

060923Z

CONFIDENTIAL - AMENDED DISTRIBUTION
FM JOHANNESBURG
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELNO 56
OF 041210Z JUNE 90
INFO IMMEDIATE: CAPE TOWN, PRETORIA, HARARE, LUSAKA, LAGOS
INFO IMMEDIATE: NAIROBI, UKMIS NEW YORK, WASHINGTON
INFO IMMEDIATE: COPENHAGEN (FOR SECRETARY OF STATE'S PARTY)

MIPT: MANDELA

PART I

1. I SAID THAT I HOPED THAT MANDELA WOULD BEAR IN MIND, FOR HIS MEETING WITH THE PRIME MINISTER, THAT NO FOREIGN LEADER HAD WORKED HARDER FOR HIS RELEASE AND THE UNBANNING OF THE ANC. FOLLOWING DE KLERK'S SPEECH ON 2 FEBRUARY, SHOTS HAD BEEN FIRED AT THE EMBASSY IN PRETORIA BY RIGHT-WING EXTREMISTS BECAUSE THEY CONSIDERED THAT THE PRIME MINISTER HAD INFLUENCED DE KLERK TO TAKE THESE STEPS AND THEY WERE ABSOLUTELY RIGHT IN THAT. GOVERNMENTS OF COUNTRIES LIKE SWEDEN AND CANADA WHICH WERE UNCONDITIONAL SUPPORTERS OF THE ANC HAD VERY LITTLE INFLUENCE ON THE SITUATION HERE. MANDELA SAID THAT HE UNDERSTOOD AND APPRECIATED WHAT THE PRIME MINISTER HAD DONE. HE WANTED THE MEETING TO LEAD TO AN IMPROVEMENT IN RELATIONS. WHAT ISSUES WOULD YOU AND THE PRIME MINISTER WANT TO DISCUSS?

2. I SAID THAT I WOULD NOT GO OVER ALL THE POINTS ON WHICH WE AGREED. THE MAIN POINTS OF DIFFICULTY WERE:

(I) THE ARMED STRUGGLE. I UNDERSTOOD THAT THE ANC HAD FELT THAT UNDER VERWOERD AND HIS SUCCESSORS, THEY HAD LITTLE OPTION BUT TO FIGHT FOR THE VOTE. BUT, WITH THE REMAINING OBSTACLES TO NEGOTIATIONS ABOUT TO BE REMOVED BY DE KLERK, WE WOULD GO ON PRESSING THE ANC TO STOP TALKING ABOUT THE CONTINUATION OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE. THAT COULD ONLY STRENGTHEN THE RIGHT-WING REACTION HERE.

(II) ON NATIONALISATION I SAID THAT I DID NOT PERSONALLY BELIEVE THAT AS AND WHEN THE ANC GOT TO THE POINT OF PARTICIPATING IN GOVERNMENT, THEY WOULD END UP NATIONALISING ANYTHING. WE HAD JUST BEEN THROUGH ALL THIS WITH SWAPO WHO HAD ENDED UP REALISING THAT NOWHERE ELSE IN THE WORLD WAS ANYONE INTERESTED ANY LONGER IN NATIONALISATION. ALL THE MAJOR UTILITIES HERE ALREADY WERE IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR. I HAD BEEN GLAD TO SEE MANDELA'S RECENT MORE CAUTIOUS STATEMENTS ON THIS SUBJECT. AS I UNDERSTOOD IT, THE KEY ISSUE FOR HIM WAS NOT NATIONALISATION BUT THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH.

(III) ON THE VIOLENCE IN NATAL, I UNDERSTOOD THE INTENSE RESISTANCE HE HAD ENCOUNTERED IN THE ANC TO MEETING BUTHELEZI. BUT BUTHELEZI HAD REFUSED TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE GOVERNMENT UNTIL MANDELA WAS RELEASED AND THE ANC UNBANNED. IT WAS NOT ONLY THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE GOVERNMENT TO HELP END THE VIOLENCE. I HOPED THAT MANDELA WOULD NOT RULE OUT A FUTURE MEETING WITH BUTHELEZI.

