

CONFIDENTIAL



10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

29 July 1988

Dear Lyn.

SOUTH AFRICA

The Prime Minister has agreed to send messages to President Botha and to Chancellor Kohl. I enclose signed originals slightly but not much amended from the drafts enclosed with your letter of 28 July. I should be grateful if they could be telegraphed to Pretoria and to Bonn for delivery as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,
Charles Powell

Charles Powell

Lyn Parker, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

29 July 1988

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T119/88

Dear Mr. President,

Chief Minister Buthelezi called to see me in London this week. I was able to ask him about the reform process and the prospects for further political progress of a kind that would carry conviction within South Africa and in the Western world.

I know of the new initiatives you have taken by opening up the possibility of appointing a black representative to the Cabinet and creating a National Council in which black leaders will be invited to discuss future constitutional arrangements. These are potentially important steps and I am most concerned that the opportunity should not be missed to produce convincing results. But it was clear from what Chief Buthelezi told me that he will himself feel unable to participate in negotiations about the future while Mr. Mandela remains in prison.

You know my deep concern about this matter. Mr. Mandela has now spent 26 years in prison. The longer he stays there, the more of a legend he becomes. His death in prison would have very damaging consequences, not only for South Africa's relations with the outside world, which I am anxious to see preserved, but also for the prospects of peaceful change within South Africa. I am therefore asking you once again to take the steps necessary to enable Mr. Mandela to be released.

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I believe that Mr. Mandela's release would make a crucial difference to the chances of political progress along the lines you wish because it would make it easier for representatives of moderate black South African opinion such as Chief Buthelezi to take part in negotiations. If they are not drawn in now, they will surely lose ground to the extremists, and an opportunity will be lost.

You know the strength of my commitment to policies which will help to make things better in South Africa and not worse, and of the many battles I have fought in that cause. But we are approaching a watershed. At the turn of the year, we shall have a new United States Administration. Whoever is elected will want to re-define US policy towards South Africa. I will exert my influence with the new President to try to ensure that he pursues policies which will not further complicate the task of those committed to reform and peaceful change in South Africa. I am most anxious to avoid further economic damage being inflicted on South Africa of a kind that would make all the problems harder to solve.

But my ability to exert effective influence on an incoming US Administration on this issue will depend on developments in South Africa and between South Africa and her neighbours in the meanwhile. Without visible, concrete progress on reform and towards peace in the region, the difficulty of my task in Washington will be enormously increased. It would be particularly damaging if the Promotion of Orderly Internal Politics Bill, or a variation of it, were to be adopted early next year. You know our views on the Bill. Its adoption would put the West under heavy pressure to take action, with serious consequences both for your interests and ours.

I am following with great attention the negotiations now under way on Angola and Namibia. A solution to these problems does not of course lie in South Africa's hands alone and I know that the South African delegation has played a constructive role in the negotiations. It is our objective

to see a withdrawal of foreign forces from Angola, and an internationally recognised settlement in Namibia. My position on this is known to Mr. Gorbachev, as well as to the Cubans and Angolans.

I have also been informed of the important steps you have taken to try to achieve a return to the spirit of the Nkomati Accord in your relations with Mozambique. I welcome these and will welcome any other positive initiatives you are able to take. It is a time when leadership is more than ever required. There will be much at stake over the next few months.

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Yours sincerely

Nagant Dabita

The Hon P.W. Botha

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10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

29 July 1988

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T118/88

Dear Helmut,

When we discussed South Africa on 9 July we agreed that we should act together to convince the South African Government that they must accelerate the pace of change and, in particular, find a way of releasing Mr. Mandela.

I believe that we are approaching a watershed. Our ability to influence the incoming American Administration on these matters will depend very much on developments in South Africa itself, and between South Africa and her neighbours. Without visible and concrete progress on reform and towards peace, it will be very difficult to carry much conviction with the Americans. I recently asked our Ambassador in Pretoria to ensure that President Botha was aware of these thoughts. You told me of your own recent approach to the South Africans.

We need to see how these representations are received before deciding how best to manage a joint approach. But, as we discussed on 9 July, I believe that we should give serious consideration to sending either a joint message to President Botha, or an emissary to speak personally for both of us. The best time to do this would perhaps be in early to mid-September.

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As I am about to leave for a visit to Australia, I suggest that the next step might be for Charles Powell to contact Mr. Teltschik when we return to discuss how best to take forward a joint approach.

Kind regards

*Y
Lumsden*

Mayall

—

His Excellency Dr. Helmut Kohl