEFORE HE TOKYO SUMMIT.

2. I HAVE BEEN STRUCK BY THE BELIEF PREVALENT AMONG AFRIKANERS AND MANY OTHER WHITES THAT THE WEST WOULD BE GLAD TO SEE THE ANC INSTALLED IN POWER TO THE VIRTUAL EXCLUSION OF WHITES. NO MATTER HOW MISLEADING A DESCRIPTION OF OUR OWN POSITION THIS MAYBE, IT IS A POWERFUL ARGUMENT HERE WHICH IS DELIBERATELY PLAYED UP BY HARDLINERS AGAINST DIALOGUE OF THE KIND BEING URGED BY THE WEST.

3. WE HAVE HEARD THE ARGUMENT BEFORE FROM THE GOVERNMENT. BUT I THINK WE HAVE TO TAKE IT AS A REAL HANG-UP ON THE PART OF WHITES. THEY CANNOT SEE ANY PROSPECT OF DIALOGUE AT THIS STAGE LEADING TO AN ACCEPTABLE COMPROMISE. IT FOLLOWS THAT THERE IS NOTHING IN THEIR VIEW TO BE GAINED BY EMBARKING ON THE PROCESS.

4. IF IT IS TRUE THAT MOST WHITES BELIEVE THAT THE WEST IS NOT INTERESTED IN ANY STOPPING POINT SHORT OF ONE MAN ONE VOTE IN A UNITARY STATE, IT WOULD PRESUMABLY MAKE DIALOGUE SEEM LESS OF A RISK FOR THEM IF THEY THOUGHT THAT THE ANC WERE NOT BEING LEFT FREE TO GET AWAY WITH EXTREME DEMANDS AT THE CONFERENCE TABLE. THIS IS WHERE THEIR IDEA COMES IN OF INVITING WESTERN POWERS TO LAY DOWN PRINCIPLES IN ADVANCE.

5. OF COURSE THE IDEA MAY WELL BE A NON-STARTER IN TERMS OF INTERNATIONAL REACTION AND IN OTHER WAYS. MOREOVER A SET OF PRINCIPLES WOULD STILL LEAVE THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT FAR SHORT OF ANY POSITION WHICH BLACKS WOULD BE LIKELY TO ACCEPT IN NEGOTIATION. THE SUBSTANTIVE GAP MAY BE TOO WIDE TO CLOSE. MY POINT IS MERELY TO FATHOM HWHY THE GOVERNMENT KEEP COMING BACK TO THE QUESTION OF PRINCIPLES. IN MY VIEW IT INDICATES A GENUINE BLOCKAGE ABOUT THE IMPLICATIONS OF ACCEPTING OUR CASE ON RELEASING MANDELA, UNBANNING THE ANC AND EMBARKING ON DIALOGUE.

CONFIDENTIAL

/THEY

CONFIDENTIAL

THEY CANNOT SEE ANY WAY AT PRESENT OF AVOIDING A DIALOGUE PROVING TO BE A SLIPPERY SLOPE WHICH WOULD END IN THE ANC SIMPLY TAKING OVER POWER.

6. P W BOTHA'S PUBLIC OUTBURST AT THE END OF YOUR VISIT ALSO REFLECTED SOME CENTRAL IF FAMILIAR STANDS IN WHITE (PARTICULARLY AFRIKANER) THINKING WHICH IS WHY MOST WHITES SUPPORTED THE SUBSTANCE IF NOT THE MANNER OF HIS REMARKS:

(A) FIRST, ANGER AT OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE. THERE IS A DEEP SENSE OF RESENTMENT HERE AT EVER-MOUNTING FOREIGN PRESSURE WHICH THE GOVERNMENT HAVE CONVINCED THEMSELVES ACTUALLY MAKES IT HARDER TO ACHIEVE PROGRESS WITH THE BLACK COMMUNITY. AFRIKANER PRIDE HAS BEEN CUT TO THE QUICK. THE RESULT WILL BE INCREASED INTRANSIGENCE. (COMPARE 1977 WHEN VORSTER WON AN ELECTION BY DRUMMING UP WHITE SOLIDARITY AGAINST OUTSIDE PRESSURES). PIK BOTHA COMPLAINED TO YOU OF A TOTAL LACK OF UNDERSTANDING BY THE OUTSIDE WORLD. IN OUR OWN CASE, THE PROBLEM IS COMPOUNDED BY THE AGE-OLD AFRIKANER DISTRUST OF BRITAIN. THE VERY CLOSENESS OF OUR LINKS MAKES IT ALL THE HARDER FOR THEM TO TAKE ADVICE FROM US.

