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EMBASSY OF SOUTH AFRICA  
3051 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W.  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20008

February 3, 1984

Mr Morton C. Blackwell  
Special Assistant  
Office of Public Liaison  
The White House  
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr Blackwell:

You are doubtless aware that South African Prime Minister Pieter Botha has announced that South Africa would begin to disengage its troops in Angola effective immediately. He also stated that trilateral discussions between South Africa, the US and Angola should not be discounted as a next step in negotiations on South West Africa/Namibia.

Mr Botha made the above remarks during a major policy statement speech to the South African Parliament on January 31, 1984. I am enclosing a copy of that speech for your information.

Please contact me should you wish to discuss this issue in more detail.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "Chris C. Badenhorst".

Chris C. Badenhorst  
Counsellor (Information)



# PRESS RELEASE

Issued by: The Minister (Information), Embassy of South Africa, Washington, D.C.

## BOTHA DETAILS POLICY ON SWA/NAMIBIA

### SWA Not Part of South Africa

Throughout the protracted dispute with the international community on South West Africa/Namibia, the Republic of South Africa has been guided by four basic principles:

- (1) That the territory is not and never has been part of South Africa;
- (ii) That the people of the territory should themselves decide on a constitutional dispensation;
- (iii) That the people of the territory should have the opportunity of moving towards self-determination in circumstances of peace and security;
- (iv) That our differences with the international community over South West Africa should be resolved by negotiation wherever possible.

South Africa has never regarded South West Africa as an integral part of its territory. This position has been adhered to by all South African Prime Ministers, including myself. During the 1930s, Prime Minister J.B.M. Hertzog acknowledged in a letter to the League of Nations that South Africa did not possess sovereignty over the territory. For this reason, in its dispute with the United Nations over the territory, South Africa has never had recourse to Article 2 (7) of the UN Charter, which specifically prohibits interference in the domestic affairs of States.

### Development of SWA

South Africa has done everything in its power to develop South West Africa and to ensure that its people are able to go about their daily lives in circumstances of peace and security. During the current financial year, for example, South Africa has made direct and indirect assistance available to the territory amounting to about R560 million. This does not include the R400 to R500 million which South Africa has spent during the current financial year on the security and protection of the people of South West Africa. Moreover, South African guarantees for South West African loans, internally and abroad, up to March 31, 1984 will be on the order of R690 million. In the event of a South West African default, this guarantee carries the possible implication of South Africa paying interest, equal to double the capital owing, should investors insist upon South Africa honouring the full investment terms.

South Africa's total assistance to South West Africa, with a total population of just over 1 million, must surely be one of the most generous aid programs anywhere in the world today. It has, as its prime objective, the establishment of a situation where the people of South West Africa will be able to decide their own future.

### SWAPO Terrorism

However, they will not be able to realize this objective while they continue to be attacked by terrorists who cross international borders to murder, maim, intimidate, abduct school children and destroy the economic infrastructure. South Africa accordingly has done whatever has been necessary to protect South West Africans against such attacks and to act against the perpetrators wherever they may be found. Our determination to do so has exacted a heavy price - in material, in international condemnation, and in the lives of our young men. Nevertheless, we felt that, heavy as the price has been, the sacrifice will not have been in vain if it has served to demonstrate to our enemies that we shall not bow before terrorism as a means of achieving political power. Nor shall we bow before Soviet threats. However, it

goes without saying that South Africa will not continue to bear this heavy burden if it seems that the continued presence of our forces does not enjoy the whole-hearted support of the people of South West Africa. It must be clearly understood that we will not impose ourselves on others. We will not protect those who do not desire our protection.

Can South Africa be expected to continue to bear this burden under circumstances where we do not claim sovereignty over territory, where we are exposed to criticism from the internal parties of South West Africa, where we are severely condemned by the West and where the United Nations has threatened us with enforcement measures?

#### Cooperation With International Community

Although South Africa has never shied away from the use of arms when such action has been unavoidable, it has never believed that there can be any long-term military solution to the problems of Southern Africa. It is for this reason that South Africa has patiently argued its case at the United Nations and in the International Court of Justice. It has consistently cooperated with the various initiatives which were launched by the international community to resolve this matter, including the proposal of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers in 1951, the Arden/Clarke Initiative of 1958, the Visits of Carpio and De Alva in 1962, and of Dr Waldheim and Dr Alfred Esscher in 1972. The fact that these efforts were not successful cannot be laid at South Africa's door but may be ascribed to the persistent refusal of the international community to acknowledge the realities of the South West Africa situation.

