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TO DESKBY 121330Z FCO
TELNO 87
OF 121147Z FEBRUARY 90
INFO IMMEDIATE OTTAWA (FOR SECRETARY OF STATE'S PARTY),
INFO IMMEDIATE UKMIS NEW YORK, WASHINGTON. HARARE, LUSAKA

MIPT: MANDELA

1. MANDELA STAYED OVERNIGHT WITH ARCHBISHOP TUTU AT BISHOPSCOURT. HE GAVE A PRESS CONFERENCE THERE THIS MORNING. MEMBERS OF MY STAFF WERE PRESENT. IT WAS AS MUCH MORE IMPRESSIVE PERFORMANCE THAN THE PREPARED SPEECH HE READ OUT LAST NIGHT.

2. MANDELA WAS AT PAINS THROUGHOUT TO PROJECT HIMSELF AS A DISCIPLINED MEMBER OF THE ANC: HE WOULD DO NOTHING WITHOUT CONSULTING THE ORGANISATION AND THEY WOULD DETERMINE THE ROLE HE WAS TO PLAY. HE HOPED TO GO TO LUSAKA AT THE EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY.

3. ASKED ABOUT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S INVITATION TO HIM TO VISIT BRITAIN, MANDELA SAID THAT AN INVITATION FROM A BRITISH PRIME MINISTER WAS A VERY IMPORTANT MATTER WHICH COULD NOT BE TREATED LIGHTLY. HE WOULD HAVE TO CONSIDER IT WITH THE ANC.

4. MANDELA SAID THAT THE ANC WAS CONCERNED TO ADDRESS WHITES' FEARS OVER ONE MAN, ONE VOTE. THE ANC WANTED TO ADDRESS THE QUESTION OF STRUCTURAL GUARANTEES TO ENSURE THAT THIS DID NOT RESULT IN BLACK DOMINATION OF WHITES. WHITES WERE FELLOW SOUTH AFRICANS. HE WANTED THEM TO FEEL SAFE AND TO RECOGNISE THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THIS COUNTRY. HE DECLINED TO COMMENT IN ANY DETAIL ON CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES. HE OPPOSES SEPARATE VOTERS' ROLLS BUT SAID THAT THE ACTUAL STRUCTURE OF THE GUARANTEES IN THE CONSTITUTION WOULD BE DECIDED WHEN IT WAS NEGOTIATED.

Pringwen
5. MANDELA SAID THAT IN THE PAST THREE YEARS HE HAD HAD COUNTLESS MEETINGS WITH THE MINISTER OF JUSTICE, COETSEE, AND FOUR MEETINGS WITH VILJOEN. HE HAD NEGOTIATED WITH THE GOVERNMENT ON THE RELEASE OF HIS COLLEAGUES AND HAD SOUGHT TO ACT AS A FACILITATOR TO BRING ABOUT A MEETING BETWEEN THE ANC AND THE GOVERNMENT. HE HAD REQUESTED A MEETING LAST JUNE WITH P W BOTHA. HE CONSIDERED DE KLERK TO BE A MAN OF INTEGRITY WHO HAD BEEN VERY FLEXIBLE IN HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH HIM. THE HARSH REALITY, HOWEVER, WAS THAT NATIONAL PARTY POLICY WAS NOT

VERY PROGRESSIVE. BUT IF DE KLERK COULD CARRY HIS PARTY WITH HIM AND NORMALISE THE SITUATION, THEN HE BELIEVED THAT THE DAY FOR A MEETING BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE ANC WAS NOT VERY FAR AWAY. THE REMAINING OBSTACLES WERE THE NEED TO LIFT COMPLETELY THE STATE OF EMERGENCY AND TO RELEASE ALL THE POLITICAL PRISONERS. MANDELA MADE NO REFERENCE TO OTHER PRE-CONDITIONS.

6. MANDELA ATTRIBUTED HIS RELEASE TO THE COMBINATION OF INTERNAL MASS ACTION, EXTERNAL PRESSURES AND THE INCREASING NUMBER OF PEOPLE WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT WHO RECOGNISED THE IMPORTANCE OF CHANGE. THE GOVERNMENT'S ORIGINAL INTENTION HAD BEEN THAT THE ANC LEADERS SHOULD BE FORGOTTEN AND THE HOMELAND LEADERS BUILT UP. THE PRESS, AMONG OTHERS, HAD PREVENTED THIS HAPPENING.

7. ASKED ABOUT SANCTIONS, MANDELA SAID THAT SOUTH AFRICA WAS STILL A LONG WAY FROM ACHIEVING A NON-RACIAL SOCIETY. NOT EVERYTHING THAT THE ANC HAD SET OUT TO ACHIEVE THROUGH SANCTIONS HAD BEEN ACHIEVED. THERE WAS THEREFORE NO REASON TO LIFT SANCTIONS NOW. THAT SAID, MANDELA ADDED THAT THE ANC DID NOT WANT TO BE INVOLVED IN CONFRONTATION BUT TO RESOLVE ISSUES THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

8. MANDELA CONTENDED THAT THERE WAS NO CONFLICT BETWEEN BEING COMMITTED TO PEACE AND SUPPORTING THE ANC'S ARMED STRUGGLE. IF THE GOVERNMENT NORMALISED THE SITUATION, THE ANC WAS READY TO MAKE A POSITIVE CONTRIBUTION TO A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT.

9. ASKED ABOUT THE HOMELAND LEADERS, MANDELA SAID THE ANC CALLED ON THEM TO JOIN THE STRUGGLE. SOME OF THEM WERE 'QUITE INNOCENT' AND NOTHING WOULD PLEASE THE ANC MORE THAN FOR THEM TO DO SO.

10. WITH BUTHELEZI, THE ANC HAD FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES ON THE QUESTION OF THE VIOLENCE IN NATAL, INVOLVEMENT IN GOVERNMENT STRUCTURES AND SANCTIONS. HE RECOGNISED THAT BUTHELEZI WAS A FIGURE WITH A FOLLOWING, ALBEIT SMALLER THAN THE ANC'S. IT WAS CORRECT FOR THEM TO TRY TO SETTLE THEIR DIFFERENCES AMICABLY.

11. MANDELA SAID THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY HAD NOT PERFORMED WELL ON THE IMPORTANT QUESTIONS OF FULL EMPLOYMENT, PRODUCTIVITY AND SOCIAL WELFARE. HE THOUGHT THAT THE ANC WERE QUITE CORRECT TO PURSUE A POLICY OF NATIONALISATION.

12. ON THE SACP, HE SAID THAT THEY HAD BEEN WORKING WITH THE ANC SINCE THE 1920S. BUT HE WAS NOT A MEMBER OF ANY ORGANISATION OTHER

1 S. African Government party b

THAN THE ANC.

13. ON MANDELA'S PERSONAL PLANS, THE NATIONAL RECEPTION COMMITTEE SAID HE WOULD NOT RETURN TO JOHANNESBURG UNTIL PROPER ARRANGEMENTS FOR HIS RECEPTION HAD BEEN MADE. THEY DID NOT WANT A REPEAT OF LAST NIGHT'S RALLY. MANDELA SAID HE REGARDED JOHANNESBURG AS HIS HOME BUT THAT HE WOULD BE VISITING HIS BIRTHPLACE IN THE TRANSKEI.

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