

SECRET / *DEDIP*

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SECRET

DEDIP

FM CAPE TOWN

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 122

OF 221600Z FEBRUARY 90

INFO IMMEDIATE LUSAKA

Very disappointing

LUSAKA PERSONAL FOR HIGH COMMISSIONER

mf

MIPT: MEETING WITH MANDELA

1. MANDELA TOLD ME THAT HE FULLY APPRECIATED THE ROLE THAT THE PRIME MINISTER HAD PLAYED IN HELPING TO BRING THINGS TO THIS POINT IN SOUTH AFRICA. HE HAD HIGH PERSONAL REGARD FOR THE PRIME MINISTER AND WANTED 'TO GET HER ON MY SIDE'. BUT HE HAD TWO SPECIFIC PROBLEMS THAT HE WANTED TO PUT VERY PRIVATELY TO ME. HE HOPED THAT THE PRIME MINISTER WOULD NOT MAKE A VISIT TO SOUTH AFRICA UNTIL MATTERS WERE MUCH FURTHER ADVANCED. A VISIT AT THIS STAGE WOULD BE PREMATURE AND WOULD BE OPPOSED BY ANC SUPPORTERS. THERE WAS A PROBLEM OF PERCEPTION SINCE, BECAUSE OF OUR STANCE ON SANCTIONS, SOME PEOPLE BELIEVED THAT WE WERE MORE SYMPATHETIC TO THE GOVERNMENT THAN TO THE BLACK COMMUNITY (THOUGH MANDELA INDICATED THAT HE DID NOT BELIEVE THIS HIMSELF).

2. MANDELA ADDED THAT HE WAS UNDER INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE ANC IN LUSAKA NOT TO MEET YOU DURING YOUR VISIT HERE. THERE WAS, HE CONTENDED, NOTHING PERSONAL IN THIS. THE ANC WERE OPPOSED TO VISITS TO SOUTH AFRICA AT FOREIGN MINISTER LEVEL TAKING PLACE AT THIS STAGE. I POINTED OUT THAT SEVERAL OTHER MINISTERS APPEARED TO BE PLANNING TO VISIT SOUTH AFRICA AT ABOUT THE TIME OF THE NAMIBIA INDEPENDENCE CELEBRATIONS INCLUDING, POSSIBLY, VICE-PRESIDENT QUAYLE OR SECRETARY BAKER, GENSCHER AND THE EC TROIKA. WAS MANDELA REALLY SAYING THAT THE ANC WERE AGAINST ALL THESE VISITS EVEN IN THE CHANGED CIRCUMSTANCES IN SOUTH AFRICA? MANDELA SAID THAT WAS THE ANC'S POSITION AND HE WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO MEET YOU AT THIS STAGE IN SOUTH AFRICA. HE MADE AN IMPASSIONED PERSONAL PLEA TO AVOID BEING PLACED IN A POSITION WHERE HE WOULD HAVE TO REFUSE TO SEE YOU AS HE REALISED THAT THIS WOULD PUT EVERYONE IN A FALSE POSITION.

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3. I SAID THAT THE ANC'S POSITION WAS COMPLETELY ILLOGICAL. MANDELA HIMSELF HAD BEEN URGING US TO USE OUR INFLUENCE WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT TO PROMOTE FURTHER CHANGE. HOW COULD WE BE EXPECTED TO DO THAT WITHOUT SEEING THEM AT A SENIOR LEVEL? MANDELA REITERATED THAT THE ANC WERE OPPOSED TO MINISTERIAL VISITS TO SOUTH AFRICA AT THIS STAGE AND HE WAS BOUND BY THEIR POSITION.

4. MANDELA THEN STARTED ASKING ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF A MEETING IN NAMIBIA. HE WAS CLEARLY IN FAVOUR OF THIS HIMSELF AND SAID THAT HE WOULD CONSULT THE ANC ABOUT IT. BUT HE THOUGHT THEY WOULD ONLY AGREE IF THERE WAS NO VISIT HERE. HE URGED ME TO REPORT WHAT I HAS SAID AS HE WAS GENUINELY VERY CONCERNED TO IMPROVE AND NOT TO WORSEN RELATIONS BETWEEN US. I SAID THAT I WOULD DO SO BUT PLANS WERE ALREADY IN HAND FOR YOU TO VISIT CAPE TOWN AND SEE DE KLERK AND PIK BOTHA EN ROUTE TO THE NAMIBIA INDEPENDENCE CELEBRATIONS.

