



10 DOWNING STREET

Pine Minister

You are telling
Mr. Mabasa for
 $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour. He is
a representative of
moderate black
opinion in South
Africa, somewhere
between Buthe and
the ANC.

CDD

22/11



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

22 November 1985

cepc
BU

CDP.
22/11/85

Dear Charles,

The Prime Minister's Meeting with Enos Mabuza:
25 November

Your letter of 8 November stated that the Prime Minister would like to meet Enos Mabuza. I now enclose the briefing for this meeting.

My letter of 7 November referred to the possibility of causing annoyance to the Swaziland Government by this visit and you accordingly decided not to publicise it. We have however been informed that Mabuza intends to issue a press release in Johannesburg immediately following the meeting. We have informed him that there will not be a photocall.

Yours ever,

Colin Budd

(C R Budd)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
PS/10 Downing Street



ms

THE PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH ENOS MABUZA: 25 NOVEMBER

OUR OBJECTIVES

1. To convince Mabuza of the sincerity of the British Government's opposition to apartheid and our desire to see a dialogue on peaceful change started in South Africa.
2. To sound out Mabuza on the prospects and conditions for such a dialogue and seek his views on what more can be done politically/diplomatically to encourage one.
3. To inform Mabuza of the importance we attach to the mission of the Eminent Persons Group and explain our desire for it to obtain the widest possible co-operation within South Africa.
4. To persuade Mabuza that there are good reasons for our opposition to economic sanctions and that it is not just a matter of self-interest.
5. In advance of his visit to Lusaka, to question Mabuza on the role he sees for the ANC and the chances of obtaining a cessation of violence.

POINTS TO MAKE

- (i) Wholeheartedly opposed to apartheid and in favour of non-violent change towards a system of government which commands the support of the people of South Africa as a whole.
- (ii) Dialogue essential if fundamental problems to be solved. How in practical terms could such a dialogue be brought about? What will bring black leaders to come forward?
- (iii) We regard the Commonwealth Accord as an extremely important attempt to help achieve a peaceful solution. Vital the Eminent Persons Group receives full support from all parties.

/ (iv)



(iv) You intend to visit the ANC in Lusaka. On 19 October you called for a cease-fire. We share that objective. What do you see as the chances of obtaining this?

(v) We have called for the release of Mandela, abolition of influx control, pass laws and group areas act, and end of state of emergency. What more can we usefully do through diplomatic channels?

(vi) Opposed to economic sanctions because believe they will not lead South African Government to make reforms. Market forces already exerting sufficient and more politically effective pressure.

(vii) Condemn violence from all quarters. Polarisation and violence decrease chances of eventual successful settlement.

HIS OBJECTIVES

(i) To ask us to increase pressure on South Africa to end the state of emergency.

(ii) To convince us of the strength of black grievances which lie behind the present unrest.

YOUR RESPONSE

(i) We will continue to exert our influence to press for reform.

(ii) Have for many years observed restrictions in our relationship with South Africa (Gleneagles Agreement, UN Arms Embargo).

(iii) Luxembourg Agreement and Commonwealth Accord send clear political signal to Pretoria without damaging South African economy.

(iv) Need now for period of stability during work of EPG.

(v) Firmly opposed to economic sanctions. Would strengthen the white right wing. By creating more unemployment and poverty in the townships would heighten violence and lead to increased

/polarisation



polarisation and repression. Would also hurt South Africa's neighbours. To advocate economic sanctions is to seek a violence confrontation, not a peaceful settlement.



THE PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH ENOS MABUZA: 25 NOVEMBER

BACKGROUND

- A 1. Enos Mabuza, Chief Minister of KaNgwane, a non-independent homeland, has consistently opposed the granting of "independence" for KaNgwane. He is the political leader of some 800,000 Swazis in South Africa. He is, however, not a hereditary Chief but a genuinely political figure. A personality note is attached. Mabuza belongs to the South African Black Alliance which is led by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi. He shares many political attitudes with Chief Buthelezi but does not share the same hatred of the UDF and ANC. Indeed, Mabuza often quotes Mandela with approval.

B He plans to visit the ANC in Lusaka shortly. He does not suffer from the stigma of accusations of "collaboration" to the same extent as Buthelezi.
2. Mabuza's homeland of KaNgwane is part of the South African territory claimed by Swaziland. Mabuza has consistently and vehemently opposed any possible land deal.
- C 3. Mabuza's potential importance to us lies in the fact that he is one of the few essentially moderate leaders who stands between the positions of Buthelezi and the ANC and is able to speak to both. He has recently called for general cease-fire to be followed by negotiation. This obviously accords well with our own present aims and the mission of the Eminent Persons Group. It is important to bear in mind that Mabuza has only a small basis of support within South Africa. However, we should like to see him brought into any dialogue.

ENOS MABUZA

Chief Executive Councillor of KaNgwane (the Swazi homeland).

Born 1929. Holds a BA in Psychology from the University of South Africa. A former secondary school headmaster and Inspector of Schools, he became Chief Executive Councillor of KaNgwane in 1977.