(B) SECONDLY, FEAR OF A DIALOGUE WHICH THEY THINK THEY ARE BOUND TO LOSE. THIS IS THE CONCERN I HAVE TRIED TO DESCRIBE ABOVE. HARDLINERS AND MIDDLE-OF-THE-ROADERS ALIKE SHARE A CONVICTION THAT NOBODY IS PREPARED TO EVEN TRY AND PERSUADE THE ANC NOT TO PRESS ITS DEMANDS TO THE POINT OF WHITE CAPITULATION. HENCE PIK BOTHA'S REFERENCE AT HIS 5 AUGUST PRESS CONFERENCE TO PRESSURE FROM THE WEST INEVITABLY CONTINUING EVEN AFTER THE ANC HAD BEEN UNBANNED AND POLITICAL PRISONERS FREED. IT WOULD BE A CASE OF "GIVE THEM WHAT THEY WANT OR MORE SANCTIONS WILL FOLLOW". PARTLY THIS IS A BELIEF THAT THE WEST IS ALWAYS MOVING THE GOALPOSTS, PARTLY THE FEAR OF BEING SWEEP AWAY BY ANC DEMANDS FOR OUTRIGHT TRANSFER OF POWER.

7. NEVERTHELESS I BELIEVE THE GOVERNMENT COULD STILL RELEASE MANDELA ON THEIR OWN TIMING. THEY WERE DETERMINED NOT TO DO SO UNDER THREAT OF SANCTIONS. FOLLOWING DECISIONS AT THE LONDON REVIEW CONFERENCE THEY WILL REMAIN EQUALLY UNWILLING TO MAKE ANY EARLY MOVE OVER MANDELA. THEY WILL WISH TO HAVE THE NATIONAL PARTY CONGRESSES BEHIND THEM, WHERE IN THE COMING WEEKS THEY ARE LIKELY TO SEEK RENEWED PARTY SUPPORT FOR THE GOVERNMENT'S OWN BRAND OF REFORM AND DIALOGUE BASED ON POWER-SHARING.

8. AS ALWAYS THE GOVERNMENT WILL BE LOOKING OVER THEIR SHOULDERS MUCH OF THE TIME AT THE TENDENCY OF THEIR SUPPORTERS TO DRIFT TO THE RIGHT. CONTINUING UNREST WILL BE ANOTHER MAJOR FACTOR IN THEIR CALCULATIONS. THEY HAVE BEGUN TO CLAIM A FALLING OFF IN VIOLENCE AND CASUALTIES AS A RESULT OF EMERGENCY MEASURES. BUT THE UNREST COULD QUICKLY FLARE UP AGAIN. RELEASING MANDELA WHILE SIGNIFICANT VIOLENCE WAS CONTINUING WOULD BE ALMOST INCONCEIVABLE. SO THIS MOVE LOOKS SOME WAY HEAD, IF AT ALL.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

9. I FIND IT HARD TO IMAGINE THE GOVERNMENT GOING FURTHER AND UNBANNING THE ANC ITSELF. IN ANY CASE THIS WOULD ONLY MAKE SENSE IF THE GOVERNMENT WERE TO MAKE A DASH FOR DIALOGUE. YET THEY HAVE PERSUADED THEMSELVES NOT ONLY THAT THE ANC IS COMMUNIST-DOMINATED BUT THAT IT HAS NOT THE SLIGHTEST INTEREST IN COMPROMISE. I WAS STRUCK BY THE BROEDERBOND CHAIRMAN TELLING THE SECRETARY OF STATE THAT P W BOTHA HAS TWO BLOCKAGES: COMMUNISM AND USE OF VIOLENCE FOR POLITICAL ENDS.

