

CPC



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

24 March 1987

Dear Charles,

South Africa : Discussion of Possible Statement  
of Western Principles

Last Autumn the Prime Minister agreed with Chancellor Kohl that there should be tripartite consultations on South Africa between the UK, US and FRG after the United States Congressional elections. Shortly thereafter Chancellor Kohl and the German Foreign Ministry came forward with separate rather grandiose ideas for a tripartite initiative. In your letter to Colin Budd of 20 October you recorded that the Prime Minister found at least one version of these proposals quite impracticable. This was also the Foreign Secretary's view.

At the request of the Germans and Americans we agreed to take part in a trilateral process of confidential consultation at official level. With American support we were able to deflect the German idea of an early tripartite negotiating initiative, which appeared to be mainly electoral in origin. Dr Crocker, however, proposed a draft text for a tripartite declaration of principles which might underlie an eventual solution in South Africa. His idea was for a declamatory statement, charting a middle course between the views of the two sides in South Africa, which might eventually serve as a basis for future negotiations. I enclose a copy of his text as revised in the Group : further amendments have since been suggested.

Discussions without commitment were held on the text and possible fora in which such a statement could be made, if a political decision were taken to make it. The Foreign Secretary made clear from the outset his view that the idea of a declaration should be approached without any advance commitment as to its shape or possible timing. Such a declaration issuing from a tripartite, white, Western

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source, risks rejection by both sides in South Africa and the Front Line States purely because of its origin; it might also be seen internationally and at home as no more than a temporising gesture. If this happened it would contribute nothing to progress on the ground, nor even avert pressure for further sanctions; indeed, if it were rejected, it might even increase such pressure. If published before the South African election it would be seen by the whites as blatant external interference. The German view has been similar.

The Foreign Secretary also has in mind that the timing of any further move in relation to South Africa is sensitive electorally in this country.

The Americans have now suggested that the text which we discussed together should be issued as a "statement of principles" at the Economic Summit in Venice on 8-10 next June. Mr Shultz has written to the Foreign Secretary pressing for this. He has also written to Herr Genscher and spoken to the Canadians, who already favoured discussion of South Africa at the Summit.

The Foreign Secretary has considerable reservations about this proposal. He is not in principle unsympathetic to the American argument that the major Western countries should state publicly and together what they stand for in South Africa. He also understands the US Administration's concern to try to take some of the domestic steam out of the issue, and in particular to head off Congressional pressure for more punitive sanctions against South Africa. But his overriding concern is that such a statement, if issued, should contribute to the promotion of progress on the ground, and should not precipitate further pressures for sanctions. At present he thinks it better not to make any commitment to issuing the statement at the Venice Summit, which takes place shortly after the 6 May white election in South Africa.

The Foreign Secretary is conscious of the need to do what we can to help the Administration and Dr Crocker deal with domestic pressure. But he believes that Dr Crocker has underestimated the practical difficulties: the French, Italians, Japanese and Canadians would almost certainly propose unhelpful changes to the text, and it could prove difficult to reach an acceptable agreement on it.

Meanwhile, at the end of 1986 the Netherlands independently proposed that the Twelve should consider publishing a statement of principles on South Africa. They have circulated a surprisingly conservative and balanced

/draft

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/ draft which avoids espousing unrealistic black demands and goes a good way to meet white concerns. I also enclose a copy of this draft text as it stands after amendment in the Twelve's Africa Working Group. It has been discussed in the Twelve, once again entirely without commitment, either on the timing or the principle of any statement being made. The Political Committee has accepted our strong argument that no decision should be taken on any possible use until after the 6 May white elections.

Sir Geoffrey intends to continue to urge caution and to avoid commitment in both fora. He told Dr Crocker at a meeting on 18 March that he did not believe that it would be sensible to take decisions before the South African election on whether it would help to issue statements either in EPC or from the Venice Summit or both. Dr Crocker made it clear that the Administration would continue to press for an Economic Summit Seven declaration, failing which they might issue one unilaterally. Sir Geoffrey Howe encouraged him to put his view to the other Economic Summit participants, including the Belgian Presidency, which might serve to bring out the likely practical difficulties. He will present his ideas as American, not tripartite, in origin.

The Foreign Secretary proposes to discuss the matter further with Mr Shultz when they meet on 9 April. He will also keep the Prime Minister informed of developments.

I am copying this letter to Trevor Woolley at the Cabinet Office.

*Yours ever,*

(A C Galsworthy)  
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq  
No 10 Downing St

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DRAFT TRIPARTITE TEXT : 16.3.87

1. Motivated by their urgent common wish for the complete abolition of the unjust apartheid system in South Africa [and in view of their growing concern over the deteriorating political, economic and social situation there,] the Governments of [the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America] have intensified their consultations on how to promote their shared objectives in that country.

*Too dependent*

2. The three Governments have consistently called upon the South African Government to end the apartheid system, which is the root cause of the crisis in South Africa. They have also condemned the resort to violence by contending parties in South Africa and the region and have advocated peaceful negotiations in a climate of confidence on all sides toward a new, truly democratic South Africa, in which the rightful role and place of all South Africans - majorities, minorities and individuals - would be secure. The recent consultations have underscored the continued validity and importance of these fundamental judgements and objectives, which the three Governments reiterate and re-emphasise.

