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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

15 August 1985

Dear Tim,

Substance passed  
to PM on  
Friday 16 August  
W  
9/14

PRESIDENT BOTHA'S SPEECH OF 15 AUGUST

In his letter to Mark Addison of 13 August, Stewart Eldon undertook to let you have an analysis of President Botha's speech to the Natal National Congress. The speech has, as expected, received wide-spread international media coverage. I enclose a copy of the advance text (from which Mr Botha departed only in some small respects) together with a summary of the salient points of this and other South African statements this year.

The speech was not as positive as we had been led to believe it would be. The expectations of advances raised by Pik Botha in his meeting with Ewen Fergusson on 8 August (Peter Rickett's letter to you of 9 August) were largely unfulfilled. Pik Botha had suggested that the emphasis of the speech would be on joint responsibility (ie including the blacks) for decisions affecting the country as a whole; common citizenship; and an "undivided South Africa". On joint responsibility, President Botha did say that he believed in participation of all communities in matters of common concern and that there should be structures to reach the goal of "co-responsibility". But he did not specify how this might be achieved and we shall need to seek clarification of what the South Africans intend on this point. On common citizenship, Botha was again less than clear, but seems to have gone no further than a re-statement of the existing position. The South African Embassy told us that it proved impossible to say anything more because

/he

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he could not get agreement to it from key leaders of the "independent" homelands. In a separate press conference earlier in the day, Pik Botha apparently said, however, that if the governments of the "independent" homelands should decide to negotiate with the South African Government on the confirmation of South African citizenship, they would be welcome to do so. There was no reference in last night's statement to an undivided South Africa.

The speech was a firm public reiteration that the Government would be sticking to the course which they had already charted in South Africa and would not be making concessions to the demands of others. Botha made clear, however, that he was prepared to continue with his programme of reform (he described his speech as "crossing the Rubicon"), but emphasised, that he would not be pushed by internal or external pressures. He reiterated his willingness for dialogue with black leaders. But he was not prepared to countenance one man, one vote or a fourth (ie black) chamber of Parliament. Nor was he prepared to issue a statement of intent for such dialogue (as Chief Buthelezi had been pressing him to do) or alter the existing conditions for Mandela's release. Botha confirmed that the South African Government was reviewing the influx control system and that a solution would have to be found for the legitimate rights of urban blacks. But the statement contained no new reforms to the structure of apartheid. And Botha emphasised that a reduction in violence was a pre-requisite to an end of the state of emergency.

Lady Young was interviewed shortly after the speech by television and radio news and emphasised that it had been an important speech which had set out general principles rather than specific proposals, but contained a number of positive points. She reiterated our position on sanctions and stressed that dialogue was the way to get the kind of reforms we all wanted to see in South Africa.

News Department made the enclosed statement at today's 1230 press briefing. Press interest today has been limited. We have since given an unattributable briefing for the Sunday papers and will in our further contacts with the press and other governments build

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on this line, emphasising the positive aspects of the speech and making clear our continued opposition to sanctions.

The international response to the speech is undoubtedly one of disappointment, not least as a result of its failure to fulfil the expectations raised by Pik Botha. International reactions will of course be strongly influenced by the response of black leaders in South Africa. So far Chief Buthelezi has apparently expressed his disappointment at the speech and Bishop Tutu has completely dismissed it.

The next steps will be the Africa Working Group meeting on 19-20 August and the Political Committee meeting on 23-25 August in Luxembourg. We are likely to come under pressure in these meetings to agree a further joint statement by the Ten. Some of our partners will undoubtedly wish this to be strongly critical of the speech. We will oppose any statement which runs counter to our national interest.

We will let you have a further note on this in the light of the two meetings and will include a summary of international reactions.

*Yours sincerely,*

*Robert Barnett*

R W Barnett  
Assistant Private Secretary  
to Baroness Young

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ADDRESS BY STATE PRESIDENT P W BOTHA DMS  
AT THE OPENING OF THE N P NATAL CONGRESS  
IN DURBAN ON 15 AUGUST 1985

DURING RECENT MONTHS AND PARTICULARLY THE LAST FEW WEEKS, I  
HAVE RECEIVED A GREAT DEAL OF ADVICE.

MOST OF THE PERSONS AND INSTITUTIONS WHO OFFERED ADVICE AND  
STILL OFFERS ADVICE HAVE GOOD AND WELL-MEANING INTENTIONS.  
I THANK THEM AND WHERE THE ADVICE IS PRACTICAL, IT IS CON-  
SIDERED.

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I ALMOST DAILY RECEIVE HUNDREDS OF MESSAGES AND LETTERS OF  
GOODWILL AND ENCOURAGEMENT FROM ALL OVER THE WESTERN WORLD  
AND FROM PEOPLE IN OUR OWN COUNTRY, AS WELL AS ASSURANCES  
THAT PEOPLE ARE PRAYING FOR ME. I SINCERELY APPRECIATE  
THESE GESTURES OF GOODWILL.

BUT I ALSO RECEIVE ADVICE FROM SOME PEOPLE WHO WANT TO HELP  
ME FROM THE FRYING-PAN INTO THE FIRE. TO PEOPLE SUCH AS  
THESE I WOULD LIKE TO SAY - I GREW UP ON A FARM AND WE HAVE

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AN AFRIKAANS SAYING WHICH GOES : I CAN RECOGNISE A SKUNK BY  
ITS SMELL.

IF YOU DON'T ACCEPT ADVICE FROM THESE PEOPLE, THEY SLANDER  
YOU AND YOUR COUNTRY.

LANGENHOVEN HAVE JUSTLY SAID THE FOLLOWING:

'APPRECIATE, OH DEFAMED, THE TRIBUTE OF YOUR SLANDER.  
HE ADMITS THAT YOU ARE WORTH THE SLANDER. HE IS PRO-  
BABLY NOT.' (TRANSLATED).

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MOST OF THE MEDIA IN SOUTH AFRICA HAVE ALREADY INFORMED YOU  
ON WHAT I WAS GOING TO SAY TONIGHT, OR WHAT I OUGHT TO SAY,  
ACCORDING TO THEIR SUPERIOR JUDGMENT.