10. DE LANGE MIGHT HAVE ADDED A THIRD: P W BOTHA'S DETERMINATION TO KEEP HIS PARTY AND PEOPLE TOGETHER. WHY SHOULD THE PRESIDENT SOLDIER ON, HAVING BEGUN THE PROCESS OF CHANGE FOR SUCH POOR REWARD ? I SUGGEST PART OF THE ANSWER IS A WISH TO SECURE MORE SOLID RESULTS BEFORE HE RETIRES. BUT HE PROBABLY ALSO CALCULATES THAT A SUCCESSION STRUGGLE NOW COULD SPLIT THE NATIONAL PARTY - THE VERY LAST THING HE WANTS. MEANWHILE HIS INSTINCTS REMAIN WITH THE MAJORITY OF HIS CABINET WHO DO NOT INTEND TO BE RUSHED. SO THE MIXTURE REMAINS SLOW AND STEADY, OWN STYLE, OWN TIMING. A LONG PERIOD OF ATTRITION LIES AHEAD.

11. AGAINST THIS ASSESSMENT IT SEEMS UNLIKELY THAT THE LETTER TO PRESIDENT REAGAN INDICATES ANY REAL FLEXIBILITY IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT'S POSITION UPON WHICH WE OR THE AMERICANS COULD HOPE TO BUILD MUCH.

MOBERLY

YYYY

POHPAN 6956

LIMITED

SAFD

NAD

CCD

ECD(E)

NEWS D.

INFO D.

PS

PS/LADY YOUNG

PS/MRS CHALKER.

PS/AUS

MR THOMAS

MR FERGUSSON

MR REEVE

COPIES TO:

ASSESSMENTS STAFF

CABINET OFFICE

PS/NO 10 DOWNING ST.

³
CONFIDENTIAL

2

Free Marks
Mr Botma
to President
Reagan

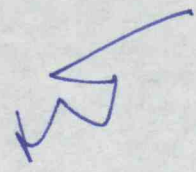
SECRET

Ref to letter No 2052

cc PS
PS/ Mrs Chalker
Mr. Revere
Mr Ferguson

2

No 10 Downing St.



DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

THANK YOU FOR YOUR LETTER, THE TEXT OF WHICH YOUR EMBASSY CONVEYED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS LATE ON THE 22ND JULY 1986.

LET ME SAY AT THE OUTSET THAT I KNOW THAT YOU ARE UNDER TREMENDOUS PRESSURE FROM ALL SIDES, INCLUDING YOUR OWN PARTY, TO STEP UP ACTION AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA AS A MEANS OF COERCING THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT INTO, WHAT IS COMMONLY TERMED, 'ENDING APARTHEID'. I WANT YOU ALSO TO KNOW THAT WE RESPECT YOU FOR THE STAND WHICH YOU HAVE TAKEN AGAINST SANCTIONS IN THE FACE OF THAT PRESSURE. YOUR SPEECH ON 22 JULY, ALTHOUGH I DISAGREE WITH CERTAIN SECTIONS IN IT, DISPLAYED A REALISM WHICH HAS BEEN TRAGICALLY LACKING IN THE PUBLIC PRONOUNCEMENTS OF SO MANY WESTERN LEADERS, MRS. THATCHER AND CHANCELLOR KOHL EXCLUDED.

THERE IS SO MUCH IN THAT SPEECH WITH WHICH I AM IN GENERAL AGREEMENT THAT I CAN ONLY STAND PERPLEXED AS TO WHY THERE SHOULD BE SUCH A GULF BETWEEN US. WHY THIS GULF? IS IT DUE TO MISPERCEPTIONS, MISUNDERSTANDINGS, DISBELIEF? WE ARE COMMITTED TO ENDING WHAT THE WORLD PERCEIVES AS 'APARTHEID'. WHY THE INSISTENCE ON THIS COURSE AS IF WE ARE NOT COMMITTED TO IT? SURELY THE LIST OF IMPORTANT AREAS OF REFORM ALREADY CARRIED OUT OUGHT TO CONVINCCE REASONABLE LEADERS OF MY GOVERNMENT'S INTENTION TO MOVE AHEAD WITH OUR REFORM PROGRAMME.