(IV) WE BELIEVED THAT DE KLERK DESERVED ENCOURAGEMENT FOR THE DECISIONS HE HAD TAKEN. WE HAD RESPONDED OURSELVES TO ENCOURAGE HIM TO GO FURTHER, AS HE WAS DOING. IT WAS NOW FOR OTHER EC GOVERNMENTS TO DECIDE HOW TO RESPOND. WE BELIEVED IT QUITE WRONG TO TREAT DE

KLERK AS IF HE WERE P W BOTHA AND WE TOOK VERY SERIOUSLY THE CHALLENGE HE WAS FACING FROM THE RIGHT WING.

3. MANDELA SAID THAT HE HAD JUST HAD A VERY IMPORTANT MEETING WITH DE KLERK. DE KLERK HAD ASSURED HIM THAT HE WAS ABOUT TO MOVE AHEAD ON THE RELEASE OF PRISONERS AND LIFTING THE STATE OF EMERGENCY. HE HAD BEEN VERY ENCOURAGED BY THE MEETING. DE KLERK HAD TOLD HIM THAT HE, DE KLERK, HAD NOT ATTACKED MANDELA OR CRITICISED THE ANC DURING HIS VISIT TO EUROPE AND HE CONSIDERED IT WRONG FOR THE TWO OF THEM TO CRITICISE EACH OTHER PUBLICLY. MANDELA SAID THAT HE PERHAPS HAD REACTED TOO SHARPLY TO THE REPORTS REACHING HIM HERE ABOUT DE KLERK'S VISIT TO EUROPE. HE WOULD GO ON CALLING FOR SANCTIONS TO BE MAINTAINED TO EXERT PRESSURE ON THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT TO WORK OUT A NEW, FULLY DEMOCRATIC CONSTITUTION. HE WOULD HAVE TO RE-STATE WELL KNOWN ANC POSITIONS. HE WOULD CONSULT HIS ANC COLLEAGUES. BUT HIS OWN DISPOSITION WAS TO WANT TO DO THIS IN WAYS THAT WOULD NOT BE CONFRONTATIONAL VIS-A-VIS DE KLERK. I SAID THAT DE KLERK HAD SPOKEN VERY POSITIVELY TO THE PRIME MINISTER ABOUT HIS RELATIONS WITH MANDELA AND HAD INDEED NOT CRITICISED HIM AT ANY POINT DURING HIS EUROPEAN TOUR.

ARMED STRUGGLE

4. ON ENDING THE ARMED STRUGGLE, MANDELA SAID THAT HE HAD TOLD DE KLERK THAT HE SHOULD NOT INSIST ON COMPLETE SATISFACTION ON THIS. THE ANC WERE EXERTING THEIR INFLUENCE AGAINST VIOLENCE AND THE GOVERNMENT KNEW THIS. INKATHA WERE ENGAGED IN FAR MORE VIOLENCE THAN THE ANC. HE HAD JUST DENOUNCED UNDISCIPLINED ANC YOUTHS WHO ENGAGED IN VIOLENCE. THERE WERE PROBLEMS ABOUT FORMAL RENUNCIATION OF THE QUOTE ARMED STRUGGLE UNQUOTE. THE AIM OF THE STRUGGLE - A FULLY DEMOCRATIC CONSTITUTION - HAD NOT YET BEEN ATTAINED. ANC MEMBERS WERE BEING ATTACKED BY RIGHT-WING ELEMENTS IN TOWNS LIKE WELKOM IN THE FREE STATE AND THERE HAD BEEN POLICE SHOOTINGS, WHICH DE KLERK HIMSELF REGARDED AS INDEFENSIBLE, IN WHICH TWENTY PEOPLE HAD BEEN KILLED IN SEBOKENG AND NOW THABONG. HE WAS CONCERNED ABOUT THE WEAKNESS OF THE GOVERNMENT REACTION TO RIGHT-WING VIOLENCE. THE ANC WAS MAKING A MAJOR COMMITMENT BY ENTERING INTO NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT. HE HAD PROMISED DE KLERK THAT THEY WOULD DO NOTHING TO UPSET THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS.

