

November 5, 1990

Cable No. 360 from the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Consul-General in Pretoria, 'ANC Deputy President Mandela's Visit to Japan (Meeting with Prime Minister Kaifu)'

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Summary:

Prime Minister Kaifu and Nelson Mandela met on October 29, 1990. Kaifu praised Mandela's perseverance and the positive political change ongoing in South Africa. Mandela elaborates on developments in his country and requests \$25 million dollars in financial support from Japan for the African National Congress. Kaifu declines, saying it would be difficult for Japan to give support to a political party. Mandela expresses his frustration that Japan, a "prosperous country," will not support South Africa.

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海部総理・マンデラANC副議長会談

平成2年10月29日

アフリカ第2課

10月29日、総理官邸にて海部総理とマンデラANC副議長との会談が行われたところ、会談内容以下の通り。(同席者 我が方：坂本官房長、渡辺中近東アフリカ局長、太田在ブ
レトリア総領事、神谷アフリカ第2課長 先方：ンコビ財務部長、マビゼラ外交副部長、マ
ツィーラANC東京事務所長、他)

1. 冒頭総理より以下の通り発言。

(1) 貴副議長の初めての訪日を歓迎する。貴副議長が27年間の獄中生活にめげずにアパ
ルトヘイト撤廃に向けての不屈の精神を保たれたことに深い敬意を表する。我が国は、ベル
サイユ会議以来、人種差別に一貫して反対の立場であり、南アにおけるアパルトヘイトの撤
廃を求め、厳しい対南ア規制措置を講じてきた。

(2) 南アにおいては、人種差別を撤廃し、新しい民主的な体制を作る動きがもり上がって
いる。この動きを歴史的な変革に向かっているものと積極的に評価し、一日も早くアパルトヘ
イトが撤廃され、南アに人種差別のない民主的かつ自由な社会が構築されることを期待する。
我が国は、貴副議長が、暴力によらず、交渉による平和的な問題解決にコミットしているこ
とを高く評価する。また、黒人社会内のとりまとめに力強いリーダーシップを発揮している
ことに注目している。同時に、デ・クラーク大統領の国内改革努力を評価しており、これを
支援していくことが重要だと考える。デ・クラーク大統領との間で建設的な話し合いを取り
進められるよう期待する。

(3) 新しい南アが、民主主義と自由経済に基づき、すべての南ア人が平等に自由と繁栄を
共有できるような社会になることを期待。我が国の経済発展の経験や最近の東欧での変革に
鑑みて、自由主義経済が重要と思料する。黒人が南アの将来に重要な役割を果たしていくよ
う、日本としても協力したい。我が国は、国連基金、南アNGO(カギソ・トラスト)への
協力を実施している。これらの援助は、本年度140万ドルである。これに加えて、人材育
成に協力するため、今年度から適切な枠組みを作って、国際協力事業団の研修員として南ア

黒人等を受け入れたい。今後とも南ア黒人支援を拡充していきたい。また、我が国民間も、黒人支援基金を作り、10年間のプロジェクトを実施している。

(4) 短い期間ではあるが、我が国各界との意見交換を通じ有益な滞在となることを希望している。また、国会演説を楽しみにしている。

2. これに対し、マンデラ副議長より以下の通り述べた。

(1) 訪日招待に感謝する。まず、南アにおける政治的發展につき説明し、ANCに対する資金援助をお願いしたい。金額は2、500万ドルである。南ア情勢については、現在行われている交渉プロセスのイニシアティブをとったのはANCである点を述べたい。ANCは過去4年間交渉を主張し続け、漸く、デ・クラーク大統領がこれに前向きに応えた。デ・クラーク大統領との会談が既に2回行われており、3回目を近く予定している。第3回の会談では、自由で民主的な人種差別のない新憲法を策定するための機関について話し合うことになろう。関係者の間で意見の相違はあるが、白人・黒人全ての人に投票権が与えられることが重要である。

(2) 交渉のプロセスが進む中で2万人の亡命者の帰還と600人の政治犯の釈放が進行中である。これらの人々については、住宅や雇用、教育の問題があり、このため、多額の資金が必要。これまでアフリカ、米、加、欧州諸国を歴訪し、資金要請を行い、良い反応を得た。資金は緊急に必要であり、即座に提供をしてもらう必要がある。幾つかの国では、政府の機密の問題があり、明らかにはできないが、ナイジェリアからは500万ドル、カナダからも500万ドルを得た。ヨーロッパでは政治的団体には援助できないといていたが、多くの政府は資金援助のチャンネルを見付けてくれた。アパルトヘイト反対を唱えるだけでは十分ではなく、資金的援助が必要。今回のアジアの歴訪では、インドから2、000万ルピーと580万ドルを得た。インドネシアでは1、000万ドルを即座に得た。豪では、1、500万豪ドルを得た。日本は全世界で最も繁栄している国であり、手ぶらで帰らせられるとは思っていない。日本政府からのサポートを期待している。日本には、友人がいると信ずるが、日本は、新しい南アとの友好関係の構築を望むと表明し、また、南アにおいて交渉プロセスを促進するとの意図表明を行った。ANCはこうした意図表明を歓迎しており、ANCと日本政府との関係の強化に努める所存である。また、南ア経済の発展のために日本の経済的ノ