WE ARE COMMITTED TO PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS OR DIALOGUE AS THE MEANS OF CONSTRUCTING A POLITICAL SYSTEM IN WHICH ALL OUR COMMUNITIES, BLACK, WHITE, COLORED AND ASIAN, WILL PARTICIPATE. IN WHICH ALL WILL HAVE A VOICE, IN WHICH NO SINGLE COMMUNITY OR GROUP WILL 'MONOPOLIZE THE REINS OF POLITICAL POWER'. A POLITICAL SYSTEM THAT RESTS UPON THE CONSENT OF THE MAJORITY - WHERE THE RIGHTS OF MINORITIES AND INDIVIDUALS ARE PROTECTED BY LAW. WHY THE INSISTENCE ON NEGOTIATIONS FOR ACHIEVING SUCH A SYSTEM AS IF WE ARE NOT ALREADY COMMITTED TO IT?

WHY THE INSISTENCE, EXPRESSED BY OTHER WESTERN LEADERS AS WELL, THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT HAS THE RESPONSIBILITY TO INITIATE DIALOGUE TO BRING ALL THIS ABOUT AS IF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT HAS NOT ALREADY TAKEN THE INITIATIVE? WE HAVE, ON NUMEROUS OCCASIONS.

WE HAVE ESTABLISHED A VARIETY OF FORUMS TO FACILITATE THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATIONS. WE ARE OPEN TO SUGGESTIONS REGARDING OTHER FORUMS. WE HAVE APPEALED TO BLACK LEADERS, CHOSEN BY THE BLACK COMMUNITIES THEMSELVES OR OCCUPYING POSITIONS OF LEADERSHIP IN BLACK INTEREST GROUPS, TO COME FORWARD AND NOT ONLY PARTICIPATE IN NEGOTIATIONS BUT ALSO PARTICIPATE IN THE GOVERNMENTAL PROCESS IN THE TRANSITION STAGE PRECEDING

SECRET

SECRET

AGREEMENT ON A NEW CONSTITUTION. SOME IMPORTANT LEA E
INDEED COME FORWARD. BUT I CANNOT FORCE THOSE WHO DO NOT
VOLUNTARILY COME FORWARD TO AGREE TO NEGOTIATE. SOME ELEMENTS
REMAIN COMMITTED TO VIOLENCE AS A POLITICAL INSTRUMENT AND
REJECT NEGOTIATIONS. THEY ARE ENCOURAGED IN THEIR ATTITUDE BY
THE CAMPAIGN OF ESCALATING SANCTIONS AND THREATS OF SANCTIONS
WHICH GOVERNMENTS ABROAD HAVE EMPLOYED IN THE BELIEF, IT WOULD
SEEM, THAT THIS WOULD SPEED UP THE ACHIEVEMENT OF AN OBJECTIVE
WHICH WE SHARE.

FAR FROM FACILITATING NEGOTIATIONS, THIS PRESSURE IS, IN FACT,
RETARDING THE PROCESS. THE ELEMENTS COMMITTED TO VIOLENCE SEE
THE PRESSURE, RIGHTLY OR WRONGLY, AS BEING DIRECTED AGAINST THE
GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA AND AS SUPPORT FOR THEIR CAUSE. WHY
SHOULD THEY ENGAGE IN NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN
GOVERNMENT IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, THEY ASK? THE INTERNATIONAL
COMMUNITY IS ON THEIR SIDE AND THE LONGER THEY HOLD OUT, THE
MORE THE PRESSURE ON THE GOVERNMENT WILL INCREASE AND THE
STRONGER WILL THEIR POSITION BECOME. THE SANCTIONS CAMPAIGN,
REAL OR THREATENED, IS THUS HAVING A COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE
EFFECT. THE PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPACT IS AS POTENTIALLY
DAMAGING, IF NOT MORE DAMAGING IN THE SHORT TERM, THAN
THE ECONOMIC IMPACT AND I FEEL THAT GOVERNMENTS ABROAD
SHOULD BE MADE AWARE OF THE IMPLICATIONS OF THEIR
ACTIONS. THERE IS IN ANY EVENT NO QUESTION OF SANCTIONS
PRODUCING A POLITICAL SYSTEM IN THIS COUNTRY WHICH IS NOT
THE PRODUCT OF GENUINE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN SOUTH
AFRICANS.