An impressive man with a realistic appraisal of South Africa's problems. He shares some of the political attitudes of Chief Buthelezi. However, he does not share Buthelezi's mutual hostility with the ANC and UDF. He quotes Mandela with approval and does not suffer to the same extent as Buthelezi from the tag of "collaborationist". His Inyandza National Movement is a member of the Black Alliance. He recognises the cultural links between the South African Swazis and Swaziland, but successfully opposed the absorption of KaNgwane in Swaziland. He sees KaNgwane as part and parcel of South Africa and not as an embryo "independent" state.

Personally modest and pleasant, we have always found Mabuza good value as an interlocutor.

Married with six children.

ENOS MABUZA

Tea with Tambo

It may seem odd that a homeland leader should, or could, be successfully arranging to meet leaders of the banned ANC, which, after all, scorns the bantustan system and its leaders as Pretoria's puppets.

But KaNgwane Chief Minister, Enos Mabuza (46) is doing just that. Though he accepted self-governing status for the territory in August last year, Mabuza has rejected taking the official next step to "independence." And his intention to follow the trail blazed by South African businessmen and the Official Opposition to the ANC HQ in Lusaka cannot have pleased government.

So it will be interesting to see whether Pretoria withdraws Mabuza's passport. Should the visit be confirmed, there seem to be no other snags to Mabuza's trip. From Lusaka the ANC tells the *FM* it has no objection.

Mabuza, an articulate, softly-spoken former school inspector, says that he is not going to negotiate with the ANC (how could he?) but to "consult" with them on two points. These are "the present crisis in SA, and the need to evolve a solution" to it.

"Our attitude is a responsible one; we've been given a mandate by our constituency," says Mabuza referring to his Inyandza National Movement which claims to have 100 000 paid-up members. Inyandza is a component of the now little-heard-of South African Black Alliance led by KwaZulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who is, incidentally, the only South African leader that the ANC definitely does not wish to meet.

Mabuza's mooted ANC rendezvous will be in his capacity as leader of Inyandza, a non-ethnic organisation which believes that the ANC "is very much part of the equation of the political situation of South Africa and can't be left out." Through Inyandza, Mabuza aims to "contribute to the creation of a just, non-racial, democratic SA," and he believes in "co-operation with all national movements with similar aims."

Born in the Barberton district, Mabuza

attended the Sheba Mine School and Barberton Secondary before taking a teaching diploma in Vryheid and an Honours degree through Unisa. As a young man, he says he read the speeches of Douglas Mitchell, the onetime United Party MP who fought zealously for black rights. Recently, Mabuza's eldest daughter, (one of six children) who is a student and SRC secretary at the University of the North at Turfloop, was detained for two weeks.

Mabuza is not a hereditary chief and rose to his position of authority because "the people wanted educated and enlightened leadership." He maintains that his government is "popularly supported" even though general elections have not yet been held in KaNgwane. But there has been "consulta-

tion at grassroots level," and elections will be held in two years' time.

His role in the homelands structure, he believes, is primarily one of "upliftment" of his people through the economic development of the area. His main thrust is to improve education and agriculture in the region.

He finds nothing curious in his vision of SA as a unitary, democratic state. The black people, says the leader of some 800 000 ethnic Swazis, weren't consulted about the creation of the homelands and oppose the system. Now through peaceful means, Mabuza hopes to show that they

ought to be "dismantled."

Mabuza became chief executive councillor of KaNgwane in 1978. So what, then, of his own position as a homeland head? "I regard my position as very temporary, until a democratic SA has been created," he says.

Unlike a number of other homelands, independent and self-governing, who brook no opposition to their regimes, Mabuza says there is room for all legal organisations in his area, including Azapo and the UDF, with which "we aren't in conflict." They are correct, says Mabuza, in holding that the homelands policy cannot be justified, "but we should be judged by what we say and do."

Mabuza's quiet resoluteness was demonstrated over the Swazi land deal three years ago — when Pretoria planned to cede Ingwavuma in Zululand and KaNgwane in the Transvaal to Swaziland, which has traditionally claimed those and other areas from SA.

It was a serious matter, says Mabuza, "and when the Swazi government admitted after Nkomati that it had also signed a pact with SA, we viewed the matter with more trepidation." The battle against incorporation, says Mabuza, was a "triumph of negotiation and of using constitutional means to fight for our rights." If government were to resuscitate the land deal, Mabuza reckons people "would be forced to resort to other than constitutional means."

The current civil upheaval, which of course led Mabuza to seeking a meeting with the ANC, "has proved to government the need to talk to credible and acceptable leaders."

Mabuza maintains that government also knows who the real (community) leaders are in places like Duduza and KwaNobuhle, townships which have been hit by violent unrest. "It is vital that government talks to them," urges the mild-mannered man, adding that at the national level, too, Pretoria should talk to "a broad spectrum of black leaders."

"We have reached a situation in SA where the young people say they are prepared to die for the liberation of our people. Government should understand this."