ウ・ハウと経験を活かしたい。アパルトヘイトの撤廃された後の南アと日本との協力は双方にとって良いことである。この度、ご招待を受けた目的は、南アの政治的な発展を説明し、資金援助を求めることである。

(3) ANCは、政治的な団体であり直接的な資金援助になじまないとの議論が先進国にはあるが、南アでの事態が平和の方向に展開している状況の下で、釈放された政治犯のニーズを満たすためにはANCが管理する資金が必要。ANCは、本来政府が行うべきことを行っており、ANCが政治的団体だから資金が得られないというのは不自然。平和的プロセスに努めているのはANCであり、ANCに信認を与えるべきである。

3. これに対し総理より以下の通り発言。

新しい体制は、人種差別のない新しい民主的体制で自由で民主的な豊かな国造りでなければならない。日本の今日までの経済再建のノウ・ハウ、技術力を学んでもらうために研修員を受け入れることは最初申し上げた通りである。また、これまでも国連基金やカギソ・トラストを通じて協力を実施してきている。我が国では外国の特定の政治団体に助成することは困難である。国連等国際機関と通じてどんな方法で協力できるか考えたい。

4. ついで副議長より次の通り述べた。

検討するというような返事は期待していない。手ぶらで帰ることになるのは、残念である。状況は緊迫しており、即座の援助が役に立つ。自分の滞日中に決定してほしい。カギソ・トラストへのファンドは承知しており、ANCはカギソ・トラストと良好な関係にあるが、日本の援助は米英に較べ極めて少ない。米の黒人援助は3、100万ドル、英は3、500万ポンドまたECを通じて400万ポンドを援助している。

日本の貢献は、ヨーロッパよりもアフリカ諸国よりも小さい。今回アジアを歴訪したが、これまでの3か国より小さい。ANCの資金口座に金を払い込み、そのファンドの使用については、委員会を作り、使用方法を決めるという方法がとれるようお願いしたい。在プレトリア日本総領事館はANCと緊密な関係にあり、総領事館の監視の下に資金を活用することが可能である。国内法にとらわれず、日本のノウ・ハウを利用して、対話プロセスを促進するよう支援して欲しい。総理の説明に留意する。また、自分の言った事も記録に留めてお

く。米英も国連を通じて南アに貢献しており、2国間でも援助を行っている。我々の要求は緊急性を有し、巨額の資金が必要である。最も繁栄する国から援助を得られないのは遺憾である。総理との意見交換の機会を得たことにつき、改めて謝意を表す。

インド他 2ヶ国館に転電した。

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November 5, 1990
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November 2, 1990
Drafter: Suzuki
Telephone number: 3108
[TN: handwritten note in margin] Send following approval of Bureau Director-General

To: Consul-General in Pretoria
From: Minister of Foreign Affairs
Subject: ANC Deputy President Mandela's Visit to Japan (Meeting with Prime Minister Kaifu)
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Meeting Between Prime Minister Kaifu and ANC Deputy President Mandela

October 29, 1990
Second Africa Division

On October 29, a meeting took place at the Prime Minister's Official Residence between Prime Minister Kaifu Toshiki and Nelson Mandela, Deputy President of the African National Congress (ANC). The following is a summary of the substance of the meeting. (Those present from our side: Chief Cabinet Secretary Sakamoto Misoji, Middle Eastern and African Affairs Bureau Director-General Watanabe Makoto, Pretoria Consul-General Ota Masatoshi, Second Africa Division Director Kamitani Takeshi; those present from the other side: Thomas Nkobi, Treasurer-General, ANC; Stanley Mabizela, Deputy Head, Department of International Affairs, ANC; Jerry Matsila, Chief Representative, Tokyo Office, ANC; and others)

1. Prime Minister Kaifu at the outset made the following remarks.

(1) We welcome you, Deputy President, on your first visit to Japan. We express our profound respect to you, Deputy President, for keeping without fail during 27 years in jail an indomitable spirit towards the abolition of apartheid. Japan has consistently maintained since the time of the Versailles Conference a position of opposition to racial discrimination. Our country has called for the abolition of apartheid in South Africa and taken strict regulatory measures against South Africa.

(2) In South Africa there has arisen a movement to abolish racial discrimination and establish a new democratic system. We positively evaluate this movement as heading towards historic change and hope that apartheid will be abolished as soon as possible and that a democratic and free society without racial discrimination will be built in South Africa. Japan highly evaluates, Deputy President, your commitment to the peaceful settlement of problems by negotiation, rather than by violence. We

also take note of your showing strong leadership in organizing within black society. At the same time, we think it important to evaluate President De Klerk's efforts at domestic reform. We hope that you will proceed with constructive discussions with President De Klerk.