Similarly, South Africa has cooperated with the initiative of the five Western Group countries. Despite repeated disappointment and set-backs during the past seven years, South Africa was able to announce, during the Secretary-General's visit to Cape Town last year, that all the outstanding obstacles to the implementation of a settlement based on Resolution 435 had been resolved, with the exception of the continuing



presence of the Cubans in Angola. The introduction and consolidation of Soviet influence in Angola clearly poses a threat not only to the future independence of South West Africa but to the stability of all the countries of our region. The fact that this last remaining obstacle has not yet been removed can also not be laid at South Africa's door.

#### Overtures to Angola-UN

South Africa has done everything in its power to bring about a peaceful settlement in the border area between South West Africa and Angola. It repeatedly urged the former Secretary-General to use his good offices to bring about a cessation of armed attacks against South West Africa/Namibia from Angola. However, its requests were ignored. On several occasions, South Africa sought to put its case to the General Assembly but its right to do so was simply brushed aside, obviously because the majority in the United Nations find the truth too painful to accept. And, when the representatives of the people of South West Africa, who were suffering SWAPO attacks, sought to express their grievances to the UN, the Security Council was not even prepared to give them a hearing.

Having exhausted the possibilities of preventing SWAPO aggression through the United Nations, South Africa attempted to resolve the problem directly with the MPLA Government. It was hoped that the Cape Verde talks in December 1982 and February 1983 would lead to the establishment of visible peace in the border area and would make an important contribution to the settlement of the broader problems of the region. These hopes were, however, dashed when it became evident that the MPLA Government was not prepared to stop SWAPO's terrorist activities. Nevertheless, South Africa continued its efforts for peace and, on December 15, 1983, informed the Secretary-General that it would be prepared to begin a disengagement of forces on January 31, 1984 on the understanding that this gesture would be reciprocated by the Angolan Government, which would assure that its own forces, SWAPO and the Cubans would not exploit the resulting situation, in particular with regard to

actions which might threaten the security of the inhabitants of South West Africa/Namibia.

#### Disengagement in Angola

On the basis of assurances received from the United States Government, during the latest round of discussions in Cape Town on January 27-28, I wish to confirm South Africa's decision to begin disengaging its forces in Angola with effect from today. I repeat I wish now to confirm South Africa's decision to begin disengaging its forces in Angola with effect from today. The success of a disengagement of forces and ultimately a ceasefire depends not on one party alone but on the behaviour of all the parties. Necessary steps must, and indeed will, be taken to ensure that our decision is not exploited at the expense of the security of the inhabitants of South West Africa. We believe there is a possibility for achieving a climate of increased security in that area and are prepared to negotiate practical arrangements to ensure that this possibility is given every chance of success. To achieve this objective, trilateral discussions between South Africa, the United States and Angola are not excluded.

However, the problems of South West Africa will not be resolved simply by stopping the war. The people of South West Africa must now demonstrate their willingness to produce a viable political solution.

#### SWA Leadership

Towards the middle of 1983 various leaders in South West Africa came together to see to what extent they could agree on the most important problems facing the territory.

At the time, the South African Government did not wish to comment on the development because it was in line with our basic approach that the people of the territory should themselves decide their future.



The initiative - which originated amongst the leaders of several of the parties of South West Africa - created a forum for discussion, the Multi-Party Conference (MPC). The MPC issued a statement on January 24, 1984 in which they set out their objectives and mutually agreed points of view, including the desirability of peace and an internationally-acceptable solution for the South West African issue. I quote from the concluding paragraphs of an MPC statement:

'The Multi-Party Conference is a spontaneous effort which has committed itself to the urgency of effecting peace, national reconciliation, independence and economic welfare.'

'It is our conviction that these objectives cannot be attained under conditions of continued political subjugation or a belief in the total effectiveness of the military struggle. National reconciliation and significant negotiations can also accelerate the process of independence.'

'The Multi-Party Conference is of the opinion that the present political and constitutional order is unsatisfactory and contrary to the national interest of our people as a whole.'

'We shall, therefore, strive to find ways and means to work out a political and constitutional system which is acceptable to the people as a whole and which will fit into the framework which South Africa and the Western Contact Group have worked out. We shall contribute to the removal of the stumbling blocks in the path of an acceptable settlement and independence with international recognition.'