Of Nelson Mandela and the ANC's degree of popular support, Mabuza says: "Mandela is a highly respected leader, there is no doubt about his stature... I believe the ANC and other organisations should be unbanned and allowed to go to the marketplace to establish their constituencies. It is unfair to judge (their support) while they are still banned."

MIKE SANDER

A long fuse needed

Last week AECI presented government with the results of a feasibility study into a massive synfuel project — a kind of life-jacket designed to rescue SA from increased energy sanctions. And Mike Sander, new AECI MD, led the discussions.

Sander (44) clearly enjoys talking, and considers the ability to communicate effectively as one of his strengths. However, he says the meeting was simply a report-back after a year's work on a project he regards as "absolutely technologically feasible".



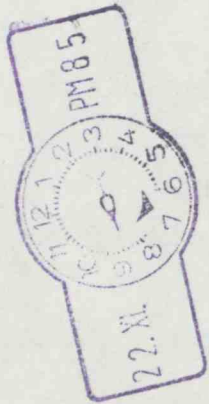
Mabuza... "Mandela is a highly respected leader."

Kn No 10?

SPEECH BY ENOS MABUZA TO THE INYANDZA NATIONAL MOVEMENT,
19 OCTOBER 1985

In an impressive speech received with genuine enthusiasm, Mabuza:

- called for a Common franchise for all South Africans
- called for an end to the State of Emergency and detention without trial
- condemned the repressive violence of the security forces
- called for understanding of the actions and greivances of the young
- called for a general ceasefire to be followed by negotiation
- stressed the dangers of replacing white racism with black racism and urged racial reconciliation
- quoted extensively from Nelson Mandela



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bc PC.

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

8 November 1985

SOUTH AFRICA: PROPOSED VISIT BY ENOS MABUZA

Thank you for your letter of 7 November about Enos Mabuza.

BF // The Prime Minister notes the arguments advanced against seeing him. But since he will be in the United Kingdom anyway, she has decided that she would like to see him briefly. We will not publicise the meeting. I should be grateful if you could arrange for an invitation to be issued to him to pay a brief call at No.10 on 24 November at 10 a.m. or 22 November.

(Charles Powell)

Len Appleyard, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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BM

ck
①



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

7 November 1985

*Prime Minister
I find the objections to
your seeing Mabuza if
only briefly a bit stodgy.
I gather Lourens van der Post
Dear Charles, would favour your seeing him.*

*Yes no
Agree to
a brief*

South Africa: Proposed Visit by Enos Mabuza

Your letter of 28 October sought the FCO's views on the Prime Minister meeting Enos Mabuza. I enclose a personality note, with a summary of an interesting speech which Mabuza delivered last month.

unpublished meeting?

We would not consider Mabuza to be a leader of sufficient importance to meet the Prime Minister. His homeland of KaNgwane has a population of only about 180,000, which gives him a relatively small power base. Mr Moberly believes that he might find himself a little out of his depth if he were invited to call at No 10. If the Prime Minister chose to see a small homeland leader (albeit one who has consistently rejected "independence") significance would undoubtedly be read into the choice. She might open herself to criticism that she was unwilling to meet more influential (and more radical) black leaders. A further consideration is that Mabuza has expressed his intention to visit the ANC in Lusaka and the press might misinterpret a call on the Prime Minister as being linked in some way to that visit.

There is an additional complication in that KaNgwane is part of that area of South Africa to which Swaziland makes a territorial claim. It is quite probable therefore that the Swazis would be upset were Mabuza to be invited to call on the Prime Minister.

Mabuza has visited London on a number of occasions and called on Mr Fergusson earlier this year. While we would not recommend that he see the Prime Minister, there would be value in acknowledging in some other way the courageous and sensible position he has taken up on the central political issues, and we should do what we can to increase his prominence. We understand that he is visiting Britain to attend the Ditchley Park Foundation from 22-23 November. It might be appropriate to arrange a call on an FCO Minister on 24 November.

*Yours ever
Len Appleyard
(L V Appleyard)
Private Secretary*

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing St

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Relations : SOUTH AFRICA A8





10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

8 November 1985

Thank you so much for your letter of 16 October. I'm sorry it has taken so long to reply, but I was away with the Prime Minister at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting and then in New York.

It was good of you to propose a meeting with Mr. Mabuza. I discover that he is coming to the United Kingdom anyway later this month and we are offering him an appointment with the Prime Minister (though would prefer this to be an unpublicised meeting). The invitation will be conveyed to him through our Embassy in Pretoria.

BF We are looking forward very much to your visit in January. Do please let us know dates and how we can contact you nearer the time.

(Charles Powell)

Dr. I.C. Player

South Africa Rel.



Mr. Jock to
[16.30 on 7 Jan.]
all

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

~~Prime Minister~~

Dr. Feyer, a leading white
moderate from South Africa & friend
of Laurens van der Post, is in
London for a few days.

I would not suggest that
you should tell him. But
could I, as a gesture, show
him round the public rooms at
No. 10 at a moment during the
week when you will be

Mr. Loo
approved
COP

either out of the building or
tied up in a meeting? I
know that it would be greatly
appreciated.

C.D.R.