(3) We hope that South Africa becomes a society, based on democracy and a free economy, in which all South Africans share equally in freedom and prosperity. In light of Japan's experience of economic development and the recent changes in Eastern Europe, we consider a liberal economy to be important. Japan would like to cooperate so that blacks will play an important role in the future of South Africa. We would like to cooperate with United Nations funds and the South African NGO (Kagiso Trust). This aid will be for 1.4 million dollars this year. In addition, in order to cooperate in the development of human resources, we would like to create from this year a suitable framework and accept black South Africans as trainees of the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA). We would like to expand henceforth as well our aid to black South Africans. In addition, the Japanese private sector is also creating a fund to support blacks and is implementing a 10-year project.

(4) Although it is for a short period of time, we hope that your stay will be a beneficial one through exchanges of views with various sectors of Japan. Also, we look forward to your speech before the Diet.

2. In reply, Deputy President Mandela, made the following remarks.

(1) I thank you for the invitation to visit Japan. First, I would like to explain the political developments in South Africa and ask for your financial support for the ANC. The amount is 25 million dollars. Regarding the situation in South Africa, I would like to point out that it was the ANC that took the initiative in the negotiating process that is now taking place. The ANC for the past four years continued to insist on negotiations and, finally, President De Klerk responded in a positive way. Talks with President De Klerk have already taken place two times, and we expect a third time in the near future. In the third meeting, we will probably talk about the mechanism for drawing up a new constitution that will be free, democratic, and without racial discrimination. There are differences of opinion among those involved, but granting the right to vote to everyone, white and black, is important.

(2) While the process of negotiations is advancing, the return of 20,000 political refugees and the release of 600 political prisoners is in process. There are problems of housing, employment, and education for these people and, for this reason, a great amount of money is necessary. I have so far made visits to Africa, the United States, Canada, and various European countries, made requests for funds, and received positive responses. Funds are urgently needed, and we need you to provide them right away. With some countries, there is the problem of government secrets, so I cannot be clear about it, but we got 5 million dollars from Nigeria and another 5 million dollars from Canada. In Europe they said that they could not give aid to political organizations, but many governments found channels of financial aid for us. It is not enough to speak out against apartheid. Financial aid is necessary. In this tour of Asia, we have gotten 20 million rupees and 5.8 million dollars from India. In Indonesia, we got 10 million dollars on the spot. In Australia, we got 15 million Australian dollars. Japan is the wealthiest country in the world, and we don't expect to go home empty-handed. We expect support from the Japanese government. I believe that we have friends in Japan. Japan expressed its desire to build friendly relations with the new South Africa and announced its intention to promote the process of negotiations in South Africa. The ANC welcomes such a statement of intent and will work to strengthen relations between the ANC and Japan. Also, we would like to make use of Japan's economic know-how and experience for the development of the South African economy. Cooperation between Japan and South Africa after the abolition of apartheid will be to our mutual benefit. The purpose of my accepting your invitation at this time is to explain South Africa's political developments and to ask for financial aid.

(3) In the advanced countries there is the argument that the ANC is a political organization and unaccustomed to direct financial aid. However, with the situation in South Africa developing in the direction of peace, there is a need for funding under ANC management to take care of released political prisoners. The ANC is doing what the government is supposed to be doing, and it is unnatural to say that the ANC

cannot get funding because it is a political organization. It is the ANC that is working for a peaceful process, and you should trust in the ANC.

3. In reply, the Prime Minister made the following remarks.

The new system must be a new and democratic system without racial discrimination, one that must build a free, democratic, and prosperous country. As I said at the beginning, we will accept trainees to learn the know-how and technical skills of Japan's economic reconstruction to date. In addition, we have been implementing cooperation so far through United Nations funds and the Kagiso Trust. In Japan, giving aid to particular political organizations is difficult. We would like to consider ways that we can cooperate through the United Nations and other international organizations.

4. Following that, the Deputy President made the following remarks.

I do not expect you to respond that you will look into it. Going back empty-handed would be regrettable. The situation is a pressing one, and immediate aid would be helpful. I would like you to make a decision during my stay in Japan. We are aware of the funds going to the Kagiso Trust. The ANC has good relations with the Kagiso Trust, but Japan's aid is extremely small compared to that of the United States and Britain. US aid to the blacks is 31 million dollars, Britain is giving 35 million pounds, and another 4 million pounds of aid is coming via the European Community.

Japan's contribution is smaller than that of both Europe and the African countries. It is smaller than the three countries visited so far on this tour of Asia. I would like to ask that you deposit money in the ANC's fund account and, as for the fund's use, create a committee and decide how to use it. The Consulate General in Pretoria has close relations with the ANC. We could use the funds under the supervision of the Consulate General. Regardless of domestic law, I would like to use Japan's know-how and promote the dialogue process. I will keep the Prime Minister's explanation in mind. Also, I will keep a record of what I said. The United States and Britain are making contributions to South Africa through the United Nations and they are also carrying out bilateral aid. Our demand is an urgent one and requires a huge amount of funds. It would be regrettable if we could not get aid from the most prosperous country. I thank you once again for having had this opportunity, Prime Minister, to exchange views with you.

[TN: handwritten line] Passed to India, also 2 [illegible] diplomatic missions.

End