

Prime Minister

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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

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It is possible that Mandela will be released this week-end or next.

9 February 1990

Jean Charles

Agreed to the draft ~~to~~ press statement attached, & to send the messages to various Heads of Government? South Africa. I have discussed them all with Robin Renwick.

Agree press release
Agree other messages as slightly amended

Thank you for your letter of 3 February. I enclose a draft statement which might be made when Mandela is released.

Robin Renwick.

In response to de Klerk's speech on 2 February, we have in hand action on two fronts. Firstly, we are trying to persuade the international community, notably the EC, to recognise that, assuming Mandela's imminent release, de Klerk will for practical purposes have met the conditions for dialogue long demanded of him. We are pointing out that he has taken a considerable political risk. He deserves a substantive response to enable him to demonstrate to his electorate that such risks are worth taking. Secondly, we are using what means we have to persuade the ANC and others that they must seize the opportunity for negotiation now being offered and suspend violence. Meanwhile, Sir Robin Renwick has succeeded in eliciting from the SAG an explicit commitment to remove the remaining Emergency restrictions if the other side agree to talks.

As the Prime Minister suggests, once Mandela is released and it is clear that the remaining aspects of the state of emergency will be lifted, we should declare that it makes no sense to discourage investment and the promotion of tourism; we should leave it to the banks and companies to decide whether or not to invest and to the tourists to decide whether or not to go. We should also lift the ban on funding of trade missions. The lifting of the bans on imports of iron and steel and krugerrands requires specific Community action and should follow the actual lifting of the remaining emergency restrictions. The Foreign Secretary raised all this at the Council of Ministers on 5 February, emphasizing that the conditions for dialogue identified in 1986 were about to be fulfilled and the negative measures linked to the absence of those conditions should be lifted. It was agreed that this should be discussed at a Foreign Ministers' meeting in Dublin on 20 February.

It looks as if few other member states will support us, though there is some hope that Chancellor Kohl, Prime Minister Cavaco Silva, and Prime Minister Lubbers may do so. Some countries' representatives have already begun to argue that de Klerk will only have fulfilled some of the conditions.

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Other member states may argue that consensus is needed to lift measures imposed by consensus. This is a point we have defended vigorously over the last year in relation to Libya, Syria and Iran to stop individual member states co-operating with those countries.

The best way to minimise the risks and the potential legal difficulties amongst the Twelve is to demonstrate that we have taken all possible steps to consult other member states, as we are doing, and to get some explicit support for our point of view. To those ends, the Foreign Secretary suggests that the Prime Minister might send messages to Prime Minister Haughey, as President, Prime Minister Cavaco Silva and Prime Minister Lubbers (who might support us and who has just put on ice draft legislation banning investment which was due to come to Parliament this month) as well as to Chancellor Kohl and President Mitterrand. It would also be worth sending a message to the Japanese. I enclose drafts. The message to Chancellor Kohl recalls the undertaking given to the South Africans in the Leutwiler initiative.

President Bush has little freedom for manoeuvre. He is bound by legislation on the precise conditions under which sanctions may be lifted. These include the repeal of some apartheid legislation. If de Klerk fulfils what we regard as the EPG conditions, President Bush may have some scope for getting Congress to lift some sanctions. We understand that he is holding his hand for the time being to see how Congress reacts to de Klerk's speech. The enclosed draft message to President Bush reflects this.

On the issue of South Africa's access to international financial institutions, it is not simply a question of lifting sanctions. South African access to IMF funds should primarily be a matter of technical judgement. It is this position we should try to restore. Our first target must be the Americans. The principal impediment is the requirement under US legislation to oppose any facility, including Fund credits unless the US Director certifies to Congress that the facility will help redress the imbalances caused by apartheid. There is little chance of the Administration being willing to take on Congress on this issue before there is a softening on the general sanctions issue. There is a similar political problem with the World Bank, though it might be possible to overcome objections with projects clearly designed to benefit the non-white communities.

As in the case of other EC member states, we should base our argument for lifting Commonwealth sanctions on the fact that once de Klerk has released Mandela and it is clear that he will be lifting the remaining emergency restrictions, he will have fulfilled the Commonwealth's conditions for

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reviewing sanctions ("evidence of clear and irreversible change"). The Foreign Secretary suggests that the Prime Minister might send messages to Mulroney, who is Chairman of the Southern African Committee and to Hawke, whose initial reactions to de Klerk's speech were helpful. The Commonwealth has no Chairman. There is little point in writing to Ramphal (who issued an unhelpful statement) except perhaps as a matter of courtesy.