5. MANDELA SAID THAT HE WOULD BE VISITING LONDON ON 16 APRIL. HE INDICATED PRETTY CLEARLY THAT, PERSONALLY, HE WOULD LIKE TO MEET THE PRIME MINISTER ON THAT OCCASION BUT HERE TOO HE WOULD HAVE TO BE GUIDED BY THE DIRECTIVES OF THE ANC. I SAID THAT AS, I HOPED, AN HONEST FRIEND, I HAD TO TELL HIM THAT HE WOULD BE MAKING A VERY SERIOUS MISTAKE IF THERE WERE NO MEETING WITH THE PRIME MINISTER ON THAT OCCASION. MANDELA SHOWED PERSONALLY A PRETTY CLEAR REALISATION OF THIS BUT WAS DECIDEDLY UNCOMFORTABLE BECAUSE OF THE NEED TO CONSULT THE ANC IN LUSAKA. HE SEEMED TO BE TRYING TO SUGGEST THAT IF YOUR VISIT TO CAPE TOWN COULD BE DEFERRED, THERE MIGHT THEN BE MEETINGS WITH HIM AND PIK BOTHA IN WINDHOEK AND THEN A MEETING BETWEEN HIM AND FE PRIME MINISTER IN LONDON IN APRIL. I TOLD HIM THAT DE KLERK WAS LIKELY TO BE COMING TO LONDON IN THE SPRING AND HE DID NOT MAKE ANY FUSS ABOUT THAT.

6. MANDELA CLEARLY WAS QUITE AGITATED ABOUT ALL THIS AND A LONG DISCUSSION ENDED WITH HIM SAYING THAT HE INTENDED TO TALK TO THE ANC IN LUSAKA NEXT WEEK AND GET BACK TO ME, FOLLOWING WHICH HE MIGHT WANT TO TELEPHONE THE PRIME MINISTER TO PUT SOME OF THESE POINTS PRIVATELY TO HER. I TOLD HIM THAT I WAS SURE THE PRIME MINISTER WOULD BE VERY PLEASED TO SPEAK TO HIM BUT ANY CONVERSATION WOULD INDEED NEED TO BE PRIVATE. ANY PUBLIC SUGGESTION THAT THE ANC COULD SOMEHOW SEEK TO VETO A MINISTERIAL VISIT HERE WOULD BE TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE.

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7. MANDELA REITERATED AGAIN HIS PERSONAL DESIRE TO CONTRIBUTE TO AN IMPROVEMENT IN RELATIONS AND I THINK WE SHOULD NOW WAIT TO SEE WHAT PRECISELY HE COMES UP WITH, HAVING CONSULTED THE ANC. IF HE IS ABLE TO GET THEM TO SUPPORT HIS OWN DESIRE FOR MEETINGS WITH YOU AND THE PRIME MINISTER, IT MAY BE WORTH SEEING IF THERE IS ANY WAY TO HELP HIM PERSONALLY, PARTICULARLY AS DE KLERK IS NOW LIKELY TO BE COMING TO CHEQUERS ON 7 APRIL. BUT IF THE ANC PLAY GAMES ABOUT MEETINGS, AS THE EXTERNAL WING MAY BE TEMPTED TO DO, WE ARE GOING TO HAVE TO GIVE THEM SHORT SHRIFT.

8. I AM REPEATING THIS PERSONAL TO MR WILLSON. BUT IT OBVIOUSLY IS ESSENTIAL THAT NONE OF IT SHOULD BE QUOTED TO THE ANC IN LUSAKA.

RENWICK

NO DISTRIBUTION.

HD/SAFD

HD/PUSA

PS

PS/Mr. Waldgrave

PS/PUS

Mr Tomlins

Mr Fairweather

PS/N^o 10 - Downing Street.

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