It should be emphasized that I have quoted from the MPC's own statement and that the South African Government therefore is entitled to accept that this is what they intend to do. They have, moreover, also personally conveyed these sentiments to U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Dr Chester Crocker during his visit to South Africa at the end of last week. I also met with them in Cape town on Thursday, January 26, 1984. Follow-up meetings were held with my colleague, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, on January 27-28, 1984.



During the meeting on January 26, 1984 I conveyed to the MPC the South African Government's views on a number of important issues. Amongst others, I informed them that the interests of South Africa were of paramount importance to me and, if there is to be a choice between the interests of South Africa and the interests of South West Africa, I will give priority to the interests of South Africa.

I also said that South Africa is no longer prepared to shoulder the tremendous financial burden of South West Africa alone.

I believe that the leaders of South West Africa who came to see me are now under no illusion about my government's determination to resolve this matter one way or another and as soon as possible.

I therefore trust that South Africa's position is perfectly clear. It is up to the political leaders of South West Africa to decide what they are going to do and to do so with urgency.

I have this morning received the following message from the representatives of the six parties which are at present participating in the Multi-Party Conference of South West Africa:

'The Multi-Party Conference expresses its appreciation for the direct manner in which you conveyed the position of the South African Government on the SWA/Namibia question to the MPC delegation on January 28, 1984. The MPC also expresses its understanding for the points of view which you conveyed to us during the interview.'

'The Multi-Party Conference accepts the opportunity which you have granted it as a challenge to work with the South African Government and other members of the international community in urgently identifying ways and means to work out a political and constitutional dispensation which will be acceptable to the people as a whole and which will be within the framework established by South Africa and the Western Contact Group.'

'The Multi-Party Conference is already committed to strive for peace, national reconciliation, independence and economic progress, and to contribute to the removal of the obstacles which stand in the way of a nationally-acceptable solution and independence with international recognition. After the discussions which the MPC delegation conducted with you last week, with ministers of your government, and the American delegation led by Dr Chester Crocker, the MPC reaffirms its commitment to these objectives in a renewed spirit of urgency and determination.'

This is an encouraging message and I wish to express my appreciation to the leaders who subscribed to it.

#### Emergence of Regional Cooperation

There are today in Southern Africa tentative signs that it is not only South Africa which is prepared to make the required contribution to achieve greater security for all. I can see a possibility that we are entering a new era of realism in Southern Africa. South Africa is prepared to do its share on the understanding that other countries in the region will also do their share. It is in this spirit that South Africa has met and will continue to meet with its neighbors to develop mutual understandings. South Africa is a major force in the region and has no intention of apologizing for its economic, industrial and military strength. Indeed, it is South Africa's technological and economic capacity which can and should be harnessed for the benefit of all the countries of the region.

#### Realism in West Re Africa

I believe there is also a growing sense of realism about Africa in the West generally. During the visit of the Minister of Foreign Affairs to certain Western European capitals in November/December 1983, he warned those leaders with whom he held discussions to move away from their static view of developments in Africa. He pointed out to them that

Africa had been partially re-colonized and that some African leaders were abusing their power in order to disguise the economic and social retrogression which had set in in their countries. In this regard, it is interesting to note that in an article in "Time" magazine of January 16, 1984, the world's attention was also drawn to the retrogression in Africa.

#### Negotiations a Priority

At the same time, we are making a genuine effort to offer our immediate neighbors and other nations in Africa, a reasonable opportunity for negotiated mechanisms to bridge our political differences in order to make possible mutually-beneficial cooperation. South Africa's strength is manifest. So is our determination to offer a reasonable and preferable alternative to war and destruction.

All members of the house are aware of the discussions underway between representatives of the South African Government and the Government of Mozambique. These discussions involve not only our security concerns but deal also with cooperation in the economic sphere.

We offer treaties, food, trade, expertise and energy. We offer peace and cooperation. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, has brought only violence and economic exploitation to every country that has ever had the misfortune to fall under its influence. Let us be clear. The trend to violence profits no one in Southern Africa. The only one who wants it and will benefit from it is Moscow. I am not prepared to allow this to happen to our country.

#### Stability or Confrontation?

It has been said before and I repeat it here today that Southern Africa stands at the crossroads between confrontation and peace. I am acutely aware of the urgent need for the countries of Southern Africa to make their choice.



We in South Africa are fully aware of the damaging consequences which an increased level of conflict in the region could hold for us, but the time has come for our neighbors to realize the catastrophic consequences an escalation of conflict will mean for them. I believe that, to ensure a better life for all, the peoples of Southern Africa have no choice other than to seek peace and stability in the region. Therefore, I invite all the leaders of Southern Africa to join me in taking up this challenge.