Mr Hurd also suggests sending messages to Kuanda and Babangida as part of our effort to encourage a positive response from the ANC. We have already asked our Missions in the "Front Line States" to persuade their Governments to intervene with the ANC. We have sent similar instructions to Moscow. Kuanda hosts the ANC Headquarters and has taken a more forward line on South Africa than most of his colleagues. He is also Chairman of the FLS. Babangida may have less influence on the ANC, but his initial reactions were constructive. If, as we have heard, Chissano comes to London next week, this will provide an opportunity to get at another influential (and helpful) FLS leader.

I am copying this letter to John Gieve (HMT), Martin Stanley (DTI) and Sonia Phippard (Cabinet Office).

Jaws,
Stephe Wall
(J S Wall)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

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RELEASE OF MANDELA: DRAFT STATEMENT BY THE PRIME MINISTER

I very warmly welcome the news today of the unconditional release of Mr Nelson Mandela. This is a goal towards which the British Government and many others in Britain have worked long and hard. President de Klerk is to be congratulated on his wise decision and on the other bold and courageous steps he has taken to enable negotiations to take place in which all parties can participate to work out a new democratic constitution for South Africa which - as Mr de Klerk has said - must have the support of the majority of South Africans. This opens the way for all the parties, including the ANC, to enter into negotiations to that end and we urge them to do so. It is essential to find a peaceful solution to South Africa's problems. There could be no greater prize for all South Africans.

In the period when the South African Government took steps of which we strongly disapproved, we condemned those actions and introduced a number of measures designed to bring home to the South African Government the strength of our disapproval. Now that the new President of South Africa manifestly is trying to achieve a political solution to South Africa's problems, it is right to give practical encouragement to that process.

We have already made clear that we believe that it is now right, instead of discouraging, actively to encourage scientific, academic and cultural contacts with South Africa.

Given that President de Klerk has now released Nelson Mandela and other long-term security prisoners, has unbanned the ANC and other political organisations and is offering to lift the State of Emergency if conditions of calm are maintained, we believe that it no longer makes sense to discourage new investment in South Africa - a restraint which in our case in any event has been voluntary - and we shall be discussing this with our EC Partners.

We do not believe that in these changed circumstances it is reasonable to discourage tourism or visits to South Africa: it is for individual British citizens to make up their own minds on that score.

In short, we believe that the steps President de Klerk, has taken merit a positive practical response. He has opened the way for all the parties in South Africa to find a negotiated solution to the country's problems and in doing so he has created a new sense of hope and optimism about the country's future.

Agreed *MT*

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FROM: The Prime Minister

TO: Prime Minister Haughey

I am writing about the recent encouraging developments in South Africa. President de Klerk's speech on 2 February represents a breakthrough, paving the way for negotiations on a new constitution. As an immediate positive signal of support for what he has done, I have invited him to visit London and made known that in future we will **not discourage** academic, scientific and cultural contacts with South Africa. I shall also invite Mr Mandela to visit London when he is free.

President de Klerk has taken considerable political risks. He has moved further and faster than his white electorate could have imagined. The pace of future developments does not rest solely in his hands. We shall be urging those who have the most influence with the ANC and the other opposition groups to give a positive response to the prospect of negotiations and to suspend violence. I hope you will do the same.

As you will know, we have proposed that South Africa should be on the agenda of the European Political Cooperation Meeting in Dublin on 20 February. The Ministers should discuss the relaxation of some of the restrictive measures imposed on South Africa. President de Klerk has already almost fulfilled the requirements which the European Community imposed on the South African Government to facilitate dialogue. Certainly, if Mr Mandela is free and it is clear that the remaining emergency restrictions will soon be lifted he will have made profound and irreversible changes. We must be prepared to act. I would hope we can begin by lifting the ban on investment, which in our case

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was voluntary. In doing so, we should remember that the lifting of the ban in itself will not act as a stimulus to new investment in South Africa. The judgement of the market will determine whether new investment is forthcoming. That will remain a powerful incentive to reform in South Africa. The Ministers should also consider lifting other restrictive measures, eg the ban on imports of Krugerrands, iron and steel.

South Africa is destined to be an important topic under your Presidency. There is now a real chance of opening the way to a peaceful end to apartheid through negotiation. We must ensure that this opportunity is not wasted.

