RESTRICTED Foreign and Commonwealth Office London SW1A 2AH Welp our rain
the south of which the south of actually released. President de Klerk's speech: 2 February President de Klerk will make his much heralded speech the opening of the South African Parliament on 2 February. He is likely to announce further steps towards creating a climate for talks though, as you will have seen from Capetown telno 17 (copy enclosed), expectations about this speech may have run ahead of the reality. We shall need to react to Mr de Klerk's speech tomorrow. In the expectation that Mr de Klerk announces some new moves towards negotiations, but ones which are modest compared with media expectations, we propose to react with a statement from the FCO spokesman on the lines of the enclosed draft. If Mr de Klerk's speech warrants it, this statement could be issued in the name of the Foreign Secretary and he might give media interviews. We shall need to amend the draft statement in the light of Mr de Klerk's speech. Pik Botha told Robin Renwick this afternoon that he thought we would be well pleased by it.

(J S Wall)

Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq 10 Downing Street

#### PRESIDENT DE KLERK'S SPEECH 2 FEBRUARY: FCO SPOKESMAN

- We welcome the steps President de Klerk has announced today. Together with the moves Mr de Klerk has already taken these new steps will bring closer the prospect of genuine negotiations leading to the end of apartheid and the creation of a non-racial democratic South Africa.
- We have repeatedly made clear our view that the release of Nelson Mandela would be a major contribution towards the creation of a climate in which negotiations could take place. We welcome Mr de Klerk's commitment to release him and look forward to the day when that takes place.
- We hope de Klerk's moves will meet with a response from the opposition groups. It is important that all parties should commit themselves more explicitly to pursuit of peaceful solutions through negotiations. That would be a major contribution to bringing about change in South Africa.

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2 FEBRUARY SUPPLEMENTARIES Another "Rubicon" Speech/Disappointed de Klerk has not done more? - No. These are helpful moves which help pave way for negotiations. Follows measures he has already announced, eg: - release Sisulu and his colleagues - release large numbers of detainees - allow peaceful demonstrations - commit the SAG to repeal the Separate Amenities Act - open the beaches to all races - disband the National Security Management System - Have repeatedly called on all parties to implement EPG conditions. This calls for matching simultaneous commitments by all sides to negotiations in the context of a suspension of violence. De Klerk trying to buy time not abolish apartheid? - De Klerk has clearly said that he wants open ended negotiations with all parties committed to peaceful settlement in South Africa. Steps he has announced clearly designed to bring negotiations nearer. Steps De Klerk Has Announced Show Sanctions are Working - No. Vindication of policy of contact not isolation. Growing realisation within SAG and white population that apartheid is wrong and economically unsustainable irrespective of sanctions. D17ABL/1

# De Klerk's reforms only cosmetic - Must not underestimate significance of moves F W de Klerk has already taken. Has created a new climate in South Africa, and opened up the road to genuine negotiations. - Much remains to be done. Agree de Klerk has yet to tackle the pillars of apartheid (eg Group Areas Act, Population Registration Act). That is why it is important to get negotiations going as soon as possible. Disappointed Mandela Not Released Now? - Important point is that de Klerk has made commitment to release him. Obviously the sooner the better. Have made clear our view that Mandela should be released in circumstances that will help promote dialogue. [HMG consulted in advance? - Yes. Prime Ministers given gist of speech a few hours in advance.] Next Steps - De Klerk's moves deserve a response. An unambiguous commitment from opposition groups to the pursuit of peaceful solutions through negotiations would be a major contribution to bringing about change. - We see the best prospects for progress if both sides move forward along the lines of the negotiating concept developed by the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group. D17ABL/2

This requires the SAG to: - release Mandela and all political prisoners - lift the State of Emergency - unban all political organisations against the background of simultaneous and matching commitments to a suspension of violence on all sides. UK should respond by lifting sanctions? - Sanctions are not an end in themselves. - When the necessary steps are taken to begin serious negotiations about the future of South Africa it would be right to lift some of the measures imposed by international community. - De Klerk's speech shows he is heading in that direction. But not there yet. Now is the time to be increasing pressure Steps de Klerk has announced clear evidence of his determination to change South Africa and to create climate for negotiations. Vindication of our policy of contact not isolation. Sanctions would hinder not help change. South Africa Should Implement Measures Agreed by UN Special Session on Apartheid? - Special Session demonstrated consensus within international community that apartheid must be abolished. D17ABL/3

- We believe negotiating concept put forward by EPG best way of helping to achieve this. Special Session resolution consistent with this. Violent repression of anti-cricket tour demonstrations shows nothing changed in South Africa - Condemn violence wherever it occurs. SAG has said peaceful demonstrations will be allowed if authorisation sought in advance. Call on all leaders to show restraint to permit full exercise of this democratic right. HMG should summon cricketers home - Tried to persuade them not to travel. Minister for Sport wrote to cricketers via Test and County Cricket Board discouraging them from going to South Africa. But in free country final decision must be for individual. Why continue to discourage sporting contacts? - Our aim to help break down racial barriers in sports. It is in that context that we remain firmly committed to Gleneagles. - [If Necessary] Even ANC has recognised that some sporting contacts may contribute to ending apartheid. Naturally would encourage these. (Gatting tour not in this category). - Some limited efforts have been made to end apartheid in sport but long way to go. D17ABL/4

PM to Visit South Africa? - Prime Minister has said she would go once Mandela is free and can freely express his views and if her visit would contribute to a peaceful solution in South Africa. No present plans. Secretary of State to visit South Africa - No plans. Would certainly consider a visit if opportunity presented itself. Secretary of State to attend Namibian independence celebrations - Date not fixed yet. Will need to look at possibilities when arrangements for independence have been announced. Ministerial Contacts With ANC Leaders - Willing to see Mr Sisulu if he visits London. - (If Raised) Obviously interested in hearing Mandela's views at first hand when he is free. - Our interest is in meeting and encouraging those committed to a peaceful solution in South Africa. Mandela and Sisulu's commitment is not in doubt. - We look to ANC to commit themselves unambiguously to a peaceful resolution of South Africa's problems. Question of Ministerial contact is viewed in this context. D17ABL/5

### Contacts with ANC

- Officials are in regular contact with ANC.

## Britain's Attitude to ANC

- Acknowledge that ANC is an important focus for black opinion in South Africa. But is not the only one. Have called on SAG to unban ANC and other political organisations.

## De Klerk to visit London?

- Not ruled out if he was to come to Europe. Consistent with our policy of contact.

# South Africa/NPT

- Wish to encourage South African accession to NPT.