● ALL THE TRAGEDIES IN THE WORLD I THINK THE GREATEST IS THE FACT THAT OUR ELECTORATE REFRAINED SO FAR TO ELECT SOME OF THESE GENTLEMEN AS THEIR GOVERNMENT. THEY HAVE ALL THE ANSWERS TO ALL THE PROBLEMS. AND THESE ANSWERS DIFFER FROM DAY TO DAY AND FROM SUNDAY TO SUNDAY.

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#### THE DILEMA OF RISING EXPECTATIONS

SELDOM IN OUR PAST HAS THERE BEEN A PARTY CONGRESS OF THE NATIONAL PARTY FOR WHICH SO MANY EXPECTATIONS WERE RAISED AS THIS CONGRESS IN NATAL. SOME OF THE REASONS FOR THIS ARE EVIDENT, FOR EXAMPLE THE PARTIAL EMERGENCY SITUATION IN LESS THAN 14 PERCENT OF THE MAGISTERIAL DISTRICTS OF THE RSA. OTHER REASONS ARE MORE SINISTER, SUCH AS THE MOTIVES OF THOSE WHO HAVE PUT WORDS IN MY MOUTH IN ADVANCE.

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DURING RECENT WEEKS THERE WAS AN UNPARALLELED SCURRY FROM DIFFERENT SOURCES, WITHIN AND OUTSIDE SOUTH AFRICA, TO PREDICT AND PRESCRIBE WHAT IS TO BE ANNOUNCED AT THIS CONGRESS. IT WAS ALSO ENVISAGED THAT WORLDWIDE, PEOPLE ARE GOING TO BE DISSATISFIED IF CERTAIN THINGS ARE NOT ANNOUNCED AS WERE PREDICTED.

IT IS OF COURSE A WELL-KNOWN TACTIC IN NEGOTIATIONS TO LIMIT THE OTHER PERSON'S FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT ABOUT POSSIBLE

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DECISIONS, THUS FORCING HIM IN A DIRECTION WHERE HIS OPTIONS ARE INCREASINGLY RESTRICTED.

IT IS CALLED THE FORCE OF RISING EXPECTATIONS.

FIRSTLY, AN EXPECTATION IS RAISED THAT A PARTICULAR ANNOUNCEMENT IS TO BE MADE. THEN AN EXPECTATION IS RAISED ABOUT WHAT THE CONTENT OF THE ANNOUNCEMENT SHOULD BE.

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THE TACTIC HAS TWO OBJECTIVES. FIRSTLY, THE TARGET IS SET SO HIGH THAT, EVEN IF AN ANNOUNCEMENT IS MADE, IT IS ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE TO FULFIL THE PROPAGATED EXPECTATIONS. SECONDLY, IT IS ALSO AN ATTEMPT TO FORCE THE ONE PARTY INTO NEGOTIATIONS TO MAKE THE EXPECTED DECISION. IF THIS IS NOT DONE, PUBLIC OPINION IS ALREADY CONDITIONED TO SUCH AN EXTENT THAT THE RESULT IS WIDE-SPREAD DISSATISFACTION.

THIS IS WHAT HAS BEEN HAPPENING OVER RECENT WEEKS. I FIND

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IT UNACCEPTABLE TO BE CONFRONTED IN THIS MANNER WITH AN ACCOMPLISHED FACT.

I THINK WE SHOULD FIRST RECONSIDER THE OBJECTIVE OF A PARTY CONGRESS.

THE NATIONAL PARTY

THE NATIONAL PARTY IN EACH PROVINCE IS CONNECTED TO THE PARTY IN THE OTHER PROVINCES ON A FEDERAL BASIS. THE PRO-

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VINCIAL CONGRESS IS THE HIGHEST AUTHORITY OF THE PARTY IN EACH PROVINCE. ONE OF THE MAJOR ACTIVITIES OF THE CONGRESS IS TO DECIDE ON PARTY POLICY.

IT WOULD THUS BE UNWISE OF THE LEADER OF THE PARTY TO CONFRONT THE PROVINCIAL CONGRESS WITH CERTAIN FINAL DECISIONS.

MOREOVER, THE SUBJECT OF MOST OF THE SPECULATIONS, NAMELY THE CONSTITUTIONAL FUTURE OF THE BLACK PEOPLES IN SOUTH AFRICA, IS OF SUCH A NATURE THAT IT MUST BE DETERMINED IN

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CONSULTATION WITH THOSE CONCERNED. WE CANNOT CONFRONT THEM WITH CERTAIN FINAL DECISIONS. OVER THE YEARS, THAT WAS EXACTLY THE CRITICISM AGAINST OUR GOVERNMENT - THAT WE MAKE DECISIONS ABOUT PEOPLE AND NOT WITH THEM.

I FIND THE ATTEMPTS FROM VARIOUS SOURCES TO COMPROMISE ME AND THE GOVERNMENT VERY UNFORTUNATE. IT IS A VERY DANGEROUS GAME, AND IT DEFINITELY DOES NOT SERVE THE INTERESTS OF NEGOTIATION AND REFORM IN SOUTH AFRICA.

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TIME

I HAVE USED A QUOTATION OF LANGENHOVEN EARLIER. I WANT TO QUOTE HIM AGAIN. HE WROTE '

'IF WE ARE IN FRONT WE CAN WAIT FOR TIME. IF WE ARE BEHIND, IT DOES NOT WAIT FOR US.' (TRANSLATED).

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'IF WE ARE AHEAD OF TIME, WE CAN WAIT FOR IT. IF WE ARE BEHIND TIME, IT DOES NOT WAIT FOR US.'

IN OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH OUR FELLOW-SOUTH AFRICANS AND IN OUR RELATIONSHIP AS A MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY IN SOUTH AFRICA, NO SPIRIT OF DEFAITISM OR HYSTERICAL ACTIONS WILL HELP US TO BE ON TIME.

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WE MUST DEAL WITH OUR RELATIONSHIPS AND ACCEPT FUTURE CHALLENGES IN A BALANCED WAY AND WITH DEVOTION. YOU WILL FIND THAT BALANCE IN THINKING AND DEVOTION IN THE NATIONAL PARTY - THE ONLY POLITICAL PARTY WHICH IS REPRESENTATIVE OF THE VAST MAJORITY OF WHITE SOUTH AFRICA.

THE PARTY STANDS FOR THE JUST AND EQUAL TREATMENT OF ALL PARTS OF SOUTH AFRICA, AND FOR THE IMPARTIAL MAINTENANCE OF THE RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES OF EVERY SECTION OF THE POPULATION.

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WE ARE NOT PREPARED TO ACCEPT THE ANTIQUATED, SIMPLISTIC AND RACIST APPROACH THAT SOUTH AFRICA CONSISTS OF A WHITE MINORITY AND A BLACK MAJORITY.

WE CANNOT IGNORE THE FACT THAT THIS COUNTRY IS A MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY - A COUNTRY OF MINORITIES - WHITE MINORITIES AS WELL AS BLACK MINORITIES.

WHILE THE NATIONAL PARTY ACCEPTS AND RESPECTS THE MULTICULTURAL AND POLY-ETHNIC NATURE OF SOUTH AFRICA'S POPULATION,

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IT REJECTS ANY SYSTEM OF HORIZONTAL DIFFERENTIATION WHICH AMOUNTS TO ONE NATION OR GROUP IN OUR COUNTRY DOMINATING ANOTHER OR OTHERS.

WE BELIEVE IN AND UPHOLD THE PRINCIPLE OF ECONOMIC INTERDEPENDENCE OF THE POPULATION GROUPS AS WELL AS THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE PROPERLY PLANNED UTILISATION OF MANPOWER.

IN THIS REGARD WE HAVE ADVANCED VERY FAR THROUGH MODERNISING OUR LABOUR LAWS, THE CREATION OF A DEVELOPMENT BANK

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FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA, AS WELL AS A CORPORATION FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF SMALL BUSINESS ACTIVITIES. WE ALREADY CO-OPERATE IN VARIOUS WAYS THROUGH MULTI-NATIONAL MINISTERIAL COMMITTEES.

IT IS TRUE THAT AS A RESULT OF SERIOUS WORLD RECESSIONARY CIRCUMSTANCES, SOUTH AFRICA, WHICH WAS ALSO HIT BY RECESSIONARY CONDITIONS AND OVERSPENDING IN SOME FIELDS, COULD NOT MAKE PROGRESS AS WE WOULD HAVE PREFERRED.

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#### ECONOMIC STRATEGY

BUT IT IS COMMON KNOWLEDGE BY NOW THAT THE OFFICIAL ECONOMIC STRATEGY APPLIED IN SOUTH AFRICA DURING THE PAST TWELVE MONTHS HAS PRODUCED EXCELLENT RESULTS:

- OVERSPENDING BY THE PRIVATE AND PUBLIC SECTORS HAS BEEN ELIMINATED.

- THE MONEY SUPPLY IS UNDER CONTROL.

- GOVERNMENT SPENDING IS BEING EFFECTIVELY CURBED AND SOUNDLY FINANCED.

- THE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS ON CURRENT ACCOUNT IS SHOWING A SURPLUS OF ABOUT R5 BILLION PER YEAR - MUCH LARGER THAN ANTICIPATED.

- THE BANKING SECTOR AND PRIVATE COMPANIES HAVE FOR MONTHS NOW BEEN REPAYING SUBSTANTIAL AMOUNTS OF FOREIGN DEBT.

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- OUR NET GOLD AND FOREIGN EXCHANGE RESERVES INCREASED BY R1,4 BILLION DURING THE SECOND QUARTER OF 1985.

- THE PRIME OVERDRAFT RATE OF THE BANKS HAS BEEN REDUCED FOUR TIMES SINCE MAY, FROM 25 TO 21 PER CENT. OTHER INTERESTS RATES HAVE ALSO DECLINED



THE RATE OF INFLATION IS STILL AROUND 16 PER CENT BUT SHOULD BEGIN TO DECLINE BEFORE THE END OF THE YEAR.

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WITH EXPORTS RISING STRONGLY AND INTEREST RATES FALLING, THE DOMESTIC ECONOMY SHOULD MOVE INTO A NEW UPSWING IN 1986.

THE SO-CALLED 'ECONOMIC FUNDAMENTALS' ARE THEREFORE AT PRESENT VERY FAVOURABLE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

MANY OF THE PRESENT OVERSEAS PERCEPTIONS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN SITUATION ARE, OF COURSE, QUITE ERRONEOUS. NOBODY WOULD DENY THAT WE FACE PROBLEMS THAT DEMAND SOLUTIONS.

BUT THE PERCEPTIONS OF MANY OVERSEAS OBSERVERS BEAR LITTLE RELATIONSHIP TO THE REALITIES OF THE SITUATION.

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#### LEADING COUNTRY

THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA STILL REMAINS THE LEADING COUNTRY IN THE SUB-CONTINENT OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. IF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA SUFFERS FROM ECONOMIC SETBACKS - THE WHOLE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA WILL PAY A HEAVY PRICE. FOR INSTANCE, AT PRESENT 90% OF THE EXPORTS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

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TAKES PLACE THROUGH THE TRANSPORT SYSTEMS OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA.

WE IN THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA AS WELL AS OUR NEIGHBOURS WILL IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE HAVE TO FIND SOLUTIONS FOR OUR FAST GROWING POPULATIONS AND THEIR RIGHTFUL DEMANDS. WE HAVE OUR RESPONSIBILITIES IN CONNECTION WITH PROPER FAMILY PLANNING, HEALTH SERVICES, THE PROVISION OF CLEAR AND FRESH WATER, TRAINING OF YOUNG PEOPLE AND THE CREATION OF WORK OPPORTUNITIES.

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WE HAVE SUCH A VAST TASK AHEAD OF US AND SUCH GREAT CHALLENGES TO CREATE A BETTER FUTURE, THAT WE CAN ILLUSTRATE THE IRRESPONSIBILITIES AND DESTRUCTIVE ACTIONS OF BARBARIC COMMUNIST AGITATORS AND EVEN MURDERERS WHO PERPETRATE THE MOST CRUEL DEEDS AGAINST FELLOW SOUTH AFRICANS BECAUSE THEY ARE ON THE PAYROLL OF THEIR MASTERS FAR FROM THIS LOVELY COUNTRY OF OURS.

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#### THE FUTURE

NO GOVERNMENT IN THIS COUNTRY OR ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD CAN SOLVE ALL THE PROBLEMS IN ITS COUNTRY IN A GIVEN TIME.

BUT DESPITE OUR HUMAN WEAKNESSES AND OUR LIMITED POWERS AS HUMAN INSTRUMENTS, WE CAN ATTEMPT TO BE ON TIME. WE CAN MAKE SERIOUS ATTEMPTS NOT TO BE BEHIND TIME.

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WE ARE SUFFERING IN SOME PARTS OF SOUTH AFRICA FROM TWO BASIC PROBLEMS.

THE FIRST IS THE PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT - A PROBLEM OF THE ENTIRE WESTERN WORLD, WITH PERHAPS TO A LESSER EXTENT THE UNITED STATES.

THE SMALL BUSINESS CORPORATION IS OF VITAL IMPORTANCE IN THIS CONNECTION.

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I AM OF THE OPINION THAT THERE ARE TOO MANY RULES AND REGULATIONS IN OUR COUNTRY SERVING AS STUMBLING BLOCKS IN THE WAY OF ENTREPRENEURS. THESE STUMBLING BLOCKS MUST BE REMOVED. WE ARE ALREADY SERIOUSLY ATTENDING TO THIS PROBLEM.

THE UNDERDEVELOPED PART OF THE ECONOMY IS MAINLY THAT OF DIFFERENT NON-WHITE COMMUNITIES. INSTEAD OF THE WHITE PATERNALISTICALLY TRYING TO DO EVERYTHING FOR THE BLACKS, THEY MUST RATHER BE ALLOWED TO HELP THEMSELVES - IN THE INFORMAL AS WELL AS THE FORMAL SECTOR.

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CONSEQUENTLY, I SHALL GO OUT OF MY WAY TO SEE TO IT THAT MORE SUBSTANTIAL FUNDS ARE MADE AVAILABLE TO THE SMALL BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION.

HOUSING

SECONDLY, I REFER TO THE PROBLEM OF HOUSING, CAUSED MAINLY BY OUR POPULATION EXPLOSION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

IT IS A FALLACIOUS BELIEF THAT THE GOVERNMENT MUST DO

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EVERYTHING FOR ALL. WE MUST HELP THE PEOPLE TO HELP THEMSELVES, TO BUILD AND UPGRADE THEIR HOMES THROUGH THEIR OWN EFFORTS. WE HAVE DECIDED THAT LAND SHOULD BE MADE AVAILABLE WHERE POSSIBLE, AND SITE SERVICES SUPPLIED. WE HAVE ALREADY ACCEPTED THE PRINCIPLE OF OWNERSHIP RIGHTS FOR BLACKS IN THE URBAN AREAS OUTSIDE THE NATIONAL STATES. JUST AS IMPORTANT IS THE PRINCIPLE OF OWNERSHIP RIGHTS TO PEOPLE IN THE NATIONAL STATES.

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BUT THE STATE MUST MAINLY TAKE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE INFRASTRUCTURE SUCH AS FRESH DRINKING WATER, SANITATION AND ROADS.

THE GOVERNMENT INTENDS SETTING ASIDE ONE BILLION RAND DURING THE NEXT FIVE YEARS TO IMPROVE UNDERDEVELOPED TOWNS AND CITIES, NOT ONLY IN METROPOLITAN AREAS. OUR POLICY OF DECENTRALISATION WILL BE ACTIVELY CONTINUED WITH.

ON THE QUESTION OF INFLUX CONTROL - I CAN ONLY SAY THAT THE PRESENT SYSTEM IS OUTDATED AND TOO COSTLY. THE PRESIDENT'S

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COUNCIL WILL PROBABLY REPORT ON THIS MATTER IN THE NEAR FUTURE, WHILE THE GOVERNMENT ITSELF IS ALSO AT PRESENT CONSIDERING IMPROVEMENTS.

BUT OF COURSE - WE SHALL NEED THE CLOSEST CO-OPERATION OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR. I HOPE THEY WILL STAND UP AND BE COUNTED AS THEY DID IN THE PAST WHEN I CALLED UPON THEM FOR THEIR CO-OPERATION.

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CONSTITUTIONAL FUTURE

I NOW WISH TO DEAL WITH SOME OTHER ASPECTS OF OUR NATIONAL LIFE.

IT IS MY CONSIDERED OPINION THAT ANY FUTURE CONSTITUTIONAL DISSENTATION PROVIDING FOR PARTICIPATION BY ALL SOUTH AFRICAN CITIZENS, SHOULD BE NEGOTIATED.

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BUT LET ME POINT OUT AT ONCE THAT SINCE SOUTH AFRICA FREED ITSELF, FROM COLONIALISM DEMOCRACY HAS ALREADY BEEN BROADENED AND MILLIONS OF PEOPLE WHO NEVER HAD A SAY IN GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS, UNDER THE BRITISH COLONIAL SYSTEM, HAVE IT TODAY.

#### STATEMENT OF INTENT

I AM PRESSED BY SOME WHO MEAN IT WELL AND THOSE WHO WISH TO

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DESTROY ORDERLY GOVERNMENT IN THIS COUNTRY, TO MAKE A STATEMENT OF INTENT.

I SAY IT WOULD BE WRONG TO BE PRESCRIPTIVE AS TO STRUCTURES WITHIN WHICH PARTICIPATION WILL HAVE TO TAKE PLACE IN FUTURE.

IT WOULD ALSO BE WRONG TO PLACE A TIME LIMIT ON NEGOTIATIONS.

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#### MUCH IN COMMON

HOWEVER, I BELIEVE THAT THE MAJORITY OF SOUTH AFRICANS AS WELL AS INDEPENDENT STATES, WHICH FORM OUR IMMEDIATE NEIGHBOURS HAVE MUCH IN COMMON APART FROM OUR ECONOMIC INTERESTS.

WE BELIEVE IN THE SAME ALMIGHTY GOD AND THE REDEEMING GRACE OF HIS SON, JESUS CHRIST.

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WE BELIEVE AND WISH TO UPHOLD RELIGIOUS FREEDOM.

WE BELIEVE IN DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS OF GOVERNMENT.

WE BELIEVE OUR GREAT WEALTH OF DIVERGENT POPULATION GROUPS MUST SPEAK TO EACH OTHER THROUGH THEIR ELECTED LEADERS.

WE BELIEVE THAT OUR PEACE AND PROSPERITY IS INDIVISIBLE.

WE BELIEVE IN THE PROTECTION OF MINORITIES.

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WE KNOW THAT IT IS THE HARD FACT OF SOUTH AFRICAN LIFE, THAT IT WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE TO ACCOMMODATE THE POLITICAL ASPIRATIONS OF OUR VARIOUS POPULATION GROUPS AND COMMUNITIES IN A KNOWN DEFINED POLITICAL SYSTEM.

WE HAVE OFTEN FOUND THAT OUR EFFORTS TO FIND SOLUTIONS HAVE BEEN IMPEDED AND FRUSTRATED BECAUSE OF DIFFERENT INTERPRETATIONS OF THE TERMINOLOGY THAT WE USE TO DESCRIBE OUR PARTICULAR FORM OF DEMOCRATIC SOLUTIONS.

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SOME YEARS AGO, WITH THE BEST INTENTIONS ON MY PART, I ADVOCATED A CONFEDERATION OF SOUTHERN AFRICAN STATES TO CO-OPERATE WITH ONE ANOTHER. THE IDEA WAS BELITTLED AND PREJUDICE WAS CREATED AGAINST IT.

NOW LET ME STATE EXPLICITLY - THAT I BELIEVE IN PARTICIPATION OF ALL THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNITIES ON MATTERS OF COMMON CONCERN. I BELIEVE THERE SHOULD EXIST STRUCTURES TO REACH THIS GOAL OF CO-RESPONSIBILITY AND PARTICIPATION.

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I FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT THE GRANTING AND ACCEPTANCE OF INDEPENDENCE BY VARIOUS BLACK PEOPLES WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THEIR OWN STATEHOOD, REPRESENT A MATERIAL PART OF THE SOLUTION. I WOULD, HOWEVER, LIKE TO RESTATE MY GOVERNMENT'S POSITION IN THIS REGARD, NAMELY THAT INDEPENDENCE CANNOT BE FORCED UPON ANY COMMUNITY. SHOULD ANY OF THE BLACK NATIONAL STATES THEREFOR PREFER NOT TO ACCEPT INDEPENDENCE, SUCH STATES OR COMMUNITIES WILL REMAIN A PART OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN NATION, ARE SOUTH AFRICAN CITIZENS AND SHOULD BE ACCOMMODATED WITHIN POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS WITHIN THE

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BOUNDARIES OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA. THIS DOES NOT EXCLUDE THAT REGIONAL CONSIDERATIONS SHOULD BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT AND THAT PROVISION BE MADE FOR PARTICIPATION IN INSTITUTIONS ON A REGIONAL AND/OR GROUP BASIS.

ONE-MAN-ONE-VOTE

BUT I KNOW FOR A FACT THAT MOST LEADERS IN THEIR OWN RIGHT IN SOUTH AFRICA AND REASONABLE SOUTH AFRICANS WILL NOT ACCEPT THE PRINCIPLE OF ONE-MAN-ONE-VOTE IN A UNITARY SYS-

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TEM. THAT WOULD LEAD TO DOMINATION OF ONE OVER THE OTHERS AND IT WOULD LEAD TO CHAOS. CONSEQUENTLY, I REJECT IT AS A SOLUTION.

SECONDLY, A SO CALLED FOURTH CHAMBER OF PARLIAMENT IS NOT A PRACTICAL SOLUTION AND I DO NOT THINK RESPONSIBLE PEOPLE WILL ARGUE IN FAVOUR OF IT.

WE MUST RATHER SEEK OUR SOLUTIONS IN THE DEVOLUTION OF POWER.

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BUT I ADMIT THAT THE ACCEPTANCE BY MY GOVERNMENT OF THE PERMANENCE OF BLACK COMMUNITIES IN URBAN AREAS OUTSIDE THE NATIONAL STATES, MEANS THAT A SOLUTION WILL HAVE TO BE FOUND FOR THEIR LEGITIMATE RIGHTS.

THE FUTURE OF THESE COMMUNITIES AND THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS WILL HAVE TO BE NEGOTIATED WITH LEADERS FROM THE NATIONAL STATES, AS WELL AS FROM THEIR OWN RANKS.

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UNREASONABLE DEMANDS

BUT LET ME BE QUITE FRANK WITH YOU. YOU MUST KNOW WHERE YOU STAND WITH ME.

IT IS THE RIGHT OF THE PARTY CONGRESSES TO STATE WHETHER THEY AGREE WITH THEIR LEADER OR NOT.

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I AM NOT PREPARED TO LEAD WHITE SOUTH AFRICANS AND OTHER MINORITY GROUPS ON A ROAD TO ABDICATION AND SUICIDE.

DESTROY WHITE SOUTH AFRICA AND OUR INFLUENCE, AND THIS COUNTRY WILL DRIFT INTO FACTION STRIFE, CHAOS AND POVERTY.

MANIFESTO

TOGETHER WITH MY POLICY STATEMENTS EARLIER THIS YEAR IN PARLIAMENT, I SEE THIS SPEECH OF MINE AS MY MANIFESTO.

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IN MY POLICY STATEMENTS IN JANUARY AND JUNE OF THIS YEAR, I INDICATED THAT THERE WOULD BE FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS WITH

REGARD TO THE RIGHTS AND INTERESTS OF THE VARIOUS POPULATION GROUPS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. SINCE THEN WE HAVE HAD TO CONTEND WITH ESCALATING VIOLENCE WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA, AND PRESSURE FROM ABROAD IN THE FORM OF MEASURES DESIGNED TO COERCE THE GOVERNMENT INTO GIVING IN TO VARIOUS DEMANDS.

OUR ENEMIES - BOTH WITHIN AND WITHOUT - SEEK TO DIVIDE OUR PEOPLES. THEY SEEK TO CREATE UNBRIDGEABLE DIFFERENCES BE-

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TWEEN US TO PREVENT US FROM NEGOTIATING PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS TO OUR PROBLEMS. PEACEFUL NEGOTIATION IS THEIR ENEMY. PEACEFUL NEGOTIATION IS THEIR ENEMY BECAUSE IT WILL LEAD TO JOINT RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE PROGRESS AND PROSPERITY OF SOUTH AFRICA. THOSE WHOSE METHODS ARE VIOLENT DO NOT WANT TO PARTICIPATE. THEY WISH TO SEIZE AND MONOPOLIZE ALL POWER. LET THERE BE NO DOUBT ABOUT WHAT THEY WOULD DO WITH SUCH POWER.

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ONE HAS ONLY TO LOOK AT THEIR METHODS AND MEANS. VIOLENT AND BRUTAL MEANS CAN ONLY LEAD TO TOTALITARIAN AND TYRANNICAL ENDS.

THEIR ACTIONS SPEAK LOUDER THAN THEIR WORDS.  
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THEIR WORDS OFFER READY PANACEAS SUCH AS ONE-MAN-ONE-VOTE, FREEDOM AND JUSTICE FOR ALL. THEIR ACTIONS LEAVE NO DOUBT THAT THE FREEDOMS THAT WE ALREADY HAVE - TOGETHER WITH THE ONGOING EXTENSION OF DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH AFRICA-ARE THE TRUE TARGETS OF THEIR VIOLENCE.

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I HAVE A SPECIFIC QUESTION I WOULD LIKE TO PUT TO THE MEDIA IN SOUTH AFRICA: HOW DO THEY EXPLAIN THE FACT THAT THEY ARE ALWAYS PRESENT, WITH CAMERAS ET CETERA, AT PLACES WHERE VIOLENCE TAKES PLACE? ARE THERE PEOPLE FROM THE REVOLUTIONARY ELEMENTS WHO INFORM THEM TO BE READY? OR ARE THERE PERHAPS REPRESENTATIVES OF THE REACTIONARY GROUPS IN THE RANKS OF CERTAIN MEDIA? MY QUESTION TO YOU IS THIS: WHOSE INTERESTS DO YOU SERVE - THOSE OF SOUTH AFRICA OR THOSE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ELEMENTS?

NELSON MANDELA  
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FROM CERTAIN INTERNATIONAL AS WELL AS LOCAL QUARTERS APPEALS ARE BEING MADE TO ME TO RELEASE MR NELSON MANDELA FROM JAIL.

I STATED IN PARLIAMENT THAT IF MR MANDELA GIVES A COMMITMENT THAT HE WILL NOT MAKE HIMSELF GUILTY OF PLANNING, INSTIGATING OR COMMITTING ACTS OF VIOLENCE FOR THE FURTHERANCE OF POLITICAL OBJECTIVES, I WILL, IN PRINCIPLE, BE PREPARED TO CONSIDER HIS RELEASE.

BUT LET ME REMIND THE PUBLIC OF THE REASONS WHY MR MANDELA IS IN JAIL.

DR YUTAR - THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL AT THE TIME, SET OUT THE STATE'S CASE INTER ALIA AS FOLLOWS:

'AS THE INDICTMENT ALLEGES, THE ACCUSED DELIBERATELY AND MALICIOUSLY PLOTTED AND ENGINEERED THE COMMISSION OF ACTS OF VIOLENCE AND DESTRUCTION THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY...

THE PLANNED PURPOSE THEREOF WAS TO BRING ABOUT IN THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA CHAOS, DISORDER AND TURMOIL...

THEY (MR MANDELA AND HIS FRIENDS) PLANNED VIOLENT INSURRECTION AND REBELLION.'

THE SABOTEURS HAD PLANNED THE MANUFACTURE OF AT LEAST SEVEN TYPES OF BOMBS: 48 000 ANTI-PERSONNEL MINES, 210 000 HAND

GRANADES, PETROL BOMBS, PIPE BOMBS, SYRINGE BOMBS AND BOTTLE BOMBS.



A DOCUMENT WAS PRODUCED DURING THE COURT CASE IN MANDELA'S OWN HANDWRITING IN WHICH HE STATED :-

'WE COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERS ARE THE MOST ADVANCED REVOLUTIONARIES IN MODERN HISTORY .... THE ENEMY MUST BE COMPLETELY CRUSHED AND WIPED OUT FROM THE FACE OF THE EARTH BEFORE A COMUNIST WORLD CAN BE REALISED.'

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IN PASSING SENTENCE AT THE TIME THE JUDGE, MR JUSTICE DE WET, REMARKED :-

'THE CRIME OF WHICH THE ACCUSED HAVE BEEN CONVICTED THAT IS THE MAIN CRIME, THE CRIME OF CONSPIRACY, IS IN ESSENCE ONE OF HIGH TREASON. THE STATE HAS DECIDED NOT TO CHARGE THE CRIME IN THIS FORM. BEARING THIS IN MIND AND GIVING THE MATTER VERY SERIOUS CONSIDERATION, I HAVE DECIDED NOT TO IMPOSE THE SUPREME PENALTY WHICH IN A CASE LIKE THIS WOULD USUALLY BE THE PROPER PENALTY FOR THE CRIME.'

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WARNING

THE VIOLENCE OF OUR ENEMIES IS A WARNING TO US. WE, WHO ARE COMMITTED TO PEACEFUL NEGOTIATION, ALSO HAVE A WARNING

TO THEM. OUR WARNING IS THAT OUR READINESS TO NEGOTIATE SHOULD NOT BE MISTAKEN FOR WEAKNESS. REFORM THROUGH PRO-

CESS OF NEGOTIATION IS NOT WEAKNESS. TALKING, CONSULTING, BARGAINING WITH ALL OUR PEOPLES' LEADERS IS NOT WEANESS. MUTUAL ACCEPTANCE OF AND JOINT RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE WELFARE AND STABILITY OF OUR COUNTRY IS NOT WEAKNESS. IT IS

OUR STRENGTH.

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OUR STRENGTH IS THE COURAGE TO FACE AND ACCOMMODATE THE PROBLEMS BEQUEATHED TO US BY HISTORY. THE REALITY OF OUR DIVERSITY IS A HARD REALITY. WE FACE IT - BECAUSE IT IS THERE. HOW DO WE ACCOMMODATE IT? HOW DO WE BUILD A BETTER FUTURE OUT OF CULTURES, VALUES, LANGUAGES WHICH ARE DEMONSTRABLY REAL IN OUR HETEROGENEOUS SOCIETY?

WE ARE RESOLVED - WE ARE COMMITTED - TO DO SO IN TWO FUNDAMENTAL WAYS.

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FIRSTLY - BY LETTING THE PEOPLE SPEAK. BY LETTING THE PEOPLE SPEAK THROUGH THEIR LEADERS. BY NEGOTIATION BETWEEN ALL THESE LEADERS. NEGOTIATION IN WHICH WE WILL ALL ENDEAVOUR TO IMPROVE OUR COMMON WELL-BEING. NEGOTIATION IN WHICH THERE WILL BE GIVE AND TAKE. WE WILL NOT PRESCRIBE AND WE WILL NOT DEMAND - TO DO SO WOULD BE TO TAKE ONLY. WE WILL GIVE SO THAT OTHERS CAN ALSO GIVE - TOWARDS A BETTER FUTURE FOR EACH AND EVERYONE.

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SECONDLY - THE OVER-RIDING COMMON DENOMINATOR IS OUR MUTUAL INTEREST IN EACH OTHER'S FREEDOMS AND WELL-BEING. OUR PEACE AND PROSPERITY IS INDIVISIBLE. THEREFORE, THE ONLY

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WAY FORWARD IS THROUGH CO-OPERATION AND CO-RESPONSIBILITY.  
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IF WE IGNORE THE EXISTENCE OF MINORITIES: IF WE IGNORE THE INDIVIDUAL'S RIGHT TO ASSOCIATE WITH OTHERS IN THE PRACTICE OF HIS BELIEFS AND THE PROPAGATION OF HIS VALUES: IF WE DENY THIS IN FAVOUR OF A SIMPLISTIC 'WINNER-TAKES-ALL' POLITICAL SYSTEM - THEN WE WILL DIMINISH AND NOT INCREASE

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THE FREEDOMS OF OUR PEOPLES. THEN WE WOULD DENY THE RIGHT  
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OF EACH AND EVERYONE TO SHARE IN THE DECISIONS WHICH SHAPE HIS DESTINY.

BETWEEN THE MANY AND VARIED LEADERS IN THIS COUNTRY, THERE ARE IMPORTANT DIFFERENCES OF POLICY. I RECOGNIZE THIS - BUT I ALSO KNOW THAT THEIR LOVE OF SOUTH AFRICA IS AS INTENSE AS MY OWN. I AM, THEREFORE, IN NO DOUBT THAT, WORKING TOGETHER, WE SHALL SUCCEED IN FINDING THE WAY WHICH WILL SATISFY THE REASONABLE ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ASPIRATIONS OF EVERYONE.

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THE WORK OF THE SPECIAL CABINET COMMITTEE IS BEARING FRUIT. AT THE CORRECT TIME I AND OTHER HEADS OF GOVERNMENTS, TOGETHER WITH OTHER LEADERS OF GOODWILL, WILL ALSO BE ABLE TO TAKE PART MORE DIRECTLY IN THIS PROCESS.

WE HAVE NEVER GIVEN IN TO OUTSIDE DEMANDS AND WE ARE NOT GOING TO DO SO. SOUTH AFRICA'S PROBLEMS WILL BE SOLVED BY X

SOUTH AFRICANS AND NOT BY FOREIGNERS. WE ARE NOT GOING TO BE DETERRED FROM DOING WHAT WE THINK BEST, NOR WILL WE BE FORCED INTO DOING WHAT WE DON'T WANT TO DO. THE TRAGEDY IS THAT HOSTILE PRESSURE AND AGITATION FROM ABROAD HAVE ACTED

AS AN ENCOURAGEMENT TO THE MILITANT REVOLUTIONARIES IN SOUTH AFRICA TO CONTINUE WITH THEIR VIOLENCE AND INTIMIDATION. THEY HAVE DERIVED COMFORT AND SUCCOUR FROM THIS PRESSURE.

MY GOVERNMENT AND I ARE DETERMINED TO PRESS AHEAD WITH OUR REFORM PROGRAMME, AND TO THOSE WHO PREFER REVOLUTION TO REFORM, I SAY THEY WILL NOT SUCCEED NO MATTER HOW MUCH SUPPORT AND ENCOURAGEMENT THEY DERIVE FROM OUTSIDE SOURCES. WE CAN AND WE WILL RESOLVE OUR PROBLEMS BY PEACEFUL MEANS. DESPITE THE DISTURBANCES, DESPITE THE INTIMIDATION, THERE

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IS MORE THAN ENOUGH GOODWILL AMONG BLACKS, WHITES, COLOUREDS AND ASIANS TO ENSURE THAT WE SHALL JOINTLY FIND SOLUTIONS ACCEPTABLE TO US.

I AM ENCOURAGED BY THE GROWING NUMBER OF BLACK LEADERS WHO ARE COMING FORWARD TO DENOUNCE VIOLENCE. ANY REDUCTION OF VIOLENCE WILL BE MATCHED BY ACTION ON THE PART OF THE GOVERNMENT TO LIFT THE STATE OF EMERGENCY AND RESTORE NORMALITY IN THE AREAS CONCERNED. MOREOVER, AS VIOLENCE DIMINISHES, AS CRIMINAL AND TERRORIST ACTIVITIES CEASES,

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AND AS THE PROCESS OF DIALOGUE AND COMMUNICATION ACQUIRES GREATER MOMENTUM, THERE WOULD BE LITTLE NEED TO KEEP THOSE AFFECTED IN DETENTION OR PRISON.

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PRINCIPLES I HAVE STATED TODAY CAN HAVE FAR-REACHING EFFECTS ON US ALL. I BELIEVE THAT WE ARE TODAY CROSSING THE RUBICON. THERE CAN BE NO TURNING BACK. WE NOW HAVE A MANIFESTO FOR THE FUTURE OF OUR COUNTRY, AND WE MUST EMBARK ON A PROGRAMME OF 'POSITIVE ACTION' IN THE MONTHS AND YEARS THAT LIE AHEAD. THE CHALLENGES WE

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FACE CALL FOR ALL CONCERNED TO NEGOTIATE IN A SPIRIT OF GIVE AND TAKE. WITH MUTUAL GOODWILL WE SHALL REACH OUR DESTINATION PEACEFULLY.

WE UNDERTAKE TO DO ALL THAT MAN CAN POSSIBLY DO. IN SO  
SAYING, I PRAY THAT ALMIGHTY GOD WOULD GRANT US THE WISDOM  
AND THE STRENGTH TO SEEK TO FULFIL HIS WILL.

ISSUED BY:

MINISTER (INFORMATION)  
SOUTH AFRICAN EMBASSY  
LONDON

15 AUGUST 1985

PRESIDENT BOTHA'S SPEECH, 15 AUGUST

SALIENT POINTS

Citizenship

"Should any of the Black national states therefore prefer not to accept independence, such states or communities will remain a part of the South African nation, are South African citizens and should be accommodated within political institutions within the boundaries of the Republic of South Africa."

Homelands

"I firmly believe that the granting and acceptance of independence by various black peoples within the context of their own statehood, represent a material part of the solution."

Black political rights

"I believe in participation of all the South African communities on matters of common concern. I believe there should exist structures to reach this goal of co-responsibility and participation."

"I know for a fact that most leaders in their own right in South Africa and reasonable South Africans will not accept the principle of one-man-one-vote in a unitary system."

"Secondly, a so called fourth chamber of parliament is not a practical solution."

"The only way forward is through co-operation and co-responsibility."

Negotiation with black leaders

"It is my considered opinion that any future constitutional dispensation providing for participation by all South African citizens should be negotiated."

"I am pressed by some who mean it well and those who wish to destroy orderly government in this country, to make a statement of intent. I am not prepared to make it, not now and not tomorrow."

"I admit that the acceptance by my government of the existence of black communities in urban areas outside the national states, means that a solution will have to be found for their legitimate rights. The future of these communities and their constitutional arrangements will have to be negotiated with leaders from the national states, as well as from their own ranks."

"I stated in Parliament that if Mr Mandela gives a commitemnt that he will not make himself guilty of planning, instigating or committing acts of violence for the furtherance of political objectives I will, in principle, be prepared to consider his release."

[We will build a better future] "By letting the people speak throgh their leaders. By negotiation between all these leaders. Negotiation in which we will all endeavour to improve our common well-being. Negotiation in which there will be give and take."

#### Influx Control

"On the question of influx control - I can only say that the present system is outdated and too costly. The President's council will probably report on this matter in the near future, while the Government itself is at present also considering improvements."

#### Outside Pressure

"During recent weeks there was an unparalleled scurry from different sources, within and outside South Africa, to predict and prescribe what is to be announced at this Congress. It was also envisaged that worldwide, people are going to be dissatisfied if certain things are not announced as were predicted"

"It is, of course, a well-known tactic in negotiations to limit the other person's freedom of movement about possible decisions, thus

forcing him in a direction where his options are increasingly restricted."

"We have never given in to outside demands and we are not going to do so. South Africa's problems will be solved by South Africans and not by foreigners. We are not going to be deterred from doing what we think best, nor will we be forced into doing what we don't want to do. The tragedy is that hostile pressure and agitation from abroad have acted as an encouragement to the militant revolutionaries in South Africa to continue with their violence and intimidation. They have derived comfort and succour from this pressure."

#### Manifesto

"Together with my policy statements earlier this year in Parliament, I see this speech of mine as my manifesto."

"The implementation of the principles I have stated today can have far-reaching effects on us all. I believe that we are today crossing the rubicon. There can be no turning back. We now have a manifesto for the future of our country, and we must embark on a programme of positive action in the months and years that lie ahead."

#### State of Emergency

"Any reduction of violence will be matched by action on the part of the Government to lift the State of Emergency."

## PREVIOUS SAG STATEMENTS ON THE KEY ISSUES

### Citizenship

P W Botha, 25 January - "The Special Cabinet Committee has been directed to submit a report and recommendations ... on the problems of terminology and content that surround the question of citizenship."

P W Botha, 19 April - loss of South African citizenship not a necessary consequence of Homeland independence.

### Homelands

P W Botha, 25 January - "Independence will remain the goal ... the Government does not intend forcing this on anyone"

P W Botha, 19 June - "I maintain that the vast majority of South Africans and citizens of TBVC states do have (decision-making) structures at their disposal, either in this Parliament, or in the TBVC states or in the National States, and these structures can be extended."

### Black political participation

P W Botha, 25 January - "The Government accepts the permanence in the RSA of large numbers of members of black population communities who find themselves outside the national states... The intensive promotion of the local government system for black communities and steps to increase the credibility of existing Black local authorities are vital ... Therefore structures must be developed for black communities outside the national states through which they can themselves decide on their own affairs up to the highest level."

Setting up of "informal, non-statutory forum". "There will be open discussion on a wide range of constitutional and related matters to improve communication between the government and black communities and to create a more favourable basis for negotiations aimed at arriving at mutually acceptable development steps in the constitutional field."



P W Botha, 19 June - "I do not believe in a so-called unitary system based on one-man one-vote ... I do believe however that we must continue to establish improved structures of government through discussion, so that everybody in South Africa can participate in decision making that concerns their own needs and interests ... The principle of self-determination to which the South African Government is committed leaves the way open for unlimited possibilities compatible with the choices which each population or community group may eventually wish to make."

#### Influx Control

P W Botha, 7 April - Government to take "steps to promote orderly urbanisation and to eliminate negative and discriminatory aspects of influx control.

Dr G Viljoen, 11 April - Government accepts influx of black urban population unavoidable. Government will introduce legislation on influx control later this year.

P W Botha, 19 April - Goal is planned urbanisation on principle of deconcentration away from principal metropolitan areas  
[ie more dormitory townships like Khayelitsha]