Agreed mt

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FROM: The Prime Minister

TO: President Mitterand
Prime Minister Lubbers,
Prime Minister Cavaco Silva
Prime Minister Andreotti

I am sure you are as encouraged as I am by developments in South Africa. President de Klerk's speech on 2 February represents a breakthrough, paving the way for negotiations on a new constitution. As an immediate positive signal of support for what he has done, I have invited him to visit London and made known that in future we will encourage academic, scientific and cultural contacts with South Africa. I shall invite Mr Mandela to London when he is free.

President de Klerk has taken considerable political risks. He has moved further and faster than his white electorate could have imagined. The pace of future developments does not rest solely in his hands. I shall be urging those who have the most influence with the ANC and the other opposition groups to persuade them to take up the offer of negotiations and to suspend violence. I hope you will do the same.

I believe it important that President de Klerk should be able to demonstrate to his people that the bold initiative he has now taken is being rewarded by the international community, with the promise of more to follow when serious negotiations begin.

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As you will know, we have proposed that South Africa should be on the agenda of the European Political Cooperation Meeting in Dublin on 20 February. Assuming that by then Mandela is free and if it is clear that the remaining emergency restrictions will be lifted, de Klerk will indeed have created the conditions for dialogue for which we have long appealed. We should therefore respond by lifting the bans imposed in 1986 on new investment, iron and steel and Krugerrands. As a first step, I propose that we lift the ban on investment, which in our case was voluntary. In doing so, I am conscious that the lifting of the ban in itself will not act as a stimulus to new investment in South Africa. The judgement of the market will determine whether new investment is forthcoming. That is a good incentive to further progress in South Africa.

I believe we should also see what can be done to give South Africa access to the international financial institutions. Once talks begin on a new constitution, South Africa should have access to the IMF and IBRD. It will need all the help it can get from the international community in overcoming the distortions of apartheid and the meeting of the needs of the poorer members of the population.

I most earnestly hope that you ^{will} take a similar view
~~I hope that we can count on your support~~

in the forthcoming discussion with our Community Partners.

As amended

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FROM: The Prime Minister

TO: Chancellor Kohl

I am sure you are as encouraged as I am by developments in South Africa. President de Klerk's speech on 2 February represents a breakthrough, paving the way for negotiations on a new constitution. As an immediate positive signal of support for what he has done, I have invited him to visit London and made known that in future we will encourage academic, scientific and cultural contacts with South Africa. I was also glad to agree to your proposal that we should send a joint invitation to Mandela for a visit when he is free.

President de Klerk has taken considerable political risks. He has moved further and faster than his white electorate could have imagined. The pace of future developments does not rest solely in his hands. I shall be urging those who have the most influence with the ANC and the other opposition groups to persuade them to take up the offer of negotiations and to suspend violence. I hope you will do the same.

I believe it important that President de Klerk should be able to demonstrate to his people that the bold initiative he has now taken is being rewarded by the international community, with the promise of more to follow when serious negotiations begin. In his reply to my message of congratulation, President de Klerk implicitly referred to the proposals put to President P W Botha by Dr Leutwiler on our behalf, setting out our likely reaction to the release of Mr Mandela. The agreed paper was of course shown to Mr de Klerk when he visited Europe last year.

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As you will know, we have proposed that South Africa should be on the agenda of the European Political Cooperation Meeting in Dublin on 20 February. Assuming that by then Mandela is free and if it is clear that the remaining emergency restrictions will be lifted, de Klerk will indeed have created the conditions for dialogue for which we have long appealed. We should therefore respond by lifting the bans imposed in 1986 on new investment, and on imports of iron and steel and Krugerrands. As a first step, I propose that we lift the ban on investment, which in our case was voluntary. In doing so, I am conscious that the lifting of the ban in itself will not act as a stimulus to new investment in South Africa. The judgement of the market will determine whether new investment is forthcoming. That is a good incentive to further progress in South Africa.

I believe we should also see what can be done to give South Africa access to the international financial institutions. Once talks begin on a new constitution, South Africa should have access to the IMF and IBRD. It will need all the help it can get from the international community in overcoming the distortions of apartheid and the meeting of the needs of the poorer members of the population.

I hope however you will take a similar view

~~I hope that we can count on your support~~
in the forthcoming discussion with our Community Partners.

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FROM: The Prime Minister

TO: Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu of Japan

I am sure you are as encouraged as I am by developments in South Africa. President de Klerk's speech on 2 February represents a breakthrough, paving the way for negotiations on a new constitution. As an immediate positive signal of support for what he has done, I have invited him to visit London and made known that in future we will encourage academic, scientific and cultural contacts with South Africa. I shall invite Mr Mandela to London when he is free.