WE ARE IN PRINCIPLE PREPARED TO RELEASE MR. NELSON
MANDELA AND OTHERS AND UNBAN POLITICAL MOVEMENTS SO THAT
THEY MAY PARTICIPATE IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS. IS IT
WRONG TO INSIST THAT THEY ABANDON VIOLENCE BEFORE WE
EMBARK ON SUCH A COURSE OF ACTION? YOU SAY, MR.
PRESIDENT, AND I APPLAUD YOU FOR SAYING IT PUBLICLY, THE
FIRST AND ONLY WESTERN LEADER TO HAVE DONE SO, THAT THE
SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT IS UNDER NO OBLIGATION TO
NEGOTIATE THE FUTURE OF THE COUNTRY WITH ANY ORGANIZATION
THAT PROCLAIMS A GOAL OF CREATING A COMMUNIST STATE AND
USES TERRORIST TACTICS TO ACHIEVE IT. THE EXECUTIVE OF
THE ANC IS DOMINATED BY MEMBERS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN
COMMUNIST PARTY. SHOULD WE NOT INSIST THAT THIS OF ALL
ORGANIZATIONS SHOULD AT THE VERY LEAST ABANDON VIOLENCE
AND COMMIT ITSELF TO PEACEFUL DIALOGUE BEFORE IT IS
UNBANNED?

SOME ADVERSARY ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS THE ANC, WITH ITS
DOMINANT COMMUNIST ELEMENT, CATEGORICALLY REJECT THE
CONCEPT OF NEGOTIATIONS. IN A DOCUMENT OF THE SOUTH
AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY OF WHICH I BELIEVE YOU HAVE
PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE, IT IS CLEARLY STATED THAT THEY REJECT
PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS. THEY SEE NEGOTIATIONS AS A

SECRET

SECRET

BETRAYAL OF THEIR REVOLUTIONARY PRINCIPLES. THEY KNOW THAT THEY WILL NEVER GET THEIR IDEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY ACCEPTED VIA NEGOTIATIONS. THEY SEE REVOLUTION, IN TERMS OF THEIR IDEOLOGY, AS THE ONLY MEANS OF ACHIEVING THEIR POLITICAL OBJECTIVES. WILL THIS POINT OF VIEW WITHIN THE ANC, ADVOCATED BY ITS DOMINANT COMMUNIST COMPONENT, NOT PREVAIL?

YOU HAVE YOURSELF DRAWN ATTENTION TO THE TERROR TACTICS OF THE ANC IN YOUR SPEECH AND YOU HAVE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT HAS A RIGHT AND RESPONSIBILITY TO MAINTAIN ORDER IN THE FACE OF TERRORISTS. BUT YOU SAY ALSO THAT BY ITS TACTICS, THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT IS ONLY ACCELERATING THE DESCENT INTO BLOOD-LETTING. I DO NOT KNOW WHAT YOU HAVE IN MIND BY "TACTICS". THE NEED TO ERADICATE VIOLENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA IS UPPERMOST IN OUR MINDS. WE CANNOT PROGRESS POLITICALLY UNLESS WE CAN STOP THE CURRENT WAVE OF VIOLENCE. BUT WHAT DO WE DO IN THE FACE OF ESCALATING VIOLENCE ON THE PART OF THE ANC AND OTHERS AND THREATS OF STILL FURTHER AND MORE GRUESOME ACTS OF TERROR?

IN A LETTER TO ME OF 7 JULY 1986 ABOUT SIR GEOFFREY HOWE'S VISIT, MRS. THATCHER WROTE:

