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PER NSC WAIVER #2021-02

By MJM NARA, Date 7/16/2021THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 17, 1992

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INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT *BS**CS*
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 8/20SUBJECT: **South Africa: Prospects Brighten**

Although very difficult issues remain, the situation in South Africa is much improved in the past month. Improvement began with a good Security Council session in July passing an excellent resolution that led to the Cyrus Vance mission and the first UN observers in South Africa. Indeed, Nelson Mandela believes you undertook a special effort to ensure that the UNSC meet and act and has asked that you be told about his gratitude. De Klerk and Pik Botha have also praised you and the U.S. role in negotiating the resolution. We are now well placed to further influence events.

The new UN role and a successful visit by Hank Cohen and Ted McNamara to Pretoria the first week of August give cause for optimism that constitutional negotiations will resume in September. When they do, the focus should be on "devolution of power" (i.e. regionalization/federalism) and a timetable for a transition regime. Yet, fundamental differences remain: de Klerk wants to share power; the ANC wants to take it all; other black parties want to limit both ANC and the whites.

The greatest threat to peaceful evolution is the brutal violence on all sides. De Klerk does not condone police violence, but he has not done enough to discipline or restructure the repressive security apparatus held over from prior governments. The ANC, on the other hand, cannot control its armed militants, and the Zulu forces of Inkatha are also guilty of horrors. Until violence is controlled, the peace process is in grave danger. However, the Government now appears ready to accept a UN role in investigating the security forces, and to completely restructure the police. If so, this could accelerate the ANC's return to negotiations and help reestablish the good de Klerk-Mandela relationship that has been in tatters since the Boipatong massacre.

As the parties get closer to resuming negotiations, we may want to approach them, perhaps via letters from you, to press some key issues:

-- For the Government, to have them take a much more active posture in combatting violence, and to take a more realistic

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cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

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approach to their future political role in post-apartheid South Africa.

- For the ANC, to move away from pure majoritarianism and consider measures -- such as federalism -- that ensure effective white participation in the political system while allowing the majority to govern effectively.
- For Buthelezi and Inkatha, to move strongly to curb violence and abandon "cultural weapons" (i.e., spears and clubs that kill as effectively as guns.)

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