

CONFIDENTIAL



ali SA  
ape

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

*From the Private Secretary*

27 December 1989

Thank you for your letter of 22 December enclosing a draft statement which we might make when Mr. Mandela is released in due course. The Prime Minister feels this is on the right lines but would like a final sentence added to the answer to the question: "will Britain lift sanctions?" This would read: "in the light of the decision to release Mr. Mandela, Britain will take the first step towards such a relaxation of measures/sanctions by ...". This reflects the Prime Minister's view that we should immediately make some gesture on the sanctions front, while consulting other governments about more far reaching measures.

C. D. POWELL

J. S. Wall, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

CONFIDENTIAL

SA

2  
CPC



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

22 December 1989

Dear Charles,

Nelson Mandela

Thank you for your letter of 19 December. The South African Government have responded to recent press speculation about the possible release of Nelson Mandela by denying that he will be freed over the holiday.

But, just in case, I enclose a draft statement welcoming Mr Mandela's release, which might be issued in the name of the Prime Minister. It may, in addition, be a good idea for the Prime Minister to send personal, forward-looking messages to both President de Klerk and Mr Mandela himself once he is free. It is impossible to draft such statements without knowing the precise circumstances of Mr Mandela's release. The enclosed drafts therefore contain the elements which might be included. The message to President de Klerk would be private, but we should expect the text of the message to Mr Mandela to become public.

The message to Mr Mandela might include an expression of hope that the Prime Minister will be able to meet him and to hear his views at first hand.

Jan,  
Stephen Wall

(J S Wall)  
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq  
10 Downing Street

The Minister  
You may like  
to see this as  
a step towards  
contingency planning.

A good  
statement

We shall  
need to  
make  
some

Sanctions  
gesture but  
would have  
to consult  
with others  
not

RELEASE OF NELSON MANDELA: DRAFT PRESS STATEMENT

- We warmly welcome the news of Mr Mandela's release. This is a historic landmark on the road to a new South Africa.

- We have long urged the South African Government to set him free. President de Klerk is to be congratulated on his statesmanlike decision.

- Mr Mandela will have a major role to play in shaping his country's future. His release gives an opportunity for all parties in South Africa to make progress towards a peaceful solution, through negotiations on a constitution fair to the whole population. We encourage them to do so.

(Defensive Points)

Q: Will Mandela meet the Prime Minister?

- I have previously made clear my hope to meet Mr Mandela in circumstances where he is free to express his views.

Q: Will Britain lift sanctions?

- We have consistently said that the need is to take steps to open the way to the start of serious negotiations about the future of South Africa. As the South African Government takes the necessary steps, it would be right to lift some of the measures imposed by the international community, so as to reward progress and encourage South Africa to continue further down the road of reform.

D03AAE

*In the light of the decision to release Mr. Mandela, Britain will take a first step towards such a relaxation of sanctions by . . . . .*

## RELEASE OF MANDELA: LINE TO TAKE

### HMG's Reaction to Mandela's Release?

- As Prime Minister had made clear, warmly welcome Mr Mandela's release. A historic landmark on road to a new South Africa. This is a step we have long urged the South African Government to take.

### F W de Klerk's Reforms

- 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.

- Welcome his decision to:

- release eight political prisoners
- allow peaceful demonstrations
- establish four Free Settlement Areas
- commit the SAG to repeal the Separate Amenities Act
- open the beaches to all races
- disband the National Management System

### F W de Klerk's Next Steps

- As we made clear in statement issued by Prime Minister and John Major at Kuala Lumpur, we see the best prospects for progress if both sides implement the negotiating concept developed by the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group. 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. Mr de Klerk's actions have gone some way towards satisfying these conditions. Now call upon the SAG and all parties to accept the EPG concept.

#### Will HMG Lift Sanctions?

- Have made clear that, as and 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, to reward progress and encourage South Africa to continue down road of reform.

- This position has been endorsed by Commonwealth at Kuala Lumpur (18-24 October), the EC at Strasbourg (8-9 December) and the UN at the Special Session on Apartheid (12-14 December).

#### Defensive Points

#### Will the Prime Minister meet Mandela?

- Prime Minister has said that she hopes to meet Mandela in circumstances where he is free to express his views.

#### Why Meet Mandela if Ministers Refuse to Meet ANC?

- Our interest is in meeting and encouraging those committed to a peaceful solution in South Africa. Mandela has made a clear commitment to such a process.
- While he has remained one of their leaders, Mandela has clearly not been involved in the day to day activities of the ANC for over 25 years.

#### Ministerial Contacts With Other ANC Leaders

- We look to ANC to agree to the suspension of violence on the basis set out in the EPG negotiating concept. Question of Ministerial contact is viewed in this context.

#### 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. Have called on SAG to unban ANC and other political organisations.

#### PM Now to Visit South Africa?

- Hypothetical question. Would require careful consideration. Prime Minister has said she would visit if her visit would contribute to a peaceful solution in South Africa.

ELEMENTS OF A POSSIBLE MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO  
PRESIDENT DE KLERK

- Welcome decision to release Mandela.
- Could be key which unlocks door to negotiations.
- Need to build on release to initiate negotiations.
- Full support for further steps down difficult road.
- Moves also required by other parties.
- Reference to time when international community could start to relax sanctions.
- [Welcome chance to discuss. Chequers weekend?]

CONFIDENTIAL

ELEMENTS OF A MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO MR NELSON  
MANDELA

- Delighted by good news of release.
- Goal for which many in Britain, especially the Government, have worked hard.
- Leaders on all sides bear heavy responsibility to initiate negotiations.
- Impressed by personal commitment to peaceful solutions.
- Hope to have opportunity to meet in London to hear views at first hand.

D02AAL/1

CONFIDENTIAL





South Africa Feb 21.