. 'I READ WITH INTEREST THE REFERENCE IN YOUR LETTER
. TO THE NEED FOR EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS TO PUT
. PRESSURE ON THOSE WHO ARE ENCOURAGING INTIMIDATION
. AND VIOLENCE SO AS TO PREVENT NEGOTIATIONS FROM
. TAKING PLACE. VERY MUCH WITH THAT POINT IN MIND,
. YOU SHOULD KNOW THAT GEOFFREY HOWE AND I HAVE
. DECIDED THAT HE SHOULD VISIT ZAMBIA, ALONG WITH
. ZIMBABWE LATER THIS WEEK. A MEETING WITH
. PRESIDENT KAUNDA HAD ALREADY BEEN AGREED BEFORE WE
. LEARNED OF YOUR DIARY DIFFICULTIES. WHILE IN
. ZAMBIA, THE FOREIGN SECRETARY IS LIKELY TO HAVE A
. MEETING WITH THE ANC LEADERSHIP IN ORDER TO PUT
. ACROSS A VERY CLEAR MESSAGE, THAT IF PROGRESS IS
. TO BE MADE, IT CAN ONLY BE ACHIEVED BY PEACEFUL
. MEANS. DURING THESE VISITS, GEOFFREY HOWE WILL
. THEREFORE BE LAYING PARTICULAR EMPHASIS ON THE
. NEED TO ABANDON VIOLENCE.'

THIS REALLY IS THE KEY TO FUTURE PROGRESS. THE GOALS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT DO NOT DIFFER FROM YOURS: WE SEEK AN END TO VIOLENCE: WE WANT TO NEGOTIATE WITH BLACK LEADERS ABOUT CONSTRUCTING A NEW POLITICAL SYSTEM ACCEPTABLE TO A MAJORITY OF OUR CITIZENS: WE HAVE ALREADY TAKEN INITIATIVES IN THIS RESPECT. THE URGENT NEED NOW IS TO GET THE OPPOSING GROUPS IN SOUTH AFRICA TO COMMIT THEMSELVES TO THE SAME GOALS: TO ABANDON THEIR STRATEGY OF VIOLENCE AND ALSO TO ENGAGE IN PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS.

SECRET

SECRET

THE COMMONWEALTH GROUP OF EMINENT PERSONS IMPRESSED UPON US DURING THEIR STAY IN SOUTH AFRICA THAT FURTHER REFORM MEASURES SHOULD BE ACCOMPANIED BY MATCHING COMMITMENTS ON THE PART OF THE ANC AND OTHERS. ACCORDINGLY, AS YOU WILL BE AWARE, THEIR PROPOSAL AMOUNTED TO AN UNDERTAKING ON THE PART OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT TO TAKE CERTAIN ACTION - INTER ALIA THE RELEASE OF MR. MANDELA AND OTHERS AND THE UNBANNING OF THE ANC AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS - BUT COMMENSURATELY WITH COMMITMENTS BY THEM THAT THEY WOULD "SUSPEND" VIOLENCE AND PARTICIPATE IN NEGOTIATIONS. IN OTHER WORDS, THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT WAS NOT REQUIRED TO ACT UNILATERALLY. THIS INITIATIVE ENDED, IN MY OPINION PREMATURELY, BECAUSE OF THE UNWILLINGNESS ON THE PART OF THE EPG FURTHER TO ADDRESS OUR CONCERNS IN RESPECT OF THEIR CONCEPT OF ENDING VIOLENCE. WE COULD NOT ACCEPT A MERE "SUSPENSION" OF VIOLENCE ON THE PART OF THE ANC AND OTHERS. YET WE ARE NOW BEING ASKED TO RELEASE PERSONS AND UNBAN AND NEGOTIATE WITH ORGANIZATIONS STILL COMMITTED TO VIOLENCE, WITHOUT ANY COMMITMENT FROM THEM AT ALL TO ABANDON VIOLENCE. THE ONLY CONCLUSION WE CAN COME TO IS THAT IT IS APPARENTLY ACCEPTABLE TO CERTAIN WESTERN GOVERNMENTS THAT THESE ORGANIZATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS RETAIN IN THEIR NEGOTIATING ARMORY THE POSSIBILITY OF REVERTING TO VIOLENCE WHENEVER THEY CHOOSE TO DO SO. MY GOVERNMENT CANNOT ACCEPT THAT THESE PARTIES SHOULD BE GIVEN THE RIGHT TO RESUME VIOLENCE IF NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD NOT BE GOING THEIR WAY (IMPLIED EVEN IN THE USE OF THE WORD "SUSPENSION" IN THE EPG FORMULA).