President de Klerk has taken considerable political risks. He has moved further and faster than his white electorate could have imagined. The pace of future developments does not rest solely in his hands. I shall be urging those who have the most influence with the ANC and the other opposition groups to persuade them to take up the offer of negotiations and to suspend violence. I hope you will do the same.

I believe it important that President de Klerk should be able to demonstrate to his people that the bold initiative he has now taken is being rewarded by the international community, with the promise of more to follow when serious negotiations begin.

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When Mandela is free and it is clear that the remaining emergency restrictions will be lifted, de Klerk will have created the conditions for dialogue for which we have long appealed. We should therefore respond by lifting some of the negative measures we imposed some years ago as a mark of our disapproval of the absence of conditions for dialogue. As a first step, I propose to lift our ban on investment. (In doing so, I am conscious that the lifting of the ban in itself will not act as a stimulus to new investment in South Africa. The judgement of the market will determine whether new investment is forthcoming. That is a good incentive to further progress in South Africa.) I hope that you will make a similar positive move.

I believe we should also see what can be done to give South Africa access to the international financial institutions. Once talks begin on a new constitution, South Africa should have access to the IMF and IBRD. It will need all the help it can get from the international community in overcoming the distortions of apartheid and the meeting of the needs of the poorer members of the population.

There is a real chance now of finding a peaceful solution to South Africa's problems through negotiation. I am sure that you will agree that we must do all we can to ensure that this opportunity is not wasted. x



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FROM: The Prime Minister

TO: President Bush

I am sure you are as encouraged as I am by developments in South Africa. President de Klerk's speech on 2 February represents a major breakthrough paving the way for negotiations on a new constitution. As an immediate positive signal of approval for what he has done, I have invited him to visit London and made known that in future we will encourage academic, scientific and cultural contacts with South Africa. I will also invite Mr Mandela for a visit when he is free.

President de Klerk has taken considerable political risks. He has moved further and faster than his white electorate could have imagined. The pace of future developments does not rest solely in his hands. I shall be urging those who have the most influence with the ANC and the other opposition groups to persuade them to take up the offer of negotiations and to suspend violence. I hope you will do the same.

I believe it important that President de Klerk should be able to demonstrate to his people that the bold initiative he has now taken is being rewarded by the international community, with the promise of more to follow when serious negotiations begin.

I thought I should let you know what we propose to do. We have arranged for South Africa to be on the agenda of the European Political Cooperation Meeting in Dublin on 20 February. We shall argue that once Mr Mandela is released, and it is clear that the remaining emergency restrictions will be lifted, President de Klerk

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will have met the conditions which the European Community identified as necessary to permit the opening of the dialogue we have sought for so long. I would hope to begin by lifting the ban on investment, which in our case is voluntary. In doing so, I am conscious that the lifting of the ban in itself will not act as a stimulus to new investment in South Africa. The judgement of the market will determine whether new investment is forthcoming. That in itself is an incentive for further progress.

As part of the preparations for a new South Africa, we should consider what can be done to give South Africa access to the international financial institutions. Once talks begin on a new constitution, South Africa should have access to the facilities of the IMF and IBRD. It will need all the help it can get from the international community in overcoming the distortions of apartheid and in meeting the needs of the poorer members of the population.

I realise that your freedom of manoeuvre is constrained by legislation, especially the Comprehensive Anti Apartheid Act. Nonetheless, I hope that you can find a way to persuade Congress that President de Klerk now deserves positive encouragement. He has opened the door to a major prize for all South Africans - a peaceful end to apartheid through negotiation.

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FROM: The Prime Minister

TO: Prime Minister Mulroney
Prime Minister Hawke

I am writing about the recent encouraging developments in South Africa. President de Klerk's speech on 2 February represents a breakthrough paving the way for negotiations on a new constitution to begin. As an immediate positive signal of my approval, I have invited him to visit in May and made known that in future we will encourage academic, scientific and cultural contacts with South Africa.

In taking these steps, President de Klerk has taken considerable political risks. He has moved further and faster than his ^{suspension} ~~white electorate~~ could have imagined. The pace of future developments does not rest solely in his hands. We shall be urging those who have the most influence with the ANC and the other opposition groups to give a positive response to the prospect of negotiations and to suspend violence. We hope you will do the same.

