

~~SECRET NOFORN~~A/NIO/AF  
25 July 1985DCI TALKING POINTS FOR 26 JULY NSC MEETING:  
SOUTH AFRICA DOMESTIC SITUATION

Pretoria has and will use the resources needed to end the current wave of violence in black townships, restore a semblance of order, and resume gradual reforms. Its hopes of nurturing a moderate black leadership willing to follow Pretoria's lead, however, are increasingly unrealistic. The root causes of black unrest are likely to intensify and future outbreaks of violence are inevitable.

- The government will not abandon its commitment to reform, but will not tolerate being seen as "buckling under" either to black pressures or foreign criticism. If need be, the government will expand its emergency powers and crack down even harder.
- Once the government feels in control, it may well attempt to present a "package" of "more significant" reforms. These are likely to include movement on issues of common citizenship and amendment of influx control laws inhibiting black migration to urban and "white areas." While we do not believe the government is there yet, ultimately Pretoria could agree to discuss some form of limited power sharing with blacks and perhaps entertain more serious discussion on releasing ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

In the short run, the state of emergency is likely to hurt antigovernment groups by depriving them of leaders and weakening organizations. Nevertheless, black townships will remain highly volatile and subject to sudden outbreaks of violence as the gap between black demands and the government's willingness to reform widens. In the longer term, black militancy will increase and those in the "moderate middle" will be forced to harden their views or risk becoming increasingly irrelevant.

- Attacks on black collaborators probably will continue despite pleas from people such as Bishop Tutu to end black-against-black violence.
- Rivalry between antigovernment organizations and tribal groups is likely to continue and there is no shortrun prospect that any one organization can end the fighting, exercise widespread control, or bring all groups together. Some young blacks are likely to go into exile but most will remain behind. Internecine violence will undercut the threat posed by black militancy.
- Over time the already wide generation gap between increasingly militant youths and their parents is likely to grow making it more difficult to control the pace of change.
- Harsh economic conditions--particularly housing shortages and high unemployment--for urban blacks will not get better soon, will fuel unrest, and will work against serious black-white dialogue.

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