IT IS ALSO IMPORTANT TO NOTE THAT SIR GEOFFREY HOWE AT THE CONCLUSION OF HIS VISIT TO SOUTH AFRICA ON 29 JULY SAID THE FOLLOWING IN A STATEMENT TO THE PRESS:

- . 'FOR MANY YEARS NOW, AND MOST RECENTLY IN THE
- . NEGOTIATING CONCEPT OF THE COMMONWEALTH EMINENT
- . PERSONS GROUP, THE CRUCIAL ELEMENTS OF CONFIDENCE
- . AND RECIPROCITY HAVE BEEN RECOGNIZED.

- . WHAT IS NEEDED IS THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN
- . GOVERNMENT SHOULD AGREE TO RELEASE MANDELA AND
- . OTHER POLITICAL PRISONERS, TO UNBAN THE ANC AND
- . OTHER POLITICAL PARTIES, AND TO ENTER INTO
- . PEACEFUL DIALOGUE - AGAINST A MATCHING COMMITMENT
- . FROM THE ANC TO CALL A HALT TO VIOLENCE AND TO
- . ENTER INTO PEACEFUL DIALOGUE.

-THAT IS AN APPROACH WHICH WOULD REFLECT THE
- . MANDATE GIVEN ME BY THE HAGUE EUROPEAN COUNCIL.
- . IT WOULD OFFER A REALISTIC AND FAIR ALTERNATIVE TO
- . VIOLENCE AND ECONOMIC WARFARE.....'

SECRET

SECRET

SIR GEOFFREY HOWE HAS USED 'TO CALL A HALT TO VIOLENCE' INSTEAD OF HIS PRIME MINISTER'S USE OF THE WORDS 'ABANDON VIOLENCE'. I DO NOT KNOW WHETHER THIS DEVIATION WAS DELIBERATE BUT, TO BREAK THE CYCLE OF VIOLENCE, IT REMAINS ONLY FOR THE ADVERSARY GROUPS TO ABANDON VIOLENCE AND COMMIT THEMSELVES TO PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS. IT IS FOR THE ANC AND OTHER SIMILAR ORGANIZATIONS TO COME INTO THE OPEN AND REVEAL THEIR INTENTIONS. IS IT TO SHED THEIR COMMUNIST OBJECTIVES AND JOIN WITH US IN PRODUCING A GENUINELY DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL SYSTEM FOR A COUNTRY WHICH BELONGS TO US ALL? OR IS IT TO PURSUE THEIR REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY OF CONTINUED VIOLENCE AIMED AT ACHIEVING A MARXIST DICTATORSHIP AS THEIR DOMINANT COMMUNIST COMPONENT WOULD WANT? IT WOULD GREATLY STRENGTHEN THE HANDS OF THOSE OF US, WITHIN AND OUTSIDE THE GOVERNMENT, WHO ARE COMMITTED TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF A GENUINELY DEMOCRATIC STATE, IF YOU AND OTHER WESTERN LEADERS WERE TO ENDORSE OUR SEARCH FOR A CONSTITUTION WHICH INCORPORATES PRINCIPLES ASSOCIATED WITH ALL GENUINE DEMOCRACIES, YOURS IN PARTICULAR. WE MUST CONSTRUCT A WALL OF DEFENSE AGAINST THOSE WHO AIM FOR A DICTATORSHIP IN THIS COUNTRY WHICH NONE OF US WANTS.

I HOPE THAT YOU WILL FEEL ABLE, IN THE SPIRIT OF YOUR SPEECH AND YOUR LETTER TO ME, TO ENGAGE YOURSELF, WITH THE BRITISH AND YOUR OTHER ALLIES, IN CREATING THE CIRCUMSTANCES NECESSARY FOR NEGOTIATIONS LEADING TO AN EXTENSION OF DEMOCRACY IN MY COUNTRY.

MAY I TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY OF THANKING YOU SINCERELY FOR YOUR CONTINUED READINESS TO PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE AS WE EVOLVE POLITICALLY IN SOUTH AFRICA. WITH GOD'S HELP AND THE UNDERSTANDING OF LEADERS SUCH AS YOURSELF, WE SHALL TRIUMPH FOR THE GOOD OF ALL SOUTH AFRICANS.

YOURS SINCERELY,

P.W. BOTHA
STATE PRESIDENT OF THE
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

SECRET