5. I SAID THAT IN THE GROOTE SCHUUR AGREEMENT THE ANC HAD COMMITTED THEMSELVES TO PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS. I UNDERSTOOD THAT THEY WOULD RETAIN THE RIGHT TO DEFEND THEMSELVES IF THEY WERE ATTACKED. THEY WERE NOT BEING ASKED TO QUOTE RENOUNCE UNQUOTE VIOLENCE BUT TO SUSPEND IT. THEY WERE THEMSELVES TALKING OF A CEASEFIRE AND AT GROOTE SCHUUR THEY HAD COMMITTED THEMSELVES TO RECONSIDERING THIS WHOLE ISSUE AS THE NEGOTIATING OBSTACLES WERE REMOVED. MANDELA SAID THAT HE STOOD BY THE GROOTE SCHUUR AGREEMENT. I SAID THAT WE WANTED TO SEE THE NEGOTIATION PROCESS CONSOLIDATED. AS THE OBSTACLES TO NEGOTIATION WERE REMOVED, I HOPED THE ANC WOULD COMMIT THEMSELVES TO SOME KIND OF TRUCE.

NATIONALISATION

6. ON NATIONALISATION, MANDELA SPOKE POSITIVELY ABOUT HIS MEETING LAST WEEK WITH GAVIN RELLY AND OTHER SENIOR BUSINESSMEN. THE KEY POINT FOR THE ANC WAS INDEED THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH. SOUTH AFRICA COULD NOT GO ON WITH A SITUATION IN WHICH WHITES OWNED EIGHTY-SEVEN PER CENT OF THE LAND. I SAID THAT WE HAD PRESSED THE GOVERNMENT TO REPEAL THE LAND ACTS WHICH THEY WERE NOW GOING TO DO. APART FROM

REMOVING THE LEGISLATIVE IMPEDIMENTS, WE WERE URGING THEM TO HELP BLACK FARMERS GAIN ACCESS TO WORTHWHILE AGRICULTURAL LAND, E.G. THROUGH THE CREATION OF A LAND BANK TO HELP BLACK COMMERCIAL FARMERS IN THE SAME WAY AS POOR AFRIKANER FARMERS HAD BEEN HELPED. MANDELA SHOWED INTEREST IN THIS IDEA. MANDELA ALSO REFERRED TO MONOPOLIES, BUT SAID THAT HE AGREED THAT THE ANC HAD MUCH TO LEARN FROM THE ANTI-TRUST LAWS IN THE UNITED STATES AND THE MONOPOLIES LEGISLATION IN BRITAIN.


NATAL

7. ON BUTHELEZI, MANDELA SAID THAT BUTHELEZI HAD INDEED CALLED FOR HIS RELEASE BEFORE NEGOTIATIONS WERE ENGAGED AND MANDELA PERSONALLY HAD THANKED HIM FOR THIS. HE HAD WANTED TO MEET BUTHELEZI BUT AS HE HAD BEEN ABOUT TO GO TO NATAL, TERRIBLE FIGHTING HAD BROKEN OUT IN THE TOWNSHIPS THERE. THIS WAS DESPITE THE FACT THAT IN HIS SPEECH IN DURBAN, HE HAD URGED HIS SUPPORTERS TO THROW THEIR WEAPONS INTO THE SEA. IN THE FIRST MEETING HE HAD ADDRESSED IN NATAL, HE TOLD THE CROWD THAT HE INTENDED TO MEET BUTHELEZI. THIS HAD NEARLY PROVOKED A RIOT AND HIS SUPPORTERS HAD REVOLTED. HE COULD NOT ACHIEVE ANYTHING WITHOUT CARRYING HIS ORGANISATION WITH HIM. I SAID THAT I UNDERSTOOD THAT BUT WE DID NOT THINK THAT POLITICAL PEACE COULD BE RESTORED WITHOUT THE LEADERS MEETING.

8. MANDELA SAID THAT HE WANTED TO GET TO THE POINT WHERE HE COULD MEET BUTHELEZI. BUT A LOT OF SPADEWORK WOULD HAVE TO BE DONE FIRST. THE KWA ZULU POLICE SIMPLY ACTED AS AGENTS OF INKATHA AS DID THE KWA ZULU POLICE COMMISSIONER. HE HELD THE GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBLE FOR TOLERATING THIS INTRA-BLACK VIOLENCE FOR FAR TOO LONG. I SAID THAT WHILE THAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN TRUE OF P W BOTHA, IT CERTAINLY WAS NOT TRUE OF DE KLERK. WHILE WE BELIEVED THAT THE SADF SHOULD BE WITHDRAWN FROM OTHER TOWNSHIPS (WHERE THEIR PRESENCE NOW IS MINIMAL), A CONTINUED SADF PRESENCE WAS NECESSARY IN THE TOWNSHIPS IN NATAL. MANDELA SAID THAT HE AGREED THAT THIS MIGHT BE NECESSARY, PROVIDED THE SADF ACTED AS GUARDIANS OF LAW AND ORDER AND NOT AS AN ARMY OF OCCUPATION. PLEASE SEE MIFT.

RENWICK

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ADVANCE 1
HD/SADF 1
MAIN 146
SOUTH AFRICA 1
LIMITED 6
SADF 6
CAFD 9
UND 6
ECD(E) 7
NEWS D 9
INFO D 11
LEGAL ADVISERS 6
PLANNERS 3
CONSULAR D 6
DEFENCE D 4
ECONOMIC ADVISERS 3
CCD 3
ERD 5
PUSD 26



061050Z

COMMENT:

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FM JOHANNESBURG
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TELNO 55
OF 041150Z JUNE 90
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MANDELA

1. I HAD A TALK WITH MANDELA YESTERDAY IN THE CLINIC WHERE HE HAS BEEN RECOVERING FROM HIS OPERATION (FOR THE REMOVAL OF A BENIGN CYST). HE WAS FIT AND ALERT AND THE MEETING WAS A VERY FRIENDLY ONE.
2. I CONGRATULATED HIM ON MAKING A VERY GOOD RECOVERY. HE SAID THAT THE DOCTORS HAD PASSED HIM FULLY FIT FOR HIS OVERSEAS TOUR. I SAID THAT WE WERE CONCERNED ABOUT THE PUNISHING SCHEDULE HE WAS GOING TO HAVE TO UNDERTAKE. HE EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR THE ARRANGEMENTS WHICH ARE BEING MADE TO ENABLE HIM TO HAVE A REST IN BRITAIN BEFORE GOING ON TO CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES. I SAID THAT WE WERE GLAD TO HELP OVER THIS. WE REMAINED CONCERNED ABOUT HIS SCHEDULE IN THE UNITED STATES, WHERE THE ORGANISERS WERE PLANNING TO MAKE HIM VISIT EIGHT CITIES IN TEN DAYS. MANDELA INDICATED THAT HE REALISED THAT HE WAS LIABLE TO BE ASKED TO DO THE IMPOSSIBLE AND WAS HIMSELF TRYING TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT THIS.
3. MANDELA SAID THAT HE WOULD BE ACCOMPANIED BY HIS WIFE. HIS TWO SENIOR ADVISERS ON THE TRIP WOULD BE THABO MBEKI AND ZWELAKHE SISULU. HE WOULD ALSO BE ACCOMPANIED BY FAROUK MEER (AN INDIAN ANC LEADER FROM NATAL) AND SOME OTHERS FROM THE ANC'S LONDON OFFICE.
4. I SAID THAT YOU WERE LOOKING FORWARD TO TALKS WITH HIM AND TO OFFERING HIM LUNCH ON 3 JULY. HIS WIFE AND THE SENIOR ANC REPRESENTATIVES ACCOMPANYING HIM WOULD BE INCLUDED IN THE LUNCH, AS WELL AS A NUMBER OF DISTINGUISHED NON-GOVERNMENTAL FIGURES. MANDELA WELCOMED THIS. I EXPLAINED THAT THE FORMAT FOR THE MEETING AND LUNCH WITH THE PRIME MINISTER WOULD BE ONE PLUS ONE. MANDELA SAID THAT HE APPRECIATED THAT THE PRIME MINISTER WOULD WANT A PRIVATE DISCUSSION. AT NO. 10 HE WOULD BE ACCOMPANIED BY MBEKI OR SISULU. PLEASE SEE MIFT.

RENWICK

YYYY
ADVANCE 1
HD/SAFD 1
MAIN 146
SOUTH AFRICA 1
LIMITED 6
SAFD 6
CAFD 9
UND 6