I believe it important that President de Klerk should be able to demonstrate to his people that the bold initiative he has now taken has merited some reward from the international community, with the promise of more to follow when serious negotiations begin. Within the Commonwealth, the litmus test we have applied is acceptance of the EPG negotiating concept. By his recent moves, President de Klerk has come very close to meeting the pre-conditions which the South African Government was called upon to make. Once Mr Mandela is free and the remaining elements of the State of Emergency are lifted, the way will be clear to consider a relaxation of measures. Progress of this magnitude deserves acknowledgement. As a first step, we

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will be proposing a lifting of the ban on new investment, which in our case was voluntary, with our European Community Partners. We would also propose to lift our voluntary ban on the promotion of tourism to South Africa.

In accordance with the agreement at CHOGM, we should ensure that the international financial institutions will now examine how resources might be mobilised to help a future South Africa. Once talks begin on a new constitution, South Africa should have access to the facilities of institutions such as the IMF and IBRD. It will need all the help it can get from the international community in overcoming the distortions of apartheid and in meeting the needs of the poorer members of the population.

A constructive approach is required to encourage the South Africans to persevere with the difficult task of negotiations. President de Klerk has opened the door to a major prize for all South Africans - a peaceful end to apartheid through negotiation.

As amended 

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FROM: The Prime Minister

TO: President Babangida
President Kaunda

I am sure that you too are encouraged by the recent developments in South Africa. President de Klerk's speech on 2 February represents a major advance, paving the way for negotiations with all sides on his country's future. To give a positive signal of my support for what he has done, I have invited him to London and made known that in future we will encourage academic, scientific and cultural contacts with South Africa. I also plan to invite Mr Mandela to London when he is free. I shall then move to end our voluntary bans on investment and the promotion of tourism.

In taking these steps, President de Klerk has taken considerable political risks. He has moved further and faster than his ^{supporters} ~~white electorate~~ could have imagined. The pace of future developments does not rest solely in his hands. The ANC and the other opposition groups must give a positive response to the offer of negotiations.

President de Klerk has already taken almost all the steps towards dialogue which the South African Government were called upon to take in the Eminent Persons' Group negotiating concept. Once Mr Mandela is released, all that remains is the lifting of the remaining elements of the state of emergency. The South African Government have said that, barring any violence surrounding Nelson Mandela's release, the state of emergency would be lifted in a matter of weeks. Nevertheless, there could be a continuing

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problem if the ANC and others retain their threat of violence. What is now needed is the reciprocal commitment on the part of the ANC and others to enter into negotiations and to suspend violence.

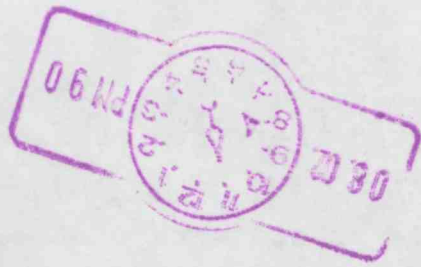
The ANC have already indicated their preference in principle for a negotiated solution. But their initial reactions to President de Klerk's speech were confused and ambiguous. We must urge them to seize the opportunity now offered to bring about the peaceful end of apartheid through negotiation. They should also declare unambiguously their readiness to enter these negotiations in the context of a suspension of violence on all sides.

We have devoted a considerable effort to persuading President de Klerk and his colleagues to meet the EPG conditions. We must now ensure that there is a matching response from the other side. I hope that you will support this effort by using your influence with the ANC and other black groups.

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10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

10 February 1990

Dear Stephen,

SOUTH AFRICA

Thank you for your letter of 9 February covering a draft statement to be made when Nelson Mandela is released, together with draft messages from the Prime Minister to a number of Heads of Government.

I have discussed these with the Prime Minister. I am confident that she would be content with the draft statement and, in general with the messages. I suggest that the last paragraph of the message to President Mitterrand and others should be amended to read:

"I most earnestly hope that you will take a similar view in the forthcoming discussion"

The final paragraph of the message to Chancellor Kohl might similarly be amended to read:

"I hope and believe you will take a similar view in the forthcoming discussion"

And finally in the messages to Mr Mulroney and to President Babangida and others, you might substitute "supporters" for the words "white electorate" in the second paragraph. On this basis, I am confident the Prime Minister would be happy for the messages to be despatched: indeed my recollection is that it was her idea. There will be no signed originals.

I am copying this letter to John Gieve (HM Treasury), Martin Stanley (Department of Trade and Industry) and to Sonia Phippard (Cabinet Office).


Charles Powell

Stephen Wall Esq
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

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