3. The three Governments do not presume to prescribe a detailed blueprint for political change in South Africa. South Africa's course must be charted in negotiations open to participation by all South Africans, in which all parties accept the need for fundamental but peaceful change. However, the current crisis is so compelling as to require that the three Governments state clearly what they are for, as well as what they are against, in South Africa.

*? But*

4. Accordingly, the Governments of the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America have agreed to support and work actively for a peaceful settlement in a geographically united and unfragmented South Africa that would provide for:-

*Does this mean federal or unitary? You can't leave it ambiguous.*

*They'll want a centralised structure*

i) a new constitutional order establishing equal political, economic and social rights for all South Africans without regard to race, language, national origin, or religion:

*i.e. one person one vote in a unitary state*

ii) a constitutional allocation of powers between the national government and its constituent regional and local jurisdictions, in keeping with South Africa's deeply rooted regional and cultural traditions.

iii) A democratic electoral system with multiparty participation and universal franchise for all adult South Africans:

iv) Effective constitutional guarantees of basic human rights for all South Africans, including: the right to freedom from political killing, torture, arbitrary arrest or detention, and denial of fair public trial: the right to own property: the right to freedom from arbitrary interference with the privacy of the home, family, and correspondence: the right to freedom of speech and the press, peaceful assembly and association and practice of religion: the right of labour to organise and pursue peacefully its economic objectives: the right of movement within the country, emigration, and repatriation: the right of individuals and communities to use their own language and develop their culture and customs: and such other rights as the people of South Africa may choose to secure to themselves and their posterity:

v) an independent judiciary with the power to enforce the rights guaranteed by the constitution to all South Africans:

vi) A (social market) economy, preserving the economic freedom of every South African to obtain a livelihood and to retain private property under the protection of the law.

5. [The Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America] have agreed to maintain intensive consultations with other like-minded governments. The three Governments call on the South African Government to respect the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the neighbouring states, and reiterate their call for an end to cross border violence from any quarter. They believe that a South Africa at peace with itself on the basis of the principles set forth above would also be at peace with its neighbours. Such a South Africa

would be entitled to enjoy the full benefits of normal, constructive and fruitful relations with neighbouring African states and with all other members of the international community.

6. The three Governments note that the apartheid system has condemned the majority of South Africans to a state of economic underdevelopment. In the context of negotiations leading to a democratic post-apartheid South Africa, they would be willing to lead an international effort to enable the victims of apartheid to take full advantage of the economic opportunities that would follow.

8. External parties, however well-intentioned, cannot help solve South Africa's crisis unless South Africans themselves are prepared to turn away from violence and toward negotiations. If the contending parties in South Africa are ready to take risks for peace, the three Governments would be prepared to undertake diplomatic efforts to assist them in the search for negotiated solutions to the nation's problems. The three Governments are ready to lend their good offices and firm support to all efforts toward peace and a truly democratic future for South Africa, and to oppose any effort to deprive all South Africans of their right to share in a secure and peaceful future in their own country.

DRAFT AWG TEXT : 16.3.87

EC Text

## FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES

## PREAMBULAR LANGUAGE

1.1 The system of apartheid is unacceptable and endangers stability in the region. (The Twelve have repeatedly condemned apartheid in all its forms). Its prolongation will only weaken the forces of moderation and diminish the prospects for a peaceful solution. The Twelve continue to seek its abolition through a process of peaceful change. There is an urgent need to break the present cycle of violence in South Africa and replace it by a process of national dialogue and negotiations. The Twelve are convinced that the vision of a new geographically united South Africa, free from racial discrimination, in which all South Africans can live in peace and harmony and enjoy equal rights and equal opportunities, is not beyond grasp. This would also be of vital importance to peace, stability, security and economic development in the region as a whole and would allow South Africa to regain its rightful place in the international community.

1.2 The Twelve have set out in the past the steps required to create the conditions necessary if genuine dialogue is to begin. They wish to confirm that only broad-based negotiations, involving the genuine representatives of the various sides composing the South African population, can bring about a lasting settlement.

1.3 The aim of the negotiations should be the emergence of a free, democratic and united South Africa which takes into account the diversity of South African society. While the legitimate political aspirations of the majority should be met, at the same time every South African should be able to look at the future with confidence and a feeling that he will have a say in decisions which affect him.

## PRINCIPLES

2. It is up to the South Africans themselves to define - together - the exact shape of new constitutional arrangements. But the Twelve believe that the following basic principles, which they consider to have general validity, can be a source of inspiration for a just and lasting settlement.

2.1 The inherent dignity and equality of all human persons before the law.

2.2 Respect for and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms (as laid down in the universal declaration of human rights) including the freedom of expression, the right to liberty and security of persons and the right of property for all, without distinction as to colour, race, sex or creed.

2.3 A democratic system of government based on universal suffrage, with adequate minority participation.

2.4 Protection of minority rights in the field of culture, language and religion.

2.5 Rule of law, safeguarded by an independent judiciary.

3. The Twelve consider the above principles to be closely inter-related and mutually supportive.

## CLOSING PARAGRAPH

4. The Twelve express the hope that it will prove possible to build on this basis a new framework in which all South Africans can work together in harmony at their common prosperity and well-being over the years.

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