



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

CONFIDENTIAL London SW1A 2AH

② *uk*

3 July 1990

Prime Minister

Dear Charles,

You may find it helpful to see what Mandela said to the foreign

Nelson Mandela

The Foreign Secretary had talks with Nelson Mandela this morning. I enclose a copy of the record.

Everything that has been said about Mr Mandela's dignity and presence holds good. If he is at all frail, it did not show. He was very alert but his tone on matters of policy was harder and tougher than expected. But there were signs of a changing position on some issues:

Secretary. CAP 3/7

Nationalisation

This is clearly receding as an issue. Mr Mandela said that the problem was the unfair distribution of resources and that he was looking for ways of rectifying this. He was meeting business leaders and asking them to suggest solutions. Government participation was only one option. Businessmen should come up with alternatives to nationalisation.

Sanctions

As the Foreign Secretary said, there is an element of shadow boxing in all this. Mr Mandela does not want sanctions lifted until it is clear to him that apartheid is being dismantled, but he has modified his position to the extent of being ready to see sanctions lifted when the commitment to change is made clear, in a declaration, rather than waiting for the new constitution to be in place. He and the Foreign Secretary did not spend much time on this issue since it is no longer in practice very central.

Armed struggle

The gist of what Mr Mandela said was to the effect that, with negotiations under way, the armed struggle need not be actively pursued.

Elections

Mr Mandela argued that there must be elections to decide who will sit at the negotiating table. He would not accept that the white electorate has already voted since that would mean a blacks-only election. But he did recognise that an election now could spell defeat for President de Klerk. Mr Mandela talked of compromise on the issue. He may be trying to

CONFIDENTIAL



CONFIDENTIAL

exercise leverage on the South African Government whom he suspects of trying to 'stack' the negotiation table with small, unrepresentative black parties so that the ANC would be in a minority.

Continuing contacts

In his speech at lunch, Mr Mandela described his visit to London as the climax of his tour. He attaches importance to our influence. He told the Foreign Secretary he would keep in touch with Robin Renwick but hoped he could telephone the Prime Minister on occasion.

Yours,
Stephen Wall

(J S Wall)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL