

SECRET

SUMMARY NOTES OF A MEETING BETWEEN A SOUTH AFRICAN AND A UNITED STATES DELEGATION : GENEVA, 20 APRIL 1986

- South African delegation : Minister R F Botha
- Mr P R Killen
- Ambassador J H A Beukes
- Mr A L Manley
- Mr D W Auret
- United States delegation : Dr C Crocker
- Mr Richard Barkley
- Mr Robert Cabelly
- Mr Phil Ringdahl
- Mr Ashley Wills

DR CROCKER welcomed the South African delegation and said that he thought that it might be useful if the two delegations could have a talk about the position in South Africa as well as events in Mozambique and South West Africa and Angola.

MINISTER BOTHA thanked dr Crocker and said that he considered the meetings which took place between the United States and South Africa to be extremely valueable. He wanted to start with the latest developments inside South Africa and work from there. In this regard much had taken place since the last meeting he had had with dr Crocker in Geneva in February 1986 and in fact many important internal developments had taken place. The developments of the previous week had perhaps been the most far-reaching and the ending of the pass-laws as well as the fact that no more arrests would take place under this legislation, should not have passed unnoticed. He wanted to say that the South African Government was not trying to disguise influx control and that its intention to get rid of this aspect was totally sincere. On the other hand it should be

understood that totally uncontrolled movement into the cities could also not be allowed and the Government had thus decided to approach this question along the lines of a positive urbanization process. There were no nuances in the South African Government's intentions. There were no specific measures aimed at any specific community or designed for a particular community. It would no doubt be difficult to limit the flow of Black persons to South Africa's cities since, as long as South Africa had a difficult economic position and for as long as it suffered from the after effects of the drought, such an inflow would necessarily continue. What the Government was thinking about was controlled squatting on land which would be made available for such purposes around cities. The minimum of services would be provided but in any event such a development would be better than uncontrolled squatting. Nevertheless, all arrests and prosecutions in terms of the existing pass-law legislation had been suspended and persons who were serving sentences in terms of this legislation would be released. There could be no doubt that the abolition of the pass laws and influx control was one of the most important single measures which affected the daily lives of Black people. Further changes would also be brought about but much of which had to be done needed to be done through negotiation. Rescinding the pass laws was a measure which directly affected the daily lives of Black people and was something which they could feel directly. From the Black point of view it was a tangible development, more so than the concept "sharing of power". The abolition of these laws had been very well received in South Africa although statements from abroad, including the United States, had been wishy-washy. The tenor of most of these statements had been that this step did not remove Apartheid. There was no doubt that the comments by most countries underestimated the importance of this development and he wanted to call on the United States to judge these things for what they are. ~~theless the developments in Natal were interesting and important.~~

The Minister said that he also wanted to bring to the attention of Dr Crocker the Government announcement regarding executive powers in Natal. This was an equally important development. The problem was what the next step would be. At the moment it was thought that the people involved in the Kwa-Natal Indaba wanted to create one legislature -

something which could create problems. In this regard the South African Government faced a dilemma: The New Republic Party was a dying party but was still governing in Natal because of its election victory at the previous election. There was no doubt that they were trying to lengthen their own lives. On the other hand, Chief Buthelezi was nervous because of ANC attacks on him. It might be that he knew that he was on the hitlist of the people who had been trained in Libya and who had recently tried to enter South Africa.

DR CROCKER asked whether Chief Buthelezi had reacted to the announcement of the 17th.

THE MINISTER said that he was not sure whether Chief Buthelezi had in fact responded. Sometimes Chief Buthelezi thought that the Government was not going to act and he would then issue premature statements.

DR CROCKER stated that the South African Government had given him what he had wanted.

THE MINISTER said that the Government had in fact given them what they themselves had proposed.

DR CROCKER asked what the time-scale for the Joint Executive in Natal was.

THE MINISTER indicated that it was a joint administration and not a single executive. His personal opinion was that this was just a beginning, a first step to something else. It appeared as if the participants in the Indaba were aiming at a single legislature although he could only speculate in this regard. Nevertheless the developments in Natal were interesting and important.

The two announcements which had been made by the State President during the debate on his budget vote on 17 April were very important practical and major steps forward. It had a direct effect on the ground. There had been other announcements made in the past but he wanted to state

that the present debate and the style of debate regarding change in South Africa was important. In this regard he wanted to note that as far as the Coloured Labour Preference Policy in the Western Cape was concerned, the State President had used this as an example of how reality had confronted him and he had been forced to say that he had been wrong. He had added that the South African Government had gone too far with Apartheid and had done certain idiotic things. For example a White and a Black man could drive together to a Post-Office but when they wanted to enter the building they had to go through separate doors. What was important was that the State President's budget debate had taken place in the context of the reform process. The State President had indicated that it had been wrong not to implement the Tomlinson Report and not to allow White capital into Black areas. The point about the debate was the forthright way in which the State President had admitted that mistakes had been made. In this light the past week had been extremely important not only because of the practical effects of the steps which had been announced.

The Minister referred to the recent statement made by Mrs Winnie Mandela in London and said that she had done herself and the ANC a grave disservice. What she had said was bad. It proved that there were elements in South Africa who wanted and who had to have violence to achieve their objectives. He had welcomed the indication from the State Department that they disassociated themselves from such public utterances. The Minister said that he was worried about the hit-squads which were being trained in Libya, such as the one which had recently tried to enter South Africa. The problem was that South Africa did not know how many were to come. South Africa basically had to do with two groups of people at the present time. There were Blacks, Whites, Coloureds and Indians who wanted to share power and those who didn't care what happened to the country and simply wanted to use violence to impose their own brand of ideology on South Africa.

In this regard the Minister related a story of a member of the Progressive Federal Party who had interested himself in Black radical politics. He had been taken to Soweto in a rather cloak and dagger

fashion and had attended a meeting of Black radicals at which some progress had been made. A second meeting had then taken place. At this meeting a conversation in one of South Africa's Black languages, which the MP happened to understand, took place and a bit of a rift between the participants developed. They had in fact discussed whether or not they should not burn this PFP - MP. His life had been at stake but the people who had taken him to the meeting managed to extricate him from a rather precarious position. The Minister said he wanted to mention this to illustrate that there were elements in South Africa who believed in violence. There was a hard core element who had the mentality of the Joe Slovos of this world and who simply wanted to kill people. But there were also others. President Botha had indicated that the South African Government did not believe that there were only Communists in the ANC and that it was not his impression that all ANC members were Communists.

The Minister said that it was a pity that there had been some misinterpretation about the fact that the Government had decided to hold a Second Session of Parliament later in this year. He wanted to say to dr Crocker that Parliament would re-assemble in August to continue until it had finished its work. This was a further indication of the sense of urgency which the Government had as far as its programme of reform was concerned. There should be no doubt however that some of the legislation which it intended passing through Parliament would only proceed with great difficulty.

DR CROCKER said that the Minister should understand if the reactions of the United States were not as South Africa would have scripted them. The US however needed to have solid ground under its feet. He wanted to know how the White paper on influx control would look.

THE MINISTER said that there would be no question of colour or of discrimination in the White paper. The idea was that natural market forces should govern the flow of people to cities. What was important was that there should be a creative programme of job creation. Other

matters such as housing facilities, health and schooling would also be important.

DR CROCKER asked whether the question of identity documents would be problematical.

THE MINISTER said that he did not foresee problems but that the present documents should in the meanwhile, and until everyone had been issued with similar documents, be retained for administrative purposes.

DR CROCKER asked what the practical effects of the announcements regarding influx control were.

THE MINISTER said that there would be no more arrests, that all prosecutions under the old dispensation would be stopped and that people serving sentences in terms of the old legislation would be released.

DR CROCKER remarked that this was powerful stuff and expressed the hope that application of the new procedures would be completely non-racial.

THE MINISTER assured dr Crocker that it would be non-racial. At the moment the Government was looking for more land around the cities in order to allow controlled squatting. He was aware that people were horrified by the conditions at Crossroads. So was he. He had personally not seen the White paper but wanted to tell dr Crocker that the Cabinet Committee had decided that there would be no reference to race in the paper.

DR CROCKER remarked that the South African Government, by implementing this legislation for all these years, had created a massive illegal problem for itself. He wanted to know what the immediate effect of the lifting of the influx control restrictions would be.

THE MINISTER replied that he did not quite know. There were 2 million illegal immigrants or illegal persons in South Africa and he would hope

that the West would start an imaginative job creation programme also in neighbouring states in order that these people would have something to return to.

DR CROCKER asked what the time-scales were as far as the Parliamentary Session was concerned.

THE MINISTER indicated that Parliament would end on 20 June for a holiday period and resume again on 18 August 1986. This resumption would take place immediately after the Federal Congress of the National Party which had been called in August.

DR CROCKER asked what one could look out for down the road.

THE MINISTER indicated that the intention would be to pass all the legislation which fell under Minister Heunis' portfolio. A legal basis for the implementation of the programme which the Government had embarked upon had to be laid. The Government was waiting for the President Council's report on the Group Areas Act as well as on the matter of Citizenship. In the meantime it was experiencing opposition on the Citizenship question from all four independent national states. Venda had not been too much of a problem but Transkei, Bophutatswana and the Ciskei had been against it. This was a rather ironical position. What had worried these states most at the time of independence was now an issue which they did not want to address. He was talking about Blacks who had lost their citizenship because of the independence of some of the national states within South Africa. The Government could not touch the citizens of the independent states but it would simply have to go ahead and make a law which allowed it to do so. In a nutshell the independent national states did not want its citizens to have the option of again becoming South African citizens.

DR CROCKER remarked that this was an interesting reaction on the part of the states. It was almost suicidal.

THE MINISTER said that he had been disappointed with Mrs Thatcher's response to the recent letter from President Botha. The problem was

THE MINISTER said that President Mangope had indicated that he was not interested in coming back into South Africa at this stage but had said that the day that the Government sat down with the ANC he would come. This was a clear indication that the South African Government would be in deep trouble if it had to do a deal with the ANC without the independent national states and Chief Buthelezi. He thought that the Government would make a law bestowing South African citizenship on all Black people and would come close to a blanket restoration of citizenship.

DR CROCKER asked whether it was correct that the discussion on the White paper would take place now but that the legislation would only proceed in August.

THE MINISTER referred to the proposal for the creation of a National Statutory Council and indicated that the South African Government would soon be passing a law to create a legal basis on which this could proceed. The idea would be to make the law as vague as possible and he believed that the NSC was the most promising interim feature of constitutional development in South Africa since that Council could become the basis of a National Executive in future. In this regard it should be recalled that it was also in the Government's intention to abolish the provinces. (The Minister at this point read to Dr Crocker a list of legislation which the Government intended passing this year)

MR RINGDAHL referred to the Black concern about a deal with the ANC. He wanted to know whether this had implications for the EPG initiative.

THE MINISTER said that the South African Government could not make a deal with the ANC.

MR RINGDAHL said that the EPG initiative addressed the question of the ANC as a major part of its proposals.

THE MINISTER said that he had been disappointed with Mrs Thatcher's response to the recent letter from President Botha. The problem was

that she presented the next step as if the South African Government had to make a deal with the ANC. In fact the Government had made two important points: If the EPG gave an assurance that violence would stop, then the South African Government could release Mr Mandela, unban the ANC and the PAC and withdraw from the townships. The South African Government had never asked the ANC to talk but, if they ended the present violence in South Africa, there was no doubt that the situation could change. The second point had been that he did not think that one could release Mr Mandela if the Police would not be able to act on violence which might occur or increase following the release. If South Africa then acted against such violence it might bring about further punitive action against it. In his view it was not for the EPG to lay down conditions under which the South African Government could maintain law and order. They were not a law-enforcement agency.

DR CROCKER said that he had been impressed with the letter of President Botha to President Reagan. He wanted however at this point ^{to} turn to a discussion of nuclear matters.

(A discussion concerning nuclear matters then proceeded, for which separate notes are available).